SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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CRIMEA DECISIONS KEPT FROM MASSES

AN AVALANCE OF PROPAGANDA WAS LET LOOSE AFTER THE CRIMEA CONFERENCE. CAPITALIST, LABOUR AND STALINIST PRESS ALL OVER THE WORLD LAUDED THE DECISIONS.

The "Daily Worker" announced straight from the horse's mouth that all future wars are ended by the decisions at Crimea. To add colour and drama to the situation, all the puppet states rattled their swords, sounded the bugles of battle, and declared war on Germany and Japan.

Concretely, what has been achieved? An announcement to destroy Germany. But this is a repetition of old statements poured through press and radio for five years. Stalin is to have his way in Poland and the London puppets are to be liquidated in favour of the Lublin puppets. This is an accomplished fact known for months.

No one will shed tears over the liquidation of London Polish except the Anti-Soviet diehards. No one gloats over the success of the Lublin Government except the Stalinsts. To the Polish masses, as revealed in the betrayal of Warsaw, both are criminals. Fundamentally, they offer only the continuation of capitalist regime in Poland, with all the pre-1939 spectres of horror. Once again the Polish masses will have to renew their struggles, and look beyond Lublin: beyond Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt to the working classes abroad for solidarity and assistance. Crimea has not solved one single problem of the Polish workers and the peasants.

Churchill made one of his purple speeches in the House of Commons. Following a tourist guide, he described the places he visited, the luncheons he attended, the banquets he gave, and conveyed the generally prevalent atmosphere after a good dinner, plenty of wine and expensive cigars. at the end of all this, he concluded his speech with a peroration that "**far reaching decisions**" had been taken.

That is the crux of the matter. "**Far reaching**" decisions were taken, but they are **secret** decisions on which the working classes are not to express its opinions.

Remember the flambouyant announcement of the Atlantic Charter and the Teheran Conference. Later when the question became more concrete, Churchill revealed that the Charter did not apply to India or British colonies. It did not apply even to the enemy countries. In fact, it did not apply to anyone at all. Surpassing this cynicism, Roosevelt said that it will find a good place in historical archives, and in any case it was not signed by anybody and committed no one to the policy. **But one concrete point which did remain a secret — a point on which Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed —that was a Greek revolution.** Churchill chartered the course of action British Imperialism would take and received the approval of Roosevelt and Stalin.

To get a correct picture of the Crimea Conference, similarly, it is necessary not to merely examine the platitudes uttered by Churchill, echoed by the "**Daily Worker**"— **but to examine what he failed to mention.** What is the attitude of Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt to the coming European revolutions? Surely, if the Greek situation seemed explosive at Teheran and decisions were made to put the revolution down—although not revealed until 12 months later—the whole of Europe is a volcano today? The economic chaos is deepening, starvation is on the order of the day. The destruction of the German military machine will unleash the working class of Germany and Europe for the seizure of power. Did the "Big Three" arrange their plans to deal with the situation? It is obvious **that this item must have been a major problem on the agenda.** It is obvious what plans were devised and plotted against the working class. But these

the reaction of the British workers?

That is not all. It is obvious that some of the French colonies will be taken away. How are these colonies—mandated territories taken from France and Japan—to be disposed of? By giving them freedom, **The American Wall Street Journal, "Capital", revealed some time ago that Britain was forced to agree to an American seizure of the Japanese colonies.** Stalin also must have put forward his claims in the Far East. How were they settled at Crimea? Or was all this merely discussed and the three

agreed to settle their claims at a future date at the point of a bayonet? Churchill did not utter a word on this question.

For some time now a conflict has been going on in the Middle East. Britain demanded oil concessions in Iraq; the Americans put forward the same demand. Churchill also spoke: Roosevelt said nothing. A few chiefs—apparently Churchill lectured them after reaching Yalta. Fearing to lose the British imperialist grip in the

20,000 CLYDE SHIP WORKERS Demonstrate for Higher Wages

ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 5TH, A DEMONSTRATION OF SOME 20,000 WORKERS FROM MORE THAN EIGHT SHIPYARDS WAS HELD IN GLASGOW. THE DEMONSTRATION HAD BEEN CALLED BY THE JOINT SHOP STEWARDS COMMITTEES OF FAIRFIELD'S AND JOHN BROWN'S YARDS IN SUPPORT OF THE CONFEDERATION OF ENGINEERING AND SHIPBUILDING TRADES UNIONS' DEMAND FOR A SUBSTANTAL INCREASE IN WAGES.

Permission to hold the demonstration in Whiteinch Park had been refused by the Labour dominated Council, on the grounds of adherence to 1A(a)! Nevertheless, this did not deter the workers, and the demonstration was held on some waste ground adjacent to the park.

In recent months there has been a sharp discontent manifesting itself among the workers, particularly those in the shipbuilding industry. With the reduction, and in many cases, the elimination of overtime, without any wage increases to compensate, **the average pay packet of the worker has been brought down to £4 17s. 0d. before the deduction of income tax.** With income tax deductions, and bearing in mind the increased cost of living, it can be readily seen that these workers are having a tough time.

From time to time there have been demands for increases in wages emanating from the boilermakers and other sections of the industry. But on each occasion the workers' conditions have remained unchanged, and the attitude of the workers at this

POST-WAR CHARTER", the key to their false policy is seen in this central idea:

"**Realising that the shipbuilding industry depends largely on the state of foreign trade we should support every effort to promote international co-operation, economic and political, AS LAID DOWN AT THE TEHERAN CONFERENCE.**" **(our emphasis).**

This contention and hope in the ability of the Shipping bosses to solve the problems of the workers, will not deceive any politically conscious worker. Facts about the economic position of post-war shipping will dispel any such illusions. **Out of a total world tonnage of 72,000,000, Britain owned 21,000,000 before the war. In the post-war period, the present estimates show that it will be halved. Correspondingly, American ships will dominate the world, with a tonnage of 50,000,000.**

These facts clearly demonstrate the inability of British capitalism to provide, even the pre-war standards of living for the workers. They will have to face bitter struggles ahead,

atives will not fight on their behalf, they must replace them with militants who will. At the same time, efforts should be made to link the demands of the Clyde Shipyard workers with those of the workers on Tyneside, Merseyside, and all other shipbuilding centres in order that the whole trade union rank and file throughout the country be mobilised in the struggle.

"This Cook will serve us with a Peppery Dish"

LENIN ON STALIN, Suggesting he be removed from post of General Secretary in his last letter to the Central Committee of a Party.

Ceylon Trotskyist Dying in Prison

From Ceylon, we learn that Comrade Phillip Guarawardhane is critically ill in a prison hospital. His present illness is due to starvation in prison ever since he was arrested in Bombay, betrayed by a Stalinist, in 1943.

Many a revolutionary has been physically broken in the torture houses called "prisons" in India and Ceylon. In spite of the prison conditions, our Cingalese comrades are determined to carry on the struggle till imperialism and capitalism are wiped off the earth. We send our message of fraternal greetings and sympathy to Comrade **Phillip Guarawardhane.**

Resolutions of protest should be sent to the Colonial Office, demanding his immediate release.

time.

Recently up to time there have been demands for increases in wages emanating from the boilermakers and other sections of the industry. But on each occasion the workers' conditions have remained unchanged, and the attitude of the workers at this meeting was such that it is clear they are in no mood to be trifled with. At the meeting, however, the organisers and speakers demonstrated that they had no intention of carrying out a militant struggle. So far, this movement is largely under the domination of local Stalinists, who are sowing all the illusions associated with their policy of post-war capital-labour collaboration, and who are beheading any attempt at militant action.

In a Manifesto issued in the name of Stalinist-controlled John Brown's Shop Stewards' Association headed **"THE SHIPBUILDING WORKERS**

present estimates show that it will be halved. Correspondingly, American ships will dominate the world, with a tonnage of 50,000,000.

These facts clearly demonstrate the inability of British capitalism to provide, even the pre-war standards of living for the workers. They will have to face bitter struggles ahead, and only such struggles, leading ultimately to workers' power, will solve their problems, provide full employment and a higher standard of living.

The workers, backing the demands on which the trade union leaders are proceeding, must see to it that they force these people to wage a real struggle to obtain them. As an essential step towards their achievement, they must assert the independence of their Factory and Trade Union organisations from the employers and the state machine. They must demand an immediate end to the industrial truce, and if their present represent-

'DEMOCRACY'

As Seen by Colonial Workers

BY M. NAIDU

THE BRITISH WORKERS HAVE BEEN TOLD A GREAT DEAL RECENTLY ABOUT THE ATROCIOUS CONDITIONS IN THE GERMAN AND JAPANESE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. BUT THE PRESS CAREFULLY EXCLUDES ALL NEWS OF THE INDIGNITIES AND SUFFERINGS IMPOSED UPON THE COLONIAL MASSES BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

The following facts from the Bulletin of the I.F.T.U. reveals the conditions in Nigeria, which is typical of British imperialist exploitation in the African colonies.

With a superfluity of natural and mineral resources, Nigeria is one of the largest and wealthiest of the British colonies. Social conditions are probably more drastically revealed by the following instances than by anything else: **Child labour is not unusual, even in tin and coal mines. Children are employed for 12 hours at 2/- a day. Enquiries made by the Works Committees have shown that children between the ages of 9 and 12 frequently have to carry heavy loads weighing up to 65 lbs.**

Wages of coloured bus drivers and conductors vary between 2/6 and 6/6 per day, whereas no European employee is employed at less than £350 per annum.

Nigerian workers had to wage a bitter struggle to get legal recognition of their trade unions. Until 1938, the Unions in Nigeria were illegal. Since then they have grown so rapidly that the membership now stands at 400,000, with a national trade union centre, and 34 affiliated organisations.

