

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Workers of the World Unite

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

CORTONWOOD MINERS THREATEN TO SUE HALL

£3 Wage Cut Causes Bitter Feeling

 BY JOCK HASTON

THE STRIKE OF 1,500 MINERS AT CORTONWOOD MAIN COLLIERY WHICH LASTED MORE THAN A MONTH HAS BEEN DEFEATED AND THE WORKERS RETURNED TO WORK AT THE BEGINNING OF JANUARY. THE COLLIERIES HAVE RETURNED IN THE BITTEREST OF MOODS AND THIS FEELING ON THEIR PART IS EASILY UNDERSTOOD WHEN IT IS REALISED THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW PRICE LIST HAS RESULTED IN THE LOSS OF BETWEEN £2 AND £3 A WEEK TO THE WORKERS.

The defeat of the strike has left the workers without the slightest enthusiasm for their job and production has dropped in all the coal faces in the pit. The Government can set up Greene Boards and "Control Committees" and the capitalist lackeys in the labour movement urge the workers on this basis to "increase production to smash fascism", but the wage cutting policy of the coal-owners exposes their real motives and demonstrates that they are not concerned with high ideals of smashing fascism out of wrestling the

utmost ton of coal out of the collier at the cheapest possible price.

This lesson has been sharply driven home to even the most naive rank and file miner in the Yorks district who now expects that, having successfully cut the price of one of the best paid seams in Yorkshire the owners will proceed to do the same with other price lists in the area.

Meanwhile, the hostility to Joe Hall, the President of the Y.M.A. who agreed to the cut in the miners wages, and who signed the cheaper price list against the wishes of the miners, has steadily mounted. The miners are now proposing to sue Hall for some form of misdirection in the belief that this is the only way that they can publicly expose his reactionary role during the negotiations and limit his arbitrary and dictatorial attitude. For this purpose they have sought the advice of a solicitor, L. H. Britain who defended them on New Year's day, and are col-

lecting money to cover the necessary legal expenses. L. H. Britain has stated to a "Socialist Appeal" reporter that he considers the miners have a good case against Hall and he will definitely advise that they file a suit.

The Stalinists have come to the assistance of Hall and have been his staunchest supporters in this present period. It was a member of the Communist Party, Tommie Dagonham, who moved that the possibilities of suing the "Socialist Appeal" for its attacks upon Hall, be investigated. At the same time these miserable traitors are sending the arch Quisling in the ranks of the workers, Pollitt, into the district to speak at Wombwell where he will undoubtedly defend the policy of Joseph Hall, and try to convince the miners that it was a mistake to fight back as they did. He won't forget in passing, of course, to attack the "Socialist Appeal". From the indications in the village the miners, some of

whom have already discussed Pollitt's foul anti-working class pamphlet, "Miners target", where he states the strongest measures must be used against absentee miners, will give him a hot reception.

Although there is a widespread sympathy for the Cortonwood colliers in the other pits the majority of miners are not clear on the issue which was involved and the exact role of Joe Hall. This was one of the mistakes of the strike committee in not publishing their case sufficiently and sending delegates to call meetings at the other pits to put their case. There is quite a wide interest in the proposed attempt to sue Hall and the general feeling seems to be a forlorn hope that it comes off and is successful.

We are not quite clear on exactly how and on what grounds the miners propose to sue Hall, but in our opinion it is in one sense a gesture of despair which arises from the false idea that it is impossible to fight or remove Hall from his position through the machinery of the union. The "Socialist Appeal" and its supporters in Yorkshire believe differently. As against spending money on a costly legal suit in the capitalist courts which may or may not fail, but which in any case cannot rid the union of the real cancer in the leadership, we believe that it is possible to revive the Yorkshire Miners Association, indeed all the trade unions into fighting organs of the working class.

Without a clear fighting policy in the trade unions in general and control of the leadership, without a radical change in the policy of the union even if the proposed suit is successful, the removal of Hall would only result in someone with similar views stepping into his shoes.

In our view the Cortonwood miners would do a much greater service to their fellow workers if they used this money to commence a widespread campaign throughout the country to demand the withdrawal of all union officials from State posts; and the re-election of all paid officials including the President and Secretary every two years at the most. For what makes it possible for trade union bureaucrats to act in the manner of Joe Hall & Co.? The fact that they do not have to come back to the members after a period in office and say "re-elect me, I have done a good job for you", there is no right of recall and the bureaucrats are sure of a fat salary and plenty of expenses, no matter how they help to slash the wages of the workers.

Such a campaign would raise the level of consciousness of miners as a whole as to the role of the union; it would create a new confidence among the workers and reawaken that old spirit of class unity, fraternity and militancy on the part of the workers.



JOE HALL — PRESIDENT OF THE YORKSHIRE MINERS ASSOCIATION

See back page for Miner's Pay Sheets

FASCISM IN ALLIED CAMP

"MILITARY EXPEDIENCY" WAS THE EXCUSE GIVEN BY THE ALLIED POLITICIANS FOR COLLABORATION WITH THE FASCIST DARLAN, BUT WHAT PRETEXT CAN THEY COOK UP FOR EMBRACING PEYROUTON — THE NEWLY APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF ALGERIA?

Apparently, this arch reactionary, specially brought nearly 20,000 miles across the Atlantic, has all the necessary qualifications to meet the requirements of an administrator of a "liberated" territory, namely, rabidly anti-working class, ruthless in his dealings with oppressed colonial peoples — a man who proudly boasted that he had been the first Frenchman to introduce Nazi methods into North Africa, the man who created the first concentration camps, throwing anti-German patriots into them.

Indeed, his testimonials completely fit the bill in allied strategy. The American correspondent to the "New York Times", says: "General Giraud wanted M. Peyrouton to take charge of Algeria because he regarded him as the most skillful administrator available—the man, who he thought, could exert the necessary authority in critical times. There were few such anywhere, fewer still in North Africa, and those in France were out of reach."

It is not a question of an individual fascist—although this alone would be symbolic of the real attitude of the Allies towards fascism—but the fact is that the whole of the Civil Administration, of the police and of the Officer staff in North Africa are a gang of fascists of the worst description.

As if to make this quite plain we are informed that Giraud has absorbed into the army, what the "Daily Telegraph", 23.1.43 elegantly terms, the "Petain Youth Movement", but what workers term "Fascist Scum".

"Gen. Giraud's new French army in North Africa is now absorbing into its ranks members of the 'Chantier de Jeunesse Français', an organiza-

tion which in North Africa numbers 8,000.

"In October, 1940, the movement was started in North Africa. Jews were not admitted, but 4,000 Arabs were enlisted under the title of 'Chantiers Indigenes'."

A further demonstration that the election of Peyrouton is not just an accidental selection can be seen by the statement of the diplomatic correspondent of the "Sunday Observer", 17.1.43:

Reliable observers just back from North Africa estimate that probably as much as 90 per cent of the army officers are "Petainists", while only 10 per cent are "De Gaullists."

And what of Giraud himself? The "Daily Express" of 30.1.43, reports on a press interview with Giraud.

"The meeting began a little awkwardly when a British correspondent, Philip Jordan of the "News Chronicle", asked whether General Giraud's Government would continue to discriminate against the Jews?"

"That is a question of French politics, a question for me to decide," Giraud answered shortly.

"The world is very interested in this matter," Jordan said. He got the answer: "It is nothing to do with the world. It is a question for France."

All this adds up to a dangerous and vile conspiracy against the French people and a terrible deception of the British and American working class. While the workers are being mobilised by the capitalists and are giving their lives for the so-called "Fight against Fascism", the British and American "democrats" are systematically creating an army of thugs and fascists to use against the French people and the colonial French slaves. It is the Franco experiment all over again, except that this is being done directly and openly by the "Democracies" while Franco was compelled to prepare in secret for his war against the Spanish people in Spanish Morocco.

In the same way as the officers in the Spanish army were all fascists and led the Moors against their own people, so the French Fascists in Morocco are preparing the same business. This time they are being armed to the teeth and supplied with all modern weapons by the British and American imperialists.

BEHIND THE RIFT IN ANGLO-AMERICAN POLICY

All this horse-dealing is being revealed in the press, not because the British capitalists wish to tell the workers the truth, but because of the quarrel between the imperialists of Britain and America. There is an old saying that when thieves fall out, honest men come into their own. The quarrel between the imperialist thieves has been the means of raising the curtain from the imperialist play in North Africa.

Some have seen in this the virtuous indignation of British imperialism at being compelled to drag behind the United States in their dealings with the Vichy crew. They contrast the Knight of Resistance, De Gaulle and his National Committee, with the American sponsored set up. In reality, there is not a pin to choose between the one lot and the other. The fig leaf with which De Gaulle decorates his National Committee with self-styled "Communists" and "Socialists" is camouflage and no more. De Gaulle has been attempting to come to an arrangement with the gallant soldier and anti-German who is protecting and elevating Peyrouton and Co. These two were brothers in arms in the same fascist organisation before the war. The only difference between them—and for that matter Laval as well—is which master they think can serve the interests of French capitalists better. Giraud is the nominee of Wall Street; De Gaulle of London. That is why the British have suddenly remembered that it is not nice to sup with the devil. But we observe, that while objecting to Beelzebub they are dining with satan—Fascist Vallin, and others.

Both Britain and America agree wholeheartedly on the preparation of fascist army in North Africa, not principally to fight Hitler but to fight the French, but what is causing the British so much heartburning is the fact that the U.S. is grabbing the strategic position in North Africa which will be controlled by her—indirectly perhaps—but controlled firmly through her nominees. Not only that. While agreeing on the necessity for suppressing the socialist revolution in Europe, the British imperialists are afraid that France, under the leadership of Giraud and Peyrouton, will fall under the domination of America, instead of the

SUPPORT LOCOMEN'S DEMANDS

By SID BIDWELL, N.U.R.

The required 21 days strike notice handed in by the A.S.L.E. and F. due to expire this month mirrors the extreme discontent which exists throughout the railway industry.

It is estimated that 60% of the locomotivemen are catered for by the sectional union; the others are organised in the Industrial Union, the N.U.R.

Although the Secretary of the A.S.L.E. & F., Mr. W. E. Allen and the leaders, have been forced by the locomotive militancy delegates to make known the determination of the men to fight if justice is not conceded, they have made their position clear in statements to the press and hope for the last minute intervention of the Minister of Transport. The Minister, like the union leaders, is in a cleft stick.

