

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Formerly  
"Youth  
for  
Socialism"

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## WORKERS STRIKE VICTORY AT NAPIERS, LIVERPOOL

### Swanson Acts as Strike Breaker

Employees at Napiers North-West Aircraft factory in Liverpool are highly indignant at the treatment that they have been receiving at the hands of the management, and are dissatisfied at the present policy of the shop-stewards.

Trouble arose when six employees on the "heating process" were discharged from the factory at a moment's notice, and instructed to report to the local Labour Exchange. On arrival they were informed that they were being transferred to a Manchester factory with a reduction of £1 per week on their normal basic rate. The men refused to transfer and immediately reported the incident to their factory shop-steward. A meeting of all factory employees was called, and after hearing what had taken place, unanimously decided to send an ultimatum to the management stating that unless the six men were at once reinstated, the whole factory would immediately "down tools". Fairbrother, the managing director of the factory assumed a very high-handed attitude, stating that under no consideration was he prepared to meet the workers' demands.

## OFFICERS TRANSPORTED ON LUXURY SHIPS

Class differences are mirrored in the armed forces as they exist in society as a whole, and the class distinction between officers and troops is nowhere more noticeable than in the conditions of transport which are provided for the forces.

A glaring example of this class distinction was recently given in Merseyside on a transport ship, the S—. This ship in question is a cargo boat which has been modified and reconstructed for the purpose of transporting abroad pilot officers of the Royal Air Force.

In converting a ship for transporting the ordinary soldier or airman, no elaborate accommodation is provided, the whole scheme being an obvious make-shift and a temporary affair. This is no doubt necessary to a large extent in war-time. The troops sleep in hammocks which are slung from beams in such a manner that they almost touch each other, overcrowding being general. Meals are taken from tables which serve for all general purposes, reading, writing, recreation, etc. The only seating accommodation provided consists of backless forms which are fixed to the deck. The troops are thus confined to their table, bench and hammock with an alternative of a walk round the deck during daytime. The monotony resulting from a long period under these conditions can be imagined. In addition the ships used are usually old and not always clean and free from vermin.

On the S— however, the conditions are different. For this ship is to carry the members of the officer caste, the R.A.F.

At 10 a.m. next morning the workers carried out their threat, the stoppage lasting till 3 p.m. The whole factory was at a standstill with 5,000 workers idle. The position seemed so serious that a prominent trade union official was sent down to investigate the trouble, but on hearing the grievance was forced to admit that the workers were fully justified in their action. The T.U. official immediately demanded a meeting between the management and the shop-stewards, pointing out that the workers were determined to continue the stoppage till their demands were met and the six employees reinstated.

The management were forced in the end to climb down and reinstate the six men, also a guarantee was given the employees to the effect that the Liaison Officer between Napiers and the Ministry of Labour (who was responsible for the transfer) would be dismissed. This has since been carried out.

The workers were fully justified in this action as it was a definite violation of the Essential Works Order; they could not allow this reactionary measure to go unchallenged. This is just a further manifestation on the part of the workers to end the incompetence and inefficiency existing inside the factory.

The workers of this factory have for some time been greatly concerned with the lack of production of essential war material. They consider that a complete exposure of the present methods of production is necessary. It was only when they learned that two flying officers of the R.A.F. were to visit the factory that they saw their opportunity to register their dissatisfaction. The officers spoke of the fine work that the factory was turning out, and of the brilliant contribution which they were making to the defeat of Hitlerism. This in spite of the fact that according to the local press, NOT ONE COMPLETE ENGINE HAS BEEN TURNED OUT in the fifteen months of the factory's existence. They said that they could return to their centres with the firm conviction that these workers were doing the utmost in their country's hour of peril.

The employees believed that in answer to this address, the chairman of their shop-stewards, in his reply would point out to the two officers exactly what was taking place in the factory, instead of which the chairman was overbrimming with thanks that these two officers should come down to speak to the men. He said that in this factory at any rate the workers were definitely "Going To It", and would leave no stone unturned to further increase production.

# Russia's Chance to Shatter European Capitalism

## U.S. TROTSKYISTS FACE IMPRISONMENT

### Cannon Defends Socialist Ideas on Witness Stand

Reports have now reached us of the prosecution of the 28 members of the American Socialist Workers' Party (Trotskyist) and the Teamsters Union, Local 544-CIO. The verdict of the jury was:

1. All 23 defendants NOT GUILTY on the first count of the indictment—"conspiracy to overthrow by force the government and to oppose by force the authority thereof."
2. Eighteen GUILTY on the second count—"advocating the desirability of overthrowing the government by force and violence."
3. "The jury recommends leniency."

Observers believe that the jury's verdict was a "compromise", whereby a group of jurors favouring acquittal, agreed to the verdict in return for acquittal of five, dismissal of the first count and the recommendation of leniency.

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introduced). It could not be proved by the literature of the Socialist Workers Party.

So . . . the government resorted to proving that the Russian Revolution was an illegal conspiracy of an armed minor

(Continued on back page)



AFTER THE SERIES OF STAGGERING SUCCESSES THE NAZI WAR MACHINE HAS BEEN HELD AT THE GATES OF MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD. THAT THE RUSSIAN ARMY COULD RALLY, AFTER CONTINUOUS REVERSES FOR SIX MONTHS WITHOUT A SINGLE VICTORY, IS A TESTIMONY TO THE MORALE OF THE HEROIC WORKERS, PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THE DEMORALISED FRENCH CAPITALIST REGIME BETRAYED FRANCE TO HITLER AS SOON AS PARIS WAS THREATENED, BECAUSE AS THE "TIMES" EXPLAINED, "THEY WERE MORE AFRAID OF A SOCIAL REVOLUTION THAN OF NAZISM." BUT IMMEDIATELY MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD WERE THREATENED THE MASSES RALLIED FOR RESISTANCE TO THE LAST. MEN, WOMEN AND EVEN CHILDREN WERE ORGANISED TO FIGHT AGAINST THE NAZI ARMY.

### Russian Masses have something to Defend

IN THE TERRITORIES THEY HAD CONQUERED, THE NAZIS HAD IMMEDIATELY SET ABOUT RESTORING PRIVATE PROPERTY—THAT IS, THEY HANDED OVER THE EXPLOITATION OF THE RESOURCES OF THE LAND, THE MINES, THE RAILWAYS OF RUSSIA TO THE BIG GERMAN COMBINES AND TRUSTS, THUS CLEARLY EXPOSING NAZISM AS THE INSTRUMENT OF FINANCE CAPITAL. IT IS THIS THAT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE ARE RESISTING WITH ALL THEIR MIGHT. THEY ARE FIGHTING FOR THE REMAINING CONQUESTS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION—THE FACT THAT NO CAPITALISTS EXIST IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THAT THE LAND, MINES AND FACTORIES ARE UNDER COMMON OWNERSHIP. IT IS THIS, AND THIS ALONE WHICH CAN EXPLAIN THE MAGNIFICENT RESISTANCE OF THE RED ARMY. DESPITE

### Pollitt on Churchill

"Labour's own daily newspaper, the 'Daily Herald', calls Churchill as Britain's man of destiny. That is the measure of Labour's shame, the betrayal of every principle of Socialism and Peace. For one thing now understood by our people is that, wherever Churchill speaks or acts, suffering and death are the result, exactly the same as when Hitler speaks or acts."

Harry Pollitt,  
(Labour Monthly, Dec. 1940.)

archy of the army and air force. Apparently nothing is good enough for the "higher ups." No such spartan conditions as described above exist here. On the contrary, everything has been done to ensure that the officers will feel as much "at home" as they would in a first class carriage on the railway or in the lounge of an expensive hotel. Cabins have been provided which are shared by two officers.

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The 18 found guilty intend appealing to the higher courts. If the motion for a new trial is denied, an appeal will be filed with the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The defence is ready to go from there to the Supreme Court.

Cannon was in the fortunate position of being able to expound his testimony under the guidance of an attorney who is not only skilled and learned in the law, but one who has also been a comrade in the revolutionary movement for more than two decades—Albert Goldman, one of the 28 accused. With perfect harmony of purpose joining them, the questioner and answerer wove their thoughts together in a magnificent fabric of the socialist case.

The central charge in the indictment, from which all the other charges flow as corollaries, is that "the said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and 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 . . ."