Persecution of militant workers proceeds unabated, and elementary democratic rights are denied the workers. The militant president of the Railwaymen is still in prison and the Nigerian Trade Union Congress adopted a unanimous resolution demanding his release.

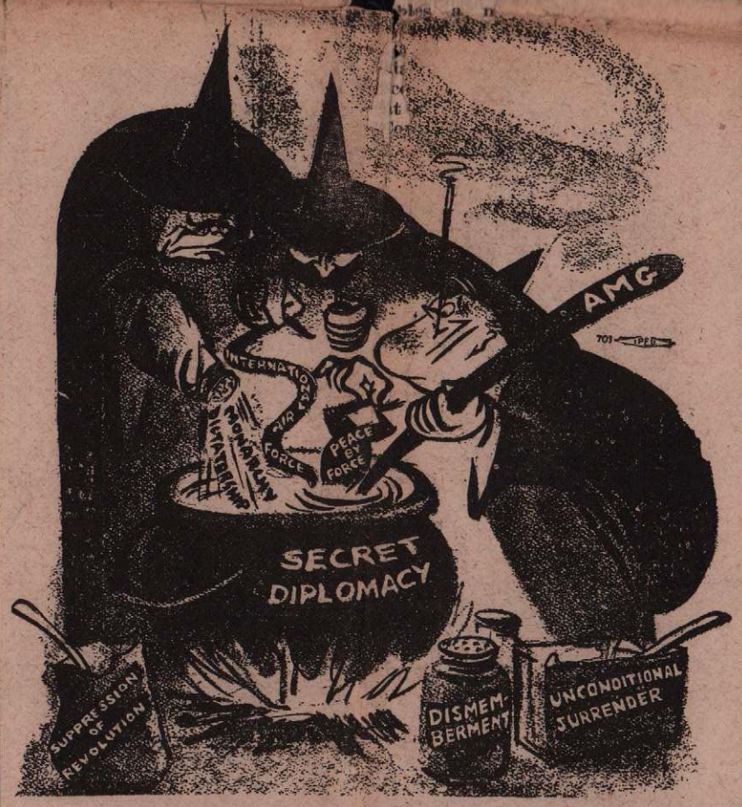
Wallace Johnson, the West African delegate to the World Trade Union Conference held in London last month, came straight to the Conference from prison. He was sentenced in 1936 and remained in prison till a few weeks ago.

In 1936, Johnson published the case of a Negro who was tied and flogged till he died. The facts were clearly established and were not denied by the Government. But to publish them was sedition, and so Wallace Johnson was put behind bars.

He had been sentenced to a term of one year. But in the colonial countries, once a man is imprisoned for a political offence, whatever the term of

B (Continued on page 4.)

LENIN ON STALIN, suggesting he be removed from post of General Secretary in his last letter to the Central Committee.



CRIMEA CONFERENCE—
Witches' Brew to Crush Workers' Revolutions.

Reprinted from the American Trotskyist "Militant."

5 NURSES CHARGED

Kindness to German Prisoners

The "Daily Herald" of Feb. 26th, reports that five young nurses of the Florence Nightingale Hospital, Bury, Lancs., were to appear in court a few days later.

These nurses were to be charged under the Prisoners of War and Internees Access and Communications Order and the alleged crime: **giving cigarettes, scarves and socks to German prisoners of war undergoing treatment at the hospital—a simple, humanitarian act.**

At the top, the ruling class are able to fraternise with **leaders** of the "enemy nations", as has been reported on many occasions in the capitalist press. Nazi officers are shown every consideration and the "Daily Express" now publishes the "inside dope" given by the notorious fascist, Count Grandi for which we have no doubt he was well paid. **But the poor little nurse cannot give a packet of fags to plain "Fritz Schmidt" without being hauled up in court as a criminal.**

In Germany we have no doubt, that the German nurses, who are no different from the British nurses, are also being hauled up in court for giving the British Tommies little comforts of a similar kind.

In face of the violent anti-German—Vansittart, race hate campaign, this gesture of fraternisation, not conscious socialist fraternisation but humanitarian fraternisation, should be welcomed by the Labour movement. The local Trades and Labour councils should defend these nurses, take their action to heart and seek to establish a conscious organised contact between the local workers' movement and the German prisoners of war.

ing, starvation is on the order of the day. The destruction of the German military machine will unleash the working class of Germany and Europe for the seizure of power. Did the "Big Three" arrange their plans to deal with the situation? It is obvious **that this item must have been a major problem on the agenda.** It is obvious what plans were devised and plotted against the working class. But these "far reaching" decisions were not revealed to the masses.

The Stalinists would cynically say that the Conference decided to support the democratic demands of the masses. If so, why the secrecy? **If Churchill would have announced after Teheran that the Greek revolution would be crushed, and Stalin had sanctioned it's crushing,** as he did after the event, what would have been

Churchill and not utter a word on this question.

For some time now a conflict has been going on in the Middle East. Britain demanded oil concessions in Iraq; the Americans put forward the same de[illegible] Britain also spoke: Roosevelt saw [illegible] Arab chiefs—apparently Churchill [illegible] after reaching Yalta. Fearing to lose the British imperialist grip in the Middle East, he decided to entertain the Arab chiefs. Once again, what was decided over the Middle East? Was the fate of Palestine discussed? Who is to get the oil concessions? Churchill is silent.

A (Continued on page 4.)

U.S. TROTSKYIST LEADERS RELEASED

ON JANUARY 24TH, 1945, 12 OF THE 18 LEADERS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA WERE RELEASED FROM PRISON. THE OTHER SIX CAME OUT OF PRISON IN OCTOBER LAST.

These 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party and members of the Minneapolis Truck Drivers' Union, were railroaded to jail on December 31st, 1943, under the Smith Gag Act, which is universally recognised as a violation of the Bill of Rights.

The "crime" these class war prisoners were convicted on was that they **". . . did accept as the ideal formula for the carrying out of their said objectives, the Russian Revolution of 1917, whereby the then existing Government of Russia was overthrown by force and violence."** In other words, their crime consisted in that they were striving to establish in the United States a Government of the working class in accordance with the ideas and principles of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution.

The principal witness for the accused was Comrade J. P. Cannon, who was a founder of the Communist Party of America. The Counsel for the Defence was Comrade Albert Goldman, also one of the accused and a leading member of the American Trotskyist Party. Together, one questioning, the other answering, in their evidence in court, they traced the entire case for socialism and the method of achieving it. This cross examination by Goldman and the answers by Cannon, which has been published in this country under the title **"A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM"** will go down in history as classic presentation of the case for socialism in a class trial.

By imprisoning the Trotskyists, the American capitalists hoped to terrorise the movement and arrest its development. But the signal growth of the American Party eloquently testifies that revolutionary ideas and the revolutionary party cannot be intimidated.

After the imprisonment of the 18, scores of American Trade Unions passed resolutions protesting against the convictions and demanding their release. 12,000 people signed a petition to the President demanding the unconditional pardon of the prisoners. The Defence Committee received the support of more than 400 Trade Union, Negro, and fraternal organisations representing more than 4,000,000 workers.

But the petition was flatly turned down by the Department of Justice.

In December, the Supreme Court refused to review the case, although this was the first case under the infamous "Smith Gag" Act. At the same time, the Supreme Court, demonstrating its class basis, reversed the conviction of Hartzel and B two avowed Hitlerite propagandists.

We add our voice to the welcome given to our released comrades by their comrades in the Socialist Workers' Party and the advanced workers in the U.S.A. Their imprisonment, the most significant anti-labour action of the American capitalist class during the second world war, has added to the prestige of our American brother Party, as the militant revolutionary socialist party of the working class.

Letters To the Editor,

From a Soldier in Italy

R.A.F., Italy.
8.2.45.

Dear Comrade,

The news regarding the by-election is very encouraging. The Hansards you are sending are certainly of interest.

I have spoken to some chaps who recently returned from Greece, but none of them helped to clarify the political situation. However, I was shown two leaflets that **ELAS** tried to distribute among British troops—they were poorly printed and composed. Here they are:—

1. **British Officers and Soldiers**
Why do you shot us your allies?
Refuse violation of Atlantic and Teheran's Chart our people is fighting for freedom and democracy.
We endeavour to defeat Fascism.
Help us.
EAM.

2. **Shame! Shame! on General Scobie.**
Shame on the murderer of innocent women and children!
Scobie's air Force machine-gunned our sacred suburb Kessariani!
Even the Germans never dared to do such a thing! Kessariani fought victoriously for three and a half years against the barbarous German and local Fascists.
Kessariani won't give up!
Greek people won't give up!
Death to Fascism.
Liberty to the People.
EAM.

* Kessariani is the suburb in which is the Acropolis.

It can be seen from these that there was no **class** appeal to the British soldiers of intervention.

One eye witness was sickened by the slaughter in Omonia Square (when Greek police machine-gunned **EAM** demonstrators). Slogans were scrawled on the pavements with the blood of the dead.

ELAS seemed to have suffered about 12,000 casualties in the recent fighting out of a force of 20,000 in Attica. Their total forces in Greece number up to 55,000 troops.

The Russians have been conscripting large numbers of the German minorities in Bulgaria, Roumania and Jugoslavia for forced labour in Russia. The Roumanian Government protested against this policy as not having been specified in the armistice terms—which was ignored by the Russian Government.

whilst my opposite number in the officers may still look spruce and clean, and needless to say, rather contented.

In my mess-deck, which is by no means the most overcrowded on the boat, there are 312 men, 232 of whom have hammocks for sleeping, the rest having palliases.

There are 20 men per table, except for odd tables which have been shortened to make room for support pillars. Each table is about 15 feet long and there is a space of about 1 foot between the benches of adjacent tables. Hardly the conditions of a Mansion House dinner, Mr. Churchill!

