

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Workers of the World Unite.

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

TYNE WORKERS CLOSE RANKS

Strike Breaking Shop Stewards Kicked Out

BY JOCK HASTON

APPROXIMATELY 40,000 TYNE SHIPBUILDING WORKERS RETURNED TO WORK ON TUESDAY, 13th OCTOBER, AFTER AN EIGHT DAY STRIKE WHICH INVOLVED 80% OF THE WORKERS IN ALL TRADES EMPLOYED ON THE TYNESIDE YARDS. THE WORKERS WERE DEFEATED IN THEIR STRUGGLE, FOR ALTHOUGH THEY GAINED SOME MINOR CONCESSIONS, THEY HAD TO RETURN TO WORK ON THE BOSSES' TERMS.

DUE TO THE ABLE LEADERSHIP OF THEIR SHOP STEWARDS, HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO "DRIFT" BACK TO WORK, NO DEMORALISATION, BUT A RETURN OF A UNIFIED BODY OF MEN—DEFEATED, BUT RETREATING IN GOOD ORDER. THEIR RANKS HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED AS THE RESULT OF THE STRUGGLE.

THIS IS THE BIGGEST STRIKE SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR. CONSIDERING THE RELATIVE UNIMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE, IT IS AN INDICATION OF THE RESTIVE MOOD OF THE WORKERS AS THE RESULT OF THE CONTINUOUS PIN PRICKING OF THE BOSS CLASS, AIDED BY THE UNION LEADERS.

The action of the workers was provoked by the manoeuvres of the union leaders of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions with the employers' organisation, the Tyne Shipbuilding Association who sprang a new agreement without prior consultation with the workers or by their consent. In general the strike was directed against the high handed actions of the trade union bureaucrats. The agreement altered the day to which wages were made up from Tuesday to the previous Sunday, thus leaving two extra days lying in the hands of the employers.

When notices were first posted up announcing the new agreement towards the beginning of September, the workers were very angry and one of the yards, Redland's, went on strike from the 10th to the 11th of September while the others threatened to follow suit. As the result of these actions the employers agreed to postpone the agreement for one month for further consideration by the C.S.E.U. and the T.S.A. They then announced at the end of September that they had decided to adhere to the agreement, but meanwhile the employers would make up the two days pay which the workers would be short in their packets, over a period of 20 weeks. The workers, or their representatives the shop stewards were not consulted about this proposed solution before it was announced. Although the bosses had made a slight concession the workers refused to countenance it.

In view of the serious shipping shortage and the urgent need for more ships, the workers did not wish to hold up production and proposed that the old agreement should stand until the claims of the owners as to the raising of the new "total time" day were investigated by the shop stewards, and its bona fides established.

At mass meetings held in all the shipyards on Saturday, October 3rd, the workers decided that unless this was carried out and the notices of the new agreement were withdrawn when they reported for work on the following Monday they would not commence work. They published their decision in the press and made it known by special message to the Unions, Employers and the Government. Despite the seriousness of the situation, no action was taken by any of these official bodies to solve the question during the week-end.

The employers remained adamant and when the workers turned up on Monday morning, the notices were still posted and 80% of the men adhered to their decision.

That afternoon, at meetings of the workers, they decided that in face of the attitude of the owners they would be forced to withhold their labour until the employers agreed to listen reasonably, and that meanwhile they would attempt to influence the Government to undertake an inquiry. The attitude of the Government was demonstrated, however, by the reply of Bevin in the House of Commons to a question by a Tory M.P. who asked if the Government was prepared to see that the agreement was "honoured". Bevin replied: "Certainly. We do not intend to depart from the agreement made between the two parties."

The following day the shop stewards were addressed by the Labour advisor to the Admiralty, Mr. Westwood, by Admiral Maxwell, Admiral of the Port, by Mr. Adair, Northern Area Ministry of Labour Conciliation Officer, and finally by Mr. J. G. Morgan as a representative of the C.S.E.U. They all urged back to work and then maybe an inquiry; they "reminded" the workers of the seriousness of the shipping situation and asked them "not to play Hitler's game". Every tactic was used to suppress upon the workers that "public opinion" was against them and that they stood alone. When the workers asked these people to use their influence to get the employers to lift the notices, they refused. The workers stated that if this was done, and the question was put to arbitration, they would abide by the findings of the court, but their plea was pushed aside and unconditionally refused.

The employers claimed that the new arrangement was necessary as the re-

sult of a shortage of clerical staff although their office employees were working only the normal peace time clerical day. Even if this statement were correct it was obvious that a serious situation had arisen and the men were in no mood to be trifled with. At the most the new arrangement would save the time of a few dozen clerks who were not producing the needed ships. Meanwhile thousands of skilled workers of all grades and trades were standing idle. More labour hours were being wasted each day of the strike than the few extra clerks could make up in a dozen years.

In view of the insistence of the Government statements as to the serious shipping crisis and in view of the press statements of the employers themselves prior to, and as a result of the strike, it was quite clear that it was criminal on their part to force a deadlock. If the employers had been one tenth sincere in their statements regarding ship production, they would have agreed to the workers' demands even had the workers been in the wrong. But their protestations of patriotism were exposed as hypocrisy and sham by their whole bearing during the strike. They preferred hundreds of thousands of man hours lost so long as their dictatorial capitalist interests were maintained. At all costs they must show the workers who were masters!

GIVE INDIANS THE VOTE

By Bill Chalk

A DELIBERATE POLICY OF DECEPTION HAS BEEN ADOPTED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO MINIMISE THE STRUGGLES OF THE INDIAN MASSES.

India has disappeared from the front pages of the British Press and during these last few weeks a note of satisfaction has been clearly discernable in the utterances of the British statesmen. We are told that the situation in India is returning to normal and that the firm stand of the Government on behalf of law and order is having a very satisfactory effect. Attlee assures the House that the Nationalist movement embraces only a small minority of Congress malcontents and that the vast majority of the Indian masses were not affected.

Against whom then is the latest crop of repressive legislation directed? One glance at the content of this legislation will suffice to give the lie to Attlee. The most casual survey of recent measures against the Indians

In line with the employers, the boss class press attacked the workers from every angle. "The most stupid strike ever!" "The craziest strike in trade union history!" screamed the headline was pretty shrill and betrayed lines. Nevertheless in every paper the nervousness. They were dealing with a solid and determined body of men.

At first they portrayed the strike as a flop: "Most of the men remained at work" . . . "thousands more were listening to sensible counsel and returning the following morning . . ." But this soon gave way to another angle. Plenty of space was given to quoting statements of the Communist Party urging the end of the strike and by Len Powell, Stalinist secretary of the fast dwindling National Council of Shop Stewards. The appeal was made to the workers "not to let Russia down." The "Daily Express" piped up with the headline that the women shipyard workers were helping to beat the strike and that the women folk were hostile to the strike. "Helping Sons—Not Hitler" ran another headline. But this statement was flattened by the Newcastle "Evening Chronicle" which was forced to admit that the women strikers were even more determined than the men. As evidence of this it reported an incident at South Shields where: "some men who went into work on Monday were greeted by a crowd of

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These People Do Not Represent Indian Masses



Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, and the Indian National Defense Council

CHURCHILL WAITING—FOR A WEAKENED RUSSIA

By DAVID JAMES

Workers Must Control Supplies to Soviet Union

"THE AMERICANS AND THE BRITISH HAVE SENT US VERY FEW AIRCRAFT, AND NOT THE BEST THAT THEY HAVE EITHER. WHAT IS THE POINT OF TAKING SO MUCH TROUBLE TO SHIP ANTIQUATED MACHINES ACROSS THE SEAS THE READER WILL ASK. I FIND IT HARD TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION, WHICH I HAVE OFTEN ASKED MYSELF."

