

SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Workers of
the World
Unite.

Soldiers Support Leeds Transport Workers

WHEN THE CONDITIONS DESCRIBED BELOW THREATENED TO BRING ABOUT A TRANSPORT STRIKE IN LEEDS, THE GOVERNMENT DRAFTED SOLDIERS AND MILITARY VEHICLES INTO THE DISTRICT IN READINESS TO TAKE OVER THE TRANSPORT.

BUT THE SOLDIERS WERE HOSTILE TO THE IDEA OF BEING USED AS STRIKE-BREAKERS, AND THE MANIFESTO PUBLISHED AT THE END OF THIS ARTICLE WAS HANDED OUT IN HAND-WRITTEN COPIES TO THE BUS DRIVERS AND CONDUCTORS. HERE IS A MAGNIFICENT DEMONSTRATION OF THE CLASS SOLIDARITY BETWEEN SOLDIERS AND WORKERS.

For the past two years the 9/12 Leeds Branch Transport and General Workers Union representing the Leeds Passenger Transport Workers have been split on many issues, one reason being that the Department played off the regular drivers against the spare men and the Tram drivers against the Bus drivers, and a very important reason for division amongst the men has been the policy of the Branch officials in encouraging splits against the men's interests. Also the ineffective manner in which complaints and cases brought by the members have been presented, until it became the confirmed opinion of the majority that no case would be placed in the union officials. During October the situation changed completely. Whilst the department were instituting harder duties upon the regular men, it also lengthened the amount of hours to be worked in a split turn by spare men. This has resulted in both sections becoming united on a common issue.

On November 24th a Branch meeting was held and a special meeting was called for to deal with the problems complained of. As the only meeting at which all members on transport can

possibly attend, has of necessity to be late, it was called for 11.30 p.m., November 26th. Over 600 members attended—an unprecedented number for this branch. At the meeting the following motion was put:

That this 9/12 Branch of the T.G.W.U. having exhausted every possible means of a satisfactory settlement of the dispute on the suggested new Rotas and Schedules, added to the fact that a Sunday service was instituted with complete disregard to its effect upon the negotiations in progress; Further that many protests having been made against the grievances set out below without any serious attempt to improve the conditions complained of, we find ourselves without any alternative but to hereby give notice that unless notices signed by the strike Committee are posted in all Depots and Garages, notifying a settlement by 12 midnight, Sunday 29th November, we shall withdraw our labour from the time and date stated above.

(1) That the new Sunday services be immediately withdrawn and a service on the basis of earlier finishing, and priority workers only between certain hours be organised, and where possible and when necessary, two conductresses be detailed for duty. Further that buses and cars should not be sent out to transport pleasure seekers after advertised times.

(2) That in view of the hardship

created by the new rotas the result of the altered pay week ending, that Saturday be accepted as the day ending pay week.

(3) That in view of the arduous duties of Fire watching, Civil Defence, Home Guard, black-out driving and deteriorating rolling stock, that negotiations commence immediately to consider increases in pay for Black-out driving and increased running times on certain rotas in black-out.

(4) That it is recognised that drivers agreed to guard to fill an emergency and did not agree to guard vehicles 4 to 5 hours. Also that when a driver is guarding, proper equipment shall be provided.

(5) That split turns shall be limited to 13 hours, this to be inclusive time from commencement to finish at drivers' usual depot or garage, whether spare or regular drivers.

(6) That the method of organising and the method of appraising worn out clothing be altered.

By a majority of about 640 to 14 this was carried. The Branch Secretary, Chairman and Trade Group Secretary immediately left the meeting apparently refusing to accept responsibility for the resolution. The meeting then elected a Chairman, Secretary and Vice Chairman and strike Committee to implement the Resolution. After various arrangements and attempts to negotiate upon the basis of the proposals which were refused by the transport officials, the Committee called another mass meeting for Sunday, 29th November.

The support and enthusiasm was tremendous. The attendance exceeded all expectations. The first meeting was thought to be large but the Sunday meeting simply swamped the previous one with an estimated attendance of 1,500. After various discussions and explanations of attempts to negotiate, the Trade Group Secretary asked for permission to speak. He gave three alternatives—of which the most acceptable to the meeting, and finally, it was suggested that he should get in touch with the Transport officials and suggest a suspension of the new duties which were to commence on that day, Monday. He came back with the assurance that suspension would be seriously considered and agreed that three members of the Strike Committee should negotiate for a fair settlement along with the three officials who had deserted Thursday's meeting. This was agreed upon with the proviso that if no settlement was reached the strike would take place at the weekend.

It had undoubtedly been the most outstanding demonstration in the history of the Branch, and more has been attained in four days with this united solidarity than in two years with the apathy that has existed in that time. It actually astonished the old members of the Branch who, basing themselves on past events, were positive that the demonstration would be a complete failure. It has proved two points to the members: that only by united support of those who are willing to lead them can they hope to win any success, and secondly, that the Branch Secretary and Chairman must be removed to continue the strength and solidarity of the Branch. Two collections were taken. The first realised £15. 10. 0 and the second £24. 10. 0.

Armed troops were brought into all Depots and Garages, some to drive a skeleton service and other apparently to guard the premises. The soldiers expressed their sympathy by forwarding a notice enclosed.

From Soldiers to the Workers
Somewhere in Leeds, 29.11.42.
TO THE MASS MEETING OF THE TRANSPORT WORKERS FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS.

This is a letter from your brothers in the Forces who are in sympathy with you.

We know the Army will be used in an endeavour to break the strike and to force you to accept those conditions against which you are fighting.

But you must know that although there are some who are prepared to take action on your behalf and many

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QUISLINGS CHANGE SIDES

ALLIED "DEMOCRATS" EMBRACE FRENCH FASCISTS

THE RECENT EVENTS IN NORTH AFRICA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN HAVE THROWN A CLEAR LIGHT ON THE TRUE AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE RULING CLASSES IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA. THEIR ACTIONS ARE A DRESS REHEARSAL OF WHAT ALLIED IMPERIALISM INTENDS TO ESTABLISH IN EUROPE TO-MORROW.

After the invasion of French North Africa by British and American troops, Admiral Darlan who was in command of French forces, offered resistance for a short time till he recognised the overwhelming superiority of the Allies. He was compelled to capitulate and was placed under military control. Within a few days he was released by General Eisenhower, the Commander of the American forces in Africa, and to the astonishment and dismay of the workers in Britain and America, he was forthwith placed in control of all French forces in Africa.

In assuming power, Darlan claimed his allegiance to Marshall Petain. That the ruling class in Britain and America desire to win the gang of Vichy to their banner is shown by a leader in the "Times" of November 12th, which writing on the German occupation of France commented:

"Sympathy will not be withheld at this hour from the aged Marshall who often misguidedly but always sincerely sought the way of salvation for the tormented, distraught, and

hungry people of France. The protest he has addressed to Hitler betrays deep distress of soul and mind. Whether, with the disclosure of Hitler's remorselessness and Laval's duplicity, Marshall Petain will tread the road of humiliation which leads to Versailles or the road of honour which points challengingly and hopefully to Algiers the events of the next few days will show. The onus of a cardinal decision rests on him."

Thus the ruling class openly revealed their fake indignation at the

betrayal and treachery of the Vichy regime which sold France into the hands of Hitler. Only yesterday the British rulers had difficulty in exhausting the dictionary of epithets to describe these creatures. Yet they are only too anxious to win these fascist quislings to the banner of "democracy", and the so-called "anti-fascist war". By rendering this benign indulgence to these scum the ruling class showed that, placed in the same circumstances, they would react in the

same way as the French rulers had done. Democracy had nothing whatever to do with their calculations.

Not only that. In Egypt General Montgomery found with the greatest of ease that as one soldier to another, he could talk the same language as the butcher of the Spanish village of Guernica, the captive General von Thoma.

"TWO VICHY REGIMES"

The "Economist", organ of the Liberal capitalists, is reluctantly compelled to admit: "Two parallel Vichy regimes now exist, under Allied and German control respectively. They have one characteristic in common. Collaboration with the man with the gun. Darlan's stubbornness in claiming allegiance to Petain, in spite of the Marshall's repeated denials is significant. His purpose is to defend, not France, but the France of Vichy. He is determined to regard the Marshall as the source of his authority, absurd and untenable though this may seem, because he is determined that the regime which was fastened upon France in 1940, when the Third Republic fell, shall survive, come what may. In the persons of Petain and Darlan, Vichy is backing both sides; and, by taking Darlan to their bosom, the Allies could scarcely avoid adding to their war aims the unsavoury task of making France free for Vichy—and for all that the Vichy regime, before, in politics as well as diplomacy."

A more accurate picture of the situation could hardly be presented. That this is precisely the case is shown by

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HANGMEN'S CHOICE

MILITANT STAND BY 8,000 BIRMINGHAM AERO WORKERS

By V. SASTRY

A STRIKE OF 8,000 WORKERS HAS TAKEN PLACE AT AN AERO WORKS IN BIRMINGHAM. IT AROSE DUE TO THE VICTIMISATION OF A MILITANT SHOP STEWARD AND THE DELIBERATE PROVOCATION BY THE MANAGEMENT IN INSTITUTING A FRAME-UP PROSECUTION OF THIS WORKER FOR FRAUD.

Workers in this Aero firm are organised in five unions, one of them, the Sheet Metal Workers being an exclusive craft union. The other four are the N.U.V.B., A.E.U., E.T.U., and T. & G.W.U. The victimised shop steward represents the workers of the N.U.V.B. (National Union of Vehicle Builders). In addition to the ordinary shop stewards duties in which he has so many times scored victories for the workers against the management, he is engaged on additional work on the following:

1. He is a member of the Works Committee. The Works Committee consists of seven people, five representing the five unions, Convenor of shop stewards, and one elected from the floor.
2. He is the Secretary of the Joint Production Committee.
3. In a factory of the size of it is impossible for all problems to be thrashed out by a Production Committee. A few allied sections are grouped into a "region" called the Main Bay Committees. He has the function of attending to this work.

Taking all these jobs together, it can be seen that this is full-time work for any shop steward. Under the Constitution of the Joint Production Committee, members are paid once a month for attending the monthly meeting. But in practice if a workers' representative has to investigate the problems of production in the present middle into which the British capitalists have reduced it, it takes a long, long time. Workers are not paid for this.