Mr. John Marchbank, ex-General Secretary of the N.U.R., on the eve of his departure for America with the T.U.C. Delegation, made it clear that to placate one section of the railwaymen would cause resentment from Lands End to John O'Groats. On the other hand if Mr. Bevin does not take a hand in the matter, there is no telling what eruptions are in store for the railway bosses among the other grades organised in the N.U.R. A substantial section of the industrial union membership which is bound to win increased support will desire to fight alongside the Locomen on a programme on behalf of all rail workers. In addition there is no class conscious worker who will not feel ready sympathy with all railwaymen who are notoriously underpaid.

Locomotivemen undergo extremely exacting conditions, working in most instances a high proportion of late and night duty; they suffer the strain of blackout conditions and in most cases, work a seven day week.

No matter in what form the events shape themselves in the coming days, as long as the Government stands idly by, allowing the rail bosses to coin the guaranteed £48,000,000 per year,

Continued on back page.

PLANNED ECONOMY BASIS OF RUSSIAN VICTORIES

ONCE AGAIN THE APPARENTLY IMPOSSIBLE HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN RUSSIA. THE TIDE OF HITLER'S ADVANCE HAS BEEN STEMMED. AND NOT ONLY STEMMED BUT TURNED BACK. FROM LENINGRAD TO THE CAUCASUS THE GERMAN ARMY IS EITHER ON THE DEFENSIVE OR IN RETREAT. AFTER THE SOVIET DEFEATS OF THE SUMMER THIS TURNING OF THE TABLES IS SOMETHING THAT APPEARS AT FIRST GLANCE TO GO BEYOND THE ORDINARY LAWS OF WARFARE.

And from the point of view of capitalist Britain, it does. For it has been done without effective allies, without Second fronts, with only the minimum of material aid, in the midst of starvation, cold, exhaustion and unending toil. It has been done with only a ghost as ally — the ghost of Anglo-American promises, "goodwill" — and cynicism. It has been done after the loss of a third of Russia's population, half of its coal, the greatest of its granaries, a third of its industry, millions of its soldiers.

That is what is outstanding and inspiring about this great victory. It is a victory for the Socialist Revolution. It has been gained against imperialism, in spite of imperialism—even in spite of the "aid" of imperialism. It has been gained solely and entirely by the Soviet workers and peasants themselves and by the basis on which they are fighting—a nationalised and planned economy.

The great battles that halted the seemingly irresistible flow of Hitler's armies were not purely military battles fought on the great steppes of Russia. They were battles of the cities, and not of the plains. The Soviet "hedgehogs" were—the great industrial cities. And the barbs of those hedgehogs were the industrial workers themselves, sallying forth from their factories and workshops, armed, both with weapons and with the determination to defend the basic gains of the Revolution to the death. The Cossacks have played a secondary role, and their General, Budyonny, has been deposed. So also have the other "Marshalls" who, with Stalin, formed the leadership on June 22, 1941. The leadership proved itself incompetent and incapable of rising to the tasks of the war. It was the masses themselves, and above all the city workers, who steadied the reeling armies and gave a stability to the front. Leningrad, Moscow and Stalingrad have been the unconquerable fortresses that have cried halt to Hitler's advance.

The resistance is taking place on the basis of suffering and misery and sacrifices which are unparalleled by any of the other belligerents. Thousands died of starvation during the siege of Leningrad. Tens of thousands are just beyond the edge of starvation. Tens of millions suffer from want, hunger and cold. Yet despite the unexampled horror of horrors of these conditions, the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union resist.

In an article in the "Daily Mail", which is now regarded as an "ally" of the Soviet Union, the American correspondent Walter Grabner, says:

"... Probably fewer than 10 out of a thousand civilians have been able to purchase a new item of clothing for a year.

All over Russia men, women and children are wearing shoes that in England or America would long since have passed from master to servant to junk heap. Honey (at the Central Market) open", really black market at £10 a lb.—a price equivalent to a week's salary of a well paid factory worker. Scraps of meat out from evil looking carcasses were being grabbed up at £4 a lb.

Eggs spread over the counter like jewels, were selling at 12/- a piece, and those who bought them sucked the contents out on the spot.

Bearded perspiring peasants poured out milk at 21/- a cup. Between gulps customers chewed black bread.

Though barter is punishable by death, thousands of Russians have resorted to it, and the Government has closed its eyes to most of the deals. A pound of bread is worth a pair of half shoes, while a bottle of vodka can be exchanged for a peck of potatoes."

Yet despite the unprecedented privations the workers and peasants resist with all their strength the armies of the German imperialists. What is it that has given this power of resistance to the same people who crumpled under the far less severe hammering of the armies of the Kaiser in the last

INDIAN MASSES STARVING

RICE 1/- per lb.

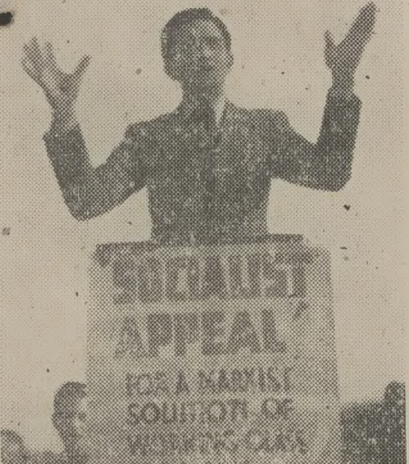
BY A. ROY.

Almost the whole of India today lies under the shadow of famine. The price of rice, the staple food for millions, has risen from 2d. a pound to 1/- a pound! What this means in human suffering can be gauged from the daily wage of the highly skilled Indian worker, which rarely exceeds 1/6 per day.

Millions of Indians, who even in the prosperous years did not know more than one adequate meal a day, are now being deprived of even this. Hunger has driven thousands of families out of their homes into the streets and beggary. The "Hitavada" of Nagpur, which was the scene recently of repeated firings, reports that hundreds of peasant women have moved out of the villages with their children and were living in the woods in the night and tramping the streets of the city during the day begging from door to door for a few morsels of rice.

In Nasik in the province of Bombay, according to the "Daily Telegraph" of January 18th, 50 people including women were arrested in the course of disturbances in which the military had to be summoned when a "mob" raided grain shops. During the last few months the raiding of grain shops by desperate and hungry masses has continued to increase in numbers, despite the severity of police and military measures.

Just imagine! A food crisis in the most predominantly agricultural country in the world! Could there be any greater condemnation of British rule in India than this? What hypocrisy on the part of Churchill and the Viceroy to proclaim that their sole concern



AJIT ROY APPEALS TO BRITISH WORKERS

is to protect the masses of India from the threat of Japanese imperialist exploitation. If the British ruling class were concerned with the welfare of the Indian people and not in their exploitation, why do they not adopt a few simple measures which would immediately allay the great economic crisis which has gripped the country. These would be the cancellation of the debts of the peasants, reduction of the rent burden by a half, taking over the big estates of the landlords and their distribution to the landless peasants, abolition of the feudal dues; a confiscation of war profits and establishment of a sliding scale for all industrial workers, confiscation of all grain hoardings and the distribution of the available food equally among all sections of the population.

A few simple radical measures
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Ulster Police Action Against Socialists

A deliberate campaign of vicious police persecution against the Trotskyists has taken place in Ulster in recent weeks. This has significant features for all militant workers. A successful victimisation of the Trotskyists could but be a prelude to action against any workers who opposed the attacks of the bosses on their standards to organisations. Up to now the vicious police dictatorship, and the virtual reign of terror by the police has been justified by the alleged necessity of preventative action against I.R.A. terrorism. Now, for the first time, the police have taken action under the infamous Special Powers Act against a section of the workers movement.

The next sinister aspect of the case is that the political renegades at the head of the so-called Communist Party in Ulster, have co-operated as stool-pigeons and informers with the police, and what is more, it is highly likely, they even instigated this attack on the part of the police. The facts are that one comrade from Southern Ireland was victimised from his employment, following an interview with the police. He obtained another job in another Belfast factory. Before he actually started work he received a

letter stating that owing to a "re-organisation" his services would not be required. It is clear that the police informed the employers that he was "undesirable" and thus prevented him getting work in Ulster for the purpose of forcing him to leave.

The case of Comrade Patrick McKevitt is even more glaring. On Dec. 29th he was arrested and detained under the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act. After being held for nine weeks without charge or trial he was escorted to the Border and deported into Southern Ireland.

Comrade McKevitt, who was born in Dublin, is a plumber and was employed by Messrs. Harland and Wolf, ship-builders at Belfast. He has a fine record of trade union militancy and is well known in Dublin where he was a member of the Dublin District Committee of the Plumbers, Glaziers and Domestic Engineers Union. During the Dublin Building Trades strike he did consistent picket duty for nine months. Last summer he was one of the leaders of a strike at a Crumlin building job in defence of shop steward's rights.

McKevitt came to Northern Ireland in agreement between the Northern Ireland Ministry of Labour and Shipcraft unions. He came actually at the invitation of the Northern Ireland Government. It was not explained to him then, that under

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Our Programme for Power

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 Co-ops, control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shopkeepers.
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 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.

Essential Works Order Tool of the Bosses

BY ALF. SNOBEL

Militant workers can only view with alarm the blatant filching of working class rights during the present war. With blithe abandon the Labour and Trade Union leaders have yielded up privileges which the workers have fought for, for two centuries; rights for which workers have suffered imprisonment and death.

The anti-working class legislation, fully supported, even carried out by Labour and Trade Union leaders, reveals that equality of sacrifice means more and more sacrifices by the workers, and inflated profits for the bosses. To compensate for the abrogation of the right to strike, National Arbitration Tribunals were set up. Harry Pollitt and the Communist Party, as well as Bevin and the Labour leaders sing the praises of negotiation. But the farcical character of these Tribunals are becoming more and more apparent to the workers. The Loco men were magnanimously awarded a 2d. per day increased bonus to meet the rising cost of living!

The essence of reactionary legislation is seen in the execution of the Defence Regulations and Orders, Section 58 (4a) of which gave origin to the Essential Works Order.