This is what the spokesman of Stalin, Ilya Ehrenburg is forced to reveal. And for this measure of "aid" Stalin has sold the Communist International and tied the working class behind the British and American imperialists. For the scrap that British imperialism no longer requires and has replaced with more modern material, the workers are asked to "sacrifice" more and more in the interests of "Aid to Russia"! They are asked to place confidence in Churchill and his Government which is sabotaging real aid.

OUR ATTITUDE ON AID TO RUSSIA

From the beginning of the Soviet-German war the attitude of the "Socialist Appeal" on aid to the Soviet Union has been clear and uncompromising. Analyzing this war as essentially a class war between an imperialist and a workers' state, we have warned that to rely on the imperialists of Britain and America to aid Russia is to sabotage the only real aid that can be given: the struggle for socialism against the interests of all imperialists. We have pointed out that the policy expressed by Moore Brabazon is the secret policy of the whole capitalist class; we have warned that the imperialists of Britain and America would give just enough aid to ensure that the war would be a long one, waiting for the combatants to become mutually exhausted, and then to step in and deal a death blow to both for their own interests.

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.

THE POLICY OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS

Recent events have confirmed this analysis to the hilt. The barrage of resolutions and deputations has not moved the imperialists one inch. Churchill sits in the house of Commons and refuses to answer questions. However, divergencies are developing in the ranks of the capitalists along the line: has the Soviet Union been sufficiently weakened: will the Germans be allowed to advance still further? It is purely a matter of imperialist calculation.

Mr. Wendell Willkie, who can hardly be accused of having any sympathy with the cause of Labour, believes that the moment has arrived for a Second Front. On the other hand Mr. Tom Connelly, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, told the United States Senate that it was very unfortunate that Mr. Wendell Willkie should have been so free with his comments: "Mr. Willkie's statements might cause disunity between the Governments of the United States and Soviet Russia."

The decisive section of the ruling class is against opening a Second Front. However, as the "New York Herald" said:

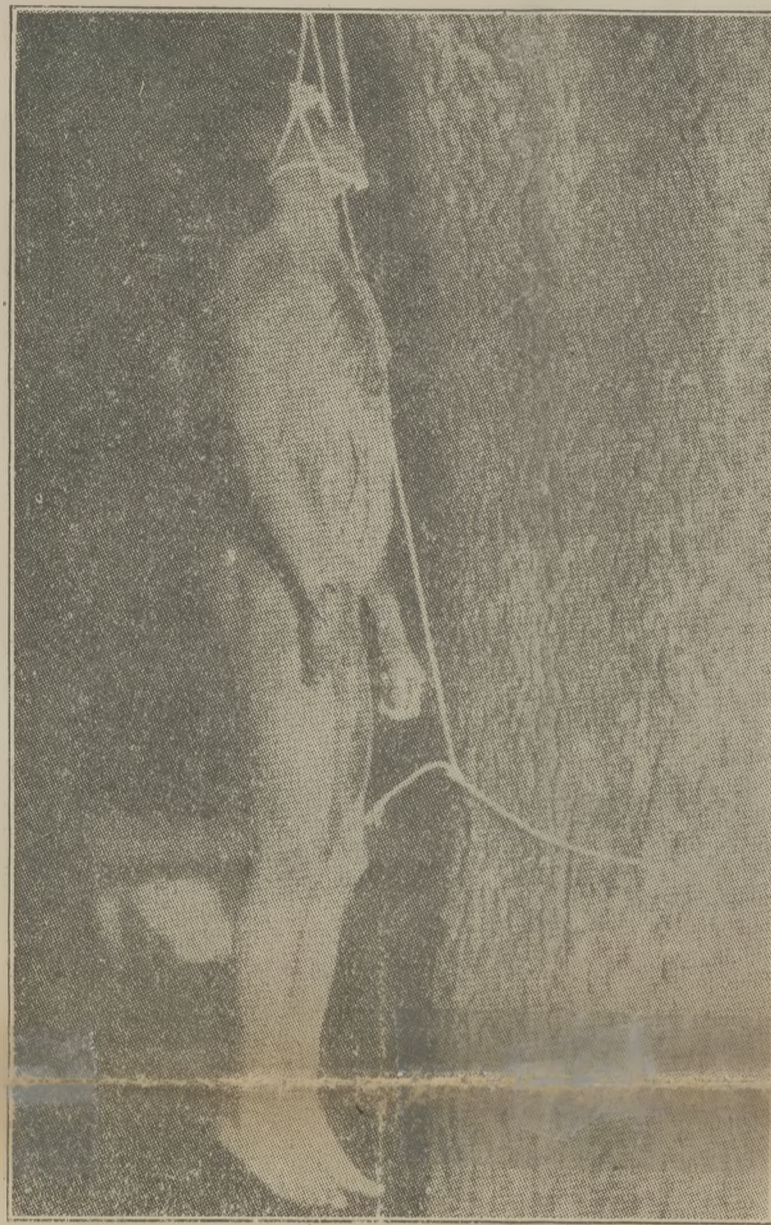
"The military decision for a Second Front has also been made. The one remaining question is that of timing. This cannot in the nature of things be made by popular pressure."

Exactly! The imperialists must be free to decide exactly when they shall intervene.

This is the tragedy of the situation: after intensive propaganda on the part of Stalin and his "Communist" hacks, designed to align the masses behind their imperialist rulers on the pretext that they will render the needed aid to the Soviet Union, they learn, they "discover" that the imperialists

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IN THE LAND OF THE FREE—



Reproduced from the American "Challenge"

The Above is a picture of Claude Neal after he had been lynched in the United States (1934). Note mutilation of Neal's chest and thighs. Note also how fingers have been cut from hands as "souvenirs." After this picture was taken toes were cut from the feet, also as "souvenirs."

One of the participants described it as follows:

"After taking the nigger to the woods about four miles from Greenwood, they cut off his sexual organs and he was made to eat them and say he liked it."

Then they sliced his sides and stomach with knives and every now and then somebody would cut off a finger or toe. Red hot irons were used on the nigger to burn him from top to bottom. After several hours of this torture they decided to just kill him."

In 1940 there were "only" four lynchings, a few in comparison with previous years. And yet even today the Anti-Lynch Bill has not been able to get through the "democratic" Roosevelt government.

United States Officer Caste Force Race Discrimination

BY JIM HENOVOLIFTE

With the influx of American troops there is being imported into this country a colour prejudice against Negro troops which is alien to the traditions and sentiments of the British working class.

The voice of organised labour must be raised against the concessions that are being made to the anti-democratic and vicious race prejudices of the American officer caste. The workers must make it plain to the ruling class that no concessions will be tolerated on this issue; that equal status must be given to all regardless of race, colour or creed.

