

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Formerly  
"Youth  
for  
Socialism"

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## SCOTTISH SHIPYARD STRIKE Convener Victimised

ACTION BY 600 WORKERS AT AN EAST OF SCOTLAND SHIPYARD, WHICH COMMENCED AS A "TOKEN" STRIKE OF ONE HOUR, DEVELOPED INTO A SHARP CLASH WITH THE BOSS WHICH SPREAD TO ANOTHER YARD AND FINALLY INVOLVED 2,000 TO 3,000 WORKERS WHO REMAINED ON STRIKE FOR A WEEK.

The action of the workers was in reply to the victimisation of Bro. Blairford, a member of the E.T.U. and convener of Shop Stewards at the yard. Blairford was to be transferred as "redundant" by the owner of the firm concerned—a notoriously anti-labour, anti-trade union reactionary.

Nothing could expose the deliberate sabotage of production by the capitalist class so clearly as a resume of the situation which arose over a period at this East of Scotland shipyard.

At the beginning of this year Bro. Blairford gave a written report to a production conference held in Edin-

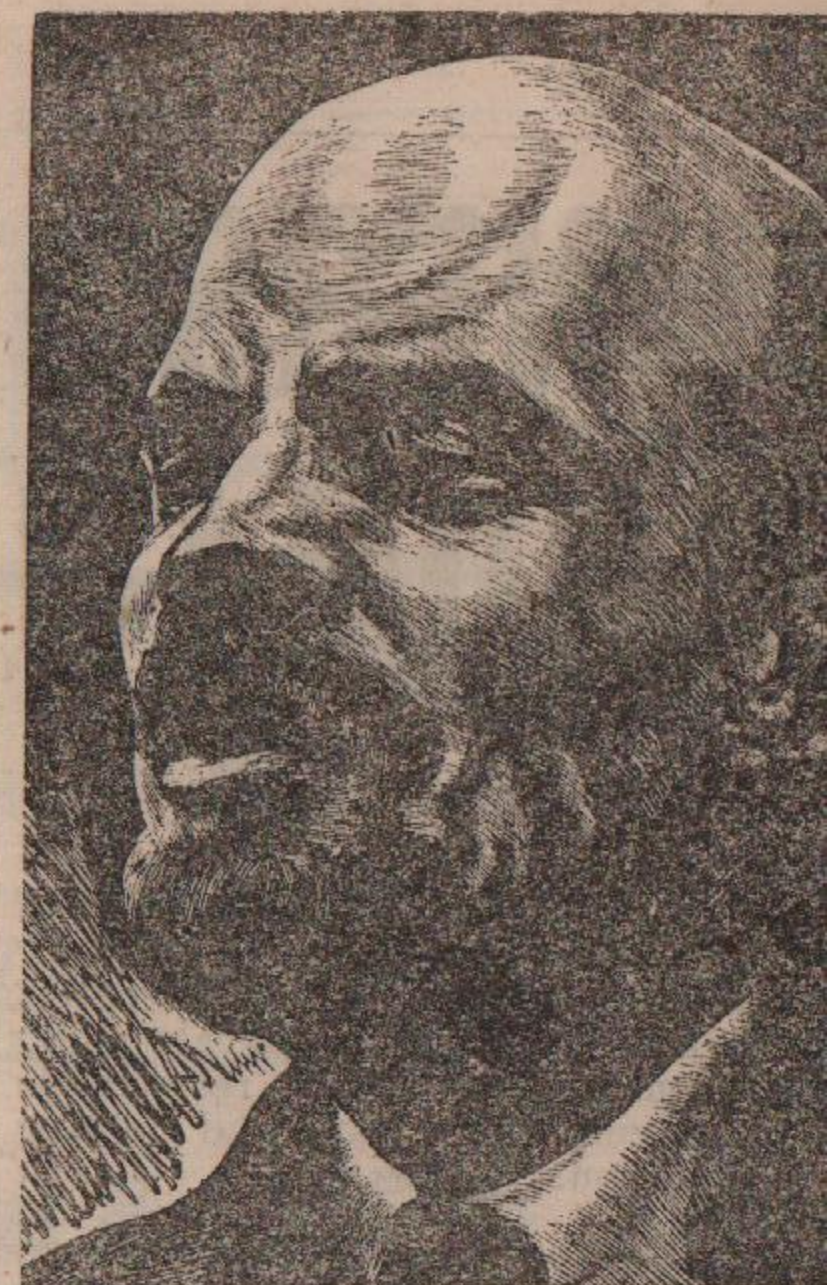
burgh. In this report, certain allegations were levelled against the management and it proposed to ask the Government to set up a committee to investigate the management of the firm. Communist Party members at the conference moved that the report should be handed to the M.P.'s who represented the division. The copy was duly handed to Pethwick Lawrence, Ernest Brown, E. Hill (chief of 1922 committee), Clarke Hutchinson, F. C. Watt and Sam Chappman and it is believed that Mr. Ernest Brown finally handed it to the owner of the firm. Nothing further was heard of the report and no further action was taken whatsoever.

A few months later the firm asked leave of the National Service Officer to "release" 12 electricians "who could be more advantageously employed" elsewhere. Included in the 12 was Bro. Blairford! The workers at the shipyard immediately claimed that since Blairford was the leading shop steward in the yard he should not be transferred "if there was a reasonable alternative." 25 electricians immediately offered to take his place! This offer was contemptuously rejected by the management who would be satisfied by no less than the transfer of Blairford.

As the result of the management's actions, a "token" strike of one hour

was called on Saturday, the 16th of May. This, as a warning to the management that the workers were unprepared to allow the victimisation of their convener without a struggle. Meanwhile, the convener appealed to the Ministry of Labour. At the court he was able to demonstrate that the firm were sub-contracting out the same class of work as he was doing, thereby blowing the theory of "redundancy" sky-high. The management stated that Blairford was not a good timekeeper (which was unfortunately true) and that he was carrying out trade union and political work during working hours. A shift from the original position of "redundancy" and in the latter case an expression of the real reason for the proposed transfer. The appeal was rejected and a mass meeting of the men was called and 600 men decided to strike on Monday, 25th of May until their grievance was redressed. A deputation of strikers approached the local trades council who unanimously agreed to give full backing to the demand of the workers. The various trade unions who were involved in the dispute, refused, however, to recognise the strike.

A deputation of trades council and strikers delegates then visited the Ministry of Labour where they were informed that nothing would be done (continued on page 4, col. 1)



## 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 Union and factory committees.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Workers' control of production end chaos and mismanagement industry to be exercised through workers committees.
5. Equal distribution of food, clothing and other consumers commodities under the control of committees workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.
6. Sliding scale of wages to meet increased cost of living with guaranteed minimum.
7. Repeal of the Essential Work Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
9. Establishment of military academies 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 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.

# CAPITALIST SECOND FRONT WILL SMASH EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

## To Defeat Fascism—Fight for Workers' Power

By A. ROY

FOR NEARLY A WHOLE YEAR, THE MASSES OF THE SOVIET UNION HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN THE BLOODIEST WAR OF ALL TIMES. AND IT IS NEARLY A YEAR SINCE STALIN FIRST MADE HIS PLAINTIVE APPEAL TO HIS "ALLIES" TO OPEN A SECOND FRONT TO AID RUSSIA.

For months past the leaders of the British Communist Party, and Litvinov and the Stalinist leaders in America have been petitioning, demonstrating and begging the capitalists in their respective countries to undertake an invasion of Europe.

Among the broad masses of workers in this country there has developed during recent months a tremendous feeling of solidarity with the Red Army soldiers and the workers and peasants of Russia and a burning desire to render effective aid to the sorely pressed Soviet masses.

## THE SECOND FRONT IS A POLITICAL QUESTION

Why then have Churchill and the ruling class so long desisted from responding to Stalin's appeal? Is it only because they consider that their present military capacity would not guarantee

long millions of British and American youth will be fighting on the same soil where their fathers fell for the "war for freedom" twenty-eight years ago.

## MINERS' OFFICIALS BETRAY YORKSHIRE STRIKERS

### Fight for a New Militant Leadership

By Jock Haston

Yorkshire—"Money lad, that's the trouble." Everywhere one goes the story is the same: wages are too little, the miners want a rise.

After examining literally hundreds of miners' pay sheets, both here in Yorkshire and other parts of the country, one is forced to the conclusion that the miners have been patient in the extreme. Their demands include a minimum wage of 85/- for the adults. In practice this means an increase of 4/- per day for adult workers and 2/- per day for the pit lads.

In Wormwell, Yorkshire, three pits were out on strike at the same time. In the main it was the young workers—18 to 21—who were responsible for

turned out of the pit, although not directly involved in previous disputes. But all these seeming differences had one thing in common: the demand for more money. The differences would have disappeared at once if the union officials had got together and drawn up a Charter covering the principle points in dispute.

The failure of the official union leadership to do so considerably assisted the coal owners; it dissipated the (continued page 2, col. 1)



## BRITISH DEFENSE ARMS

Why then have Churchill and the ruling class so long desisted from responding to Stalin's appeal? Is it only because they consider that their present military capacity would not guarantee victory? Is it only because they do not happen to have, as they tell us, sufficient guns to smash the German defences or ships to convoy troops and maintain supplies? But surely this cannot be the case. For the ruling class is quite prepared to sacrifice thousands of human lives in a venture which they knew would end in disaster if they considered it politically necessary. When the British Army was shipped across into Greece was there any assurance of success? On the contrary, according to Churchill himself, troops were sent into Egypt with full knowledge that a disaster was certain. It was the desire to preserve the alliance with the Greek capitalists and to prove their faithfulness to Roosevelt which inspired this expedition, foredoomed to failure.

