

SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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OCTOBER, 1944.

TWOPENCE

17,000 AUSTIN STRIKE

Bosses Show Teeth for Post-War Period PIECE RATES CUT.

17,000 AUSTIN WORKERS STARTED WORK AGAIN AT 3 P.M. ON WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20TH, ON THE FIFTH DAY OF THEIR SIT-DOWN STRIKE. THE ISSUES IN THIS STRIKE ARE PERFECTLY CLEAR, AND OF THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO ALL WORKERS.

The workers of the motor industry have a particular interest in this strike, as it gives a clear picture of what kind of post-war world the big industrialists, the barons of the motor industry have in mind for the future.

Conversion to a 10 h.p. peace time model car has begun at Austin's Long-bridge factory. This car is similar in many respects to the war time Utility which has been manufactured there in the last four years. The differences are mainly in the body work.

But when men began to work on the new assembly line, they discovered that the piece rates had been cut to the bone compared with the piece rates on the war time Utility. The men, through the stewards, demanded an increase of 75 per cent on the peace time prices. This was turned down by the management, who offered increases of 50 per cent to some men, and 25 per cent to others. The national capitalist press, particularly the "Telegraph", published its usual distortions of the issues involved. They implied that the men at Austin's, by demanding 75 per cent increase on piece time prices, were demanding an increase in wages. The facts are the exact oppos-

MANAGEMENT'S PROVOCATIVE ATTITUDE: ATTEMPT TO SMASH SHOP COMMITTEE

From the beginning of the sit-down, the Austin management refused to negotiate with the shop committee. A long statement issued by the firm concludes: "With regard to the strike, this is quite unofficial. The shop stewards Committee, with whom we are asked to carry on discussions, is not a recognised negotiating body". In reply to this obvious union busting attitude, the shop committee replied: "The attitude of the management is one of inconsistency as we have always negotiated any agreement or dispute which has arisen in the past. We are of the opinion that this is a deliberate attempt to smash the organisation. Maintain 100 per cent solidarity behind your elected representatives." And Alderman Ager, A.E.U. District Secretary stated that "The present attitude of the firm is locked upon as the thin end of the wedge to weaken the Trade Unions."

workers which, in our opinion, is a manifestation of the post war world employers wish to create.

Therefore, we call upon all sections of the Labour Movement to actively resist all attempts to re-impose pre-war conditions upon the workers, and give the maximum publicity to every action by provocative employers to foment industrial warfare whilst we are still engaged in finally defeating Fascism."

An employee in the Austin Aero Works summed up the feeling of the workers there in a letter to the

Continued on page 4.

THE ALLIES FEAR FRATERNISATION

THE ALLIES HAVE ENTERED GERMANY AND ALREADY IN THE TINY CORNER THEY OCCUPY, THEY HAVE SHOWN THEIR AIMS AND INTENTIONS.

A hard and merciless peace against the Germans, has been promised. The "generosity" of Versailles is not to be repeated. The suggestion is made that Germany is to be occupied by the Great Powers for 10 years or more. Threats of dismemberment, handing the Rhineland to France, East Prussia, Silesia and Pomerania up to the Oder to the Poles; bits and pieces to Holland, Belgium and Denmark; and threats that Germany will be divided in two as separate entities — all this is held out to the German masses as the happy result of Allied victory.

No wonder they have resisted desperately both in the East and in the West.

And now, this very resistance engendered by Allied policy is to be used as the excuse for the carrying out of their threats! Here we have a vicious circle. BUT AN INTENTIONAL ONE. The Allied imperialists WANT the Germans to resist. They WANT the German workers to fight desperately. Even though this may mean the lives of tens and hundreds of thousands of British, American, and Russian soldiers.

In an article in the "Daily Express", as early as the 28th March of this year, called "Why Don't the Germans Crack?" written by Paul Holt, the comment is made that 6 million of the German people at that date were already homeless.

When Hitler sent troops marching in for the occupation of Hungary, to keep Horthy's tail up, the news was received throughout Germany with 'utter apathy.'

"Then what keeps the Germans steady? Fear. Strength through fear is what they've got."

Holt cynically goes on to comment:

"The march of events and the pronouncements of the leaders of their enemies huddle them together and deprive them of their last alibi.

Where else can they turn but to the Nazis who brought all this upon them? What other power or strength do they have to turn to? Since they must die as a nation by the sword, they resolve to live a little longer by the sword.

And, reviewing this, the Allied leaders are content . . .

Thus, the responsibility for the support of Hitler rests entirely on the shoulders of Allied imperialism.

Yet despite this, in spite of all the

crimes of Allied imperialism, their knowledge of what awaits them should they be defeated, the resistance of the German workers against Hitler has been growing greater and greater in the last period. It is now a race between the Allies and the revolution. Which will conquer first. Even the capitalist press, rigidly censored, day by day, reveals what is taking place in Germany.

The "Daily Telegraph" of May 1st, reports of a revolt in Dresden as follows:

"After a revolt recently by anti-Nazi elements in Dresden, the bodies of hundreds of rioters who had been shot were left lying in the streets as a warning to others."

" . . . The immediate cause of the revolt is not clear, but it is known that the anti-Nazi element among the workers is increasing rapidly in the city."

The Journal de Geneve, in an article entitled, "The Struggle Against Defeatism in Germany," says:

"In a big town in Southern Germany executions take place at least three times a week. This town is no exception. Even so, the fate of its inhabitants appears almost enviable compared with that of Berliners or Viennese."

"I am alluding only to the executions of civilians—that is to say, saboteurs, defeatists, disparagers of the regime, enemy agents, etc. The German 'resistance' also has its victims. They are mostly workers and shopkeepers," says the writer.

Dozens of reports have come through recently, of strikes, mutinies, armed clashes and rebellions inside Germany. The most recent being reported in the "Evening Standard" on September 23rd, 1944:

"The miners of Saarbreucken have left the pits and are on strike."

The terror in Germany has reached the greatest heights since the coming to power of Hitler. Tens of thousands are being arrested, thousands murdered in the concentration camps. Workers in Austrian factories came out on strike after the murder of Thaelman and Breitscheid. Two thousand planes have been kept in reserve

These smooth tongued traitors, viciously slander the German masses and prepare to justify the imposition of imperialist repression on the German masses as bad as the slave regime imposed by Hitler in France and other European countries, and to justify the reduction of the German masses to a condition of colonial servitude like that of the Indians. Lenin said that the Versailles Treaty had reduced the German people to that of a colonial or semi-colonial bondage. Now, Stalin goes the whole hog. In justification for his policy, the Moscow radio broadcasts:

The world has begun to generalise. There is now little difference made between Nazis and Germans. This difference will soon disappear completely."

"If Hitler is not overthrown now by the Germans themselves, the German nation may miss the last, the very last chance of reconciliation of forgiveness, even of mercy."

The plans for Germany are revealed in all their stark reaction. Eisenhower announces in a proclamation that they come, not as "oppressors" of the Germans from the yoke of the Nazis, but as "conquerors." The difference between "oppression" and conquest will be difficult to find when one reads the decrees of the military government. They contain the following provisions:

Curfew from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. Travel forbidden without a special pass. Gatherings of more than 5 people for the purpose of discussion in either public or private, are prohibited. Firearms to be given up. Newspapers, publications and posters of any kind will not be printed, disseminated nor posted. Public officials to stay at their posts.

These provisions establish Hitlerism without Hitler. The racial doctrine of the Nazis, but applied now to the Germans—and all this in the name of "extirpating Hitlerism!" Those provisions of the decrees banning the Nazi Party, its insignia and banners are meant clearly to throw dust in the eyes of the British and American people. The masses have no love for Hitler and once the S.S. and Gestapo have been removed they would auto-

Hate Campaign Against German People

BY TED GRANT



italist press, particularly the "Telegraph", published its usual distortions of the issues involved. They implied that the men at Austin's, by demanding 75 per cent increase on piece time prices, were demanding an increase in wages. The facts are the exact opposite. The Management, in typical dishonest style, alleged that the new model was not peace time production: then why the slashing reduction in the established war-time piece rates? This offer still meant reductions from present earnings, and was refused by the men, who started a sit-down strike to enforce the demand of 75 per cent over peace time prices. The sit-down affected every worker in the Austin works, except the 6,000 Aero workers who were not immediately affected by the dispute.

Maintain 100 per cent solidarity behind your elected representatives." And Alderman Ager, A.E.U. District Secretary stated that, "The present attitude of the firm is looked upon as the thin end of the wedge to weaken the Trade Unions."

AUTO WORKERS SOLIDARITY WITH STRIKES

The 6,000 Austin Aero workers not immediately affected expressed complete sympathy with their comrades on car production. A resolution unanimously passed by the Works committee, reads: "We, the elected representatives of the Austin Aero workers, on behalf of 6,000 organised Trade Unionists express great indignation at the attempt of the Austin Motor Company to reduce the standards of their

BROWDER GROVELS

AMERICA.

One of the first results of Teheran was the announcement by **Earl Browder**, leader of the American Communist Party, that the Party was to be dissolved and its members were to support the capitalist parties. In previous articles we have dealt with this disgraceful act. Since then, the reactionary mouthings of the American Stalinist leaders have surpassed all previous depths.

Browder gave an interview to the Liberal paper PM, in the course of which he was at pains to emphasise that the Stalinists support capitalism in all its forms, including monopolies and cartels:

"Monopolies and cartels are inevitable forms of capitalist economy in its higher stage of development . . . If you are going to make the present system work you can only do it on the basis of its main features; the only alternative would be a new social system. Since it is our judgment that the country is not ready politically to replace Capitalism by a Socialist structure of society, we face without flinching the only practical alternative. And that is to see if it is not possible (without tilting at windmills or setting impossible tasks) to help our country, under the system of Capitalism as we have it (basically a monopoly system which regards itself as a system of free enterprise) to play a progressive role in the next period."

Having placed himself squarely on the ground of capitalism, this "communist" leader, goes on to develop his reactionary policy. He defends Cordell Hull, whom even the Liberals denounce as a reactionary because of his support of Giraud and Peyrouton. In the end, this is too much even for the Liberal journalist, and he attempts a gibe:

"I had a discussion with two friends of the National Association of Manufacturers and I must say that you would get along with them fine. In large sections they sound almost word for word like you."

