

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Formerly "YOUTH FOR SOCIALISM"

CLYDE SHIPBUILDERS DEMAND ACTION

TOKEN STRIKE IS WARNING TO PROFITEERING BOSSES

Workers from every shipbuilding yard on the Clydeside downed tools at 4.30, Tuesday, November 18th, for a half hour protest strike to hurry up the decision of the National Arbitration Council who have under review their wage claim. The unanimity of the strike—the "token" strike as it became known—was an indication of the temper of the workers who are tired of the tribunal's procrastination. It was a warning to the bosses that the workers wanted a favourable decision without further delay.

The strike was timed to start at 5 p.m., 30 minutes before normal knocking off

time. But in a number of yards thousands of workers downed tools at 4.30, while some did not restart work after dinner. Outside each of the yards a resolution was put which protested at the low rate of wages and at the delay and sabotage by the employers in arriving at a decision; it assured the government that the workers would await the findings of the tribunal but insisted that its decision should be arrived at without further delay; it asked the government to insist that the employers meet representatives of the men and settle a number of outstanding grievances as soon as possible

and proposed that the Clyde shop stewards immediately contact shipbuilding workers throughout the country with a view to further action in the event of a decision unfavourable to the workers.

Negotiations have been under way since last May and there were no indications that the employers or the tribunal intend to accept the demands of workers. Indeed, it has been obvious that the decision would be adverse since the Tribunal was in no hurry to give its decision.

The demands of the workers would amount to a 10/- increase all round. These workers are among the lowest paid in the country. A skilled worker receives 1/8 per hour, while a labourer receives 1/3; an average of 3½d. per hour less than the same class of workers on public works.

These low wages have resulted in continuous friction between the workers and bosses resulting in a number of strikes in the past twelve months or more. While it was still possible to work a few hours overtime and earn a few extra bob, the workers were content to allow the trade unions to negotiate in the usual leisurely fashion, but the early black-out precludes overtime and drastically cuts the wages. At the same time, income tax which was assessed on the summer earnings is being deducted from winter wage packets. It is this drastic cut which has sharpened the workers' attitude and made them determined to have an immediate increase.

The strike was called by the Shop Stewards Provisional Committee, in opposition to the bureaucrats of the National Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions who appealed to the men not to strike. At first sight, this would indicate that the Stalinists who control the Committee were acting in direct contradiction to the declared strikebreaking policy of Pollitt and the National leadership of the Communist Party, and indeed there was probably friction between the industrial militants and the Party tops.

But a statement by a leading Stalinist to the "Glasgow Herald" exposed the real reason for the step. "The situation is pretty serious," he said. "If we had not stepped in and acted as we have done, there might have been strikes in some places. We have fought against strike action!" This is the key to the whole industrial policy of the Stalinists. The shipyards are at boiling point on both banks of the Clyde; the workers have been pressing the demand for strike action for the past few weeks. Meanwhile, the Stalinist shop stewards—among whom we are sorry to see some of the fiercest militants on the riverside, have been holding them back and dissipating their energy on campaigns to increase production. The pressure from below has become so terrific on the shop stewards and yard committees that the Stalinists were

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PRO-FASCIST "Sunday Dispatch"

Attacks "Socialist Appeal"

BEGINNING OF DRIVE AGAINST WORKING CLASS



"SUNDAY DISPATCH" HAS PUBLISHED A SCURRILOUS ATTACK ON THE "SOCIALIST APPEAL" AND THE TENDENCY IN THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT WHICH IT REPRESENTS. CONTAINED IN THE ATTACKS MADE ON US ARE GROSS LIES AND SLANDERS AND VICIOUS FALSIFICATIONS. AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO CHARGE THOSE WHO CONTINUE THE POLICIES OF REVOLU-

STALINISM LEADING SOVIET UNION

Full Official Statement A Group That Needs Watching

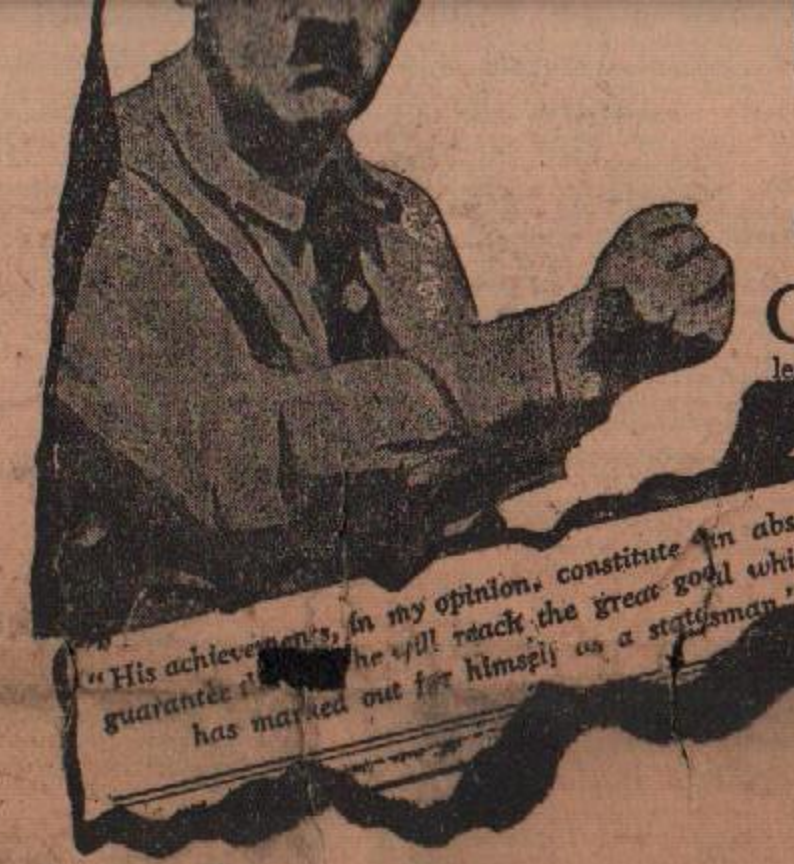
The Government should watch Socialist Appeal, the propaganda journal of a group whose forces are drawn from the "Trotskyist" elements, who broke away from Communism, Stalinist and Labour Party. These forces have nothing to do with the British Socialist and Labour movements or with the Communist Party of Great Britain. They work for their own ends, but they have no "links with those people" carrying on the Communist Party's work.

1941

MORE FACTS ABOUT THE TROTSKYISTS

Communists Issue A Warning

The "Sunday Dispatch" last week published details of the activities of a group of men and women Trotskyists, whose propaganda journal, "Socialist Appeal," is a potential danger to the Communist Party of Great Britain.



His achievements, in my opinion, constitute an absolute guarantee that he will reach the great goal which he has marked out for himself as a statesman.

Who Describes The Chancellor As One Who Is Wrestling For The Soul Of Germany

Red Peril

Hitler's unbridled and unrelenting drive against Marxism must stop now. We were fast becoming a world power. We had gotten to grips with the class of arms. Germany is the only country which had no war. No one can study the history of the past without recognizing the fact that the only way to peace is through the triumph of the proletarian revolution.

1933

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This gutter rag has been a consistent supporter of every reactionary and fascist movement for the past decade. Together with the "Daily Mail", of which this paper is the Sunday edition, they supported with all their might the taking of power by Hitler in Germany. They applauded and hailed the destruction of the working class organisations by the thugs of Mussolini and Hitler. They supported the re-armament of the Nazis and applauded the annexation of Sudetenland and Austria, as a union of all Germans.

The Rothermere gang who own the "Daily Mail" and "Sunday Dispatch" openly praised Hitler and his foul deeds. It was only recently exposed that Rothermere had direct connections with Hitler. Ward Price, the foreign correspondent of the "Daily Mail" participated enthusiastically in Hitler's election campaign: he even flew in the same aeroplane with Hitler. This gang of scoundrels pictured the butcher Franco, as fighting a war for civilisation. And to come nearer home,

they came out in support of Mosley and his blackshirt thugs. "Hurray for the Blackshirts" exclaimed the "Daily Mail"! The "Sunday Dispatch" went one better. They printed an article from the pen of Mosley himself on the fascist Europe of the future. In this article he demanded a free hand for Germany in the East and that Germany be encouraged to make war on the Soviet Union in order to bring civilisation to the Red barbarians. By these means, he argued, the Bolshevik

menace would be eliminated and at the same time the teeth of German militarism would be drawn. Today this remains the secret policy of the "Dispatch" and of the rulers of Britain, as Moore Brabazon so inopportunistly blurted out.

Throughout their record, the "Sunday Dispatch" and their backers, the most reactionary and anti-working class section of the ruling class, have pursued a policy of support for every anti-working class measure ever introduced into this country. This record speaks for itself in the files of their offices. And these yellow rats have the temerity to pretend that they have the interests of the British working class at heart in protecting them from the insidious propaganda of the secret agents of Hitler! It is left to this prostitute press of finance capital to slander those revolutionaries who have consistently fought fascism and reaction wherever it has manifested itself.

COMMUNIST PARTY AIDS REACTION

It is significant that in its fight against the revolutionaries the "Sunday Dispatch" turns for aid to the leaders of the Communist Party. The first outburst was followed up by publishing extracts from an internal document circulated by the Communist Party. Is it not worthy of note that the "Sunday Dispatch" obtained access to this document? And does it not suggest that this was provided by the Communist Party leadership which has not hesitated to stop at using the gutter press to attack the genuine Leninists? The "Dispatch" quotes with approval from the Manifesto issued by the Communist Party: "Don't be deceived by traitors who call

themselves "socialists" to cover up their fascist activities. "They aim to create disunity among the British people when all must pull together for the common good. "They have nothing in common with the Labour, Trade Union or Communist organisations. They are doing Hitler's work in Britain. They are more deadly than paratroops. "They confessed to have made contact with Hess... "In France the Trotskyists were active in disrupting the Peoples' Front and sabotaging the French alliance with Russia. "In Spain, the Trotskyists staged an

armed uprising to assist General Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. The manifesto concludes: "Treat the Trotskyists as you would a Nazi." We have written to the Communist Party challenging them to substantiate their foul charges. They attempt to provide as evidence the Moscow Trials, Spain and France. It is sufficient to point out that the Moscow Trials were proved to be a frame-up by the Dewey Commission of Inquiry, and other independent investigation. With regard to Spain, at the trial of the P.O.U.M. (Spanish I.L.P. which was dubbed "Trotskyist" but which in fact was never a Fourth Inter-

(Continued on back page)

STALINISM LEADING SOVIET UNION TO DISASTER

BY NATALIA SEDOV TROTSKY

The German army keeps advancing deeper and deeper into the Soviet Union. The fascists have seized Kiev, they are marching on Kharkov, Rostov, the Donetz Basin. They are in a position to occupy Crimea. They can occupy Leninograd. The heroic Red Army is not attaining its goal despite its high morale, despite its frightful sacrifices, despite the millions of fighters who perish. The sacrifices so far have been in vain! Under such conditions, the morale of the Red Army will begin to decline.