"HEALTH HINTS IN TROPICAL CLIMES"

Our booklet further states that constipation is a danger to the health, to be scrupulously avoided. The author can certainly never have waited for 10 minutes to half an hour for the use of a smelly lavatory. By afternoon or evening the stench is indescribable—enough to make any man prefer the unknown dangers of constipation to the obvious dangers of infection and contagion.

These places, mark you, open without doors (though indirectly) onto the mess deck where we live our lives and eat our food.

There are no laundry facilities and though a few go in for dab-washing the majority have to be content to be dirty. I haven't had a change of clothes for a fortnight despite washing I have done.

Most of the men have no previous experience of conditions so bad as this and are inclined to treat them as purely temporary; but they have taken the fundamental lesson to heart: that the officers are a race apart, drawing their privileges from the degradation of the O.R.'s and totally opposed to them in habit and outlook.

The censorship forbids any mention of conditions, but a large proportion have mentioned them and condemned them in their letters—only to have the letter returned with a graceful note demanding that they rewrite it. Those who refused received jankers for their pains—they weren't charged, they were merely given extra duties without redress, right of appeal or any discussion of their right. Military or political security, Mr. Churchill?

An officer gets his meals **served.** One doesn't need to understand French to see the discrepancy between their meals and ours.

Having exhausted his interest in his meal, our officer, if he is not disposed to go on deck for a stroll, may use either the 1st or 2nd class lounge, where armchairs and tables are pro-

NEATH NEWS

BY HEATON LEE

Seven Sisters Strike

1,000 miners employed at the Seven Sisters Colliery, West Wales (in the Neath Constituency) stopped work for three days from the 13th to the 15th February, to protest against the discrimination against miners shown by the coal-owners agent, Major Phillips.

A summons was served on a young miner **more than three months** after the alleged infringement of the Coal Mines Act of 1911, while similar contraventions by officials of the company have been condoned by the owners.

If any justification for the action of the miners in striking is necessary, we need only quote the opening remarks of the prosecuting solicitor to the County court, which met on Friday, 16th February, to try the case. **"THE COMPANY HAVE TO MAINTAIN DISCIPLINE,"** he said, **" if they are going to have to go on producing coal."** Then he proceeded to explain what the owners mean by maintaining discipline.

The miner was instruced to proceed to a certain working place by the fireman, Parfitt. **He protested that the atmosphere was thick with dust, and that it was unhealthy. He asked for an increased rate, or to be sent to a less unhealthy working place. This according to the miner evoked a stream of abuse from the fireman, who apparently felt "belittled", because he could not hold his own in the argument.** He turned on the miner: **"Get out, you ignorant pig! You are a coward coming back here from the R.A.F.!"**

Incensed by the implications, the miner grabbed his electric lamp and threw it at the head of the fireman, necessitating the insertion of a stitch. The court found the miner guilty, and ordered him to pay fine, witness fees, advocates fees and costs.

And so company officials will return to the Colliery and proceed to "maintain discipline" with curse and invective, until such time as the mines are owned and controlled by the miners.

NEATH GAS WORKERS DEMAND HOLIDAYS

Labour Council Protects Bosses

In November 1944, the Neath Corporation Gas workers approached the Neath Borough Council, which is controlled by Labour, and requested that they be accorded the same privileges regarding holidays, as had been given to other Corporation employees.

The gas workers approached individual Labour Councillors who promised their support. BUT . . . when the Council met to consider the Gas workers' request for 12 days' holiday annually, these Labour Councillors gave the workers a blunt refusal.

A 12 hour strike followed, and the case was subsequently taken before the Regional and National Gas Councils, both of which turned down the workers' demands.

The workers then notified the Ministry of Labour that a dispute existed and asked for an arbitration tribunal to settle the dispute. That was [illegible] months ago, and still nothin[illegible] done. The workers' patien[illegible] to be nearing exhaustion, [illegible] to the meeting of the **Gas Worker**[illegible] of the **N.U.G.M.W.,** held on Sunday, 18th February, it was decided to give the Council notice of the workers' intention to strike on Thursday, 22nd February.

Now the Labour Council is hiding behind the skirts of the Regional Gas Council, on which sit all the owners of the private companies in the district, **who will obviously resist granting the Neath workers' demand, because if the Neath workers win, the workers in the privately owned works will have a good case to make a similar demand.**

The Labour Councillors who make speeches about monopolies and the capitalists sucking the blood of the workers, would do well to put their election promises into action. Here they have an opportunity to grant a well deserved holiday to their own employees. But it seems obvious from their behaviour during the past few months that they have become capitalist-employer-conscious. At least this is [illegible] the gas workers believe, and they [illegible] forced to resort to the only lan[illegible] that employers understand.

Workers of Neath

1,600 STRIKE TO PROTECT UNIONISM

On Thursday, February 15th, a sit-down strike involving some 16 to 1700 workers, took place at a Government Ordnance factory on Clydeside. The issue was basically one of trade union organisation and has important significance for the working class movement as a whole.

The management gave instructions on the night shift of Tuesday, February 13th-14th, that a dilutee Gun Borer be removevd from his machine and be replaced by a skilled Grinder for whom no work was available.

The dilutee objected to this move because the skilled man was a non-Trade Unionist, while he, the dilutee was a Trade Union member. His objection was in line with a long standing decision of the Shop Stewards Committee that no non-Trade Unionist would receive preference over a Union member.

After 24 hours of constant negotiation a deadlock was reached when the manager persisted that they would brook no interference from the Shop Stewards Committee on questions of managerial functions.

A meeting of night shop stewards was immediately convened and it was decided to down tools if the position was not rectified.

The matter was not rectified by the specified time, whereupon 1,600 workers—skilled and unskilled alike—staged a sit-down strike. Only the skilled non-Trade Unionist continued at his machine for the rest of the shift.

On the arrival of the day shift a mass meeting was called, at which a motion was proposed endorsing the action of the night shift workers and that their decision cover both shifts. This was seconded from every corner of the meeting of the 1,600 to 1,700 workers present. Only one voted against the motion. Neither the Convenor nor the Sub-Convenor were present at the meeting and had to be informed of the decisions taken.

The management refused to negotiate while the strike was in progress, and the Shop Stewards Executive recommended a resumption of work pending negotiations which was accepted. The Executive were instructed at the same time to deal with the compiling of "black" lists of workers for bad time-keeping, absenteeism, etc., by the Factory "Labour Office."

The Shop Stewards Executive instructed the Convenor and Sub-Convenor to approach the manager and arrange a meeting between the manager and the Executive, or failing the full executive, **six** of its members. Their terms of reference were to arrange this meeting—**nothing else.**

But after two sessions with the manager, the Convenor and Sub-Convenor returned, only to report that they had ignored the limitation of their terms of reference and had negotiated a compromise with the manager—viz. **that a skilled Trade Unionist be placed on the machine.**

In the face of strong opposition from a minority of militant shop stewards, the Shop Stewards Committee, which is dominated by members and supporters of the renegade Stalinist Party endorsed this blatant bureaucratic sell-out by the Convenor and Sub-Convenor, and the dispute fizzled out. Failure of the militants to call a mass meeting to report back to the workers immediately it was known that a sell-out had occurred, has left the Shop Stewards Committee in the control of the Stalinists against whom there is growing opposition.

The strike demonstrated the instinctive rallying of the workers to defend their class organisations. It also demonstrated the need to replace the existing bureaucratic Stalinist leadership, with a militant leadership who will struggle for the establishment of the closed shop on an industrial union basis, thereby opposing the operation of the dilution agreement; and which will fight against the machinations of the management's stooge "Labour Office" with its black lists and discrimination against militant workers.

Private Lambert's Imprisonment Protests

MERTHYR LABOUR DEFENCE COMMITTEE

[illegible] officer

[illegible]ion" cannot be allowed to rest in cold storage. **Private Lambert's** isolated display of class solidarity must surely

to 55,000 troops.

The Russians have been conscripting large numbers of the German minorities in Bulgaria, Roumania and Jugoslavia for forced labour in Russia. The Roumanian Government protested against this policy as a pledged thing been specified in the armistice terms—which was ignored by the Russian Government.

The left wing parties in Roumania have been making considerable gains at the expense of the other parties.

Best wishes,

Acf. R.

Conditions on a Transport Ship

Socialist Appeal,
Dear Comrade,

I am writing this letter in the hope that it may eventually reach you. I only wish that every member of the British working class who may still harbour illusions of a democratic Britain, could spend one day on a troopship such as this in conditions that we live under. The awakening would be crude but effective.

After 4 weeks on the boat I found myself physically dirty, wearing clothes stinking with old sweat and dirt,

(Continued in next Column.)

dress, right of appeal or any discussion of their right, Military or political security, Mr. Churchill?

An officer gets his meals **served.** One doesn't need to understand French to see the discrepancy between their meals and ours.

Having exhausted his interest in his meal, our officer, if he is not disposed to go on deck for a stroll, may use either the 1st or 2nd class lounge, where armchairs and tables are provided, with a waiter service for lemonade and cigarettes. Where our cigarettes are rationed to 100 per week, I myself saw one officer buy 200 one evening.

I hope you may be able to use this. I should apologise for writing but it's hardly to be wondered at. This boat has been an object lesson to every man on board. It will lead to an eventual realisation that Trotskyism is the policy and ideology that will lead the British working class to join with the proletariat of the world in a new society. Sympathisers I have found and made. With a supply of literature I can produce future members.

Yours fraternally,

R.A.F.

"Liberation" in Italy

Italy.
14.2.45.

Dear Comrade,

Enclosed you will find P.O.s for the sum of £2 for the Neath Election Fund. This money comes from comrades and contacts serving in Italy. You can expect more money later.

Revolutionary greetings to Comrade Haston and the Party in their fight for International Socialism.