Stories of Negroes being turned out of hotels, refused admittance into dance-halls, instructed not to mix with white people, and the existence of a colour-bar in some air-raid shelters. These stories have filtered through and have received a limited amount of publicity in the daily press in recent weeks and months.

Hannen Swaffer wrote in the "Daily Herald" (16.9.42) that:

"The problem of 'colour' is proving very embarrassing to the authorities" and admitted that, "at the request of American military chiefs, who fear trouble here, British officials have tacitly agreed to the banning of coloured troops in saloon-bars and from certain dance halls." Further on that "in at least one A.T.S. station it has been ordered that any girl seen going out with a Negro shall be moved to a different depot 'for some other reason'."

Further evidence is provided by a letter to the "Times" (2.10.42) where a reader who manages a snack-bar in Oxford wrote of an incident:

"The other night a coloured United States soldier came into our establishment and very diffidently presented himself. He was wearing a uniform and a mandarin collar. He said: 'I am a soldier in the U.S. Army, and it is necessary that he sometimes has a meal, which he has, on occasions, found difficult to obtain. I would be grateful if you would look after him. Naturally we 'looked after' him to the best of our ability, but I could not help feeling ashamed that in a country where even stray dogs are 'looked after' by special societies, a citizen of the world, who is fighting the world's battle for freedom and equality, should have found it necessary to place himself in this humiliating position."

In the "Daily Herald" on Sept. 22nd we find support for "Jim Crowism" from no other than the Bishop of Salisbury whose "christian learning" has led him to the conclusion "that the sharp distinction drawn between white and black across the Atlantic is

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BELFAST BOSSES ATTACK T.U. RIGHTS

By Bob Armstrong
Our Belfast Correspondent

The strike of over 10,000 Belfast workers which is shaking the whole of Northern Ireland has received scant attention in the British press. News from the censored press indicates that the strike is spreading.

The following report from our Belfast correspondent indicates the scope and intensity of the conflict. The significant aspect of this struggle is the high standard of consciousness the Belfast workers are displaying in taking such a magnificent stand on the issue of trade union principles and the rights of the workers to organise. It demonstrates also how the employers are attempting to use the war and the sentiments of the workers on the Soviet Union, in order to smash down trade union practices and democratic rights.

BELFAST.—The great strike struggle continues. I am forced to denote the two main strikes in progress as "Strike of the Engineers of Factory No. 1" and "Strike of the Electricians of Factory No. 2." There are also widespread sympathetic strikes.

Although Factory No. 1 was not the first to down tools, it involves the largest number of workers. Although this great walk out came like a bolt from the blue to the general public, the situation had been simmering for a long time as the result of the reactionary nature of the employers. A series of provocative incidents preceded the final cause—insolence towards shop stewards; repeated violations of the Factory Act, especially regarding the hours worked by young girls; and gross mismanagement.

The immediate issue which precipitated the strike arose out of the question of Sunday work. The workers asked to be allowed to

work on Sunday with a view to making ends meet by earning more, and motivated by a desire to increase production in the interests of Russia and speed up the destruction of Hitlerism. The workers are learning in practice exactly what the capitalists mean by the so called "war for democracy": extorting concessions from the workers and sacrificing trade union practices while they pile up the profits. Calculating that Sunday work would be unprofitable, the management refused to concede this demand. Nevertheless, the workers arrived at work on the Sunday. The management thereupon called in the police to eject them. When the Convener and the sub Convener sought out the management to protest AGAINST THIS, they were sacked on the spot. A meeting was held immediately and the workers were forced to resort to strike action. On the following night, the management reaffirmed their decision to debar the shop stewards in question from the premises.

The strike in Factory No. 2 (electricians) was precipitated by the action of the management in employ-

ing a non-Unionist. When challenged, this man, who has never belonged to a Union, stated that he had been working for a certain Dublin firm. This was obviously false, as the firm in question is 100% organised. The issue is clear. The boss is attempting to put his open shop principle into practice. This dispute has been in progress 26 days to date.

Joint representations from the Strike Committee, the Labour Party Executive and the Trades Council were made to the Minister of Labour, Gordon, and to the Prime Minister, Andrews, to compel the firms concerned to return to the pre-strike status quo. These Ministers refused to comply with this request, saying that they had not the power to use against the employers; although, as is known, the Stormont Government has a superfluity of power when it comes to using it against the workers.

Great mass meetings have been held almost daily in Belfast's largest hall. Owing to the great number on strike, all non-strikers are excluded and

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VICKERS SHIPWRIGHTS WIN VICTORY

BY M. ORTON

The provocative actions of Vickers Armstrong Ltd. Barrow, were directly responsible for the cessation of work by 400 shipwrights on September 22nd.

In a statement issued by the Strike Committee, the shipwrights pointed out that for over two years they had endeavored to operate a contract system in the belief that it would increase production.

Determined to bring their iron fist down upon the rebellious workers, the bosses reduced their wages by 3d. an hour. The only effect of this provocation was to strengthen the determination of the men not to succumb.

MARCHBANKS BETRAYS LINCOLN BUS WORKERS

The recent strike of 170 busmen in Lincolnshire has aroused wide interest throughout the country.

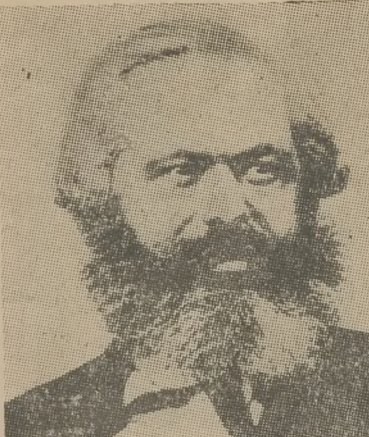
The events which led up to the strike were the attitude and actions of the management. The workers had been negotiating with the management for nine to ten years before the war, without any result.

The workers immediately struck when this was announced to them, but went back a few hours later as a promise that all the workers would be paid the next day.

The cynical attitude of the bosses and the union leaders is shown by the fact that the employers can easily afford the concessions asked.

Despite the shameful attitude of the union officials public opinion in the area sided with the workers. The attempt of the company through the Government to have Brother J. Russell the men's leader, especially victimized and sentenced to imprisonment failed.

LIVING THOUGHTS of KARL MARX



Leon Trotsky Presents— A PROFOUNDLY BRILLIANT DEFENCE AND EXPOSITION OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM

CORRESPONDENCE

From a Forestry Worker

To the "Socialist Appeal." Dear Comrade, I have been reading in your paper the reports of the increasing accident rate in the mines.

Hetton was also member of the Home Guard. Returning from Home Guard duties during blackout in the month of March, he met with an accident in which he fell over a wall and dropped 12 ft.

READ M. LORIS on THE CRITICS OF TROTSKY Leading Fourth Internationalist (U.S.A.) Workers International News

Durham Miner on the Home Guard Co. Durham, 15th Oct. 1942. There will be a special council meeting held on Oct. 24th at Red Hill Miners' Hall, Durham.

LESSONS OF THE TYNE STRIKE

Continued from page 1. The country urging telegrams of protest to be sent to the Strike Committee.

WILKINSON BETRAYS HER ELECTORS—HERE SHE IS SEEN MARCHING WITH THE UNEMPLOYED IN 1935. Jarrow Hunger Marchers got Ellen Wilkinson's ministerial food ticket.

