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Twopence

INDIA FACING WORSE FAMINE

HAKIM MIRZA

On 21st February, 1944, the "News Chronicle" special correspondent from New Delhi writes: "Anxiety is still felt over the food situation in Bengal, where the distribution of the record rice harvest is causing the authorities some concern." "The Central and Bengal Governments have three months left in which to carry out their procurement and distribution schemes." "For by then the Himalayan snow will have melted bringing torrents of water down the Ganges to flood thousands of acres in Bengal and dislocate the transport. . . May 15 is the date given, by which the authorities will know whether their schemes have succeeded or whether there will be another famine in Bengal. After that it will be impossible to move food to districts which by that time have no adequate supplies." He further writes: "Price (in Bengal) is still rising, i.e. rice is now sold at from 15 to 21 rupees per 80 lbs., instead of the (so called) controlled price of Rs. 14. So far, to improve the transport etc., and strengthen the weak (sic) Bengal Government, 12 British army officers and 40 other officials from other provinces are being sent to Bengal to strengthen the weak administration."

According to official figures (first week of February) the famine has up to now (in the last nine months) cost the Government of Bengal the magnificent sum of £8,625,000! We are spending £13,000,000 daily for war! Mr. Amery and the Central Government in India are shouting themselves hoarse that the Famine is under control and that the situation in the famine-stricken areas is improving, but the "News Chronicle" special correspondent lets the cat out of the bag. The London "Save the Children" Fund received the following information: "A little girl being offered for sale as late as the 9th February in the Bengal famine area was bought

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Living Skeleton looks out with Hot Eyes of Hunger



Terrible Hunger of Child being Fed at a Mission near Calcutta.

WHY THE GERMAN SOLDIERS RESIST

BY ROSE CARSON

The whole world has been shocked and astonished by the stories of mass suicide among a section of the trapped German divisions in the Kanav-Cherkassy area near the Dnieper. Of the hundred thousand men encircled by the Russians since the 3rd February, the Soviet Order of the Day declares:

"52,000 men were killed, 11,000 were taken prisoner and unofficial reports estimate that 30,000 were wounded." This means that approximately 7,000 preferred death to surrender. At this stage of the war such a situation seems incredible.

The Soviet Information Bureau reporting on the suicides says: "Some shot themselves and others burned themselves to death."

This action which is a direct violation of the primary instinct of self-preservation, has given rise to widespread speculation as to the reasons for such amazing self-sacrifice.

The Soviet terms of ultimatum were fairly generous and should have had an

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CHURCHILL'S SUPPORT CRUMBLING

BY TED GRANT

RECENT BY-ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT OF THE TRENDS OF MASS OPINION IN BRITAIN. THE STRAIN OF FOUR AND A HALF YEARS OF WAR AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE RULING CLASS AND THE GOVERNMENT IN THIS PERIOD, ARE BEGINNING TO HAVE THEIR EFFECT ON THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE MASSES. THE PROFITEERING AND RACKETEERING OF THE CAPITALISTS AT HOME AND THEIR CYNICAL DEALS WITH THE FASCIST GANGSTERS SUCH AS BADOGLIO ABROAD, HAVE BEGUN TO DISSILLUSION THE MASSES AS TO THE AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE RULING CLASS.

More than anything else, broad sections of the workers are dreading the results of the war in its effect on their conditions and standards in the post-war period. The workers remember very well the aftermath of World War 1, when Lloyd George's "land fit for heroes to live in" was transformed into the land of mass unemployment, the Means, Test and low wages for millions.

These are the issues which are dominating the by-elections at the present time. As the *Observer* has commented on the by-election in Bury St. Edmunds, former safe Tory seat:

"The people themselves, after fifteen years of political slumber, are awakening to a very sober consciousness."

And the issues which concern the electorate of even a semi-feudal backwater such as this are "Beveridge housing, agriculture," i.e. the social and economic conditions of the masses in the coming period.

Even in such a constituency the Conservative candidate has only managed to scrape home by 2,500 votes, where formerly the seat was safe enough for the Tories to go uncontested.

The results in the other constituencies are even more revealing. In Brighton, a safe Conservative seat, the personal intervention of Churchill

failed to secure the election of the Government nominee. This is an indication that the myth which has been built around his name is already losing its grip upon the masses. Skipton, another agricultural area, revealed the trend of the masses. Here the Common Wealth candidate, standing on the platform of nationalisation of the land, secured the support not only of the agricultural labourers, but a large section of the small farmers as well.

The victory of Alderman White, the ex-labour candidate who resigned from the Labour Party in order to contest the seat at West Derbyshire, was an even greater blow at the Tories and the Government. His poll exceeded that of his opponent by over 4,500 votes.

All these blows against the Government are blows against the Labour leaders, policy of coalition with the capitalists. Despite all the efforts of the Labour and Trade Union leaders, of the Labour Ministers in the Government, to hamstring the movement of the masses—this has been of no avail against the rising tide of disgust and discontent.

As significant or even more significant, than the other elections, has been the result of Kirkcaldy. In this working class stronghold the Labour candidate received only 8,000 votes—only 1,600 more than a candidate

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SIT-DOWN STRIKE ON TYNESIDE

A dispute that culminated in a sit-down strike took place in a large electrical manufacturing company, and affected between 5,000 and 6,000 workers on February 8th.