Cannon's answer to this fundamental charge was completely conclusive. Yes, he declared, those defendants who are members of the Socialist Workers Party proclaim that the Russian Revolution is the greatest event in history; it is the great example for the working class in every capitalist country of the way out of capitalism toward socialism. But the government is lying, when it says that the Russian Revolution was accomplished by force and violence on the part of the working class.

The full implications of the prosecution's indictment of the Russian Revolution were brought out in the government's presentation of its case. Its contention was that the Russian Revolution had been made by an illegal conspiracy of an armed minority. That contention could scarcely be proved by the socialist literature introduced by the government and admitted as evidence by the judge. These government exhibits included the Marx-Engels "Communist Manifesto" of 1848! (The presumed effect of the name of it on ignorant jurors was probably why it was

introduced.) It cannot be proved by the literature of the Socialist Workers Party.

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(Continued on back page)



J. P. CANNON

## NO SCORCHED EARTH IN FAR EAST

The defence of East Asia against the onrush of Japanese imperialism boils down to the military manoeuvres of the imperialist war machine which has no basis whatsoever on the masses of the inhabitants composed of Malayan peasants, Chinese and Indian workers in the rubber plantations, tin mines and dockyards. The British and Dutch finance capitalists who have been extracting fabulous war profits out of the rubber and tin are more afraid of the native masses than of their Japanese rivals with whom they have collaborated for years past in the suppression of the Chinese people. The Chinese workers in Malaya who have seen hundreds of their comrades deported from Malaya for the least manifestation of militancy (the Governor has the right to deport any Chinese without trial) is now called to make sacrifices for "freedom". Millions who have never known any human rights are being exhorted by Mr. Duff Cooper to give all for "democracy". Is it any wonder that such appeals leave the masses completely cold and the Japanese, are able to win successes. Is it any wonder that the cynical rulers of Thailand hesitated merely to decide who was the stronger between Britain and Japan before casting their lot without the slightest demur from the masses. The British defeats in Malaya are only partly due to the incompetence of their generals; the main reason is the wide gulf which exists between the population and the rulers who dare not arm and organise the toilers for resisting the invaders. For they would not stop at expelling the Japanese exploiters; they would settle accounts with their British and Dutch exploiters as well.

This contradiction between the exploit-

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The morale and fighting qualities which can only be stimulated by a workers' state have achieved much. No other army but the army of a workers' state could have advanced to the attack after a continuous retreat of such proportions—after what the Nazis claimed as a rout. It is to be hoped, indeed it is most likely that the successes will continue throughout the winter. But can these lead to the defeat of Germany if it remains merely a military struggle without repercussions among the German people? The answer can only be, decisively NO!

### MORALE OF GERMAN TROOPS

Germany for the present remains the greatest military power in the world, a power based on her technical and industrial resources. It was political reasons which compelled Hitler to strive desperately to conquer Moscow and Leningrad before the winter. When this failed the morale of the German soldiers, for the first time fighting against a foe prepared to undergo any hardship rather than capitulate, began to crack under the strain.

The morale of the German troops and of the German workers is reaching breaking point. General Winter, General Epidemic and General Hunger are playing their part. But there are other factors. The whole of Europe besides the conquered territories in the east, has to be held down by force. Everywhere the German soldiers have to face the implacable hatred and seething spirit of revolt of the populations against the Nazi gangsters. There are 1,670,000 square kilometres occupied in Russia. That is three times the area of Germany. If only one

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Whereas the Tommy must be content with a bare table and backless form for his leisure hours, no such demands are made of his "superiors." On the S—, the pilot officers can while away the monotony of the voyage in a lounge and saloon, the latter complete with bar. The dining room and saloon have been fitted with imitation oak panelling, plush carpets and decorative sunken lighting. The ventilation has been improved and imitation windows provided. Needless to say the lounge and saloon are well furnished with easy chairs, settees, oak tables and all the equipment of a luxury liner.

All this accommodation, furniture and fittings, have been especially provided, none of them being in the ship before. Approximately 100 men were engaged three weeks in its construction; two men were employed for a day in elaborately varnishing and polishing a staircase! Further, these ship workers were called upon to make a special effort to complete the job for a sailing date and many worked excessive overtime hours to do so. The workers were, however, by no means oblivious to the contrast and many a scathing remark was passed. To most, the elaborate fittings and furniture were a waste of effort and sharply contrasted to the provisions made for the transport of troops.

In ordinary transport ships, notices and regulations are posted up everywhere and the general effect is one of closest restriction. The inevitable "lock up" is always provided and army discipline is strictly imposed. The officers, however, are not inflicted with these hampering regulations and notices, and restrictions are nowhere to be seen. No threat of gaol hangs over their heads for petty offences.

Many of the ship workers expressed their indignation at this state of affairs and many a remark was passed about the waste of labour. When thousands of working men are being shipped abroad are giving their lives and limbs in the object of the pampered sons of the bourgeoisie being surrounded with all the forts of luxury of their class.

exposure of the present methods of production is necessary. It was only when they learned that two flying officers of the R.A.F. were to visit the factory that they saw their opportunity to register their dissatisfaction. The officers spoke of the fine work that the factory was turning out, and of the brilliant contribution which they were making to the defeat of Hitlerism. This in spite of the fact that according to the local press, NOT ONE COMPLETE ENGINE HAS BEEN TURNED OUT in the fifteen months of the factory's existence. They said that they could return to their centres with the firm conviction that these workers were doing the utmost in their country's hour of peril.

The employees believed that in answer to this address, the chairman of their shop-stewards, in his reply would point out to the two officers exactly what was taking place in the factory, instead of which the chairman was overbrimming with thanks that these two officers should come down to speak to the men. He said that in this factory at any rate the workers were definitely "Going To It", and would leave no stone unturned to further increase production.

The dissatisfaction at the rate of production rose to its height on Dec. 3rd, when men on the night shift ceased work in one section after failing to secure an interview with a government inspector.

When the night shift men concerned learned that a Captain Black was on the premises to inspect the factory, they asked the night superintendent to arrange for them to have an interview with the inspector. The superintendent said that he would try to arrange it, but when approached later by the men, he said that he did not think that the captain would see them. Later still, he told the men that the inspector was in bed. The men then stated that they would not work till they had seen him. The superintendent then gave them their passes to leave the works.

The men have pointed out that this is just a token stoppage to register their dissatisfaction at their inability to express criticism of the inefficient management of the factory to a representative of the government department concerned. They maintain that the management is

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soldier per kilometre were necessary to hold down the people in the conquered territory, that would in itself be a tremendous drain on the man power of the German army. But to this must be added France, Belgium, Norway, etc. The Nazis have attempted to overcome this drain by using the armies of their "allies". But this is merely aggravating the problem and adding more fuel to the flames.

Thus Italian soldiers sent to some of the occupied countries so as to release German troops for Russia have lost no time in fraternising with the local population, making no secret of their sympathy with the peoples. The Germans cannot shift garrison work onto the shoulders of such easy going allies. But if the German army has itself to provide all the men needed for occupied countries the military and industrial potential is seriously curtailed. "Times", December 21st, 1941.

In Germany itself the rumbles of dis-

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# HITLER FEARS THE GERMAN WORKERS

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content can plainly be heard among the masses. This is reflected in the mixed pleas and threats of the Nazi leaders. Goebbels, feeling the ground quaking under his feet, writes in "Das Reich":

**Our German unity is only of recent date. We are still bearing the scars from the divisions of the old party politics. Carefully and jealously we have to watch that they do not reopen even in a single place."**

In his last speech Hitler revealed his panic when he threatened the enemy on the Home Front.

**"At a time when thousands of our best men are dying NOBODY MUST EXPECT TO LIVE who tries to depreciate the sacrifices made at the front. No matter under what camouflage he tries to disturb this German front, or to undermine the resistance of our people, or to weaken the authority of the regime, or to sabotage the achievements on the home front, he shall die for it."**

## Defeated Russia Destroyed Kaiser's Armies by an Idea . . .

In the last world war an *undefeated and victorious* German army which had crushed Russia and compelled the Bolsheviks to sign a humiliating and onerous treaty which enabled the German capitalists to grab a large part of the resources of Russia, crumbled and disintegrated, not by military means but by the power of an idea. Bolshevik propaganda appealing to the workers and soldiers of Germany to join the side of the Bolsheviks for a just peace and a better world for all the peoples of Europe, resulted in the German revolution of 1918. A *defeated* Russia thus destroyed the still intact might of the German armies not by military weapons, but solely by the weapons of class warfare.