In this way the feeling of the men could be properly tested and the waverers and strike breakers among the shop stewards could be eliminated from their ranks.

THE LESSONS OF THE STRIKE. The main weakness of the workers was that their official union machinery stood behind the bosses all the time.

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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EDITORIAL.

“United Strategy”

All is not well, it seems, with the “United Nations.” The last few weeks have seen such a squabble break out among them as almost puts the war itself to shame in the vigour with which it has been conducted. Across continents and oceans accusations and defences, charges and counter-charges, have been hurled by each and every one of the Allies against its—Allies.

America is accused by Britain and Russia of holding back its vast production of armaments for the use of a vast American army which is not yet trained; a section in America warns Britain to beware of losing America's support if Britain continues to fight only for the Empire; Stalin has openly charged America and Britain with not having fulfilled their obligations in regard to the opening of a second front; China has bitterly complained that she is receiving practically no assistance—and an attempt has been made at placation by the “giving up of extra-territorial rights;” India has shown in action as well as in words her dissatisfaction with the allies who drag her into a war for “freedom” and then categorically refuse to give her—freedom. Australia complains that she is not getting her fair share of tanks and planes.

As a general solution the British press has put forward the idea of a “United Strategy.” As the “Observer” puts it: “A start should be made at once by working out together and agreeing upon a joint grand strategy for global war with a Supreme Command to direct its execution.” This unanimous and facile solution suggests that the matter is a comparatively simple one: the Allies are all sincerely intent on helping each other, but they haven't just got down to working out the technique of collaboration; the real causes of the international slanging match are just “misunderstandings” and “rough edges” that will soon be smoothed down.

If the real situation is examined, however, the matter is seen to go somewhat deeper than this. It resembles, not so much a football game in which a team has merely failed to appoint a captain and work out a strategy, but rather a position where one player is intent on playing baseball, another football, still another water-polo, and a fourth settles down to a contemplative game of chess. In other words, there is no common denominator. The supposed allies are fighting for entirely different aims; and different not only from each other, but from what they themselves have said they are fighting for.

Russia's war is progressive, even if Stalinism is incapable of using the weapons of a revolutionary war, while that of America and Britain is imperialist. For this reason it is hopeless not only to ASK for a “united strategy” but also to try and FORCE one on Churchill and Roosevelt by means of demonstrations and demands for a Second Front. The leaders of the “democracies” are making use of Russia's resistance to gain time for themselves and assure themselves that the rival German imperialism will not dominate the world. When they are ready they will have a Second Front—for their own ends.

There can be no real “united strategy” between America and the Soviet Union because they are based on two radically different systems and are therefore fighting for two radically different aims.

In the same way they are making use of China's heroic resistance to assure that Japanese imperialism will have to keep millions of troops locked up there and unable to extend the limits of the Rising Empire even further than they have done already. China's war, even if not revolutionary, is not imperialist. It is fought, not to extend imperialism, but against it. Under a Soviet China it would mark the end of Japanese imperialism, but even under Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese capitalists it has dealt hard blows against Japanese imperialism.

It is significant that the disagreements have arisen over the question of the distribution of arms, for this goes to the very heart of the problem. It is as good a test as any of the claims of the imperialists to be fighting for “democracy” and “national freedom” and against Fascism. If these claims were true, then arms would be sent where they were most needed and where they could best be used. But as it is, Russia which needs them most gets not only the most ineffectual quantities but also the poorest quality. (The Russian leaders have complained recently that they get the old Hurricanes while Britain uses the new Spitfires).

As with the distribution of arms, so with military action. Any such action taken by them will be done with an eye, not on any pious unified aim of the United Nations but on the interests of imperialism. Libya therefore comes before the Soviet Union and a Second Front. The invasion of Liberia comes before the “liberation” of China. For the defence of the Suez Canal is the defence of the heart of the Empire, and Liberia is the stepping stone to an American empire in Africa.

The British workers want to see a real end made to Hitlerism of all varieties and to the domination of one nation by another. They want to win the peoples of Europe to their side in a common struggle against these evils. They want to see the Soviet Union given the full measure of real assistance that will save it from destruction and enable it to reclaim and rebuild all that has been lost. They want to see China victorious over Japanese militarism. They want a genuine international “united strategy” that will enable these tasks to be performed and bring about a truly democratic and lasting peace. BUT WHILE IMPERIALISM SITS IN THE SADDLE THERE CAN BE NO SUCH THING.

These aims can only become a reality, that is, be transferred from the realm of words to that of deeds, when the workers take effective measures against imperialism. Such measures would necessarily include the granting of immediate freedom to India and the colonies, the nationalisation under workers control of the banks and all heavy industry and armaments industry; the election of officers by the soldiers and the merging of the armed forces into the armed people. Only when such measures have been taken would Britain's war be transformed into one genuinely being fought for national liberation and in defence of the Soviet Union. Only a government of the workers can take such measures. Only a workers' government can lay the basis for a genuine “united strategy” of a global nature. For the only force that cuts across national frontiers and continental barriers is the common interest of the working masses against capitalism.

The true aims of the masses of each nation are in accord with each other. But this accord cannot be made effective until the masses have power in their own hands.

Only two sorts of world unity are now possible. One is the unity of a world dominated by one imperialist power or group of powers. The other is the true revolutionary unity of the workers of all countries. The first is the unity of a world-wide concentration camp, and it will be the inevitable fate of the masses if imperialism is left in power. The second is the only possible foundation on which the fabric of a true peace and a genuine civilisation can be built.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

By ANDREW SCOTT

Never was an anniversary more charged with meaning and portent than is the 25th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Never was an anniversary more dynamic and alive. Never one less pious and moribund. For history has placed once more upon its balance the whole fate of that greatest of all revolutions, the whole destiny of the 180 millions of the U.S.S.R., the whole future of the masses of Europe and the world. With a tip of the scales the Russian Revolution can achieve a greater scope and breadth than ever before; with a tip of the scales in the opposite side, it can perish from the earth.

The October Revolution is being commemorated today not only in words but in the very heat and smoke of battle itself. It is asserting and vindicating itself in the unequalled heroism and self-sacrifice of a whole people at war. For it is not for Russian nationalism that the Soviet masses are fighting and dying—but for the Revolution. It is the Revolution that is filling millions of hearts with the courage of lions. It is the Revolution that has transformed the most weary and disillusioned people of the last war into the most determined and courageous soldiers of the present war. It is the Revolution that has given the Russian masses something to fight for.

What was the significance of that event 25 years ago? Just this. That for the first time in history the common people, the workers and peasants, had overthrown the capitalists and landlords and established their own regime. Out of the very chaos, hunger and misery of the war into which decaying capitalism had inevitably led humanity, the first workers' state was born. A new economy was founded. The event shed its light across the whole dark continent of Europe and beyond. At last, after three years of war, it offered a ray of hope to the masses.

The Revolution meant this, too: that for the first time in history the masses had been led by men who understood the laws of history, who truly grasped the direction of events, who represented the interests and aspirations of the masses. The Russian Revolution was distinguished by the degree of consciousness that went into its preparation, the working out of its perspectives and methods, and its actual fulfilment. To good effect had Lenin and Trotsky as its principal leaders, studied and applied the scientific methods of Marxism. To good effect had a truly Marxist party been built to lead the inevitable movement of the masses.