The dispute arose because the bosses used one of their lackeys as a tout to spy on the workers and report irregularities. As a result of the tout's activities, one worker was fined £9 at the local court. The hat was passed round amongst the workers and sufficient money collected to pay the fine.

Feelings against Magnum (the company spy) reached fever pitch and the workers demanded his removal. The boss sent him to a storehouse owned by them in a neighbouring town. The workers here refused to work with him, and compelled the boss to remove him once again. This time Magnum was sent home and the boss paid his wages for staying at home.

Some time after, the magistrates who had tried the recent case, instructed the boss that Magnum should be replaced (in all probability it was the bosses themselves who had raised the matter with the court in an endeavour to bring back the tout who had served them so well).

Once again feelings ran high, and the shop stewards, under pressure, called a meeting during working hours at which it was decided to resort to strike action if Magnum was not removed. A meeting of shop stewards was then held (also working hours) which resolved that unless Magnum was removed no tools would be used after the lunch break, and that work-

ers would sit down at their benches. The negotiating committee then met the management and acquainted them with the workers' decision. As a compromise the management who professed that they were compelled by law to re-instate the man, suggested that he should be employed in the A.R.P. Stores. The manager also stressed that he had not been a party to the "spy racket" which had apparently been the idea of the previous manager. A meeting of shop stewards had been called for 1.30 to consider the results of the meeting of the negotiating committee. At 1 p.m. the workers carried out their plans, and the whole factory ceased production, with the exception of three Stalinist scabs who carried on working. The shop stewards committee met 30 minutes after the strike had started, and the convenor attempted to influence the workers along the lines advocated by the management. The shop stewards decided that the strike must continue.

A mass meeting was called in the factory, in the face of opposition from the C.P. and the Works convenor Temple, who tried to get the workers to accept the bosses' proposal. He backed up his reactionary proposal by handing out the old dope about the "lads at the front", while avoiding the fight against the bosses. But the workers were in no mood for compromise with the bosses. They decided to stay on strike until Magnum was removed. Their solid action resulted in a victory. The management capitulated.

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INDIA FACING WORST FAMINE

(Continued from page 1)

by a British officer for one rupee (1/6d.) and was taken to the Welfare Centre. So far, the number of deaths due to Famine and concurrent diseases in Bengal alone may be estimated between 3½ and 5 millions." All facts taken into account, this figure is not an over-estimation; if anything it is an under-estimation.

One correspondent writes that "rice is rotting in the fields of Bengal for the lack of organisation of transport and distribution, and the hoarding etc., continues unabated." No wonder Mrs. Sarajini Naidu declares the so-called Government solutions as "puppet solutions". Though the India Office gives the false idea that the famine is over or completely under control, their henchman, the Food member of the Government of India, when asked, in the Indian Central Assembly, if he could assure the house that there would be no famine in Bengal next year, declared: "I cannot foretell famine—I am not a prophet."

Churchill has excluded India from the "benefits" of the Atlantic Charter. Recently, the head of the British delegation to the UNRRA Conference, Col. Llewellyn, the Minister of Food, informed the Press at the conference that no resolution on relief for India would be allowed, although many of the delegates of the various Governments were prepared to extend relief to India. The reason given was that UNRRA activities should be confined only to the relief of countries retaken from the Axis! No, it would not suit Churchill, Amery & Co. to allow any spotlight on India and expose their brutal and inhuman policy. The Churchills and Amerys have decent and regular food—what do they care whether millions of Indians die due to starvation and diseases. These Christian gentlemen have never suffered the pangs of hunger. Churchill's only concern, as the "Chief minister of the Crown" is to tighten his grip over the 400,000,000 population of India and to extract bloody tribute for the so called Commonwealth of British Nations and its rulers, the 2,000 parasitic families.

When Churchill fell, ill in Egypt, M. & B. tablets were sent from here to cure him. When thousands of Indians die of Cholera, Smallpox, Malaria, etc., there are no suitable drugs for them, due to the brutal callousness of the Imperialist rulers. The conscience (Christian) of Churchill and Co. may be blunt, and they may be self-satisfied and bury their heads in the sand, thinking that their grip over a quarter of humanity is secure and safe, but sooner than they expect, they will be badly disillusioned.

The people of India, with all the oppressed peoples of the world, will rise and sweep away the human parasites who hold them in bondage. The day of reckoning is not far off, and humanity will justly deal with all parasites and parasite systems—Imperialism, Fascism and Reaction.