In the last resort, military strategy is determined by political considerations, by class interests. And the reason why the war in the Eastern front has so long been allowed to take its own course is because the ruling class considered non-intervention to be the best policy. The tactless Moore-Brabazon left the Cabinet, but his policy did not leave with him. Britain, he said in effect, would invade Europe when both Russia and Germany have been weakened to the point of being powerless to resist our will. The Stalinist leaders are pleading for a Second Front while Russia is at her strongest. But the Second Front of the ruling class will be opened when Russia is at her weakest.

## CHURCHILL WAITING FOR A WEAKENED RUSSIA

The time is approaching however, for an invasion of Europe. Victory over Anglo-American imperialism can come only through the destruction of the military power of their German rivals on the continental battle-fields. The "Economist" recently pointed out that Russia has reached the peak of her productive capacity and from next year productive capacity will begin to decline. Under these conditions, the present concern of the ruling class is not whether Russia has been sufficiently weakened but whether there might not be a collapse. From all accounts, preparations are in full swing for a full-scale invasion of Europe. The steady stream of American troops from across the Atlantic and the flow of arms, the gathering of staff officers from America on British soil, all presage the fateful day. Before

long millions of British and American youth will be fighting on the same soil where their fathers fell for the "war for freedom" twenty-eight years ago.

It will be a Second Front. But it will not be the Second Front which the workers vote for in their trade union branches or in political demonstrations. It will not be a front to aid Russia but a front to take advantage of Russian resistance. It will not be a front to smash fascism but only to establish the domination of "democratic" imperialism. It will liberate Europe from its present tyranny but will only establish a new tyranny.

## Labour Leaders Ignore Conference Decisions

The armies of British imperialism will be made to fight not only the German armies but the workers of oppressed Europe as well. The rising in St. Nazaire demonstrated that the masses in Nazi-occupied countries will rise in revolt at the first serious threat to Hitler's power from whichever quarter it may come. But how can anybody imagine that the French, Belgian, Norwegian, Polish or Czech workers will consent to return to the regimes of the old capitalist masters. Inevitably, the revolt of the European masses will begin to take a socialist coloration and the masses will surge forward towards the new order of socialist collaboration among the nations of Europe. Can we doubt what the attitude of the ruling class and the generals would be to this rising of the masses? At the first signs of the revolution, these crusaders will throw off their crosses. Hitler will cease to be the main enemy. Once more, "Bolshevism" will become the main danger. This is exactly what capitalist spokesmen have in mind when they say that Britain and America will have to maintain an army in Europe for many years after the war, in the interest of European peace. In place of the "New Order" of Hitler we shall see an attempt to impose the "New Order" of Churchill, none the less oppressive, none the less detestable.

All the petitions of Stalin, all the clamorous demonstrations organised by Pollitt and Gallacher have not succeeded in moving the ruling class an inch from their set purpose. But they have provided Hitler and his gangsters with a powerful weapon to consolidate their hold over the German masses.

continued back page



"KEEP CALM! AS LONG AS WE ARE AT THE HELM, YOU WON'T DROWN."

The 41st Annual Conference of the Labour Party met at a time of profound crisis in Britain. Millions and tens of millions are beginning to take up a critical attitude towards the ruling class. The military defeats, the bungling and incompetence, profiteering and chaos have not passed by without leaving traces in the consciousness of the working class.

Especially among the basic strata of the workers from whom the Labour Party derives support is a mood of opposition and hostility to the capitalists growing at a rapid rate.

It was inevitable that the steady movement to the Left, not only among the workers, but among the middle class, should reflect itself in the Labour Party as the organised expression of the working class. But the composition of the delegates to the Conference was such that only in a distorted way did it reflect the feelings of the workers.

It was a conference of old men. Hardly a single delegate was younger than 50. In addition to that, the L.P. organisation in the constituencies is completely dead. In most cases the wards do not meet, even in large numbers of cases the Executives of the local Labour Party have ceased to function.

Demagogy and meaningless resolutions were passed on the issues of coal, service pay, India, etc. Nevertheless, these "radical" resolutions were a reflection of the pressure of the working class which broke through with a vote on the political truce. Here was reflected the tendency of the workers so overwhelmingly demonstrated in the elections, to break with the capitalist class and their representatives. Despite all the pleas of the executive, the resolution supporting the continuation of the truce was only carried by a narrow majority of 66,000 votes, on a card vote. Not a single member of the rank and file from the floor of the conference spoke in favour of the executive position on this question. ...

If that was the situation in this conference, it can be imagined what is the feeling of the working class.

Despite the opposition of the executive a resolution demanding the lifting of the ban on the "Daily Worker" was passed by 1,244,000 votes to 1,231,000 votes. This was not at all a gesture so very much in favour of the Stalinists as it reflected the uneasi-

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that the miners have been patient in the extreme. Their demands include a minimum wage of 85/- for the adults. In practice this means an increase of 4/- per day for adult workers and 2/- per day for the demand of the pit lads. In Wormwell, Yorkshire, three pits were out on strike at the same time. In the main it was the young workers—18 to 21 who were responsible for the battles. The older workers are showing a fine spirit of solidarity. Some of the pits were out as long as three weeks with a break of a few days. No pits have exactly the same grievance—although all want more money. The actual demands of the miners vary from pit to pit and district to district. In some cases extra cash is demanded for the use of steel props; in another the haulage hands wanted more money; again some strikes took place over Bevin money, where sections of the miners demanded payment of a shift when they were

points in dispute. The failure of the official union leadership to do so considerably assisted the coal owners; it dissipated the continued page 2, col. 1

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.

## BRITISH REFUSE ARMS TO INDIANS

"Live more Frugally" says Lord Linlithgow!

By E. Grant

THE THREATENED INVASION OF INDIA BY JAPANESE IMPERIALISM HAS BROUGHT THE QUESTION OF INDIA AS A BURNING ISSUE BEFORE THE WORKING CLASS OF THIS COUNTRY.

The policy of British imperialism and the present mood among the Indian masses can best be understood, if the conditions under which the Indian workers and peasants are compelled to exist under British imperialist rule, are known.

The British imperialists squeeze £150,000,000 a year out of the Indian people in tribute. This is obtained at the expense of the misery and suffering of the masses of the people. After 150 years of British rule 90% of the people cannot read or write. The

of malnutrition and starvation, malaria and other diseases which could be prevented by decent food, proper sanitation and drainage.

The peasants' income is so low that the average peasant family is five years' income in debt to the moneylenders and landlords. The peasants pay land revenue while the landlords' incomes are exempt from income tax. They are born, they live, and they die in debt. The industrial workers are more "fortunate". They are merely in debt to the extent of 6 months wages.

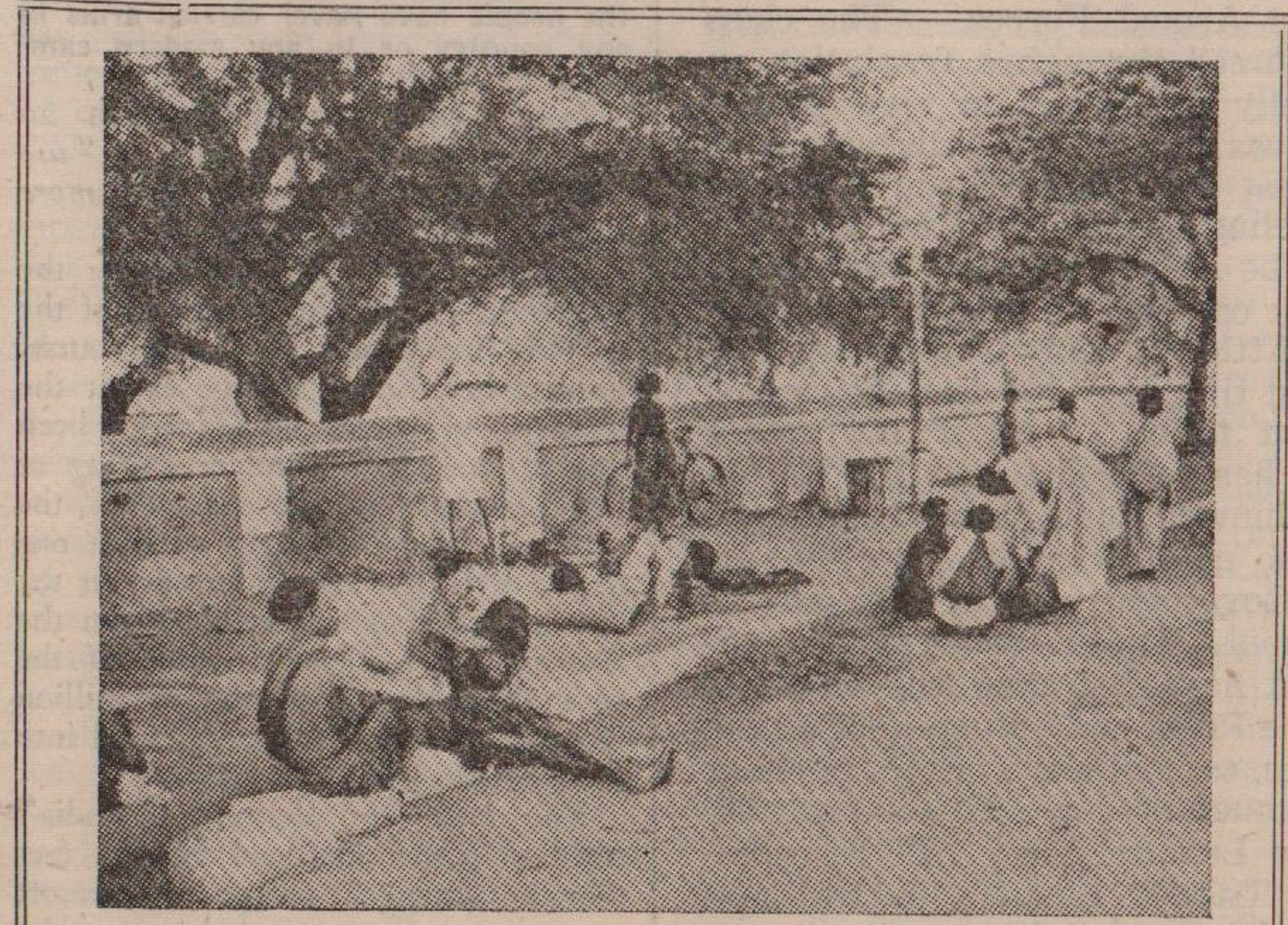
Upon all these burdens is superimposed the burden of taxation. Today when the British workers have legitimate cause for complaint and feel the exactions of income tax, they can well imagine the position of their Indian brothers who do not receive more than 1/- a day on the average and who are paying more than a third of their income on taxes.