It is absolutely self-evident that the causes for the lack of successes of the Red Army lie in the lack of leadership. The Red Army has been beheaded by the greatest criminal in history. Stalin bears the guilt for all the ills suffered by the Soviet Union.

It is necessary to undertake a resolute campaign against the criminals responsible for the defeats.

Irrefutable facts are now confirming with invincible force the diagnosis made by Leon Trotsky on the basis of an all-sided analysis of the general political and economic conditions in the USSR.

It is necessary by means of the merciless blows of facts to lay bare unceasingly, with all our energy, the causes for the defeats of the Red Army. The time has come to remind all workers daily, hourly, of the crimes of the Kremlin regime and its chieftain. They must be reminded of the doom of such fighters and military activists as Muralov, Mrachkovsky, Ivan Nikitich, Smirnov, Smilga, Pyatakov and other heroes of the revolutionary civil war of 1918-1920 who fell victims of the "verdict" of the infamous Moscow trials. It is necessary to sound the alarm concerning the consequences of Stalin's murder of the revolutionary military leaders, Tukhachevsky, Yegorov, Uborevich and the others.

The brazen and untalented Lozovsky now speaks in humble tones and together with the Menshevik Maisky begs at Churchill's feet for assistance. Stalin pleads for arms from the "democracies". He dares not summon the world proletariat. Payment is now being exacted from Stalin for his bestial crimes, his narrow mind, his rudeness, his boorish vain-gloriousness, and his moral monstrosity.

The Red Army is being bled white by the struggle against the fascists which is being conducted without revolutionary leadership and without strategists. The successes of the fascists will begin at a certain stage to be considered by the Red Army as due to its own impotence. The moral uplift

of the army together with that of the population will begin to decline; and this, in its turn, can lead Stalin to capitulate to Hitler. It is necessary to sound all alarms to warn of the catastrophe that threatens.

Drawing the lessons from its own bloody experience the Red Army must become convinced, must draw the conclusion, that its impotence lies in the absence of leadership and in Stalin's rotten regime.

What is the truth about guerrilla warfare? Stalin has come back to it, he has returned to the guerrillaism against which Lenin and Trotsky fought so relentlessly during the civil war in the revolutionary Soviet Union. Stalin needs guerrillaism as a facade, as something to show, something to fool the people with. By guerrillaism he tries to cover up the absence of strategists, the absence of a genuine revolutionary and planned leadership of the war he distracts public opinion by means of the heroes of guerrilla warfare. But in a correctly conducted war there is no need at all of guerrillas; they can only be a hindrance and incur disproportionate sacrifices. Who benefits by this?

The morale of the army is of decisive significance in war but it is self-evident that there must in addition exist indispensable prerequisites as the general knowledge of how to conduct a particular war, leaders trained in the military arts, a unified strategic plan. But all this is lacking in the Stalinist apparatus. The best revolutionary commanders, murdered by Stalin before the outbreak of the war, such conditions the sacrifices of the Red Army are being made in vain!

How far removed from the threat of a new world war the USSR are the things that are now being done by the Soviet-German conflict! All these descriptions of guerrilla fighters who refuse to drop their arms are only to obscure the truly tragic position of the Soviet Union. These descriptions really reveal sacrifices which are precious human material. They reveal the lack of a correct organisation. There is no organised, heroic elemental force of the Red Army, its general readiness to defend the land of the Soviets. There is no plan to harness and direct all this into the channels of a unified strategic plan. The richest material equipment of the bourgeois "democratic" imperialists of England and the United States cannot make up for this glaring gap in the conduct of the Soviet Union's war.

The questions I raise are questions of the greatest importance. Everything must be concentrated on them, everything else must be subordinated to them. For the fate of the Soviet Union is now being decided.

Coyocan, D.F. September 25, 1941.

"Evidence" of Trotsky's Connections With Hess

EXTRACT FROM THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE MOSCOW TRIALS

Opponents of revolutionary socialism are periodically dragging out the so-called "evidence" of the Moscow Trials in an effort to prove that those who oppose Stalin's policies are pro-Nazi. One of the chief allegations is that Trotsky had dealings with Hess. We reproduce below an extract from the Report of the Dewey Commission of Inquiry into the Charges made against Leon Trotsky in March 1937. The Commission acted as an independent body basing itself on a procedure similar to that of the Reichstag Fire Commission. For nine months it occupied itself with

PYATAKOV'S EVIDENCE

In the January trial, the accused Pyatakov testified that in the first half of December, 1935, he flew in a special plane from the Tempelhof aerodrome in Berlin to the aerodrome in Oslo, and from this aerodrome motored half an hour to a country suburb, where he met and conversed with Leon Trotsky. The Commission has evidence which proves that Trotsky lived, not one half-hour, but at least two hours from the aerodrome in Oslo; that he did not leave the house between December 1 and December 20, 1935 and that no foreign aeroplane landed at the Oslo aerodrome between September 19, 1935, and May 1, 1936. The most important documents in its possession bearing on this testimony of Pyatakov are the following:—

1. An affidavit by Konrad Knudsen, member of the Norwegian Parliament, and Trotsky's host during his stay in Norway, signed also by his wife, Hilda Knudsen, and their daughter, Hjordis Knudsen. The affidavit states that the Knudsen family met all of Trotsky's visitors, and that no one could have visited him without their knowledge. It states that Trotsky received no visitors during the month of December, 1935.

2. Original and certified notarised English translation of an article from *Arbeiderbladet* (Oslo), January 29, 1937, entitled "Pyatakov's Strange Voyage to Kjeller." The article gives an account of an interview with Director Gullicksen, of the Kjeller aerodrome, in which he stated that no foreign aeroplane landed there between September 19, 1935, and May 1, 1936.

uncovering all available facts, whether favourable or unfavourable to Trotsky and his son Sedov. Sub-commissions in Mexico, France and New York City examined witnesses, including Trotsky and Sedov. Due to the failure of the Soviet Government to produce records or to delegate representatives to examine witnesses, the published records of the Moscow Trials embodied the case for the prosecution. The entire "evidence" for this unmatched falsehood rested on the statement by the accused Pyatakov, who was supposed to have acted as liaison agent between the German High Command and Trotsky.

SHIPYARDS STRIKE

A Safety Valve

(Continued from page 1)

forced to acquiesce to the workers' demands if they were to continue to maintain the allegiance of the workers. The strike was in the nature of a safety valve! Its function was to stifle more drastic action on the part of the workers.

No Socialist or responsible trade unionist would suggest the use of the strike weapon without due consideration. We would not say that a general strike in the shipbuilding industry at this stage and without due preparation would gain a decisive victory for the workers, but the whole experience of working class struggle shows that only when the workers turn a hard and determined face towards the capitalist class is it successful in its demands for better wages. A vacillating and compromising leadership can never gain the maximum benefits for the workers in the course of a struggle.

But the Stalinists showed precisely that attitude of vacillation and compromise. At the meetings which were held outside John Brown's, Yarrow's, Fairfield's and other yards, they stilled any idea of more drastic strike action and showed that they were prepared to resist such action until the last moment. Their caution was determined, not by the desire to thoroughly prepare the workers to press their demands, but by their capitulation to the bosses in the belief that this was the best way to defend Soviet Russia.

The tenor of all their speeches at the yard meetings was a bootlicking whine to the capitalists and government to grant at least a small concession so that they could hold the workers in check and also help to put their policy of more production over with some chance of success.

But the shipyard workers will not be held on the leash for very long. Undoubtedly, the Tribunal will grant them about half of their demands. This cannot but

5,000 Rolls Royce Strikers Win

5,000 workers struck work and scored a victory over the management at Rolls-Royce, Hillington, where an attempt was made to place one of their stooges—a trainee fitter—in a position of chargehand over a section of skilled workers. The action of the management was a direct contravention of the Temporary Relaxation Agreement between the A.E.U. and the Employers' Federation, whereby a trainee cannot be upgraded where there exists capable skilled labour.

Fourteen months ago, Allison, the trainee in question—was put in charge of a section in one of the Blocks. The Shop Stewards raised the matter with the management but owing to insufficient backing, the negotiations collapsed, leaving a victory for the management. On October 31st, Allison was again upgraded and put in charge of the fitters in another block. The fitters instructed the Shop Stewards to raise the matter but it was five days later before the management replied, when they brushed aside the objections of the skilled workers.

The workers in the section immediately downed tools and were followed by the other workers in the block, both night and day shifts. Later the workers in other blocks downed tools. After an enthusiastic meeting a telephone call was put through to the other workers in the factory, urging their support. By Friday morning 5,000 workers had downed tools, and assembled at Woodside Halls for a mass meeting. But the crowd was so great that they had to transfer the meeting to the Glasgow Green.

Bro. Thompson of Paisley District Committee of the A.E.U. urged the men to accept the proposals of the management that Allison leave the factory until he could convince the stewards and management of the authenticity of his papers as a skilled worker, and that pending this proof the strikers resume work. He pressed this course putting forward the Stalinist argument that it was necessary to keep up production to assist the Soviet Union, so that it would be possible to open up a Second Front; and that this was in the interests of Socialism! He was followed by a number of Stalinist influenced Shop Stewards who put the same line. The strikers accepted these proposals.

The strike was a victory for the workers.

Yet, the significant points stand out! The Shop Stewards had stated prior to this meeting, that Allison's apprenticeship papers were "phony", and that a further claim of being a pupil at two engineering schools were false. So in actual fact, the decision, although a victory for the workers, takes on the nature of a compromise.