Our Fighting Fund

FEBRUARY FIGHTING FUND	
"True Democrat"	12 10
Newcastle W.I.L.	3 14 0
Coventry Study Circle	2 0 0
U.S. Army	1 0 0
"Sympathiser"	1 0 0
Kilburn W.I.L.	5 6 6
S.A.P.	10 10 0
Anon.	1 0 0
Nottingham W.I.L.	4 3 3
Sheffield	2 9
Motherwell W.I.L.	1 0 0
S.W. London W.I.L.	1 5 0
D. J.	4 0
East London Worker	2 0
Egyptian Comrades (Cairo)	8 0 0
J. M.	5 0
F. B. J.	4 0
West London W.I.L.	6 19 7
Southall W.I.L.	3 7 0
Charlie White	3 0 0
"6 Soldiers"	6 0
Glasgow W.I.L.	1 3 0
Leeds W.I.L.	1 0 0
J. S. (Royal Artillery)	6 0
Hendon W.I.L.	19 0
Enfield W.I.L.	2 8 11
S.S. Militants Glasgow	15 0
"The Spoilers"	1 5 0

Total at time of going to press £62 5 10

CHARLES BEDEAUX

Workers who have suffered at the hands of the Bedeaux system experts, will weep no tears at the death of Charles Bedeaux, the originator of the system.

Suicide by poison ended the life of this enemy of the working class, while in the custody of the police in Miami, U.S.A. on charges of treason and communicating with the Nazis. Himself a millionaire, he was said to have "made millions by making millions for men who employ millions." There was nothing new in his basic idea—Karl Marx had very thoroughly analysed the drive of capitalism towards more and more exploitation of the workers—but Charles Bedeaux, through his firm of C. Bedeaux et Cie, for the first time got down to developing methods for the scientific sweating of workers, as a branch of modern industry.

HOW THE BEDEAUX COMPANY WORKS

All workers are exploited under capitalist economy, and employers have always sought to speed up production, especially in mass production factories employing skilled or semi-skilled labour. They call it "rationalisation". But Bedeaux et Cie came along and said: "Pay us a flat rate or a percentage of any increased profits shown under our methods, give us a free hand, and watch the results." The Bedeaux company then sent into the factory a small army of engineers, scientifically trained to get the last ounce of physical and mental effort out of the workers. They used everything—high pressure production methods, mathematical and accounting sections, psychology and even downright intimidation. At first they would promise the workers shorter hours and higher wages, and would in fact institute such better conditions in one part of a factory, while in the rest of the factory the old conditions would remain, and the speed-up men would keep away. Having lulled the suspicions of the workers, the entire factory would be taken over, and before the workers knew what was happening, the entire factory would be running under the Bedeaux system. At first wages would be raised, but very shortly the management would see to it that the old level would return. The result was millions for Bedeaux, millions for the employers, a small rake-off for the Bedeaux engineers, and the limit of physical and mental exhaustion for

the workers, and more of the workers on the dole.

BEDEAUX, THE DUKE OF WINDSOR AND THE NAZIS

Bedeaux found that something he was looking for—Fascism, and the particular brand that was most to his liking—Nazism. The monopoly capitalists, and the aristocratic and Royal circles of Great Britain were and are sympathetic to Bedeaux and his Nazi ideology. These elements look to Fascism to smash the organised working class movement. Is it any wonder that a firm friendship developed between the Duke of Windsor and Charles Bedeaux. Bedeaux himself, after the collapse of France, was collaborator and close friend of high Nazi officials. He was arrested in Algiers when the Allied landing took place. The friendship between the Duke and Bedeaux did not pass unobserved. When the Duke and Duchess of Windsor proposed a tour of the U.S.A. in 1937, escorted by Bedeaux, the indignation of the American workers, and threats of strikes at every plant they visited, caused

THE DEATH OF BEDEAUX DOES NOT END THE BEDEAUX SYSTEM

In the wake of the Bedeaux company there have followed hundreds of "Industrial Advisers" and similar speed-up merchants with high sounding names. "Time study" has become a regular department in all factories. The lesson of the Bedeaux experience is that only relentless working class struggle against the boss and their Bedeaux systems, could protect the workers from inhuman exploitation of this character. We are against all "Time Study" and "rationalisation" methods. If the bosses want more production they must pay for it. Control of piece work must be in the hands of the Shop Committees.

Bedeaux is dead but the struggle against his methods and his followers goes on.

The logical end of all the speed up and rationalisation is Fascism. In economic terms, Fascism means the imposition of a super Bedeaux, the whole capitalist system becomes a Bedeaux system. The struggle against these methods means a struggle against the capitalist system. Only the victory of the workers will see the final death of the ideas of Charles Bedeaux.

Bob Allen.

BOSSSES' IDEA OF POST-WAR WORLD

BY JIM HINCHCLIFFE

With the publishing of the new regulations concerning unemployment and pension allowances, we are provided with a glimpse of the "brave new world" AFTER the war, about which the capitalist spokesmen are sparing no words at the present time, and the sight we witness is a strangely familiar one for those who have experienced the hardships of the pre-war years. Any illusions that the workers are going to live in comfort in the post-war period are most effectively destroyed by the "improvements" which are granted to the workers in this new legislation. To those reactionaries who talk of "socialist agitators stirring up class hatred", are hurled these indisputable figures of allowances which reveal from whence the class hatred really comes—from the capitalist class, with its callous and brutally inhuman treatment of human life!

As examples of ruling class indifference to the fate of the mass of the people, we have the following official figures which speak for themselves.