In reply to Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P. in Parliament (21.1.43), Bevin stated that of 8,522 prosecutions under the Defence Regulations and Orders, only 68 have been against Employers. That is, 7,776 male and 1,278 female employees had been proceeded against up till December 31st, 1942. Of these no less than 672 men and 92 women have been imprisoned and of course . . . not one employer. No clearer demonstration is necessary to show that law under capitalism is the law of the ruling class by the ruling class and for the ruling class.

Innumerable instances can be brought forward to illustrate how lightheartedly the employers, flout the law, while negligible "offences" of workers are met with fine and imprisonment.

Last month in Scotland, 89 men were fined £10 or 30 days imprisonment for taking part in a month's stay in strike which was not reported to the Ministry of Labour and the N.S.O. The cause of the strike was the transfer of a plater, Brother Bennett to another department, with a loss in wages. The shop steward had told the foreman that the men justly demanded that Bennett's wages be made up to his previous earnings. This was refused by the management on the pretext that the whole rating system would be upset. Passing sentence, the Sheriff remarked, "It is sickening that 90 British men, considering the need for production just now, should go on strike for a month." Not that it was sickening that the management should attempt, "considering the need for production", to reduce the standards of the men and thus provoke a strike! The sheer hypocrisy of such statements takes one's breath away.

By far the most glaring piece of legal jugglery is the following case under the Essential Works Order. (It is well to remember that under the E.W.O., nominally, a worker although he cannot leave his employer, cannot be sacked by the employer either.) The National Council of Civil Liberties has given great prominence to the case of Mrs. Birch of the T.G.W.U. Discharged from the Ultra Electric Company, she was reinstated on appeal to the local Tribunal. Her employers refused to have her back but paid her wages. The Minister of Labour prosecuted the firm for the alleged contravention of the E.W.O. Defence Regulation 58a. The Company's plea, maintaining that by paying the plaintiff, the letter of the E.W.O. was being fulfilled, was accepted by the court. Costs were granted against the prosecution.

So paying a worker to keep away from work is condoned by law. This is what happens to all the talk of greater production that the pay . . .

trials of the employing class continuously drone out, when it suits their interests to victimise workers who stand up for trade union rights.

The writer of this article is having a similar experience. Organising his shop into the A.E.U., he became the acknowledged shop steward. But an anti-Union boss refused recognition, and twice attempted his discharge. The first attempt failed and the Labour Conciliation Officer characterised it as "deliberate victimisation." The second attempt succeeded, but on appeal to the local Tribunal the shop steward was reinstated with full back pay. But the bosses refused to re-employ him, stating that he would "rather smash every machine in the shop than do so." And no back pay was forthcoming either. The National Service Officer is taking action.

Examining these cases, together with hundreds of others, in their class content, it is readily apparent that a method is opened up to the bosses, whereby any and all militant shop stewards and workers can be victimised. All the employer has to do is to get the N.S.O.'s sanction to dismiss the militant on any fabricated excuse; and if reinstated after appeal, pay him his wages but keep him out of the factory.

It should be plain to all workers that here is a danger to all those who zealously cherish their hard won rights. It should be plain too, that all rank and file trade unionists, all workers organised and unorganised, must join in the struggle for the regaining of lost rights.

Instead of coming out openly for the repeal of the E.W.O. and other repressive anti-working class legislation, the B.C. of the A.E.U. is discussing the suggestion of an Amendment to the Act; moved no doubt by rank and file pressure resulting from the case of Mrs. Birch and similar scandals. But patching up an anti-working class law and file trade unionists, all workers organised and unorganised, must join in the struggle for the regaining of lost rights.

Workers! You must fight in your factories, your trade union branches, and your political organisations for the repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class legislation. Flood your branches with resolutions. Already, Trade Union Branches and Trades Councils throughout the country have passed resolutions along these lines.

DEMAND THE REPEAL OF THE ESSENTIAL WORKS ORDER!
DEMAND THAT YOUR SHOP STEWARDS TAKE CONTROL OF DISMISSALS!

READ:—

Preparing for Power

Tasks and Perspectives of the Fourth Internationalists in Britain

Three pence

1,800 COVENTRY MINERS STRIKE

BY TOM BURNS

Miners at Coventry Colliery, Keresley, Warwickshire, went on strike on Monday, 11th January. The Management tried to enforce a wage cut affecting about 80 men. This was certainly resented and the whole pit came out on strike in sympathy, involving 1,800 miners.

The colliery hewed all its coal by handpick till about 12 months ago. The bosses, with an eye to more profit, introduced a coal-cutting machine. The machine is only used in some stalls and even today, the majority of the coal is produced by the old methods. Production naturally increased and although it showed a well earned extra amount of money to the workers, the coal owners benefitted a great deal more. Not being content with the increased revenue, the Management desired the whole pound of flesh and gave notice that wages must be reduced 2d. per ton, plus a certain percentage of bonus—which was never clarified.

The men stood firm and refused to accept such an outrageous demand. A deadlock ensued and lasted several months. Finally the union leaders persuaded the men to take the case to arbitration. Not having any previous experience of such one-sided institutions and being sure of their position the miners accepted.

In May 1942, at Birmingham, the Arbitration Court gave its decision in favour of the boss . . . The workers were astounded and cursed the tribunal "upside down", as being run by the bosses Government. The Court went even further than the original demand and wanted a cut of 3d. per ton, plus a loss in percentages. According to the men, the wage packet would be reduced in each instance by 12%.

The anger of the colliers went a stage further and resulted in the Manager not daring to put this decree into effect. At one time he conventionally retreated and put the blame onto the shoulders of the Coal Owners District Federation who, it is true, were using this opportunity to try out this case for future possibilities. After a period, the Manager, Mr. Fenn, reopened the grievance in a conciliatory manner and tried to catch the miners on the hop by reducing the Court

award: fillers to pay the 2 coal cutters their wages, and such a reduction of 1d. per ton in wages for the maintenance of the machine and a lot of extras. The miners rightly demanded what the eternas meant and it was believed that it would mean the upkeep of the Managements car and household servants.

The miners were not gulled. To Mr. Fenn's demand that he intended to enforce this reduction and to place a notice up to this effect on Monday, 11th January, the miners exclaimed that they would be forced to stop work in protest. A full meeting was held in the canteen on Friday, 8th January, and it was unanimously agreed to take the above action.

The coalowners interest in production is so negligible that although they were warned about the outcome of their decision, they just proceeded to do as they pleased. The Management was conveniently missing on the Monday morning. But when it was seen that the miners were 100 per cent united, Mr. Fenn appeared in no time and hastily agreed to withdraw the notice.

It is plain that the coalowners were just utilising the mass campaign of the press and the Capitalist Government to slip across such a decrease in wages. The efforts of the miners have produced a weekly increase of 200 tons of coal during the period the machine has been in operation. The policy of the Management which brought about the unrest is wholly responsible for the actual dispute.

In the negotiations which are to take place within the coming months, the miners declare that they will stand solidly against refusing to accept any wage cut. The coal cutters, like any other employee in the pit, produce by their labour power, substantial profits for the bosses. It is therefore outrageous for the company to demand that their fellow workers pay the coal cutters their wages. Such a practice if accepted would as it is seen by the action of the District Coal Owners Federation throughout the case, be a procedure that would be widely used. The Keresley miners lodge in refusing a tremendous contribution to the defence of the hard won trade union rights and practices.

TWO VICTORIES FOR MIDLAND ENGINEERS

Two strikes have occurred in a large Midlands engineering factory within a period of 3 weeks. In both cases the workers' action quickly broke down the resistance of the boss and gained victories.

The first issue involved a non-unionist who refused to join the union. In the particular section in which he worked—the Viewers—the men are 100 per cent organised. The workers' action was a concerted transfer of his duties to the Viewers. The Viewers gave the lead the workers in the machine shop instinctively came out in support. A drive is now being made for 100 per cent trade unionism.

Low piece work rates was responsible for the second dispute. A militant worker took the initiative and asked the rate-fixer for a decent rate for the job and was refused. The aftermath being: that this young trade unionist got suspended for 3 days. The workers in the machine shop held a meeting and decided that they would consider themselves all suspended for 3 days unless the victimised worker was immediately reinstated. The management once again had to toe the line and cancel the suspension.

HOUSING SCANDAL Take Over the Mansions!

BY GEORGE HANSEN

No sooner is the exploitation of the labourer by the manufacturer, so far as an end, that he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord . . .

Karl Marx, "Communist Manifesto." The anarchy and chaos of modern capitalism is expressed to the utmost in its method of housing the population. Even in peace time it was bad enough, but when capitalism is waging war, war with its terrible aerial bombardment of cities, the housing problem is expressed with all its horror in sequences according to Government figures, 1 house in 20 in England and Wales was destroyed during the blitz period, while 1 house in 5 was damaged.

This destruction, coupled with the fact that the Government refuses to lift its hand on local housing schemes, has caused an acute crisis in accommodation. In their frantic search for accommodation, workers are being brought, as never before, face to face with the extortionate rents being charged by . . .

That the Government itself is aware of the situation can be seen by the fact that "at the request of the Minister of Health, local authorities are calling public attention to the provisions of the Rent and Mortgage Restrictions Act, 1939, which limits the power of landlords to raise rents during the war. There is reason to believe that through ignorance of this Act, some tenants are paying more rent than they should do." Middlesex County Times, Nov. 28th.

unionist. The strike lasted 2 days and 1 night.

It is a curious fact, the machine shop itself is not too strongly organised and a good percentage is outside of the T.U. movement. Yet when the Viewers gave the lead the workers in the machine shop instinctively came out in support. A drive is now being made for 100 per cent trade unionism.

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While we agree with the demands of workers for the reinstatement of Brother Mackintosh and a full inquiry into the victimisation, and also the mismanagement of the firm, we must warn that any such joint enquiry set up under Government control will be heavily biased in favour of the boss. A decision favourable to the workers will depend on the solidarity of the workers themselves.

ONLY BY INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION CAN VICTIMISATION BE DEFEATED.

ONLY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL CAN CHAOS AND MISMANAGEMENT BE ENDED.