Today, thanks to the achievements of the Russian Revolution the Red Army is not without equipment as it was in 1917-1920 and the fierce resistance of the masses has inflicted a staggering—but not yet mortal blow—at Hitler. If, to this military success, achieved despite almost overwhelming superiority of German technique, were added the far more potent weapon of Lenin and Trotsky—a socialist appeal to the workers and soldiers of Germany—the death knell of Hitler and of European capitalism would be sounding. Today the basis is there. Hitler is standing on a volcano of working class dissatisfaction, which merely requires the tocsin call of international socialism to burst into flame. Hitler's only basis, and one he has constantly referred to in order to rally the German nation behind him, is the fear of a new Versailles. It is this, and this alone which paralyses any action of the German workers.

But if Stalin and the Soviet Government were to give a socialist alternative, the road to the socialist revolution would be open. Instead of that, chauvinistic

appeals are made to the Russian troops; responsibility for Hitler's crimes is laid on the shoulders of the German soldiers and people. A Russian order of the day to the troops of December 20th is headed: "Death to the German occupants! Forward against the enemy! For our honour and freedom, for our Fatherland!" Reports have it that the Russians, incensed by the Nazi excesses in occupied territory are taking few prisoners in their forward drive.

Under the headline: "Mercilessly Annihilate the Fascist Beast", "Pravda" says:

**"Annihilate the German invaders like mad dogs! The Hitlerite beasts want to turn our land into a desert. We shall turn it into a death zone for Fascist dogs."**

**"Not a single beast must escape from stern punishment. Fight them, annihilate them, smash them!"**

**"Soviet warriors, show them no mercy!"**

Is this the method of separating the German workers from their fascist yoke? On the contrary, it is the surest way to make the German soldiers despair of any alternative to that of accepting Hitler.

From among the innumerable pieces of Bolshevik propaganda which led to the dissolution of the Allied army, we reproduce one issued in the name of the Council of Peoples' Commissars by Trotsky in 1918:

**"I hereby Proclaim to you all: The Soviet Power wages war only against the rich, against the oppressors, against the imperialists."**

**To all toilers we extend our hand of brotherhood. Each one of you who voluntarily comes over to our camp will meet on our part with a complete pardon and a fraternal welcome."**

Scores have already passed from your ranks to our side. Not one of them has suffered. They are all unharmed and at liberty.

**In the name of the Council of Peoples' Commissars I issue this final warning to you: Come over, all of you, to the side of the Soviet Troops."**

## Palme Dutt Exposes Lack of Allies' Aid to Russia

# The C.P. Avoids Challenge

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Incapable of facing a working class audience and debating their slanderous allegations against the "Socialist Appeal" the Communist Party refused the open challenge of the Editorial board of the "Socialist Appeal" to attend the Holborn Hall which was specially booked for a debate. The Stalinists remained silent on the challenge although our letter was published in the "Tribune" almost in full and was mentioned in the "New Leader".

The meeting was therefore converted into a fighting exposure of Stalinism's role in the international labour movement. Comrades Grant and Roy dealt with the background of Stalinism and the inevitable results of its policies, while Comrades Bidwell and Ryan exposed their strikebreaking role in industry from their own experiences.

The 180 workers who were present showed their appreciation of the platform and there was a lively discussion in which members of the I.L.P. took part. A question, asked by a C.P. member regarding the banning of the "Daily Worker" was effectively answered by Comrade Grant.

The Chairman, Comrade Healy, called for a collection which raised the fine total of £21 11. 10d.

The meeting was a success in every sense of the word.



PAMPHLETS BY LEON TROTSKY

- Limited Numbers Available
- War and the World Revolution 2d.
- Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay 1d.
- Does Russia's Entry Alter Britain's War? by Andrew Scott 2d.

*certain.* In the December *Labour Monthly*, Palme Dutt laments:

**"The earlier fantastic calculations of the volume of supplies which could be available from America in the near future have at last given place to a more realistic recognition of the hard facts. It is obvious that a total export of 533 planes in August, to be divided between Britain, the Soviet Union and China is still a very small proportion in relation to the losses of 5,310 Soviet**

# WORKERS Expose Chaos at Napiers

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definitely impeding the production with their gross inefficiency. Every month there are thousands of pounds worth of material scrapped, labourers and men with no technical qualifications are being promoted simply because they blindly follow the instructions of the management. The dissatisfaction is so great that it is no exaggeration to say that if the records of Labour Exchanges were to be examined, it would be found that thousands of men asked to be released to go to factories where the work was being turned out, and where men were allowed to do a full day's work. They claim that at present they don't do a full day's work in a week.

These men did not stop work in order to impede production. On the contrary, they wished to increase it. They were disgusted with the manner by which the factory was controlled and believed that all that was necessary to alter this was for it to be brought to the notice of the government. This however is not the case.

The men were given the guarantee that Fairbrother, the managing director, along with another leading member of the management were to be taken from the factory, supposedly with a view to bringing about a better relationship between the management and workers, but even this has not been carried out. We find that these individuals are still allowed to exercise their inefficient control inside the factory.

Swanson, of the National Committee of Shop-stewards came down to speak to the men on production increase. He pointed out to them that they must under no circumstances down tools or take any measures that are likely to impede the war effort. He went on to say that it was the duty of the workers of Britain to see that supplies reached Russia. We reply to Swanson that it is for that reason that the workers are forced to down tools. They want to send more aid to Russia, but are forced to realise that they can only do this by taking strong measures against those people who control production.

The ruling class of Britain has proved time and again that they are incapable of waging a genuine war against fascism. After eighteen months of military inactivity we find that we are still incapable of waging such a war. The official argument is that they are ahead of schedule with production, and on the other hand they contradict themselves by stating that wastage of material is impossible to avoid. Can we the workers continue to allow such a state of affairs to pass unchallenged? We cannot. Every worker knows that in factories controlled by private enterprise, nothing but bottlenecks, mismanagement, and chaos exist. The cost-plus-ten-percent-profit system ensures that the employers and shareholders draw their share of the swag even if the factory produces not a single article.

What has taken place in this factory is by no means exceptional, we find that it is taking place in every part of the country. It would seem that the more muddle exists the higher are the profits.

# SOUTHALL WORKERS SUPPORT SID BIDWELL

Following the letter published in these columns last month from J. H. Smith, a Southall Stalinist to the Trades Council, demanding the removal of Comrade Bidwell from the E.C. of that body, the Stalinist machine in the area has intensified its campaign to oust him from every post he holds in the local Labour movement.

At the meeting where the letter in question was discussed, the Stalinists turned up in full strength and although they were defeated in their attempted vote of no confidence in the E.C. (due to the presence of a number of Stalinist members of the E.C. who did not regularly attend its meetings), they were successful in removing Comrade Bidwell by a vote of 13 to 8, with 4 abstentions. Their claim that Comrade Bidwell's speech at the Aid Russia meeting did not represent the views of the E.C. or of the organised workers of the locality is given the lie by the fact that his views were well known to the E.C. which had elected him and by the applause his speech received.

But the action of the Stalinists is in the nature of a boomerang. Already the workers in the area are reacting to the Stalinist menace. The delegate from the Amalgamated Society of Woodcutting Machinists, member of the E.C. of the Trades Council has written a letter to the Southall branch of the N.U.R. urging it to ignore the request to review Bro. Bidwell's position and to confirm its confidence in his ability to represent them, also calling attention to the Stalinist domination of the Council. At the following meeting of the Trades Council the A.E.U. delegate moved that the decision to remove Bro. Bidwell be reversed but was defeated by 11 votes to 8. The Southall N.U.R. has circulated all trade union branches in the area drawing attention to the state of the Trades Council and its present Stalinist domination, and calling on all trade union branches to see that their delegates attend and take a live interest in the work of the Trades Council.

At the same time Comrade Bidwell is calling a meeting at the Trades and Labour Hall where he has challenged the Stalinists as a body, and Smith personally to substantiate his slanders in public debate. He has also circulated all trade union branches in the district inviting them to be present at the meeting.

The Stalinists are already on the retreat and there is a feeling among their

own ranks that they have committed a blunder.

Below we reproduce a letter from the Southall N.U.R. to the Southall Trades Council.

November 29th, 1941

Mr. H. R. Hann,  
Southall Trades Council,  
19, Cranborne Way, Hayes.

Dear Sir & Bro.,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 28th instant notifying me that my branch delegate, Bro. S. J. Bidwell, had been removed from the Executive Committee of your Council and to say that your communication was placed before my members at last night's branch meeting.