Whilst a married couple—pensioners—receive 35s. a week on which to eke out an existence, which equals exactly 5s. a day, an unemployed married couple receive only 31s. a week, equaling approximately 4s. 5d. a day. If they have a child—say under eight years of age—they will receive an extra 6s. a week, or 10½d. a day, making a grand total of 5s. 3½d. a day on which they have to pay for all food, clothing, heating and lighting, travel, etc.—a sum which is truly a magnificent expression of the capitalists' "generosity" they, who themselves spend much more upon even the upkeep of their pet domestic animals!

That is not all however, for, if one member of the family manages to earn an odd £1 in order to increase the meagre weekly budget, all earnings over the first -0s. 6d. are deducted from the allowance! Thus we see that the ruling class make fully certain that the worker is kept in abject poverty as long as possible, irrespective of individual effort, and makes it impossible for the worker, who is unemployed through no fault of his own, to lift himself out of the appalling slum conditions. The most elementary right of every worker is to have either work—or full maintenance for himself and his family.

Why is it, one may question, that there is this difference between unemployment and pension allowances? The answer is simple. The worker who is no longer of any use to the capitalists, either by virtue of age or disability, is thrown aside and left to exist upon a meagre pittance, doomed to a dreary and humiliating life within the limits of his few shillings and pence. But for the worker who is fit and capable of work, this allowance—no matter how mean—represents extravagance and would serve to crush his "initiative" and "spirit"!

It is not permissible to grant enough money to actually LIVE on—for don't you see—he would then have no desire to work! THIS IS THE WHOLE BASIS OF CAPITALIST ALLOWANCES, (the Beveridge allowances included) TO GRANT SUMS WHICH MEAN SLOW STARVATION IN EFFECT, in order to drive the worker harder and more ruthlessly to sweat-shop conditions and low rates of pay.

The Labour M.P.'s are of course, eloquent in their WORDY denunciations of these starvation allowances, and are careful to point out that even these microscopic improvements are better than none at all. When however, we consider that the cost-of-living is rising considerably faster than the Government allowances, these "Socialists" are not as they claim, voting for genuine improvements, but are in reality agreeing not to a slight improvement but to an ACTUAL REDUCTION of allowances, when considering the REAL purchasing-power of money at the present time. Thus we see once again, a capitalist "concession" become transformed into a swindle when critically examined!

Tyne Sit-Down Strike

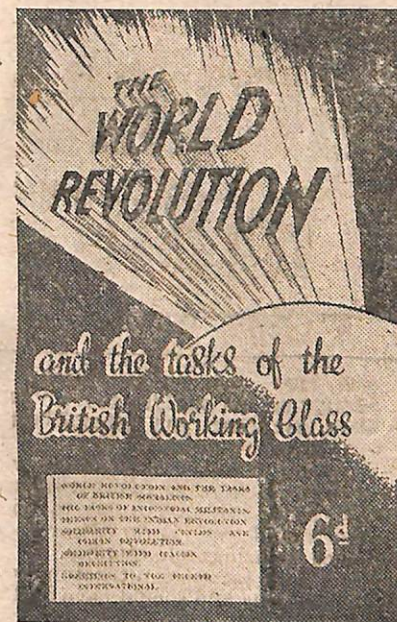
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lated, "taking full responsibility for their actions before the law", and Magnum was removed.

This is the first strike that has taken place in this factory since its inception 50 years ago. Recently there has been a tremendous amount of dissatisfaction in the factory regarding wages and conditions, and the workers were in no frame of mind for any dirty play. The Magnum affair was the last straw that broke the camel's back. In the short course of the strike the C.P.ers and the reactionary trade union leadership were shown up for their co-operation with the boss class.

The principal lessons of the strike are the strength of the workers in combined action, particularly when that action is conducted on the factory premises, and the need for a militant leadership which will refuse collaboration with the boss and fight in the interests of the workers.

NOW ON SALE



SOCIALIST APPEAL

256 HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2
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Farwell Speech of Felix Morrow

A LEADER OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISTS ADDRESSES MEMBERS BEFORE SERVING 16 MONTHS IMPRISONMENT, TOGETHER WITH 17 OTHER S.W.P. LEADERS.

Churchill's Speech

The speech of Winston Churchill of February 22nd was remarkable in the sense that it revealed the twilight of British imperialism and the helpless realisation of this by the foremost representative of British capitalism.

The dependence of Britain on the United States was never more clearly marked than in the statement that SUPREME COMMAND of the invasion forces is to be in the hands of the United States, while 50% of the initial invasion forces will be British. And it is among the first landing forces, of course, that the greatest casualties will take place. This is among the payments the Yankee imperialists have extracted for Lend Lease.

Churchill's emphasis on Britain's large contribution to the "common cause" of the Allies was not made for the purpose of sentimentality, but must have been in reply to some pressure on the part of the Americans. Perhaps it is not without significance that the speech made no mention of the Pacific front by a single word. Coming events will show what is the meaning of this deliberate and calculated omission.

In Europe, Churchill revealed the intention of the ruling class to compromise with the Kremlin bureaucracy on the basis of the bones of the European revolution. For the next period, the cunning Churchill realises that the capitalists cannot control the situation without the aid of Stalin. They are preparing to corrupt or destroy, with Stalin's aid, every mass movement that arises on the Continent of Europe. Thus Tito has apparently been "nobbled", and a mass movement with anti-Capitalist and anti-Landlord tendencies, as well as anti-Nazi, has been turned into channels suitable to the interests of Anglo-American imperialism.