The general practice in the factory is that if any worker cannot make up his usual weekly wages, the gang in which he works helps him out by sharing some of their earned hours. This is a recognised system known to the management. In the case of this particular shop steward, he has deliberately refused in the past two years, all positions on the staff offered to him. Until four weeks ago, he was working in a section of four. He was then moved with his mate into a different job of Sub-Assembly. For the time that he was away discussing the problems of the workers with the management, the time was made up for him by the workers on the next section.

On Monday 17th November, the police superintendent called at the works and interviewed the shop steward and the other workers. They were informed that a prosecution would be launched under the Licensing Act of 1916 Section 32 for obtaining money under false pretences. Immediately the shop steward concerned informed the Works Committee and his trade union. The Executive of the Union argued correctly that this was an attack on a militant worker and promised to defend him legally and otherwise.

From the rumours and whispers the real reason for the attack was apparent to all the workers. During the last year this shop steward has been the leading spirit in denouncing the vicious system of sub-contracts. Originally it was intended to share out work to smaller units of production to avoid waiting time in the factory. This is a corrective to the wrong lay-out and equipment of the factories which cannot undertake all operations in the same factory. Later it was used to earn double profits by sub-contracting to firms financially controlled by the larger firm. More recently it is being used to blackmail the workers by the pit fixer who, when he cannot get his own way in price fixing, uses it as a threat to take the whole job away and sub-contract it. Everyone knows that by a hard struggle and a good trade union organisation, the workers in have won favourable

standards. And now the management is using the indirect methods of sub-contracting to undermine those standards.

On Wednesday 19th, at 3 p.m. the shop steward concerned and two other workers were given one hour's notice. A meeting of the workers was called for Thursday dinner time. A mass meeting was held in the grounds addressed by the shop stewards with the help of loud speakers at which the following facts were revealed:

This is an attack on militant shop stewards.

The Company has not been defrauded. The money paid is for work done. If it is shared by the workers out of comradeship and solidarity, it is their affair.

In the past the management knew that such a system was generally prevalent, and in many cases approved

and even connived in the introduction of it.

No production has been impeded. It was unanimously agreed that the workers should return to the shop after the dinner hour but that they should not start work. In effect it meant a sit-down strike. After dinner time the management found that 8,000 workers were involved in the strike. They approached the various trade union officials in the town to get the men back to work. The Trade Union officials refused to interfere basing themselves on their experience of a previous dispute.

A few weeks ago, one of the shop stewards in a different section of this Company, under the same Board of Directors sacked a shop steward for holding an unauthorised meeting in a protected place. The A.E.U. won the

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OUST HALL—continued from col. 1

getting 11½d. and 1/- per ton, Mr. Hall let that pass and did not let on that the nearest pit to Cortonwood were paying their colliers 1/5 per ton... (This pit of course is Elsecar Main.) He also agreed that the conditions at Cortonwood were better than they had been—and this after two miners have been killed inside seven days this very month. It is to be hoped that he is haunted by the spirits of these miners.

Mr. Hall made an attempt to explain his conduct in signing the price list, by saying that Mr. Rose and Mr. Saunders (the late President and delegate of the Cortonwood branch), had said it was a fair price list before he appended his signature. These two men have since denied this. The Arbitration Committee are going to give their verdict in a week or so, and after reading the evidence against the Colliers by the men who are supposed to represent them, it looks like being a reduction.

Miners! You can see what sort of creature Mr. Hall is. You must get together, have resolutions passed at all your branch meetings to demand that he and Mr. Oakey resign before they do any more harm.

WOMBWELL COLLIERS.

OUST HALL—Plead Yorkshire Miners

Dear Brothers,

On the 19th November, an Arbitration Committee sat to decide on which price list the Cortonwood Company should pay: one which had been in force for thirteen years, or one which Mr. J. Hall, the President of our union, had drawn up and signed with Mr. T. Oakey, Mr. Elliot and Mr. Pickering, the last two names representing the Owners.

Mr. Hall and Mr. Oakey, the Yorkshire Mineworkers' leaders thought that the colliers at Cortonwood were earning too much money, so they decided that they would have to cut their wages down. Without asking permission of the colliers, they decided along with Messrs. Pickering and Elliot, that the old price list should be reduced so that the colliers would receive approximately 25/- per week less wages; that was at a time when the rest of the country was saying that the miners were not getting enough money.

The old price list was drawn up in May 1929, in which the Owners and Colliers agreed to the price of 1/9 per ton. After a few years the owners managed to get 2d. per ton knocked off, leaving the price list at 1/7 per ton. Mr. Hall thought that this was far too much and after going down the pit, telling the colliers to work harder, and that he would see that we got better machinery, etc., he thought he would be in a position to drop their wages for the Owners.

He proceeded to draw up a new price list, of course with the help of Messrs. Oakey, Pickering and Elliot, and it was duly posted at the pit head.

When the Colliers saw it, they were dumbfounded. After a few minutes silence however, someone shouted "Judass is leading us" and the Colliers decided to strike. This brought to a climax the growing discontent of the miners in the same district, and several of the pits came out on strike shortly after. Mr. J. Hall knew he had started off something he could not control, so he tried to blame the "Socialist Appeal" for the said strikes. When challenged to prove this, he buried his head in the sand, and waited for the storm to blow over. The storm has not abated. The Colliers at Cortonwood will strike if their wages are cut down, and probably more pits will follow in sympathy. If this happens Mr. J. Hall ought to be interned as a saboteur.

At the arbitration, Mr. Hall's conduct was appalling. The Owners had Mr. Furness, the solicitor, putting the case over. When Mr. Furness said that the other colliers in the district were only

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CLYDE SHIP BOSSES PROVOKE WORKERS

By TOM BROWN

The management at shipyard, Clyde, have introduced in the past few weeks, various dictatorial measures to deal with absenteeism, bad time keeping, loitering, etc.

One of the rules is that any member of the staff can report a worker if he thinks the worker is "loafing". The member of the staff need not speak to the worker. The worker may get one hour deducted from his wages or he may be suspended up to 3 days. Habitual offenders will be dealt with by the Yard Committee with possible prosecution. The injustice of this is that men are sometimes forced, through no fault of their own, to stand idle, as any shipyard worker knows.

Another rule is that if a worker takes time off during the week, he must see his head foreman who, if not satisfied with the worker's excuse, can debar him from working on a Sunday. A deputation of shop stewards who wanted to protest against this rule and its unjust application, were refused an interview with the management.

The Electricians did not work on 3 successive Sundays as a protest against this rule and its application to some of their brothers. On one Sunday there was united action between the Electricians and the Sheet Iron workers. The management introduced a new system to deal with absenteeism on Monday, 16th November, and a notice was posted up to this effect:

ABSENTEEISM

To enable this form to make a correct and weekly return of all available and unavailable absenteeism both for normal and overtime hours as required by the Ministry of Labour, it is necessary that reasons for absence of any employee should be known as soon as possible, also to put a stop to habitual offenders taking time off without leave or a reasonable excuse, the following system will be introduced:— A "time lost" record card will be kept for every employee. Any employee on reporting for work after taking time off without leave will see the Essential Works Officer before checking in. Men granted leave of absence will check in as usual. Women will inform the N.S.O. where permission has been granted.

If reasonable excuse is given or a doctor's line is produced a card will be given to get a check from the time keeper. In cases of doubtful excuse or habitual offenders, the N.S.O. will get in touch with the head foreman who will investigate the case. The head foreman may:—

- 1. Allow him to start work.
 - 2. Warn him not to work on Sunday.
 - 3. Suspend him for half a day, a day, but not exceeding three days.
- Habitual offenders will be taken

before the Yard Committee with a view to prosecution. Anyone who feels he has been unfairly dealt with can appeal to the National Service Officer.

There was widespread anger at the obvious character of this arrangement, and the Sheet Iron workers were the first to act. On Tuesday 17th, a meeting was held at the meal hour at the request of the men. It was decided that if any member of the department was told to go to the E.W.O., the whole department would stop work. Before resuming work it was learned that someone had been told to do this, so everyone downed tools. The shop stewards informed the department manager of the men's action and asked him to do something to avert it. Nothing was done. The stewards asked for an interview with the Yard Owner but were told that he was not in the works. It must be clearly understood that the Shop Stewards pointed out to the men that the action they were taking meant breaking the law, in case any fines to level the charge of "inciters" at them. The men, however, were determined and the whole department walked out of the yard at 2 p.m. A few of their number who were firewatchers stayed in the Yard and it was agreed that this was not scabbing.

The district delegate of the Union was contacted, who interviewed the owner on the phone. He was assured that all the men in the department would be allowed in the following morning without question and that an interview would be granted the shop stewards.

This was not kept to, as 3 men were stopped and told to go to the E.W.O., and at dinner time 7 men were picked out. They were given their checks however, without going to the E.W.O., after protests were made by the Shop Stewards.

The police were called in, as the L.A.W. had been violated. But the Stewards refused to interview the owner in their presence. The fight has been suspended and this obvious system still stands, but there is no rest throughout the year and further action is likely. One of the C.P. members who is on the Yard Committee, speaking to the Electricians on what had transpired at the Yard Committee, said that this strike of the Sheet Iron workers was unnecessary, and suggested the alternative of every member going to this trade union branch and getting resolutions passed. In this way "pressure" could be brought on the Confederation to get this abolished.

The important aspects of this incident, is first the mood of the men. They would rather face prosecution than continue to accept these reactionary measures. Secondly, the C.P. are more and more adopting the bosses' attitude to Absenteeism, conveniently forgetting that it is a result of mismanagement, long hours, low wages—in a word, Capitalism.

DOCKERS CREATED BY TRANSFERS

By G. McHARDY

On Thursday November 12th in an East of Scotland port, approximately 50 dockers, on going for their wages, were amazed on receiving the fabulous sums ranging from sixpence upwards. The highest amount of wages drawn by any docker out of that fifty, would not have kept a dog for a week, far less the docker himself.