Due to these terrible conditions the dissatisfaction and unrest among the Indian masses is intense. The Japanese imperialists have been playing on this in their propaganda to the Indians in attempting to win the Indians over to their side. Subhas Bose, former Congress leader who went over to the Japanese, is using this skillfully in his wireless broadcasts from Japan.

The British press has time and again pointed to the measures which Hitler and his quislings in the occupied territories have taken to prevent news from the outside reaching the occupied countries. Among the desperate measures resorted to was the prohibition of listening to foreign broadcasts and the confiscation of wireless sets.

Great play has been made of the fact that such prohibition was not necessary in the "democracies" where complete freedom of thought was permitted. But in India the reply to Japanese propaganda—the imperialists cannot make any other reply—has been the same as that of all oppressors: wireless sets have been confiscated.

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THE "HOMES" OF INDIAN WORKERS UNDER BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

These workers are so poor that they are compelled to live on street pavements all their lives, seeking temporary shelter during the rains on a verandah.

### Read: THE ROAD TO INDIA'S FREEDOM

The Permanent Revolution and the tasks of the British working class.

By E. Grant and A. Scott.

Price threepence.

average income of the masses of the peasants amounts to less than 2d. a day. The conditions of the workers are not much better. Crowded five, ten, and even twenty people living in one room, compelled to live on a diet which in 1927-28 (since then the conditions have if anything worsened) the Medical Officer of Health in Bengal recorded in the following terms: "the present peasantry of Bengal are in a very large proportion taking to a dietry on which even rats could not live for more than five weeks." Tens of millions die every year from diseases

# MINERS' LEADERS WITHHOLD UNION FUNDS FROM STRIKERS

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energy of the workers and was largely responsible for the long duration of most of the strikes as well as their indecisive and inconclusive character. In this sense, the union officials along with the management were responsible for prolonging the strikes and holding up production.

While the rank and file have shown a magnificent capacity for struggle, the official leadership has been skulking in the camp of the coal-owners, betraying and sabotaging every move which the miners have made. Instead of the strikes having the character of a well-directed campaign which would shatter the resistance of the boss class in a couple of days, the struggle has been conducted in a guerrilla fashion which dissipated the energy of the workers. The main responsibility for this state of affairs rests at the door of the miners' misleaders. The national and district leadership of the miners' union deliberately maintained this divided and disjointed form of struggle and did everything in their power to prevent joint discussions. All the energy and time of these officials was spent in scheming how to get the men back to work as soon as possible and not at all on how to win a success for their members. How this policy worked is seen by an examination of their actions.

Instead of setting up a strike committee between the three pits—Wombwell Main, Darfield Main and Cortonwood—which could have made a joint demand to the bosses, all negotiations were conducted separately through the officials and managements. No contact existed between the miners although all meetings were held in the same hall! This gave the strikes the appearance of a sporadic and undisciplined character, while the full strength of the miners was never brought to play.

Mr. Ernest Jones, General Secretary of the Yorkshire Mineworkers Association came down to discuss the claims of the Darfield Main workers. His task was apparently to get the

men back at all costs. After going over the usual bunk "We must beat Hitler and we can only do it by producing more", etc., he appealed to the older married men who were not directly involved in the dispute—over 1,000—to outvote the lads who were demanding "Bevin" money. There were 30 of the latter. We will not print the uncomplimentary things the older workers had to say about him, and to him. He as good as called the men cowards, saying, "How would you like to be over Cologne, Essen, etc., in the midst of the battle? I know you would rather be down the pit." Some of the men took this to be a threat. There was a unanimous vote against going back although three votes were taken.

So open was the betrayal, that even the union funds were withheld from the strikers on the plea that the strikes were illegal. As one young miner put it to Jones: "It's not legal to get our own union funds, but it is legal for us to starve."

Another official, this time of the Lancashire Miners Association, Mr. T. J. Brown said: "The whole fabric of the industry is being upset by irresponsible youths representing 15 to 20 per cent of the haulage hands... they are insolent and ill-mannered, and never in the 44 years I have been in the industry, have I seen anything like it." What he means of course, is that the whole fabric of his fat job as obedient tool of the owners, is being upset.

Such officials as these are merely agents of the boss class in the ranks of the workers. An elementary task which the miners must undertake is to drive them out of official positions. Every miner is conscious that the present struggle is but a prelude to a much larger combat between the bosses and the workers in the future: he knows that the coming struggle must pose the question of who is to control. He must be made clearly aware that to leave the leadership of his trade union in the hands of men who have already gone over to the enemy is dis-

astrous; he must be made aware that not to set up a fresh leadership in preparation for these coming struggles, is to court defeat.

Some months ago, when the Betteshanger miners struck work to protect the minimum wage agreement, the capitalist class through its press adopted a virulent and hostile attitude towards the miners, demanding that the government take strong measures, including force against the miners. Over a thousand miners were fined and their leaders imprisoned. At Blackhall the tone of the press was, if possible, more venomous. Then it was solidarity of the miners for defensive action which released the miners' leaders, quashed the fines, and gained victory for the workers. But today the situation has entirely altered. The miners are on the offensive and the boss class on the retreat. In the last 3 weeks there have been 83 disputes, involving 30,000 miners.

No longer are the capitalist class faced with isolated strikes in one pit or district. Now they are faced with the general movement of the miners with which they are afraid to clash. The explosion which has been maturing in the bowels of the earth is erupting and the boss class are faced with the possibility of a general strike. One false move on the part of the ruling class may set the coalfields alight.

It is not accidental that the capitalists are hesitant and on the retreat at the moment. There is an acute shortage of coal which can endanger the rest of industry. Now is the time to throw all "plans" and compromises into the dustbin: now is the time for a fighting policy. The leadership must be forced to implement the struggle for nationalisation without compensation, the workers' control: or it must be ruthlessly thrust aside and a fresh leadership created who will.

# CLYDE WORKERS BEGIN TO SAVVY PRODUCTION COMMITTEES

## Rule out Absentee Discussions

GLASGOW

Joint Production Committees are causing a great deal of controversy in this area. The Stalinist controlled Shop Stewards Committees everywhere are pressing for the setting up of these production committees, and are meeting with a mixed reception. Large sections of the workers are either apathetic or openly hostile and only a small section are actively in favour.

In Parkhead Forge the setting up of the Joint Production Committee threatens to smash the Shop Stewards' movement. More than half of the factory (mostly heavy manual workers) have refused to have anything to do with this line and in some cases have thrown out their stewards and elected others. The Stalinists are attempting to conduct the election in a most undemocratic manner. They are selecting the nominees from the Shop Stewards of each department, and refusing the shop stewards of the opposition the right to nomination. Docherty, the leader of the opposition has already been severely censured and denounced as a Nazi for allowing himself to be nominated! When this censure was challenged as being out of order, the minutes of a previous meeting were altered to justify it.

Complaints and resolutions re this censure have been sent to the District Committee of the A.E.U. The recently formed All Trades Work Committee has been smashed by the Stalinists because of their failure to gain control.

The Convenor of Shop Stewards in Cardonald R.O.F. has also been summoned before the D.C. for refusal to elect a Production Committee.

The Stalinist controlled D.C., realising the grave danger to their Joint Production Committees by the growing consciousness of the workers of the role of these Committees on such questions as absenteeism, etc., have issued a statement through the union branches that the **Joint Production Committee must not discuss absenteeism.** This statement was attacked at Branch meetings, where it was pointed out that in the issue of the A.E.U. Journal which every member has in his hand, they would find a copy of the Amendment to the Essential Works Order which laid down that no worker should be prosecuted for absenteeism until his case had been discussed by these committees.

Although the Stalinists have maintained a stranglehold on the militants and on the shop stewards Committees in the Clydeside for some time and have used every demagogic and bureaucratic measure to hold the workers back, the continued attacks by the boss class on the workers and the growing pressure of class antagonisms, are forcing the workers to take up the cudgels.

Joint Production Committees have exposed themselves as reactionary weapons of the ruling class wherever they have had any existence over a period. The "let's try them" attitude of the workers who have been influenced by the Stalinists in the past, is changing. The workers are beginning to turn to those who have consistently fought against the J.P.C.'s, in particular to those who have proposed the alternative programme of "Workers' Control of Industry."

J. M.

# Letter from Girl Striker to Her Soldier Husband

Below we reproduce a letter written by a girl striker to her soldier husband, recording the course of a stay-in strike, in which she participated. The strike took place in a large Midland factory and involved thousands of workers. The cause of the stoppage was the operation of a new timing system which meant the workers losing from 2/6 to 15/- a week in wages—and in fact reduced their earnings to less than in peace time. To further spread discontent among the workers after the bosses had been forced to concede to their demands, the following week they gave the scabs a £2 gift for "services rendered." This practically caused another strike. This shows clearly upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility for the wave of strikes spreading over the Midlands.

My Darling Husband,

Well, we are on strike. Sit down strike this time, in sympathy with the "Bolt Mill" who have been out on strike since last Thursday afternoon. The grievance is about 12 months old now. There is a timing system in operation which means that the workers are earning from 2/6 to 15/- per week less than they were previously. I know there are three "trained Time Checkers" sitting around in spotless overalls speeding up production.