But the irony of the Liberal fails miserably, for this is taken as a compliment by Browder:

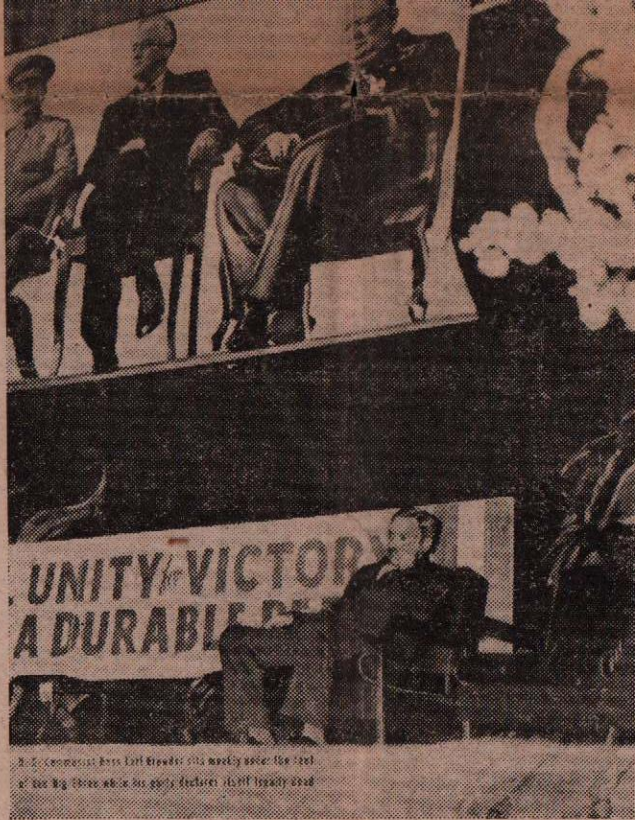
"That's fine I'm awfully glad to hear that," replies Browder. "I am not sorry when you say that leading members of the N.A.M. talk like me. My report to the Plenum of our Party was distributed to every delegate at the economic conference of the N.A.M. and I am told most of them read it through."

Space prevents further quotation from this amazing dialogue, which is printed in full in "Left". We can leave Browder explaining, in a speech in New York on June 30th, that the policy of Stalinism is in the best interests of the rich:

" . . . this policy is consistent with the fullest possible expansion of consumption by the wealthy and the accumulation of private incomes above their consumption level in whatever form they see fit . . . "

Support of capitalism inevitably means opposition to the class struggle of the workers. We are familiar with the strike-breaking activities of the C.P. which they "justify" on the grounds of the war effort. But in America it appears that the Stalinists are to become permanent strike breakers. Harry Bridges is the leading Stalinist trade unionist on the Pacific Coast, and in the past was known as a red-hot militant. He is now touring the Branches proposing a resolution binding the workers to a permanent no-strike pledge. "The strike weapon," says Bridges, "is overboard not only for the duration but after the war."

D.J.



"U.S. Communist Boss, Earl Browder, sits meekly under the feet of the Big Three while his Party declares itself 'legally' dead."

Albion Strike Continues

ROY TEARSE

After having been in progress for four weeks, the strike involving 1,600 workers at the Albion Motor Works on the Clydeside still continues.

As reported in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal", the immediate cause of the strike was the employment of a man at a skilled trade who was incapable of supplying any evidence as to his skill; but the main issue around which the workers are fighting is a wage demand, negotiations over which had been in progress for four months before the strike began.

On Friday, September 1st, the Strike Committee received the information that the man who had been employed at a skilled job without qualifications had been removed by the management. The strikers were informed of this but decided, in view of their previous decision that the real issue in dispute was the wages question, that they would continue the strike.

On September 8th the Ministry of Labour was informed of this decision on the part of the strikers which had been made by an overwhelming majority of the workers on the morning of that day.

On September 11th a delegation from the Strike Committee met the management and informed them of the attitude of the strikers and requested a reply within 14 days containing an answer covering all the points. The reply of the management was to demand unconditional surrender on the part of the strikers as the only basis for negotiation. Moreover, the aggressive attitude of the employers was shown in the fact that they also stated, that apart from any wages question the workers must

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to power of Hitler. Tens of thousands are being arrested, thousands murdered in the concentration camps. Workers in Austrian factories came out on strike after the murder of Thaelman and Breitscheid. Two thousand planes have been kept in reserve by Himler to deal with the home front, according to the "Daily Telegraph".

It is significant that all news of the class struggle in Britain and America has been suppressed by Goebbels' censorship. The strikes of the miners in Britain and America were never reported to the German workers for fear that this would reveal to the German masses that there were two Britains and two Americas as well as two Germanies; not only the Britain of Churchill but the Britain of John MacLean; not only the America of Roosevelt, but the America of Eugene Debs.

This is the greatest crime of the British labour and C.P. leaders: that they, who have a relative amount of freedom, are preparing to support the repression of the German masses who are conducting the struggle so heroically against great odds, especially the odds of the Allied terms.

visions of the decrees banning the Nazi Party, its insignia and banners are meant clearly to throw dust in the eyes of the British and American people. The masses have no love for Hitler and once the S.S. and Gestapo have been removed they would automatically disappear without the "aid" of Eisenhower. On the contrary, far from destroying the Nazis, especially the bureaucrats who have faithfully carried out their crimes, these measures are meant to protect them. In this town an "independent" Nazi has already been appointed mayor—And this is in keeping with the policy of the Allies.

In an editorial in the "Manchester Guardian" of 8th August, 1944, they cynically remark:

"To whom will the occupying armies turn for help in administration if not to the Nazi bureaucracy?" Had the Allies been really interested in smashing the Nazis instead of preventing elections, they would hold a democratic election; instead of preventing political expression in newspapers, they would encourage it. What

Continued on page 4.

STRIKE TRIAL JUDGMENT

The Court of Criminal Appeal was overcrowded when the final and considered judgment of Justices Humphreys, Tucker and Wrottersley was given on the Appeal of our comrades against conviction under the infamous Trade Disputes Act of 1927, which arose out of the strike of the apprentices over the introduction of the Bevin Pit Ballot Scheme.

In delivering the judgment of the court, Mr. Justice Wrottersley upheld the argument put forward by Mr. Gerald Rutledge, Counsel for the Defence, at the original hearing before the magistrate on May 22nd; repeated by Mr. D. Curtis-Bennett before the Court of Assize; and hammered home by Mr. James Burge at the Court of Criminal Appeal.

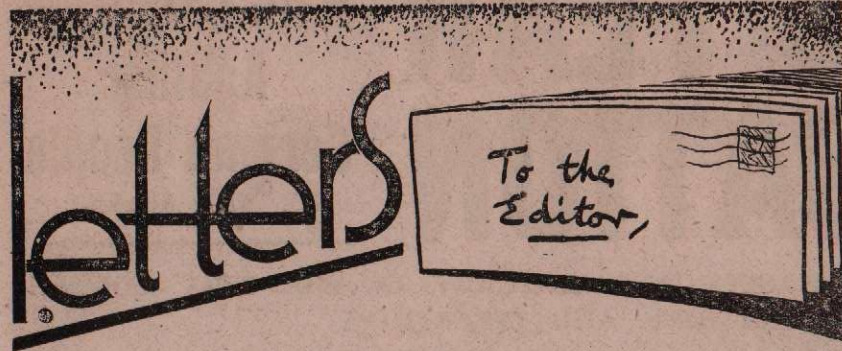
Comrades Haston, Tearse, Keen and Lee were charged with "conspiring to incite the apprentices to declare an illegal strike, each inciting the apprentices to declare such an illegal strike, of conspiring to further an illegal strike, of furthering an illegal strike, and of aiding and abetting an illegal strike." The Jury threw out both charges of conspiracy, together with the charge of incitement, and found the comrades guilty of the charges of each furthering an illegal strike, and of aiding and abetting the furtherance of an illegal strike.

Despite the carefully prepared campaign in the capitalist press, which preceded the trial, and which attempted to create an atmosphere antagonistic to the accused, and therefore prejudice the case in advance, the bearing of our comrades in the witness box completely counteracted this. The Jury, which was composed entirely of middle class business men, was definitely influenced by the out-

right socialist position put forward by our comrades in the witness stand, and their honest and able bearing in the conduct of their defence. The sinister atmosphere of "conspiracy" was entirely dissipated in the assize court. Despite the summing up of Judge Cassels, which was false in law, and entirely weighted against our comrades, the Jury found our comrades guilty only on those charges upon which they had been misdirected in law.

At the close of the evidence for the Crown, he said, Counsel for the Appellants submitted that the words "to do an act in furtherance of a strike" in the Trade Disputes Act, presupposed the existence of a strike, and therefore, nothing which took place before the strike began on March 28th, 1944, could be said to be an act in furtherance of a strike. In directing the Jury, Mr. Justice Cassels ruled that the prosecution were not confined to acts done after the strike had begun. The appellants contended that this was a misdirection in law. The court had come to the conclusion that the view put forward on behalf of the appellants was the true one. The important words in the section were "If any person declares, instigates, incites others to take part in, or otherwise

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Darland Camp Reply to Tom Driberg

We reproduce below a section of a letter written by Driver John Williams, now serving a sentence in Darland camp in reply to Tom Driberg's column which appeared in "Reynold's News" on August 20th, 1944:

"... I must have been here when Tom Driberg came, but no-one knew anything about his visit. Apparently he came at evening time (he talks about the 'evening meal'). Therefore he came when all the men were locked up. They are herded into their rooms or cells at 4.45 p.m. and are not let out until 7 a.m. the next day, therefore he never saw the men on parade to speak to or to see just what they are doing. I have not heard of him coming round the barrack rooms to question the men, and the men in the single cells deny hearing of anyone making enquiries.

It appears that our impartial friend (except in the case of the hospital ward) got his news from the good, kind, open-hearted assistant Commandant. He states in his letter that on the Monday previously, the 14th August, Darland Detention Camp awoke to the sound of music for the first time. Now factually this is untrue. The wireless system came into operation on Thursday the 17th of August.

I contend that even if Mr. Driberg is not whitewashing the Detention Camps purposely, he is then more naive than I should have taken him to be. However, I should like to ask him a few questions.

How does he know whether the Assistant Commandant was telling him the truth about men stamping or abnormal drill was done? Did he see the men on parade, or did he ask their opinion? Who amongst the men, (apart from the youth in the hospital) did he question during his visit in order to ascertain their opinions about the camp? On the question of food, did Mr. Driberg see a man's dinner dished on his plate. Did he taste the cocoa? Did he bother to find out how the diet varied? Did he question the men about the diet? What would Mr. Driberg say if he was told that it is the most monotonous diet, that it never varies, and when dished out it

lous people like you. There are 1,700 people here in Fort Darland Camp who would have told Mr. Driberg that the picture he has painted is one that has not a little bit of whitewash in its colour; that underneath there is a picture painted with darker hues.