It was on the road of class independence that Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian masses. Throughout the war their constant fight was against the advocates of class collaboration. They based their intransigent struggle for power, not on any narrow nationalism but on a bold revolutionary internationalism. Out of the slogan “Workers of the world, unite!” they made not a holy ikon but hammered a programme of action.

Against this movement, against its leadership, against its aims, its methods and its slogans were ranked all the forces not only of Russia, but of world, capitalism. And the final weapon of the Russian capitalists was the age-old accusation that the revolutionaries were helping the national enemy.

The British capitalists made the same accusations against the Bolsheviks—that they were German agents. As early as September 28th, 1917, the “Times” said:

“The Bolsheviks are the real counter-revolutionaries, who are doing their best utterly to ruin the country, and are working hand in glove with the enemies of Russia . . . There is only one remedy against them . . . The proverbial ‘whiff of grape-shot’ is the only medicine, and until it is administered in the proper dose the present situation will continue.”

But the Russian masses as well as the Bolsheviks treated the slanders and lies as if they did not exist, and marched on to take power.

Then came the attempt of British capitalism, together with its dozen or so allies to administer the “whiff of grape-shot” which they imagined would be enough to send the Bolsheviks scurrying, and enable them to restore capitalism in Russia. Churchill later wrote to Lloyd George, “Since the Armistice my policy would have been, ‘Peace with the German people, war on the Bolshevik tyranny.’ And war the 14 interventionist powers certainly tried to wage against the Russian Revolution.

But in spite of every effort and in spite of the expenditure by Britain alone of £100 million, the intervention of Britain, America, Japan, France and the others was proved to be hopelessly incapable of overthrowing what was, materially, the poorest government in the world. And again, it was the

Revolution itself that brought about their failure. For the revolutionary Government rallied to itself as no other government in the world could do, the mass of the people. Despite the poverty and starvation, and despite the lack of arms, the solidarity and spirit of the Soviet masses proved unbeatable against the might of the powerful nations. In that period there was first manifested the spirit that today has defended Leningrad, Moscow and Stalingrad.

But in that initial period of the Revolution there was a second factor that saved the U.S.S.R. from destruction. It was the fact that the opposing armies were rendered completely incapable of fighting; they were made to disintegrate; they mutinied. And it was the revolutionary propaganda of the Soviets that accomplished this seemingly miraculous result. The German paper *Koelnische Zeitung* complained:

“By creating a feeling of internationalism an attempt is being made to win back that which was lost by force of arms. We have a firm belief that our workers, upon whose sympathy Trotsky would like to build up his plans, will not listen to this syren song.”

However, Trotsky's voice was listened to not only by the German workers but by the workers and soldiers of all the intervening powers. And it was this that forced one power after another to withdraw. There is an infectious quality about all revolutions, and the Russian Revolution displayed that quality more powerfully than any other in history. For its internationalism was consciously voiced by its leaders. The capitalists sought to keep their troops free from it by withdrawing them. But in vain. The voice of the Revolution crossed national barriers and oceans.

Thus it was that revolutionary internationalism saved the Soviet Union

from disaster 25 years ago. But Lenin and Trotsky knew that it was not enough that the capitalists should be forced to withdraw their armies. They knew that the only real guarantee of the revolution lay in its extension to other countries, and particularly to Germany, and they did everything to encourage the workers in these countries to take the same path as the Russian masses.

The fact that this extension of the Revolution did not take place was particularly due to the Labour leaders of Europe and, later, to the policies of Stalinism.

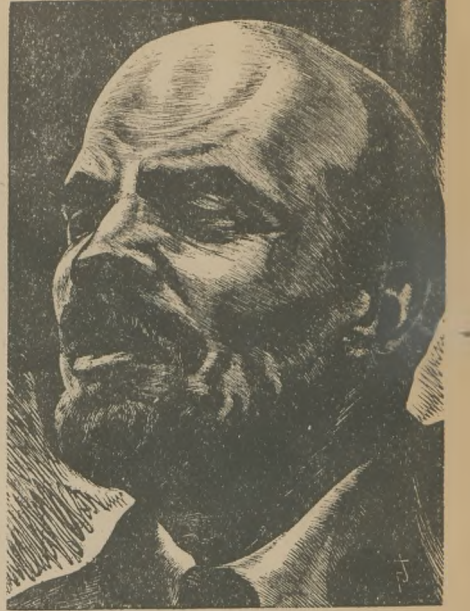
The world situation today is a continuation of the situation out of which the Russian Revolution emerged 25 years ago. The differences are principally those of decay. The decay of a capitalism that has been granted a reprieve and has only been able to throw up Fascism. A decay which has been due solely to the failure of the spread of the Revolution. A decay that has also affected the Revolution itself, and has given rise to the disease of Stalinism.

And this same Stalinism is today proving itself incapable not only of extending the Revolution but even of defending the gains that have already been made. Its failure and its inability to use the weapons of the world revolution are leading the Soviet Union directly towards catastrophe. Its reliance for assistance on the enemies of the Revolution—the Churchills, the Roosevelts, the Sikorskis—has been completely without positive results. The much heralded pacts and diplomatic agreements with the capitalists, and the solemn promises to open up a Second Front, have only led to the military isolation of the Soviet Union. The losses in territory, resources, industry and agriculture have continued on a gigantic scale, while the “allies” on whom Stalin has relied have sat back with folded arms

and watched the process with satisfaction.

If this process continues, then the Revolution will inevitably be smashed either by German or by Anglo-American imperialism. And it will continue so long as Russia's only allies are the capitalist government of the West. The Revolution must either expand and extend or be shattered. There is no standing still, no constant status quo. The position today is of the most serious possible nature, but it is no worse either militarily or economically, indeed not nearly as bad, as the position reached during the worst period of the first wars of intervention. And it can be retrieved in the same spectacular manner if the same methods and the same allies are relied on.

Not Stalinism, but the true Soviet democracy of the first period of the Revolution; not alliances with capitalism, but reliance on the workers and soldiers of Europe and the world; not “Socialism in One Country”, but the World Revolution. It is only by these methods that the Russian Revolution can be saved and restored. In Britain itself, only policies based on such methods and such a perspective can constitute a truly proletarian and revolutionary commemoration of the Russian Revolution. The greatest revolution in all history demands for its defence the greatest possible movement for power of which the world proletariat is capable. Today, in the fourth year of the second world war, it can truly be claimed that that movement is already stirring and moving in every part of the world. The Fourth International will provide it with the Marxist leadership which is the essential pre-requisite for its success. On that road the Russian Revolution will not be thrown by world capitalism on to the scrap heap of history, but will instead prove itself to have been the first and greatest battle in the true war of the masses—the war against world capitalism.



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.

LEON TROTSKY—Founder and Leader of the Red Army Receiving a Military Parade in Moscow, 1917.



Stalin Cannot Blot Out History

The following is an extract from a pamphlet entitled “The Socialist Soviet Republic of Russia” by Jacques Sadoul who became the head of the French speaking section of the Russian C.P. This was an official publication of the Peoples' Russian Information Bureau, 1918:—

THE RED ARMY

The Soviet Government had hoped to be able to devote itself entirely to the creative work for which all its resources, all its energies, were now too great. Peace had been signed at Brest-Litovsk. Demobilisation, the colossal task which all the experts had declared impossible, had been completed in about six weeks. What need was there of an army?