We in the Despatch Warehouse, have been trying to get the other workers to renounce their Scab Union and join the Transport and General Workers Union, but we were again unsuccessful.

Matters came to a head this morning when other parts of the Works came out on strike. Obviously I didn't intend our girls to blackleg, but since the other Shop Stewards shared the responsibility, we decided to get in touch with the Organiser of the union on the phone and get him on the job. The girls agreed to take no action until he came down and spoke to them, but made it quite clear that they didn't intend to act upon what he said, but would follow the action of the Shop Stewards. The second time we phoned, we got through to him, but he stated he was too busy to come down to speak to the girls! So before he had finished speaking, I told G. that I was striking. She was with me.

We got the girls and men up to a large room at the top of the Warehouse and told the management we were on strike. We decided to stay on the grounds while striking so that we could not be served summonses for absenteeism, though some of the girls decided to go home now, 2.30 p.m. I will stay on the job until 5.30 in any case, though I don't intend to work overtime on strike!

2.45 p.m. Most of the girls have decided to go home, but they have had instructions to be back at 7.25 in the morning and come up to this room. They have got to stay out till the end now. There are less than 5% left in the Warehouse now and even the scabs are not working.

4 p.m. Everyone has now gone home out of the Warehouse except a very few of the "Old Faithfuls" numbering not more than 1 1/2 to 2 dozen. There are not more than 4 to 6 girls among them. Even my forewoman has gone. Two of us are staying on until 5.30 in the event of fresh developments. At 3 o'clock the manager told all 4 Shop Stewards that anyone who would carry on work from 3.15 until 5.30 would be paid for a full day's work; otherwise we would be paid for this morning only. He asked us whether we would

that the manager and the workers are at a dead-lock, unable to reach any agreement whatsoever so at 4.30 I leave as there is nothing more I can do until 7.25 tomorrow.

This morning as soon as we had got the workers settled, we four Shop Stewards went round the works to let them know that we were out in sympathy and to try to get in touch with the leaders in the various shops, but unfortunately, were unable to find them. We did, however, get in touch with some of the workers and I spoke to them, pointing out that it was futile to stay in "R.B." (Scab) union and persuading them to join the "Transport and General Workers Union." I think we will be able to organise — Mill, since they agreed enthusiastically with all I said. Bolt Mill workers had gone home. Bar Shop is now 99% trade union—T.G.W.U. We will get union forms over to — as soon as possible.

Well, I will let you know of any further developments if possible. Anyway I will see you the week-end.

Lots of love,  
G.

Friday Morning,

Went to work this morning 7.25. Everyone turned up. D. came up to speak to us. His opening words were: "I am not going to appeal to you on my behalf or on behalf of the firm to return to work, but God knows, and so do you, the need of our country." He went on to tell us that Bar Shop were now at work and the Mills were going to start. He mentioned the few very small rooms or sections that were still working. He said he knew that 75% of us wished to get on the job and gave us 15 minutes to make up our mind. Soon after the Rat had gone, I was wanted on the phone. Someone had gone over to the Bar Shop and reported that no-one was at work. Someone else phoned me from the Mills to say they had gone home, except about half a dozen who were not working. We let other workers know this. We decided of course, to go home and report back at 5 o'clock for our pay.

About a dozen in all were left in the Warehouse so two girls went over and fetched a gang of Mill Girls in, who booted and cat-called, etc. singing. I came home at 10 o'clock.

I rather think we will be out for a few days unless the Government steps in with strike-breaking methods. The Management seem determined to hold out. They are relying on Government support. There was a fair report in Thursday night's "Evening Despatch" of our strike.

Later: Returned to work 7.25 Tuesday morning. Condition: Bolt Mill.

# Labour Leaders Ignore Conference Decisions

(Continued from front page)

ness and hostility of the workers to any attacks on the rights which the working class movement has gained. It was a pointer to the temper of the working class at the present time. That it was not a trend in the direction of the Stalinists is shown by the

## Read: AN ABC OF TROTSKYISM The Testimony of Cannon in the U.S. Frame-up Trial

"I have passed my copy around till it is black. The Military Policy is just the thing we have been looking for. Send me six more copies..."  
Commando.

"I cannot say how impressed I am with the issue, which amounts to a 'Trotskyist Manifesto 1940' in importance. The whole of socialism is in its few pages, and so concise and clear, that indeed you could use it as a primer for newcomers to the movement. As a compliment



"Please send another dozen 'Cannon's Testimony'. It has caused tremendous interest in my shop and I have already sold 36 copies. Workers who are prepared to pay 1/- for a pamphlet are interested enough to read it."  
R. R., (Hendon Shop Steward)

Very pleased to get "Testimony of Cannon". I was a member of the I.W.W. in 1905. Somewhat a student of Marx and a follower of Daniel DeLeon, the American who laid great

ness and hostility of the workers to any attacks on the rights which the working class movement has gained. It was a pointer to the temper of the working class at the present time. That it was not a trend in the direction of the Stalinists is shown by the vote on cooperation with the Communist Party on specific issues which was defeated by 1,899,000 votes to 132,000 votes. The vote on the electoral truce underlined this. It was in direct opposition to the present support of the Tories by the Stalinists in the bye-elections.

Even in the rarefied shell of the Labour Party, the mood of the workers is breaking through. Despite all attempts to hold it back the movement of the independence of the workers' organisations from the capitalist class will surge forward in an irresistible tide. The so-called Left wing played a despicable role at the Conference. It played the part of loyal opposition; the leadership and their radical phrases acted as a lightning conductor of the anger of the workers. How much their opposition to the truce was worth was shown by the speech of Laski in which he beseeched Churchill to "stand by the people in the war against vested interests at home and abroad." It was underlined by the fact that the Conference endorsed overwhelmingly a resolution at the end, expressing confidence in the leadership of Winston Churchill in the war. To oppose the capitalists and then to support their foremost representative at the present time is like supporting Beezlebug against Satan. These "lefts" did not carry a real struggle.

How much the Labour leaders regard themselves as bound by the decisions of the Conference was shown by the question of Industry pay for workers in the Armed Forces. The class instinct of the Labour workers forced through a resolution on this urgent question. Especially important in view of the campaign waged by the yellow press to utilise the discontent of the soldiers to incite them against the "highly paid munition workers." So strong was the feeling on this question that the resolution on "Industry Pay for the Armed Forces" was passed unanimously. Hardly had the ink on the Conference resolution on army pay become dry, before Attlee in reply to a question on Soldiers' Pay in Parliament stated that the Government cannot consider any rise at the present time. As if to further emphasise the position, Morrison has refused to lift the ban on the Daily Worker. In reply to Shinwell, who drew attention to the L.P. Conference resolution, he made it quite clear that he was a minister of His Majesty's Government primarily, and as such responsible to that government. On all issues which face the workers the Labour Leaders have betrayed the workers, Coal, Soldiers' Pay, Freedom of the Press etc. In spite of all the efforts of Attlee, Bevin, Dalton, etc. to hold the workers in check they will not be able to do so for much longer. This is probably the last Conference in which the Labour Party will be represented in the Government. The Labour Leaders by the next Conference will probably be forced into opposition. This is the next step for the working class. The reassertion of the independence of the working class as a step towards the taking of power by those who claim to represent the interests of the workers.

Workers' International League is fighting to lead the workers on this road. By fighting alongside the workers on a demand that the Labour Leaders should end the coalition with the Tories, the revolutionary socialists will demonstrate to the working class that the sole solution to their problem lies in relying on their own organisations and solidarity.

We will fight for the demand that the Labour Leaders put into force a programme of socialist demands. By this means the workers will become convinced from their own experience that the Labour leaders cannot show them the way out of the misery of capitalism and its wars. They will begin to see the need for the Fourth International and its programme as the only means of conquering power and instituting the Socialist rule of the working class.

amounts to a "Trotskyist Manifesto 1940" in importance. The whole of socialism is in its few pages, and so concise and clear, that indeed you could use it as a primer for newcomers to the movement. As a compliment and some small return I enclose a book of stamps which should help the office a little bit."

Student, W.A.R.



J. P. CANNON

Very pleased to get "Testimony of Cannon". I was a member of the I.W.W. in 1905. Somewhat a student of Marx and a follower of Daniel DeLeon, the American who laid great stress on the policy of building up Revolutionary Socialist Industrial Unionism."

H. G.

# Indians Refused Arms

continued from page 1

The real position in India has been underlined by a speech of the Viceroy in Delhi at the beginning of May on the question of arming the population to resist the Japanese.

"I have often heard it said lately: 'We are unarmed. What can we do? What can we do? Let the Government put arms in our hands and we will spring to the defence of India like one man!' Here is my answer to that: 'Were the people of Great Britain armed in June 1940? Were the people of Russia armed on June 9, 1941? During the long agony of China have the ordinary men had arms in their hands?'

The answer is 'No'. The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign..."

Lord Linlithgow ended with an appeal to the Indian masses to "use less of everything and to lead more frugal lives!"

This speech is the only answer the imperialists have to the demand of the Indians for arms. It is of course, untrue, because to a large extent the resistance of Russia and China has been due to the arming and organising of large sections of the masses of the people. Even in Britain, at least one in ten is in the armed forces. In the same proportion this would mean the arming of 40,000,000 or more of the Indian people. Yet only a million Indians or less are even organised into the Regular Indian Army.

The farce of "defence of India's freedom" is underlined by the fact that the Viceroy is compelled to resort to such arguments to bolster up the refusal of the ruling class to arm the Indian masses. Point is given to this inability by the importing of tens of thousands of British and American troops who have been pouring into India. Now news comes that native troops from East Africa are being sent to India! That it would be technically possible to arm millions upon millions of Indian workers has been demonstrated by Tom Wintringham in an article written in Picture Post where he points out that in the last three to six months enough Tommy guns and munitions could have been produced to arm such a force without any difficulty whatsoever. The industrial capacity to produce the machines is there. But the political question is what determines the position of British imperialism.