The management at Rolls Royce have a notorious record of anti-trade union activity and have systematically attempted to smash the workers' rights and organisation in the factory. In the past year the workers have had to fight a number of defensive actions and have used the strike weapon to re-instate

Parkhead Forge Management Reject Production Committees

After repeated requests by a section of Shop Stewards, a Special meeting of the Stewards took place for the purpose of discussing "increased production" at Parkhead Forge. Many of the Stewards had no interest in the subject for discussion and did not attend the meeting—thus leaving a clear field to the Stalinists. By a two thirds majority it was decided to hold a mass open air meeting at which the following recommendation was to be put before the workers:

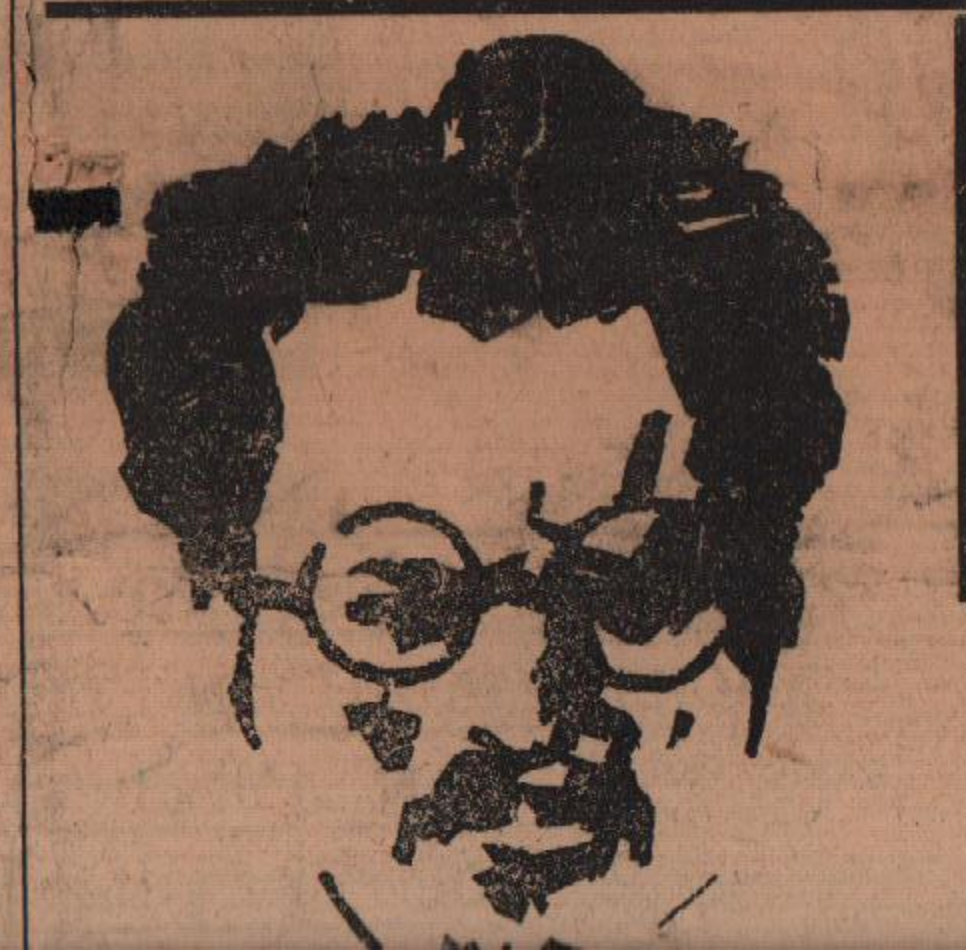
That the workers of Parkhead Forge approach the management with a view to setting up a Joint Committee for the purpose of increasing production. Less than 10% of the workers attended the mass meeting and no decision was taken.

At a further meeting of the Shop Stewards it was decided to take a vote by ballot on the recommendation. The result of the ballot was 1,500 votes for the recommendation and 700 against.

The convenors made an immediate approach to the management without any success. The management would have nothing to do with Joint Production Committees maintaining that there was only one way to increase production, and that way was to do away with absenteeism, etc. The Stalinists in the delegation hammered on the necessity to defend the U.S.S.R. and at a further meeting of the Shop Stewards it was decided to make an appeal to Beaverbrook. Failing a favourable reply from Beaverbrook, a letter was to be sent to the press. Meanwhile production committees are to be set up in each department.

The shop stewards received a kick-in-the-face for going cap in hand to the management. And their answer is, not to appeal to the workers, but to take the issue from Beilzebub to Satan. From the employers they appeal to the representative of the employers—Beaverbrook and the government. Even if, under pressure the employers agree to a joint committee, it would only be as a means of pushing for their own interests, their own profits. And this can only be done at the expense of the workers' rights.

The tasks of the Shop Stewards and Works Committees is to strive for more and more control to pass into their hands. By this means a tremendous increase could be reached and this would teach the workers that only by their independent organisations and strength can they achieve their ends.



Stalinists Attempt to Oust T.U. Militant

We reproduce below two letters which are eloquent demonstration of how the Stalinists, in accordance with instructions, are attempting to oust the genuine militants from positions gained by them in the labour movement. The first is a letter written by J. H. Smith, Stalinist delegate to the Southall Trades Council from Hayes E.T.U., demanding the removal of Comrade Bidwell as a delegate from the Council. This followed on a speech delivered by Comrade Bidwell at an "Aid Russia" meeting convened by the Borough Council. At this meeting Comrade Bidwell, who was delegated to speak from the Trades Council, outlined the differences between the resistance of the Soviet workers and peasants and the rapid collapse of the rotten capitalist regime in France. This was apparently deemed a stab in the back for the Soviet workers by the Stalinists. The second letter is one from Comrade Bidwell's Trade Union branch of the N.U.R. nominating him to represent his District at the forthcoming Labour Party Conference to be held in 1942.

To the Secretary
Southall Trades Council
65, Ascot Gardens,
Southall, Mdx.
9.11.41.

Dear Sir and Bro.,

As the E.C. has decided to formulate a policy which is contrary to the expressed policy of the Trades Council, I wish to move the following resolution:

"That we the delegates deplore and repudiate the recent actions of the E.C. which have been taken in the name of the Trades Council. It is our opinion that the E.C. lacks the confidence of the Trades Council and the organised workers in Southall and we further demand that a vote of no confidence be taken on the E.C."

We also request the local N.U.R. branch to remove Bro. Bidwell as a delegate to the Trades Council. Bro. Bidwell is a well known member of the Fourth or Trotskyist International. This organisation is notorious for its disruptive tactics. In the early days of the Soviet Union members of this organisation sought to hinder the developments of the rising workers' state. They even went so far as to assassinate Kirov, one of the leaders of the new Soviet State.

During the wars of intervention in Spain in recent years, whilst Madrid was beleaguered by Fascist troops, these people were calling for workers' control of the state and of industry, and they sought to disrupt the popular front when it was fighting for its life.

In Southall on Sunday, Nov. 9th, Bro. Bidwell through cheap sneers at those who were attempting to form unity of the people of Southall so as to make the struggle against German Fascism alongside of our Soviet Allies a more determined and whole-hearted fight which, if this achievement of unity become a reality then the defeat of the Hitlerite monster will be assured and come all the quicker.

The Trades Council should not at this stage of history tolerate the disrupters of national unity.

The members of the Fourth International have been proved by history the avowed agents of Fascism and the enemies of the working-class. Their ways are cunning and they adopt revolutionary slogans and thereby hope to deceive the organised workers.

With best wishes,
Yours fraternally,
(Signed) J. H. Smith

National Union of Railwaymen
Southall Branch,
133, West End Road,
Southall, Middx.
November, 1941

To the Branch Secretary.

Dear Sir and Bro.,

Election of Delegates to Labour Party Annual Conference 1942. Group 6.

It is with pleasure that our branch has secured the consent of our Bro. Sidney J. Bidwell to accept nomination for the Union's delegation to the Labour Party Conference for 1942 and, with full confidence in his ability to represent the members coupled with his knowledge of political problems and policy, we invite all other branches in the group to nominate and support him.

Now only 25 years of age, he entered the railway service in 1933 and joined our union at the same time; becoming at once an interested and energetic member combining his branch activities with the local and divisional Labour parties. He has definite left wing views but is opposed to the Communist Party policy. He has been able to hold his own in public debate and is freely sought as a speaker for our movement.

In our Trade Union he has served the branch as vice-Chairman for two years, at present holding the position of Auditor. For several years he has been our delegate to the London District Council of which body he is now assistant Secretary. Furthermore he is the spokesman for the traffic department staff at Greenford, Great Western Railway.

He has been our delegate to the local Labour Party for many years and is now its Vice-President. In addition he is our delegate to and member of the Executive Committee of the Southall Trades Council.

On several occasions his spirited articles on current T.U. and political matters have been accepted and published in the Railway Review. He is a student of the N.C.L.C. and holds certificates for most of their subjects.

A young man, with experience and vision, anxious to serve his class and endeavour to have a really New Social order; he merits your support.

Yours fraternally,

Sid. Brown, Chairman

A. E. Green, Secretary

Authorised for Circulation, 18th Nov.,
(signed John Marchbank,
General Secretary.

FOR ARTICLES BY
LEON TROTSKY
Hitherto Unpublished in Britain

portant documents in its possession bearing on this testimony of Pyatakoy are the following:—

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2. Original and certified notarised English translation of an article from *Arbeiderbladet* (Oslo), January 29, 1937, entitled "Pyatakoy's Strange Voyage to Kjeller." The article gives an account of an interview with Director Gullicksen, of the Kjeller aerodrome, in which he stated that no foreign aeroplane landed there between September 19, 1935, and May 1, 1936.

3. Two letters from Director Gullicksen, of the Kjeller airport, to Andreas Stoclyen, Trotsky's attorney, confirming the above statement published in *Arbeiderbladet*.

4. A telegram from Konrad Knudsen to Prosecutor Vyshinsky, dated January 29, 1937 (the trial ended in the morning of January 30). Mr. Knudsen informs Vyshinsky that it has been officially verified on that day in December, 1935, no foreign or private plane landed at the airport near Oslo; also that as Trotsky's host he affirms that no conversation can have taken place in Norway between Trotsky and Pyatakoy.

On the basis of this evidence the Commission finds that Pyatakoy did not fly from Berlin to Oslo as alleged. Moreover, it finds that since the lives of the accused Pyatakoy and sixteen others presumably hung upon the truth or falsity of his testimony, Vyshinsky's failure to confront Pyatakoy with this telegram in court constitutes, in their opinion, criminal negligence. Indeed, it provides strong justification for the widespread suspicion that the whole trial was a frame-up at which the Prosecutor himself connived.



Fighting Fund

Previously acknowledged	...	90	19	6
H. Atkinson (Wembley)	...	1	10	0
P. Shepherds Bush	...	5	0	0
Orman Thomas	...	1	0	0
Read	...	1	0	0
G., (East)	...	2	0	0
N., (East)	...	12	6	0
J. D., (South London)	...	4	0	0
M. M.	...	5	0	0
R. F., Soldier	...	10	0	0
Glasgow	...	1	10	0
		£108	7	0

Gene, London!