Just one example of "Liberation" in Italy: in an **A.M.G.O.T.** Factory employing Italian labour, under British military control. All Italian workers must wear arm bands to denote their place of work (shop). This order is to detect workers moving from one place to another inside the factory. Punishment for loss, damage, or not wearing arm bands in working hours, is half a day's pay stopped. You can understand the meaning under these rates of pay. The order is dated 7th February, 1945, and I guess would be in operation in other A.M.G.O.T. Factories.

A word on the January issue of "**Socialist Appeal**", I gave the rate of pay in Italy and also that the exchange rate is 400 lire to the £. And yet in the January issue an article by Arthur Robinson states the rate of pay is 65 lire (2/9). Even for 18 months ago that rate is very low—also 65 lire has never been 2/9. The conditions out here are horrible enough—there is no need to exaggerate the figures. We must be more careful on these matters in future. We have many other comrades out here who are regular readers of "S.A."—we must have our facts correct.

Fraternal greetings,

Pte. William

and asked for an arbitration tribunal to settle the dispute. That was months ago, and still nothing done. The workers' patience is to be nearing exhaustion, [illegible] meeting of the **Gas Workers** to [illegible] assigned.

it seems obvious from their behaviour during the past few months that they have become capitalist-employer-conscious. At least this is what the gas workers believe, and they are forced to resort to the only language that employers understand.

Workers of Neath
Keep these Dates Free!

NEATH

The Unemployed Hut at 7 p.m.

Speakers:

Sunday, March 4th.
TED GRANT
(Editor, Socialist Appeal)
AJIT ROY
(Well-known Indian Trotskyist writer and speaker).

Sunday, March 11th.
JOCK HASTON
(Revolutionary Communist Candidate)
N. KASTINOS
(Greek Revolutionary)

GWAUNCAEGURWEN

Miners' Welfare Hall at 7 p.m.

Monday, March 12th.
JOCK HASTON and N. KASTINOS

RESOLVEN

Resolvent Boys' School at 7 p.m.
Wednesday, March 14th.
JOCK HASTON

SEVEN SISTERS

Tuesday, March 13th.
JOCK HASTON

Questions and Discussion.

COME AND HEAR THE
Revolutionary Communist Case

On the Neath Front

BY P. PEVALIN

The campaign is making excellent progress, and the field of contact is widening. More and more workers are beginning to talk about our programme. Go into any cafe or pub and the subject under discussion is the By-Election—the difference between the Trotskyists and the Stalinists—the growth of the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union—the refusal of the Communist Party to debate with us—and Cannon's magnificent Defence of Socialism in the U.S. labour trial.

Comrades in other parts of the country will find it difficult to believe what a wonderful feeling of internationalism exists in this area. Very little of the race hatred developed by the capitalist, labour and Stalinist press is having effect. Amongst the hundreds of people with whom we have met and discussed our programme, only two have advanced a chauvinist position with regard to the German workers. The most unpopular man in Wales is Winston Churchill, and labour workers who are still very loyal to the Labour Party are finding it more and more difficult to justify even the position of the Labour Left.

At a meeting in Gwaun-Cae-Gurwen, John Lawrence and Heaton Lee addressed an eager audience. John Lawrence gave a brilliant exposition of the policy of the big three with particular reference to its effect on the workers of Germany, who he said would rise up in revolt both against Hitler and the armies of Anglo-American Imperialism. He pointed out that it was our job to prevent Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin from imposing the Yalta agreement on the workers of Germany. Heaton Lee dealt with the reason why we contest the by-election and pointed out that the workers of Britain and in other countries of the world were looking to the Neath workers to express their true feelings about Churchill's murderous policy in Greece and the betrayal of the Labour leaders.

At Briton Ferry last Sunday, Heaton Lee lectured to a meeting organised by the **Unemployed Welfare Committee** at Briton Ferry. Questions and discussions which followed were on an extremely high level and were indicative of the fine socialist traditions at the Ferry.

Our comrades have already made tremendous inroads amongst the most conscious workers in the area. The Communist Party are beginning to bring in their big guns, Idris Cox and Isabel Brown, to beat up a hate campaign against the Trotskyists. It will not have much effect. The workers down here are far too democratically minded, and insist on having the right to listen to all sides. Because of this we are confident that Trotskyism will emerge triumphant.

Private Lambert's Imprisonment Protests

MERTHYR LABOUR DEFENCE COMMITTEE

At a Delegate Conference held in Merthyr on February 4th a permanent Labour Defence Committee was established in this important area of South Wales. The Merthyr Trades Council and Labour Party as well as eleven other political and Trade Union organisations, are officially represented on this Committee.

The Defence Committee has moved quickly into action in the case of Private Lambert and a resolution of protest has been sent off to Sir James Grigg, the War Minister. The resolution is as follows:—

"This Conference, representative of the Labour and Trade Union movement of Merthyr, registers its absolute opposition to the sentence recently passed on Private Lambert for his refusal to blackleg against dockers on strike at Cardiff. That the Military should be used at all for this purpose is contrary to the pledges given in the House of Commons when the Military Service Acts were introduced that such forces would not be used for the purpose of interfering in any industry where a state of dispute had been declared. We demand the immediate release of Pte. Lambert and a further declaration from the Government that henceforth no soldier will be called upon to blackleg in any industry where a dispute exists."

Merthy's Labour Defence Committee is determined to use every means at its disposal to secure the release of this soldier who bravely refused to scab on his fellow workers.

AMERSHAM AGRICULTURAL WORKER

National Union of Agricultural Workers, Amersham Branch, County Bucks.

The Editor,
Socialist Appeal, 10.2.45.
Dear Comrades,

The case of the private in the Pioneer Corps who was recently sentenced to 16 months detention for "desertion" cannot be allowed to rest in cold storage. **Private Lambert's** isolated display of class solidarity must surely have excited the sympathy and admiration of all sections of the working class movement in this country. I wonder how many of these organisations have thought of translating their feelings into some sort of action. The War Office is reputed to be an immutable force, but I believe that if enough noise is made in its ear, it is just possible that it may decide, for once to act in a relatively humane way. My own Trade Union Branch has passed the following resolution which has been sent to the War Office:

"Amersham Branch of the National Union of Agricultural Workers protests in the strongest terms against the sentence of 16 months detention recently imposed upon Private Lambert of the Pioneer Corps. The Branch asks for the immediate re-opening of the case so that Private Lambert's legitimate plea of "conscience" may be given a fair hearing."

If other Trade Union Branches would pass and despatch similar resolutions the resultant noise might be sufficiently deafening to produce the desired effect.

Fraternally yours,

Michael Williams,
Secretary, Amersham Branch
N.U.A.W.

P.S.—I am not suggesting that the Revolutionary Communist Party should send a resolution to the War Office, since I do not want to see Private Lambert's sentence expanded to embrace any further portion of his career in the army.

SHEFFIELD £8 HOLIDAY PRIZE

Sheffield Branch

Winner:
Miss MARGARET TAYLOR,
52 Wulfrie Rd., Manor Estate.
Winning Number: 500.

PAMPHLETS
Every worker should read—

BY TROTSKY

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GERMANY—The Key to the International Situation

By LEON TROTSKY. *December, 1931*

INTRODUCTION by TED GRANT - - **6d.**

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International.
256 HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2
Phone: CUN 2526.
EDITOR: E. Grant.
BUSINESS MANAGER: J. Graham.

EDITORIAL

Pollitt Prepares for Right Turn

The summary of a report by Harry Pollitt to the Executive Committee of the National Communist Party of Great Britain, is printed in the February 24th, 1945, issue of "World News and Views." In this report Pollitt makes some points which we wish to draw to the attention of C.P. members and sympathisers in this editorial column.

Hailing the decisions of the Crimea Conference, Pollitt states that **"these decisions are of a character which profoundly effects the whole future of mankind. . . . Particular attention must be called to the close and continuing collaboration of all peace loving people as essential 'TO REMOVE THE POLITICAL CAUSES of WAR'."**

Now, the **"political, economic and social causes of war"**, as every socialist or communist schoolboy knows, are the imperialist antagonisms which arise out of the capitalist system of production and empire expansion. Pollitt knows this. He has written and spoken it thousands of times in the past.

To remove the causes of war, capitalism must be destroyed. Lenin and Trotsky, the greatest Marxists of their day, taught this to communist workers from the outbreak of the last imperialist war until the day of their deaths. But Pollitt now tells the workers that the capitalist politicians and imperialist representatives, Churchill and Roosevelt, can end imperialist war, simply because they arrive at a secret agreement with Joseph Stalin.

The decisions arrived at in Yalta, were decisions to parcel out Europe into spheres of influence between Stalin and the bureaucracy he represents on the one hand, and Churchill and Roosevelt representing the most rapacious world imperialists on the other hand. They were decisions to maintain capitalism, by force of arms, throughout Europe, and to parcel out the world between Anglo-American imperialism and their satelite states.

High up on the agenda at Yalta was the suppression of any revolutionary movement of the European working class and peasant masses which would be aimed at the overthrow of the existing capitalist regimes and the establishment of socialism. **And the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism in Europe and throughout the world is the only possible step which will "remove the political, economic and social causes of war".** Pollitt knows this. He has written and spoken it thousands of

THE RED ARMY UNDER TROTSKY

By ERIC WOLLENBURG

TROTSKY

Eric Wollenburg was a German Officer who came over to the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution, and was intimately connected with the building of the Red Army in the early days. This section republished here from his book "The Red Army" (Secker and Warburg) throws a light on the differences between the revolutionary conception of a Workers Army and the Stalinists Bureaucratic conception. Wollenburg's conclusions on the nature of the Soviet Union are false, but the book contains a wealth of factual material on the role of Trotsky in building the Red Army. — Ed.