The Viceroy's speech is an indication of the insolence and arrogance of the ruling class. To ask the workers and peasants who are not even able to get one decent meal a day, to live more frugally is to add insult to injury. This from the Viceroy who has spent thousands of pounds on 100 lavatories for his palace.

This is the real reason for the refusal to place arms in the hands of the masses. They dare not do so. The contrast between the squalor and misery of the workers and peasants and the huge tribute of £150,000,000 a year drained from these poor workers and peasants is too great. It is clear that the masses would not stop at throwing out the Japanese invaders but would throw out the British invaders as well. It is clear that rather than arm the Indian people and risk India falling into the hands of the Indians, the British imperialists would prefer it to fall, temporarily, into the hands of the Japanese.

The Indian capitalists are not much better than the British rulers themselves. The Congress has refused to wage a struggle against British imperialism despite the pressure of the masses. For fear of the repercussions among the masses, they have been compelled to reject the proposals of the British Government brought by Cripps. In their treachery they are only surpassed by the Indian "Communist" Party which, though formally illegal, has completely capitulated to British imperialism. Its activities are openly carried out and tolerated by the police. Their campaign for a "National Government" of landlords and capitalists, imperialists and workers and peasants, of Congress, the Princes and the Moslem League is a craven capitulation to British imperialism which even the Congress leaders were not prepared to do.

India's freedom can only be obtained and the terrible conditions of the masses alleviated by the workers of India taking power into their own hands and assisting the peasants to seize the land. This would be the means of rendering India impregnable to any foreign invader. It would shatter Japanese and world imperialism and the Indian and British workers could march together on the road to Socialism and freedom.

# OPEN THE BOOKS FOR WORKERS' INSPECTION

The Essential Works Order is in fine fettle. It has begun to kick. More and more workers are finding themselves in police courts and being heavily punished for breaches of the E.W.O.: On May 14th it was reported by Mr. Bevin that 2,681 workers had been prosecuted and 220 imprisoned. Since then the number has greatly increased. In one North-east town alone more than a hundred dockers are coming up for trial.

## MUNICHEER ATTACKS WORKERS

In a letter to the Times of the 20th May, the noble Lord Londonderry of Munich fame declared that the "unsatisfactory provisions of the E.W.O. and the weak administration of them have tended to undermine the authority of the manager and officials and have completely failed to deal with the problem of absenteeism. This matter urgently calls for attention. I am sure that the deterioration in production that has taken place in recent months is closely related to this factor, which has lately found such prominent expression in sporadic unauthorised strikes such as those at Betteshanger and Mainsforth."

This boss-class campaign for more anti-working class legislation goes hand in hand with a vitriolic campaign against the "enormous wages" received by the workers while the soldiers are facing death at half a crown a day. Lord Londonderry's letter, calculated to give the impression that the workers are responsible for the loss in production, carefully avoids the fact that the loss in output was due solely to the action of the mineowners, in the instance quoted, who had closed productive seams to assure their post-war profits!

## BOSSSES' SABOTAGE IGNORED

Mr. Bevin also reported that three employers have been prosecuted under the E.W.O. None have been imprisoned! Why haven't more bosses been brought to court? It is because as a class they have no other interest except the national interest? Is it because as a class they have completely subordinated the profit motive to the interests of production? But then why have no prosecutions been brought against the exceptions? The Auditor

General, in his report to Parliament, specifically mentioned the case of a management which had held up the supply of badly needed guns unless its demands for 160 per cent profit was allowed. Here was a case of sabotage if ever there was one! We have yet to learn from Mr. Bevin that this management has been prosecuted. Not even their names have been published! This is an example of how the Government acts to protect the employers. They must be preserved from the public gaze while workers are not only jailed but have their names and addresses, as well as details of their cases prominently displayed in the press.

But as a matter of fact this case is not an exception. It illustrates the general principle of capitalist production. It can be said without any exaggeration that all capitalist management is a fetter on production. The reason why so few cases as the one quoted above come to light is because the workers are not allowed any access to business secrets. Because the books of the bosses, in spite of the pitiful protests of Brother Fred Smith and other T.U. bureaucrats, are closed secrets to the workers. There are a thousand ways and methods by which the capitalists manage to secure their own interests at the expense of the workers.

Under the pressure of the workers, the Trade Union leadership have often made speeches attacking the attitude of the employers. But speeches and verbal condemnation are not enough. The organised strength of the workers must be brought to bear. The rank and file must force the leadership to conduct a campaign for the setting up of committees of workers elected in the unions and factories to inspect the books of the big combines and monopolies. From these books it will become clear that the bosses are concerned only with profits and nothing else. It will become clear that they are the ones who should be gaoled and not the workers!

Demand the Trade Union leaders Cease to Cover up the Bosses! Open the Books for Worker's Inspection! G. READ.



## AMOUNTS GUARANTEED

LONDON	£	s.	d.
Kilburn	-	-	3 15 0
Shepherds Bush	-	-	2 0 0
Southall	-	-	1 19 0
East End	-	-	5 0 0
South	-	-	10 0 0
Edmonton	-	-	5 0 0
Islington	-	-	2 0 0
Anonymous	-	-	1 0 0
Willesden	-	-	10 0
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			30 15 0
Glasgow	-	-	5 0 0
Edinburgh	-	-	2 0 0
Motherwell	-	-	1 0 0
Nottingham	-	-	5 0 0
Birmingham	-	-	3 0 0
Coventry	-	-	2 0 0
Liverpool and Birkenhead	-	-	5 0 0
Burnley	-	-	2 0 0
Wolverhampton	-	-	1 10 0
Leeds	-	-	3 0 0
Northampton	-	-	10 0
Slough	-	-	2 0 0
Bristol	-	-	3 0 0
Derby	-	-	1 0 0
Barnet	-	-	5 0
R.A.F. Wilts	-	-	2 0 0
Grantham	-	-	12 6
Welwyn Garden City	-	-	1 5 0
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			£70 17 6

## AMOUNTS RECEIVED

LONDON:	£	s.	d.
Edmonton	-	-	2 15 0
Kilburn	-	-	6 12 0
Willesden	-	-	13 6
Anon.	-	-	1 0 0
South	-	-	7 15 0
Enfield Shop Steward	-	-	10 0
Southall	-	-	2 6 0
Hendon Shop Steward	-	-	1 0 0
Irish Friend	-	-	4 6
Shepherds Bush	-	-	5 10 0
Emigre	-	-	4 0
Royal Navy	-	-	5 0 0
East End	-	-	7 12 0
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PROVINCES:			
R.A.F., Surrey	-	-	10 0
Barnet	-	-	10 0
Welwyn Garden City	-	-	1 5 0
Grantham Shop Steward	-	-	12 6
Slough	-	-	2 0 0
Nottingham	-	-	5 0 0
Sheffield	-	-	3 0 0
Member of the First			
International	-	-	10 0
Edinburgh	-	-	15 0
Glasgow	-	-	5 0 0
Wolverhampton	-	-	1 0 0
Birmingham	-	-	17 0
Coventry	-	-	2 0 0
Northampton	-	-	0 0
Bristol	-	-	1 0 0
Derby	-	-	12 0
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			£66 1 6

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**  
ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

PUBLISHED MONTHLY  
EDITOR: E. Grant BUSINESS MANAGER: M. Lee  
61, Northdown Street, London, N.W.1.

**EDITORIAL.**

**COAL CRISIS: 'No Half and Half Measures'**

The coal question threatens to provoke a political crisis in Britain.

The coalowners, in their lust to increase their fabulous profits, are determined to retain their grip on the industry and are frustrating any attempt to give the miners a voice in the control of the industry. The most reactionary section of the British ruling class, the coal owners sabotaged the proposal to ration coal; they close the most productive seams for "after the war" while they prosecute the miners for absenteeism; they cheat the miners out of their legitimate earnings by diverse means; they deprive them of a living wage. All this at the expense of increased output and in the interest of greed and profits.

The miners, whose conditions of labour are the most arduous of any section of workers, facing continual danger while they earn among the lowest wages in the country, are surging forward in strike action for the improvement of their lot. Slowly but surely, they are beginning to realise that the problems of better conditions and more coal can only be solved by taking the mines out of the hands of the owners and running them in the benefit of the nation. Nationalisation of the mines is their demand.

In the last war, under the pressure of the miners, the government promised to set up a Commission "after the war" to examine the case for nationalisation and guaranteed to carry out its findings. But when the war was over and the Commission found the case for nationalisation was proved to the hilt, naturally, the government of big business broke that promise they had solemnly made to the miners. Today, however, the labour and trade union leaders are not even demanding a promise of nationalisation "after the war." They have betrayed the miners once again. In face of the opposition of the coal owners and their government, they have backed down and agreed to a shameful compromise.

A Joint Board of miners, government and owners is to be set up to "control" the industry. The government representative represents the owners—this will leave the miners in the minority. In addition to this the miners' "representatives" will not be elected by the rank and file miners, but will be appointed by the

**COMMUNIST PARTY BRANDS US FASCIST**

**Look at their Record**

By Andrew Scott

**HOW WILL THE ADVANCE OF FASCISM BE SMASHED THE SOVIET UNION BE DEFENDED THE FOUNDATIONS OF A REAL PEACE BE LAID**

*Workers International League*

says:

"... ONLY BY INDEPENDENT ACTION OF THE WORKERS, ENDING THE COALITION WITH THE TORIES, AND ULTIMATELY TAKING POWER INTO THEIR OWN HANDS."