The counter-revolutionaries of the whole world thought differently. Their manoeuvres have forced Russia to create, hastily and anyhow, a new military organisation. A Herculean task after three years of war, and after a revolution made precisely in opposition to the war! My letters have, from day to day, given the history of the painful and laborious formation of this new army. That history is the history of the will of one man. As Carnot organised the armies of the French Revolution, so Trotsky is the father of the Red Army; and one could not express sufficient admiration for the extraordinary work done during the last nine months in the most varied spheres by this remarkable statesman—worthy colleague of Lenin. Having started with the voluntary system, Trotsky procured the swift acceptance of the great principle of compulsory service for all workers. Leaders were lacking. Trotsky forced the officers of the Tsarist army to give their services to the army of the Social Revolution. Many proved traitors. Trotsky had foreseen it; but he could not dispense at first with the services of these co-deviants. He was neither surprised nor displeased by treachery. He was able gradually to eliminate traitors and enlist loyal officers. At the same time he had opened throughout Russia military schools of instruction where the proletariat developed leaders taken from its own ranks. The Prussian discipline which dominated the old Army had finally killed all discipline by reaction. Trotsky has laboured; and now, in the streets of all the towns, at Moscow, you will meet companies of the Red Army which drill excellently. What do the reverses of to-day (July 1918) matter? This Army is now learning how to conquer, as Peter the Great learned at Poltava; and victories will come.

“CONCESSIONS” TO CHINA

By Harold Atkinson

Great play is being made of the decision of the British and American Governments to relinquish their extra-territorial “rights” in China. The capitalist press here attempts to present this as an altruistic gesture from the “democracies” to their Chinese ally in the “war for freedom”. The actual events are different.

In contrast to India which is wholly under the domination of British imperialism, China is a semi-colonial country. That means that the Chinese rule at least a part of their own soil. But not all of it.

For over a century China has been the object of imperialist attack. British imperialism led the way, but she was not without rivals: France, Russia, Germany, Japan and the U.S.A. After world war I the list was narrowed to three: Britain, U.S.A., Japan. In passing it should be noted that the Russian interests in China were voluntarily relinquished by the Bolshevik Government after the 1917 Revolution.

Prior to the present conflict the estimated investments of foreign capitalists and financiers in China was £700 millions. These investments belonged for the most part to Britain, U.S.A. and Japan. Between them these brigands owned all China's railways, most of her shipping, all her greatest factories, her coalfields and many of her iron foundries. They had complete control of all China's customs' receipts, salt tax receipts, telephones, telegraph and radio.

It is over 100 years since the Treaty of Nanking was signed between Britain and China. It marked the conclusion of the “Opium War” which was launched for the purpose of opening up China to foreign trade and exploitation. Five ports were opened to foreign trade by this treaty also from which originated the system of extra-territoriality in these ports. Extra-territorial “rights” means that the invaders have their own laws and administration which must be also observed by the natives in the occupied zone. Well might the “New York Times” admit: “foreigners (Americans included) have now enjoyed for a full century special rights in China which

have been humiliating to that country and destructive of its sovereignty.”

To establish this position British imperialism sent troops and warships on six occasions between 1839 and 1927. They bombarded Canton, Amoy, Peking and Nanking. Then, having thus forced her way in, Britain, by diplomacy and finance fought in turn France, Japan, Russia, Germany and the U.S.A. to prevent them from challenging her dominant position. Of the £700 millions invested by foreign capitalists, £230 millions was owned by the British.

Industrially backward and politically heterogeneous, vast, agrarian China was unable to resist these encroachments. But the national unification of China, the national revolution which has been, and still is progressing, despite its many vicissitudes, is altering all this.

For over five years, under pressure from the Chinese masses, the bourgeois regime led by Chiang-Kai-Shek has offered military resistance to Japan. This growing realisation of their powers and abilities has brought from the Chinese masses the demand for the ending of Britain's and America's imperialist territorial “concessions”

Japan's Pacific victories, apart from revealing the decadence and impotence of British imperialism, also placed her in a position to conclude agreements with the puppet Quising regime of Wang Ching-wei abolishing the “unequal treaties”. Naturally the Axis propagandists have made much of the contrast between the “generous” terms of the Japanese in the occupied territory and China's allies' refusal to relinquish their imperialist “rights”.

The Chinese Government have thus been forced to intensify their demands in Washington for a cessation of Anglo-U.S. extraterritorial “rights”. To say the least, moral issues apart, the situation had become somewhat farcical in view of the fact that the International Settlement at Shanghai, the Diplomatic Quarter of Peking, and all the Concessions in China are now under Japanese control.

Roosevelt yielded and forced Churchill to follow suit, and China has now been formally recognised as an “equal” partner in the alliance of the United Nations.

Thus it can be seen that despite the baloney in the capitalist press nothing was freely given away by the “democracies” to their “ally”. It was forced

Continued on back page

THE WORKERS MUST SUPERVISE AID TO RUSSIA

Continued from page 1

are betraying them. But now they attempt in vain to appeal to these same masses to use "pressure" on these imperialists.

They send the cast off and out-dated material. The only guarantee that up-to-date material and sufficient quantities will be sent to the Soviet Union, can be provided by the working class movement which genuinely desires to assist Russia.

Every day shows the futility of the alliance with the ruling class. It is over a year now since Pollitt commenced to call for the Second Front.

These gentlemen in any case, surely should not object to the workers making an inventory of the material to check on what aid is being sent and what can be sent.

Effective aid can be rendered to the Soviet Union only by an independent working class movement; by a policy of the independence of the Labour movement from the capitalist masters.

Obviously the imperialists are reluctant to send aid, and when they do,

FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE FORCES

By a Comrade in the R.A.F.

On the introduction of conscription, it will be remembered how politicians and newspapers reflected the workers' demands under the slogan of "democratisation of the armed forces".

Office, to announce in parliament that "Anything that suggests that the morale of the army is in any way affected by the present time is treasonable".

Marxists have always held that the armed forces of a capitalist state (the police, army etc.) represent a weapon in the hands of the ruling class.

The omission is no accident. For even to truthfully describe the system and how it works would completely expose the army as a despotic organisation whose whole basis is opposed to all working class democratic ideas and rights.

But even those abject pen-prostitutes were not all sufficiently wide awake when their bosses sounded the almost panic-stricken retreat.

So, at any rate, reads the "Army Bible" King's Regulations. However, in a recent official document circulated to every officer it is pointed out that "Official complaints are rare, as most soldiers dislike making them for a variety of reasons."

Our Minister of Information, Mr. Brendan Bracken, recently contributed an article on Colour bar in which he dealt with everything except the colour bar in the American Army.

"Man for the extra guard? Ah, Smith, the bloke who made that complaint." "One short on the picket? Get Smith. Just going out, is he? Well catch him before he leaves the camp."

It only remained then for Sir Edward Grigg on behalf of the War

sergeant-major or of any N.C.O. against whom an official complaint has been made. It's Private Smith every time. Smith is a marked man as long as he remains in the unit.