After full discussion of the position, my members expressed the opinion that they can do no other than accept such decision as an affront to this branch and organisation. At the same time they are convinced that a situation has been created that will rebound in time to the credit of Bro. Bidwell.

My members further expressed the opinion that your Council, being fully aware of their colleagues' expressed opinion on Russia and Communism, still saw fit to delegate him to attend a meeting called for a purpose not in any way connected with our movement but sponsored by people in order to obtain the support of employers, the financial and commercial class and our political opponents. Furthermore, you definitely mandated him with regard to his line of action, therefore surely you and your Council must appreciate that such was not quite an honest course and certainly one that my branch could not and would not subscribe to.

I am therefore instructed to inform you that my members have complete confidence in Bro. S. J. Bidwell, both in his abilities to serve his class and as a branch delegate and that your further observations are awaited with interest. I am also asked to request from you an extract from the Council constitution regarding the powers of removal of an E.C. member.

A further opinion was expressed that, in view of the fact that whilst at the present time when the working class movement is being undermined and when thousands of non-unionists are working in the area, your Council could be far more usefully employed than creating political strife amongst its own ranks.

As a personal opinion therefore, in view of the many and varied accusations that have been levelled at Bro. Bidwell as to his motives at your meetings, might I suggest that in fairness to all concerned, that your Council should agree to have a speaker, either in Bro. Bidwell or a member of his own political organisation, to fully explain the policy of such organisation.

Perhaps therefore you will place this letter before the Trades Council at the earliest possible moment and let me know their decision in due course.

Yours fraternally,  
A. E. GREEN Secretary.

# BEVIN SUPPORTS TRIBUNAL AGAINST OWN UNION

The management of a Bristol aeroplane decision, and the Tribunal, after offering

whelming superiority of German technique, were added the far more potent weapon of Lenin and Trotsky—a socialist appeal to the workers and soldiers of Germany—the death knell of Hitler and of European capitalism would be sounding. Today the basis is there. Hitler is standing on a volcano of working class dissatisfaction, which merely requires the tocsin call of international socialism to burst into flame. Hitler's only basis, and one he has constantly referred to in order to rally the German nation behind him, is the fear of a new Versailles. It is this, and this alone which paralyses any action of the German workers.

But if Stalin and the Soviet Government were to give a socialist alternative, the road to the socialist revolution would be open. Instead of that, chauvinistic

## Palme Dutt Exposes Lack of Allies' Aid to Russia

Even if the German armies were pushed back to the borders of Poland during the course of the winter, that would not be sufficient to ensure a victory for the Soviet Union. If the Nazi machine remains intact, the way will be paved for a new gigantic drive on the part of German imperialism. Churchill and Roosevelt have expressed themselves as delighted by the successes of the Red Army. Their delight is genuine because the advance on the present basis does not represent a threat to Anglo-American imperialism, nor even to capitalism in Germany. It gives them the respite to convert the potential arms supremacy of British-American capitalism into actuality. The propaganda of Stalinism serves as grist to the mill of imperialism and cannot arouse an echo in the workers.

Under these conditions the western imperialists can allow a trickle of aid to reach the Soviet Union for the time being. Because they know that the military victories which Russia is obtaining, important as they are, are not decisive in themselves. So little importance does Churchill attach to them that he has put 1943-1944 as the beginning of the offensive against Germany. In other words, after the decisive struggle between Germany and Russia will be waged next spring. The secret of the attitude of Churchill at the Russian successes has been unwittingly provided by Palme Dutt. Justifying the former defeats of the Red Army in the November issue of the "Labour Monthly" he states that "the pre-war measures of output of Nazi Europe and the Soviet Union tell their own tale." He goes on to give the following figures:

	Nazi Europe	U.S.S.R.
Steel (million tons)	44.7	18.1
Pig Iron and Ferro Alloys (million tons)	37.3	14.7
Coal (million tons)	328	123
Sulphuric Acid (million tons)	4,992	208
Electricity	124.5	36.4

make the German workers despair of any alternative to that of accepting Hitler. From among the innumerable pieces of Bolshevik propaganda which led to the dissolution of the Allied army, we reproduce one issued in the name of the Council of Peoples' Commissars by Trotsky in 1918:

"I hereby Proclaim to you all: The Soviet Power wages war only against the rich, against the oppressors, against the imperialists.

To all toilers we extend our hand of brotherhood. Each one of you who voluntarily comes over to our camp will meet on our part with a complete pardon and a fraternal welcome.

Scores have already passed from your ranks to our side. Not one of them has suffered. They are all unharmed and at liberty.

In the name of the Council of Peoples' Commissars I issue this final warning to you: Come over, all of you, to the side of the Soviet Troops."

"These are harsh figures," states Palme Dutt. "But they must be faced. They dispose of any myth of Nazi invincible military magic, and show the very solid material and technical basis of the advance achieved." He goes on to appeal for "unity" between Anglo-American imperialism and the Soviet Union as a means of surpassing and overcoming this Nazi supremacy of material. The figures themselves demonstrate why Churchill regards, correctly, the glorious military successes of the Soviet Union as being of secondary importance. If the German Home Front holds this winter, and the German soldiers can rally; if the military successes by themselves cannot break the war machine of German imperialism, then the way is open for a new drive against the Soviet Union next spring. The war of mutual extermination and exhaustion, which Moore-Brabazon showed the ruling class of Britain desired to see, will be continued and a further weakening of the workers' state would take place.

The previous successes were achieved by the Germans on the basis of the disparity of material resources shown by the above figures. Technically, organisationally, industrially and militarily, Germany is far superior to the Soviet Union, in spite of her magnificent advance under a socialist economy. But the disproportion is increasing. Due to the destruction wrought by the Nazis the above figures would have to be greatly reduced. Most of the industry of the Ukraine and some of the richest parts of industrial Russia were destroyed by the Russian workers to prevent their falling into the hands of the Nazis. Meanwhile German industrial resources have been steadily increasing; thus increasing even more the disparity of equipment by the coming spring.

The Claim that the Anglo-American imperialists are sending substantial aid is extremely doubtful; but that they are not sending sufficient aid to secure a victory for the Soviet Union is

**PAMPHLETS BY LEON TROTSKY**

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War and the World Revolution	2d.
Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay	1d.
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certain. In the December *Labour Monthly*, Palme Dutt laments:

"The earlier fantastic calculations of the volume of supplies which could be available from America in the near future have at last given place to a more realistic recognition of the hard facts. It is obvious that a total export of 533 planes in August, to be divided between Britain, the Soviet Union and China is still a very small proportion in relation to the losses of 5,316 Soviet planes in three and a half months, or of 9,000 planes in the same period; while the estimated production of 250 light tanks a month, 50 medium tanks as yet bears no relation to the 30,000 tanks which Lord Beaverbrook stated the Nazis to have had when they attacked the U.S.S.R."

This was before Japan attacked America and Britain in the Pacific. How much aid will they send now? And even if they sent all the aid they could—which could not be decisive—for how long would they continue? Only so long as this served their purpose, only until they were sufficiently prepared and Germany sufficiently weakened to secure the triumph of Anglo-American imperialism. Any aid they send at best could only be temporary! So long as Churchill and Roosevelt and the capitalist class are in control they can decide if and when supplies shall be cut off. That is why Stalin's line and the policy of the "Communist" International is so suicidal. It leaves the workers of the world in the hands of the financial cliques of Wall Street and the City of London.

All this demonstrates that purely military means cannot save the Soviet Union. But an unparalleled opportunity to smash Nazism by revolutionary war has been opened to the Soviet Union by the Russian successes. Stalin and the bureaucrats cannot take this road. They are committed to reliance not on the proletariat of Germany and Europe, but on Churchill and Roosevelt. The British workers can best assist their Soviet brothers and strike the severest blow against Nazism by waging an implacable struggle against Churchill and the ruling class and fighting for workers' power. As a step towards this they must demand supervision by workers' committees elected in the workshops to ensure speedy delivery of arms to the Soviet Union. For the fight against fascism and the struggle to defend the Workers' State; fight for workers' power and the Socialist United States of Europe.

to Russia, but are forced to realize that they can only do this by taking strong measures against those people who control production.