This is the story of the events leading up to this wages farce. On Saturday 31st October, these 50 dockers were transferred to Greenock for the purpose of supplying the deficiency of man power in that port. On arrival they were paid £2 advance of wages and were then billeted in a hostel. On the Saturday morning the men were up and prepared to report at the docks at 7.45 a.m. as per instructions by the Port Officer, but before they could set out, a telephone call was received at the hostel instructing the men not to report at the docks, as the particular ship they were to man, was not in yet;

day morning of 2nd November, that they be paid ten shillings for "standing by" plus 5/- subsistence money for Sunday. Failing a satisfactory answer to their claims, the men decided not to start work until their claims were settled first.

An official of the Transport and General Workers' Union, informed of the dispute, made the journey from the Area office in Glasgow to Greenock, in order to settle the dispute and get the men started on work. A meeting was held with the men, in which the union official stated that the men had no claim with regards to "standing by" on Sunday and he advised the men to start work. This the men absolutely refused to do and the union official departed with their claims still ringing in his ears.

He returned that night, this time accompanied by an official from the Minister of War Transport Office in Glasgow, who had previously travelled from that office during the course of the afternoon, and another meeting was held. By this time the men had increased their claims to 10/-, plus 5/- "Attendance Money", plus 5/- subsistence money for Monday, November 2nd. Their explanation of this was that the cause of the dispute was entirely the responsibility of the employer, consequently they were justifiably entitled to additional money for subsistence money for Monday in addition to Sunday.

At this second meeting with the men, an offer was made to them by the official of the Minister of War Transport, of 10/- for Sunday, plus 5/- for Monday, which was immediately rejected by the men. No further offer was made and both officials departed.

On the following morning, Tuesday, November 3rd, the men were still solid in their decision not to start work until their claims were settled. During the morning a telephone call was received at the hostel from the trade union official who had met the men the previous day, informing them that they were to report at the Labour Exchange for railway warrants, as they were being sent home.

When the men arrived home, they reported to the local office of the National Dock Labour Corporation, where they learned that they were suspended for a week. This meant that the men would lose all "Attendance Money" for every idle day they had that week. During the morning a Strike Order a docker receives "Attendance Money" at the rate of 5/- per turn for each of the eleven turns for which he reports as available for work and does not secure engagement.

During their work of suspension, although there was not much work in their home port, the majority of the men managed to get a day's work, always at a low rate. However, some men who lost sight of their rights in a strange port, and through doing so, were suspended for a week in their own port. Strikers who had a couple of days work in order to alleviate the hardships that they and their

families would suffer during that week of suspension, they found that £1 had been deducted from their scanty wages by the National Dock Labour Corporation, in order to pay the first instalment of the £2 advance that the men received when they arrived at Greenock on Saturday, October 31st. Discussing the matter among themselves the men decided to approach the "Accounting Agents" with the purpose of asking them to lower the deduction to 5/- and to deduct 5/- per week thereafter, until the £2 was paid up. The "Accounting Agents" agreed to do so, but they said the men would have to get a line from the local Manager of the National Dock Labour Corporation, with his agreement.

The men approached the Secretary of the local branch of their Union, requesting that he take up the matter with the Manager, but they were greeted with cries of: "What could he do?" The men, he said, refused to work in Greenock and they had only themselves to blame for what had happened. Not to be outdone, the men themselves approached the manager and their requests were met by a flat refusal. Great enough was the astonishment of the men by their Secretary's cries; but greater still was their astonishment, when they were met before his appointment to Local Manager of the National Dock Labour Corporation, was the Chairman of the local Branch of the Union.

This is the sort of thing that is happening all over the country. The dockers are learning as they never learned before that their trade union leaders, by their collaboration with the capitalist class, are leading them to disaster. They are learning that the Essential Works Order is merely a repetition of the "age old" policy of the capitalist class of "divide and conquer" the workers.

Dockers! You must organise yourselves so that you can go forward by demanding through your respective branches, the withdrawal of your representatives from capitalist state bureaucracies and the replacement of them by fresh layers of militants from the ranks. You must demand that the transference of labour should be under your control; that no transfer of labour be carried out at financial loss to the workers and control of hotel accommodation to home transferred workers, be under the control of the workers.

READ:—

PREPARING FOR POWER

Tasks and Perspectives of the Fourth Internationalists in Britain

Three pence

but that they were to hold themselves ready to report for work in case the ship should arrive during the course of the day.

The ship arrived late in the afternoon and was subsequently started and worked till 10 o'clock that night. But the transferred men were not informed of the ship's arrival, and naturally they did not report for work. The ship was manned by local men and the deficiency of man power was made up by applying soldiers who were stationed at the port. In view of the fact that they had been instructed to hold themselves ready to start work on this particular ship whenever she arrived, the transferred men demanded, when they reported at the docks on the Mon-

Russian Revolution Meeting

About 80 workers attended the Anniversary meeting of the Russian Revolution held on November 7th, under the auspices of the London District Committee of the Workers' International League. Owing to circumstances beyond our control, the date and venue of the meeting had to be changed at the eleventh hour, from the Holborn Hall to the Essex Hall. Many workers who did not see the change of arrangements turned up at the Holborn on the 8th, as originally advertised.

The speakers were Comrades Alan Christianson, George Hanson and Fred Jackson. Comrade Grant was unable to be present. Comrade Harold Atkinson was in the chair. The first two speakers, dealt with the background

of the Russian Revolution, and of Trotsky the creator and builder of the Red Army and the concluding speech by Comrade Fred Jackson, in which he dealt with the Trotskyist policy as the only means of defending the Soviet Union and of extending the October Revolution, was delivered in a masterly fashion. The oration accorded to him testified both to the appeal of the programme of the Fourth International as well as to the exposition and form in which the case was made.

A collection taken to defray the expenses of the meeting and to contribute to the propaganda funds of the organisation, raised £8.0.0. The meeting terminated in the traditional fashion with the singing of the International.

8,000 AERO WORKERS STRIKE

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case before a tribunal. The firm refused to reinstate. Now the trade unions took the position that the firm had scrapped the whole negotiating machinery. Under the circumstances they could deal with the workers direct and the trade union would not interfere. On Friday again the police interviewed the shop steward.

The strike continued on Friday and Saturday. Realising the seriousness of the situation, the management agreed to a Conference on Sunday. An agreement was there reached as follows:

- The men should return to work.
- The management agreed to reinstate the shop steward in Motor Works who had won the case.
- They agreed to drop the prosecution proceedings.
- They agreed to refer the case to the Tribunal and abide by the decision of the Tribunal.

It is a partial victory for the workers. Where the trade unions had failed to force the firm to accept the decision of the Tribunal the strike obtained the reinstatement of the shop steward and forced them to agree to future decisions of the Tribunal. What is more, they demonstrated what a "frame up" the legal proceedings were. Some of the most important features of the strike are that there was complete agreement in action between the shop stewards and men of five different unions. There was a magnificent display of discipline and solidarity involving 8,000 workers. The so-called Tribunals displayed their complete

powerlessness in face of a refusal by a big firm to abide by its decisions. Deeper than these, the Production Committees are exposed for what they are, the work of the workers. Workers' representatives who attend a meeting once a month for two hours and paid for those two hours, are face to face with the management engaged full time in practising evasions and tricks on the workers.

The workers can tackle the problem of production when their representatives have got complete control; only they can clear up issues which involve investigation of methods and books without being hampered by private profit and interest motives. To do this is a full time job to be paid at the rate of wages paid to skilled workers, this to be paid by the workers themselves. This will make the full time worker directly responsible to the workers subject to recall by them. What is needed in the factory are full time officials of the workers.

The main lesson of the strike is the fact that only the organised strength and solidarity of the workers, backed up by militant action if necessary, can protect the rights and standards of the workers. The employers snap their fingers at appeals and tribunals, when it does not suit their interests. The second lesson is the fact that the bosses are not interested in the problem of production as such. Production can go to the devil if it does not increase profits. Especially the bosses resent what they consider the "meddling" of the workers with managerial functions.

SIGNALMEN DEMAND ACTION

By SID BIDWELL

Among all grades of rail workers there exists today a profound feeling of disgust with the leadership of the N.U.R.; a growing awareness on the part of the workers concerned that there must be a return to the pre-1926 fighting militancy if the tremendous numerical strength of the N.U.R. (now approximately 400 thousand members) is to serve as a means of lifting rail workers to their rightful place in the life of the nation.

In recent weeks the desire of the workers to extricate themselves from their miserable standards has found its outlet in numerous mass meetings, not convened by the Union officials but arranged on the initiative of the rank and file. These meetings have revealed that the workers realise their fight is not only against the rail bosses but against the class-collaborating leadership of the N.U.R. as well.

As previously reported the inert leadership of the industrial union has resulted in a series of sectional actions. It is a fact that the signalmen's sectional union has benefited in membership during the past few months. The rank and file who have left the N.U.R. have not done so out of their dislike in the effectiveness of industrial unity, but largely as a method of protest against the class-collaborating policy of the N.U.R. leaders. Whilst N.U.R. militants opposed to the present leadership fully appreciate the sentiments of those who have gone over to sectionalism, we would point out that this has not hurt the officials of the N.U.R. in one degree, but it will result in splitting the unity of grades in face of the common enemy and facilitate attacks on the railwaymen grade by grade. The workers split into multifarious sectional unions will fall easy prey to time-honoured methods of the bosses of divide and rule.

As a reflection of the growing movements against the bosses on the one hand and the reactionary N.U.R. officials on the other, two mass meetings of N.U.R. signalmen were held in London recently. At both meetings which were the successors of others held all over the country, the following resolution was carried:

This mass meeting of signalmen condemns the N.U.R. E.C., because of its failure in negotiations with the railway companies to look after the interests of signalmen. We therefore pledge ourselves to work for a new militant leadership which will fight, in the case of signalmen, for the reintroduction of the standard agreement and to have included in the conditions of service for

signalmen, an agreement covering power boxes (to include semi and automatic boxes) which will give such men affected a basic wage rate of not less than 80/- per week.

These signalmen showed they were not led astray by sectional propaganda, but immediately put their finger on the spot when they pledged themselves to work for a new leadership. The N.U.R. E.C. recently concluded an agreement obviously without consultation with a men affected, which provided for the wholesale declassification of boxes with semi and automatic devices. Although the men were not going to suffer an immediate wage out they correctly saw the red light and the slashing of their wage standards which is bound to arise from a tacit acceptance of this agreement. It was stated at the meeting that if the Company attempted to introduce the agreement on the L.P.T.B. system the whole of the men would come out on the streets.