*The Communist Party*

says:

"... ONLY BY ACCEPTING THE CONTINUED LEADERSHIP OF CHURCHILL AND THE TORY PARTY, BY OBSERVING THE ELECTORAL TRUCE, AND BY GIVING UP STRIKE ACTION FOR THE DURATION OF THE WAR."

From that position the leaders of the Communist Party have taken their next logical step and are engaged in the most violent denunciation of all those who, in any way whatever, support the class struggle of the workers, even where this takes the form of the smallest protest strike in the tiniest and most obscure factory. But above all

the C.P. leaders denounce the *Socialist Appeal* and its policy. 'The *Socialist Appeal*', they yell, 'is a Fascist paper!' 'The policy of the *Socialist Appeal*', they shriek, 'only helps Hitler'.

The *Socialist Appeal* has challenged the Communist Party leaders to debate the matter openly before the workers and on a political plane. But the only

reply has been wild intensification of the abuse and slanders.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is inescapable! The leaders of the Communist Party dare not engage in a political discussion of the policy of the *Socialist Appeal*. To do so would be to lay their own traitorous policy of class collaboration open to the devas-

tating fire of revolutionary criticism. And so they have to resort to the final court of appeal of all renegades and traitors: they accuse those who offer the workers a genuine solution of their problems on the road of class struggle, of working directly or indirectly for Hitler.

What we propose to do in this

article is to examine the record of those doughty champions of democracy who propose to smash Hitler, to save the Soviet Union, and to liberate Europe by bowing the knee most humbly to Winston Churchill; by accepting the leadership through thick and thin, of this most wily of Soviet Russia's enemies and of his entire class.

**THEY CALLED FOR PEACE ON HITLER'S TERMS**

The first open test of the "anti-Hitlerism" of Pollitt, Dutt & Co. came on September 19th, 1939. On that day Hitler, having smashed down the resistance of the Polish Army in a few weeks, made a speech in which he put out a "peace offer". The immediate reaction of the Daily Worker was one of scepticism. On September 20 it commented:

"The speech of Hitler, delivered at Danzig yesterday contained, as expected, a 'peace' offer... Thus, with bombed and destroyed Polish villages but a few miles distant from the scene of his oration, Hitler, in the name of peace, called to be left free in possession of his booty, left free to seek further victims."

But, alas, this was not so much a matter of seeing clearly what was be-

And on the following day their main headline said in regard to Hitler's peace offer:

"Opinion Grows in Favour of 'Serious Consideration'."

On the day after that, so quickly had opinion grown in favour, that the Communist Party issued a special statement saying:

"We are against the continuance of the war. We demand that negotiations be immediately opened for the establishment of peace in Europe."

And let there be no mistake about it—these negotiations were to be conducted with Hitler. The Communist Party was now trying to persuade the British workers that Hitler now genuinely wanted peace! On October 5 the Daily Worker raged against Chamberlain for suggesting that "acceptance of the peace plan would have to be based on the mere assurances of the

"Our relations with Denmark are those of friendly co-operation. As to Holland, it is our aim to maintain our relations with her on the same peaceful basis as before. I have always made it clear that Germany has nothing to ask from Belgium. After the cession of the Saar land I have repeatedly declared that we have no more claims to make on France. Instead of claims, I have but one wish: to bury our old antagonism and to find the way to peace."

For a Party which tried to persuade the British workers to take that speech seriously, to turn round now and accuse the *Socialist Appeal* of being "Pro-Hitler" is for it to soar into a stratosphere of cynical impertinence far beyond the feeble limits reached by any previous demagogues.

And what was the justification that the King Street leadership advanced for this 12 day transfiguration? It

was simply that Hitler's peace offer was now just, sincere and honest because it was being supported by Stalin! It is well to remember that at a time when an exactly similar deception is being put over on the British workers by Pollitt & Co.—the theory that Churchill's formerly unjust war plan is now perfectly just and righteous—because it has Stalin's backing.

The campaign for a negotiated peace with Hitler went on with increasing vehemence. Said the Daily Worker on Oct. 9:

"The demand for the stopping of the war is growing throughout the country. The people of Britain do not want this war. What are we fighting for? This question is being asked everywhere."

And the opinions of every deceiver of the masses from Lloyd George to Bernard Shaw were mobilised by the

C.P. to give weight to the peace campaign. The Daily Worker asserted on October 9:

"Bernard Shaw was a thousand times right when he stated that the best way to abolish Hitlerism was to begin 'by abolishing Churchillism, proposition not less nonsensical and more easily within our reach!'"

In answer to a questionnaire sent round by the Daily Worker, Bernard Shaw advised:

"Cease Fire, Turn Up the Lights

and this provided the headline of the October 14 issue of the Daily Worker. Professor Haldane agreed on the necessity for an armistice and a negotiated peace, and so also did that present and doubtless champion of "democracy" Sir Stafford Cripps. Willie Gallacher toed the line with:

"We must face up to whatever peace terms there are."

A Joint Board of miners, government and owners is to be set up to "control" the industry. The government representative represents the owners—this will leave the miners in the minority. In addition to this the miners' "representatives" will not be elected by the rank and file miners, but will be appointed by the union leaders. This means that they will only remotely represent the interests of the miners, and that these bureaucrats will receive fat jobs and hob-nob with the bosses. No doubt they will grant a miserable increase to the miners. The coal owners will howl about the sacrifices they are making. . . and by subsidy from the government or by increased prices or both, they will not only prevent sacrifices, but increase their already inflated profits.

It is time that this farce was ended. It is time that the leaders of the workers be forced to act in the interests of the workers they are supposed to represent and not the owners. Not a rotten compromise, but the expropriation of the mines without compensation, and their operation under the control of the miners. The owners have been paid over and over again for their original investments in the blood and sweat of the miners. Every miner knows that a committee formed on the basis of his representatives in the pit could, in co-operation with the technicians and mining engineers run the industry better than any management. They could protect and raise the living standard of the miners and they could guarantee to produce all the coal needed, by sweeping aside the vested interests of the coal barons.

How apt, how startlingly apt today are the words of Lenin in 1917 when he attacked the betrayal of the Russian Labour leaders who were in a coalition government like the British leaders today.

"Concerning the coal industry, which is no less "ready," shamelessly managed by the coal kings, the robbers of the people, we have a number of very telling facts of direct sabotage, of direct wrecking and stopping of production by the industrialists. Even the ministerial Menshevik 'Rabochaya Gazeta' has admitted these facts. And the result? Nothing, absolutely nothing has been done except old, reactionary-bureaucratic "half and half" conferences, with equal numbers of delegates from the workers and from the bandits of the coal syndicates!

Not a single revolutionary-democratic step; not a shadow of an attempt to establish the only real control from below through a union of employees, through the workers, by means of terror against coal operators who are ruining the country and stopping production! How can it be otherwise when we "all" are in favour of a "coalition," if not with the Cadets, then with the commercial and industrial circles, and when coalition means leaving power with the capitalists, letting them go unpunished, letting them obstruct business, blame everything on the workers, increase economic ruin, and prepare in this way a new Kornilov affair."—LENIN.

The only difference between the Russian and British labour leaders is that the actions of the latter are even more shameful. Instead of "half and half" conferences, they propose conferences in which the workers are in the minority. Instead of nationalisation, we have so-called "national control."

This is the fruit of collaboration with the capitalists. The reply of the miners and the whole working class must be to redouble the campaign for expropriation of the mines and their operation under the control of the miners.

with bombed and destroyed Polish villages but a few miles distant from the scene of his oration, Hitler, in the name of peace, called to be left free in possession of his booty, left free to seek further victims."

But, alas, this was not so much a matter of seeing clearly what was before their eyes, as another manifestation of that unfortunate tendency of the British C.P. leaders to lag a week or two behind in their attempts to interpret the Kremlin's wishes. It took them precisely twelve days to realise that what was 'appeasement' in September 1938 was in the interests of the masses in September 1939. On October 2nd the main Daily Worker headline read:

"It is not Too Late"—Moscow View of Peace Offer to Europe.

## THEY EXONERATED HITLER AND BLAMED THE BRITISH—

It was from this period onward till about the time of the fall of France that the C.P. leadership, partly by emphasis, partly by innuendo, partly by what it missed out and partly by direct statement, gave the undoubted impression that while Hitler really and truly wanted peace, the imperialists of Britain and France wanted to continue the war. Their conclusion was that now Anglo-French imperialism was more reactionary than German imperialism. Molotov sounded the tuning fork for this chorus in his November 2nd speech:

"Today so far as the European great Powers are concerned, Germany is in the position of a State which is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, while Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaiming against aggression are in favour of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. Roles you see are changing."

This new line was merely the opposite side of the counterfeit coin which the Kremlin had put in circulation during the previous period. Then, it was the "democracies" that were "peace-loving", now it was Hitler. Truly, the effects of alliance, or even of flirtation, with the Kremlin are magical! Stalin's magic touch turns the basest metals to pure gold! Hitler's "peace proposals" and now Churchill's "war aims" have in this fashion been transmuted.

The line of "Hitler the Peace Lover" received clear expression in the Daily Worker Editorial on February 1st, 1940. In dealing with a speech made by Hitler it said:

"Hitler repeated once again his claim that the war was thrust upon him by Britain. Against this historical fact there is no reply. Britain declared war, not Germany. Attempts were made to end the war, but the Soviet German peace over-

tures were rejected by Britain. All through these months the British and French Governments have had the power to end the war. They have chosen to extend it . . . War should never have been declared on September 3, there should have been negotiations and peace talks."

"In these words he (Chamberlain) attempted to conceal the fact—recognised even by Mr. Lloyd George—that this is not in the very slightest degree a 'Hitler plan' of the sort which Mr. Chamberlain himself so gladly accepted at Munich."