The military oath taken by the men of the Red Army was in its first form as follows:

"In entering hereby into the community of the Red Army of workers and peasants, and taking upon myself deliberately and of my own free will the duty of giving aid in the hard and holy wars of the oppressed peoples, I swear to my brothers in arms, to the whole nation of workers and to my own revolutionary conscience that I am ready to fight worthily and without fear, treachery or misgiving for the great cause for which the children of the best families of workers and peasants have already given their lives, for the victory of the Soviet power and the triumph of socialism."

On taking over the War Commissariat, **Trotsky** devised a new form of military oath, which bound the soldiers of the Red Army to serve not merely Soviet Russia and the Russian workers, but the proletariat of the whole world:

"(1) I, son of working-class parents and a citizen of the Union of Socalist Soviet Republics, assume the title of a soldier in the Army of Workers and Peasants.

"(2) Before the workers of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the whole world I pledge myself to bear this title in honour, to learn the art of war conscientiously and to cherish as the apple of my eye the property of the people and protect it against all robbery and destruction.

"(3) I pledge myself to observe revolutionary discipline strictly and resolutely and to obey without demur all orders given me by the commanders set over me by the government of workers and peasants.

"(4) I pledge myself to abstain from all actions derogatory to the dignity of a citizen of the Soviet Union and to restrain my comrades from such actions, and to direct my every action and thought towards the freeing of all workers.

"(5) I pledge myself to respond to the first call from the government of workers and peasants by placing myself at its disposal for the defence of the republic of workers and peasants against any attack and peril from any enemy, and to spare neither my strength nor my life in battle for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and for the cause of socialism and the fraternization of all races.

"(6) May the scorn of all be my lot and may the hard hand of the revolutionary law punish me, if ever with evil intent I break this my solemn oath."

The entire political educational work in the ranks of the Red Army was permeated at first by this spirit of internationalism. The magnitude of the mission it set itself becomes apparent when we realize that the peasants constituted far the greater part of the army. But, as Gussov wrote in 1921, **"If the Tsar's barracks, schools and press were able to turn the peasants into soldiers capable of shooting down their fathers and brothers, why should not we accomplish the task of creating from those same peasants an army that would give assistance to the World Revolution?"**

The leadership of the army was undertaken by the threefold authority of commander, commissar and political administrator. The military leadership devolved on the commander. The office of commissar was created in order to keep the commanders under political observation. Additional to these was the 'Political Administration' of the Army, which was a component part of the War Commissariat (later known as the Defence Commissariat); this was an institution of some importance, subject, however, to the immediate control of the Party. The first chief of the Political Administration was Gussov his successor was Bubnov, who gave way in turn to Gamarnik, the last-named holding office until May 1937. All three were members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Political Administration worked through the instrumentality of the Party Cells, which existed in every unit from the general staff down to the companies. As long as Lenin's Party principles that "every member of the Party is responsible for the whole Party, and the Party is responsible for every individual," held good, these Party cells were able to deal with every political question arising within the army, and took a hand in shaping the Party policy on the basis of democratic centralism. Moreover, they exercised a political and moral control over both their own members and non-party officers and soldiers.

Finally, the Political Administration organized and directed the whole of the vast cultural and political educational work within the army by means

In 1924 the pay of a corps-commander was 150 roubles a month, corresponding roughly to that earned by a well-paid metal workers. It was thus 25 roubles a month below the 'Party maximum," i.e. the largest monthly salary that a Party member was allowed to accept in those days. The commander of a division received 100 roubles a month, and a company-commander 43 roubles. A group-leader (non-commissioned officer) received only 15 roubles a month.

There was at that time no special officers' mess. The meals of officers and men were prepared in the same kitchens. Communist officers seldom wore the badges of their rank when off duty, and frequently dispensed with them even when on duty. At that time the Red Army acknowledged a relationship of superior and subordinate only during the performance of military duty, and in any case every soldier knew his commanding officer with or without badges of rank.

Officers' servants were abolished. The officers had therefore to clean their own boots. I remember another incident in 1925, which took place at a summer camp in the Volga district. While the troops were on duty, a private, who happened to be a peasant from the German Volga settlements, was sent to his company-commander's tent to fetch a map. Happening to notice that his commanding officer's boots were dirty, he sat down outside the tent and began to clean them. The consequence of his action was a complaint against both the officer in question and the secretary of the company's Party cell.

The officer was able to prove himself innocent of this **'relapse into Tsarist abuses,'** but the cell secretary was reprimanded for failing to give the soldier sufficient instruction in proletarian class-consciousness. Thereafter the regimental dramatic society produced a number of scenes of barrack-room life in Tsarist days, in which officers' servants and boot-polishing were the principal themes.

The 'basic mission' of the political educational work was, as Gussov wrote in 1921 when head of the Political Administration, **"to turn a large proportion of the peasants into international communists and the rest—or, at least, the younger generation—into sympathetic supporters of the idea of a revolutionary war of aggression, because the idea of a revolutionary war of defence was one which the peasant could grasp comparatively easily."** Gussov also gave the following practical hints for the performance of this international educational work:

"Education in the spirit of internationalism naturally presupposes in the first place that the Red Army man will be familiar with the A.B.C. of communism. Without this theoretical basis we can make no progress. The crux of the matter is not, however, to be found in an abstract internationalism, but in the daily initiation of the

RED ARMY UNDER STALIN

brought all the old titles and Czarist decorations back again. This is an act of counter-revolution.

This picture of a Russian Marshal — Zhukov — is eloquent testimony of the degeneration. With all the decorations including diamond studded gold stars, he could well be taken for an understudy of a capitalist general instead of a leading fighter of a workers state.

Under Trotsky the Corps Commander of a Division received 150 roubles a month — corresponding roughly to the same earnings of a metal worker—today the differentiation between the Russian officers and men is greater than that in capitalist Britain.

Correspondingly there has been

Anglo-American imperialism and their satellite states.

High up on the agenda at Yalta was the suppression of any revolutionary movement of the European working class and peasant masses which would be aimed at the overthrow of the existing capitalist regimes and the establishment of socialism. **And the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism in Europe and throughout the world is the only possible step which will "remove the political, economic and social causes of war".** Pollitt knows this. He has written and spoken it thousands of times in the past.

The Yalta decisions and the agreements which will be arrived at at San Francisco—and after San Francisco—therefore, can only be stop gaps in preparation for a new world bloodbath while the capitalists remain in power. In failing to tell the workers this, and to call upon them to struggle against the Crimea decisions and for the overthrow of capitalism, Pollitt helps the gangster imperialists to prepare the new bloodbath a few years hence.

Pollitt states that "**It is also necessary for us to think over the new situation, and see whether it does not call for fresh consideration of some aspects of our policy.**" And continues "**We must find the best means through which we can immediately strengthen and broaden national unity so that the Crimea decisions can be carried with the full backing of the country. . . . The Communist Party,**" he continues, "**will make its contribution towards increasing the war effort, securing unity of the Labour and progressive movement to win the General Election, SO THAT WHATEVER GOVERNMENT IS FORMED RESTS UPON A MAJORITY PLEDGED TO OPERATE THE CRIMEA POLICY.**"

To the members of the Communist Party, who are secretly critical of the present policy of class collaboration and strike breaking carried out by the leadership in the interests of the so-called "war for democracy"; to the members who hoped that as soon as the war was over this policy would be scrapped and replaced by a policy of militant class struggle, this statement of Pollitt must be taken as an ominous warning. Pollitt is following in the footsteps of Earl Browder, his American counterpart who, in dissolving the Communist Party of America, stated, that the class struggle was off the agenda for the next generation, and a policy of class collaboration would now be pursued.

The British Communist Party may not be dissolved, but it will not be a Communist Party; it will be as it is today, a Party of class collaboration. Any ". . . Government . . . pledged to operate the Crimea policy" will receive the full and unqualified support of Pollitt and His Majesty's Communist Party.

Any gangster, or even gentleman Tory, who praises Stalin and hails the Crimea Conference will receive the support of Pollitt and his puppets. Any workers' organisation or group of workers who want to destroy capitalism and to sweep its secret agreements away, including the robber Crimea agreement, will be denounced by Pollitt and his party.

Like all renegades from the working class, Pollitt will find a scapegoat to fool the workers who still trust him. The "**Right Wing**" Tories will be denounced as the evil men of society, while Pollitt clasps the "Left Wing" Tories tightly with both hands round their necks.

To these members and sympathisers of the "Communist" Party who still have a **loyalty to their class**—to the worker communists, who are still capable of thought, we appeal: **take heed of Pollitt's statements.** They presage a further turn to the right, and a continuation of the foul policy which is making the name of His Majesty's Loyal Communist Party stink in the nostrils of the militant British working class.

There is another road: the road of the **Revolutionary** Communist Party—the road of Lenin and Trotsky—to be found today in the Fourth International.

MARSHAL ZHUKOV

Lenin and Trotsky abolished all jewelled decorations and titles in the Red Army. This they did as a revolutionary act. Stalin has [illegible] **study of a capitalist general instead of a leading fighter of a workers state.**

Under Trotsky the Corps Commander of a Division received 150 roubles a month — corresponding roughly to the same earnings of a normal worker—today the differentiation between the Russian officers and men is greater than that in capitalist Britain.

Correspondingly there has been the degeneration in the policy of the Red Army under Stalin. From being an instrument of world revolution, carrying the banner of internationalism and fraternity with the workers of other lands, the Russian soldiers are forbidden to fraternise with the German soldiers and workers, and will be used as an instrument of counter-revolution in Europe under the Stalinist leadership.

Trotskyist Leaflet to Belgian Miners

In the recent miners' strikes in Belgium, the capitalist press spoke of "subversive" leaflets being distributed in the mining areas.