The ruling class of Britain has proved time and again that they are incapable of waging a genuine war against fascism. After eighteen months of military inactivity we find that we are still incapable of waging such a war. The official argument is that they are ahead of schedule with production, and on the other hand they contradict themselves by stating that wastage of material is impossible to avoid. Can we the workers continue to allow such a state of affairs to pass unchallenged? We cannot. Every worker knows that in factories controlled by private enterprise, nothing but bottlenecks, mismanagement, and chaos exist. The cost-plus-ten-percent-profit system ensures that the employers and shareholders draw their share of the swag even if the factory produces not a single article.

What has taken place in this factory is by no means exceptional, we find that it is taking place in every part of the country. It would seem that the more muddle exists the higher are the profits.

The only alternative that lies before the workers of this and all other factories is not just to accept the incompetent control of a few individuals from the top, but to replace this incompetence by workers' control.

Direct control by the workers themselves through shop-stewards and factory committees would cut through all the red tape and chaos which are inseparable from private ownership and control. Such control exercised by those who really do the producing, and not by a few fat-bellied financiers, alone can ensure a high productive level.

Workers, if you are sincere in the struggle against fascism, make your voice heard in your workshop. Set up your shop-steward committees, take an active part in the running of them by demanding that they report in the form of a meeting to all the employees of your factory regularly, and press forward the demand for nationalisation without compensation of all industries on war production with its operation under direct workers' control.

Tom Birchall.



### DONATIONS RECEIVED TO DATE

	£	s.	d.
Previously Acknowledged	108	7	0
Glasgow	4	17	6
N., Soldier	1	0	0
J. H., Southall	1	0	0
N. T., Edmonton	1	0	0
Wales sympathiser	1	0	0
M. H., Glos.	1	0	1
Napiers Worker	2	6	
S. H., Ship's Fireman	1	0	0
Motherwell	1	16	0
Wolverhampton	1	10	0
Plymouth	10	0	0
Welwyn Garden City	1	0	0
Slough	6	6	
R.A.F., Midlands	7	6	
London Meeting	21	11	10
	£146	8	10

the state of the Trades Council and its present Stalinist domination, and calling on all trade union branches to see that their delegates attend and take a live interest in the work of the Trades Council.

At the same time Comrade Bidwell is calling a meeting at the Trades and Labour Hall where he has challenged the Stalinists as a body, and Smith personally to substantiate his slanders in public debate. He has also circulated all trade union branches in the district inviting them to be present at the meeting.

The Stalinists are already on the retreat and there is a feeling among their

# BEVIN SUPPORTS TRIBUNAL AGAINST OWN UNION

The management of a Bristol aeroplane factory has exposed its reactionary character in the manner in which it attacked a workers' Vigilance Committee. The company boasts of never having had a strike. By consistently sacking militants, or in more difficult circumstances, by granting of small local concessions, the firm has managed to keep what disputes that have arisen to a local scale.

At the end of October there was a sudden flare-up over the workers' claim for extra bonus time. Pressure from the workers forced the management to promise partial reforms. Early in November a Vigilance Committee composed of skilled and responsible workers was formed to ensure the fulfilment of the promised reforms. This received wide support in all sections of the factory. A fortnight later nineteen workers from this shop were placed on the transfer list. Included among these were five out of the seven on the Vigilance Committee! They were told that in view of their skill and experience they would be of more use in a factory in another part of the country. But later the same Ministry of Labour officials who had interviewed them asked an ability rated man if he could read a micrometer! It ensued also, that no definite jobs had been found for the men but they were promised jobs near their homes; they could move at their own convenience and at the firm's expense. Obviously neither skill nor experience was the reason for the men's transfer. They were a menace to the management because they represented the interests of the workers. Some of the men, after thinly veiled threats, went quietly—others appealed.

Before the appeals were heard great changes occurred in the shop. In a short time, to the workers' astonishment, nearly every machine was moved out. Enquiry showed that the management had taken the opportunity to break up the whole shop by dispersing the machines. The A.E.U. officialdom deserted its members, refusing to recognise the dispute as legal. The T.&G.W.U. fought the cases. The reason given for the transfer of the men was work at a certain other factory in the area. But after dismissal it transpired that no job was available for these men at the said factory. The T.&G.W.U. argued correctly that the reason for the transfer no longer existing, the men should be reinstated. The local Ministry of Labour Official hid behind the excuse that he had no power to rescind the de-

cision, and the Tribunal, after offering the men jobs to their taste anywhere else, quashed the appeal. The men were thrown into unemployment. And the bosses continue to scream about the shortage of skilled labour.

The union, which has unique connections with Bevin, since he rose from the same local branch to his present position, appealed to this minister himself. He supported the Tribunal in defiance of its own laws and gave not the slightest help to the T.&G.W.U. This attitude of Mr. Bevin is an adequate indication of the real role of the Labour and Trade Union leaders in the government. They entered on the excuse that they would represent the interests of the workers in the Government. Instead of that they are acting as a cover for finance capital against the working class. The above incident illustrates graphically the position of Bevin and the trade union bureaucracy. He was prepared to support a minor local official who was breaking the laws introduced by Bevin himself, insofar as it gave even a limited protection to the rights of the workers. How much support can the workers expect on any big issue which might arise affecting thousands and tens of thousands of workers, when the "Labour" Minister of Labour refuses (despite the flagrant injustice of the case) to intervene on behalf of the worker?

The eyes of the workers in this area are being opened by this incident. Bevin's portrait which hung on the wall of the local branch of the T.&G.W.U. has been broken. This is a reflection of the disaffection of the workers at those who, claiming to represent them, have sided with bosses and their agents, the Government officials.

Victimised by the management, tricked by the Ministry of Labour, betrayed by the union bureaucratic leaders, the workers are beginning to realise that they can only rely on their own strength. The shop stewards in the factory are demanding nothing less than executive control not only of local transfers, but of production. They are beginning to realise that the only way out of this and every other dispute for the workers of this country, is that the workers themselves should control production in order to end the chaos in industry, increase production and at the same time safeguard the rights and conditions of the workers against their enemies.

Bristol Worker.

Yours fraternally,  
A. E. GREEN Secretary.

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**

FORMERLY YOUTH FOR SOCIALISM

ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

EDITOR: E Grant, 61 Northdown Street, London N.1.

**The Need for a  
Revolutionary Party**

The New Year opens with the war spread over the entire face of the globe. Most of the few remaining neutrals will be sucked into the conflict during the course of the coming year. Thus capitalism has plunged the whole of mankind into the agonies of wholesale slaughter and destruction. Whole continents are devastated and the conflict rages on land, sea and air.

The one gain which accrued to the workers of the world as a result of the last imperialist bloodbath—the existence of the Soviet Union—is now a stake in the grim struggle for world mastery between German and American imperialism and their satellites. It was the Fourth International alone, on the unassailable basis of Marxism, which could understand and predict the coming of these events.

The titanic hammer blows of history have reduced to naught the world dominance of British Imperialism. The declaration of the Australian Prime Minister that they must look to America, and the Canadian "pooling" of resources with the United States already indicate that these Dominions of Britain, together with New Zealand have already passed into the orbit of Yankee Imperialism. Coupled with this the visit of British Gauleiter Churchill to his American chief, Roosevelt—indicates to what a pass servile British imperialism has been brought. To complete the picture we see the helpless incapacity of British imperialism to even prepare for war as depicted in the staggering reverses in the Pacific.

Meanwhile the combines and trusts continue at an accelerated pace to strengthen their vultures' grip on the industry and indeed entire economic life of the nation. The shameless conscription of the lives and labour of the men and women of the working and middle classes, while not a finger is laid on the sacred rights of private property, has already begun to arouse bitter and critical reflections among big sections of the working class. Already even in the distorting mirror of parliament, this mood is being reflected through the revolt of the left wing "rebels" within the Labour Party. Though events in the Far East have eclipsed this movement temporarily, it will grow stronger in the coming months. At the same time the growing vote of the I.L.P. candidates at the by-elections is an expression of the growing tension and uneasiness among the British workers at the corruption and incompetence of the ruling class. All these are symptomatic of the tremendous shifts of opinion which are taking place before our eyes.

In the face of this, the advanced workers are becoming awakened to the complete inadequacy of the Labour leaders, who have become mere appendages of the capitalist state machine, and their inability to defend the interests of the workers. The Communist Party, by acting as strike-breakers and agents of the capitalists, is exposing itself before the eyes of the best worker militants throughout the country. Large sections of the advanced workers are seeking for some way out of the impasse in which they find themselves. For lack of a revolutionary alternative

**We Continue the Traditions  
of LENIN, LIEBKNECHT,  
LUXEMBURG**

By H. ATKINSON

In January we commemorate the deaths of three of the greatest European working class leaders: Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

During the last world war they stood at the head of a tiny band of socialists who kept the light of internationalism aflame on the war-torn continent.