VICTORY FOR NOTTS. DRIVERS AND FIREMAN

The Railway Company in the Nottingham area after some weeks of negotiation, withdrew the knackers-up. In effect this meant that the Firemen and Drivers were expected to turn out for work at any time during the night without being called. The system of knock-up, is one that has operated for years, it is essential to the workers, who are sent home again if they appear late for work. This same attempt was made during the last war on the same grounds, shortage of labour. It should be pointed out that rising for work at say 1.30 a.m. in mid winter is a different proposition to rising at 7 a.m., particularly so when the time of "call" is changed from day to day, a worker may have to turn out at say 12.30 one morning, 4 a.m. the next and then 2.30 a.m. etc.



"HERE'S A BIGGER BONE BOYS!"

LANARKSHIRE Works Delegate Victimised

BY ANN KEEN

A strike of 1,500 workers took place at an important M.A.P. iron and steel works in Lanarkshire.

This strike was directly provoked by the management, who took the action of sacking on the spot, the Works Delegate, Mackintosh, for alleged "gross misconduct over a period of weeks."

This action is contrary to all the established procedure which has in the past been carried out on agreements between Management and Union. All that the Union Branch asked was that the delegate be allowed to carry on work according to the usual procedure, and that the workers would accept the final decision arrived at by whatever body is set up to try the case.

Meanwhile the Branch feels that circumstances merit a full inquiry into the mismanagement of the plant; production was held up directly by the manager, Dr. Falkner; supervisors who understand absolutely nothing about the job are set over the workers and consequently, valuable time is being wasted, also, since the workers are on the wage plus bonus system, they are losing economically.

The strike at the time of writing, comprised Mossend No. 2 Branch of the B.I.S.A.K.T.A. and Mossend Branch of Boleslows. The latter came out in sympathy, realising that this action on the part of the Management, is a direct stab in the back to Trade Unionism to undermine working class conditions.

Brother Mackintosh, has shown himself a fine trade union militant, and is chiefly responsible for the 100 per cent closed shop in the plant. This is his real "crime". This is why the Management want to get rid of him!

The workers fully understand that if the Management is allowed to get away with this, the next step will be wage slashes and a worsening generally of their already bad conditions.

The Management was not in the least concerned that 1,500 men had stopped work. The attitude of the Management demonstrated its complete disregard for production. Not only does it suffer from an apparently inherent inability to organise production, even from a purely capitalist point of view, but it also demonstrates all the most reactionary anti-labour characteristics associated with semi-fascist and pro-fascist employers. Production can go to hell while the boss settles with a T.U. militant!

While we agree with the demands of workers for the reinstatement of Brother Mackintosh and a full inquiry into the victimisation, and also the mismanagement of the firm, we must warn that any such joint enquiry set up under Government control will be heavily biased in favour of the boss. A decision favourable to the workers will depend on the solidarity of the workers themselves.

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WAGES OF IRISH WORKERS

The attitude of the farmers to the agricultural workers is shown in the speech of Mr. William Graham, President of the National Farmers' Union and Chamber of Agriculture of Scotland, when he addressed the Chief Branch's annual meeting. According to the "Glasgow Herald" of January 22nd, 1943:

Correspondence

FILM WORKERS FIGHT FOR HIGHER WAGES

Socialist Appeal, Dear Sir,

Just recently in the Film Industry in which I am employed, our Union had a hard on overtime to get extra money on the war bonus rest of living. We held a big meeting of all the studios in London and elsewhere. Mr. O'Brien put forward a very good case for the men, and is putting up a good fight for the men. You would hardly credit the "dirty" tactics of the Communist Party. They sent one of their leading speakers Ivor Montague to the meeting which was crowded out. How he ever got into the meeting is a bit of a mystery. He is supposed to hold a card in the government like that of the Communist Party. There were three Communists who voted against the resolution to improve the wages of the workers.

Ivor Montague, the son of a Lord, has now a job head of the Ministry of Information Film Department. He is a very able man and a university man, a fine speaker, but a "dirty rat". He went on to say that we were helping Hitler by fighting for better conditions. You would hardly credit a party that is supposed to represent the workers doing such a low down trick. They have been doing some strike breaking lately. The workers will never forget their dirty work at the behest of this reactionary Government that is in power today. I wonder how Ivor Montague got a job in the government like that. They are agents of the capitalist class. I may tell you I was in the Communist Party for a long time and done propaganda all over the world, but never again. They are a crowd of opportunists.

Your paper caused a big discussion when I passed it round here. The so-called Communists here said I was "Hitler's agent" and a Trotskyist. The rank and file are very nice chaps to their credit but they cannot see how their leaders have sold out.

With all best wishes for your splendid paper.

Yours, Jim Galway.

B.B.C. Broadcast "Scabs Reward"

Tyneside.

Dear Comrade, On Sunday, 10th January, listeners all over the world heard a programme meant to stimulate production in the

LANDOWNERS VICTIMISE IRISH WORKERS

be sent back to Ireland and never allowed a visa to return . . . Prisoners of War "Prisoners, in his experience seemed to come here specially coached in chapter and verse of the Geneva Convention, although occasionally rural minded Italians were satisfactory . . .

"Various speakers raised difficulties due to workers leaving despite the standstill order. The President stated that farmers themselves were largely to blame for these changes, owing to the practice of luring workers from the farms by offering higher wages. He also dealt with the wage position for Irish labour, and in this phase of the issue he blamed the Government for unnecessary extravagance in paying subsistence and settling-in allowances.

"In certain areas farmers were just cutting their own throats by enticing men away for higher wages . . .

"In most cases, Mr. Graham strongly emphasised, 'it was farmers who were at the root of the trouble where men got discontented. Offers to pay prosecution fines—fines that in most instances were so small that the law was making a fool of itself—and offers of increased wages were undermining the labour market . . .

"In answer to a general complaint, voiced by Mr. James Strang, Kintocher, about the tendency of Irish labourers to drift about in search of higher money, Mr. Graham replied he regretted to say again it was the farmer who was most to blame. Steps had been taken to tighten up regulations, and any such men traced would

British shipyards. Two of the people taking part in that programme were well known reactionary specimens in the mid Tyne area. One, Mr. Jas. Bradley has twice been guilty in recent months of urging workers to blackleg; the other, Mr. W. G. Pearson, one time Tory M.P., is a welfare officer at a mid Tyne shipyard known for its lack of facilities for meals for about 5,000 employees.

The general disgust among Tyne shipyard workers was expressed very forcibly in discussions among those who know them. It is clear what sort of handpicked types are made use of in these broadcasts—a sort of 'scabs reward' is the opinion among the workers.

It is galling to know that these articles are put on the air as 'representatives' of the British workers.

Yours fraternally, C.C.

From a Soldier In Egypt

The Editor, Dear Comrade,

I have met some Egyptians who are very sympathetic to our ideas. The article in your paper on Egypt was very well received. Incidentally there were one or two incorrect details, e.g. population which is almost 17 million, not 20 million; cost of living is now almost 300 per cent above pre-war level. I have picked up much information about true conditions here. Conditions here are difficult, to say the least of it. In Alexandria a person was arrested for selling "Moscow News", another in Cairo for selling a Russian propaganda pamphlet. The leaders of many promising groups are in prison. Public meetings of any description are forbidden. (The reason says the Government, is to prevent such crowds from being exploited by pickpockets!) Censorship is extremely rigid. But there are great hopes for the future.

In the forces there are growing signs too. There is a growing sympathy with the Red Army. The "Internationale" and the "Red Flag" are not unknown! In a certain regiment an order was circulated to its higher command. It ran more or less as follows: "There is a growing sympathy in the ranks towards Communism. It must be pointed out that Russia is NOT OUR ALLY (sic) and this tendency must be discouraged." There were also instructions on how to order to destroy it as soon as it had been read. (It also mentioned that Russia's war with Germany was a "domestic affair".

Yours fraternally, Soldier.

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EDITORIAL

The Fourth International

Internationally, the capitalists are busier than they have ever been before. Pacts, agreements, secret treaties, material aid from one country to the other, the formation of co-ordinating committees, the flitting to and fro of high diplomatic and military figures. The capitalists are organising themselves on an international scale.

It is not put over to the workers, however, as a union of capitalists, but as a genuine expression of internationalism. But no matter what phrases Churchill and Roosevelt use to cover it up on their side, and Hitler on his, the true nature of the international organisation of the capitalists stands out. It is aimed, not at giving expression to the internationalism of the worker and peasant masses of the world, but at preventing it finding expression.

In Europe the capitalists of the various countries stood for national independence—until it became clear that only the workers could have safeguarded it: and then the capitalists called in Hitler. Just as readily can Hitler and his crew, scenting danger from the German workers, call in Churchill and Roosevelt to deal with them. It was not for nothing that Marx pointed out that "class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national Governments are one as against the proletariat!" Today, even though the national governments may be organised as two against each other that is a luxury they can only afford because the international proletariat is not organised as one against the capitalists.

The activities of the capitalists are a profound and vitally important lesson to the workers. However much they may mouth about "internationalism" in general, the capitalists do not confine themselves to phrases when it comes to organising internationally for the defence of their own interests. On the contrary, they get right down to the job of putting their international plans into action. All the more necessary is it, therefore, that the workers should do the same in regard to THEIR internationalism. For as the position stands today the workers of each country, far from being linked for common action, are so unorganised that it has proved comparatively simple for the capitalists to hurl them in millions against each other in a titanic gladiatorial struggle.

The Second International scarcely even bothers about the phrases of internationalism; the Third International has become even more rabidly nationalist than the Second. And as an inevitable result there has been a growth in each of these bodies of race hatred, with sections of the Labour leaders embracing Vansittartism, and French Communist Deputies referring to the German people as "the Boche." The way of these two Internationals has nothing to offer the workers in bringing down words to reality the internationalism which has been the avowed aim of the Labour movement for so many years.

If it had been only a matter of words and phrases, then Ramsay MacDonald might well have worked miracles. But true internationalism is a matter of deeds and of the real relationships of millions of workers and peasants in scores of countries. Not to help the capitalists to organise their international link-ups, but to organise the workers of all countries against capitalism, that is the task of real internationalism.

The events following the Russian Revolution showed how the interests and the actions of the workers overflow frontiers. For the events of October had effects throughout Europe and the world. The workers themselves showed that they wanted to find their way toward their own class internationalism. That movement failed—but it failed precisely because the machinery and leadership of workers power nationally and internationally was lacking. The Third International was formed too late to have effect in the crisis at the end of the war.