Our comrades in Belgium, knew the just cause of the miners and supported them in their struggle just as we supported the struggles of the miners in Yorkshire, Durham and South Wales. The leaflet printed below issued by our brother party, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Belgium (Fourth International) speaks for itself. While the reformist and Stalinist leaders are betraying the miners in Belgium, just as they are here, our comrades are in the forefront in support for their struggles.—Ed.

THE MINERS WANT TO KNOW WHERE THE COAL IS GOING.

The miners of Limbourg, the Centre and Charleroi have gone on strike.

They are demanding an increase in wages, clothing priority, an increase in the pension, the re-employment of Union delegates who have been arbitrarily sacked.

These demands are completely justified, except in the eyes of the conservative and reformist papers, which are already blaming the miners and their union leaders as being responsible for the lack of coal. Yet the Belgian miners have worked hard since the "liberation". In spite of the absence of several thousands of their comrades, their production has exceeded that of their French comrades by 50 per cent.

In reality, it is not the lack of coal which is disturbing the reactionaries and reformists, but the fact that the miners are thinking of intervening in the control of production.

THE MINERS WANT TO KNOW WHERE THE COAL IS GOING!

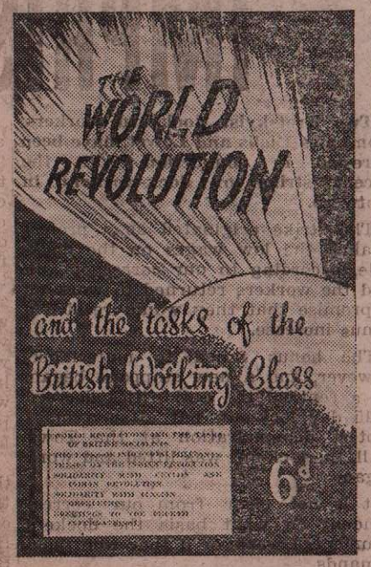
The miners want to know what scandalous profits the coal barons are accumulating in the midst of the general poverty!

Workers in industry, in the yards and offices! Transport workers! Housewives! Small Shopkeepers! the miners' Struggle is that of the whole population against the incapacity of the Government and the rapacity of the bosses.

If the miners call on you for aid, be ready to support them by all the appropriate means!

Together with them you will establish a serious control over production and the distribution of coal.

Revolutionary Communist Party,
Brussels District,
Belgian Section of the Fourth International.



these Party cells were able to deal with every political question arising within the army, and took a hand in shaping the Party policy on the basis of democratic centralism. Moreover, they exercised a political and moral control over both their own members and non-party officers and soldiers.

Finally, the Political Administration organized and directed the whole of the vast cultural and political educational work within the army by means of political instruction, political schools and courses, libraries and literature dissemination, wall and Red Army newspapers, theatres, cinemas, Lenin corners, contacts with the factories and villages, Red Aid Work, the Society for Air and Chemical Defence (Ossoaviachim), musical and dramatic societies, sports clubs, chess clubs, etc. Illiterate recruits were taught to read and write in the first few months of their training, while a large number of soldiers were prepared during their final year for future civilian employment in positions such as tractor-drivers, machine-minders, leaders of collective farms and specialised industrial workers; in many cases these men received instruction by means of courses lasting several weeks which they were detailed to attend at the factories. Thus the Red Army provided the villages with entire cadres of qualified organisers and workers.

In Party work there was no distinction between officers and privates; the only differences recognised were those between Party members, candidates and non-party men. **A communist company-commander who behaved in an uncommunist way in service or private life had to answer for his conduct to the cell, the secretary of which might possibly be his direct military subordinate.** If a non-party officer sought admission to the Party, he had to submit to an all-round searching examination of his political and human qualities at a Party meeting, to which the other non-Party men were admitted. In such cases privates, who might even be natives of the same villages as their officer, came forward to report on his past political tendencies and his personal behaviour to his fellow-men and subordinates, and asked questions to which he had to give detailed practical answers. The decision as to his acceptance or rejections then rested with the Party cell and Party authorities above it.

As long as democratic principles ruled in the Party, these military cells constituted a valuable guarantee for the continuance and intensification of the proletarian class character of the Red Army. They formed a protective wall against the development of a definite officer class.

The social and economic distinctions between all ranks of the Red Army remained extremely slight during the first few years of peace. The Red officers—especially those who belonged to the Communist Party—were restricted to an extremely Spartan mode of life.

I can recall an incident which took place in 1925, just after motor-buses made their first appearance in the Moscow streets. When leaving barsracks, I asked the company-commander, who happened to be with me, to accompany me on a bus to the centre of the town. He refused in all seriousness, on the ground that it was not fitting for a proletarian commander to ride in a 'motor.'

Guseff also gave the following practical lead for the performance of this international educational work:

"Education in the spirit of internationalism naturally presupposes in the first place that the Red Army man will be familiar with the A.B.C. of communism. Without this theoretical basis we can make no progress. The crux of the matter is not, however, to be found in an abstract internationalism, but in the daily initiation of the soldier into the sphere of interest of the World Revolution by way of his immediate peasant interests. Otherwise the work will be useless.

"For example, the instructor must be able to link the fate of a peasant's land in the Ufa district with the fate of the World Revolution, and prove beyond all possibility of argument that only the success of the World Revolution can sanction that peasant's permanent right to his land. From the peasant's land in the Ufa district to the World Revolution may be a very long way, but it must none the less be traversed by showing the peasant where his real interests lie. We have prepared concrete instruction material of this type in the form of instances of the help given us and our peasantry by the proletariat of Western Europe during the Civil War and once again during the famine. It is only a step from these instances to the idea of mutual assistance and to conceptions of the Russian peasant's duty towards the World Revolution."

The work of education was supplemented by addresses from delegates belonging to the Communist Parties of other countries, political emigrants (Red Aid), and representatives of the colonial peoples.

The Red Army literature was also devoted to the task of awakening and intensifying the internationalism of the soldiers. In 1929 a revolutionary play entitled "The First Red Cavalry Army" was produced in the Red Army's Central House in Moscow. The cast was made up entirely of amateurs belonging to the Red Army, the female parts being played by officers' wives. In one scene a Russian soldier was condemned to be 'shot by the enemy' for revolutionary propaganda during the World War, i.e., at the command of his lieutenant he was forced by non-commissioned officers with loaded revolvers to climb on to the breastwork of the trench and expose himself to the German bullets. Amid the excitement and indignation of his comrades, who nevertheless dared not mutiny, he climbed up, but instead of the death-dealing bullets expected from the enemy trenches there came only a shout in German: **"Comrades, we won't shoot!" Thereupon the German proletariat soldiers came up out of their trenches and fraternized with their Russian class comrades.**

Several foreign communists who witnessed this play with me spoke to Gamarnik in the interval and told him of the ineradicable impression made on them by such an internationalist pæan expressed in the form of dramatic art. Gamarnik took us behind the scenes and introduced us to the actors playing the leading parts of the 'Tsarist Lieutenant' and the 'soldier.' We discovered that the stage 'soldier' was a lieutenant belonging to a company of the 1st Proletarian Rifle Regiment, while the 'lieutenant' who cursed and struck him

(Continued on page 4.)

WORLD T.U.C.—THEIR MASTERS' VOICE

"There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organisations in the entire world: it is their growing closely together with the state power . . . They have to confront a centralised capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions—insofar as they remain on reformist positions, i.e., on position of adapting themselves to private property—to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to contend for its co-operation".

Trotsky wrote this in 1940, shortly before his death. Since then, during the war years, this process of integration of the trade unions into the state machinery has been accelerated in every country, and reached a summit and concrete expression at the "World Trade Union Conference" which sat in London for two weeks.

Never before in the history of organised labour has such a numerous and widely representative assembly been possible, and never before did the working classes of the world witness such an expression of bankruptcy and outright treason on the part of those who claim to "represent" them.

It certainly was a symbolical—if perhaps accidental—coincidence, that this Conference should meet at precisely the same moment that the Big Three were completing their plans for the subjugation of Europe and the maintenance of their domination over the world. Even the capitalist papers could not help stressing this fact. The "Economist" comments:

> **"It is, perhaps, more than an accident that the World Trade Union Conference should have coincided with the meeting of the Big Three, and that the views of the British, American and Russian labour leaders on the treatment of Germany after the war should have echoed so faithfully the policy of Mr. Churchill, Mr. Roosevelt and Marshall Stalin. Close comparison between the Yalta declaration and the trade union leaders' speeches shows that on all important points of principle, Governments and Labour are at one".**

In Crimea, the rulers of Great Brittain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. decided on the further course of the war in which millions more will be slaughtered, and decided on the reduction to the lowest possible standard of living of some 80 million people in Germany.

In London, the so-called spokesmen of labour solemnly pledged the workers they represented, **"not for a moment to pause or slacken their efforts, but to work with even greater energy and application, dedicating themselves to the single task of increasing production and combating every attempt to curtail the output of war material and armaments or to relax the all-out mobilisation which speedy victory requires", and they agreed that both Germany and Japan must be made to "repent" and "atone".**

There were, it is true, more than three nations represented in London. There was a fair sprinkling of members from "liberated" countries of Europe; there were the representatives of the semi-official trade unions of Mexico and other Latin-American countries; and there were a number of varied representatives from numerous colonies and dependent countries and also representatives from various emigre trade union groups in Great Britain. But there was not, at this "world" conference, a representative from Germany, or Italy, or Greece, and the Swiss and Swedes had been reluctantly admitted as observers only during the first week, **for the omnipotent Foreign Office might have taken offence at "neutrals" discussing the essentially British and Allied problems of the war.**

It was not an **international** Conference, but a Conference of representatives of Trade Unions from **"Allied"** countries, dominated by the trade union leaders from the "Big Three", Russia, America and Great Britain, who echoed the policy of their masters.