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But the Stalinists showed precisely that attitude of vacillation and compromise. At the meetings which were held outside John Brown's, Yarrow's, Fairfield's and other yards, they stifled any idea of more drastic strike action and showed that they were prepared to resist such action until the last moment. Their caution was determined, not by the desire to thoroughly prepare the workers to press their demands, but by their capitulation to the bosses in the belief that this was the best way to defend Soviet Russia.

The tenor of all their speeches at the yard meetings was a bootlicking whine to the capitalists and government to grant at least a small concession so that they could hold the workers in check and also help to put their policy of more production over with some chance of success.

But the shipyard workers will not be held on the leash for very long. Undoubtedly, the Tribunal will grant them about half of their demands. This cannot but provoke a further reaction from the workers. In the struggles which lie ahead the shipyard workers will not only have to watch the official leadership of their unions, they will also have to clear out the Stalinist compromisers and build a new leadership among the yard committees.

He pressed this course putting forward the Stalinist argument that it was necessary to keep up production to assist the Soviet Union, so that it would be possible to open up a Second Front; and that this was in the interests of Socialism! He was followed by a number of Stalinist influenced Shop Stewards who put the same line. The strikers accepted these proposals.

The strike was a victory for the workers.

Yet the significant point stand out! The Shop Stewards had stated prior to this meeting, that Allison's apprenticeship papers were "phony", and that a further claim of being a pupil at two engineering schools were false. So in actual fact, the decision, although a victory for the workers, takes on the nature of a compromise.

The management at Rolls Royce have a notorious record of anti-trade union activity and have systematically attempted to smash the workers' rights and organisation in the factory. In the past year the workers have had to fight a number of defensive actions, and have used the strike weapon to re-instate leading trade unionists who have been victimised. The successful struggle they have just concluded signifies that the factory has been sufficiently well organised and unified to make possible an offensive action against the bosses.

Rolls Royce Worker.

And this can only be done at the expense of the workers' rights. The tasks of the Shop Stewards and Works Committees is to strive for more and more control to pass into their hands. By this means a tremendous increase could be reached and this would teach the workers that only by their independent organisations and strength can they achieve their ends.



LIMITED NUMBERS AVAILABLE
Pamphlets by LEON TROTSKY
War and the World Revolution ... 2d.
Trade Unions in the Epoch of
Imperialist Decay ... 1d.

Bidwell through cheap sneers at those who were attempting to form unity of the people of Southall so as to make the struggle against German Fascism alongside of our Soviet Allies a more determined and whole-hearted fight which, if this achievement of unity become a reality then the defeat of the Hitlerite monster will be assured and come all the quicker.

The Trades Council should not at this stage of history tolerate the disrupters of national unity.

The members of the Fourth International have been proved by history the avowed agents of Fascism and the enemies of the working-class. Their ways are cunning and they adopt revolutionary slogans and thereby hope to deceive the organised workers.

With best wishes,
Yours fraternally,
(Signed) J. H. Smith

Great Western Railway. He has been our delegate to the local Labour Party for many years and is now its Vice-President. In addition he is our delegate to and member of the Executive Committee of the Southall Trades Council. On several occasions his spirited articles on current T.U. and political matters have been accepted and published in the *Railway Review*. He is a student of the N.C.L.C. and holds certificates for most of their subjects.

A young man, with experience and vision, anxious to serve his class and endeavour to have a really New Social order; he merits your support.

Yours fraternally,
Sid. Brown, Chairman
A. E. Green, Secretary
Authorised for Circulation, 18th Nov.
(signed John Marchbank,
General Secretary.

FOR ARTICLES BY
LEON TROTSKY
Hitherto Unpublished in Britain
READ
Worker's International News
ORGAN OF W.I.L. (4th International)

A CHALLENGE TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY

25th November, 1941.

To the Secretary of the Communist Party

Your leading body has recently issued a slanderous statement to Branch Secretaries regarding the "Socialist Appeal" and the Fourth Internationalists in Britain. We denounce your assertions that the Trotskyists are, or ever have been, agents or supporters of Nazism or Fascism. Further, we challenge you to substantiate this document in public debate before the members of your Party and the workers of Britain.

The "Sunday Dispatch" has already made use of your document as justification for its attacks against worker militants in general and against the "Socialist Appeal" in particular. The manner in which it is presented proves that your present policy closely coincides with that of the most reactionary clique in British capitalist newspaper publications. Tomorrow, these very people will be clamouring for the suppression of the Communist Party.

Your document indicates that the Communist Party of Great Britain is preparing to play the role of strike-breaker in chief and police agent for Churchill and his government. It is an invitation to the Government to suppress the "Socialist Appeal" and ban our organisation. But it also contains a directive to Communist Party members to commit acts of physical violence against Fourth Internationalists and salesmen of the "Socialist Appeal." In your statement to the Young Communist League secretaries you state:

"We are too tolerant of these people. They are allowed to sell their paper "Socialist Appeal" outside meetings. They have even become members of the Communist Party and Y.C.L. We must be utterly ruthless with these people. They spread con-

fusion amongst the working class and do serious harm to our Party."

These are methods of fascist reaction and cannot but harm the working class movement. You cannot answer our policy in open discussion because this would result in the exposure of the falsity of C.P. policy and the correctness of the programme of the Fourth International. Fearing the ideas of Marx and Lenin which we represent you resort to anti-working class methods of slander and violence. We appeal to the rank and file members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. not to be misled, but to conduct polemics on working class policy on the basis of open and comradely argument and discussion and by these means find a way to the correct policy for the workers. We will not be intimidated by methods of hooliganism but will protect our right to distribute our propaganda among the workers.

In recent months, since the capitulation of the Communist Party to the Churchill government, many members of the Party have joined the ranks of the Fourth International. Your statement that Trotskyists have joined the Party would appear to be a reply to this reaction of party militants and a preparation for the intensified expulsions from the Party of all who oppose your present reactionary policy.

We are holding a meeting on December 21st at the Holborn Hall at 6.30 p.m. to expose the slanders of the pro-fascist "Sunday Dispatch" and of the Communist Party. An opportunity will be given to any spokesmen of the Communist Party whom you would like to nominate to justify your statements. Failure to avail yourself of this opportunity will brand you as slanderers and deceivers of the working class.

E. Grant
For the Editorial Board of the
"Socialist Appeal"

Beware of Citrine

Citrine visited the Soviet Union ostensibly to strengthen the bond of friendship between the British and Soviet workers. In reality his main object was to further the secret diplomatic intrigue of British imperialism against the Soviet Union. The reformist labour and trade union leaders always conduct their politics in accordance with the interests of the ruling class. When it was their policy to stand by "poor little Finland" Citrine was howling for war on Russia. When it is their policy to "stand by" Russia, and Citrine's good friends Tanner and Mannerheim have joined the Nazis, Sir Walter conveniently forgets the past and emerges as a pro-Soviet propagandist. This system of double book-keeping is typical of the Labour leaders in their dealings on behalf of big business.

The British Labour and Trade Union leaders support the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Alliance in order to lull the workers into the belief that something is being done to help the Soviet Union. It provides these renegades with a "left" cloak behind which they will engineer further betrayals of the British workers. The Stalinists are well aware that this is the case, but out of loyalty to Stalin who has put them in pawn to Whitehall, they call for full support for this committee. They publish the text of Citrine's agreement with the Russian Trade Unions without comment. The past is forgotten—the National Unity is complete.

This infamous alliance with the labour leaders, can do nothing but damage the cause of the Soviet Union and the workers of Britain. The lessons of the first Anglo-Russian Committee must not be lost.

EDITORIAL

"FOR A SOCIALIST BRITAIN NOW"

The Independent Labour Party has launched a campaign for a "Socialist Britain now." Regional conferences are to be held at which Left Labour, Trade Union and Co-operative delegates will be represented. The object of the campaign will be the "mobilisation of all the elements in Britain which are in favour of the creation of a Socialist Government."

The intention seems to be to entice the "Left" wing elements in the Labour Party who are expressing themselves along more left lines to meet the coming leftward swing of the British workers. The Campaign Programme serves as a harmless safety valve for the Left Wing leaders so long as it does not confront the issues by placing them fairly and squarely before them.

The danger of the I.L.P. programme is that it fails to face up to essentials. The mass of the British workers are supporting the Labour and Trade Union leaders in the government because they do not see any alternative. They do not want the victory of Hitler. Under these conditions the first step for a revolutionary socialist organisation is to demand that Labour must break with the class enemy. As a first step to establishing a Socialist Government it is essential to work for the complete independence of the working class and to expose the dependence of the labour leadership on the capitalists.

This failure is no accident but arises out of the centrist character of the I.L.P. leadership. They refuse to launch sharp and unequivocal criticism of the treachery of the Labour leaders—not to speak of the Communist Party leaders—who have betrayed the workers into the hands of finance capital, for fear of offending them. They are attempting to make an alliance with the "Tribune" group within the Labour Party. Any open attack on the Labour leadership would immediately bring threats of reprisal from Transport House and scare these elements off. That is the reason the I.L.P. puts forward a programme, without explaining how such a programme is to be conducted and achieved. Perhaps by an I.L.P. Government? Perhaps a coalition with the Left wing of the Labour Party? On these all important questions the programme preserved complete silence.

The I.L.P. will gain a large measure of increased support from the advanced workers who are attempting to find a way to Socialism. But if the I.L.P. been a genuine revolutionary party and conducted the campaign along the Leninist course of placing the Labour leaders to the test and exposing their complete inadequacy, the repercussions would certainly be widespread and far reaching. Instead of exposing the labour leaders, they provide them with argument of the impracticability of their own programme.

The danger of the programme is that it will completely side-track any movement of the workers into reformist channels. The whole programme is so conceived that it appears to be a radical version of the programme of the Labour Party. Especially as it is not clearly indicated how the campaign is to be organised and how the demands will be achieved. This was clearly seen at the Lancaster bye-election where the I.L.P. fought a programme indistinguishable from that of a left reformist party. The illusion is created that socialism can be achieved by parliamentary means.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TRANSITIONAL AND REFORMIST DEMANDS

LONDON WORKERS COMMEMORATE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

On Sunday evening November the 9th, over 200 London workers assembled at the Holborn Hall to commemorate the 24th anniversary of the October Revolution. The meeting which was organised by Workers' International League (Fourth International) was one of the most enthusiastic left-wing gatherings held in Britain since the outbreak of war. It was a revival of the real spirit of October and an effective answer to the jingo Communist Party and the traitors of Transport House who sought to exploit this memorable occasion in the interests of the imperialists and their war.