That lesson, too, must be thoroughly digested today, when the coming crisis will be a thousand times deeper than that of 1918-1919, and the years that followed. It is not merely a matter of national parties with a programme of power, however good. It is also a matter of such parties being firmly linked internationally for common action, for mutual aid, and for united propaganda.

A principled international link-up of revolutionary parties will give to each of them a strength and confidence which they could never achieve in isolation. And this is particularly important in the relations between the workers of the industrial countries and the workers and peasants of the colonial and backward countries. The real position, outlook and aims of each group can be stated in the other country, and an effective answer thus given to the propaganda of the capitalists which is aimed at splitting the workers by fanning antagonisms which have no reality. And when the crisis periods come, the mutual aid goes beyond the bounds of propaganda and takes the form of direct action.

The Second and Third Internationals have nothing to offer the workers but a continuation of the rule of finance capital, with its wars and increasing oppression. Today only the Fourth International expresses the real internationalism of the workers of all lands. And it does not merely express this in words but in its programme and its deeds. The Fourth International holds no illusions and no soothing phrases before the workers. It points out that the next stage of the road is going to be very hard and there will be fierce struggles. But it offers a leadership in these struggles, and a leadership basing itself on a programme of workers' power.

It is almost a hundred years since Marx first issued the clarion call—"Workers of the world, unite!" And today the need for Marx's words to be clothed with reality is the most pressing of all needs if humanity is not to wipe itself out or return to barbarism. The Fourth International hammers home its lesson—unity with the capitalists is unity against internationalism. The only unity that has anything to offer tortured humanity is the unity of the workers of the various countries against capitalism. And such a unity will not fall from the skies. It will have to be fought for by the building in each country of a truly revolutionary party basing itself on Marx and the class struggle. And the firmness of the parties nationally must be paralleled by the firmness of their international bond. The enemy is thoroughly organised nationally and internationally. He is preparing great armies of counter-revolution to be used on a world-wide scale. The answer to that challenge must also be on a world-wide scale. The Fourth International sets itself the task of assuring that this will be so.

ALLIES PREPARING DOMINATION OF EUROPE

BY ANDREW SCOTT

The question of Europe's future stands at the heart and core of the political problems of the war and of its aftermath.

What is that future to be? Is it to be one of sinking into an ever-deepening pit of poverty and bankruptcy; of acting as battle-ground for round after round of an unending, bloody prize fight; of being divided into an archaic system of national states; of suffering a gigantic blood-letting every few years; of being prevented from developing to the full its enormous potential production resources?

Or is it to be a future in which national barriers, political and economic, have been razed to the ground; in which there is an unprecedented intercourse, between the common people; a free exchange of goods; a complete freedom from wars and from the insidious pressure of poverty and hunger?

Already Hitler has given the reply of German imperialism in no uncertain manner. And not merely in words, but in the unmistakable language of bayonets, guns, concentration camps, ghettos, mass murder, and empty bellies. The "new order" consists in a concentrated essence of everything that was backward and reactionary in the old order of Europe. Whatever gains had been made by the masses of the people have been given in the dust under the Nazi jackboot. To be sure, the continent has been "unified"; but it is the "unification" of death and destruction. The national barriers have been laid low—but only in order that poverty, misery, war and Fascist oppression shall cross over them. Peace and plenty?—there are no such things in Germany (or elsewhere) to flow to the fallen barriers. Hitler has nothing to offer stricken Europe, and everybody in Europe knows this, including the Nazis.

And the "Allies"? They have proclaimed the liberation of the stricken continent to be one of their principal war aims. Unbounded promises have been sent winging through the ether. Democracy has been offered in place of Nazism; plenty in place of want; peace in place of war.

But the reality is that they are incapable of offering a genuine alternative to Hitler's barbaric solution of the problem of Europe. The secret preparations that go on behind the scenes, the hints that are dropped by occasional speakers, the action they have so far taken in their campaign of liberation—all give an indication of the real plans of the "Allies".

The real problem of Europe for the capitalists is not that of smashing Hitler's hideous tyranny, but that of keeping the revolution in check. They know that if the Hitler regime falls and they are not ready immediately to replace it with a regime of their own, then the result will be a communist Europe. The "Economist"

has voiced this fear: "If events are left to their own momentum, the third alternative (communism) is the most likely." And as far back as September 1933, Lloyd George said in Parliament: "If the Powers succeed in overthrowing Nazism in Germany what would follow? Not a conservative, socialist or liberal regime, but extreme communism. Surely that could not be their objective... The Germans would know how to run their communism effectively."

More recently the "Fortnightly Review" has pointed out: "The revolutionary events in a defeated post-war Germany will take on a much more violent character than the coups d'Etat of 1918... A non-communist and anti-Nazi regime in a post-war Germany could only be established if such a government could get from the beginning the help of the Anglo-Saxon countries."

U.S. Preparing for Occupation

And already on the wider sphere of Europe the preparations are going ahead for the breaking of the revolution and the ruling of the continent. The press has reported: "The U.S. War Department is planning an occupation army of at least a million men for maintaining order after the war in lands now dominated by the Axis. Already in a Southern university officers are being taught civil administration, military law, and many related subjects they will need to carry on."

Besides this, great stocks of food are being prepared in America, not for any humanitarian feeding of hungry Europe, but cold-bloodedly for the purpose of bargaining against the revolution. "Be submissive and you will be fed. Engage in communist revolution, and you will continue to starve." That will be the ultimatum of the "liberators" of Europe.

Capitalists Look to Stalin

And these same imperialists look to Stalin for assistance in putting their plans into operation. No longer do they fear any *capitulation* revolution from the Kremlin. Stalin's wiping out of a whole generation of revolutionaries, including Trotsky, together with the policies Stalin has pursued, has persuaded the imperialists of his reliability as an ally. A report of one of the leading bodies of British imperialism, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, has pointed out:

"The internal development of Russia is tending to throw up a 'bourgeoisie' of managers and officials who possess sufficient privileges to make them highly content with the status quo... It is possible to regard the various purges as part of a process by which all who desire to change

the present state of affairs are being rooted out... The revolutionary period in Russia is over... henceforward her rulers will only seek to conserve the gains which the revolution has brought them."

The hope that Anglo-American imperialism cherishes of receiving Stalin's assistance in smashing the revolution has been voiced by Sir John Maynard in the introduction to his book, "The Russian Peasant".

"If, for instance, there should be a struggle in Germany between a Marxian and a Fascist group, there must be agreement between the West and the U.S.S.R. as to the limits of intervention. It is not beyond the powers of diplomacy to achieve this..."

Only Workers Can Solve Problem

No more than Hitler can Churchill and Roosevelt solve Europe's economic problem, with its 100 million people more than can be supported without imports. No more than Hitler can they solve its political problem of laying low the national barriers in a progressive way and bringing peace to a war-weary continent. Like Hitler they can make Europe a single unit; but a unit of tyranny and poverty, not one of freedom and prosperity.

Already 70 years ago Marx indicated the pass into which European capitalism had stumbled.

"The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war; and this is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of the classes, and to be thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out in civil war. Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national Governments are one as against the proletariat!"

The only force that can seize the continent in its grip and pluck it out of the flames that are consuming it is the force of the European proletariat. Spurning the de Gaulles, the Benesses and the Girauds they will certainly set out on this road, for the war is smashing whatever illusions they had in "democratic" capitalism. But they will stand in need of allies in Britain and America, allies who will march with them toward a real solution of Europe's problems. They will only find these allies if the British and American working class frees itself of the stranglehold of finance capital and acts independently.

The Socialist United States of Europe is the only Europe that can offer anything to the masses other than bitterness and bloodshed. In Britain the struggle for that aim is first of all the struggle for the independence of the working class movement, and then a genuine participation with the German and European workers in the fight against capitalist barbarism both of the Hitler and the "democratic" variety, and the building of a truly civilised Europe.

THE JEWISH QUESTION

The horrible persecution of the Jews is the work of Hitler's fascist S.S. thugs. No workers can believe that a nation as a whole, and one with such a high level of culture as the German people, could be forced to commit such bestial crimes. It is necessary to remember who is responsible for these crimes, for the British government, with true class reasoning, seeks to lead the guilt onto the German masses.

If any further proof were needed to support our contention that the British authorities have no intention of helping the unfortunate Jews and are merely using their plight for propaganda purposes, let us quote two reliable sources as well as Mr. Anthony Eden himself.

An extract of a letter from Sir Andrew McFadyen which appeared in the "Daily Telegraph" of Wednesday, 6th January:

"A few weeks ago a deputation to the Home Secretary appealed for permission for the entry of 2,000 children from Vichy France. The request was unconditionally refused, partly on the ground that it might cause an 'outburst' of anti-Semitism here. That is a slander on the British people. News had just been received that of 2,000 children from 2 years of age upwards, deported from Vichy France in cattle trucks, half were dead on arrival at their destination and the rest were dying."

On December 17th, Mr. Eden made a statement of policy in the House of Commons. This is the Government's policy as stated by him: "when the crisis shall not escape retribution, all persons who can properly be held responsible for these crimes, whether they are the ringleaders or the actual perpetrators of the outrages."

Eden who promises the Jews that Britain and the victorious Allies will punish the people responsible for the atrocities. What other conclusions can be drawn from these statements made by the British Government? They give the widest publicity to the report of atrocities, authentic and otherwise, yet fail to take even the most elementary steps to aid these unfortunate victims, and furthermore fan the hatred against the German people. It is obvious from their attitude that the British Government will only continue

to use the plight of the Jews to further their own reactionary aims and will do nothing to alleviate their sufferings.

Events are demonstrating anew that the only solution to the "Jewish problem" is the socialist revolution. Whether it will be a victory for Sikorski or a victory for Hitler, the Jews will be made the scapegoat for the evils of the capitalists. In the great upheavals which are coming in Europe, the working class Jews will take their place alongside their fellow workers in fighting for the socialism which will free them of the tyranny and oppression which is born of the capitalist system. The revolutionary socialists will have no part in deceiving the Jews, in a belief that their plight will be alleviated by a victory of Allied imperialism.