In conclusion, I must point out that the majority of men are not, as your famous Oliver Commission tries to make out, violent, stupid, irresponsible half-wits, but as normal a selection of men as can be found in any unit of the armed services. They were formerly citizens who had certain rights. In the army they have very little, microscopically little. They have violated some petty rule or regulation imposed upon them by people (the officer caste) to whom the rules do not apply.

When Mr. Driberg talks about finding a means between a rest house and open brutality, doesn't he think its enough to be deprived of liberty to move about, to receive no pay, to read no papers, to be confined to one letter a week, without being treated like a Negro slave, and insulted and fed on pig swill. . . ."

Soldier in France

B.L.A.
29th August, 1944.

Dear Comrades,

Here we are again, properly in the "mess" this time. As you can see from the address above, the initials stand for "British Liberation Army"!

We were passing through Caen when our truck broke down, and we had to stay the night in the roadside. I have never seen anything so devastating as this town; not one building that isn't shattered, and it is deserted completely except for military traffic that passes through. Military are forbidden to go near it except passing through on official business. It is a tragic sight. It gave us the creeps to be there and we were glad when morning came.

We are at present stationed near a small village which is also completely devastated. When we came there were no French civilians here at all, but in the last few days about 20 people, men, women and children have come back to live as best they can in the place. Their biggest difficulty is, of course, obtaining food as the land and orchards around are in a complete mess. Some of them call at our cook-house and ask for food.

Their attitude towards us is very mixed. They are not at all over-

S. WALES MINERS LEADERS FEAR R.C.P.

HORNER TO FIGHT
"DISAFFECTION" IN SOUTH
WALES.

The following is an extract from the minutes of the Executive Council of the South Wales Miners' Federation, held in Cardiff on July 4th, 1944:—

"A letter was read from the above lodge (Oakdale Navigation) in regard to the activities of the Revolutionary Communist Party that is spreading disaffection amongst the members of the Lodges in No. 7 area. It urges the Council to take steps to check the movements of the people of this Party, and to make a survey of the disunity that has been created in the ranks of the miners.

RESOLVED:

That we endeavour to put before our members in a positive way the achievements of the Organisation, and that we make a special effort to have the Miners' Journal printed at an early date."

The Executive member for Area No. 7 is Sam Garland. He spoke warmly in support of the Oakdale letter. Naturally so. For during the Welsh miners' mass strike last March he received a terrific pasting from the Tredagar men when he tried to get them back to work. He is still sore from this first hand experience of South Wales "disaffection"! In fact we shouldn't be surprised to discover that he is primarily responsible for the Oakdale letter quoted above. In any case, we are sure that the Oakdale letter emanates from the Oakdale Lodge Committee—and not from any mass meeting of the men.

Garland says that we, the Revolutionary Communist Party, are spreading "disaffection". What significant language! When the ordinary private soldier dares to question his officers' right to order him about and treat him like dirt, the boss class officers always refer to this as "disaffection", i.e. refusal to obey blindly and without question, orders which conflict with the soldiers' welfare. If that is what Sam Garland accuses the miners of in area No. 7, he is dead right! When he "ordered" them to break the strike last March they told him—to go to hell. Undoubtedly, this is "disaffection." But what is the cause of it?

Is it the socialist propaganda of the Revolutionary Communist Party—or is it the strike-breaking activities of the miners misleaders? We leave the miners themselves to answer such a simple question.

However, if it is true that our consistent exposure of the rotten leadership of the S.W.M.F. is adding to the discontent of the miners, it is because our criticisms are correct—and the leadership is rotten. There can be no other explanation. If the Oakdale Committee wants to stop the disaffection, it is really very simple. Demand that the Executive Council stop licking the boots of the coalowners. Calling on the Council to "check the movements of the people of the R.C.P." won't halt the discontent. Even if the E.C. succeeded in getting our party suppressed in the area, the discontent will still remain—just so long in fact, as the leaders of the Federation continue to serve the coal owners and not the miners.

And what, may we ask, does "checking the movements" mean? It sounds very much as though the authors of the Oakdale letter want the Federation to set up its own Gestapo! We are pleased to see that the minutes don't record any agreement with this request. It means that there are men in the Federation who want to embark on a secret Trotskyist witch hunt! Militant workers in the pits must regard this very seriously. Hundreds of militants up and down the country, have heard of Trotsky for the first time when some reactionary Trade Union official has denounced him as—a "Trotskyist."

What really makes this extract from the S.W.M.F. minutes important however, is the Resolution adopted by the Council in reply to the points raised in the Oakdale letter. This resolution shows quite clearly that the majority of the Council know only too well that it is not the Revolutionary Communist Party which causes the disaffection among the miners. The fact that the Executive has decided "to put in a positive way the achievements of the organisation before our members" proves one thing conclusively. It proves that Horner & Co. recognise that it is precisely because the miners can't see any "achievements" that

they are discontented. But if the Council speaks the truth, its list of achievements will not stop the prevailing discontent—it will only increase it.

Come on, Garland, Horner & Co., tell the miners of your wonderful efforts on their behalf over the past years. Tell them "in the most positive way" possible, how the Executive united with the Government, the coal-owners and the capitalist press in an effort to sabotage the miners' struggle against the miserable Porter Award. Tell them how the South Wales delegates on the M.F.G.B. last April voted full powers to Lawther and Co. to sign the Government's "Peace in the Industry" proposals—despite the fact that the District Conference had voted solidly against acceptance of this slave agreement. Tell them also, how the M.F.G.B., with no protest from Horner voted solidly in favour of Bevin's anti-strike Act, Regulation 1A(a). Tell the miners, in other words, just what contempt you have for the men who pay you your fat salaries. Your recital of the facts would make the Welsh miners about as contented as a stark naked man chained to a hornet's nest!

But, of course, it's too much to ask you to relate such facts. The explosion of disaffection which would result in South Wales might blow Horner right out of his comfortable President's chair.

But the Revolutionary Communist Party will tell the miners these things because they are true—and because we want to see the miners build an organisation which will have leaders who will fight the coalowners, not crawl on their bellies before them.

The production of a Miners Journal is an excellent idea. We wholeheartedly support it. If the Sam Garlands don't like our criticisms—they can refute them in the open before the whole membership in the pages of the "Miners Journal". And if the Editorial Board will allow the "disaffection" among the miners to present their point of view, also such a journal would help to allay the present discontent by giving the miners a chance to find out who are their friends and who are their enemies. But if the Journal is to be merely a Government propaganda sheet for "more production", against "absenteeism" etc., it will only add fuel to the flames of "disaffection". And those terrible Trotskyists will be handed one more stick with which to beat the poor, misunderstood leaders of the South Wales Miners' Federation.

J.L.

Support for Defence Committee Funds Still Needed

Comrades! The money has not yet been received by the Anti-Labour Laws Defence Committee to cover the expenses of the Newcastle case. An appeal has gone out from the Defence Committee appealing for £500 to clear the debt. We urge our friends and supporters to pass resolutions through the branches of their unions and other organisations sending contributions to clear the debt.

All donations to be sent to:

W. G. COVE,

318 Regents Park Road,

London, N.3.

Below is reproduced the list of organisations which have sent in contributions recently, hitherto unpublished in these columns:

- A.E.U. No. 3 Stockport.
- A.E.U. Luton Central, 154L.E. Luton.
- A.E.U. Clarkston Branch No. 2405 Glasgow.
- A.E.U. Plaistow 1st Branch, Plaistow.
- A.E.U. Llandow Branch, Glamorgan-shire.
- A.E.U. New Southgate No. 2 99NE., London.
- A.E.U. Branch No. 6 Brighton.
- A.E.U. Scunthorpe, 2, Scunthorpe, Lincs.
- A.E.U. Coleford Branch, Coleford, Glos.
- A.E.U. Stockport Branch, 728E. Stockport.
- A.E.U. Sheffield 2, Sheffield.
- A.E.U. Alloa Branch, Alloa.
- A.E.U. Clydebank Central Branch, Glasgow.
- A.E.U. Newcastle 29 Branch, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- A.E.U. Keighley 2nd K.E. Keighley.
- A.E.U. Branch No. 42 EE East Acton, Wembley.
- A.E.U. 190 A.E.U. Stourbridge.
- A.E.U. Enfield Town, 35 EE. Enfield.
- A.E.U. 8 G.S. Glasgow East, Glasgow.
- A.E.U. 202 C.E. Chingford.
- A.E.U. 24 FE. Folkstone.
- A.E.U. Hitchin 2.
- A.E.U. Arthur Nutt 10E. Branch.
- A.E.U. Bedford 280 BE. Bedford.
- E.T.U. Leyton.
- E.T.U. London Central No. 1, Greenford, Middx.
- E.T.U. Tredgar Branch, Mon.
- E.T.U. Wolverhampton.
- E.T.U. Lift & Crane Workers, Kennington Park, London.
- E.T.U. Workington Branch, Cumb.
- Newcastle & District Trades Council.
- Newcastle Divisional Labour Party.
- South Shields Labour Party.

ORDER NOW!

GERMANY—The Key to the International



dished on his plate. Did he taste the cocoa? Did he bother to find out how the diet varied? Did he question the men about the diet? What would Mr. Driberg say if he was told that it is the most monotonous diet, that it never varies, and when dished out it looks like something for a dog?

He talked about the most severe sentence that could be given was three days bread and water. Simple, Mr. Driberg! Let me tell you something. There are two punishment diets named P.D.1 and P.D.2. A man on P.D.1 gets 16 ozs. of bread a day and an unlimited supply of water. On P.D.2 a man gets 16 ozs. of bread, his water and at dinner time unsweetened skilly and potatoes. Didn't it occur to Mr. Driberg that a man might get three days P.D.1, go onto ordinary diet for a day, and then return onto P.D.1 for another three days. Or this is what happens. A man can get 14 days P.D.1 and 42 days P.D.2. Further, a man who gets say three days P.D.1 and 14 days P.D.2 goes straight off the P.D.1 onto P.D.2. Finally it is not as normal as Mr. Driberg was led to believe for P.D.1 and 2 to be administered, in every company there is a barrack room for the disposal of people on these punishments—and they usually have plenty of occupants. Did Mr. Driberg's investigation make him so acquainted with things in Darland Camp that he could say now, that what I have stated here is true or otherwise?

He also mentions access to laundry. Did he see men washing their gear? Did he see how much water they had to wash it in? Did he see how much soap they had to do their washing with? What would Mr. Driberg say if he was told that two men share one bucket of hot water to wash five articles each (which includes denim trousers), and with one piece of ersatz soap measuring 2in. by 1in. and 1/2in. thick to do the washing.