In Italy, Churchill comes out unreservedly for the fascist Badoglio and the King—he gives them full support of British bayonets against the almost unanimous will of the Italian people. For, as Churchill cynically stressed by implication, any other government might, under mass pressure, resist the demands of the Allies—By asking for the implementation of the Atlantic Charter perhaps?

Without blinking an eyelash, Churchill cynically throws overboard the ostensible reason for which Britain entered the war—the protection of the alleged integrity of Poland. True it is that Poland had grabbed Vilna from Lithuania, and seized the Ukraine from Russia. Churchill conveniently calls these facts to mind to justify British imperialism's policy today. But this obviously had as little weight as the seizure of Teschen by Poland from Czechoslovakia had in influencing British support for Poland in 1939. Churchill finds the solution of the problem in the dismemberment of Germany. 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 Germans in the "North" and "West" of Germany are to be placed under Polish domination, or forcibly transferred to a shattered and starving Germany. This is to use precisely the methods of Hitler.

The speech is an indication of the uncertainty of the ruling class even in the anticipation of the defeat of their main rival. It is not they who will decide events tomorrow. The forces they have unleashed will master them. They will follow Mussolini and Hitler into limbo. It is the proletariat of Europe who will have the last say!

Just a few weeks ago at the C.I.O. convention, among the delegates and other union officials, I ran into quite a sprinkling of people who had been with me in the Young People's Socialist League. They were also, in the in-between years, ex-communists, ex-Lovestoneites, ex-SPers, and an ex-Oehlerite and an ex-Stammite. They were people who had got tired of isolation and had decided to swim with the stream (so they think) and, incidentally, are getting very good pay for it. Now, having doffed their radicalism, they are persons of some weight in the trade unions (for this period.) And they were all of the unanimous opinion that the Minneapolis defendants would never serve a day in jail.

One of them, who is now a member of Hillman's brain trust and, therefore, practically, he thinks, with a private pipe-line to the White House, took me into a dark corner and assured me, on the the "highest authority" that the Minneapolis case was bottled up for the duration of the war, and after the war the Supreme Court would declare the Smith Act unconstitutional and finish the case. Another had it that the Supreme Court would avoid the question of the constitutionality of the Smith Act by freeing us on a technicality. Each had a different story, but the same happy ending for us.

Why these reassurances to us from people who are no friends of ours, but bitter enemies? In reality, they were reassuring themselves. They wanted to believe that the Minneapolis case had never got beyond the stage of being part of an innerunion fight between us and Tobin, in which Tobin "happened" to get some help from Washington. They wanted to believe that once that innerunion fight was over and the Minneapolis drivers had been driven back into Tobin's union, that then the government had no further interest in persecuting us. They wanted to believe that we were wrong when we said that Roosevelt's aid to Tobin was simply the immediate cause of the Minneapolis persecution, and that the basic cause is the government's attempt to crush the revolutionary vanguard and thereby behold the workers' movement before the workers begin to move again. They wanted to believe that we were wrong in saying that the government's object is to suppress and silence and drive into illegality the Marxist party of this country.

In short, these ex-radicals didn't want to face the fact that if the Supreme Court sent us to prison, they could no longer deny to themselves the basic class significance of the Minneapolis case. And by class significance

I don't mean merely that it is a blow at free speech and trade union rights. It is, of course such a blow, and that is the basis on which every section of the labour movement is duty-bound to support us in our fight. But its class significance goes much deeper. This case has developed far beyond the original fight with Tobin. These people at the C.I.O. convention who said that the fight with Tobin was over and done with were perfectly right. Where they made their mistake was in drawing the conclusion that, therefore, Washington would let us go free.

It was not to help Tobin that the Supreme Court violated its own established precedents. It was no longer for Tobin that the Supreme Court took the unheard of step of refusing to hear the first case testing the constitutionality of a new law. What we predicted before the Minneapolis trial, in our Plenum-Conference resolution of October 1941 has now been verified to the full. We predicted then, two years and three months ago, that though the immediate cause of the prosecution was our fight with Tobin, it would become clear that the basic cause was the attempt by the government to crush the Marxist movement. That prediction is now verified beyond refutation by the brazen action of the Supreme Court.

And beyond refutation too is the fundamental reason why the government is attempting to crush the revolutionary movement. That fundamental reason is that American imperialism, on the very eve of its military triumph

over its imperialist competitors, fears that the fruits of that military victory will be nipped in the bud by the aftermath of the military battle—the class battles, the revolutionary wave in Europe and the awakening of the American working class.

American imperialism fears that the future belongs to us. American imperialism fears that revolutionary future and it strikes out viciously against us.

That is the fundamental class meaning of the Supreme Court decision. That is the truth which could not be faced by those ex-radicals at the C.I.O. convention who assured themselves that we were not going to prison.

The future belongs to us. Nevertheless, we know that between the present and that revolutionary future there still lies a period of great difficulties, of isolation, in which the ruling class, as the Supreme Court decision indicates, will in all probability aim still heavier blows against our movement than the imprisonment of the 18.