There is no need to study King's Regulations very closely to find that they are designed to cover every contingency and are wide enough to enable any soldier to be continually trapped and his life made an utter misery.

No objection can be raised to discipline as an absolute necessity in warfare. The disciplinary methods of the British Army, however, are not aimed to strengthen and hold together military efficiency on the battlefield, but primarily to land and bolster up the autocratic regime of the officer caste and assist them in suppressing the just grievances and demands of the worker-soldier.

In the same manner as paper reforms in civilian life are only given practical content by the strength of the independently organised working class movement, so also in the last analysis will the soldier-worker only experience any real measure of democracy when he has his own independent organisations only the lines of Grievances Committee or a Forces Trade Union.

No boss class or reformist politician whether he be labelled "Liberal" or "Labour" will ever make any serious attempt to alter the vicious army system of repression, because it represents the core of the army as the instrument of boss-class rule.

The voice is the voice of the great strike, the Stalinists called a

GIVE INDIANS THE VOTE

continued from page 1

numbers, and exhibits every characteristic of a substantial majority.

What sort of minority is it which calls for a wholesale curfew to be imposed in every industrial city of any size? Which compels the streets of Bombay and Delhi to be patrolled by armoured cars? (Aug. 10th). How insignificant a minority it must be, which can be controlled only by the proclamation of a decree forbidding the assembly of more than five persons, how "normal" a situation when the Government must needs proscribe the local organisations of Congress—numerically the biggest Party in the world—seize their funds and confiscate their Press, and decree that all convicted of rioting during strikes shall be flogged (Aug. 11th). Precisely what degree of "minor" influence is it that requires to be met with the suspension of local authorities and the dropping of tear-gas bombs by the R.A.F.? (Aug. 12th). How would the hypocritical Attlee explain the introduction of an All-India death penalty for anyone cutting telegraph wires? (Aug. 17th.) A "minority," did you say, Attlee? The imposition of collective fines on villages, the prohibition of strikes and the setting up of special Criminal Courts to dispense summary trials and quick sentences—are these the usual methods taken to deal with a handful of malcontents? (Aug. 20th).

Such are a few—a very few—instances of the conditions legalising a virtual reign of terror against the Indian workers and peasants, and by no stretch of the imagination can they be construed as indicating a state of normalcy. The truth is, of course that the whole of India is seething with hostility to the British, that this hostility is assuming an active form.

A great storm is piling up in India, a storm which is plainly feared not only by the British exploiters, but with equal detestation by the leaders of the Congress. In spite of Churchill's insinuation of a secret plan to capture the whole of India, there was no such audacious planning on the part of the

Congress leadership, they are entirely without the desire to mobilise the Indian masses in a revolutionary struggle for freedom. As always, it is left to the militant workers and peasants to organise the struggle, it will be from them and from none other that the struggle will reach its final and ultimate victory.

The British have been exploiting India for over 150 years, during which they have extracted Himalayas of wealth from the downtrodden population. That same ruling class is the enemy of the British workers. It follows that the Indian masses are our allies and that their struggle is in its every part integrated with our own struggle.

The British Government has set up a National Council for Defence which is composed of representatives of the Indian princes and industrialists who are as much representative of the Indian workers and peasants, of the Indian people, as Quising is of the Norwegians, Mussling is of the Dutch, or Doriot of the French people. They are nothing more or less than British quislings completely dependent on the bayonets of the British ruling class.

Yet the British solemnly claim that this group is far more representative of India than Congress. Perhaps they are right! Let the question be decided by a democratic decision of the Indian masses themselves. The imperialists know the answer they would get as well as we—that is why they reply to the demand for the vote with bayonets, and to the demand for arms with tear gas and bullets.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE INDIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS. IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA. FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY BASED ON UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE. FOR THE ARMING OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE UNDER THEIR OWN LEADERSHIP.

U.S. Race Discrimination

Continued from page 1

justified by experience" and writes, "On no account should young women make acquaintance and take walks with soldiers of African blood."

In the "Daily Herald" (7.9.42) it was also reported that,

"hundreds of American soldiers were refused admittance to an Army dance at Eye, Suffolk, on Saturday. A coloured military policeman was posted at the door to turn his comrades away. Now they are under orders not to attend any dances there in future."

"It is understood that this action was taken at the instigation of the American military authorities."

These facts, throw a much clearer light upon the real aims and policies of the ruling class than all the columns written by the apologists of American Imperialism.

If the American rulers are really fighting against Hitlerism and its racial doctrines then why do they not give equality to the millions of negroes in their own country. In the Southern States of America today, although slavery is supposed to have been abolished in the Civil War, the Negroes live under conditions which are not much different from that period.

There, racial segregation has been carried to an extent which would put even Streicher or Rosenberg to shame. Taking an example from the American "Militant" we read—

"In Beaumont, Texas, a Negro soldier, Private Charles J. Roco, was ordered off a bus because he took a vacant seat in a section reserved for white passengers. According to the Department of Justice, these are the facts. That after he got out of the bus, a police officer, struck him several times with a nightstick and forced him into the back seat of a police car; that during the trip to police headquarters one of the officers shot him once through the shoulder and once through the arm. . . . Reports to the Department of Justice indicate that Roco had caused no disturbance on the bus and that he had not resisted the police officers until after he had been struck several times."

In another issue they report a Negro soldier who

"was attacked and beaten for going into a drug store to get a ice-cream cone last week," reported in the Pittsburgh Courier, "after . . . he had been beaten by the white clerk and other Jim Crow elements standing around, the cops came—and threw him into jail." He was tried next morning in the police court and sentenced to 30 days on the chain gang or a 50 dollar fine."

In these areas even the most elementary right, the right to organise themselves into Trade Unions, is not permitted. But all the talk of the "war for democracy" is now coming home to roost, and is resulting in the development of a movement among the Negroes to really secure democracy and equality for themselves.

The attitude of the British press to this question is indeed a revealing one. These papers which are always loudly

denouncing the malpractices of the Herentfolk dare not lift even a finger in defence of the elementary rights of the black soldiers from America. None of them so far as we are aware has demanded that the British Government should inform their American ally that these racial practices will not be tolerated.

Our Minister of Information, Mr. Brendan Bracken, recently contributed an article on Colour bar in which he dealt with everything except the colour bar in the American Army. Even this timid and harmless article was not allowed to be published in America. It might seem to be a piece of gratuitous advice to one of our allies as to how it should deal with its own subjects, explained Mr. Bracken.

The censorship is nicely adjusted to suit the interests of the ruling classes of both countries. The British press is wonderfully silent on the indignation that has been aroused among the American workers by the terrorism in India. And no less silent is the American press on the disgust felt by the British workers over the colour bar in the U.S. Army. It seems that our Government has agreed not to offer "gratuitous advice" on the colour bar to its allies on condition that the Americans similarly do not offer "gratuitous advice" on the Indian question. Asked by Mr. Driberg in the House of Commons if he would inform the Americans that there is no colour bar here, Mr. Churchill replied that the question was unfortunate and he hoped the point of view of all concerned would be respected.