Is our kind friend sure that no longer men are manhandled in Darland Camp? What would he say if he was told that men are still provoked and then enthusiastically manhandled from time to time? Talking about brutality there are various kinds of brutality. Let me mention one form which took place the other day. A man wanted to go to the lavatory very badly whilst on parade. This often happens to men because of the diet. He asked the staff several times but wasn't allowed to go, consequently he had the unavoidable accident. Just think of this! A grown up man, the indignity of it, in front of his comrades. However, he went to complain to the Company Commander who refused to listen to him. Isn't this brutality, Mr. Driberg. He wasn't manhandled, but I should say that the only place where this kind of treatment could be equalled is in a Nazi concentration camp.

These questions have been done in a hurry by candle light, because naturally this is not done by permission of the authorities. But if Mr. Driberg came on a real investigation, not one where he was led around by the nose, despite what he states in his article, the men he questioned would have enlightened him far more than the Assistant Commandant was prepared to do. No wonder he said we wish more people would come and visit us, Mr. Driberg, for he means more credu-

lity. Their attitude towards us is very mixed. They are not at all over friendly, but not hostile. I would say that they do not regard the Allies as "liberators", but rather as interlopers, and they feel themselves as onlookers in a private fight between the Nazis and the Allies. We can understand this when we see the damage and havoc wrought to the homes of the people here, and consider that it wasn't touched by the war until now at any time before.

It is very difficult to find time for anything here as we work such long hours—7.30 to 7.30 and at night we have all our time taken up doing necessary personal jobs, and we are plagued with mosquitoes which make the nights unbearable. Conditions are very bad. Work 7 days a week, 12 hours a day and there are absolutely no amenities or distractions for us whatever. I haven't been able to open a book here yet, much less read one.

I have a good friend here. He has had the "Socialist Appeal" before—bought it at Hyde Park—likes it very much. I saw him on the boat reading "Forward"—that's how I met him.

Am trying to get some money through to the "Appeal". At present we have no way of doing it. We cannot spend the francs we have as there is nowhere to go and nothing to do. I depend on literature you send.

This place is full of flies and wasps, and then at night the mosquitoes take over and do the "night shift". We will move on soon . . .

5th September, 1944.

Dear Comrades,

We are on the move again and I am writing this as we have halted at our stopping place for the night. As we travel further inland nearer to the capital, I am struck by the increasingly friendly attitude of the people. It seems peculiar in view of the terrific damage done to their homes in towns and villages we have passed.

The people are pathetically poor and are terrifically pleased when you give them cigarettes or any other little thing. In one village as we passed through, one young chap in a full uniform regalia of a De Gaulle (something like a Scout's uniform with lashings of "Free French" colours) gave us, riding in front, the V sign. I returned with the Red Front salute, and he was delighted! Nodded and grinned eagerly back as though he understood. He was probably a local Stalinist. He certainly looked the type.

I can't help being struck by the absence of shops in the towns and villages. It's nerve racking not to see even a fish and chip shop! I only wish I knew French. It would be a big advantage politically. I cannot get a text book even here.

A notice appeared on our detail board a couple of days ago to the effect that British and Allied troops are forbidden to talk or join in any political meetings or demonstrations in France with the civilians. Free France! And the "British Liberation Army" indeed!

Pte. G.

GERMANY—The Key to the International Situation

By LEON TROTSKY. December, 1931

The background to the rise of Hitler and the responsibility of the Labour and Stalinist Leaders.

INTRODUCTION by TED GRANT - - 6d.



PARTY NOTES

CLYDESID — The Clydeside comrades have drawn up a campaign for regular meetings outside factories, and in Brunswick Street, Glasgow's political forum, on Sunday afternoons. Jock Haston addressed a meeting of over 200 workers outside a large factory at Dalmuir and was enthusiastically received. His call for international class solidarity with the German working class received an immediate and spontaneous response from the Dalmuir workers.

EDINBURGH — The Edinburgh Branch of the R.C.P. have also drawn up a campaign of public activity. The first of a series of meetings to be held at the Melbourne Hall was addressed by Ted Grant, editor of the *Socialist Appeal* on Germany — **After Hitler — What Next?** Outlining the development of revolutionary events in Germany in 1918, 1923 and 1929, he exposed the disastrous part played by the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaderships which led to the rise of Hitler. Dealing with the coming revolution in Germany, the instruction to the armies of "liberation" not to fraternise with the German people, expresses their fear of the revolutionary potentialities of the German workers and an acknowledgment that they can place no reliance in the worker soldiers in their own armies in face of these events. The Fourth International, with its revolutionary programme, was alone equipped to lead the European working class to the United Socialist States of Europe. It was necessary for the Edinburgh workers also to learn from the lessons of history, and find their way into the ranks of the R.C.P.

A number of questions were asked and members of the audience participated in the discussion. A collection realised £1 15s. About 70 people were present. From the response the meeting received we have every reason to believe that this venture will be very successful.

Roy Tearse addressed a meeting of about 250 dockers at Leith on Tuesday, 19th September. He dealt with the lessons of the Newcastle strike case, the sell out of the trade union leaders and the need for the con-

version of the Trade Unions into fighting organs of the working class. His argument for regular re-election of officials to the highest posts in the trade unions, and in particular the T.G.W.U. of which the dockers are members, and the payment of their officials at the same rate as the workers was loudly applauded.

A further meeting was held at Leith on Thursday 21st September, addressed by Jock Haston, and again about 250 workers listened attentively to an explanation of the inevitable post-war crisis for British imperialism and the deterioration of working class standards if the capitalists remained in power. Our argument that Labour must break the coalition and fight for power on a socialist programme struck a chord among the assembled dockers. A number of navy men were present at both dock

meetings and listened attentively throughout.

NEWCASTLE — An exceptionally large audience listened to Heaton Lee and Bill Davy, Tyne apprentice leader at the Bigg Market, Newcastle on Sunday, 10th September. The lessons of the trial were dealt with and the need for the establishment of a new Labour Defence organisation. This was one of the most enthusiastic and well attended meetings at the Bigg Market for a long time. 70 *Socialist Appeal*'s were sold and a number of good contacts made. Heaton Lee has commenced a series of factory gate meetings and the reception on the Tyne has been excellent.

WALES — Regular study circles have been started in Merthyr every Wednesday at 7 p.m. in the Miners' Hall (ante-room), Merthyr, commencing September 20th, at 7 p.m. The subject of the first meeting will be "The Rise and Fall of the Communist International."

John Lawrence, South Wales organiser of the R.C.P., will speak at "The Institute", Gorseinon, at 6.30 p.m. on Saturday, September 23rd. Subject: What is Trotskyism? Questions and full discussion.

LONDON — The Balham Branch of the Socialist Party of Great Britain (S.P.G.B.) have invited a speaker to their meeting on Thursday, 5th October, to be held at 12 Balham Park Road, Balham, S.W., at 8 p.m. Jock Haston will speak on "The Case for the Fourth International," to be followed by Questions and Discussion. Branch secretaries are asked to send in items of their local activity for inclusion in "Party Notes and News" column which will be a regular feature, to M. Lee, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

BIRMINGHAM — The special Bilston issue of the *Socialist Appeal* was canvassed by our Birmingham comrades assisted by two "Bevin Boy" comrades and two from Nottingham. On two canvasses 450 copies of the Appeal were sold to the Bilston workers, who bought it eagerly.

On the 8th October the Birmingham comrades have arranged a study circle to be addressed by Ted Grant on "The Stalin-Trotsky Controversy."

Congratulations

The National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship Painters and Decorators.

Camberwell Branch 5.9.44.
To the Secretary,
Revolutionary Communist Party.

Dear Sir,
The following resolution was passed and I am instructed to forward same to you:

"That this Camberwell Branch sends congratulations to Comrades Haston, Tearse and Lee on the success of their appeal, also we feel assured that every step will be taken by you and us if necessary, for the same findings for Comrade Keen. We as a Branch recognise in your success a victory for our class and it is very gratifying to know that even in such a period the development of a serious body of workers for the defence and betterment of our conditions is in existence."

Yours fraternally,
C. W. Laws.
Branch Secretary.

We are given to understand that this resolution was unanimously passed and that there were about 60 members in attendance at the meeting.

- E.T.U. Irredagar Branch, Mon.
- E.T.U. Wolverhampton.
- E.T.U. Lift & Crane Workers, Kennington Park, London.
- E.T.U. Working Branch, Cumb.
- Newcastle & District Trades Council.
- Newcastle Divisional Labour Party.
- South Shields Labour Party and Trades Council.
- Pontypridd Trades Council and Labour Party.
- Stoke Ward Labour Party, Slough.
- Eppleton Miners Lodge, Co. Durham.
- Transport & General Workers Union, Northfield 5/140 Branch, B'ham.
- Transport & General Workers Union, 1/202 Branch Welwyn Garden City
- National Union of Vehicle Builders, Glasgow Branch.
- National Union of Vehicle Workers, Manchester No. 1 Branch.
- National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, Tarrington Branch, Devon.
- National Painters' Society, West Ham Branch.
- National Union of Agricultural Workers, Harvington Branch.
- C.O. Agricultural Hostel, Worcester-shire.
- Brightside Foundry, Sheffield.
- Edinburgh & District Coopers' Society.
- Upholsters Union, Edinburgh.
- N.U.R. Spen Valley Branch, Heckmondwike.
- A.S.R.W. Plymouth.
- British Federation of Young Co-operators, Edmonton.
- Soldiers in Italy.
- Group of Organised Workers, Slough.
- Aberdeen Local Defence Committee.



BY TROTSKY

- WAR AND WORLD REVOLUTION 2d.
- TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL 6d
- TRADE UNIONS 1d.
- I.L.P. AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL 2d.
- DOES RUSSIA'S ENTRY ALTER BRITAIN'S WAR? By A. Scott 2d.
- PREPARING FOR POWER (Thesis of British Trotskyists) 3d.
- A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM 6d.
Cannon's Testimony in U.S. Labour Trial 6d.
- THE ROAD TO INDIA'S FREEDOM by A. Scott and E. Grant 3d.
- THE C.P. AND THE WAR 1d.
Look at their Record!

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 BILSTON

At Bilston the coalition received a shattering blow. Arthur Eaton, the I.L.P. candidate polled over 9,000 votes and was defeated by the narrow majority of 349 votes.