Lenin the leader, together with Trotsky, of the October revolution in Russia died on January 21st, 1924.

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were the leaders of the Spartacist League, the revolutionary wing of the German Social Democratic party, which later became the Communist Party. They were murdered by the military police officers of the Social Democratic government on January 16th, 1919.

The basis of the fight against the first imperialist war which was waged by Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg was the international class struggle. In 1915 Rosa Luxemburg wrote: "Either the class struggle is the imperative law of proletarian existence also during war . . . or the class struggle is a crime against the national interests and the safety of the fatherland also in time of peace." The main enemy is at home! was the slogan of Karl Liebknecht. "The proletariat knows . . .", he wrote, "that in every country it has only one real foe—the capitalist class which oppresses and exploits it." Lenin's call to the toilers was even clearer and characteristically to the point. "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." Thus



ROSA LUXEMBURG

can be seen the unity of thought which

the revolutionary socialists who carry on the struggle for workers' power.

"These 'Lefts', scream the Stalinists, 'can see only capitalists'. We must have 'national unity' to strengthen the 'anti-Hitler bourgeoisie', is their treacherous cry. In other words... abandon the class struggle. This argument has been worn thread bare by the leaders of the second International not only in this war, but in the last

one as well, not only in this country; but in all countries. And it was torn to shreds by Karl Liebknecht when he wrote:

"Unity! Who craves for it and works for it more than we! Unity, which makes the proletariat strong so that it can fulfil its historic mission!

"But all 'unity' does not make for strength. Unity of fire and water only extinguishes one and vaporises the other. The unity of the lamb and the wolf gives the lamb to the wolf as prey. Unity of the working class and the bourgeoisie sacrifices the working class. Unity with the traitors means defeat!"

That sums up our position today. In the struggle of the workers against Fascism and for the defence of the U.S.S.R., "Unity with the traitors means defeat!" The capitalist class are the traitors. Lenin and the Bolsheviks were able to convince the Russian workers of this in 1917. They seized the power from the ruling class and their victory led directly to the ending of the last war.

The German workers overthrew the Kaiser, as the Russians overthrew the Czar, but they did not carry through their revolution to proletarian victory despite all the efforts of the Spartacists. Because of the efforts of the Social-Democracy the Revolution was frustrated. Hitler is the payment for this treachery. And the world is once more embroiled in an imperialist war.

During those fateful weeks and months Liebknecht and Luxemburg strove with all their might to lead the German toilers to socialism, but they were unsuccessful. The Attlees and Morrisons of 1918-19 Germany, Ebert, Noske, Scheidemann, betrayed the Soviets into the hands of the capitalists, as Kerensky attempted to do



Karl Liebknecht

**Workers Pressing for  
Higher Wages**

By G. READ

Millions of workers throughout the country are demanding a living wage. An increase in the buying power of their wage packet. Rejecting the extravagant tales of excess wages in the arms industries, the engineers leaders revealed that in the "vast majority of cases wages fell below £1 per week and that time rate was as low as 74/6d. per week. Seventy thousand railwaymen are getting under £3 all told, one hundred and ninety thousand get under £3 per week standard wage and of these one hundred and twenty thousand are raised only a little above that miserable figure when the war wage is added." —Daily Herald, Dec. 6th.

**BOSSSES CAMPAIGN AGAINST  
INCREASES**

Forty craft unions and two industrial unions representing a million workers in the arms industries put forward the engineers claims for increases ranging from 15/8d. to £1 per week. Sir A. Ramsay, replying for the Employers' Federation, rejected the engineers' demand as "contrary to the national interest" and suggested that all industrial workers would demand whatever was conceded to the engineers.

A great campaign was started by the capitalist press to turn public opinion against the engineers claims. Grossly exaggerated accounts of engineering workers earnings were circulated in the daily press and the economic journals were filled with attacks upon the "wage policy" of the T.U.C. ending with demands upon the government to introduce wages stabilisation.

**UNION LEADERS AID BOSSSES**

The action taken by the union leaders to counter these scandalous attacks was typical of the labour appeasers. The engineering workers had the sympathy and wholehearted support of all sections of the workers. The railwaymen, the dockers, the miners and the agricultural workers were ready to give unstinting support to the engineers. Instead of rallying this overwhelming body of opinion to militant support for the engineers' claims, the treacherous union bureaucrats assured the capitalists beforehand that they need have no fear of a determined militant struggle by stating that they would not tolerate strike action. The capitalists, their fear of decisive strike action in support of the engineers removed, were free to ignore the appeals of the labour leaders for "justice" and "honest recognition" of the needs and demands of the engineers.

The action of the union leaders prepared the way for the miserable "award" of the National Arbitration Tribunal. This niggardly "award" in no way meets the needs or the demands of the engineers who are now more dissatisfied than ever, and the hopes of the union bureaucrats for a breathing spell will be very short lived. A yawning gulf exists between the union bureaucrats' belated appeals for formal increases that remain increases only on paper, and which are immediately wiped out by increased cost of living, and the growing demands from the workers for a real increase in their buying power to maintain themselves and their families above the level of "coolies."

The cowardly trade union leaders, hanging on to the coat tails of the capitalists, dare not reveal the real issues at stake.

level brought forth a howling campaign from the capitalists, so much so that one would scarcely credit the profitability of the war for them. The "disclosed" profits for one section alone of the war industry is as follows:—

Aircraft	1938	1939	1940
Bristol	£688,000	£990,000	£766,000
De Havilland	£143,000	£185,000	£231,000
Handley Page	£490,000	£952,000	
Rolls Royce	£483,000	£468,000	£503,000

And this is not the whole picture by any means. These figures are only the "disclosed profits". True profits remain hidden.

Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, in a speech at Birmingham on Dec 4th 1935 stated to company shareholders: "I do not suppose that there are many of my audience who are simple enough to believe that a company's accounts, particularly a holding company, set forth the actual and exact profits earned in each year . . . it is possible within the law to present a more or less truthful but entirely misleading position of affairs . . ." And again, "The Economist", Jan. 1936, stated that profit figures " . . . are not identical with the returns made for income tax purposes—for various reasons, the most important of which is the tendency of most companies to strike their "disclosed" profits figures after making extensive but unspecified adjustments by way of provision for various contingencies, writing down of assets etc."—and this holds good also in wartime. "The Economist", Dec. 6th, 1941, states: "It is still possible for a smart man to make capital profits which are not subject to taxation."

**WORKERS DISSATISFIED WITH  
5/- AWARD**

Without their vast profits, without this enormous "rake off", Hitler or no Hitler the flow of munitions would dry up overnight. This is the understanding implicit in the "truce" between the T.U.C. and the bosses. This drain upon the nation's dwindling economic capacity is passed over in silence by the capitalist press which refers to the modest demands of the workers as "impossible" and "unreasonable." The trade union leaders turning their backs upon the militant class solidarity of the workers, hypocritically ignore these lying assertions of the capitalist press. This despicable servitude, logically flowing from their agreement with the employers and the profit system binds them to a passive non-resisting policy. Appeals to the capitalists' sense of "justice", for their "honest recognition" of the workers' needs, are futile propaganda campaigns; this ersatz mixture is substituted in place of militant struggle and are the limits to which these lackeys of the bosses can go. This policy cannot but lead to ever greater defeats. The miserable 5/- award has even been dolled up as a victory, but (this did not last more than a few hours. The deep dissatisfaction manifest among all sections of the workers nipped the "victory" campaign in the bud. The workers want a living wage. This can only be assured by direct action.

**FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES**

What is most urgently needed is an immediate levelling up of wages followed by the introduction of the sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in prices of consumers goods. Wages under a

of the men and women of the working and middle classes, while not a finger is laid on the sacred rights of private property, has already begun to arouse bitter and critical reflections among big sections of the working class. Already even in the distorting mirror of parliament, this mood is being reflected through the revolt of the left wing "rebels" within the Labour Party. Though events in the Far East have eclipsed this movement temporarily, it will grow stronger in the coming months. At the same time the growing vote of the I.L.P. candidates at the by-elections is an expression of the growing tension and uneasiness among the British workers at the corruption and incompetence of the ruling class. All these are symptomatic of the tremendous shifts of opinion which are taking place before our eyes.