The sectional movement among signalmen and guards and telegraph linemen threatens to reach alarming proportions for those who see the consequent dangers which always result when any army is divided under separate generalship. The trouble with the N.U.R. is not merely that it has bad generals, but that those generals are operating in the camp of the enemy. The N.U.R. can become an effective weapon and wield the might of its 400 thousand members on one condition; that it has a fighting leadership which truly reflects the spirit prevailing amongst all grades of rail workers whose jobs are interdependent and whose problems and struggles can reach a successful solution only in common action.

Recently in the N.U.R. weekly journal, the President of the N.U.R. Bro. Burrows whose wage rate when at work, would be amongst the lowest paid, recognising the growth of sectionalism sought to rebuke the splitters. It is precisely the gentlemen and his ilk who go about the country assuring the bosses and the government that as far as he is concerned there will be no trouble from rail workers, who are responsible for the evils resulting from sectionalism. He is in no position to deliver a lecture.

However, the recent experiences of the rail workers for their deplorable wage level, demonstrates the paramount importance of industrial unity, but above all, the necessity for creating a militant industrial leadership, fresh from the ranks and file and kept on a standard of commensurate with the standard of the workers.

Correspondence

Concrete Workers Appalling Conditions

To the Editorial Board, Socialist Appeal.

Would it be possible for you to publish this article in the "Socialist Appeal" as I have been encouraged by the workers in our factory to submit my views on the conditions prevailing here.

Employees belonging to the "Triano Concrete Works" at Hanworth, Middlesex, are voicing their opinions concerning their working environment. They are beginning to realise that "what is good for the goose is not good enough for the gander." The conditions in which the workers are surrounded can hardly be described as model.

The chief cause of complaint lies in a section of the factory, that is, the wet concrete shop. In this shop there is no proper drainage system. What can you expect when you realise that the factory is built on an old gravel pit. It stands to reason by the very technique of thinking, that the foundations of the building are not only rotten but unsafe and unhealthy. There are constantly pools of stagnant water and oil and similar rubbish left on the floor each day. And although it is swept regularly, the water and rubbish still oozes and flows around the feet of the workers. Surely this is detrimental to the workers' health in general? Incidentally there is not one qualified "First Aid" man in the factory.

Another point of importance—there are no washing facilities at hand for the convenience of the workers. No hot water can be obtained in a satisfactory manner so that each evening a great many of them finishing work have to go home in a dirty and greasy condition.

Some women and girls are employed in this shop, and believe me, they are doing an A.I. job. They have to use an American saying "plenty of guts". They are doing real men's work. Unfortunately they are not protected by adequate clothing, which the firm should supply. While they are given a minimum supply of clothing coupons and clogs, it is sufficient to state that it is not enough. Women require more protection in health than men in this particular case.

There are one or two cases on record here where employees have broken out in rashes and sores owing to the negligence of those in authority in the factory.

There is only one ladies lavatory in the whole place for the convenience of approximately 40 or 50 women, and at

times it is disgraceful and filthy for any healthy person to make use of it. An item of interest which is worth noting is that boys of 17 to 18 are employed doing men's work for appalling wages. They labour under wretched conditions and should be justly rewarded by benefits due to their merits. Instead they are periodically transferred from job to job each day or week. What man can endeavour to concentrate on his work if such inebriety takes place?

There is perpetual discontent in the factory. There always will be unless the workers take it upon their shoulders to adopt measures which materialise into a substantial change in conditions. Better conditions will appear in the factory only when the workers are united into 100 per cent solidarity and unity.

(Not signed in case of victimisation) Ed.

From Brixton A.E.U.

Owing to an unfortunate oversight, the following letter was not published in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal". The Bro. Field referred to in the September issue of the Appeal is a Stalinist who was condemned by a mass meeting of Powers workers for his disruptive activity. He is a member of the Thornton Heath Branch of the A.E.U. and is not the same Bro. H. B. Field of the Brixton No. 111 B.E.

Amalgamated Engineering Union, Brixton Branch No. 111 B.E., October 17th, 1942.

To the Editor, "Socialist Appeal" Dear Sir,

I am directed to forward you the following resolution which was carried by the above Branch:

(Re September Issue)

This Brixton Branch of the A.E.U. requests the "Socialist Appeal" to publish the full name, and Branch to which Bro. Field of "Powers" belongs.

The Money Steward of this Branch is Bro. H. B. Field, whose attention has been drawn to this article in your paper, of which he has no knowledge.

Yours faithfully, F. G. Percy, Secretary.

CAPITALISM RESTRICTS FUEL OUTPUT

By ANDREW SCOTT

For the past 18 months the British coalowners have been shouting their heads off about the amount of coal production that is lost by 'absenteeism' and strikes on the part of the miners. At the time of the Betteshanger strike they sobbed their hearts out at the thought of the four thousand tons of coal per day that were being left underground. Every month they work out and publish in the newspapers how much this year's figure is below that for the same month last year and utter threats about taking appropriate action if there is not an increase.

What are these modern methods? They consist, to put it briefly, in burning the coal underground and thus converting it into gases which are simply led to the surface in pipes and put to various uses. Principal among these gases is methane, which has such properties that it can form the basis for a complete new industry. It provides a fuel that has a higher octane value than that of any petrol in use, and increases the efficiency of aeroplanes by one third. These gases can be used near the pithead for industry, or conveyed for long distances in pipes to cities to provide light, heat, petrol or chemicals.

Not only this, but the new method of mining means a tremendous saving in labour power. It has been proved by experience in Russia that one worker in a gas producing mine produces as much energy in the form of gas as ten miners produce in the form of coal, even the most modern pit of the usual type. And this gas is precisely the one which causes explosions in these old-fashioned mines. Mining engineers exert their energies to draw

12,187,500,000 horse power. As is pointed out by the magazine "Scope" from which these figures are taken, "All other waste pales into insignificance before this immensity of waste."

The coal owners and industrialists cannot claim that they have not had time to put the new method of mining into operation. For the British chemist Ramsay experimented with it in the 90's of last century, and actually sank a trial shaft. And into the bargain Lenin indicated the tremendous possibilities of the new method as far back as 1913.

"The world-famous British chemist, William Ramsay," said Lenin, "has discovered a method of obtaining coal gas directly at the coal face. . . . Thus, one of the greatest problems of modern technique is approaching solution. The revolution that this solution will bring about will be enormous. . . . If this technical revolution took place, the cost of electrical energy would be reduced to one-fifth of its present cost. . . . An enormous amount of human labour that is now spent in extracting and distributing coal will be saved. It would be possible to work what are now regarded as the poorest and most unprofitable seams."

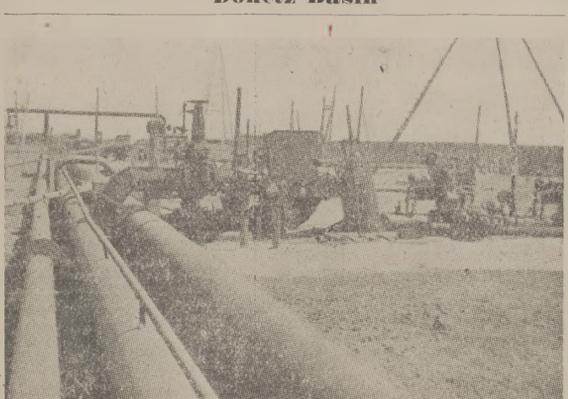
To this day Ramsay's invention has not been put to use in Britain. It is only in the Soviet Union that it has been developed and applied. And experiments had been so successful in the Don Basin that in March 1941 the Soviet mining engineers presented a plan for the coal industry based on general gasification. Underground mining operations were to be eliminated altogether.

If the British coal owners and the Government were genuinely concerned with increasing production they would immediately get down to the job of modernising the methods by which energy is extracted from the 197,000,000,000 tons of coal that are estimated to lie below the surface of this island. They would also make use of the great potential energy that daily goes to waste in the sewage works.

But they find it pays them better to continue extracting their profits from the antique methods they have built up in the period of their fattening prosperity last century. With the coal owners are linked in a gang of united vested interests the petrol companies, with interests in the East Indies and Persia, the gas companies, the electrical undertakings, and many distributive subsidiaries.

Their attacks on the miners are merely efforts to extract not more coal, but greater profits, within the limits of the old methods, by increased exploitation of the miners. Coal mining will become truly scientific, yielding a vast increase in energy, only when it is taken out of the hands of these profiteers. The nationalisation of the whole industry without compensation and operation under workers' control is the only foundation on which a truly great increase in production can take place. And is the only means by which the conditions of work can become truly civilised.

The Most Modern Pithead in the World —Donetz Basin



own purposes and to keep their profits while these forces keep British industry chained to antique methods, and misuse and destroy the coal resources of the country in a way that puts every professional saboteur in history into the shade. By their refusal to adopt new methods they are deliberately throwing away each day 455,133,881 cubic feet of the valuable gas methane. Expressed in terms of petrol, this is equivalent to 3,250,956 gallons. They are working the coal resources so inefficiently that they are only getting 60 per cent of the coal out of a seam where the Soviet mining engineers are managing to extract 80 to 90 per cent by using modern methods.

it off and expel it into the air, or render it harmless in some way or other. But the modern method turns its combustible properties into a wonderful new source of power.

Other sources of methane are sewage sludge, oil deposits such as there are in Scotland, and coke ovens. From the sewage works of Britain alone there could be produced 21,900,000,000 cubic feet per year. And from all sources taken together it would be possible to produce 195,203,868,710 cubic feet per year. This is equivalent to 1,394,313,344 gallons of petrol, or if reckoned in horse power for the generation of electricity we get the breath-taking figure

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EDITORIAL
AFTER THE WAR

Promises, promises, promises. They are being doled out in unlimited quantities. Uthwatt Reports, Scott Reports, Beveridge Reports. But False Reports, all of them. They paint a sort of Kingdom of Heaven in Britain after the war. A kingdom without unemployment, without poverty, without inequality, without fear of further wars. But also without foundation.

The natives of Tierra del Fuego are in the habit of washing the bodies of dying people in order to ensure their immortality. The False Reports attempt to perform the same task for the body of dying British imperialism.