Let the working class take note of the Bilston by-election result. Let the leaders of the Labour and Trade Union movement take a special note of the I.L.P. poll. For this by-election is a demonstration of the tremendous swing of the organised working people towards the ideas of Labour; towards the ideas of breaking the coalition and raising Labour to power.

As the war draws to its conclusion in Europe, and yesterday's fear of a Nazi victory is transformed into the certainty of a Nazi defeat, the millions of Britain's trade unionists and socialist thinking workers who, mistakenly, have voluntarily sacrificed many of labour's cherished rights at the insistence of the leadership of the labour and trade union movement, are now calling a halt and demanding a change in Labour's orientation.

The hesitation of Bevin and Morrison, together with others in the topmost and most reactionary strata of the trade union and labour movement, to break the coalition at the next General Election, and fight as an independent party of the working class has now apparently ended. Formally, at least, the labour leaders have decided to break the coalition, reassert the independence of the Labour Party and go to the polls in opposition of the Tories. But this formal decision, reflecting as it does the pressure of the masses and welcome as it will be by the best sections of the working class, must not be allowed to act as a screen behind which the Labour and Trade Union leaders will continue the policy of class collaboration and capitulation to the ruling class and their Tory politicians. Labour must be forced to fight for power and on a Socialist Programme.

It is no accident that in the columns of the "Daily Express" it is bluntly suggested that the Labour leaders really don't want power. For this is the only conclusion that can be drawn from their activities.

The belief in Churchill's personal popularity as talisman for Tory victory in the immediate post-war election, which is being widely canvassed by the ruling class and echoed by Transport House, is a myth. More, it is downright deception when used by the leaders of Labour to hold back the organised workers from launching an all-out struggle to sweep the Tories out of the path of progress and to place Labour in power. Churchill's popularity is waning fast! This is one of the most important lessons to be learned from Bilston.

Since the I.L.P. refrained from making the election a test of the mass feeling against the war, by fighting on an intransigent anti-war policy, the election cannot be considered as a reflection of the anti-war feeling among the working class but it can and must be clearly seen as a mass movement against the Government

REDUNDANCY

By Bob Allen

It is the fashion nowadays to try to hide an ugly reality behind a high sounding new title. The more innocent the new name, the better for the boss class. Instead of describing the Portal houses as factory built huts, they are named "prefabricated". Before the war the depressed areas were renamed "special areas". Workers did not go on the "Public assistance", they went on the "Unemployment Assistance Board." Now they have invented a new one: "let's not call it Unemployment, it sounds too bad, let's call it Redundancy". But fancy names can't hide the reality. The plain fact is that even before the war is officially ended, mass unemployment already begins to show itself.

The "Redundancy" which we have now, mainly in the aircraft industry, is entirely different from Redundancy of the last two, three or four years. Since 1939, redundancy was always of a short duration, and affected only a few workers, as they were transferred from one job to another more urgent one. But now we have to deal with mass dismissals, and the dismissed workers have no prospects of a job. They are plain and simple Unemployed. There are just no jobs to transfer them to.

AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY—first!

With the complete eclipse of the Luftwaffe and the approach of the end of the war in Europe, the aircraft production programmes have been the first to be cut on a large scale. Some of the cuts have been as much as 50%. The huge Rootes Group of factories in Coventry and Liverpool, the Fairey Aviation Group of Manchester and London, the Handley Page Group and Rolls Royce Glasgow, already have initiated mass sackings. The whole industry is affected.

It is an interesting fact that the Brewster Aviation works in New Jersey were completely closed down some weeks ago, when the Navy Department cancelled all orders for Corsair Naval aircraft with that firm. Overproduction of aircraft in the USA is one of

the main factors in the curtailment of British Aircraft production.

Although large scale redundancy is at the moment only occurring in the aircraft industry, there is no doubt that all other industries will be rapidly affected. The danger signs have shown themselves throughout the country. Most war industry is already working a bare 47 hours.

BOSSSES' PLANS DIRECTED AGAINST THE WORKERS.

About 70 per cent of the total volume of British industrial production is devoted to war purposes. Hundreds of millions of Government money have gone to build and equip new factories and yards. The situation now is that this great production potential must be changed over from war production to commodity production for the market. But the bosses, through their tool the Government, have already shown that they do not intend that war industry will be turned over to the manufacture of consumption goods for the people. To the contrary, the market which capitalism wants is the foreign market; they have already clearly stated that they have no perspective whatever of really tackling the question of "freedom from want" for the British workers. The speeches of leading Government spokesmen have proved this. Sir Stafford Cripps says that after the war the British workers will have to draw in their belts. Sir John Anderson proposes to raise the cost of living, while demanding that wages be kept as they are. The Government post war plans have proved up to the hilt that capitalism is planning, not plenty, but scarcity and restriction for after the war. Instead of a decent scheme of housing, we are given tin huts. Town planning is to be severely restricted because the Government, representing the landlords as well as the industrialists, will not encroach an inch on the landlords' property rights. Even the Beveridge Scheme was rejected as too expensive, and because it encroached on the rights of the insurance compan-

ies. The Government's Plan for "Full Employment" does not even pretend to plan for 100 per cent employment. In its own words it merely hopes to provide a "high and stable level of Employment". All these things add up to the fact that in spite of all the high sounding promises, the workers will have to face all the poverty and insecurity as it existed pre-war, including the most awful trial of all—unemployment.

The capitalists of Britain are not planning poverty because they like to see the workers starve. The fact is that the laws of capitalist economics present the British capitalists with problems which they can only solve at the expense, and through the misery of, the British workers. Before the war Britain was a creditor nation. The holdings of the British capitalists abroad returned a rich annual flow of wealth to the British capitalists which enabled them to compete with other capitalists, such as the American and German capitalists. British export trade was protected by colonial preference, and a large measure of imports of raw materials were paid for by the dividends from abroad. But the £3,000,000,000 of pre-war foreign investments have gone—to pay the other United Nations for supplies for the war. And now Britain is a debtor nation—in debt to the other United Nations—£1,500,000,000. The British capitalist, as they have said over and over again recently, must "export or die". To compete with highly organised American capitalism and with Indian and South African capitalism, they will have to rationalise industry, i.e. speed it up, reduce real wages, dispense with social services. This is the prospect held out before the British workers under capitalism. It is the underlying factor governing the whole question of Redundancy at the present moment.

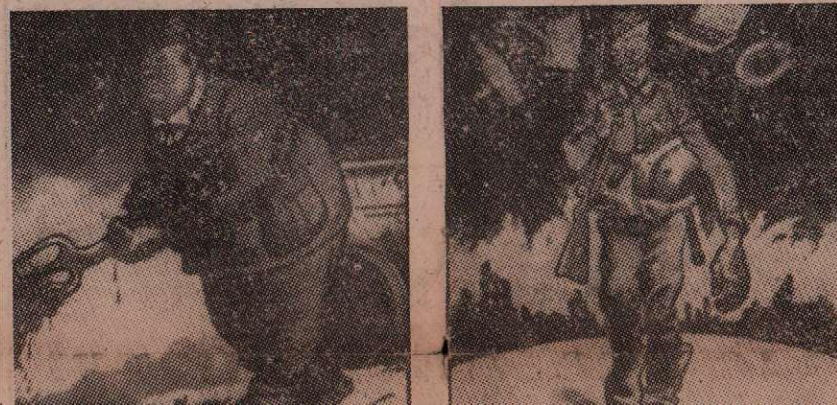
WORKERS MUST HAVE AN INDEPENDENT POLICY

Mass unemployment will be inevitable unless the factories, and heavy industry begin immediately to turn over to commodity production for the home market. Surplus labour must immediately be put to work to build houses, real houses. The re-building of roads and all kinds of public works is an urgent problem for the near future. The workers need clothes, better transport, more buses, railway trains are needed. A host of jobs are waiting to be done, the bosses will say they can't afford it, they will talk about pulling our belts in, they will moan about foreign markets. The workers must reply that these are the bosses' problems. They have reaped

quoted as saying that "All managements have been approached for information of further war contracts or contracts for priority peace construction. In each case the replies were in the negative. If no work can be found at the appropriate TU rates immediately for the redundant labour, then labour should be retained in the factories with the payment of a minimum 47 hours week guaranteed under E.W.O. until peace time work is supplied."

The aircraft workers affected are taking a firm stand. Where redundancy is threatened, they are demanding that no worker be dismissed until a job is found for him. Further, they are demanding a reduction in hours below 47 per week, without reduction in the 47 hours guaranteed week under E.W.O.; hours of work to be reduced to 40 per week or such hours as will make up the required output. In this connection the recent application of the Engineering Unions for a 5 day week of 40 hours is to be welcomed, and should be pushed by all the forces at the command of the workers. These demands, already being made by the aircraft workers, are a step in the right direction. "Why should the workers suffer if the bosses can't keep production going?" is an idea which constantly forms the guide in discussions on these questions. The Shop Committees can and should demand control over all questions concerning personnel to be transferred. If workers are being transferred, the shop committee must investigate the type of job to which the worker is going, and see to it that no reduction of wages or conditions takes place. The shop committees must regulate the reduction in working hours when production declines. The 40 hour week, which is official union policy, can form the first demand in any factory threatened with redundancy.

The slogan of workers' control of production takes on newer and more urgent forms. It must be recognised that on the one hand, a change-over of production from aircraft and tanks must take place. The shop committees will have to directly intervene into the plans of the bosses. The trade unions have a particularly important task to perform in defending the workers during this period. So far, the attitude of the union leaders has been despicable. They have no plans to counterpose to the capitalist conspiracy against the workers. They have even adopted a completely reactionary position by giving the green light to the bosses to sack the dilutees as long as they keep the skilled men. Such a policy will split the union and the workers. It is necessary for the union leaders to oppose openly the nefarious plans of the employers as reflected in the government policy. They must work out a plan for the defence of the workers' interests, and most important



Since the I.L.P. refused to make the selection a test of the mass feeling against the war, by fighting on an intransigent anti-war policy, the election cannot be considered as a reflection of the anti-war feeling among the working class but it can and must be clearly seen as a mass movement against the Government and the coalition. That is the meaning of Bilston.

In these columns we make no bones about our criticism of the Labour leaders and their programme. More than any other section of the Labour movement, we have exposed their crimes and treachery to the working class. As against the programme of meagre reforms they place before the workers, we have counterposed our revolutionary Socialist programme. For we believe that only our programme can lead to socialism and the emancipation of the working class. But the next stage in the struggle for a Socialist Britain is the transitional stage of Labour to Power.

In trying consciously to prepare the workers for this, the next stage for the march to Socialist progress, we Trotskyists warn that we must rely upon our own class organisations and class weapons of struggle.