Victor Gollancz has published a pamphlet "Let my People Go". In this he gives an able and thorough review of the situation of the Jews in Europe today. Having all the facts before him and seeming to understand the full implications of his facts, yet, like Wainwright, he covers up the shameful hypocrisy of the British ruling class politicians and even attributes "genuine warm sympathy" to Mr. Eden. This despite the fact that Mr. Eden has constantly poured cold water on any move to alleviate the sufferings of Hitler's defenceless victims. Mr. Gollancz omits to show that the replies and pronouncements of Mr. Eden and other Government spokesmen make it quite clear that the British working class can place no reliance on the present government. It is perhaps conceivable that a strong public agitation might force the government to make a token gesture of aid to the Jews, but this would be made merely in order to deceive the public. Nor does Gollancz show that Eden is merely carrying out the policy of his class and government, which is to use the persecutions to further Vansittart propaganda.

Further, Gollancz asserts that an allied military victory would solve this Jewish problem. We categorically deny that such result would follow. The Allies have gained their first victory in North Africa, yet after a lapse of several months the anti-Jewish laws decreed by Vichy have not been repealed and the persecution continues. Eden shows his "general warm sympathy" by his statement: "The position is most unsatisfactory, and I trust the necessary steps would be taken as soon as circumstances permit."

Which circumstances does Eden need to put an end to persecution of the Jews in North Africa?

Finally, Gollancz has remained silent on the question of Russia. He has failed to expose Stalin's reactionary role on the question of the right of asylum, nor has he addressed himself to Stalin to save the threatened Jews.

«We repeat: the right of asylum for persecuted individuals and minorities is an elementary democratic right. Open the Gates!»

International Bank "Trading with the Enemy"

BY ROSE CARSON

THE RECENTLY PUBLISHED ANNUAL REPORT OF NOVEMBER 1942 OF THE BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTMENT THROWS AN INTERESTING SIDELIGHT ON THE REAL REASON FOR THE WAR: THE MAINTENANCE OF INVESTMENTS AND PROFITS AND THE ULTIMATE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME IN POST-WAR EUROPE.

The International Settlement Bank was founded in 1930; it was one of the aftermaths of the Hague Conference for reparation payments. Its shareholders are the state banks of nearly every country in the world. Among its foreign directors are such well known Nazis as Walther Funk, Nazi economic chief for occupied Europe and Ekkehard von Schroeder, who helped Hitler to power by pulling strings behind the scenes with Von Papen in January 1930.

The 1942 Report revealed that the Board of the Bank for International Settlementment is a joint British-Nazi affair. Although under the "Trading with the Enemy Act" heavy penalties are supposed to be meted out to private citizens and firms for continuing to trade with or for having connections with enemy controlled interests, nevertheless certain Directors of the Bank of England were still allowed in 1942 to remain on the Board of the Bank, the share capital of which is held by Axis controlled interests to the extent of 72 per cent.

Sir Kingsley Wood has admitted that three British functionaries are allowed to serve on the staff and are directly under the control of Herr Hechler, the German Assistant-General Manager. Presumably this is permissible so long as they are "distant but correct" in their demeanour. Sir Kingsley Wood has fairly let the cat out of the bag when he flatly refused to consider the idea of British withdrawal on the grounds that the Bank of England has £1,000,000 invested in the B.I.S., and draws an annual dividend of £60,000. The £60,000 a year is not however the only consideration;

a plan for post war Europe also came within the scope of the report. Their plan envisages the dividing up of the entire world into co-prosperity areas.

The report of the B.I.S. aroused considerable interest in the British House of Commons. One section favoured the idea of withdrawing from the Bank and Mr. Geoffrey Mander, the industrialist and politician, made a very interesting remark during the parliamentary debate on this question. He said: "After all, when we have won the war, we can do what we like with Europe, with the Bank of anything else. We can dictate our terms."

This is the true voice of a predatory imperialist power. German finance capital which virtually controls this bank having 72 per cent of the share capital and 12 out of 16 of the Directors, likewise sees in the Bank a very advantageous medium for the extension of its own policy. This was considerably lightened by the past pro-fascist, pro-reparation policy of the Bank Directors Mr. Montague Norman and Sir Otto Niemeyer. In 1937 the British Directors advocated the appointment of Herr Hechler, the German nominee as General Manager, as opposed to the Frechman Auboin.

The B.I.S. gave its august sanction to Hitler's rape of Czechoslovakia by handing over the Czech gold reserves of £6,000,000. The German credits are now augmented by those of the state banks of countries under German domination, France, Belgium, Greece, Holland, Denmark and Yugoslavia. It is interesting to note that the B.I.S. changed its accounting methods in May 1939, that is four months before the war broke out. The new method assures greater concealment for its transactions. The imperialist rulers of Britain and Germany have clearly shown that they abide by the old slogan "business as usual", while they cynically drive their peoples to slaughter one another.

Lenin long ago pointed out that the really great questions are always decided not in Parliaments, but by the Bank Directors within the privacy of their own board-rooms. Parliament says we are waging a struggle against Fascism, but the Banks proclaim the truth, which is that the war is being waged on both sides to safeguard investments and profits.

WAINWRIGHT BLUNDERS AGAIN ON THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

BY TED GRANT

William Wainwright, who has been selected by the Stalinists for the job of Hack in Chief, is still at the old game of lying and slander. It must be admitted that the Stalinists have chosen well. Wainwright seems to take a delight in wallowing in his filth and returns to his distortions and lies like a dog returns to his vomit. It is positively embarrassing to have to reply to the "arguments" which he adduces.

For sheer unadulterated hypocrisy and deceit it would be hard even for Goebbels to beat Wainwright when on the job of "exposing" the Trotskyists. Nevertheless, in the latest batch of falsehoods, Wainwright, as usual with the tribe of Ananias, has given hostages to fortune. Any member of the Communist Party or any honest worker deceived by Wainwright, need just glance at the "Socialist Appeal" to see the inscrupulous mendacity of the leadership.

In his zeal to discredit the Trotskyists, Wainwright invents the story that Wang-Ching Wei, the Japanese Quisling, is... a Trotskyist! It is an old Stalinist trick to confuse the workers by denouncing every renegade and police agent as a Trotskyist, and thus engender a hatred and distrust of the Revolutionary socialists. Says Wainwright in his latest outcrop of lies:

"Wang-Ching Wei, whose puppet government at Nanking has declared war on Britain and U.S.A., is a kind of Chinese Doriot."

In 1938, Wang visited Europe. On his return he went over to the Japs. Instead of his 'leftism', he and his paper now shout about 'Asia for the Asians'. One more example of Trotskyism being a cover for fascism."

Poor Stalinist slanderer! It would have been better for him to have invented a more plausible tale, instead of one which will prove a boomerang to his party. This fool has wandered into a subject which the Stalinists would prefer to be forgotten—the Chinese revolution.

Needless to say, Wang Ching Wei is a capitalist politician and was never in the working class movement. The closest he ever got was when, with Chiang Kai Shek and the other leaders, the Kou Min Tang was accepted as a "sympathising section" of the Communist International, against the

vote and protest of Trotsky and the Left Opposition.

During the Chinese Revolution of 1927, Stalin and the Comintern defended this quivering creature, against the advice and warning of Trotsky, and thus doomed the Chinese workers to be butchered and slaughtered by him. Just as today Wainwright defends Churchill, De Gaulle, Sikorski, and other imperialist rulers from Leninist criticism and thus prepares, insofar as it depends upon him, a like fate for the British workers.

Here we reproduce a quotation given by H. Isaacs in "Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution", which shows the real position in China at that time:

"... addressing the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chitarov, relating the events at Wuhan, said '... One thing was left out of sight in connection with this—that while the bourgeois war raged in the revolution (1) the Wuhan Government (Wang Ching Wei was head of this Government) did not even think of leaving the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately, among the majority of our comrades, this was not understood; they had illusions with regard to the Wuhan Government. They considered the Wuhan Government almost an image, a prototype of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.'"

But it was on May 18th at the Eight Plenum that Trotsky had warned:

"The leaders of the Left Kuomintang of the type of Wang Ching Wei and Co. will inevitably betray you if you follow the Wuhan heads instead of forming your own independent Soviets. The agrarian revolution is a serious thing. Politicians of the Wang Ching-Wei type, under difficult conditions, will unite ten times with Chiang Kai Shek against the workers and peasants."

Stalin, on the other hand, told the workers to trust Wang Ching Wei. In Stalin's own words:

"... without a policy of close collaboration of the Lefts and the Communists inside the Kuomintang... the victory of the revolution is impossible."

It was not at all surprising therefore, that Wang Ching Wei could appear in person as guest of honour at the opening of the Fifth Congress of

the Chinese Communist Party in Hankow on April 27th, and announce that he and his colleagues "gladly accepted the perspectives of the Communist International..."

Trotsky continued to warn the workers against the faith placed by Stalin in capitalist politicians of the stamp of Wang Ching Wei. In the same speech he sounded the alarm:

"We say directly to the Chinese peasants. The leaders of the Left Kuomintang of the type of Wang Ching Wei and Co., will inevitably betray you if you follow the Wuhan heads instead of forming your own independent Soviets... Politicians of the Wang Ching Wei type, under difficult conditions, will unite ten times with Chiang Kai Shek against the workers and peasants. Under such conditions two Communists in prison hostages, if not a direct mask for the preparation of a new blow against the working masses."

On May 28th, Trotsky had written in a letter to the Plenum:

"The agrarian revolution cannot be accomplished with the consent of Wang Ching Wei, but in spite of Wang Ching Wei and in struggle against him... But for this we need a really independent Communist Party, which does not imitate the leaders but resolutely leads the masses. There is no other road and there can be none."

But again his pleas and warnings were brushed aside, the Eight Plenum of the Communist International condemned him for advocating Soviets and adopted a resolution in support of the Wuhan Government, of which the following is an extract:

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International deems erroneous the point of view of those who underestimate the Hankow Government and deny its reality, its great revolutionary role..."

"In the present conditions in China, the Communist Party is for the war waged by Hankow. It is responsible for the policy of the Wuhan Government, into which it enters directly. It is for facilitating the tasks of this government by every means..."

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BOB ARMSTRONG SUPPORT LOCOMOTIVE DEMANDS

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British "democracy" in Ulster he had the right only to political opinions and ideas approved and sanctioned by the police.