The Government, and the class, that issues these reports is only too well aware of the growing disillusionment of the mass of the workers and soldiers in imperialism; of their determination to achieve a better society. They know that there is an irresistible move Leftward taking place throughout the country. For this reason they are attempting to deck up their outworn system in fresh and attractive colours.

But at the same time—they cannot help themselves—in their discussions they give hints as to what the true conditions of things will be like after the war if they are left in control. It is almost as if they had read Churchill's advice to Lloyd George after the last war: "It would only have been prudent to pour some cold water upon inordinate hopes and claims, however resented at the time, would have been precious afterwards."

Some of the "sour statements" are deliberate, others just slip into the news by accident. But taken together they reveal clearly that Big Business looks ahead to a Britain in which there will be:— (1) An increase in the power and scope of Monopoly; (2) A greater measure of Government control of industry; (3) A drastic reduction in imports, and in the standard of living; (4) The need on the part of the workers to work harder and longer; (5) The need to develop and extend the international cartel arrangements for the restriction of production in the interests of keeping up profits.

The "National Policy for Industry" issued recently by 120 business men elaborates such a plan; Lord Croft makes no bones about it; the Marquess of Salisbury takes pleasure in announcing that "there will be still unemployment . . . equal opportunities for the education of all children, so literally stated, is impracticable. . . The right and power to make and preserve a private fortune must be jealously guarded." Sir William Jowitt hails the new era with: "We should emerge from this war a much poorer nation, a debtor nation and not a creditor nation." The "Times" has been hammering for months on the necessity to continue state control of industry after the war.

And all this talk about increasing poverty and hard work is taking place at a time when new inventions and the development of technique are placing on humanity's doorstep the means of drastically reducing the hours of labour, of sharing out the necessary work and of doing away with most of the arduous jobs.

But the Tory blueprint is the one that will be put into operation if they remain in power. They have no other way to travel. They cannot lead the way through the gates that modern industry has opened up into a world of security, of plenty and of leisure. They can only continue to restrict production and employment, and to take political measures to ensure that control of the means of production remains in their hands. And on that road lies ultimately Fascism.

Their plans indicate their whole trend in this direction. The only alternative to this is the road of the independent action of the workers. It is only if they put their own plans into operation that they will achieve a new and a worthwhile society after the war. By taking the political power they will close the road to Fascism in Britain; by taking the industrial power they will abolish poverty and insecurity; by taking the military power they will forge an instrument that will set the seal of doom on all the Hitlers, Mussolinis and Mikados in the world and all their attempts at domination.

The capitalists have two sets of plans. Peony plain and tuppence coloured. The coloured variety for public consumption; the plain one the grim reality. The only way for the workers to avoid the horrors of a police state is for them to adopt their own plan and to put themselves in a position to put it into operation. That can only be done on condition that they take their destiny into their own hands.

Manifesto of the Fourth International to the masses of India

On Sept. 26, 1942, the Executive Committee of the Fourth International issued a manifesto to: "The Workers and Peasants of India". This manifesto, over 7,000 words in length, has just reached us and will be fully reproduced in the December issue of "Workers International News".

Although primarily addressed to the workers and peasants of India, the manifesto is of international significance and of especial and vital interest to the British working class.

Taking its stand on the side of the struggle of India for national liberation, the Manifesto notes that the Fourth International is the only international labour organisation which is supporting the present struggle for independence, while the Second and Third International are aiding Churchill by condemning the present struggle. In this connection the Manifesto reviews the principal documents of the Fourth International since 1934, on the basis of which the best revolutionaries of India have come together during the last two years to form the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India as a section of the Fourth International.

An important section of the Manifesto is devoted to proving that under no conditions will British imperialism voluntarily agree to Indian independence. The only road to independence is the overthrow of the British power in India.

should be seriously studied by the readers of the "Socialist Appeal." "Nor need you fear that the British soldiers constitute an insuperable obstacle to the overthrow of British imperialism. There is a new spirit growing among the British workers and soldiers! The British government tries to conceal this from you, but it is nevertheless a fact—a fact of deadly significance to British imperialism. In England today the overwhelming majority of the workers are already deeply distrustful of the Churchill government. The British capitalists would not be able to rule at all except with the help of the British Labour Party leaders. After two years of this capitalist-Labour coalition government however, the workers are disoriented not only with the capitalist ministers but also with the "Labour" ministers. Despite anti-strike laws and imprisonment, despite frenzied appeals from the Labour leaders, the workers in England are more and more taking to strike action and thus directly coming into collision with the government. The British defeats in the Far East, which were a consequence above all of the refusal of the colonial masses to fight and die for their oppressors, have opened the eyes of the English workers as never before to the evils of imperialism. The British workers

WAINWRIGHT AND DORIOU
Birds of a Feather

By TED GRANT

William Wainwright, modestly signing himself W.W. has written an article in "World News and Views" of November 21st, 1942, the pretended purpose of which is to expose Jacques Doriot, leader of the Fascist Popular Party in France.

In reality, following the time worn methods of the "Communist" Party, the real aim is to slander and vilify the Trotskyists.

First Wainwright pretends to believe that Doriot is a Trotskyist. He is as much a Trotskyist as Wainwright himself could be described a Trotskyist. Both have the same credentials, i.e. Doriot at the service of Stalin slandered and lied about Trotsky's policies, now Wainwright jumps into the vacant space left by Doriot to fulfil the same purpose.

In order to understand this it is only necessary to examine the biography of Doriot. He was one of the leaders of the French Communist Party from its earliest days. When the split came in Russia between Stalin and Trotsky, judging that Stalin would win, he supported him in the struggle and came out as a violent opponent against Trotskyism. Faithfully and cynically carrying out the policy of Stalin, he helped carry through Stalin's policy in 1925-1927 which led to the defeat of the Chinese revolution. It was here that he learned to practise the habit of lies and deception in the interests of the Stalinist "line". When on a delegation representing the Communist workers, instead of warning the Chinese workers and peasants against the role of Chiang Kai-Shek and the Chinese capitalists who would betray the revolution and slaughter the masses, Doriot kept silent. He kept silent to cover the policy of his then master Stalin. Just as Wainwright today covers up the crimes of Churchill, De Gaulle and Co. for the same purpose.

Doriot was sent by the Communist International as a member of an international delegation on a mission to China. . . this mission "passed through town after town where the unions had already been driven underground, and in Kanchow they received detailed reports on the murder of Chen Tsang-shen, local trade union leader killed by Chiang's orders only a few weeks previously." (Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution, by H. Isaacs). Doriot, after the betrayal of the Chinese revolution, wrote: "The Kanchow incidents

taught us a precious lesson. We knew from that moment on—well before the split—that the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the Chinese working class would take on the bloody forms it has since assumed. . . . But in obedience to Stalin's policy he kept silent on this and attacked Trotsky and the Trotskyists who were warning the workers precisely of the inevitability of what happened.

From 1927 to 1933 he faithfully followed the policy of the Communist International which made the victory of Hitler inevitable: the policy of denouncing the Socialists as Social Fascists and refusing a united front with them against fascism. Doriot in France denounced Trotsky as a social fascist and counter revolutionary as obediently as the rest of the hacks in the Comintern for demanding a united front of Socialists and Communists to prevent Hitler from coming to power.

Doriot was expelled in 1934, after the "Communist" Party had demonstrated together with the fascists for the overthrow of the Liberal Government on February 6th. He was expelled from the C.P. for proposing a united front against the fascist bands! But Doriot never joined the Trotskyists. Just the contrary. He continued his attacks against Trotsky and the Trotskyists. He had been corrupted too well by the cynical school of Stalinism. It was but a short step for him to go over to fascism and offer his services to the capitalist class. It is significant that on the road to fascism he tarried for a while in the Popular Front in France. For the whole of his political life Doriot fought against Trotsky and Trotskyism.

But to return to Wainwright. Having failed with his forgeries and lies in the pamphlet "Clear Out Hitler's Agents" to convince the workers and even the advanced workers in the C.P. itself of the truth of the slander that Trotskyists are fascists, Wainwright attempts by a new series of quotations, to prove that the policy of the Trotskyists is the same as that of Doriot. This time he selects passages from the "Socialist Appeal". Let us have a look at these "quotations".

"The Treaty between the Soviet Union and British Imperialism . . . is primarily a conspiracy."—S.A. July, 1942.

Now read the "Socialist Appeal" of July 1942, from which this is taken:

"The ruling class is not interested in the defeat of 'Hitlerism' as such. They are concerned only once and for all, with destroying the power of their German rival and obtaining domination of Europe and as much of the world as they can hold. The defeat of Hitler opens out the prospect of revolution in Germany and in the whole of Europe—a revolution which could not fail to spread to the British Isles. The ruling class has collaborated with the Soviet Union only because of the way in which Russia has fought the war as a 'national' war and not as part of the international struggle of the working class.

It was because of this that the imperialists of Britain and America could even afford themselves the luxury of giving the Soviet Union a certain amount of aid. But they now desire further guarantees that after the war their position of domination will be firmly entrenched throughout the world—i.e. that the revolutions which are inevitable in Europe should be crushed. This is the meaning of the treaty between the Soviet Union and British imperialism. It is primarily a conspiracy against the German and European working class."

This quotation speaks for itself. Let us examine the second quotation, selected by Wainwright.

"We have resolutely opposed the policy of 'pressing' Churchill for a Second Front." ("Socialist Appeal", November, 1942.)

Now read the "Socialist Appeal" from where this is taken:

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

It will be observed that Wainwright has to pretend that these quotations are the beginning and end of sentences and for this purpose he obligingly adds full stops and capital letters where none exist! Just an old fashioned Stalinist custom! Wainwright uses his quotations to "prove" that the Trotskyists are in favour of fascism

and opposed to the Soviet Union. One glance at the "Socialist Appeal" reveals that the articles were directed to demonstrate the real policy of Churchill and the British ruling class and the dangers to which the false policy of Stalin and the Comintern were leading the Soviet Union and the world working class.