The full enormity and cynicism of this attempt to cover up Hitler's plans can only be savoured if we recollect what Hitler said in his "peace" speech and compare it with subsequent events. On October 7 Hitler said:

"There should have been negotiations and peace talks"! Just as if Lenin had not spent years of his life impressing on the workers that whether the imperialists arranged peace or whether they waged war, it was always at the expense of the masses and was decided only by what best suited the imperialists' interests. The Communist Party way was not Lenin's way, the way of leading the workers on their own independent path to a real peace or to a genuine revolutionary war. The Communist Party way was the way of treachery, the way of deception, the way of "bringing pressure to bear" on the capitalists.

A negotiated peace at that time would have thrown Europe into the lap of Hitler, who was solving his problems by easy stages, even more cheaply than was subsequently the case. And on the other hand, the continuation of the war under Chamberlain, Churchill and the capitalist class has just as little to offer the British masses. Today it can be seen that the Communist Party has succeeded in jumping from one betrayal right over to another: from a "peace" in Hitler's interest to a war in Churchill's.

The events connected with the occupation of Norway served to underline the C.P. policy of depicting Anglo-French imperialism as the group that wanted bigger and better wars, and Hitler as the unfortunate victim of their malicious plans.

Any genuine Marxist party would have pointed out that little importance attached to the question which of the

Continued overleaf.

Pro-Hitler is for it to soar into a stratosphere of cynical impertinence far beyond the feeble limits reached by any previous demagogues.

And what was the justification that the King Street leadership advanced for this 12 day transfiguration? It

the war is growing throughout the country. The people of Britain do not want this war. What are we fighting for? This question is being asked everywhere."

And the opinions of every deceiver of the masses from Lloyd George to Bernard Shaw were mobilised by the

# CONSUMERS' COMMITTEES ONLY REPLY TO FOOD COMBINES

By G. Healey

Whilst this wholesale robbery is being carried out the combine directors and the government are continuously plotting ways and means to blindfold the masses to their organised policy of "legal plunder". First of all great play is being made about the Black market. One is given the impression that the twin evils of food shortage and high prices were the results of schemes worked out by a handful of gangsters in the back room of a Soho night club. But the most sinister aspect of this propaganda is that the public are led to believe that all of these gangsters are Jews. In this way an anti-semitic bias is being deliberately fostered. The yellow press has gone out of its way to give prominence to the names of people of Jewish extraction engaged in Black market deals.

No one denies that Jews are not mixed up in the black market or for that matter in big business as well. But the ramifications of the Black Market and Monopoly control do not arise from racial sources, but from the inherent rottenness of capitalism. When we examine the "legal" way in which the combines assisted by the government rob the workers we examine the antics of the "big fleas" and the same system which so prolifically breeds big fleas in the shape of trusts and combines also breeds little ones in the shape of the "black market", which are also very necessary for its existence. If it were not for the black market, then the rich would have no illicit channels to obtain the luxury foods to pack their bellies. It is not the wives of working men who shop in the black market, it is the toadies and hotel proprietors who cater for the big capitalists that use this cesspool. The gentlemen who are so loud-mouthed in denouncing the Jews as the backbone of the Black market will be generally found guzzling oranges, grapes and other rare foods in the luxury hotels and restaurants.

The attempt on the part of the big capitalists to encourage anti-semitism is intended to counter the growing dissatisfaction amongst the small shopkeepers and the poorer strata of the workers who are hardest hit. The Whitsuntide debate on the small retailer shows that this problem is occupying a great deal of attention. This is only logical since the increasing stranglehold of the trusts upon the

retail trade is bound to drive ever increasing numbers of small shopkeepers out of business. The capitalists are learning from Goebbels and this filthy attempt to picture the Jews as the real parasites shows that anti-semitic propaganda will be used in Britain for the same purpose as it was used in Germany: to canalise the indignation of the masses into counter revolutionary channels.

## CONSUMERS MUST CONTROL

The Government, big business and the sponsors of the Black Market are out to fleece the workers as much as possible. In this way they are all united. The nation's food supply and the health of the people are secondary to the question of profits. The real solution to the profiteering of the combines and the horse deals of the Black market lies in the control of the food supplies. It is fantastic that a handful of parasites should be legally entitled to hold the lives of millions of people for ransom in their mad lust for bigger profits. There is only one solution to this serious state of affairs and that is to take control of our food supplies out of the hands of the capitalists and their government. This can be done very quickly and efficiently through committees consisting of small shopkeepers, housewives, industrial workers and the employees of the food combines. By pressing forward for the setting up of such committees the way is being paved towards effective control and equitable distribution. By including small shopkeepers and combine employees on such committee, their experience in the food trade would be invaluable in facilitating smooth organisation and distribution. At the same time a real alliance against anti-semitism would be forged.

## GOVERNMENT AIDS COMBINES

Meanwhile we are reminded that this is a peoples' war in which everyone shares the burden. Optimistic statesmen such as Lord Halifax assures us that it may last twenty years. The stalwart champions of freedom who control the food combines will agree that he is a man after their own hearts. For the longer it goes on the more

steadily will their profits increase. Although consumption has been cut to nearly half what it was in peace time, the profits of the combines far exceed their peace-time level. Trading profits for the Home and Colonial group which are entirely owned by the Unilever financial octopus rose from £1,002,506 in 1939 to £1,259,249 in 1941. The profits derived from food do not at all depend upon the amount that is sold. The increase in the cost of living is the direct result of the policy of plundering the workers pursued by the big monopolies of the food trade.

Far from the government hindering this policy they do a great deal to assist it. Eighteen of their appointed food controllers hold between them 84 directorships mostly in big food manufacturing and trading firms. So powerful is the grip of big business upon the nation's food supplies, that it is in a position to dictate its own price for every household commodity. The government deliberately carries out a policy which is designed to cover this up. By handing out subsidies which amount to £125 million a year to the food trusts they indirectly pay over huge profits in lump sums. So much so that Sir George Schuster in his statement to Home and Colonial shareholders admitted that the margins of profits allowed to the food trade since war began "were higher than those which his organisation should have considered it right or politic to take in normal times". The food subsidy racket simply means that the workers are being fleeced through high taxation in order to pay the combines.

## A CORRECTION

E. Grant, 8th May, 1942.  
61, Northdown St., N.1.  
Dear Comrade,  
Allow me to draw your attention to an error in the "Socialist Appeal", April 1942, in the article "Remember Hong Kong and This".  
To my knowledge, no such person as "General Dwyer" existed. The man responsible for the Amritsar Massacre was an individual named General Dyer (Dyer not Dwyer). This was not, however, the man killed by the Indian Student in London. The victim of the Student was Sir Michael O'Dwyer who had been Governor of India at the time of the massacre. General Dyer died long before the shooting incident.  
Yours fraternally,  
P. C. Osmond.

# C.P. POLICY IN THE ROYAL ORDNANCE FACTORIES

In our last issue we published a report of a stay-in strike of 2,500 skilled engineers at a Midlands Royal Ordnance Factory. These workers had struck work in protest against compulsory transfer to private enterprise where the conditions of work are worse than at the R.O.F. and where the rates of payment are lower. So strong was the feeling among the workers in the factory that the Stalinist Shop Stewards remained silent when the issues were being discussed or even tailed along behind the workers. Although several mass meetings of the workers were held prior to the strike where members of the Communist Party were on the platform, not one single Stalinist advised the workers to accept the transfer scheme. So too, when the decision was taken for strike action: the Stalinists put up little or no opposition. Only one Stalinist rattled during the strike and tried to work his machine.

But the C.P. leaders are made of different stuff to the rank and file, and were quick to put the local party on the "line". Within a very short space of time they were on the job. J. R. Campbell, leading Stalinist, and back of the G.P.U., suddenly appeared in the district. Special committees were set up among the industrial factions of the Communist Party locals throughout the district, who were instructed to select delegates to a committee to combat the "Trotskyists in the East Midlands." Simultaneously a slander campaign was set in motion about the Works Committee and the Convenor—the "Party machine" was set into motion.

Inside the factory a leaflet was issued calling upon the workers to accept the Transfer of labour to private enterprise.

Couched in the most reactionary jingoistic terms, the leaflet headed "COMMUNIST PARTY STATEMENT ON TRANSFERENCE OF LABOUR" went on to state:

"Does the Transference of Labour in a Peoples' War justify Strike Action?"

"Does Transference of the Armed Forces, engaged in battle against the enemy justify desertion?"

"We must not allow such questions as being transferred to another factory to hold up the Guns, Planes and Ammunition that will help to remove the Nazis from the face of the earth. This may mean sacrifices, but nothing compared to the sacrifices made by our comrades in the Armed Forces who have left homes, jobs, and comfort to fight Fascism . . ."

To judge the effect of this leaflet on the workers we can do no better than quote from the mouth of one of the shop stewards, to another shop steward in a different part of the country: "The result of the leaflet has been to almost completely destroy the C.P. in the factory. It is commonly assumed by the ordinary workers here that the C.P. has completely

sold out, and that these leaflets were paid for by the management! In other words the course of their policy is coming to the obvious stage where they are no longer identified with the masses and the masses are finding it out. You say that in your factory they are in the decline, well I can safely assure you that in this factory they are in the s. . . ! not to mention the decline.

As you will gather from the leaflet, they held a mass meeting outside the factory. The result was that out of 4,000 workers on the day shift, they got an actual attendance of 47 only to listen to their speaker. The C.P. members in the factory are playing hell about the C.P. policy on this matter and only a very few of the most backward are accepting the position at all. I have not seen such a fall in stock since the collapse of Wall Street."