The first speaker, Comrade Jock Haston, outlined the real history of October, in which he showed that it was no accident that renegades such as Stalin and Co. were bootlicking the imperialists to-day, since their role prior and after October was opportunistic, many of them such as Maisky supporting the White Guards. He was followed by Comrade Gerry Healy who dealt with the slanderous attack on the "Socialist Appeal" by the pro-fascist "Sunday Dispatch". He emphasised the necessity for building Workers' International League in preparation for the British October. The last speaker was comrade Ted Grant who exposed the real meaning of Churchill's "aid" for the USSR. Amidst loud applause he dealt a slashing attack upon treacherous role of the Communist Party. "If Hitler was confronted with a Russian victory," said comrade Grant, "then in 24 hours Churchill would make peace with German Nazism and inaugurate a universal imperialist line up against the first workers state." In reply to discussion our comrade satisfactorily dealt with a

number of issues raised by C.P. members of the audience.

The collection yielded the magnificent total of £15. 2. 9d.

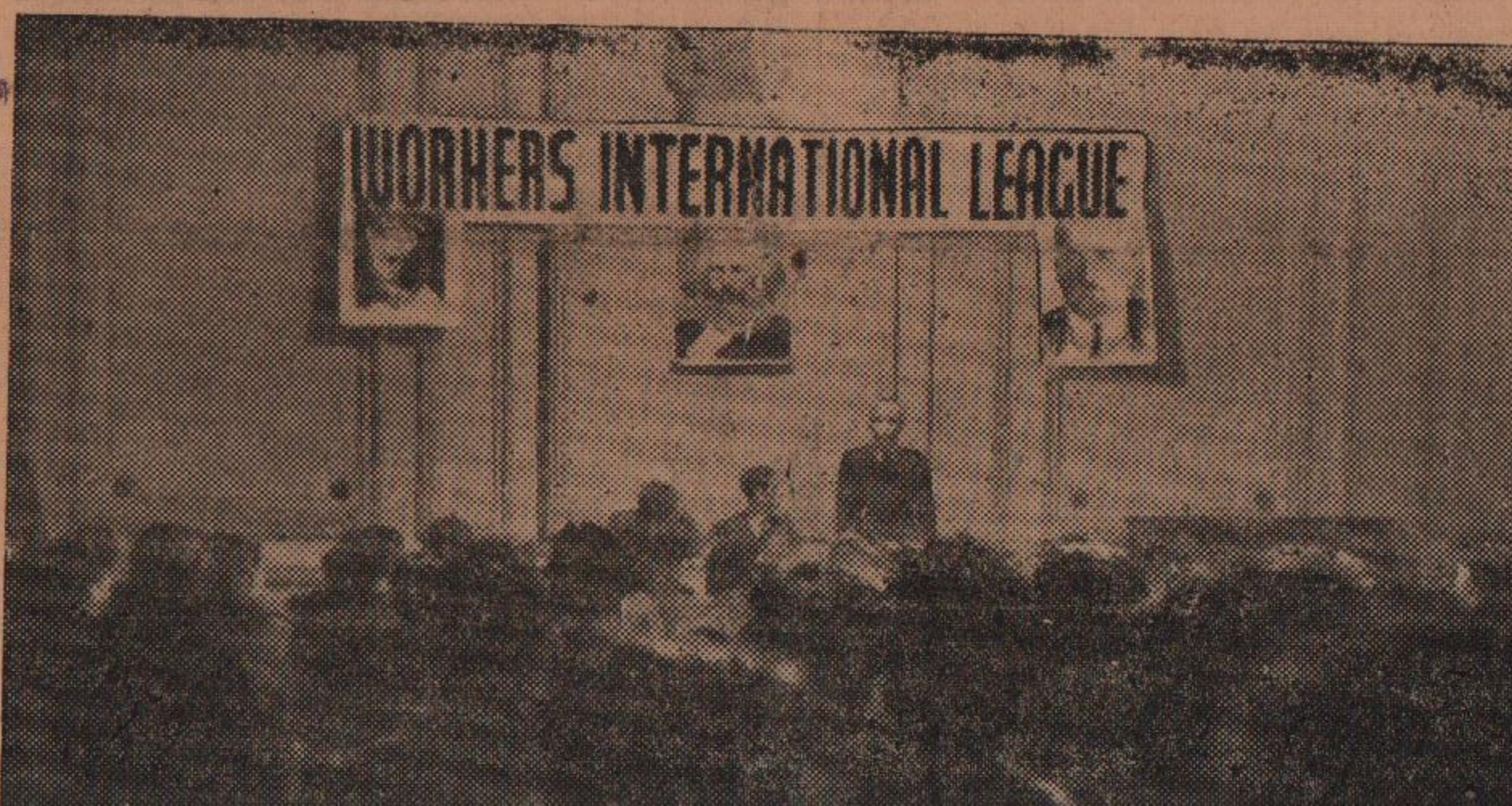
At the conclusion of the meeting the following resolution addressed to Maisky, the ambassador for the USSR in Britain, was moved by the chairman comrade Atkinson, a prominent member of the ASW.

"This meeting of 200 workers, called by the Workers' International League, stands unconditionally for the defence of the Soviet Union and the victory of the Red Army in its heroic struggle against the forces of Nazi barbarism. It emphatically condemns the counter-revolutionary policy of Stalin and the bureaucracy, which relies only upon the good graces of the "democratic" imperialists and their near-fascist allies.

"We demand a return to the programme and policy of Lenin, which relied upon the solidarity and support of the international working class and which staked the defence of the Soviet Union upon the European and world revolution.

"We demand the release of all pro-Soviet political prisoners and their restoration to their rightful place in industry and the Red Army, the revival of democratically elected Soviets and the legalisation of all pro-Soviet political parties.

"In order to strike Hitler a mortal blow, the Soviet Government must issue a revolutionary appeal to the workers of Germany, calling upon them to join hands with the Soviet workers to create the Socialist United States of Europe. Only the methods of Lenin and Trotsky can save the Soviet Union from destruction at the hands of world imperialism."



End the Mismanagement!

For Worker's Control

The capitalists are conducting a furious agitation against the workers demanding greater and greater sacrifices to increase output. No worker is against increased production, whether it be in peace or war time. But there are only two methods of achieving this.

The one way is the way of the capitalists and their government by means of repressive legislation. By means of the Essential Works Order and other such measures they are cunningly but surely placing the British workers in the iron vice of totalitarian control—and this under the guise of fighting totalitarianism. This legislation does not increase production but merely increases misery and oppression for the workers and profits for the bosses.

And the solution of the capitalists for the chaos is: Increased hours, speed-up, restrictions on workers' movements, savage application of the E.W.O., and the sacrificing of trade union rights.

The Labour and Trade Union leaders have wholeheartedly bowed down to the demands of the employers in the interests of the "national effort". In all cases they echo the voice of their masters and put forward the same "solutions".

The Communist Party correctly pointed out before Russia was attacked, that the introduction of repressive measures would and could not serve to increase production, and they described the Essential Works Order as the "scaffolding of servitude". But now they go even further than the labour leaders. Now Pollitt appeals to management and workers to give up their "vested interests"! The capitalist class does not intend to give up its vested interests. This is precisely what they are fighting to preserve. And what vested interests have the workers got? Only their legitimate rights and conditions for which they have fought bitterly over the past hundred years. It is these "vested interests" that Pollitt so carelessly asks us to toss aside—while the capitalists entrench their position.

Swanson, leading member of the Communist Party writes in the "Labour Monthly" that the workers must demand "the right to play their part in solving production problems through means of joint production committees in every factory with workers and management represented." Even in Swanson's own factory, where such a committee has been set up, production is and will be no better than before and the discontent of the workers is increasing rapidly.

LENIN SHOWED THE WAY

Lenin exposed in advance these new recruits to reformism in his book "Threatening Catastrophe and How to Avoid It", where he attacks the solution offered by the Mensheviks to the production chaos, which was the same as Swanson's. We give one example where he deals with the coal industry:

"... we have a number of very telling facts of direct sabotage, of direct wrecking and stopping of production by the industrialists. Even the ministerial Menshevik Rabochaya Gazeta has admitted these facts. And the result? Nothing, absolutely nothing has been done except old, reactionary-bureaucratic 'half and half' conferences."

Churchill's Colonial Policy

In August, Churchill and Roosevelt met and issued their "Atlantic Charter". But already the eight pious promises contained in that document are being revealed by actual events as so much eye-wash intended to blind the peoples of Europe and the world to the realities underlying the war policies of America and Britain. The real imperialist aims of the "democracies" can no more be concealed by phrasemongering than can those of the Fascist countries. Whereas Hitler's lies and hypocrisy have been revealed by his treatment of the "freed" countries of Europe, it is in the colonial sphere that Churchill's aims are seen to be, not liberatory, but imperialist.

ABYSSINIA CHANGED MASTERS

Point 3 of the Atlantic Charter avows that Britain and America "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign right and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

The case of Abyssinia exposes the hypocritical nature of these words. As long ago as May of this year the Emperor returned to Addis Ababa and was referred to by Churchill as the first "lawful sovereign" to return to the country from which he had been driven. But six months later we find that Abyssinia is still being occupied by Britain as "enemy occupied territory", that recognition of the Italian conquest has not been formally repudiated, and that the Emperor has not been formally recognised as the de jure sovereign.

In addition to this, the British Government has forbidden the Emperor to cancel the leases given to Italians in Abyssinia by the Italian Government. When questions were asked about this in the House of Commons, Mr. Sandys representative of the War Office, replied that the Emperor cannot cancel the leases until he has made an agreement with Britain about "a large number of complicated matters." Why not? The Abyssinian people never recognised the validity of these leases, even if the British Government did.

The whole administration of Abyssinia is at present in British hands. The courts are under British control. Barclays Bank entered Addis Ababa hot on the heels of the British Army. And Churchill cannot even make the excuse that British soldiers are staying there to help the Abyssinians defend their country against the Italians.

preserved complete silence. The I.L.P. will gain a large measure of increased support from the advanced workers who are attempting to find a way to Socialism." But the I.L.P. been a genuine revolutionary party and conducted the campaign along the Leninist course of placing the Labour leaders to the test and exposing their complete inadequacy, the repercussions would certainly be widespread and far reaching. Instead of exposing the labour leaders, they provide them with argument of the impracticability of their own programme.

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DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TRANSITIONAL AND REFORMIST DEMANDS

The Socialist Appeal has tabled a series of demands which are embodied in a transitional programme—a programme sharply distinguished from the I.L.P. programme in its motivation and content. Each of our demands is so framed as to emphasise the need for independent class action; the need for the workers to rely on their own strength and organisations alone. Each step links the aspirations of the workers with the necessity to take power. Each demand, being itself on the consciousness of the workers, leads them to the conclusion that only the Socialist Revolution can solve their problems. An abyss stretches between the left reformism of the I.L.P. and our programme which is revolutionary in all its implications.