Following the arrest of Comrade McKevitt the Ulster branch of W.I.L.L. immediately distributed leaflets protesting against this action, since McKevitt had not even been charged with any crime against the Ulster laws.

It was while distributing these leaflets that Comrade Bob Armstrong, the third comrade involved, was arrested. The police admitted that the leaflet contained nothing which could be construed as seditious. But he was detained under the Special Powers Act preparatory to being interned. He was kept for two days and two nights in a cell without any heating at all in bitterly cold weather. Then he was taken to Cromlin Road Jail.

STALINISTS AND INSIDE INFORMATION

That the Stalinists were at the back of this persecution or at the least were associated in some way with it, is shown by the following circumstances.

Comrade Armstrong wrote us on November 24th 1942, warning of attempts at foul police provocation by the Stalinists. "Some time ago I received a report that the Chief of the Political Police had asserted that I was linked up with the German Legation in Dublin. Yesterday in an interview he pointed-blank re-iterated that view. He denied that the Stalinists had directly given 'information' on this, but tacitly permitted me to understand that they have their own method of allowing such 'information' to filter through. Anyhow, it is altogether certain that this is not the mere personal inventiveness of Mr Moffat, but that some 'evidence' has really reached him from a Stalinist source—how good this 'evidence' must be can be seen from the fact that I am still at large."

The connection between the Stalinist leaders and the police was even more clearly shown in the case of McKevitt. At the meeting of the Trades Council, where this comrade's arrest was being discussed, Betty Sinclair a leader of the Communist Party, is quoted by the "Irish Telegraph" to have said, "I understand from the Authorities that they are going to send McKevitt back over the Border."

How did Betty Sinclair know something that neither McKevitt's wife, the solicitor nor the Release Committee knew until several hours after Paddy had gone? Paddy was brought home in a car at about 11 o'clock to pack his clothes and collect his tools. His wife was working. He was given no time to see her, but rushed away for the train. His landlord went down to tell his wife. Neither the landlord nor his wife told anyone else. The Committee only heard about an hour previous to the Trades Council Meeting. Yet Betty Sinclair knew that some evening "from the Authorities"—not that he had been deported, but that "they were going to" deport him.

BOB ARMSTRONG'S RECORD

Comrade Armstrong has a record of which any working class militant would be proud. Although he is only 30 years old, Comrade Armstrong has a record of more than 10 years activity in the British working class movement. Born in Glasgow he served his earliest years in the I.L.P. Guild of Youth before joining the Communist Party in which he spent nearly 6 years. At the beginning of the Spanish civil war, he was one of the earliest members of

the British Communist Party to join the International Brigade in which he served with distinction. He left London in August 1936 and was in Spain until the middle of 1938. He was twice wounded in the Civil War; left hospital for the front before he was discharged on the first occasion and was put in charge of the International Brigade records at Albacete after his second wound... When he returned to England, although he had already started to question the policy of the Stalinists in Spain he retained his Party membership and toured the country as a leading speaker for International Brigade Speakers' Aid Committee. He addressed mass meetings of workers from C.P. platforms.

As the result of his own political development, he broke from the British Communist Party along with five other members of the Islington branch of the London C.P. after they had tried to conduct a discussion inside the Party which was refused and blocked by the Stalinist bureaucrats. He, together with his comrades, immediately drew the correct conclusions of experience in the C.P. and entered the ranks of the Trotskyists. Since that time Comrade Armstrong has been one of our most valuable comrades, placing his whole life and experience at the disposal of our movement.

Following his break with Stalinism, the C.P., unable to attack his record in public, immediately conducted their usual whispering campaign of lies and slander to undermine his splendid record.

Fortunately, the publicity given to the case, and the splendid co-operation of militants in the working class movement, has resulted in the release of Comrade Armstrong. The Release Committee in Northern Ireland was composed of representatives of W.I.L.L., U.U.W.M., and the Socialist Party of Northern Ireland. In addition Paddy Agnew, North Ireland M.P., and apparently, the Irish T.G.W. union gave full support to the campaign. McGovern and the I.L.P. members of parliament exerted pressure on the Home Office. Some of the Left Labour M.P.s also took up the question, Rhys Davies, Sorensen, and Aneurin Bevan.

This is the first time that the Special Powers in Ireland have been used against socialists. It sets an ominous precedent, not only for Ireland but also for Britain. Under the E.P.A. the police have as much power in Britain as the Ulster police under the Special Powers Act. They too, if they thought necessary, could take similar action.

These events have shown the hollowness of the "democracy" which the workers possess in Ulster. The police have been compelled to release these comrades by the pressure of the Labour Movement. But what is to prevent the police resorting to such arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of militant workers under the regulations in the future? Meanwhile McKevitt is still deported from Ulster under the Exclusion Order. One other comrade has been compelled by the police persecution to find work outside Ulster. Workers must demand the repeal of these pernicious acts which can be used against any section of the workers' movement in the future. Full democratic rights must be restored to Ulster! End the police-dictatorship!

Demand the withdrawal of the Exclusion Order against McKevitt! Force the Stalinists to stop police provocation in the workers' movement!

BELFAST FUND

Monies received, to date from Trades Unions, Indian Workers, I.L.P.s, and W.I.L.L.s amount to £56 6s. 6d.

FASCISTS IN ALLIED CAMP

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position before the war—being dependent on Britain.

Not satisfied with having a finger in all the colonial pies of the world, American imperialism will not even leave to Britain the domination (at a high rate of profit of course) of the European continent. That is why the openly imperialist press of the United States has been complaining of the "sniping" by the British at General Eisenhower and the State Department of America.

French Africa is the model of Europe, Asia and the world that the British and American imperialists are moulding for the future—this is their "New Order". Mr. Harold Macmillan, British Minister at Allied H.Q. in North Africa stated, according to the "Telegraph" of January 15th, "North African administration problems must be clearly studied, because it is the prototype of things which we hope will take place in 1943 when allied moves gradually release Europe."

The spokesmen of American imperialism are not even pretending that the "New Order" they are preparing for Europe will be very different from that "New Order" which Hitler has in mind. Mr. Kingsbury Smith, one of the most trusted of State Department correspondents states:

"There are most likely to be deals with other conquered Axis-dominated countries."

"We will probably deal with Franco even further, if conditions permit."

"In Italy we stand ready to deal with any leader other than Mussolini, who will help to open the gates to our armies."

"And the same goes for Hungary and the Balkan countries—we are quite willing to use American gold in every place where it will save American blood."

"In Germany as I understand it we will refuse to deal with any mem-

ber of the Hitler gang, but we will deal at any time with any responsible element ready to overthrow the Nazis.

In all the comings and goings it is to be noted that the only people who are not consulted in North Africa, are the original inhabitants. Britain, the United States and all the factions of the French imperialists take this for granted—the suppression and continued exploitation of the Moors and Arabs.

BREAK WITH THE FASCISTS BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

It is with this set-up that the so-called Communist Party and Labour Party leaders are co-operating and lending the name of British labour. In De Gaulle's National Committee they co-operate with fascists. In covering up this cesspool of imperialist intrigue, they zealously conceal the real aims of Churchill and Roosevelt with the argument of "national unity". But to continue on this path, far from destroying fascism, the road is opened directly to an introduction of the North African "experiment" not only in Europe but in America and Britain.

For the workers, a genuine struggle against fascism and its representatives is a matter of life and death. In order to ensure the ending of this gangsterism against the workers, it is imperative that the working class take to the road of independent class struggle; to end the disastrous collaboration with the bosses; to fight for a workers' government in Britain—this is on the order of the day.

The time has come to break with the friends of Peyrou, Giraud and De Gaulle. The workers must fight to take control of affairs at home and abroad—A workers Government is the only means of destroying fascism for ever and establishing a socialist world of peace and plenty for all.

while the workers continue to be so ruthlessly exploited, that the restiveness of the railworkers is bound to find an outlet in industrial action.

The contemplated Loco strike has been met with mixed feelings amongst N.U.R. members owing to the sectional character of the movement. But the recent Joint Committee established by the three Railway Trade Unions for the need of unity. What years of argument have failed to show the members of the R.C.A. and A.S.L.E.F. can be demonstrated in the course of the next few weeks. At all events the rank and file of all unions must not allow the Locomotive men to be defeated. A defeated A.S.L.E.F. strike will be a blow dealt not against sectional unionism but against the Railworkers as a whole in the interests of the rail workers.

Although the Engineers are labouring under trying conditions and greater calls have been made upon them as the result of the war, the

same can be said for most of the other grades whose jobs are interdependent upon one another. Just as they rely upon one another in the manipulation of the railway system, so also must they unite in their common struggle against the bosses for the right to live.

The Notts loco victory proved the capability of A.S.L.E. & F. and N.U.R. men to struggle together and achieve victory.

No doubt the rail owners and the Government are banking on a half-hearted sectional strike which will be sabotaged by the leaders of the N.U.R., the Stalinists in the A.S.L.E. & F., and certain services operated by the use of troops. But the Government has not reckoned with the unity of the railworkers irrespective of trade union which must not allow this to occur. The rank and file of the N.U.R. must make it a fight on behalf of all grades on the basis of their own demands which also embraces Locomotive men. Under no circumstances must the N.U.R. workers allow their leaders to be used against a section of the rail workers who are giving a militant lead to all grades.

FOR UNITY OF ALL RAILWAYMEN FOR A LIVING WAGE FULL SUPPORT BY N.U.R. WORKERS FOR THEIR A.S.L.E. & F. BROTHERS IN THEIR DEMANDS OF £1 A DAY FOR ENGINE DRIVERS, 15/- A DAY FOR FIREMEN.

In last month's issue of the "Socialist Appeal," due to editing there has been an unfortunate misunderstanding among some railwaymen around a phrase in Sid Bidwell's article. Referring to "the key workers in the national transport system," this was construed as being applicable to only a section, and not, as was meant, to all railway workers. As can be seen from all previous articles by Comrade Bidwell, this was meant to apply to all railworkers, and not one grade or section.—Ed.

Miner's Pay Sheets

Table showing miner's pay sheet for THE CORTONWOOD COLLIERIES COMPANY, LIMITED. Payment in Statement of Wages to date 29 NOV 1942. Includes items like STOPPAGES, Oil and Sharpening, Explosives, Tools, House Rent, Hospital, Gratuity, Health and Pension Insurance, Unemployment Insurance, Doctor, War Relief Fund, etc.