Leaving aside the question of whether the opinions and ideas were correct or not, that was the point of view which we revolutionary socialists hold and we firmly believe even will prove us correct. We claim this is the Leninist point of view. Why then did this Stalinist hack have to resort to lies and deliberate misrepresentation? If our point of view is incorrect surely it should not be too difficult to prove this? Here we get the difference between Leninism and Stalinism. Marx and Lenin prided themselves on the fact that never once in the thousands of articles and books they wrote, did they distort or lie on the position adopted by an opponent. And indeed it would be impossible to ever find a lie or perversion in the writings of Marx or Lenin. And for a very simple reason. They were so convinced of the correctness of their policies that they knew any worker comparing their ideas with those of their opponents could not fail to arrive at the conclusion that they were right. Lenin even advised his supporters among the workers to read his opponents! Furthermore he taught that lies and slander were the weapons of capitalist reaction. The weapon of truth is the most powerful weapon of all.

It is this tradition which Trotsky handed on to the Fourth International. Stalinism resorts to the methods of lies and slander. Wainwright as a Stalinist is without honour, without truth and without conscience. Methods such as these can only train and create . . . Doriot!

As for us, we shall continue on the path of Marxism. No amount of lies, slander, or persecution will prevent us from answering the capitalists and Stalinists with the weapon of truth. And in spite of all, the truth will prevail. Our policy and ideas will become the policy of the working class, including the majority of the rank and file members of the Communist Party.

FRENCH WORKERS FOIL FASCISTS By BILL CHALK

The class struggle in France has inflicted a sharp defeat on the Nazi overlords and their Vichy deputies.

This is the mighty portent of the magnificent struggle of the French workers which resulted in the great strike at the Gnome-Rhone aero-engine works at Lyons around Oct. 17th. Sufficient news—even when suitably doctored by the De Gaulle apparatus in London—has emerged to reveal one of the greatest and most heartening incidents in the underground war against the ruling classes of both France and Germany.

Germany is short of skilled labour

and France is the only important reservoir—apart from Czecho-Slovakia and Belgium—which will yield the required technical ability needed to maintain the military machine in perfect functioning order. Hence the Nazi demand for at least 150,000 technicians made last June by Labour-Gauleiter Sauckel in Paris. All sorts of inducements were made, particularly concerning war prisoners, to raise the requisite volunteers. Gigantic propaganda was made by the Nazi-organised "Association of Released Prisoners of War", which played upon the feelings of families deprived of their members by imprisonment, and

by the newly formed "Association of Victims of British Air Raids" which sought to capitalise the deathroll due to R.A.F. raids in France.

When this emotional appeal was met with sullen silence from the French workers, a further sop was added; wives would be allowed to work side by side with the volunteers. Pressure was exercised by the Vichy crew in every conceivable fashion, but to no avail. The workers "forgot" their skill, trained engineers registered as cleaners, skilled railwaymen overnight became porters and station staff—every device was adopted by the recalcitrant workmen to meet the increasing scale of threats, bribes, blandishments. Laval wept into the microphone, the Royalist Maurras wagged his beard in solemn and pontifical warning, the Nazi Gauleiters glowered and muttered threats, designed to cow the stubborn populace, the "Riot Squad of the Legion"—newly organised terror police of Laval—attempted to intimidate the strikers and demonstrators, employers drew up lists of skilled men and promised a quota . . . but no, the workers did not budge. So wholehearted is their determination and so solid is their opposition that to this day neither the Nazis nor Laval have published the number of volunteers raised for German industry.

The host of strikes and protests against this attempt to "conserve" the French workers into slave-labour conditions received its greatest impetus at Lyons where 700 out of the 4,600 employees of the Gnome-Rhone works were ordered to work in the Reich. All but 15 flatly refused. Laval ordered them to be dismissed, whereupon the entire factory downed tools as a protest. Their decision was carried to the ends of the country by clandestine methods and Vichy was presented with the ultimatum of a General strike within three days, unless . . .

Threats of court-martial were made by Laval, but the Nazis had seen the red light. Fearful lest the strike should actually take place and spread, fearful of its effects upon the workers in other parts of Europe and, not the least, fearful of their own workers at home—in a word fear of the class war and its repercussions, drove them to instruct their Vichy deputies to negotiate with the "illegal" organisations of the

French workers. By this time the Railworkers had joined the struggle and the situation looked ominous; moreover the Vichy Ministers were undecided as to what line to take and the German High Command was faced with an impasse which all the terror of their Gestapo could not resolve. Brought sharply up against the very spectre which they had imagined to be bloodily laid, confronted with the prospect of an insurgent working class, the leaders of the Wehrmacht retreated. They extended the "target" date until Dec. 31st.

In this way the voice of French Labour has become again articulate. Note carefully however, that it speaks with proletarian accent. All the professors, all the Generals, all the distinguished exiles, all the academical screwballs grouped about De Gaulle payed absolutely no part in this event. The first major setback to the German plans in Occupied Europe came without the assistance of the plati-tudinous biggame masquerading as "the true spirit of France". Indeed these gentlemen must be apprehensive as Laval, or Stulpnaegel, or for that matter, Churchill.

For indisputably this affair is an affair of the working class against its own ruling class and their conquerors; the emergence of the class-war on the Gestapo-ridden Continent can bring hope to no-one but ourselves, the revolutionary workers of the world. The triumph of the French workers is our victory, is the victory of the masses all over the world, and our triumphs shall be theirs also. Our class knows no frontiers, our struggle is international.

The composition of De Gaulle's National Committee belies any attempt on its part to speak for the French workers. Can anyone be found who will now believe that the threat of General Strike was inspired by a Committee which includes Charles Vallin, deputy leader of the fascist Croix de Feux, who boasted as recently as September 9th, 1940, of having prepared Petain's "National Revolution" by his actions, who was a leading member of the "Rassemblement de la Revolution Nationale", who was also a member of the infamous "Committee of Political Justice" and who bluntly declared in a broadcast speech that he had joined De Gaulle "without re-

We Continue Lenin's Policy

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

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

Birmingham Workers Demand Indian Freedom

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Indian workers held at Bristol Street School, Birmingham on Sunday, 8th November. Speakers included delegates from the Indian Workers Association (Hindusthani Mazdur Sabha) in Bradford, Manchester, Coventry, Wolverhampton and Birmingham. British working class organisations were represented by two speakers from the Labour Party and one from the I.L.P. (Owing to sudden illness the W.I.L. speaker was unable to attend and was not in a position to obtain a substitute at short notice.) About 200 attended.

"This meeting of the Indian Workers condemns the British Government for provoking a struggle in India and the brutal methods of repression instituted in the form of martial law, collective fines, Whipping Act, machine gunning of unarmed people, shooting and the use of tear gas. It condemns the Labour Party and Trade Union leaders for supporting the Government, as a betrayal of the British and Indian workers. It demands the immediate release of the political prisoners and the acceptance of the Congress demand for immediate independence and the formation of a national provisional government with the authority to convene a Constituent Assembly based upon universal adult suffrage. It demands the immediate arming of the Indian masses under their own leadership."

nouncing any of his ideas or his friendships?"

The fact is that De Gaulle's set-up is the point of assembly for those politicians who now anticipate an Allied victory and are anxious to register their grub stakes as early as possible, they hope to be restored to offices of power under Anglo-American auspices, mere street-walkers who have transferred their patronage from one Madame to another. It is certain that the workers of France have not fought for the return of these gentry.

The momentous processes of historical development may be stayed momentarily by the forcible suppression of the working classes which are the instruments of their progression, but inevitably they burst forth anew, for their power is irresistible. The whole of Europe resembles a vast compression chamber within which forces of colossal energy are accumulating under pressure; we may not be able to determine the exact date and location of the flash-point, but the explosion is none the less inevitable because of that.

The workers of Europe will find common cause with those of France struggling against a dual tyranny, the workers of Britain salute their French comrades, the revolutionary vanguard receives heartening confirmation of its belief, held against all the chauvinist ravings, that the European worker will rise again in socialist revolt against the oppressors of our class.

MIDLAND MINERS WIN

STRIKE

Steel Props Cause of Grievance

By TOM BURNS

THE MINERS AT NEWDIGATE COLLIERY HAVE ENDED A TWELVE MONTH OLD GRIEVANCE BY A VICTORIOUS STRIKE. LASTING THREE DAYS, FROM NOVEMBER 19th to 21st.

The full onus for this stoppage of work rests entirely on the Managing Director, M. Miller, Jnr., who had refused to see the union representative from time to time to discuss the new conditions involved by the introduction of steel pit props. On the day the strike took place, and when negotiations were to proceed, the Managing Director promptly hopped into his private car and went some miles to shoot rabbits.

The strike began when the men in No. 2, North stall, numbering about 40, downed tools on the Thursday at 9 a.m. and the strike quickly spread throughout the pit, involving 1,500. The workers, coming on for the new shift refused to start work. It was a 100 per cent stoppage.

The colliers claimed that working with steel props resulted in a heavier expenditure of labour, and above all a decrease in wages. The usual wooden prop one man could handle, but it took 2 men to manoeuvre with steel. The new prop was first introduced 12 months ago but due to the continuous demand for a higher rate for the job, these were withdrawn, then reintroduced 2 months ago. Trouble had been brewing for the past 6 weeks and only the intervention of the union agent prevented the men from striking one month ago.

On the Friday at 2 p.m. a mass meeting was held at the Pit bank and addressed by rank and file speakers. Alderman G. H. Jones, Warwickshire Miners Agent, had previously pleaded with the men to go back to work pending negotiations. This they refused to do and in the words of one of the speakers, "were determined to win their just rights at all costs."

Before the union representative (G. H. Jones) entered the Management's office, he was instructed not to palaver about, but to get a suitable agreement in short time, and to stay not later than 3.5 p.m. where a report was to be made to the men. The indignation of the strikers rose as negotiations crept on past 3.5 p.m. and they demanded that Jones come out immediately. Attempts were made to drag down the door and remove the trade union representative. Jones, hurriedly appeared and gave an account of a part settlement, but was howled down. The solidarity, persistence and correct organisational methods forced a later

agreement which meant that steel props would be withdrawn. The men were also to be paid for removing all the steel props from the pit. It should be pointed out that the strikers were not concerned about steel props versus wooden props. The issue for them was better rates. Further negotiations are to proceed at a later date to discuss this item. Those present at the negotiations included Mr. Webb, Regional Controller.

G. H. Jones and Mr. Webb called a meeting for the Sunday at the Picture Palace, Bedworth, to discuss the strike and the issues arising. It was evidently an attempt to pose themselves as being responsible for winning this strike and of course to utilise the platform to push their own particular views. The miners were so interested that only 120 turned up. The Regional Controller realising that he was dealing with militant men adopted a subtle attitude. He evaded the issue at dispute and claimed that tempers caused the strike and that strikes were most dangerous. To obtain the confidence of his audience he put up a shan and short criticism of the Managing Director. All this, plus the fact, "that he was an old T.U. leader."