This fundamental weakness in failing to place the Labour leaders to the test, will lead the I.L.P. leadership directly . . . at a later stage, into a left coalition with Labour in any critical situation which may arise. Already this can be seen in the friendly admonitions to the labour leaders by Maxton, who says he is in favour of violence only if there are no other means available. As if history had not answered that question long ago.

THE SOVIET UNION

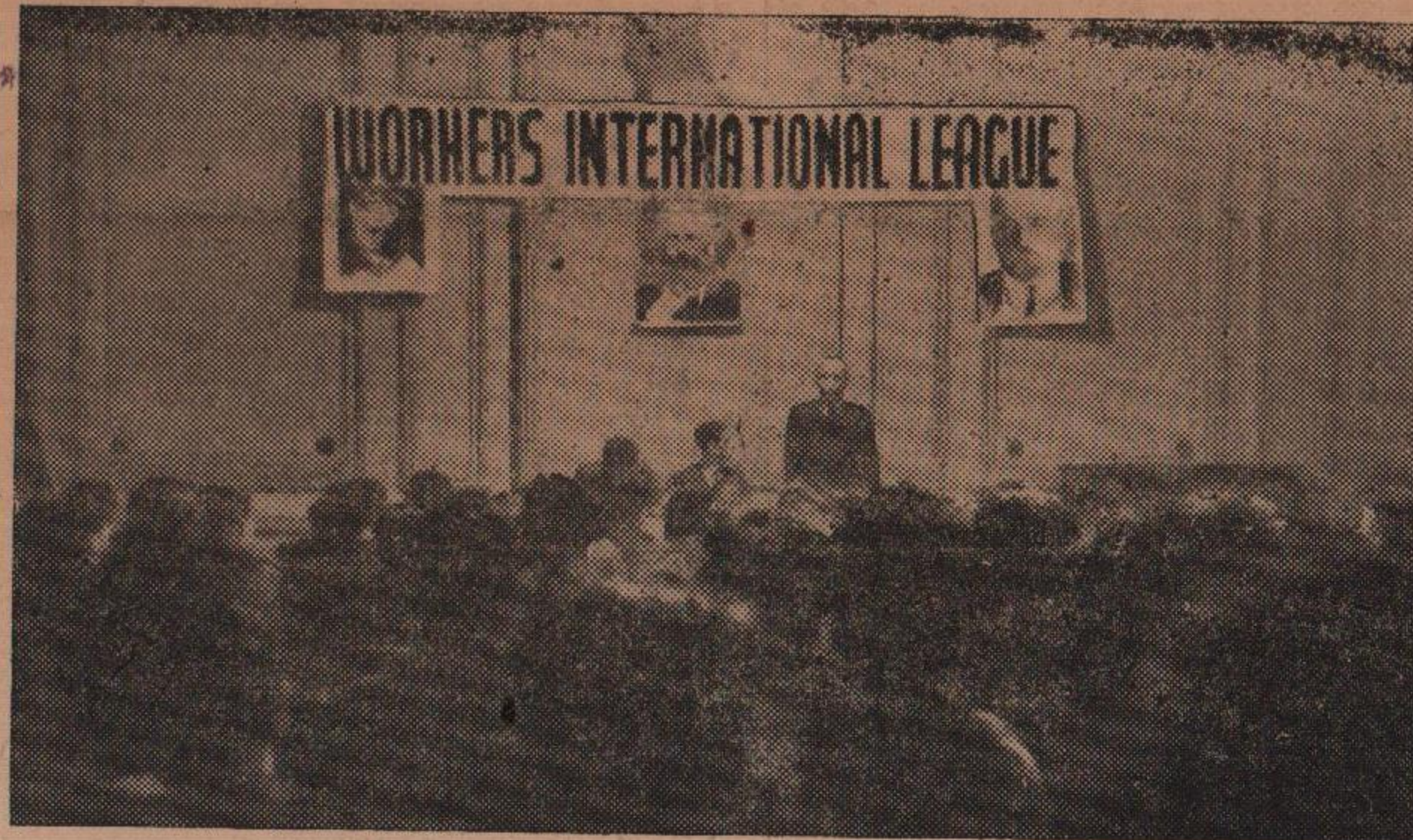
A socialist Britain only could render effective aid to the Soviet Union. This is correct but it is not sufficient. What about the immediate aid to the Soviet Union? What answer does the I.L.P. give to this? It is necessary to urge the formation of committees elected by the Trade Unions and factory committees to supervise the aid going to Russia in order to guarantee the sending of the maximum supplies and those most needed by the Russian workers and peasants. The question of workers' control must be emphasised.

THE QUESTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The blows of events have driven the I.L.P. to abandon their pacifist for a semi-pacifist one. The demands addressed to the government to "Stop the War" have suffered a like fate to the demand of Canute to the tide to recede. It has been completely washed away by the tidal waves of the imperialist war. The I.L.P. has been forced to recognise that the workers are determined that they will not suffer the same fate as their European brothers. But instead of drawing the revolutionary implications from this by facing up to the issues which confront the workers and explaining that Churchill and the ruling class cannot wage a war against fascism, but only for imperialist ends, we have the new idea of "shortening" the war. In other words the difference between the I.L.P.

fronted with a Russian victory," said comrade Grant, "then in 24 hours Churchill would make peace with German Nazism and inaugurate a universal imperialist line up against the first workers state." In reply to discussion our comrade satisfactorily dealt with a

workers of Germany, calling upon them to join hands with the Soviet workers to create the Socialist United States of Europe. Only the methods of Lenin and Trotsky can save the Soviet Union from destruction at the hands of world imperialism."



ON THE PLATFORM: Comrades Grant (seated) Atkinson (Chair) Healy (standing)

and Labour Party programme is that the I.L.P. will "get victory more quickly."

The absence of a military programme in the present epoch of universal war and militarisation gives the key-note to the inadequacy of the programme. In the midst of the greatest militarisation of the British nation in history, the armed forces are dealt with by the passing reference to the necessity of higher pay! This arises out of the organically reformist position. The I.L.P. have refused to take up a position on the question of conscientious objection, leaving the decision to the individual inclination of their members. More than this, they are not prepared to raise the question of *who controls the armed forces and why*. No programme for the soldiers in arms is formulated except higher wages. The I.L.P. is apparently content that the general staff and officer caste, who are recruited almost exclusively from the ranks of the ruling class shall have complete control over the lives of the worker soldiers. The demand for the training of worker officers is evaded. Again there is no demand for the arming of the workers under their own control to resist the danger of invasion. With the fresh experience of the arming of the workers in Leningrad and Moscow, this could be a powerful lever to expose the capitalists' concern for profits as the main incentive, with the call for "national defence" as a mere cloak.

Summing up the programme for a Socialist Britain Now, we say that it completely falls short of the genuine Leninist policy. The demands are not linked up with the problem of power, to which all problems are subordinate. And because of this the programme becomes a reformist trap for the working class. The method of the "ballot box" as against the method of proletarian revolution; the illusion that the House of Parliament can change its character instead of the complete overthrow of the capitalist state machine; these may appear to be superficial on the surface but in reality these conceptions are contrary to the basic teachings of Marx and Lenin whose programme we claim to perpetuate.

The Trotskyists will participate in the campaign for a Socialist Britain Now, and to achievement of this end we will put forward our transitional programme in the earnest hope of winning the members of the I.L.P. to the programme of Lenin and Trotsky which alone can lead to a Socialist Britain.

LENIN SHOWED THE WAY

Lenin exposed in advance these new recruits to reformism in his book "Threatening Catastrophe and How to Avoid It", where he attacks the solution offered by the Mensheviks to the production chaos, which was the same as Swanson's. We give one example where he deals with the coal industry:

" . . . we have a number of very telling facts of direct sabotage, of direct wrecking and stopping of production by the industrialists. Even the ministerial Menshevik Rabochaya Gazeta has admitted these facts. And the result? Nothing, absolutely nothing has been done except old, reactionary-bureaucratic 'half and half' conferences, with equal numbers of delegates from the workers and from the bandits of the coal syndicates! Not a single revolutionary democratic step; not a shadow of an attempt to establish the only real control from below, through a union of employees, through the workers, by means of terror against the coal operators who are ruining the country and stopping production! . . ."

Does this not exactly fit the situation in Britain today? While the mine-owners are accusing the miners of "sabotaging the war effort" they are closing down mines all over the country because, as Mr. Tinker stated in the House of Commons, "owners claimed it was not possible to work them profitably." And faced with this position, the Labour and Communist Party leaders can only tell the miners to work extra shifts!

Yes, there is another way of organising and increasing production—Lenin's way. That is through workers' control. And this need not cost the capitalists a single extra penny but would even increase their profits, while increasing production to undreamed of heights. The control of production should be taken over by those most capable of organising it—the workers themselves through their representatives, the shop-stewards and works committees. Only in this way will the bottle-necks, hold-ups, friction, be diminished. Not only that. The regulations which reduce the workers to a state of serfdom would be rendered unnecessary; conditions of workers could be vastly improved and production increased.

Why then are the capitalists against this when it would actually increase their profits? If they were genuinely concerned with increasing output in the interests of the nation, they would immediately hand the control over to the workers, to those who alone know how to organise on a sound basis. But rather than do this, which would make the workers conscious of their own power, and what is more, conscious of the redundancy of the employing class, they prefer the methods of totalitarianism and slavery—and less production!

And why do not the Labour and Communist Party leaders place their faith and confidence in the working class by adopting this simple solution? Because they have capitulated completely to Churchill and finance capitalism which today stands as a barrier to increased output because of profit motives.

Here we have the two alternatives. The one will perhaps produce some slight

produced, and that the Emperor has not been formally recognised as the de jure sovereign.

In addition to this, the British Government has forbidden the Emperor to cancel the leases given to Italians in Abyssinia by the Italian Government. When questions were asked about this in the House of Commons, Mr. Sandys representative of the War Office, replied that the Emperor cannot cancel the leases until he has made an agreement with Britain about "a large number of complicated matters." Why not? The Abyssinian people never recognised the validity of these leases, even if the British Government did.

The whole administration of Abyssinia is at present in British hands. The courts are under British control. Barclays Bank entered Addis Ababa hot on the heels of the British Army. And Churchill cannot even make the excuse that British soldiers are staying there to help the Abyssinians defend their country against the Italians or anyone else. For the British Government has decreed that no Abyssinian may carry or possess arms. The whole nation, with the exception of the Great Chiefs, has been disarmed.