In the face of this, the advanced workers are becoming awakened to the complete inadequacy of the Labour leaders, who have become mere appendages of the capitalist state machine, and their inability to defend the interests of the workers. The Communist Party, by acting as strike-breakers and agents of the capitalists, is exposing itself before the eyes of the best worker militants throughout the country. Large sections of the advanced workers are seeking for some way out of the impasse in which they find themselves. For lack of a revolutionary alternative numbers of workers are placing themselves under the banner of the half-way-house, Centrist, Independent Labour Party which vacillates between a policy of revolutionary internationalism and the reformism of the Labour Party.

Steadily and persistently the forces of revolutionary internationalism are gaining ground among the British workers. Our forces are steadily extending on a national scale, circulation of our press and support for our programme and ideas demonstrate the viability of true internationalism. Historians of the future, in assessing the events of this war will not give last place to the gathering of the revolutionary vanguard in Britain. This process is far more important for the fate of the British and world workers than even the events on the titanic battle fronts. It was the failure to build the revolutionary party in time which resulted in the catastrophes for the workers of the world culminating in the victories of Fascism in Europe and the present world war.

The coming social revolution in Britain will suffer the same fate as its predecessors in Germany, France and Spain unless the instrument for the emancipation for the working class is created in time. This instrument is the revolutionary international party. As Comrade Trotsky aptly put it:

"... We will never forget, that our Party is now the greatest lever in history. Separated from this lever every one of us is nothing. With this lever in hand—we are all! all! all!"

The revolutionary forces in this country are gathering around the banner of the "Socialist Appeal" which appears this year as the official organ of Workers' International League. We are today in a position to reach the ear of large sections of the working class and pose before them our programme in contradistinction to that of all other parties, as the sole solution to the problems confronting mankind.

No matter the temporary vicissitudes of the class struggle, this programme will find its way to the British workers. It is the programme of salvation for the toilers of the entire globe. The policy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky will become flesh of the flesh of millions of workers. Under its inspiring flag the world working class will banish fascism, and far forever and in its place organise the fraternal collaboration of the peoples of the world on the fundamental principles of Socialism.

Comrades! Workers! Rally to the Workers' International League as the first step to building the revolutionary party of the working class in Britain.



ROSA LUXEMBURG

can be seen the unity of thought which motivated their actions and guided them along the same path: the path of class struggle.

Despite the desertion of the "socialist" leaders into the camp of the enemy class, these outstanding leaders carried on the struggle for socialism not only against the capitalist rulers but against the social-patriotic leaders of the Labour parties. A typical example was Liebknecht's lone vote against war credits in the German Reichstag in December 1914. Of this Lenin wrote: "Of the 111 Social Democratic deputies in the Reichstag, only one (one!) has shown himself to be an honest socialist—comrade Karl Liebknecht..."

In Russia, just prior to the seizure of power by the workers, Lenin was depicted as a "German agent" by the capitalists and their labour hacks. The campaign against Lenin as a "German agent" became even more hysterical when he passed through Germany on his way to Russia in the famous so-called "sealed train". In Germany Liebknecht and Luxemburg were vilified also as "foreign agents". Vorwärts, the Social Democratic paper, averred that their activities "were of service to the enemy". Karl Liebknecht was expelled from the Social Democratic Party. This was the green light for the bourgeoisie. They arrested him at the May Day demonstration in Berlin in 1916. He was sentenced to four years imprisonment. Rosa Luxemburg was imprisoned in July of the same year.

Thus was it in the last world war; so it is today. The struggle against the revolutionary workers continues. We too are called "agents of the enemy." This time the bourgeoisie have the leaders of two "internationals" to do their dirty work for them. Attlee and Morrison are outstripped in this respect by the leaders of the Communist Party who have been the most shameless strikebreakers and boss class lackeys since the Soviet Union was attacked. Ceaselessly these traitors direct their attacks against the true representatives of the interests of the people—

The capitalist class are the traitors. Lenin and the Bolsheviks were able to convince the Russian workers of this in 1917. They seized the power from the ruling class and their victory led directly to the ending of the last war.

The German workers overthrew the Kaiser, as the Russians overthrew the Czar, but they did not carry through their revolution to proletarian victory, despite all the efforts of the Spartacists. Because of the efforts of the Social-Democracy the Revolution was frustrated. Hitler is the payment for this treachery. And the world is once more embroiled in an imperialist war.

During those fateful weeks and months Liebknecht and Luxemburg strove with all their might to lead the German toilers to socialism, but they were unsuccessful. The Attlees and Morrisons of 1918-19 Germany, Ebert, Noske, Scheidemann, betrayed the Soviets into the hands of the capitalists, as Kerensky attempted to do in Russia. The Social Democratic leaders feared and hated Liebknecht and Luxemburg and, after Ebert and Co. were placed in power, they incited the police officers to murder the two revolutionaries.

The next day the reactionaries put this incitement to murder into action. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were arrested by the "civil guards" and murdered in cold blood. The fury of the workers compelled the government to arrest the guilty officers but later, at an opportune moment, they were released.

Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg! The masses turned to the programme of these great leaders as the only way out of the first imperialist world conflict and so today the class struggle policy of the Trotskyists is finding an ever broader following among the workers. Whatever hazards and vicissitudes the future may hold, nothing will daunt our faith in the ultimate victory of the workers. There is no other way to destroy Fascism and establish a new world order.

Both the "New Order" which Hitler has imposed on Europe, and the "New Order" which Churchill plans to impose, were dealt with in advance by Rosa Luxemburg when she wrote on January 15th, 1919, on the day before she was murdered:

"Order reigns in Berlin!—You stupid hangmen! Your 'order' is built on sand. To your terror the revolution will yet declare itself, 'rising, rattling its chains', with the trumpet call, 'I was, I am, and I shall be!'"

**READ:**  
**Does Russia's**  
**Entry Alter**  
**Britain's War?**  
by  
**ANDREW SCOTT 2d**

critically ignore these lying assertions of the capitalist press. This despicable servitude, logically flowing from their agree-truce with the employers and the profit system binds them to a passive non-resisting policy. Appeals to the capitalists' sense of "justice", for their "honest recognition" of the workers' needs, and futile propaganda campaigns; this ersatz mixture is substituted in place of militant struggle and are the limits to which these lackeys of the bosses can go. **This policy cannot but lead to ever greater defeats.** The miserable 5/- award has even been dolled up as a victory, but (this did not last more than a few hours. The deep dissatisfaction manifest among all sections of the workers nipped the "victory" campaign in the bud. The workers want a living wage. This can only be assured by direct action.

The action of the union leaders prepared the way for the miserable "award" of the National Arbitration Tribunal. This niggardly "award" in no way meets the needs or the demands of the engineers who are now more dissatisfied than ever, and the hopes of the union bureaucrats for a breathing spell will be very short lived. A yawning gulf exists between the union bureaucrats' belated appeals for formal increases that remain increases only on paper, and which are immediately wiped out by increased cost of living, and the growing demands from the workers for a **real increase in their buying power** to maintain themselves and their families above the level of "coolies."

The cowardly trade union leaders, hanging on to the coat tails of the capitalists, dare not reveal the real issues at stake. They were forced—under intense pressure from the rank and file of organised labour—to declare against wages stabilisation, but their negative opposition to wages stabilisation covers a policy that can serve only the interests of the capitalists and places the whole burden of the war and the collapse of the monetary system upon the backs of the working class.

#### CAPITALISTS HIDE REAL PROFITS

The extremely modest requests from the workers for a few shillings increase to maintain themselves above starvation

## Capitalists Evade E.P.T.

When confronted by the workers with demands for wage increases, the capitalist class conjures up various arguments to show that they too are suffering from the war and are unable to meet the demands. Their favourite argument is that they are subject to 100% E.P.T. and therefore are not making any profit out of the war. Let us examine this argument.

A certain amount of profit is allowed to the capitalist and all profit above this amount must be surrendered to the Exchequer. The profit allowed is based on one of the following alternatives:

- The average profits for the years 1935-37.
  - The average profits for the years 1936-37.
  - The profits of the years 1935 or 1936.
- Lord Stamp's "Index of Total Profits" shows that the average profits of 1936-7 was 14% above the boom year of 1929 and 70% above 1932. Not too harsh a standard!

The second important factor to be noted is that Clause 19 of the Finance Bill provides for the repayment after the war of 20% of certain Excess Profits Taxes. Quite a "nest egg" when one considers the huge profits being made!