The first and main item on the agenda was the **"furtherance of the Allied war effort"**, the discussion of which was a truly sickening business, each delegate vying with the other in extolling the contributions in sweat and blood brought by the workers of his country. No analysis was made of the causes of the war or of the war itself, no indictment of a system which imposes the scourge of war upon humanity twice in a quarter of a century.

The 250 delegates not only did not speak up **for** their members, they did not even speak **to** them. They did not call upon the workers of the world to act, in whatever direction; **they were humbly addressing their masters, the great imperialists, recalling their own merits and asking that they might be allowed to sit with them at the next "Big Three" Conference and be consulted on such matters on which their assistance might be valuable.**

Nor were they for a moment indignant over the sufferings, slaughter and toil demanded from the working masses. They had but one aim: **to prove to their masters that they had been their faithful agents, that no one else could so skilfully have manoeuvred the working classes of all countries into submission during the long years of war.**

In the name of the Conference, a telegram was sent to such notorious "friends" of the working class as **Eisenhower, Montgomery, Alexander, MacArthur, de Gaulle, Chiang Kai-Shek.**

But there was more to come. Having discussed their contribution to the war effort, the Conference proceeded to deliberate upon "peace" settlements. The tone was immediately given by Sir Walter Citrine who delivered probably the most rabidly jingoistic speech ever heard in any labour assembly, a speech of which the international working class should keep good record, and for which Citrine should some day stand indicted as a "war criminal" before a workers' tribunal.

Having laid down that **"Germany must be completely and beyond all question defeated by the Allied Armed Forces"** and that **"there can be no question of Germany's surrender under conditions"**, he pursued by declaring that **"Germany must make reparation to the extent of all that is humanly possible, in services, goods and money; and this obligation must be met even though it involves the continuance of Allied control over the entire German economy for many years, and perhaps for generations"**; that Germany must be wholly disarmed; this disarmament to include **"the closing down of all German war factories, the dismantling of all industrial establishments in which war production has been carried on, and the outright prohibition of the production and use of aircraft".**

The annihilation of Germany's industrial capacity and the complete ruin of her economy, will have the widest repercussion on the conditions and level of existence of the German proletariat. Citrine sees this quite clearly, but his vision is not impaired by any "sentimental" pity for the German people. His only concern is that this situation might diminish their capacity to effect reparations, and therefore he proposes: "the building up in the debtor country of exportable surpluses on the basis of **a strictly rationed and price-controlled internal economy which will keep the standard of life of the people in that country at a fixed level.** The effect of this will be that all increases in production and expansion of credit of the debtor country will be claimable and payable on Reparations account".

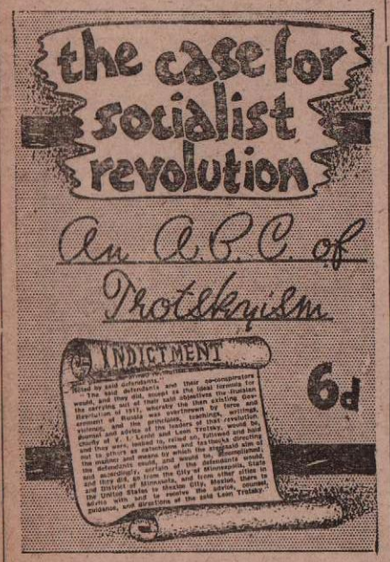
And even this will not suffice, says Citrine, **"if we leave intact Germany's heavy industries, and if Germany's highly industrialised areas are transformed into an agricultural economy, the necessary corollary will be the wholesale transfer of large bodies of German workers to accompany the transferred heavy industries to the countries to which these are assigned.** And Citrine sees quite clearly that this involves the danger of their **"sinking to the level of slave labour."** To prevent this, he advocates . . . trade union control, i.e., control, or rather "consultative and advisory machinery" set up by the trade union bureaucracies of the **Allied** countries, who are based on the same principle and programme of class collaboration. The presence of the Russian trade unions will alter nothing of this, as they follow the Stalinist policy of "peaceful collaboration" with the capitalist class of the imperialist countries. This appeared in a particularly crass form at the Conference. During the discussion on post-war demands, the Russian delegation advocated a string of reformist measures and carefully avoided mentioning that no real improvement in the standards of the working class can be obtained, if the proletariat has not achieved State power and

But this was all verbiage to cover up the betrayal.

What measures did the Conference propose to implement these demands? The Conference (in every other paragraph of this resolution) called upon **the governments** to take **appropriate** and **adequate** measures to ensure the realisation of the various demands enumerated!

When the capitalists are openly preparing to cut the standards of the workers in the fight for markets and profits, after the war, these bureaucrats are promising minor reforms and sowing illusions among the workers that the good allied employers will grant these without tremendous battles.

The new World Federation which is to be established may well number many more millions than the old International Federation of Trade Unions, but it will mean nothing more in terms of workers' striking-power, for it is



Pollitt Yesterday !

"The argument is being used that if a fascist Germany attacks Britain when there is a Labour Government in power, it would be our duty to defend Britain. It would be nothing of the sort. Britain would still be a capitalist Britain. The Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress deny the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism . . . they deny the need for the setting up of a workers' dictatorship, and therefore it would still be a capitalist Britain, with a capitalist Government.

We must understand and realise that the stronger we make the fight against such a war and such a government, the stronger would be the fight of the working class in Germany against the Fascist Government there, and its war policy.

HARRY POLLITT "LABOUR AND WAR" (published 1934).

Red Army under Trotsky

(Continued from page 3.)

and afterwards ordered him to the breastworks was a private in his platoon, i.e., an immediate subordinate of the 'soldier' he maltreated on the stage. "Could any imperialist army do a thing like that without undermining the whole basis of military discipline?" asked Gamarnik with a smile.

In 1924 I wrote a play for the Red Army at Gamarnik's request. Its subject was the war on capitalism waged by the Bavarian Red Army, whose ranks contained a number of Russian and Italian prisoners of war, who were willing to give their lives for the German and International Revolution.

In 1929 a young Red Army soldier of peasant origin tried to explain the basis of socialist discipline to a German Reichswehr general, who paid a visit to the Central House. In one of the club-rooms the general found a class of officers and men sitting together on school benches to receive instruction in the German language.

He asked a Red divisional-commander who was taking part in the class how this state of affairs could be reconciled with military discipline. It might happen, he pointed out, that the instructress put a question to the officer which he could not answer. If one of his soldiers answered it, he would be made to look a fool in front of his men.

"On the contrary, we vie with one another in socialistic emulation," replied the divisional-commander with a smile.

"And why shouldn't I learn German better than the Comrade divisional-commander?" asked a private sitting next to the general. "He's a great authority for me, because he's my instructor in military and political affairs, and about these I can learn

erican (even if it be Mr. Pierpont Morgan himself) as his 'friend.'

The natural and easy relations between officers and men in the Red Army have also gone by the board. **The Red officers now form a closed, privileged caste. Certain democratic army institutions were abolished soon after Voroshilov took office. Even as far back as 1926 officers' pay underwent large increases. Officers' messes were re-established; the ordinary military relationships between officers and men both on and off duty were introduced at the same time.** In numerous cases the 'rise in the cultural level' of officers caused them to obtain divorces from wives of proletarian or peasant origin, who were not up to 'Society' standards, and to marry women belonging to the circles of the old aristocracy, the former bourgeoisie or the new bureaucracy. This was, in fact, a mass phenomenon.

The Soviet officer's standard of life is now no lower than that of his colleagues in imperialist armies, but the standard of life of the mass of the people and of the privates in the Red Army still falls considerably below the corresponding standards in Western Europe and America. In bureaucracy, manners of the [illegible] the officers of the Red Army now form a special privileged class which has cut adrift from the mass of Soviet Union workers and risen high above it. A special type of 'non-political' officer has been created. The senior officers who were drawn from the old Tsarist officer class remained essentially alien to proletarian internationalism, while the junior ones, even when of proletarian origin, began to hate internationalism as a disturbing element. They are happy to live their 'life of comfort,' and consequently they sing the "Internationale" or utter the form

In Crimea, the rulers of Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. decided on the further course of the war in which millions more will be slaughtered, and decided on the reduction to the lowest possible standard of living of some 80 million people in Germany.

In London, the so-called spokesmen of labour solemnly pledged the workers they represented, **"not for a moment to pause or slacken their efforts, but to work with even greater energy and application, dedicating themselves to the single task of increasing production and combating every attempt to**

Nor were they for a moment indignant over the sufferings, slaughter and toil demanded from the working masses. They had but one aim: **to prove to their masters that they had been their faithful agents, that no one else could so skilfully have manoeuvred the working classes of all countries into submission during the long years of war.**

In the name of the Conference, a telegram was sent to such notorious "friends" of the working class as **Eisenhower, Montgomery, Alexander, MacArthur, de Gaulle, Chiang Kai-Shek.**

CRIMEA DECISIONS KEPT FROM MASSES

A

(Continued from page 1.)

If all these things were discussed—as they must have been in a Conference lasting nine days, with all the economic experts attending, not a word to the House of Commons and the British public.

It is clear that the root causes of war will remain, and cannot be eradicated by arguments of the imperialist powers with the Stalinist bureaucracy. Behind the superficial agreements reached at Crimea, the conflict between British and American imperialism and the Soviet Union continues. The demands of each the manoeuvres to dominate, will continue at San Francisco.

The second factor on which there was agreement was the creation of a glorified League of Nations. Five countries, in words, are to dominate it. But in effect, China and France will play a minor role. Already, even Britain is thrust aside, and the American capitalist press speaks of two great powers, meaning the Soviet Union and America. What can such a League of Nations do in a conflict between Russia and the U.S.S.R.? However distorted by the Stalinist bureaucracy, as long as nationalised means of production remains in Russia, it is a pistol aimed at world capitalism. Sooner or later world capitalism will seek its destruction. In such a struggle what functions can a League of Nations perform?