ENEMIES BECOME ALLIES

An American seaman, Al Swanson, who sailed on the *President Buchanan* to the Port of Suez, carrying weapons of war to the British Near East Army relates the following:

One of the most striking incidents related to me came from the two South African soldiers. They had been through most of the Ethiopian campaign. They saw very little severe action as most of the Indian troops were only too willing to surrender and get out of the war.

At the capture of Addis Ababa, the Italian troops were disarmed. The Ethiopian natives who have some bitter scores to pay off with the Italian imperialist exploiters, sought to attack the Italian troops. Whereupon the British command re-armed the Italian soldiers, and British and Italian troops together suppressed the natives.

increase in production—but at what a cost! The loss of all our rights. The other, our alternative is to guarantee a maximum increase in production—and the retention and extension of our rights.

Has it ever happened that the boss did anything in the factory in the interests of the workers without the organised strength of the workers forcing him to do so? If the Labour and Communist Party leaders are sincere in their demand for increased output, and not merely acting in the interests of the capitalists, they will fight for the only way in which increased output will be guaranteed—exceed all bounds of expectation.

The "Socialist Appeal" puts the demand forward as the only means of increasing production in the interests of the workers.

Workers! Support us in the EN- FOR WORKERS' CONTROL! SURE MAXIMUM PRODUCTION! EN- FOR WORKERS' CONTROL! SURE DECENT CONDI-

WHO ASSISTED HITLER? — WHO WARNED AGAINST HIM?

(Continued from front page)

nationalist organisation but was severely criticised by Trotsky and the Fourth International), the Republican Government completely rejected the allegations that the organisation was in any way associated with Franco. In France, the Trotskyists certainly opposed the Popular Front, an opposition which has been justified by subsequent events, since it was from this support which the Communist Party gave to the capitalist politicians, that resulted in the defeats for the French proletariat. In every country the policy of the Stalinists led to one series of disasters and catastrophes for the working class. Where has victory been scored since the policy of the Comintern came under the leadership of Stalin?

But to return to the charge of "assisting Hitler". The Communist Party should be the last to make such an accusation against others. It is not so very long ago since this same accusation was hurled at them. And indeed their propaganda during the Stalin-Hitler Pact could not but give cause for suspicion. Their "Stop the War" campaigns on

terms favourable to Hitler; their campaign in France that the entire responsibility for the war rested on the shoulders of British Imperialism, which led to the demoralisation of the French workers; the disgraceful silence on the part of the Norwegian Communist Party at the criminal invasion by the Nazis of Norway; Stalin's statement that the Soviet-German pact was cemented by the blood of the two peoples: these are only too well known among political circles of the Left.

The reason the Communist Party is forced to launch this campaign against us is because they cannot face the record of history which not only exposes their treachery of yesterday but condemns their policy today.

It was Trotsky and the International Opposition who warned of the fatal consequences of allowing Hitler to come to power when the Communist Party, together with the Social Democrats sabotaged the united front of the German workers against Hitler which would have saved Germany and Europe from the horrors of Nazism. Nearly two years before Hitler came to power Trotsky warned:

"Once Hitler comes to power, and proceeds to crush the vanguard of the German workers, the Fascist government alone will be the only government capable of waging war against the USSR. . . . In case of victory in Germany Hitler will become the Super-Wrangel of the world bourgeoisie." (Trotsky's "Germany, The Key to the International Situation," 1931)

And Trotsky proposed, a year before Hitler took power, that the Soviet Union should not give Hitler the chance to build a war machine, but should mobilise the Red Army against Hitler if he seized Germany. Trotsky wrote:

"In my opinion this is how the Soviet Government ought to act in case of a fascist coup in Germany. Upon receiving the telegraphic communication of this event I would, in their place, sign an order for the mobilisation of army reserves. When you have a mortal enemy before you, and when war flows with necessity from the logic of the objective situation, it would be unpardonable lightmindedness to give that enemy time to establish and fortify himself, conclude the necessary alliances, receive the necessary help, work out a plan of concentric military actions and thus grow up to the dimensions of a colossal danger." ('Liberty', July 6, 1932)

TROTSKY BRANDED TRAITOR FOR DEMANDING UNITED FRONT AGAINST HITLER

While Trotsky was clamouring for the formation of a united front of the German Labour and Communist parties to fight Hitler and prevent his coming to power at all costs, the Stalinists actively opposed a genuine united front, just as the social democrats did. More than that, they allowed the fascist thugs to seize power without firing even a single shot. And Trotsky's efforts were answered with foul abuse.

"It is significant," observed the "Daily Worker" less than a year before Hitler's triumph, "that Trotsky has come out in defence of a united front between the communist and social democratic parties against Fascism. No more disruptive and counter-revolutionary class lead could possibly have been given at a time like the present." (Daily Worker, May 26, 1932.)

To give one more quotation during this period, of which many volumes could be filled; in the December issue of the *Communist Review* we read:

"These successes have been won only by the most unswerving carrying through of the line of the Party and the Comintern. Insisting all the time that Social Democracy is the chief social support of capitalism, the party has carried on intense and unceasing struggle against the German Social Democratic Party and the new 'Independent Socialist Labour Party', as well as against the right wing and Trotskyist renegades who wanted the Party of the proletariat to make a united front

The advent of Hitler in Germany, to which the Comintern could hardly have contributed more effectively if its aid had been deliberate, was heralded with a complete about-turn in Stalin's policy. Trotsky warned that as a reaction to the ultra-left "Third Period", these people could just as easily veer to the opposite degree of idealising reformist Social Democracy and became its main prop. This is exactly as it worked out.

A year later Trotsky sounded the alarm again: "Have the Stalinists perhaps assimilated the pacifist wisdom of the 'purely defensive' war being the only permissible one? 'Let Hitler attack us first, then we will defend ourselves.' This was always the reasoning of the German social-democracy. . . . He who leaves to the enemy the complete liberty of initiative, such a man is a traitor, even if the motives for his treason are not to render service to imperialism, but consist of petty bourgeois weakness and political blindness." (*The American Militant*, April 8, 1933.) That traitor was Stalin.

After Stalin concluded the Stalin-Hitler pact and boasted that it assured the security of the Soviet Union, Trotsky warned:

"In spite of the Kremlin's territorial seizures, the international position of the USSR is worsened in the extreme. The Polish buffer disappeared. The Rumanian

MANIFESTO OF GERMAN TROTSKYISTS

When Hitler Seized Power

We reproduce the appeal of our German comrades at the time when Hitler took power in Germany. Had the policy of Trotsky been followed in Germany, Hitler would not be where he is today. Up to the time of Hitler's rise to power which was the result of the betrayal of the Labour and Communist Party of Germany, the Trotskyists considered themselves as a section of the Communist Party—the Left Opposition in the Party. But the inglorious betrayal by the Comintern of the German Working Class, and their refusal to learn from the disastrous policy they had advocated, forced the Trotskyists to call for a new, revolutionary Leninist International. Our record of struggle against Fascism, gives us the right to demand that every worker shall study our policy carefully with a view to applying it in the light of tested events.

HITLER IS CHANCELLOR!

Workers, do you know what that means? It means complete starvation and loss of all rights, it means the destruction of all the active elements of the proletariat! After the speeches of the Nazi leader, there can be no doubt of this. Hitler's programme is the complete smashing of all the political and trade-union organisations of the working class, to clear the way for a still more monstrous impoverishment of the working class. The aim of his foreign policy is war with Soviet

DEMAND LABOUR

BREAK TRUCE

Mr. Shinwell, Labour M.P. has sought fit to focus attention upon two very important aspects of government policy—production and strategy. His critical speeches during recent weeks has elevated him into the position of chief parliamentary critic and brought him into heated clashes with Mr. A. V. Alexander another Labour M.P. and First Lord of the Admiralty.

This inner Party feud follows close on the heels of another verbal skirmish between the "big men" of the Trade Union movement, Bevin and Citrine. Speaking at Manchester, Sir Walter remarked: "We are still in a position that our Army and Air Force are not equipped. We must have long-range planning and sustained effort to equip Russia and at the same time to expand our fighting forces to the limit. . . . The R.A.F. wing in Russia is a microscopic part of the force Great Britain should have been able to send". The same day, 28/9/41, Bevin spoke at Birmingham and sharply hit out at his critics and in particular Citrine. "My view as Minister of Labour and National Service is that the army has got to be fully manned and fully equipped, with reserves to meet any contingency that may arise. I have seen arguments in the "Daily Herald"—a paper that I helped to build, a working-class paper that is carrying on a nagging, miserable, Quisling policy now every day of our lives. I am disgusted with the business since I

left it. I say as a Labour man, am I entitled to send a man up in a bomber without providing a journeyman to test the bomber and see it is safe? No, Citrine, nobody can tell me that I shall not call on skilled men. I mean to have sufficient of them for all the services."

Apart from the amazing spectacle of a Leading Trade Union leader calling the Labour Party Organ a "Quisling" what is important about this display of fireworks is that it centres around the same issues which were raised by Mr. Shinwell. In other words the bickering which is taking place is an expression of the deep disquiet which is being felt amongst wide sections of the working class over the conduct of the war and is a damning indictment of the complete incapacity of the Labour and Trade Union leaders to formulate a constructive social policy to deal with this.

WHAT IS MR. SHINWELL DRIVING AT?

Sinwell correctly pointed out in parliament that one of the reasons why production is so slow is because "the Government still trusts too much in private enterprise". "Lord Beaverbrook's action", he said, "in transferring State factories to private enterprise is in my judgment a retrogressive step. One has already been transferred; two are in contemplation". All this is correct, but it is what is to be expected when a handful of millionaire bankers and businessmen own and control the means of production and are exploiting the "war effort" right and left to swell their already overflowing bank balances. When Shinwell chooses to kick up a row on this question, what alternative does he offer to this orgy of imperialist plunder? Every trade unionist and shop steward knows all about this, but as yet see no alternative. Shinwell and the Labour leaders are supposed to be socialists and believe in the superiority of socialist economy over capitalist. Why don't they take power and expropriate the capitalists who are causing such misery?

This, by no means new, "left" debating tactic of Shinwell's can be more clearly understood on turning towards his remarks concerning the old pro-fascist Tory diehard, Lord Croft. "We must, according to this high military expert, concentrate our energies on the defence of the Eastern Empire. As a private member, his obsession with Empire considerations was notorious; as a representative of the war office, his declaration was inexcusable. . . . It is. . . important to ascertain from the government whether the defence of the Eastern Empire is their conception of a Second Front. If so does it meet with the approval of the Russian government?" His point here is again

THE GENERAL STRIKE

But how can we achieve this action?