The Newdigate miners then demanded that the Regional Controller utilise his power to kick out Mr. Miller Jnr. (A concession which the Government pretends to give in the White Paper) but that mines can be controlled by them—profits still going to the bosses—if extreme managerial inefficiency is shown. Despite the fact that piles of evidence have been provided proving that since Miller's son took charge of the pits 7 months ago, applying his brain of economics, discontent has been rife culminating in the present strike. Two miners quoted to the reporter that hundreds of hours are lost each shift when packing support for walls. With wooden props one could

use broken timber to "pack in" as plenty was at hand and the job could be done quickly. Miller ignored this fact and sold the timber at £3 per ton. The value of steel props are again lowered as the miners found that broken timber cannot be used with the same success and extra hours were involved getting a substitute. Not only does Miller, Jnr. hold up the production of coal and shorten the employees pay packets each week, but he uses colliery lorries to drive him to the "shoot" and regularly sends his private car to the station to pick up dog biscuits.

Wastage of petrol and a mere matter of 72,000 hours lost during the 3 days strike, not taking into account thousands of hours lost during his incompetent control, does not concern him one iota. The Regional Controller got the evidence—but what did he do? At first he tried to put the audience off by talking about the need for more facts but they rightly would not tolerate this nonsense. A promise was later given to examine the evidence. It is plain enough that Mr. Webb does not intend to carry out the men's demand. The responsibility for further hold ups in this pit now rests with the Government.

The miners must break down this facade of vested interests and demand through the lodges in the area the immediate removal of the managing director. Another issue which the workers are to get down to is the fight for 100 per cent trade unionism.

In taking strike action the Newdigate miners adopted the only method to end the intolerable position of a weekly loss of wages. By getting rid of Miller Jnr. there is no guarantee that such a position will not arise again. Private ownership and control of the means of life will always mean a continual struggle for a decent standard of life, whether we have a nin-

compoop like the present managing director or a smooth tongued class collaborating gentleman. The duty of the bosses representative is solely to safeguard the interests of the owners. The fight for complete nationalisation of the coal industry under the control of the workers and technicians must be intensified. The trade union leaders must be forced to lead such a struggle!

SOLDIERS SUPPORT LEEDS TRANSPORT WORKERS

continued from page 1

who sympathise with you, the nature of military discipline necessitates that this sympathy does not find open expression and that every action be secret.

The drivers of the military vehicles are forced to scab, but we ask you to realise that WE ARE NOT WILFUL STRIKE BREAKERS BUT VICTIMS OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE. You must not forget that the soldiers' uniform is no more a barrier to class solidarity than is the uniform of a tramwayman or bus conductor.

WE ALSO ARE WORKERS.

We ask you then in your struggle not to direct your attack against the soldier but against the REAL SCABS—THE PEOPLE WHO OF THEIR OWN FREE WILL, USE THE MILITARY VEHICLES.

This way we will destroy that artificial barrier which military discipline has created between worker and worker.

The fraternal feelings of the soldier towards his civilian brother will be strengthened and he will give heart and courage in his own struggle for decent conditions.

We therefore suggest to you the following course of action:

1. That in your own uniforms, you picket all bus and tram stops in order to dissuade people from travelling on the military vehicles.
2. That you do not undertake any action which will place the soldier in an awkward position by compelling him to openly disclose his sympathies.
3. That you endeavour to give this letter publicity among soldiers so that they will know that their sympathy is appreciated and is a mark of your own solidarity with them.

In conclusion we wish to congratulate you on the stand you have taken. We urge you all to be firm and united. You are fighting not only for yourselves but for your fellow workers also. Your solidarity, your resolution and your courage will be an example to our class—to workers both in and out of uniform.

We wish you success and sign ourselves

NO NAMES—NO PACT DRILL. P.S.—We are willing to give copies of this letter and distributing them to conductors in the confidence that at least one will reach the Strike Committee and be read to the meeting.

Stalinism or Leninism in Soviet Russia

LENIN ON BUREAUCRACY AND THE WORKERS' STATE

"It is sufficiently well known that every revolution up to this time has been followed by a reaction, or even a counter revolution. This, to be sure has never thrown the nation all the way back to its starting point, but it has always taken from the people the lion's share of their conquests."

These few words written by Leon Trotsky sums up the attitude of the Fourth International to the present position in the Soviet Union. To the question so often asked: Why do we defend the Soviet Union and yet denounce the present leadership in Russia, the answer flows from these few lines. Because the major conquests of the Russian Revolution still remain, that is, the property of the capitalist class has been expropriated and nationalised; because a reaction set in owing to the failure of the international revolution, which is taking from the people "the lion's share of their conquests."

To many sincere members and supporters of the misnamed Communist Party this sounds incredible. How can it be, they ask, that inequalities exist in a "socialist state" where property has been socialised, and the capitalist class eliminated? The answer to this cannot be adequately dealt with in a single article. We confine ourselves here to one aspect of the contradictions in Soviet society with the ideal conception of a "socialist state" as conceived by Marx and put into practice by Lenin.

Dealing with the Paris Commune, which provided the first great historic example of proletarian democracy, and the exact forms which the organisation of the state would take with the proletariat as the ruling class, Marx wrote:

"From the members of the Council of the Commune down to the humblest worker, everybody in the public services was paid at the same rates as ordinary working men. All privileges and representation allowances attached to the high offices of the state disappeared along with the offices themselves . . ."

In "State and Revolution" Lenin deals with this measure as a primary prerequisite in the first stages towards a true communist society, that is, "the abolition of all representative allowances, and of special salaries in the case of officials; and the lowering of the payment of all servants of the state to the level of workmen's wages." Thus it was that in the first years of the Soviet regime, rigid restrictions were laid down regarding the wages of all officials of state. This coupled with the right of immediate recall from the rank and file, ensured that the officials would not be separated from the masses of the people by wage differentiations, and thereby would not be divided socially from the ordinary working people. But a long road has been travelled since then and instead of the gulf between officials and workers becoming narrower, they have on the contrary, widened and widened till today the differentiation compares to that which exists in capitalist countries between worker and capitalist. In substantiation of this we draw the attention of the reader to a series of incontestable facts.

STALINIST BUREAUCRACY IN THE SOVIET UNION

WAGES

In his book "The Red Army", published by Secker and Warburg in 1940, Erich Wollenberg makes certain statements which have never been refuted by the Stalinists. These figures are borne out by the Russian Year Books.

The average wage of the Russian workman today amounts, according to Russian statistics, to about 260 roubles a month; a monthly income of the Stakhanov workers runs to a thousand, two thousand, or even three thousand roubles. The average engineer or Party official has a monthly salary of twenty or thirty thousand roubles. Higher Party functionaries, chemists, engineers, and leading authors enjoy a yearly income of a million roubles or more. The income of the leading statesmen and business heads of the U.S.S.R. cannot be expressed in terms of money, as they have the entire resources of the country at their uncontrolled disposal. The standard of living of a magnate in charge of a Russian trust vies with that of an American multi-millionaire."

In the March 4th, "Izvestia", 1936 a decree of the Council of Peoples' Commissars was printed offering four prizes for the editing of an elementary history manual for use in primary schools to be rewarded by sums of 100,000, 75,000, 50,000 and 25,000 roubles respectively. The prize winners would of course have to conform to the particular "line" in vogue at the period, that is, if they entered with the object of winning the prize. If they didn't, well they would be purged forthwith.

The "Daily Worker" of October 26th, 1942 reproduces a picture of the scientist Pavlov, painted by one Michael Nesterov. For this work he has been decorated with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour last May, and "his family have been awarded a special grant and pensions."

To give another instance, the richest man in Russia today is Alexei Tolstoy. He is a rouble millionaire with a fortune estimated at upwards of 2,500,000 roubles. He owns a country house as well as a valuable art collection. And he too, was one of the intellectuals put forward, and of course elected, to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

HOUSING

An examination of the living quarters of the Soviet workers would itself provide an indication of the general cultural standard of Soviet life. Housing always constituted a grave

FOOD

The bureaucracy eats on the same scale as it is housed. Many workers were astounded and not a little alarmed at the report of the great feasting and drinking with which Churchill and his fellow diplomats were greeted on their recent trip to Moscow. In the main this feast which lasted for hours was excused as a diplomatic necessity by the average pro-Soviet worker. But it was revealed in 1936 by Andre Gide in his book "After Thoughts on the U.S.S.R." that this debauchery was a very ordinary practice in the every day life of the Soviet bureaucracy. This is how he describes it:

"I had never travelled before in such sumptuous style. In special railway carriages or the best cars, always the best rooms in the best hotels, the most abundant and choicest food. And what a welcome! What attentions! What solicitude! Everywhere acclaimed, flattered, made much of, feasted. Nothing seemed too good, too exquisite to offer me. I should have been ungracious indeed to repulse such advances; I could not do so; and I keep a marvellous remembrance of it all, the liveliest gratitude. But these very favours constantly brought to mind privileges, differences where I had hoped to find equality."

When, after escaping with great difficulty from official receptions and official supervision, I managed to get into contact with labourers whose wages were only four or five roubles a day, what could I think of the banquet in my honour which I could not avoid attending? An almost daily banquet at which the abundance of the hors-d'oeuvre alone was such that one had already eaten three times too much before beginning the actual meal; a feast of six courses which used to last two hours and left you completely stupefied. The expense! Never having seen a bill, I cannot exactly estimate it, but one of the waiters who was well up in the price of things calculates that each banquet, with wines and liquors, must have come to more than three hundred roubles a head."

Even in the midst of the war where the workers and peasants are suffering terrible privations and hardship verging on starvation, the same "austerity" is practised by these bureaucrats and officials. In a recently published book by Philip Jordan, the "News Chronicle" correspondent who has just returned to Britain from the U.S.S.R., he states:

"They fed us with food that we had almost forgotten: caviare and onions, butter, fish and cheese; and every drink that you could name. This seemed to be the height of plenty; but I had not yet seen the bread queues in Moscow; nor did I then know that there is no rationing in Russia, as there is in Britain, for those who have enough money to buy what they want."