At a North London R.O.F., a similar situation has arisen. Basing themselves on the lead given by the Midlands R.O.F. the A.E.U. Shop Stewards Committee at the "Lock" drew up a "Charter" which was responsible for substantial increases in the pay-packets of a large section of the workers in the factory. A rate of 2/10 an hour exclusive of national bonus and overtime rates has been obtained. Machine tool setters bonus is now calculated to give setters no less than £3 per week and in many cases, double that amount. Maximum wages are well above these figures. Semi-skilled rates have been considerably increased. In the tool room the rate for apprentice fitters and machinists has been increased to 1/7 an hour (6d. an hour over the A.E.U. rate). In other departments too this concession has been gained.

The militant Shop Stewards Committee is now fighting for an increase in the day rate workers wages. The shop stewards point out that the granting of the day rate workers bonus and the elevating of their conditions generally will have a far greater effect on increased output of the factory than a thousand production committees.

Fearful of the militant policy which the Shop Stewards have adopted, the Stalinists in the "Lock" initiated a campaign which is directed by the London D.C. of the Communist Party. A leaflet was issued by the "Lock Group of the Communist Party" which served only to enrage the workers by its sheer lies and slander directed at the leading A.E.U. Shop Stewards in the factory. The leaflet claimed:

"At a recent meeting of the Shop Stewards Committee there was a difference of opinion on this question of setting up a production committee in the Lock. As a consequence of the attitude of certain individual Shop Stewards, this urgent question still remains undecided. THESE INDIVID-

UALS ARE NOT INTERESTED IN GETTING INCREASED PRODUCTION, AND, IN FACT, ARE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PREVENT A PRODUCTION COMMITTEE BEING SET UP. These so-called "Socialists" and "Militants" who are playing Hitler's game, who talk about fighting for the workers while they hold up the production of the weapons to fight fascism—the greatest menace to Trade Unionism the world has ever seen. THESE PEOPLE MUST BE TOLERATED NO LONGER. IT IS TIME THEY WERE CLEARED OUT OF THE WAY. The Communist Party calls on the workers in the Lock to USE YOUR INITIATIVE TO INCREASE PRODUCTION. Cut out bad time keeping and absenteeism. See your shop steward and get his support for immediately setting up a Production Committee in the Lock.

ALL OUT FOR VICTORY OVER FASCISM IN 1942!"

The same day this leaflet was distributed, May 12th, Joe Goss of the District Committee of the Communist Party appeared outside the factory gates with a loud-speaker van where he held two meetings. The first was attended by about 200 workers and the second by less than 50! The workers showed their complete disinterest in the Stalinist case and 16 dozen copies of the "Socialist Appeal" were sold in contrast with the meagre quantity of the Stalinist production.

The Chairman of the Factory Shop Stewards Committee held a meeting outside the factory and challenged the Communist Party to justify their slanderous leaflet. At a further meeting held by the C.P., their speaker, Jones, was forced to take up the challenge and stated that he would debate with the Chairman, Bro. Elliott.

Without consulting the chairman or any of the stewards the C.P. rushed a meeting at the "Greyhound" to take place on June 2nd. The shop stewards decided that the chairman should represent them in the debate and they passed the following resolution by an almost unanimous vote:

That: It has been brought to our notice that your party has accepted a challenge thrown down at a factory meeting by our Chairman, Bro. Elliott. i.e. That he was prepared to debate with any member of your Party and that the charge he made was that the C.P. was completely unable to substantiate their filthy attack on the shop stewards. This attack was made by means of a pink leaflet circulated round the factory."

The C.P. hurriedly attempted to back out in face of this, and announced in a letter to the stewards that no debate would take place but instead they had arranged a meeting! This cowardly backing out after they had made all arrangements themselves for the debate aroused disgust among the shop stewards and the factory workers who decided not to attend the meeting at all. It completely exposed the real character of the leadership of the C.P.

## HENRICUS SNEEVLIET EXECUTED BY NAZIS

On April 15th a report appeared in the daily press that "Henricus Sneevliet, founder and chairman of an illegal political party in Holland, and seven collaborators have been sentenced to death and executed at the Hague on a charge of sabotage." The Dutch and British capitalists try to capitalise on Sneevliet's heroic struggle against the Nazis for which he has paid with his life. But his life was devoted to a bitter struggle against Dutch and all imperialisms. They cannot claim Sneevliet. His memory belongs to the working class and not to the capitalists and their governments who besmirch the deeds of his life by pretending that his struggle was theirs.

All his life Sneevliet fought in the working class movement as a revolutionist and socialist. He fought not only for the Dutch workers but as an internationalist. While in the Dutch East Indies he fought for liberation of Java from the oppression of Dutch imperialism. During the last world war his anti-imperialist activities led to his being put on trial and he was banished from Holland and there joined the Communist movement that was just developing. With the Young Communist Party he was particularly active in the cause of the liberation of the oppressed colonial peoples and the Comintern charged him with revolutionary work for China.

He broke from the C.P. when it degenerated under the leadership of Stalin. For some time he was a deputy in the Dutch Parliament. At one time he supported the programme of the Fourth International, but unfortunately on the question of the trade unions and other issues he adopted a sectarian and opportunist point of view. Criticised by the Fourth International, he broke away and affiliated to the Centrist "London Bureau". This was a fatal mistake the lessons of which he never learned.

The Nazi gangsters have been murdering the flower of the European Labour movement. The long list of martyrs and fighters for the cause of the working class can now be added the name of Henricus Sneevliet. The workers of Holland and Europe will cherish his memory as a working class fighter by the struggle to extirpate this foul disease which has spread over Europe.

agreed that a debate should take place, but argued, honestly enough as rank and filers, that not sufficient time had

# LOOK AT THEIR RECORD!

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two gangsters invaded Norway first or planned to invade it first. But the Daily Worker set out to prove beyond all doubt that the entire guilt rested on British imperialism. On April 9, after the British mine-laying in Norwegian waters, the Daily Worker said:

"The National Government has decided to violate Norwegian neutrality."

In the course of a front page article and an editorial on that day there was not one word of criticism of German imperialism. On that same day, April 9, Germany invaded Norway, and the Daily Worker appeared on April 10 with the following:

"In a single day and night, British and French Government wrecking of Norwegian neutrality has extended the war front by nearly 1,000 miles."

A headline in the same issue reads:

"HOW BRITAIN FORCED NORWAY INTO WAR"

## ON OUR 'FREEDOM LOVING' ALLIES

Perhaps the cynical, opportunist and non-Marxist character of Stalinist policy in regard to the events of the war stands out most clearly in relation to the "Free" Governments of the Nazi-occupied countries. In the present period Sikorski, deGaulle, Benes and the others are held out by the Comintern as leaders of movements which can offer the masses of a tortured continent a genuine alternative to Fascism. The real nature of the "Free" Governments and their leaders together with the true worth of the Communist Party's present protestations about them can be estimated if we simply recall some of the comments made by the C.P. Press about them before Russia was attacked.

### SIKORSKI

Take first of all Poland and its "Free" leader Sikorski. Here is what the famous C.P. manifesto of October 7, 1939 had to say:

"When Chamberlain speaks of continuing the war for the purpose of the 'restoration of Poland', he means the return to power of the semi-Fascist Government of Colonel Beck and General Sikorski. He means the return of the landlords and generals who oppressed the Polish workers and peasants and national minorities. . . The British and French workers will never help

A manifesto in the same issue states:

"We accuse not only Chamberlain and Reynaud, but also the British Labour and trade union leaders, of extending the war."

In the entire course of four articles on the subject the role of Hitler and German imperialism in the invasion of Norway are not even mentioned! A worker depending solely on the Daily Worker for news of the Norwegian events might well have been excused for ending up with the conviction that it was Britain that had invaded Norway.

Izvestia, quoted by the Daily Worker on April 12, likewise put the entire blame on British imperialism:

"Above all the conclusion must be drawn that Germany's actions in the present instance were forced on it. . . Britain and France wanted to undermine Germany's military positions and fundamentally to improve their own positions. Germany

was not desirous of falling into a worse position and was compelled to adopt counter-measures."

Is all this perhaps an application of the slogan of Liebknecht: "The Main Enemy is in Your Own Country"? No! For the whole essence of that slogan consists in carrying out a serious struggle for power against the capitalist class at home, and that is precisely what the Communist Party was incapable of doing on the basis of a policy of a negotiated peace with Hitler.

Again it must be emphasised, a serious revolutionary party would have analysed the role of both imperialisms and revealed what a farce the neutrality of small nations is bound to be in the midst of world war No. 2. It would have offered the British workers a genuine alternative to the war plans of Chamberlain and Churchill—and an alternative which did not mean any acceptance of Hitler.

And the Daily Worker in its Editorial of September 27, 1940, wrote:

"One thing is quite certain that so long as the Churchill Government keeps up the farce of the "Free French Movement" and permits that petty adventurer De Gaulle to remain on British soil that the people of this country are in danger of being plunged into more Dakars. The life of one British sailor is worth more than a thousand De Gaulles.

This reactionary militarist does not speak for the 'Free French'. There are no 'Free French' and never will be until the people, both in occupied and unoccupied France, succeed in establishing their freedom and ending the power of their oppressors, whether they be French or German. De Gaulle is now a discredited puppet, but his paymasters still toy with the idea that he may have further use. The Daily Worker says: Chuck him out!"

### GREECE

Of Greece, World News & Views wrote on Nov. 2, 1940:

"The Metaxas-King George regime has intrigued with and manoeuvred between the rival imperialist Powers for years, and always with one fundamental idea—to maintain its dictatorship over the workers and peasants of Greece. Metaxas, originally pro-Hitler, was persuaded to restore George, linked conveniently in marriage with the British Royal Family."

On the same subject Ivor Montague wrote in the Labour Monthly for July, 1941:

### DE GAULLE

Of De Gaulle and the "Free French", Ivor Montague wrote:

"The subsidised De Gaullists, comically named 'Free French', like all fascists and reactionaries make 'abstention from politics and factionalism' the excuse for suppression of all influence of the Popular Front. The bunch of decadents and wealthy wirepullers in his offices parallels