In that difficult period that still lies ahead of us, for those who will remain at the helm and in the ranks of the party, it will be a period of combining caution and daring, patience and heroism.

No one can predict in any detail how the party will have to work during that difficult period. What can be said, however, is what we said in that same resolution to which I have already referred, the resolution of the Plenum-Conference of October 1941, which today deserves renewed study by the party. We outlined in that resolution the two-sided process whereby the party could withstand the blows of federal prosecution and go on to new gains.

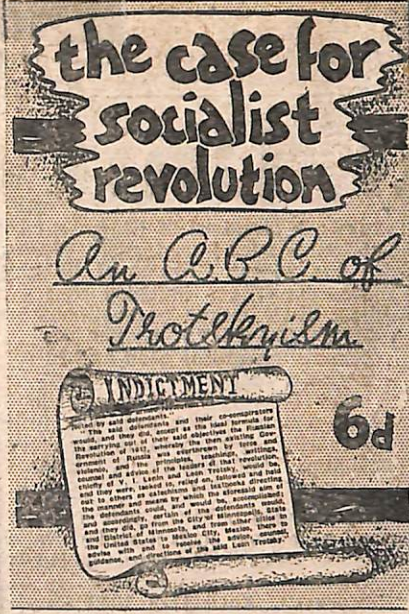
One side of that process is to face outward to the masses. It has long been a well-understood axiom of the revolutionary movement that the way to resist persecution is to sink our roots deeper and deeper into the masses. Hence the resolution especially emphasised carrying our case into the trade unions, participation by the party in elections, a turn to political work in the factories, systematic recruiting into the party. Thus we would combat federal prosecution externally.

The second side to the process of combating persecution is internal. Here is how we put it in our resolution. I just want to read a few lines:

"An intensive campaign is required for the internal preparation of the party to withstand the blow of Federal prosecution. The only people who can stand up under this kind of governmental pressure are people who have a historical outlook and a profound understanding of what they are fighting for. Mere activism, sometimes sufficient for day to day work, is not enough to stand up under the blows of persecution. . . . The difference between a trade union militant and a politically educated Trotskyist is immeasurable; it is qualitative. The best of yesterday's trade union militants are today succumbing under the pressure of the war situation. Only those will survive who are not only rooted in the working class movement but who have the Marxist outlook to see beyond the present difficulties to the new horizons."

Deeper into the mass movement, systematic education in Marxism for all party members—that is the process by which we will fight off the government's attack. And out of the ranks thus grounded in Marxism, will come, I am confident, the forces to lead the party no matter what happens to us or even to the leadership which takes our place. Given new responsibilities, comrades hitherto unnoticed will prove themselves worthy of leadership. Under the test of fire, new leaders, all that we will need, will come forward.

And with that certainty, easy in my heart, I take leave of you for a little while.



National Unity

BY ARTHUR PRIEST

The writer of this article was a member of the Y.C.L. and Communist Party for several years, and played a leading role in the Birmingham district of the C.P. as a member of the Midlands District Committee. He broke with Stalinism on the dissolution of the Comintern.

The choice lies open to the British Labour Movement, both now and in the critical period immediately following the cessation of hostilities, the choice of class collaboration or the path of class struggle, the path of "National Unity" and "democracy within the framework of Capitalism"—or the path of Social change, the path of Social Revolution.

Imperialism, Lenin taught us, is the highest stage of Capitalism, the era of wars and revolutions. We are living to-day in the period of the greatest crisis of monopoly capital, when the struggle for world domination between the imperialist powers has resulted in the second great world

war. Two major conflagrations in twenty-five years. Truly this blood bath of capitalism will produce new forces and new alignments of power, new opportunities for the international revolutionary workers movement.

Out of the last war was born the glorious Russian Revolution of 1917. What is the perspective opened up to the British people in this most critical phase of imperialist domination? It is the perspective of great opportunity and also a perspective of great danger calling for the most militant and progressive leadership from the vanguard of the working class movement. It is a perspective which is dominated by (Continued on back page)

CHURCHILL'S SUPPORT CRUMBLING

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standing on the reactionary and puerile programme of the Scottish Nationalist Party, while a candidate standing for "Christian Socialism" received 1,100 votes. This was a sharp revelation to the Labour leaders of the real feelings of the rank and file. The workers are becoming more and more critical of the deeds of the Labour leaders in the Government and are seeking an alternative policy. The vote for Scottish Nationalism was a gesture of despair.

From this, one thing stands out clearly: the masses are moving in one direction while the Labour and Trade Union bureaucracy are moving in another. The so-called political truce—in reality political capitulation—is already shaking. Faced with this situation, the Labour Party Executive and the Labour Ministers called a special meeting to discuss the position. Instead of an inspiring lead, they decided to continue the coalition. According to the *Daily Telegraph* report, "the extent of such support (to Tory and Liberal candidates at by-elections) will be left to local decision." This cowardly gesture was taken only because of the obvious impossibility of forcing the local Labour workers to carry this out and the inevitability of a revolt within the rank and file of the Labour Party against the leaders.