Another example is that of Madame Orlova, the Mary Pickford of the Soviet Union. She lives with her movie director husband, Gregory Alexandrov in their country home (dascha) some 35 miles from Moscow, where they also retain an apartment. Orlova is paid 50,000 roubles a year, and her husband is paid 100,000 roubles a year, of which she allowed 4 to leave for the war factories as a "patriotic gesture" after Russia was attacked by the German army.

Here we see that not only is there a wide gulf between the privileged few and the toilers, but this is openly bandied as a natural phenomenon in the Soviet press. When just after the revolution the "servant" was almost wiped out completely, as the bureaucracy entrenched itself it became possible to obtain "domestic help" for those who could afford it, but this was never openly referred to in the press! And these not for the upper strata of the bureaucracy, but for the second layer.

"PERSONAL PROPERTY" LEGALISED BY STALIN

Not only are the bureaucrats enriching themselves, taking the "lion's share" of the conquests of the revolution, but under the "benign guidance" of Stalin the acquisition of personal wealth is encouraged and for the first time in Soviet history the law of inheritance has been legalised under the 1936 Stalinist Constitution, which was acclaimed by the Stalinists throughout the world as embodying the "completion of the building of a socialist society". This law, Article 10 to be precise, reads as follows:

"The right of citizens to personal property in their income from work and in their savings, in their dwellings and in their auxiliary household economy, their domestic furniture and utensils and objects of personal use and comfort, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, are protected by law."

So we have it that Alexei Tolstoy can leave his 2,500,000 roubles to his family on his death which will thus have become enriched not through their own labour, but by a bourgeois law. This does not even comply with the succeeding Article 12 of the Constitution, "He who does not work, neither

shall he eat. In the U.S.S.R. the principle of socialism is realised: From each according to his ability, to each according to work performed," which is in itself a far cry from Marx's formulation for the communist society, "Each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs."

From the above examples which can be multiplied a thousand fold it can be seen that the social position of the bureaucrats in the Soviet Union, whose tables are laid with 20 course meals, and own servants and automobiles, country houses and for whom rationing has no horrors—time—their social position is somewhat different to that of the Soviet worker whose stable diet is potatoes and rye bread, who lives 10 and 20 in a room, and whose standard of life is nearing starvation and who is subject to a rigid rationing system.

In embodying the privileges of the bureaucracy into the Stalinist Constitution, the workers' state is placed in a position of grave peril from within. Here are sown the first seedlings of a new capitalist class. Every class conscious worker who understands the true significance of the October revolution cannot but be perturbed at these developments. But in evaluat-

ing the situation the warning must be issued against the pitfall of the middle class intellectuals who, in despair, exclaim: "All is lost!" The Fourth International does not hesitate in speaking the truth, analysing the successive degeneration of the bureaucracy, recognising precisely what has been lost, we also do not lose sight of what has been retained. In spite of the Stalinist reaction, there still exists in the Soviet Union nationalised property which constitutes the greatest step forward for the socialist society of the future. Insofar as the Soviet bureaucracy is compelled to defend that form of property from imperialist attack, just as the Bevin and the Citrines and Halls are compelled to defend the structure of the trade unions from capitalist attack, we defend the Soviet Union even under the present leadership. But at the same time as an indispensable means of achieving the equality of all in the true communist society, we untrudgingly expose this rapacious caste which is devouring the "lion's share" of the conquests of the Russian workers and which, if not removed by the Soviet workers and peasants in time, will lead the Soviet Union back on the path of capitalist reaction.

By M. LEE.

DARLAN JOINS "DEMOCRATS"

Continued from page 1
the statements broadcast by Darlan as late as the 21st November:

"On Thursday Marshall Petain declared that he himself was the living embodiment of France. This is his . . . I have sworn allegiance to him . . . I am sure I am the true interpreter of the Marshall's thoughts. I am following his earliest instructions in accepting the aid of the Americans and their Allies."

Petaín broadcasting under Nazi auspices denounced Darlan as a traitor and gave full support to Laval and collaboration with the Nazis.

Meanwhile following the public outcry in Britain and America, General de Gaulle after lurching with Churchill, denounced Admiral Darlan and the whole Vichy crew. This statement was greeted with relief and joy by the Labour Lefts and the "Communist" Party, who greeted De Gaulle as the real representative of underground and oppressed France. But was the statement of de Gaulle and the French National Committee really one made in the interests of democracy and the people of France? In reality, they denounced Darlan because he is the representative of American imperialism, while de Gaulle remains primarily a puppet of the British imperialists. It was the City of London nominee being pushed forward as against the nominee of Wall Street. Arc de Gaulle and Co. really indignant at collaboration with the fascists? Their indignation did not extend to Vallin—member of the Croix de Feu—second in command to De la Rocque who apparently also desires to back both horses in the struggle. When this thug came over from France recently, he became a member of the National Committee of the Fighting French despite the fact that he openly declared that his views were unchanged.

But why look to the followers, when we have the record of de Gaulle himself. He was, together with Darlan, a member of the reactionary monarchist organisation Action Française which collaborates with Hitler today and which carried out hooligan attacks on the trade union and workers organisations in France before the war. As the "Economist" so elegantly puts it:

"He (General de Gaulle) has been charged with authoritarian tendencies; and his greatness plainly lies outside the sphere of politics."

Or as a letter published in the "Times" pertinently remarks:

"We have now, among those that fight Germany, De Gaulle on one side and Darlan-Giraud on the other. In both camps hatred is being fostered. In de Gaulle's committee, it has not been found possible to make use of any democratic principle: the commissaires nationaux (national committees) are responsible only to de Gaulle. Darlan on the other side, founds his powers on le Marechal, and therefore is not likely to re-establish democracy . . ."

One of the reasons for the alarm in the clique of de Gaulle is given by a statement by one of his henchmen, Andre Phillip:

" . . . It would be disastrous if the French people got the idea that Darlan's appointment had been promoted or countenanced by the United States, because it would deal a blow to American prestige, which was now high in France, and would destroy the whole resistance movement and hand France over to the Communists. Describing Flandin, Bergery, and Pucheu as well known Fifth Columnists for the Nazis, he said that the whole tribe would soon be in Africa. M. Phillip declared that the Fighting French movement would be willing to negotiate with General Giraud."

This is the process known as straining at the gnat and swallowing the camel. Giraud was appointed Commander-in-Chief by Darlan and he immediately hailed the doddering and senile Petain as his leader . . .

"Officers, N.C.O.'s and men of the African army, I have been designated by Admiral of the Fleet Darlan to be High Commissioner of France in Africa . . . All united in love of France and of the Marshall have only one passion—victory."

What difference then between Darlan and Giraud or Giraud and Petain? Far from Giraud disavowing Petain, it was Petain who disavowed Giraud despite the touching insistence of the former on his loyalty to the "Leader". So we have this low comedy of political leap frog. With Darlan clinging to Petain and confirmed by Eisenhower; Roosevelt "temporarily" assisting to control of North Africa in the hands of Darlan De Gaulle clinging

to Giraud and Giraud hanging on to Darlan. The Labour leaders and Stalinists of course hanging on to De Gaulle and covering him with a cloak of "democracy". In all this bed of intrigue only one element is not consulted—the people of North Africa and France.

And who is this General Giraud with whom the adventurer De Gaulle is prepared to collaborate? He helped in the butchering of the Moorish people in their just war of independence between 1920 and 1922—and as late as 1934 was busy "pacifying" the peoples of Southern Morocco. Certainly an endearing candidate for ruler of French North Africa to the Moors and the Riffs. No wonder Darlan commended him with such fulsome praise. "I have appointed as military chief a great soldier, General Giraud, who has always served France with honour." A fitting recommendation from this source. Darlan and Giraud are men of the same kidney.

H. N. Brafisford in "Reynolds" of November 22nd, wails bitterly: "We know this man (Darlan) only too well. Second only to Marshall Petain, he bore the responsibility for the French desertion, the destruction of the Republic, the policy of collaboration with the enemy, and the adoption of Fascism." In Morocco . . . "the administration, the prefects, the courts, the police, the schools, the censorship and the whole apparatus of economic control will remain in Fascist hands."

What else could be expected of the Governments of Britain and America controlled by and agents of finance capital? To demonstrate clearly how "anti-fascist" are our present rulers, we have their strenuous efforts to win the super fascist butcher Franco to their side. In entering North Africa the British Government sent a message to Franco: "His Majesty's Government are in full sympathy with what they understand to be the desire of the Spanish Government to save the Iberian peninsula from the evils of war. They wish Spain to have every opportunity to recover from the destruction of the civil war and to take her due place in the reconstructed Europe of the future."

Franco precariously balances himself between the two camps of the ruling

class, the ruling classes compete with Hitler for his favours. Most probably Spain will be involved in the struggle. If on the side of the allies, Franco will be groomed once again as a "gallant Christian gentleman." If he chooses to support Hitler, no doubt the calendar of his bloody crimes will be reeled out for the benefit of the workers.

But one thing is plain: The "Democrats" are preparing merely to replace the Hitler quislings with their own throughout Europe. And if Hitler's quislings offer their services to the Allies they will not even bother to replace some of them. The experience of Darlan and Giraud is a warning to the workers of Britain and America. The capitalists in control are fighting for loot, markets, war materials and colonial slaves. To convert this war of imperialism into a real struggle against fascism, it is necessary for the working class to take power. Not only that: how can we trust our fate in the hands of the cliques of bankers and generals who find themselves at one with the Darlans, Girauds, Sikorskis, Vallins, von Thoma and the other fascist scum? For them the war is a family quarrel to decide which set of imperialists is to rule the world. The defeated "democrats" in France amicably composed their differences with Hitler, only in order jointly with the German capitalists (accepting of course a smaller share) to continue an intensified exploitation of the French workers. Britain and America are preparing just such a relationship with their rivals in the totalitarian states. And no more than they are concerned with the preservation of democracy abroad, are they concerned with the preservation of democracy at home. These generals and bankers who find a common language with the fascist generals and bankers will turn on the workers in Britain and America with the same brutality as Franco, Mussolini and Hitler.

The way out for the workers lies in an unrelenting struggle for workers' power. A fight to find a common language with the German, Italian and Japanese workers and soldiers. A struggle for world socialism.