Advancing our own programme at every step we will unite with Labour's masses to force the leadership to break the coalition and fight for power.



The above Soviet cartoons by Boris Eftimov have been published in Russian newspapers over the captions: "All other Peoples of the World are Manure for German Living Space", and "Karl the Sausage Maker Craves World Domination." The American capitalist journal "Newsweek", from which these are reproduced, comments with pleasure: "... their theme illustrates an important shift in Soviet policy: a turn from exhortation of a single German type, "the Hitlerite", to the whole German people—... Burgher, and dummkopf youth."

Thus the Stalinists besmirch the teachings of Lenin. German capitalists and Nazi officials benefit from war; German workers and soldiers suffer, like their class brothers of other lands. Thus, while claiming to be fighting "Hitlerism", the Stalinists adopt the Hitlerite, racialistic attitude. The advanced workers of Russia will reject with contempt this reactionary, "cannibal", nationalism. They will stand by the teaching of the German Marx: "Workers of the world unite!"

IN THE ITALIAN C.P. 800 Glasgow Workers Left Wing Opposition Emerging at Defence Meeting

The following is an article from "IL PROLETARIO", of June 16th, 1944, published in Bari, as reproduced in "LA PAROLA" of August 19th, 1944. It gives a picture of what is taking place in the Italian Communist Party.

Many comrades, rank and file militants of the Communist Party of Italy are saddened and surprised at certain aspects the Party has taken on in its organisational apparatus. These comrades, in good faith, apparently still believe in the "tactical" character of the political and ideological positions of the leaders of the Party. In spite of the work of ideological clarification already developed by the left fraction, they manage to justify the collaboration in the Committees of Liberation; the participation in a bourgeois and reactionary Government; the bourgeois-democratic orientation of all propaganda; the theoretical concessions to small and middle landowners; and even the closing of the Party headquarters on "Holy Easter", and the invitation to Communist women to go to confession with a "comrade" confessor—in the hope that all these would be temporary expedients adopted for the sole object of meeting pressing exceptional situations, and that, at an opportune moment, Togliatti, or someone else, will produce from his cap, a good revolutionary programme, and with the aid of the Russian comrades, will make a revolution in Italy.

(We cannot, however, pass over in silence, the fact that by consenting to this opportunism, even if it were merely tactical, these militants we are

talking about, show that they have not learned from Lenin the most essential lesson he imparted to us: that the principle task of the party of the proletariat in a pre-revolutionary situation, is the task of arming itself with a revolutionary theory and to polarise the masses around it, convincing them of the inevitability of the revolution.)

But in face of the obvious degeneration of the organisational cadres of the Communist Party of Italy, these same comrades, so ready to accept any justification, cannot withhold their indignation and protest. It seems to them intolerable and incomprehensible, that the leaders have thrown the doors of the Party wide open to careerists, ill-prepared people, dishonest people, crooks, and ex-fascists. And this would be a grave enough evil; but it is a minor evil in face of the grotesque and paradoxical spectacle the Party offers, in the choice of cadres and the nomination of its leaders. With growing indignation, concern and grief, the honest militants see how men, who form a moral, intellectual or political point of view, absolutely not fit for the task, are elevated to posts of serious responsibility, and called upon to assume extremely delicate functions in the life of the Party.

They see how those who come last are promoted in all the organisations, while the old militants who have been faithful to the Party and its ideas through the hard test of the fascist reaction, are relegated to rank and file militants, surrounded by an atmosphere of suspicion and disdain. They see how the entire editorial staff of the "9th of May", that detestable paper of the Fascist groups at the

Universities, is transferred into the Party and to the editorial staff of "Unita" (the paper of Gramsci)! They see how ex-chiefs of the Fascist militia squads, are nominated inspectors of sectors and zones. They see how the sectional committees in the cities, and even more so in the provinces, are filled with mediocrities and ignoramuses, or even worse, with crooks, dishonest merchants, and even hypocritical industrialists. They see how, everywhere, the most worthless people are in prevalence, those who are in the Communist Party today, as they might have been or even were, in the Fascist party yesterday, for the sole reason of securing for themselves a rapid and easy career.

The honest militants see all this, and are indignant, and amazed. They see all this and ask themselves in anguish: how will this Party be able to respond when its leaders call it to the revolutionary struggle?

They are perfectly right in being indignant; they are completely wrong in being amazed. They are right in believing that with such a Party the revolution can never conquer; they are wrong in believing that the leaders could be concerned with that.

It is not a pleasant task to destroy in good people, the illusions which sustain them. But we know full well that the task which the Left Fraction has taken upon itself is not a pleasant one. It is, however, the duty of sincere revolutionary militants: and we will finish it to the end.

Throw away your illusions, comrades who are still honest militants in the Italian Communist Party. That organisational degeneration which sad-

dens and surprises you, does not sadden or surprise your leaders, by the simple fact that they are the ones who want it. A healthy organisation, with strong and prepared cadres, would not consent, to the opportunistic manoeuvres of your leaders, which are calculated to retard and in fact prevent the outbreak and victory of the Communist revolution.

The spirit of a Party, selected according to the criterion of rigid qualitative selection, would not permit itself to be so easily manoeuvred, according to the dictatorial wishes of the leadership. A sectional committee composed of worthy militants, would not be so ready for the opportunistic turns of the leaders.

They do not need honest, capable and efficient collaborators, because collaborators of that kind would not lend themselves to their game: they are in need of men who will always say yes. Moth-eaten characters, the unqualified mediocrities, precisely because of their position, always say yes to those who have elevated them above the mass; careerists, profiteers always say yes to those who started them on their "career", and were able to see that they progressed in it. That is why your leaders pick for their collaborators the moth-eaten character, the unqualified, the mediocrities, the careerists, and the profiteers. And they always will pick them in that manner; nor can they pick them otherwise for their aims.

Throw away your illusions. Unite, all of you honest militants, and organise your opposition against the centrist deviationists and against the opportunists, careerists and dishonest char-

acters which hold the banner of degeneration. Fight to save the healthy comrades, who, together with us, will come to form the true party of the proletariat, the true revolutionary party, the true communist party."

The aircraft workers, being immediately threatened, are already considering the problem. A resolution carried at an AEU mass meeting called by the Liverpool District Committee on Sept. 9th declares that: "This meeting requests Executive Council of the AEU to ask the TUC to approach the Government with a demand for the 40 hour week, and that no worker who was originally directed to work of national importance be declared redundant until the peace time work from which he was directed is available to him."

Production in the Handley Page Group has been cut nearly 50 per cent in the opinion of the shop stewards. One of the stewards of this Group, in an interview with the Daily Worker, is

policy will split the union and the workers. It is necessary for the union leaders to oppose openly the nefarious plans of the employers as reflected in the government policy. They must work out a plan for the defence of the workers' interests, and most important of all, a plan for turning over production to peace time requirements under the control of the shop committees.

In the dangerous situation presented by the beginning of large scale unemployment, union militants, stewards, and shop committees must press for:

1. No-one to be sacked until work is found.
2. Hours of work to be reduced to 40 per week with no reduction in pay from 47 hours minimum.
3. No transfers to alternative employment except with consent of shop committee. Shop Committee to control all questions of number of hours worked, etc.
4. Trade Union leaders and Committees to get together to work out plans for turn over to commodity production, housing, etc.
5. The slowing down of production not to harm workers' interests. Let the bosses pay for the change-over!

800 Glasgow Workers at Defence Meeting

750 to 800 workers attended the St. Andrew's Hall meeting on Sunday, 15th September to hear our released comrades Jock Haston, Roy Tearse and Heaton Lee.

The meeting was called under the auspices of the Anti-Labour Laws Victims Defence Committee. The I.L.P. was represented by Councillor Carmichael, and the Anarchist Federation by Comrade Reaside. The meeting was ably chaired by Brother Connor, Convenor of Parkhead Forge. On the platform were seated many members of the District Committee of the Glasgow A.E.U. and other outstanding militants of the Clydeside, numbering about 20 leading trade unionists.

All five speakers stressed the necessity for unity for the purpose of forming Workers' Defence Committees against the attacks of the capitalists.

Comrade Roy Tearse, who followed Comrade Reaside, traced the period of strikes and unrest, which preceded the arrests, and showed how the comrades had been used as scapegoats for the introduction of Regulation 1A(a). The fact that the Labour and Trade Union leaders supported this Regulation was a proof of their degenera-

tion. It was time these gentlemen were brought under the control of the workers themselves. He issued a call to the workers who were present to fight for democracy within the Unions and to fight for the complete independence of the Labour and Trade Union movement from the capitalist government. A tremendous burst of applause followed his statement that it was high time the workers paid the Trade Union leaders the same pay as they themselves were receiving on the bench. If the workers get a rise, the Trade Union leaders would get a rise, and if the workers' wages went down, the Trade Union leaders' wages would go down.

Councillor Carmichael conveyed greetings from James Maxton who, owing to ill health was unable to be present. He said that Maxton had asked him to appeal for the finance to cover the costs of the defence. He said that it was not enough for the workers present to subscribe to the collection, and appealed to them to try and raise financial assistance through their factories for the Defence Committee, which, he pointed out, will be dealing with not a few other cases of victimised workers in the near future.

Comrade Heaton Lee, himself formerly a miner, spoke of the rotten decadent system of mining in this country, and of the magnificent fight of the apprentices against the Bevin Ballot Scheme. The solution was not

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ALLIES FEAR Fraternisation

(Continued from page 1)

"They (the Germans) don't seem to labour under the delusion of having lost their freedom to conquerors because they are accustomed to not having any—or rather they feel merely that they have passed from one form of military discipline to another."

Here is the secret of this poisonous campaign, of this Hitlerite racialism, on the part of British and American imperialism and their lackeys. It is not because the masses in Germany support Hitler, but because they are against Hitler. The German workers have gone through the experience of Kaiserism, "democracy", Fascism, what else have they left except Socialism? And the ruling class are preparing to out-Hitler Hitler in bloody repressions against the German masses. In this, of course, they will receive the support of the very elements who organised Hitler, the capitalists, Generals and the Nazi bureaucrats. They will become Allied Quislings.

It is not they who will be suppressed and suffer; it is the German workers, peasants and middle class. But the German workers will resist with desperation this repression which will not differ in the least from that of Hitler, except that it comes from a foreign oppressor. In spite of all, the German masses have resisted and are resisting the Nazis how much more so will they resist Allied oppression?