The colour bar is not just a question of social prejudice which can be got rid of by our appeal to "humanitarianism" or "enlightened" thought. It is the inevitable product of the capitalist civilisation which always seeks to divide the working class and weaken its strength. That the white section of the American working class is beginning to realise this is seen in the rules of the C.I.O. which admits Negro workers on terms of equality with their white comrades. Only by this method, by the unity between the workers of all colours and creeds against the race-mongers of finance-capitalists can real equality between races be achieved.

For an A.B.C. of Trotskyism READ THE TESTIMONY OF CANNON in the U.S. Labour Trial A Magnificent Case for the Socialist Revolution

CHINA "Concessions"

Continued from page 3

from them by the Chinese bourgeois Government propelled by the irresistible mass pressure of the Chinese toilers. Let those who doubt it mark this statement from the Chungking correspondent of the "Times": "Neither the taipan (British 'big shot') nor anyone else supposed for a moment that China, after resisting the common foe for five long years, could be expected to forgo any longer the full exercise of sovereign rights in her own territory."

This represents a victory for China against imperialism. And it is an important counter to those socialists who claim that China's struggle for national independence has been subverted in the interests of her imperialist allies.

Our attitude on this is laid down in the "Transitional Programme of the Fourth International": "Some of the colonial or semi-colonial countries will undoubtedly attempt to utilise the war in order to cast off the yoke of slavery. Their war will be not imperialist but liberating."

That is what China is doing even under bourgeois leadership under mass pressure, "utilising the war to cast off the yoke of slavery". We continue to give our support to China's war of national liberation and work for the day when that struggle will be led by the Chinese proletariat, along the path trod by the Russian toilers in 1917.

Belfast Workers Fight for T.U. Rights

continued from page 1

special precautions are taken to keep out Press representatives because of unfair comment. Nevertheless, the boss class press has been compelled to pull in its horns somewhat, as they fear the mood of the Typographical workers. During the first day or two, numerous stooge letters were published. Then the "Telegraph" suddenly announced that it was withholding "Letters from readers" in order not to embarrass the work of the Court of Enquiry. Midgley, of Evin of Belfast, haughtily protested that he had been grossly distorted by the "Telegraph" which reported him as stating that irresponsible elements who had played no part in building the Trade Unions, were in control of the strike. Knowing Midgley, and likewise knowing the "Telegraph," your reporter leaves it to the "Socialist Appeal" readers to draw deductions either way.

The Joint Strike Committee formulated a Five Point Platform of demands. The first three conditions laid down for a resumption of work are unassailable—(1) The full reinstatement of the dismissed shop stewards of Factory No. 1; (2) The immediate dismissal of the non Union man as demanded by the electricians of Factory No. 2; (3) Cancellation of all fines. The fourth and fifth points however, must be criticised because they demand class collaboration to increase production instead of posing the question of Workers Control as the only means of increasing production in the interests of the workers; and because a call is made for the settlement of disputes by machinery consisting of an equal representation of workers and employers presided over by an impartial arbiter. In this respect it must be pointed out that to place the fate of the workers in the hands of such machinery, where the employers will have the permanent majority in the person of the "impartial" arbiter, would bring only defeat for the workers. The employers would under no conditions sit upon such a committee unless they had complete control of it.

Yet with these modest and moderate demands the employers are not prepared to concede an inch. Think of it! These reactionaries who are clamouring for more sacrifices from the workers and denouncing the strike as "unpatriotic," are not even prepared to concede the "normal" procedure which the capitalists are as a rule only too glad to use against the workers—the Production Committees and arbitration machinery. They want to beat the workers into complete submission to their autocratic and high-handed rule. While accomplishing this, the "war effort" for their part can go to the devil. For them, the fight against their "main enemy," the working class at home is more important.

pared to concede the "normal" procedure which the capitalists are as a rule only too glad to use against the workers—the Production Committees and arbitration machinery. They want to beat the workers into complete submission to their autocratic and high-handed rule.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY At a meeting of several thousand of the strikers the Five Point Platform was endorsed with only two or three dissenting votes. A typographical worker, belonging to the Communist Party read out an amendment to the preamble of the official resolution. This C.P. amendment resolved that the strikers immediately return to work under open negotiations for the restitution of their violated rights. This Stalinist spokesman, who was accorded a completely democratic hearing, then expressed the view that the strike was doomed to disaster as it had not the official sanction of the A.E.U.

This amendment was treated with the contempt it merited, receiving the indignantly small vote of one from the body of the hall and three from the gallery. This, it is worth emphasising, was at a meeting of thousands. The small number of workers who had voted against immediate action at the outset, loyally considered that now the momentous struggle was under way, it was their bounden duty to see it through to final victory and that retreat now would be disastrous for the union organisation. The Stalinist proposition that only when the wheels of industry were revolving again (churning out the bosses' profits) could an outcome favourable to the workers be achieved was a puzzle that only the C.P.ers themselves could understand. It was clear to the average striker that to go back to work on the bosses' terms would have catastrophic consequences for the whole of the North of Ireland working class, especially in view of the fact that the Employers' Federation (the Bosses' Trade Union) has endorsed the stand of the management of Factory No. 1.

At the end of the first week of the great strike, the Stalinists called a public meeting to convince the workers that they were placing a trivial issue before the needs of the war, and especially the needs of Stalin. The Strike Committee attended this meeting en bloc and the Communist Party speakers were given a thoroughly hostile reception. The militant shop stewards contended that the Hitler at home must be smashed before the German Hitler can be effectively tackled and that only an iron working class control over the bosses can ensure aid to the Soviet Union.

The greatest feature of this strike has been the truly magnificent militancy of leading Communist Party shop stewards who, in defiance of the party line, have stood in the vanguard of the struggle. Surely this is a precious earnest of the future. In this connection, the role of Brother Telford (A.E.U.) must be specially mentioned. It is hard to separate his speeches from those of Brother McVicker (E.T.U.) as the tenor of both has been the same. . . . That the workers and not the management must have the controlling voice in industry, that the boss class Hitler must be smashed, that the capitalist Government must go. The militant shop stewards have not as yet succeeded in finding the alternative programme to counterpose to the betrayal of the Stalinist and Labour leaders. Yet on the basis of their class consciousness and experience, they are instinctively adopting the essentials of the "Socialist Appeal" transitional programme—an end to the class rule and workers' control of industry.

A Court of Enquiry has been set up on the basis of an Act of 1939. As I write this despatch, 21st October, the verdict has not yet been published. I hope to send the "Socialist Appeal" a postscript on this matter if the decision is published in time. Towards the end of the Court of Enquiry proceedings the employers concerned made a widely publicised "peace offer." They allowed it to be stated that they were prepared to take back the two dismissed shop stewards as fitters, but not in the capacity of shop stewards, pending the decision of the court and reserving the right to dismiss them if the verdict is in their (the bosses') favour!

After the mass vote had been taken Bro. Carlin, A.E.U., the deputy Chairman, revealed that the resolution had been approved by the shop stewards at their private meeting by 75 votes to 9.

Editor's Note: Harry Pollitt is in Belfast, ostensibly to attend the Irish C.P. Conference.

IMPORTANT NOTICE The Meeting on the Russian Revolution will be held at THE ESSEX HALL ESSEX STREET, STRAND at 6.30 p.m. on Saturday, 7th Nov. AND NOT AS ADVERTISED at the Holborn Hall on Sunday 8th