Table showing miner's pay sheet for THE CORTONWOOD COLLIERIES COMPANY, LIMITED. Payment in Statement of Wages to date 17 JAN 1943. Includes items like STOPPAGES, Oil and Sharpening, Explosives, Tools, House Rent, Hospital, Gratuity, Health and Pension Insurance, Unemployment Insurance, Doctor, War Relief Fund, etc.

Above we reproduce two pay chits of a Cortonwood Collier working on the Silkstone Seam. The first chit is for the week ending 29th November 1942, the last pay received by the miners before the strike which lasted more than four weeks. The second chit is dated 17th January 1943, the second pay chit received after the strike. In the pay chit of November 5 shifts were worked and the wages of the miner amounted to £7 16s. 9d.; in the pay chit of January 6 shifts were worked and the wages earned amounted to £8 19s. 10d. Therefore, on the new price list agreed to by Hall, a collier lost 16s. 11d. in wages although he worked an extra shift.

Oranges & Lemons Destroyed in Millions

"Capetown, Monday. — More than 1,700,000 cases of oranges and lemons were destroyed in South Africa in 1941, and 1,600,000 in 1942, to keep up prices, it is disclosed today."—"Daily Express," 26.1.43

This wanton destruction is taking place in a country where tens of

thousands of the native population have never tasted an orange or lemon in their lives. Such is their poverty. To gain bigger profits the capitalists of all lands will destroy food and goods, while millions starve. To gain bigger profits, the capitalists will slaughter millions. That is what both gangs of imperialists are fighting this war for. Only when the workers overthrow capitalism and take power, will goods be produced in abundance for use and consumption and not for profit. And when produced in "surplus", will not be destroyed to make sure of bigger profits, but used to raise the standards of the toilers who produce them.

Indian Masses Starving

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would be sufficient to relieve the present hunger and at the same time restore agricultural production on a sound basis.

But what do we actually find? Not a policy for the defence of the poor but a policy of pampering the rich. Not a policy of control but a policy of chaos. There is not rationing as yet. While the masses die of starvation, the palaces of the Viceroy and the Rajahs and the expensive hotels and clubs are filled with rich abundance of luxurious food.

Even now while the masses are dying of starvation, thousands of tons of grain are being shipped overseas presumably to help to defend the Indian masses in Iran, the Middle East and Ceylon. So far as the lesser breeds of exploiters are concerned they are made safe by the fact that they form the only social base for British imperialism in India.

Side by side with this policy of indulgence towards the exploiters, the attitude of the Viceroy has become increasingly hard and brutal towards the poor and exploited. The severity of some of the recent sentences meted out to the Indian revolutionaries can only be matched by the worst of Nazi brutalities in Europe. The Nagpur High Court recently passed the sentence of death on 14 peasants, while 27 others were condemned to imprisonment for life on a charge of murdering a magistrate and police officers at Chimur last August, despite the evidence of 143 witnesses in favour of the accused. No news has been allowed to reach this country of the circumstances of this case, and not even the Indian papers were permitted to report the case. This caused too daily papers to suspend

publication for a day in protest. We can imagine what the howl of holy indignation would be let out by the ruling class if such brutalities were committed by the Nazis. But even to mention the crimes of British imperialism in India is a crime against democracy.

Without the support of the naive quings, imperialism would not last for long in India. But from this class, come the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, branches of which have been set up throughout the provinces, to terrorise the masses and act as spies and informers for the imperialist administration.

The basis of the present struggle for freedom lies in the factories and the workshops. Its most intrepid fighters have come not from the ranks of the wealthy classes, but from the workers, peasants and students. In almost every province, attacks on the civil courts and the destruction of the court records has been the prominent feature of the mass activity. Not even Messrs. Greenwood and Citrine would try to convince us that the landlords and the financiers would engage in a mass uprising to destroy the evidence safeguarding their own property rights!

THE CASE OF BAINSNAB PATNAIK

Or let us take a recent example as reported in a recent Government statement. It concerns the activities of one Bainsab Patnaik, one of the thousands of peasant heroes who are leading the struggle in the villages against exploitation. Bainsab was arrested early during the movement but he managed to escape from prison. "Nothing was heard about Bainsab," says the communique, "till the 26th August when he led a gang of 19 persons to Mushi to cause havoc there. At dawn that day, the gang armed with deadly wea-

Basis of Russian Victories

Continued from page 1.

war. It is the October Revolution which has given the masses something to defend and something to fight for. The land, mines, banks and factories in Russia are not owned by a clique of monopoly capitalists as in Germany or Britain, but are under the common ownership of the State. The workers and peasants of Russia realise, despite the usurpation of Stalin and the bureaucracy of the power into their own hands, they are defending nationalised property against the danger of capitalist restoration by Hitler.

This nationalisation has given immense advantages over capitalist economy—and indeed without these advantages Russia would have been destroyed long ago. In peace time the Five Year Plans, despite the fetters of the bureaucracy, demonstrated the superiority of socialist methods of production over capitalist methods. Industry increased at a pace unparalleled even by mighty America—20 per cent a year, a rate of advance never reached in any capitalist country. Nationalised economy has stood the test. But war is a far sterner test than peace. Supplies, industry, everything, becomes strained to the utmost. And Soviet methods have shown their superiority in the field of battle as well. Backward semi-industrialised Russia has withstood the most highly advanced capitalist country in Europe, with all the resources of Europe at its disposal. In spite of the destruction of the greater part of the industrialised area of Russia, to Hitler's astonishment, the Red Army has been kept supplied with equipment. In the Urals and Siberia industry has been developed sufficiently to keep the front going. Only a collectivised economy could have withstood such a test and survived. There are no vested interests in the path of unhampered and full production for the needs of the war. On the bloody battlefields socialism has demonstrated its superiority to capitalism under the most adverse conditions.

Walter Graebner writes of conditions in Russia:

Though Russia's agricultural position is desperate, and will get worse, it would be hopeless this winter had not the Government introduced science, machinery and planning under collectivised and state farm systems.

The farm output of the Soviet Union has increased between 50 and 100 per cent since Government control went into effect.

In 1935, Trotsky clearly recognised the power of the October Revolution. He wrote:

"History tells us how military defeats give birth to revolution; but it will teach us how victorious revolutions arousing the people and uniting its spirit, will give an enormous dynamic force on the field of battle."

WHY THE GERMAN WORKERS RESIST

In the wars of intervention, when the Red Army was still in its infancy the armies of it defeated all the great imperialist powers. This was achieved not because the young and weak Red

Army was militarily stronger, but because with the programme of Lenin, they succeeded in dissolving the armies sent against them. Every army sent against the young workers' state: mutinied and refused to allow itself to be used against a workers' state.

Why is it that the German and satellite armies are resisting desperately the advance of the Red Army? The answer is: Stalin's policy. The Bolsheviks insistently and boldly announced a programme to the soldiers, a programme of class against class—not nation against nation. Their policy was international socialism. It was this alone which prevented the destruction of the Soviet Union in its first years.

Stalin is waging the war as a purely nationalist struggle. The Russian press has sunk to the worst depravities of chauvinist incitement. They have nothing to offer the Germans except enslavement to Anglo-American imperialism. And they remember the consequences of this after the last war. This is Hitler's sole remaining weapon.

Not only this, but even the satellite slaves who have been used ruthlessly as so much cannon fodder, Hungarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, etc.—to them Stalin has nothing to offer but a Roosevelt domination. A call of land to the peasants, would have transformed the situation in the Balkans, whose people are groaning under the terrible impositions of the landlords and of German imperialism.

Failure to conduct a revolutionary policy has meant the destruction and slaughter of countless workers and peasants. It has meant the prolongation of the war.

A purely military victory gained by draining the Soviet Union of its last reserves of men and material would leave the Soviet Union to the mercy of the British and American imperialist vultures.

The Soviet Union has millions of potential allies not only in Britain but in Germany and throughout Europe. It is only if the real alliance comes into being that the present victories of the Soviet masses can be turned into a truly universal advance of the armies of liberation across Europe and the world. With the state and military power in their hands the British workers can join hands as true allies with the defenders of Stalingrad and can wage a truly anti-Fascist war.

The struggle for that power is the only action by which they can mean-fully give taken of their desire to stand side by side with the people of the Soviet Union.

A.E.U. BRANCH PROTEST DETAINMENT

One of the many resolutions passed on Bob Armstrong is here reproduced. It was sent to the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland by the Thornton Heath Branch of the A.E.U. The Branch donated £5.

"This Branch strongly protests against the internment of Bob Armstrong under the Special Powers Act, and demands he be charged and brought to trial or immediately released."

HOUSING QUESTION

Continued from page 2.

not the absence of profiteering, but the most insuperable difficulties of proving the case...

A prosecuting local authority must prove beyond all doubt that the landlord is making an "exorbitant profit" after taking into account maximum furniture replacements and other charges and increased labour costs.

Under war conditions workers having been worked to exhaustion, after having been successful in finding a home, are then expected to protect themselves from the most racketeers. "Another evil of the housing shortage is the illegal key money ramp. It has grown in blitzed areas to which workers wish to return, and in the countryside where soldiers' families wish to live for the duration."

It is still impossible in many parts of the country to rent a house or flat without paying a "reward" to get possession of the key...

In one case reported by Mr. Jim Simmons, secretary of the Birmingham Labour Party, money is being asked before a house-hunter can even view the premises...

The practice of offering money for the key to a flat is becoming a racket in Slough, where there is an acute shortage of accommodation...

Mr. Jim Griffiths, M.P. told me of a case where key money of £50 was demanded for a house...

In the Southampton area I am told that all kinds of ruses have been adopted to get possession of property...

Workers who want shelter must continue their struggle; they are face to face with the fact that it is each one for himself and the devil take the rest. Publication of the Rent Restriction Act in such circumstances is of no use whatever to them.

This is symptomatic of capitalism, patching, patching for the workers, new construction only for the weapons of destruction.

The housing problem of the working class can only be solved by Socialism in Britain but in the meantime it can be eased by:

CONFISCATION OF LARGE VACANT HOUSES. BILLIETING IN MANSIONS. TURN THE HOTELS INTO WORKERS' HOSTELS.