But the Allies are anxious because it is not merely the German masses they have to deal with, but their own workers too. The workers are supporting the war because they wish to wipe out Hitlerism, but they have no quarrel with the ordinary German workers, women and children. That is why the imperialists not content with their lies that a German and a Nazi is one and the same, have poured forth a spate of propaganda in the last few weeks that the Nazis are preparing to "go underground" in Germany. This propaganda is nothing but a preparation for repression against the German workers. They are expecting resistance and this is their method of preparing to meet it. The example of Italy has shown that once the masses are free from the iron heel of Fascism, it is not so easy to replace it. According to the reports in the capitalist press itself, the Republican Fascists have utterly failed to gain any support except from a few crack-brains and cranks in Southern Italy. And in the North, despite German bayonets, hun-

dreds, and even thousands of Fascists have been murdered by the workers.

British workers! Do not be deceived! And the British workers will not be deceived. Already, Stalin and his hacks together with the capitalist press in Britain and America, are holding up their hands in horror at what is taking place in Germany. The "News Chronicle" of Sept. 22nd 1944, reports: "The Soviet press has expressed its relief and satisfaction at the strong protests raised in this country against the first symptoms of fraternisation by Allied troops with German civilians.

The Red Army has behaved with perfect propriety to the civilian populations in its advance towards Berlin, and will doubtless continue to do so. But what the Russians fear is a growth of an easy-going temper among the Western Allies which might emasculate the peace terms.

They say with stern clarity that punishment for a terrible crime against humanity must precede rehabilitation and that if a repetition of the crime is to be prevented the German people must accept their share of the responsibility."

The British and the American armies have issued stern orders against fraternisation with the Germans under penalty of severe punishment. As these reports indicate, within 24 hours of the American army reaching Germany, fraternisation had already begun. If that is the position now, what will it be when the Allied armies reach the big industrial centres in Germany—Cologne, Berlin and Hamburg?

The American and British workers will not allow themselves to be converted into S.S. and Gestapo executioners. Inevitably, they will fraternise, in spite of all orders with the German workers and peasants. In the House of Lords, one of the Commanders who had experience of this fraternisation which compelled the withdrawal of the Allied armies after the last war, warned of the necessity to send the wives and children of the soldiers of the occupying force to Germany. The fears of the ruling class are justified. In the place of reactionary racialism and nationalism which lays the seeds of new world wars, the class solidarity of the workers will break through in spite of the sell-out of the Labour and Stalinist leadership.

The workers of Germany and Britain will fight for a Socialist Germany and a Socialist Britain in a Socialist Europe.

JUDGES' SUMMING UP

(Continued from page 1).

acts in furtherance of a strike". If those words were to be construed apart from the consideration of previous legislation and pronouncements upon them, it might be difficult to suggest that any restriction should be placed on the meaning of the word "furtherance." In English Literature, said Wrottersley, it was found applied equally to the advancement of things before they came into existence and after they had begun. But the words "in furtherance of a trade dispute," had a history. In *Conway v. Wade* (1909), the House of Lords considered the meaning of the words "an act done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute" in the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, which had to be construed with the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 1927 and two of their Lordships expressed the view that an act done in contemplation meant an act before the dispute arose, and that an act "in furtherance" meant an act when the dispute had come into existence.

Those observations were not necessary to the decision in that case, but the court thought that there could be no doubt that they were right. When the Act of 1927 was passed Parliament must have been aware that the words "in furtherance of" an object had the restricted meaning that the thing furthered must be in existence. There was nothing in section 1(2) of that Act to indicate that a wider meaning was to be attributed to the phrase. That being so, in the present case the jury should have been directed, on the counts against the appellants alleging acts of furtherance, or of aiding and abetting others to do acts of furtherance to confine their attention to evidence of acts committed after the strike had broken out. In fact, the jury were told the contrary of that, and the convictions under those counts could not stand and must be quashed.

This judgment constitutes one of the most important pronouncements on Anti-Labour Legislation given in a Court of Law in this country, and will be carefully studied by every serious militant in the ranks of the working class.

The class bias of the Judges was clearly expressed when Mr. Justice Wrottersley said that the defendants had helped in the "preparation of documents for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the apprentices and the making of speeches along the same lines." To tell the truth about the coal crisis, is to "inflame" the minds of workers, according to these judges. And in dealing with this point, Justice Wrottersley said there appeared to be ample evidence on the grounds of "incitement" against the defendants, with the possible exception of Haston.

For the first time the courts have been forced to explain this section of the Trade Disputes Act and clarify anti-Labour criminal legislation.

It is of no small importance to the organised working class movement that upon the first occasion the ruling class tried to use this infamous Act they suffered a defeat. It will be harder to use it against Labour militants in future now that a victory for the working class has been effected in the first legal struggle.

Despite the importance to the working class movement of this trial, the results of which could have damaged the interests of organised Labour for many years had the Government been able to secure a conviction, the Trade Union and Labour leaders—almost as a whole—supported the Government. Only these few who associated themselves with the work of the Anti-Labour Laws Victims Defence Committee stood with the workers.

The whole elaborate attempt to frame-up our comrades to use them as an excuse to bring in 1A(a) has been exposed by this judgment. So, also, has the class nature of capitalist justice.

Comrades Lee and Tearse spent over 3 months in jail; Comrade Haston just under 3 months, and Comrade Keen about 5 weeks. There is no recompense for this false imprisonment—the Government is fully covered. At the same time the legal expenses amounted to about £2,000. There is no possibility of getting this returned. Had it not been for the efforts of the A.L.L.V.D.C., supported as it was by many trade union branches and factory committees to collect this money, our comrades would still be lying in jail—Victims of ruling class justice.

'Victory for Socialism' Conference

Thirty Divisional Labour Parties finally it pledged the Conference to

WHAT HAPPENED IN WARSAW

By VIC SIMMS

There is a widespread belief that Stalin could not have played a counter-revolutionary role in the Warsaw tragedy. It is regarded not as a struggle for hegemony between the Anglo-Americans and Stalin, united no doubt in the destruction of social revolution, but simply the irresponsible and criminal devices of the Polish government in London.

For the regular readers of the "Socialist Appeal", the general aims of Stalin must be obvious by this time. We have repeatedly analysed the role of Stalin in Germany, France and Spain. Everywhere in an attempt to get an alliance with a set of imperialists he played the role of an executioner of Revolutions. From this general historical background, his role in Poland can be clearly understood.

There are three important questions which need an answer with regard to the tragedy of Warsaw. Who was responsible for the uprising? Once there was an uprising was there any help sent? Finally, in the rival appeals to the support of the Polish masses is there any programmatic difference?

The actual uprising was on the 1st August. Prior to that the Red Army was close to Warsaw and the sound of guns were audible in the city. General Bor representing the London Polish Government gave the order to attack the German garrison inside the city. It was later put forward as an excuse, that Moscow had nothing to do with the uprising.

The facts as revealed in uncontradicted press statements are that the Moscow radio repeated instructions for an uprising from the 2nd June till the 31st July (the day before the uprising). A few random extracts from these broadcasts will prove that Moscow desired an uprising and gave instructions to that effect.

On 2nd June, 1944 (the Red Army was still not within the reach of Warsaw):

"The armed resistance movement has saved tens of thousands from death and has inflicted great losses on the Germans. These battles have shown that a mass armed resistance is possible and that losses are smaller than in submitting passively to terrorism."

This in a general broadcast. It did not specify Warsaw. General Bor is still keeping the masses in check. He was opposed to an uprising. The Red Army advance continues. So do the urgency of the tone in broadcasts, with direct reference to the restraining orders of Bor on 5th June:

"It is generally believed that it is time to act. There is a great discontent with the orders of Sosnkowsky and Bor."

From these facts it is now clear that both Moscow and London were equally responsible for the orders to Warsaw. It is also clear that no help was sent to Warsaw in the early decisive stages of struggle from Moscow or London. The dispute that ended in the massacre of Warsaw workers can be traced through three stages.

First, the uprising on 1st August and the heroic efforts of the Warsaw masses. Until the third week of August no help was received. Moscow charged the Polish Government in London with the responsibility for the uprising and said they could not send help. On 13th August, Moscow radio broadcast a statement charging the London emigre Government with full responsibility for the revolt in Warsaw. To the crucial question why no aid was sent, Moscow radio replied evasively. Tass, the official Soviet News Agency in a statement said: "Tass is in possession of information that the London Polish quarters responsible for the Warsaw uprising made no attempt to co-ordinate the result with the Soviet High Command. The result for the Warsaw happening thus lies entirely with the Polish emigre quarters in London." When then is the meaning of appeals to Warsaw from Moscow on the 29th, 30th and 31st July.

The second stage of the struggle was reached in the third week of August. By this time the struggle was petering out. The Anglo-Americans rushed to give "token aid" to Warsaw. They wanted to fly to help the insurgents. Moscow refused a request for assistance and for landing grounds for aircraft. Simultaneously Moscow denounced the insurgents as traitors who would be subject to arrest when the Red Army enters Warsaw.

The third stage was reached at the beginning of September. By this time the main struggle in Warsaw had been crushed by the most brutal methods by the German armies. The advance of the Red Army was resumed and now it is in the Praga District.

Why was this betrayal of Warsaw workers perpetrated? The Anglo-American dominated London emigre Government and the allies sent no assistance. They knew the date of the uprising in advance. But either no preparations were made or they were held back for some reason. Similarly Moscow asked for an uprising and denied help.

The real explanation can only be sought in the actual character of the struggle inside Warsaw and the fundamentals on which Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill are agreed and the points on which they disagree.

Let us look at the fundamental

AUSTIN STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

"Birmingham Mail" in which he declared his complete sympathy with the strikers, and goes on to say, "That workpeople . . . have been offered 1939 rates plus various increases on a pink ticket or lay-out. This means that at any time the management can decide to withdraw the increases leaving the worker with a 1939 rate and a 1944 cost of living. May I further add that the Austin workers see this dispute over the 10 h.p. cars as the thin end of the wedge of wage cuts—what Austins do today, other engineering firms will do tomorrow."

AUSTIN STRIKE THE WARNING FOR FUTURE

Austin's appear to have been the first motor factory to initiate large scale preparation for peace time production; and we find them attempting to enforce drastic reductions in earnings, parallel with a vicious attack on the rights of the shop committee, in their Longbridge works. After a five day sit-down, the Austin workers have recommended a return to work with the clear understanding that negotiations now proceeding will be reported back for their ratification. That the Austin workers clearly realised the post-war aims of the management, has been shown by their statements already quoted. But the problem does not rest with the settlement of this one strike. There is evidence that the attack of the Austin management was a deliberate try-out to see how the workers would react. Alderman Ager pointed out that the Austin position was under discussion by the motor cartel, the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders "which fears greater issues arising nationally and quite a lot of this sort of thing." The fact that Austin shares tumbled on the Stock Exchange is an indication that the financiers were worried at the immediate, resolute action of the workers against wage cuts and attacks on their shop committee.