Brabazon's statement", the whole thing was quietly allowed to fizzle out. The whole country and especially the trade union movement was in a state of ferment. It was an invaluable opportunity for Shinwell and the Labour leaders to start a campaign for the ousting of the present reactionary clique of big business agents and take power. Yet nothing was done except the usual spate of idle chatter.

On the question of conscription, he declared: "The male labour of the country and to a large extent the female labour of the country is conscripted. In effect, everything is conscripted with the sole exception of the vested interests. Labour did not enter the government for this. Have the Labour Party not always declared that if Labour was conscripted then there must be quid pro quo? Did they abandon that principle when they went in?" Here again this demagoguery gets us nowhere. The capitalist class do not mince their words regarding conscription. Every man and woman up to the age of 50 (so far) is to be harnessed to the war machine. What is more it is to be "profits as usual". Who but a lunatic can expect the capitalists to conscript wealth? Shinwell as usual fights shy of a concrete alternative. By attempting to pose as a "victim" of some inner Transport House conspiracy, he hopes to capitalise out of the growing opposition to official Labour Party policy, and then perhaps one day reach the level of a MacDonald.

LABOUR LEFTS PREPARING

The differences between Shinwell and Bevin, between the so-called Left Wing and the Right Wing of the Labour Party, are not fundamental.

It is a matter of division of labour. While the Cabinet Ministers, especially Morrison, wave the big stick and conduct a policy of repression, it cannot fail to arouse the anger and resentment of the workers. Under these circumstances, unless there was an alternative from the "Left" wing, the workers would move away from the Labour Party. That is why Shinwell comes forward. He is a lightning conductor for the anger of the workers. But this opposition does not further than speeches in Parliament. These speeches are never followed up by a direct fighting appeal to the workers. They criticise the government of trust and combines but they do not demand complete break with this clique which strangles the economic life of the nation in their own interests. At the first opportunity these "Lefts" will hastily capitulate as "loyal" supporters, to the Labour leaders. Under pressure of a mounting wave of discontent they may be compelled to move much further to the left than at present. But they are really made of the same material as the Labour leaders.

The interests of the workers are not served either by the Morrisons or the Shinwells and Alexander-Berins. A new

And Trotsky's efforts were answered with foul abuse. "It is significant," observed the "Daily Worker" less than a year before Hitler's triumph, "that Trotsky has come out in defence of a united front between the communist and social democratic parties against Fascism. No more disruptive and counter revolutionary class lead could possibly have been given at a time like the present." (Daily Worker, May 26, 1932.)

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OUR RECORD IS UNIMPEACHABLE

The record of Trotsky and the Fourth International and the policy of the "Socialist Appeal" are unambiguous and crystal clear and they alone present the method of crushing fascism wherever it may rear its head. We have consistently advocated the destruction of Fascism by the working class. We have urged that support for Churchill and the ruling class can only result in the complete victory of fascism and reaction in Britain and the destruction of the first workers' state that only by taking power can the British workers achieve their objectives. Anyone studying the records of our movement can testify to our opposition to Hitlerism and our devotion to the workers' state against its enemies both internally and externally.

It was Trotsky's crime then to call for a genuine fight against Hitler. It is his disciples' crime today to call for the only effective means of destroying Hitlerism.

This is the reason why we are attacked by the yellow "Dispatch". They know that we represent the interests of the British workers—and those of the German workers too. We are the party of the international working class and represent the interests of the Soviet and world workers. The Stalinists have always been the instigators of the savage persecution of "Trotskyism." But knowing that our "Trotskyism" is unimpeachable Stalin vile allegations have resorted to the bourgeoisie of our being agents of the German, Japanese, Polish or Stalin's enemy happened to be the moment.

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After Stalin concluded the Stalin-Hitler pact and boasted that it assured the security of the Soviet Union, Trotsky warned:

"In spite of the Kremlin's territorial seizures, the international position of the USSR is worsened in the extreme. The Polish buffer disappeared. The Rumanian buffer will disappear tomorrow. Mighty Germany, master of Europe, acquires a common frontier with the USSR. Scandinavia is occupied by this same Germany. Her victories in the west are only preparations for a gigantic move toward the east." ("The Kremlin's Role in the War," June 17, 1940.)

REPTILE PROPAGANDA OF THE ENEMY CLASS

It is an old trick. It was used against Lenin and Trotsky in the days of the Russian Revolution. Because the position of Lenin was unassailable, no other method of counteracting his arguments could be found except to call him German agent and spy.

This campaign of the "Sunday Dispatch" is a warning to the rank and file of the Communist Party where its present policy is leading. This attack by the most vicious section of the capitalist press and the panic and fear displayed by the Communist Party leaders through their campaign of vilification, are significant portents of coming events. Our numbers although increasing, are still small. But our programme, which alone can lead the workers to a victorious struggle against fascism, provokes alarm within the ranks of reaction.

We can do no better than to end by quoting Palme Dutt when the Communist Party was being branded as pro-Nazi, in the *Labour Monthly*, April 1941:

"So far as the Communist Party is concerned, the Communists will know how to defend themselves. We are used of old to the unscrupulous methods of fanning the flames of jingo prejudice against Socialists in war-time who remain faithful to the class struggle; we knew them in the last war; they are repeated in this war. Such methods are familiar from the gutter sheets of Tory jingoism, the bottom pit of shame is reached when they

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Do not console yourselves with the nonsense that Hitler will soon be played out. No, understand this clearly—now is the time to tackle him!

Either Hitler will now establish his power, or the proletariat will overthrow him and clear the road for the dictatorship of the working class.

At this time, to wait any longer, as the Social Democratic (Labour) party proposes, is lunacy; it is a crime; it means

are used by those who dare to call themselves "socialists." "How British Communists Work for Hitler: by Harold Laski" is blazoned in flaming type across the front page of the 'New York Nation' of February 15. So these faithful allies of their own imperialists 'report' the movement abroad. Even so in the last war the Cydeside strikers, whose record is today the imperishable heritage and pride of the entire working class movement from that period of shame and collapse of the official movement, were assailed with the British-forged telegram of "Congratulations from the Kaiser." So Lenin was indicted by the pigmy Kerensky, and a warrant issued for his arrest, with a whole dossier of documents to "prove" it, as an "agent of the German General Staff." So Liebknecht was denounced in Germany as a "paid agent of the Entente." Every worker who has been through a strike knows how to assess at its true worth this type of reptile propaganda of the enemy class."

The slanders against Lenin and Trotsky that they were German spies did not prevent the Bolsheviks from leading the Russian Revolution to victory. These slanders will likewise not prevent the workers of Britain and Europe from the realisation that the programme of International socialism is their sole salvation. We hurl back the despicable lie in the teeth of the proprietors of the "Sunday Dispatch" and their journalist pen prostitutes. The reactionary lies of the Stalinists will react as boomerangs when the majority of the toilers find their way to the truth. And truth will prevail.

to let Hitler establish himself in his new official positions, it means to play the very last cards into his hand, and with that, to lead directly to the defeat of the working class.

Hitler must be overthrown, Fascism must be struck down. The Fascist government of civil war can be overthrown, however, not by parliamentary votes of "no confidence", but only by the extra-parliamentary mass struggle.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

But how can we achieve this action? We must create the prerequisites—the closing of the ranks. It is not enough to call for the general strike, as the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has done up to now. The situation demands today of Communist party an open offer to the leaders of the Social Democratic party and the General German Trade Union Federation. A concrete programme of struggle must be proposed, the leadership of the Social Democratic party and of the General German Trade Union Federation must be called upon to negotiate in the open before the workers, in order—maintaining the political independence of the participating organisations—without delay to **Create Common Organs of Struggle on a National and Local Scale** and throw into the fight the concentrated forces of the proletariat.

The goal of the struggle is:
Overthrow the Hitler Government!
Disarm the brown murder bands!
Defend all working-class organisations and their property!
Defend the democratic rights of the proletariat!

The means of struggle is the general strike, but this can lead to victory only if the leadership of the struggle and the proletariat are fully aware that the fight against the brown murder bands must be carried with even "harder weapons".

We must not wait, we must hit out!

Comrades of the Social Democratic party! Protest, compel the immediate acceptance of the struggle, break the sabotage of your leaders! Comrades of the Communist party! For two and a half years we "Trotskyists" have been proposing a Leninist united front policy to smash Fascism, whose perspectives we have correctly drawn. Through the fault of the Stalinist leadership, the Central Committee, much time has been lost. Even now reformism has the determining influence on the decisive part of the German working class. It is still possible, at the eleventh hour to organise resistance through a Leninist united front policy and lead the proletariat to victory. The proletariat still has its organisations! In its hands are the levers of economic life. The others have only bayonets. The Bolsheviks, too, defeated Kornilov at the last minute!

All forces together! No weariness, no hesitation!

A solid front of all workers' organisations for the united front organs of the working class!

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A general strike till the overthrow of the dictatorship of hunger, of war, of the murder of workers!

For the defence of the political rights of the working class!

For the defence of party and trade union buildings and of the workers' press!

For the defence of the Communist Party of Germany!

Against the wasting of the people's substance on the corrupt barons of the Eastern Relief and the bosses of heavy industry!

For workers' control of production!
For a decent wage!

The Left Opposition of the Communist Party of Germany.

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The interests of the workers are not served either by the Morrisons or the Shinwells and Aneurin Bevin. A new leadership must be created, which has no ties with the enemy class, which is prepared to march forward on the independent class road to socialism.

END THE COALITION—LABOUR TO POWER

The chaotic state of the "war effort" and the naked imperialist war policies of the ruling class cannot be tackled by the Labour Party so long as it remains tied to the apron strings of imperialism. The first important task is to break the coalition with the Tories and wage a struggle for power on the programme of socialist demands outlined in the "Socialist Appeal". The present dissatisfaction which is sweeping the country could then be transformed into a powerful battering ram which would prove irresistible in the struggle for a socialist Britain. Let Shinwell, Citrine, Bevin and Co. cease providing side-show entertainment for the Tories and get down to waging this campaign. Only in this way can the working people benefit.

G. HEALY.

A MEETING

called by the "Socialist Appeal"

To Expose the Attacks of the "Sunday Dispatch" & Communist Party

HOLBORN HALL

Sunday, Dec. 21st, at 6.30

Speakers: E. GRANT, Editorial Board "Socialist Appeal"

S. BIDWELL, Assist. Sec. London D.C., N.U.R.

A. ROY, A.E.U.

RACHEL RYAN, Engineering Shop Steward

G. HEALY in the Chair. QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

Auspices: Workers' International League (Fourth International)

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