The movement to the left has been clearly revealed in the by-elections. Yet here only the older people have voted because of the outdated register. The vote of a whole new generation would be even more in the direction of the left. Not only the masses at home, but even more in the Forces, the workers are heartily fed-up with the Tory Party of Big Business. A mock election in Cairo in a Forces Club gave 17 to the Tory, 38 to the Liberals, 55 to Common Wealth, and 119 to the Labour Party. These figures

are astonishing! The vote for Common Wealth in the army, as in Britain itself, is an indication of the leftward movement of the middle class which is leaning towards socialism. But this is not the only indication of the process of radicalisation.

Even sections of the capitalist press have commented on the widespread development of support for "Communism" among large sections of the population, especially the youth. The pressure has been so great that the strike-breaking and pro-Government Communist Party leaders, have been compelled to alter their policy of support for Tory candidates and support their opponents at by-elections.

Never in history have the masses been so ready for a fighting lead! A campaign for a general election and for the putting into force of a Socialist programme by the Trade Union and Labour leaders would win the overwhelming support of the workers in the factories and in the army; the middle class could also be won on a fighting programme, as has been proved by recent events. A socialist appeal could pave the way for the coming to power of the Labour Party with an overwhelming majority of the people behind it. The coming to power of the Labour Party on a Socialist programme, and the carrying through of such a programme, would strike a death blow at the Nazis. All reports from Germany indicate that the German masses are only holding on because of their fear of the victory of Anglo-American imperialism.

The imperialists expect desperate resistance from the German soldiers when the Second Front is launched. One of the members of the Government recently proclaimed in a speech that the casualties of the Second Front for the British troops would be as high as the ghastly slaughter of Passchendaele and the Somme in the last war. And the workers, by their

votes, have already shown that they are beginning to realise what the aftermath of "victory" will be for them. But a Socialist appeal from the British workers would immediately arouse a response in Germany and prepare the way for the overthrow of Hitler by the aroused workers and soldiers of Germany and Europe.

Workers' International League stands for such a programme. The Labour leaders could take power almost without resistance from the ruling class. They are holding the workers back. But in the coming days events will break the truce. As the first step

towards the workers taking power it is necessary that the Labour leaders end the shameful capitulation to Big Business. Side by side with the workers the W.I.L. will fight for such a position. In the struggle we are confident that we will convince the workers of the correctness of our position. Labour Workers! It is time to end the farce of "National Unity" with the monopoly capitalists! The Tories have no mandate from the people. The by-elections show that they have lost the confidence of the masses. End the Truce! For a General Election! Labour to power on a Socialist programme!

Why German Soldiers Resist

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attractive power for the German soldiers.

The Soviet Information Bureau can give no more substantial reason for the rejection of the terms than the following statement:

"But the commanders and the rank and file of the surrounded German troops had been fooled by an order from Hitler which demanded from officers and men that they should hold out at any cost."

The "Daily Worker" however, of February 19th, goes further and explains the suicides thus:

"These mass suicides of German officers and soldiers in the ravines and gullies of the Dnieper forests are an indication of the degree to which the Wehrmacht, from upper to lower ranks, is still poisoned by a perverted patriotism and panic-stricken by the fear that retribution will be demanded for their crimes. It gives an idea of the control that Hitler has still on the rank and file of his army."

It will become the "Communist" Party to write of "perverted patriotism" while it is the most jingoistic supporter of Anglo-American imperialism's war.

To draw the conclusion from the suicides that Hitler still has mass support is to deliberately ignore what has happened. Ten years of fascism has completely exposed the myth of national socialism. Large numbers of the youth whom Hitler was able to win over and who formed the elite of the Wehrmacht, those who without a great struggle over-ran Europe, have long since perished on the vast steppes of Russia. The Wehrmacht today is like the armies of the Allied imperialists—it is a conscript army of unwilling workers and peasants who allow themselves to be led to the slaughter because they see no other alternative.

The German masses fear a new super Versailles. They have not forgotten what happened after the last war; they remember the numbers of women and children who died of starvation; they remember the reparations and the occupation of the Ruhr. Hitler's propaganda thrives on Vansittartism, he can point to the fate that awaits the German people should they be defeated. And the plans of the Kremlin for the dismemberment of a defeated Germany and for its enslavement serves to rally the German masses behind Hitler. As an example it is only necessary to quote Ilya Ehrenburg, Stalin's spokesman, writing in the "New York Times" of Dec. 26th:

"I hope that no sentimental advocates will come forward to defend the incendiaries, that the guilty persons will be put in the dock, that the millions of soldiers who have reduced Europe to a 'desert zone' will be made to work ten years crushing stones and hewing wood."

These proposals openly canvassed in the Russian and Allied press, together with the discussion of schemes to dismember Germany and the disgraceful campaign of racial hatred and chauvinism, naturally act as grist to the mill

of Hitler. How far they are from the socialist-internationalist position of Lenin! The young and weak Red Army was able to stand up to the might of the Kaiser's army, not because it was stronger but because of the socialist propaganda of Lenin and Trotsky which made every Red Army man a propagandist among the German soldiers for a new world, free from capitalist exploitation and war. This propaganda was so effective in demoralising the German soldiers whom the German imperialists used on the Eastern front, that despite the pressing need of soldiers on the Western front, Ludendorff did not dare to transfer these troops "infected" with Bolshevism, lest they spread the virus among unaffected troops. If we accept the statements of the Stalinists themselves as authentic, they reveal that in this case, despite their hopeless position, the German soldiers preferred to resist to the death rather than go over to the Red Army, and the Stalinists allege, even commit suicide. If true, this constitutes a self-indictment of Stalinist policy.