The Motor Barons are consciously organising to keep post-war wages down to slave levels. They will plead poverty, they will point out that they must capture foreign markets and that they can't do it if wages are not reduced. Every trick and dodge to confuse the workers will be employed. The answer of the workers to these whines and demands for wage reductions must be: **Open your books for inspection by the shop committee.** The managements nationally as well as locally, will ring the changes on all manner of transfers, re-employment from the army, demobilisation movements, and operations of the Dilution Agreement. By these means they will try to smash the organisation in the shop and then reduce the wages and conditions. The workers must reply by demanding **shop stewards control of**

transfers, redundancies, re-employment etc. The struggle to defend one or two piece rates must be linked to demands for Shop Stewards' control of all piece rates, personnel and production. Otherwise the management will win in the end.

It has been heartening to see the magnificent instantaneous reaction of Austin's workers, when faced with the type of attack which will affect all industries and all factories in the future. The bosses are living in a fools paradise if they think they will be able to smash the British workers conditions down to those of Balkan Europe and Italy. Immense struggles lie ahead. The Austin strike points the way.

Glasgow Meeting

(Continued from page 3.)

the Bevin Scheme, or similar measures against the workers; only the nationalisation of the mines and their operation under workers' control could make possible the solution of the coal crisis.

The last speaker was Comrade Jock Haston. He explained that this was the first case under the Trade Disputes Act and the success of the Appeal forced the ruling class to explain for the first time the exact meaning of its anti-labour legislation. Serious workers would study this trial as one of the most historic trials of the working class in this country. The Defence Committee, which had been set up, consisting of representatives and individuals from various working class tendencies, was a step in the right direction. Such a Committee was necessary to replace the degenerate National Council of Civil Liberties. In concluding, Comrade Haston called upon the Clydeside workers to fight against the vicious chauvinism which was being propagated by the capitalist class and echoed by the degenerate Labour and Stalinist leaders, against the German workers. The Clydeside workers had a tradition of international class solidarity which must be harnessed in the defence of the German workers now, and when they commence their revolution. This last point received tremendous applause from the assembled workers.

By acclamation, tribute was paid to Comrade Maxton, whom, Comrade Haston explained, had immediately stepped into the breach and shouldered the work of the Defence Committee.

The collection realised £35—a substantial contribution to the funds of the Committee.

Every comrade and brother who took part in the organising of this meeting, can be congratulated on a job well done.

Conference

Thirty Divisional Labour Parties and several political sections of Trades Councils were represented at the "unofficial" Conference convened in Birmingham on September 9th and 10th, by Victory for Socialism. The Secretary reported that a further thirty expressed their support, although they were unable to send representatives.

The Agenda consisted of four main resolutions and an emergency resolution. A statement was read out which called for the public ownership of banks, the land, etc. The second resolution calling for the "electoral truce to cease forthwith", was adopted unanimously. The delegate from Aylesbury failed to obtain a seconder for an amendment which amounted to the ending of the truce, but the retaining of the coalition.

The third resolution on the "Reform of the Labour Party" was also carried unanimously after minor changes were accepted by the Committee. The main reform dealt with the bloc vote and read as follows:

"The affiliated trade unions and other bodies should be to local and divisional parties only, so that at the Labour Party annual Conference the votes of trade union members paying the political levy, as well as members of other bodies, should be cast by the Divisional L.P. delegate."

A Committee of 5 was elected from the body of the hall and directed to work with the National Committee for the purpose of drafting resolutions.

The fourth resolution was on "Post-war Europe" consisting of 3 points. It called on the National Executive to explore means of establishing a Labour international; it called for a Federation of European States; and

finally it pledged the Conference to active opposition to intervention by British and American reactionaries in European revolutions.

An emergency resolution on India was introduced by an Indian observer. It called for immediate freedom for India, condemning British rule which had resulted in widespread famine, and the fact that no adequate precautions were being taken to avoid a similar famine this year. It urged the N.E.C. of the Labour Party, to send a deputation of Labour, Trade Union and Co-operative Representatives to investigate the situation in India.

The Birmingham Conference marks a new phase in the crystallisation of a left wing within the Labour Party. But its consolidation will be hindered, unless the contradictions and confusions in the programme are eliminated. The resolution on post-war Europe is an illustration of this confusion. Is a Federation of European States possible within the orbit of capitalism? How can the war be supported, yet assistance given to the European resolutions? Why is there no criticism of the National Executive's statement on the treatment of Germany?

Undoubtedly, the Conference has cleared the way to hammer out a programme for the left wing. Unless the Committee raises a specific demand within the Party now, to end the coalition and conduct a struggle for power on a socialist programme, its influence at the Annual Party Conference in December will be negligible. To raise this issue sharply and in challenging terms is the next task of the Committee.

ALBION STRIKE

(Continued from page 1.)

also lift an embargo on overtime, which has been in operation for some months. Only then, in other words, when the workers come crawling back on their knees, would the management be even prepared to talk terms. It can be well imagined what sort of terms the workers would be offered on such a basis.

When this interview was reported back to the rank and file strikers, they decided again by an overwhelming majority to continue the strike (at most, only thirty out of 1,600 voted to go back to work).

On Friday, September 22nd, officials of the A.E.U., E.T.U. and West of Scotland Brass Finishers, addressed the strikers. True to form, they implored the workers to go back to work and then start negotiations. However, the strikers saw through this policy of capitulation and rejected

the "advice" of these Union Officials. By an overwhelming majority they instructed these officials to go back to the management and present the terms laid down by the strikers.

There can be no doubt of the fighting spirit of the workers involved. The feelings of the strikers and their committee are as high as the day on which the strike commenced, and the "Socialist Appeal" was officially informed by the strike committee that they intend to carry on the fight. "Encouraging financial support has been forthcoming from Trade Union branches and factory committees, especially in the Clyde area," said the Secretary of the Strike Committee, "but it must be understood that even then the strike committee is finding it tough to deal with all the hardship cases that are developing." This can readily be understood when it is con-

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with direct reference to the restraining orders of Bor on 5th June:

"It is generally believed that it is time to act. There is a great discontent with the orders of Sosnkowsky and Bor."

Even then, the words were not directly addressed to Warsaw. No doubt the general instructions could have referred to any part of Poland including Warsaw, but had no direct reference to the Warsaw uprising. But the last week of July, the Red Army had come closer to Warsaw. On the 29th July, the Moscow Union of Polish Patriots issued a direct appeal to Warsaw:

"Appeal to Warsaw. Fight the Germans. No doubt Warsaw already hears the guns of the battle which is soon to bring her liberation . . . Its (Red Army) will be joined tomorrow by the sons of Warsaw. They will together with the Allied Army (pursue the enemy westwards, wipe out the Hitler vermin from the Polish land, and strike a mortal blow at the beast of Prussian imperialism. For Warsaw, which did not yield but fought on, the hour of action has already arrived."

The instructions of 30th July are much more clear and specific:

"The whole population should gather round the National Council and the underground army. Attack the Germans. Stop the Germans destroying public buildings. Assist the Red Army in crossing the Vistula. Give it information and show it the best roads."

"The more than a million inhabitants ought to become an army of a million men fighting for liberation and destroying the German invaders."

considered that these workers have now been on the streets for four weeks without wages.

The feeling of the Clydeside workers is undoubtedly one of sympathy for their class brothers in the Albion. This has been demonstrated by the magnificent response received by speakers whom the strike committee has sent to factory gates to publicise their case. The committee is making still more determined efforts to get the workers throughout Britain in the Trade Unions and factory committees to assist the Albion workers, who are fully conscious that this may be a long and bitter struggle, to carry on the fight.

The fact that this dispute is taking place under the shadow of IA(a) and talk about "post-war" conditions, gives it added significance to the working class as a whole. Undoubtedly, the employers are now "feeling out" the possibilities of methods of dealing with the workers, and crushing any further struggle for rights and conditions, therefore a defeat of the Albion workers may well be a beginning to a general attack on the Working Class as a whole. On the other hand a victory for the Albion workers will be a victory for the whole working class movement.

denied help. The real explanation can only be sought in the actual character of the struggle inside Warsaw and the fundamentals on which Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill are agreed and the points on which they disagree.

Let us look at the fundamental agreements. Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill are agreed that there should be no successful social revolutions in Europe. The Stalinist programme in Italy, in France and in Eastern Europe clearly illustrates this. Repeatedly they have stated that they not only stand for a post-war capitalist Europe but also for a status-quo with regard to the Colonial Empire of France. This was the main agreement reached at Teheran. Concretely when this is carried into Poland, both the Moscow Committee and London emigre Government put forward essentially the same programme. The Moscow Committee may couch its programme in more radical phraseology but the content is identical. Both stand for a democratic, capitalist Poland with a limited measure of agrarian reform.

If there is such an agreement on fundamentals, why is there a conflict over Poland? Why are there two puppet Governments, one in Moscow and one in London? The Anglo-Americans have conceded the Curzon Line as a frontier. It shows that underneath the superficial agreement Stalin and the Anglo-Americans are sceptical of each others good faith. The game is given away in an Editorial of the "Times" on 31/8/44:

"Both Great Britain and the United States have shown themselves traditionally sensitive to the direct intervention of any power in certain regions which they have properly regarded as vital to their security."

In the light of these cross currents the tragedy of Warsaw can be explained. Whoever attempted to control the uprising, the proletariat of Warsaw put its stamp on the revolt from the very start. It was not merely a military operation but a mass uprising of the people of Warsaw. Both the reports of the "Manchester Guardian" and the "News Chronicle" confirm that there was an element of spontaneity. From the start the fighting was conducted on the barricades with Molotov cocktails. General Bor might have been technically in charge but the Street Committees were the main instruments of struggle. The conclusion that flows from such an analysis is that because of its revolutionary potentialities, Warsaw was doomed to receive no assistance either from the Anglo-Americans or Stalin.

It is necessary to get the full implications of the Warsaw massacre. It is both a lesson and a warning to the masses of Europe. More than ever before, they must recognise the character of "liberation" by Stalin and the Anglo-Americans. Relying on their own strength and the strength of the ad hoc organisations they will forge in the course of the struggle, they must appeal to the rank and file of the Red Army and the workers of Britain and America. Only such an independent course can lead to their emancipation.