The two factors on which agreement was reached and announced to the world, lay the foundations for the third world war. All experts agree that Europe is a unified economic entity. The Treaty of Versailles, by splitting or maintaining Europe into tiny units, with tariff barriers and armaments race, created the conditions for the second world war. **In European economy Germany occupies the key position.** The solution to the problem of wars **does not lie along the lines of Balkanisation.** That will only reduce the European masses to a low level of living, to be kept as pawns in the game of power politics. Only a unified European economy, in which **the feudal remnants to capitalists** have been overthrown and the working class firmly in the seat of power in all the European countries, primarily Germany, can give peace and plenty for all.

In such a Socialist United States of Europe, once again the German working class will occupy the key position. Crimea can decide what it likes, but the only alternatives for the working class are: a third world war or a socialist Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe.

The decisions at the Crimea Conference, announced publicly are only a deception and a delusion. The real decisions shrouded in mystery for the working class, can only lead to further wars and misery. The labour movement must demand of its leaders to put an end to secret diplomacy of the imperialist gangsters; the workers have the right to know what plots are being hatched which will determine the destiny of the masses of Europe and the world.

NEATH FUND

LONDON

The London District Campaign to raise £250 for the By-election Fund is gradually getting under way. The dead line date for the reaching of the £250 target is now

SATURDAY, MARCH 21st.

The position of the branches, incorporating some minor quota alterations is as follows:

	QUOTA.	RAISED.
Eastbourne ...	£10	£13
Paddington ...	£35	£29
London D.C. ...	£35	£17 15
S.E. London ...	£20	£ 8 10
Southall ...	£10	£ 4 1
Hendon ...	£30	£10 5
West London ...	£15	£ 3 12
S.W. London ...	£50	£10
	£250	£96 3

We have received no reports from North London, Enfield, Chingford or Norwich. These will be published later ,together with reports from other parts of the country in future issues.

Citrine, **"If we leave intact Germany's heavy industries, and if Germany's highly industrialised areas are transformed into an agricultural economy, the necessary corollary will be the wholesale transfer of large bodies of German workers to accompany the transferred heavy industries to the countries to which these are assigned.** And Citrine sees quite clearly that this involves the danger of their **"sinking to the level of slave labour."** To prevent this, he advocates . . . trade union control, i.e., control, or rather "consultative and advisory machinery" set up by the trade union bureaucracies of the **Allied** countries, who are to exploit this German labour under the general supervision of the I.L.O.—itself a coalition of the governments, trade union bureaucrats and employers' confederations of the **Allied** countries!

The resolution adopted follows the general lines of Citrine's speech, with, in addition a second resolution—referring only to those countries who are at war with Japan—outlining similar prospects for Japan. And this received the overwhelming support and applause of the Russian delegates. So far have the bureaucrats moved from the principles and ideals of communism, that the speeches of the Russians were indistinguishable from those of the Citrines and other Labour renegades.

The resolution on post-war demands which was discussed during the last days of the Conference, contains a number of demands whose complete realisation would certainly represent a considerable improvement in the standards of the working class. The importance of such demands is obvious, and some of them are extremely far-reaching, such as: **the elimination of every form of discrimination based on race, colour, creed or sex, full employment, social insurances, child welfare, maximum working week of 40 hours without loss of pay, an annual paid holiday of at least two weeks, etc.**

based on the same principle and programme of class collaboration. The presence of the Russian trade unions will alter nothing of this, as they follow the Stalinist policy of "peaceful collaboration" with the capitalist class of the imperialist countries. This appeared in a particularly crass form at the Conference. During the discussion on post-war demands, the Russian delegation advocated a string of reformist measures and carefully avoided mentioning that no real improvement in the standards of the working class can be obtained, if the proletariat has not achieved State power and taken over the means of production.

Only one voice was heard at the Conference, which reflected in any way opposition to capitalist imperialism. The delegates from the colonial countries, whilst supporting the imperialist war and having a fundamentally reformist outlook, nevertheless asked the Conference to endorse the principle of self-determination for the colonial peoples—a position they were forced to adopt because of the overwhelming urge of the peoples of their countries for freedom from imperialist oppression. **But the Conference refused to make any clear statement even on this elementary democratic demand.**

Thus, on every question, the London Conference of "working class representatives" faithfully followed the imperialist lines of the "Big Three" at the Crimea Conference.

The Conference has shown that under reformist and Stalinist leadership the trade unions are doomed to remain the servile tools of capitalism and integrate themselves even further into the State machines. **There is but one solution: the replacement of the trade union bureaucracy by a revolutionary leadership** through the struggle for trade union democracy and for the complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist State.

BELGIAN DOCKERS IMPRISONED

Two Trotskyist dockyard workers, Comrades Dielis and Lowet, have been arrested in connection with the recent strike of dock-workers in Antwerp.

The strike originated as a protest against the low wages on the dockside, according to our correspondent, and the workers returned to work on a promise that they would receive a bonus increase.

The bonus failed to materialise, however, and a new stoppage began. As a reprisal the authorities decreed a 15 day lock-out, but after a mass protest demonstration at the Town Hall, the lock-out was lifted and work began.

It is not clear from our correspondent on what basis the dockers commenced work, or if they won their demands.

Comrades **Dielis** and **Lowet** were arrested after a campaign against "agitators" in the press—similar to that which preceded the arrest of our comrades here last year, and were charged with drafting the demands of the dockers as well as their manifesto.

This Manifesto, issued before the second strike began, explained to the workers the dangers of returning to work on the basis of promises only, without any agreement. This warning was amply justified by the cynical way in which the bosses failed to implement their promises, and which led to the second strike.

A protest movement has begun for the release of our comrades, according to **"Le Voie de Lenine"** 10.2.45, the organ of our brother Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party of **Belgium.**

reconciled with military discipline. It might happen, he pointed out, that the instructress put a question to the officer which he could not answer. If one of his soldiers answered it, he would be made to look a fool in front of his men.

"On the contrary, we vie with one another in socialistic emulation," replied the divisional-commander with a smile.

"And why shouldn't I learn German better than the Comrade divisional-commander?" asked a private sitting next to the general. "He's a great authority for me, because he's my instructor in military and political affairs, and about these I can learn a lot from him. But in everything else, in all agricultural matters, for instance, I am a great authority for him. We peasants were detailed for harvest work after the last autumn manoeuvres, and then I led a squad of twenty-four men, because I am an experienced farmer. The commander of my own regiment was working under me; he's a metal-worker and knows nothing about farming. He'd have made a proper fool of himself if he'd had to run our squad on harvest work."

The international spirit and socialistic basis of discipline in the Red Army were swept away during the years 1931-3, which were a time of severe crisis. Nowadays the entire educational work is concentrated on inculcating a 'Soviet Union patriotism' and nationalistic arrogance. The consequence of the policy of bloc alliances with imperialist governments was that the conception of class struggles within the imperialist states and struggles of oppressed colonial races against imperialist states had to give way to the opposite theory of 'friendly' and 'hostile' states and their citizens. The effect of this is that to-day a Red Army man—or, indeed, any average Soviet citizen—regards a German as his 'enemy' and a Frenchman or American as belonging to a corresponding standards in Western Europe and America. Like the commanders' of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the officers of the Red Army now form a special privileged class which has cut adrift from the mass of Soviet Union workers and risen high above it. A special type of 'non-political' officer has been created. The senior officers who were drawn from the old Tsarist officer class remained essentially alien to proletarian internationalism, while the junior ones, even when of proletarian origin, began to hate internationalism as a disturbing element. They are happy to live their 'life of comfort,' and consequently they sing the "Internationale" or utter the form of oath devised for the Red Army by Trotsky as mechanically as any average Christian repeats his catechism. (Stalin has changed the oath of allegiance of the Red Army eliminating all reference to socialism or international revolution.—Ed.)

These 'non-political' officers regard the policy of bloc alliances inaugurated by Stalin and Litvinov as a guarantee for the permanency and strengthening of their privileged position. Their champion in the army is now Voroshilov, the old advocate of guerilla warfare who once proclaimed a crusade against the **'wearers of epaulettes,'** military discipline and the system of a centralized army. But, after all, it was Voroshilov who once maintained that the essential difference between a proletarian and an imperialist army was to be found in their varying forms of organization instead of in the different ideology and politics that dictated the aims and objects for which they were created. Over-valuation of outward forms has always been one of his prominent characteristics.

The Red Army does not merely exist on paper; it is now a live component part of the body of the Soviet Union. But its political aspect of the whole Soviet Union has undergone under the autocratic Stalinist regime.

"DEMOCRACY"

B

(Continued from page 1.)

the sentence, it is a long long time before he gets out. So Johnson remained in prison from 1936 till the beginning of 1945. As soon as he was released the Nigerian workers showed what they thought of the Government, by electing him the delegate to the World Trade Union Congress.

* * *

INDIAN WOMEN IN MINES

India, according to the British histories, is the real jewel in the Empire. The record of British imperialism there has been unparalleled brutality, poverty, starvation and illiteracy. In the course of the war this has exceeded all previous record. It is quite legal in India for women to work in the mines. No doubt the Indian Trade Union Congress has protested against this, but that made no difference to the decision of the Government.

The level of casualties can be seen from the fact that **911 Indian women out of 17,000 employed in the mines, received fatal injuries. One in every seventeen!**

They are paid 12 annas a day, which is approximately 1/-. To add insult to injury, Amery maintained in Parliament that the wages compare favourably with other industries in India and that there is nothing to grumble about!

It is against these inhuman conditions, maintained by the British overlords, that the masses of India and the colonies are struggling. It is the duty of every British worker to support their colonial brothers in their struggle for freedom against British imperialism.

READ
The Death Agony of Capitalism
AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS
By Leon Trotsky
THE PROGRAMME OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
48 Page Pamphlet 6d

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