But despite Stalin's reactionary dreams, despite the slanders on the German workers and soldiers, the vicious programme of imperialism and of the Stalinists will not be realised. In the coming period the German workers and soldiers will find a way out of their dilemma; they will overthrow Hitler and attempt together with the workers and soldiers of Russia and other countries, to establish a Socialist United States of Europe.

GIRL WORKERS' WAGES CUT

To the Editor,

I am writing on behalf of 60 girls employed by Ultra Electric, London. We have been working on aircraft work now for about three years. Owing to the contract finishing in April, we have been informed we will have to be transferred to the Wireless Department.

An average of 5 girls are taken off Aircraft every week and moved to the Wireless Shop at a lower rate of pay. These girls, when on aircraft, were earning 11d., 11d. and 1/ an hour, plus 50 per cent bonus. They are now getting 10d. an hour plus 7 1/2 per cent and an extra 15/- for the first 3 months. After being in the wireless shop for 3 months, the 15/- is deducted from their wages and they have to make their own bonus. There are girls in the Wireless Shop who were sent to Ultra Electric 6 months ago and they say it is impossible for them to earn more than 7d.

The girls remaining on Aircraft now are getting 1/1d. and 1/2d. an hour plus 50 per cent bonus. These will be transferred to the Wireless Shop before April which will mean the 1/2d. girls will have a drop of 28/- a week for the first 3 months. And after this period when the 15/- is deducted they will be getting £2. 3. 0 less per week. We have been informed that this has been passed by the Transport and General Workers Union and the Manpower Board.

A meeting was held in the factory a few weeks ago and Mr. Curtiss of the Transport and General Workers Union advised us to go into the Wireless Department, and said it was a very generous offer on the part of the firm, as we would have a job after the war.

Some girls are working in cinemas in the evening as it is impossible to live on their wages.

A demonstration round the works was held started by the girls in the Wireless Shop and soon it was followed by the girls in other departments. After 2 1/2 hours negotiations nothing was achieved.

Yours fraternally,
Ultra Worker.

National Unity

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the question—Reaction or Social Revolution?

British Imperialism now in the most critical period of decline seeks out means of support for the war and for the post war period when the life and death of capitalism will lie in the balance. In the last world war the slogan was—"a land fit for heroes to live in"—this was the slogan that was used to pull the wool over the eyes of the British people. This time, however, the people will not be so easily fooled, so we have more subtle schemes. Great is the flow of Beveridge Reports and similar gestures of loving kindness of the British bourgeoisie to the working class. But we shall not be disillusioned if the saucer of milk turns out to be vinegar.

In seeking out means for support in times of crisis, imperialism turns inevitably to Social Democracy, to the Labour Party to support the decayed and rotten pillars of capitalism. No Conservative could regiment the workers in Britain's industry like the Lab-ourite Ernie Bevin; no right wing Tory could get away with the actions of the Socialist (?) Herbert Morrison; no dried representative of imperialism would dare to go to India with such rotten proposals to the just demands of the Indian masses, as the "Left Wing" Sir Stafford Cripps.

Increasing numbers of the workers are turning away from such "leadership" and the task of the left is to win them for a Socialist Revolutionary policy.

That the imperialists intend to use Social Democracy as a means of continuing the rule of imperialism in the post war period, we can have no doubt.

Witness the words of Lord Worthington in a letter to the Editor of "News Letter", January 1942:

"A great reorganisation of our industrial system will be necessary if we are to hold our place and main-

tain our standard of life in a world of free or even freer trade. Workers in the widest sense must be given more say in the industry that provides their means of livelihood and DIRECTORSHIPS should be the ultimate reward of good and faithful service. . . .

The Labour Party might do all these things in our own way unless their leftists push aside their more moderate and experienced leaders." A.P.

That certain Labour Leaders are prepared to accept such a policy we can have no doubt, as the words of Herbert Morrison, in an interview in the "Observer", April 17th 1943, give no room for doubt:

"The Conservatives have done much more nationalisation and brought more services under control than has the Labour Party. They did the telephones, the Metropolitan Water Board, the Central Electricity Board, and the B.B.C. . . . The issue of public-control is not really as dogmatically disputed as we are prepared to make out."

That the British Communist Party is fulfilling a similar role to the Labour Party—the role of Social Democracy—is undisputed by all conscious revolutionaries. The policy of support for the electoral truce and of "National Unity" pursued by the Communist Party leads inevitably to class collaboration. The parties of the (now deceased) Third International have decided upon a policy of Social Democracy and betrayed the essence of the Socialist Revolution.

Now as never before must the call go out to all class conscious workers throughout the world. Once more must be raised the banner of Social Revolution. Let us unite all the forces of the Left behind a Marxist Revolutionary programme. Forward to the British Revolution. Forward to the United Socialist States of Europe.