The third method of legally evading E.P.T. is by means of "reservations". Behind this word much is hidden.

Under normal conditions, machinery and plant are subject to depreciation, that is, wear and tear. Because of this loss of value, combines are allowed to put aside 10% of their gross profit to make up

for this depreciation. Under war conditions a combine may put aside 20% of their gross profit. Which means that after 5 years at 20% a year, the capitalist has again the original amount he paid for the machinery and plant. But it is obvious that no machine or plant lasts only for five years but is in fact good for another 7 to 10 years. Therefore it can be seen that Excess Profits instead of going to the Exchequer are being diverted by means of a legal manoeuvre back into the pockets of the capitalists.

#### FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES

What is most urgently needed is an immediate levelling up of wages followed by the introduction of the sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in prices of consumers goods. Wages under a strictly guaranteed minimum would follow the movement of prices. Without this, all talk of maintaining a living wage will remain—talk. It will never be achieved by looking up to and placing reliance upon the trade union leaders but by forcing them forward by militant rank and file action to conduct a national campaign for the demands outlined above. There is no other way than by the introduction of the sliding scale of wages to prevent the standard of living of the workers being forced down to starvation level.

Another favourite trick of the employers is to staff their factories with relatives and friends in the position of "technicians" and "managers" and paying them enormous salaries. Thus evading E.P.T. and also military service. These relatives and friends invariably know nothing about their jobs and only impede production.

There are many other ways of evading E.P.T. such as building unnecessary plant for non-essential goods, with post-war prospects, advertising commodities which cannot be bought, running up large "entertainment" and "general" expenses and generally evading E.P.T. in any way possible.

Thus it can be seen that the capitalists certainly do not suffer from the war and their arguments to justify their refusal to meet demands for wage increases are entirely fallacious. "Socialist Appeal" demands: **"CONFISCATION OF ALL WAR PROFITS—ALL COMPANY BOOKS TO BE OPEN FOR TRADE UNION INSPECTION."**

G. S.

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

An end to the coalition with the bosses. Labour and Trade Union leaders must break with the capitalist Government and wage a campaign for power on the following programme:

1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop keepers.
6. Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
7. Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
9. Establishment of military academies by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
10. Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or betrayal.
11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the Colonies.
12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe on the basis of this programme in Britain to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

## BRITAIN ASKS JAPS to Restore 'Law and Order'

(Continued from page 1)

the slogans of Churchill and Roosevelt, because for the masses of Malaya, life, whether under the tender protection of Japanese or Anglo-American bayonets, would not be much different. As early as 1940, the blood of the Chinese dock workers of Malaya was flowing not from Japanese bullets but from the bullets of more democratic manufacture. The governor, Shenton Thomas was denouncing

## CANNON DEFENDS SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 1)

ity . . . proving it by testimony of government witnesses that various of the defendants had said words to that effect in private conversations! That was the heart of the prosecution's case: one government witness after another taking the stand to testify that V. R. Dunne, or Carl Skoglund, or Max Goldman, etc., in a barroom or in a parked automobile or in a union clubroom, in a personal conversation, had stated that the Socialist Workers Party was plotting an armed revolution soon—i.e., by a minority—just like the Russian Revolution.

### TESTIMONY DEFENDS THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In the direct testimony Cannon punctured all this clap-trap by an elementary recital of the unquestionable historical facts. He gave a chronology of the main events in Russia in 1917 from the fall of the Czar in March to the establishment of the Soviet government on November 7, 1917. Those indisputable facts established that, with the collapse of Czarism, all the labour and peasant parties and organisations united to set up the Soviets that the Soviets were from the first the most authoritative body in Russia; that the Lvov-Miliukov and the Kerensky cabinets derived their sole authority to govern from the consent of the Soviets, which during most of the February-November period gave a majority to the Social Revolutionary and Menshevik parties; and that only when the Soviets gave a majority to the Bolsheviks and the authority to do so, did the Bolsheviks set up the Soviet government on November 7, 1917.

In short, the Soviet government was legally established by the authority of the overwhelming majority of the people, and the violence came, not from the workers and peasants but from the reactionary,

outlived minority which refused to abide by the decision of the majority.

Against these unassailable facts Schweinhaut (prosecutor) could throw himself only in vain. In cross-examination he could only try, by dishonest questions, to foist upon the jury an impression that Cannon's recital of the history of the Russian Revolution was not really the whole story. Typical of the corrupt methods used by Schweinhaut was his rapidly reading, with a "triumphant" expression on his face, some ten pages from Leon Trotsky's "Lessons of October", and concluding with: "Now doesn't that disprove your story, Mr. Cannon?" Schweinhaut knew better, but obviously hoped, by his reading to rural jurors a text full of strange expressions, that he would confuse them and they would accept his deliberately false conclusion.

But to any halfway disinterested observer, it was clear that Cannon had built on the granite foundation of facts while Schweinhaut was banking on evoking backward prejudices in the jury. Newspapermen who had written none-too-friendly articles up to that point; lawyers attending the trial purely out of professional interest; conservative but fair-minded unionists—all indicated afterward that Cannon had convinced them that the prosecution's picture of a cellar-plot to use force and violence was a fraud.

### THE PARTY'S PROLETARIAN MILITARY POLICY

Likewise with the government's attempt to picture the Proletarian Military Policy of the party as constituting instigation of disobedience by soldiers in the armed forces. Here, too, the government could find nothing in the anti-war literature of the Socialist Workers Party to substantiate its charge. And here, too, the government filled in the gap with testimony of government witnesses about what this or that defendant had said in private conversations in bars and house-parties.

Cannon broke this down with a clear exposition of the party's legislative programme to secure government appropriations for special military training camps where, under the control of the trade unions, workers would be trained in the military arts and outstanding workers would be trained as officers. This form of conscription, Cannon explained, would make impossible such catastrophes as the treachery and capitulation to Hitler of the French general staff; it would be a bulwark against both domestic and foreign fascism.

To continue summarising the specific points on which Cannon refuted the

## C. P. Organises Attacks Against Appeal Sellers

Following the instructions issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to smash the Trotskyists and suppress the "Socialist Appeal" by physical assaults upon the workers who sell it, the Stalinists have organised a campaign of hooliganism and violence throughout the country.

From Liverpool comes a report that our comrades were assaulted outside the Holyoak Hall when selling their papers. A comrade writes: "A Stalinist came out and threatened that unless we stopped selling, he would 'arrange' that we would be dealt with before the afternoon was up. After a group of Stalinists had shouted threats and insults, one of them snatched at the 'Appeals' and tore them up. Replying in the only way such near-fascist methods deserve, the Stalinist was soon on the floor, not much hurt, but certainly disinclined to try any more funny business."

From Birmingham another comrade writes: "Selling outside a C.P. meeting at the Aston Hippodrome, we were approached by C.P.'ers and told to clear off. We refused to go, maintaining the right to sell our papers. About a dozen C.P.'ers were soon pushing and handling me, but I stood my ground and informed them

## ★ READ CANNON'S TESTIMONY IN Worker's International News

that the methods they were employing were the methods of fascist hooliganism. One C.P'er, Atkins, an organiser for N.U.D.A.W. who has recently been expelled from the Birmingham Trades Council for not being a bona fide delegate from his branch, attempted to rip my papers from my hand but failed to do so. A number of workers who were present protested at my treatment."

From the London area reports of widespread organised hooliganism comes from all areas. At Wimbledon, the Stalinists called the police to remove our comrades, but they stood their ground and continued selling. At Ilford, one comrade selling the "Socialist Appeal" was set upon and his papers were ripped. The same happened at Wood Green. At Chiswick

## I.L.P. and Stalinist Slander

Below we publish the letters exchanged between the I.L.P. and ourselves on the question of a united front against Stalinist provocation and slander. These letters were exchanged following on a discussion between Comrades Atkinson and Brockway.

The leaders of the I.L.P. do not believe it necessary to hold "special" meetings to combat the Stalinist campaign; that such meetings would assist rather than deter the Stalinists in their provocations. At the same time they refer to the fate which befell their brother party—the P.O.U.M.—in Spain! But it is precisely because the P.O.U.M. carried out the same ostrich policy as is now being carried out by the I.L.P. that facilitated the attacks against it, culminating in the murder of its leaders by the Stalinists.

Already the campaign has reached the stage of physical assault, not only of the Trotskyists, but of workers selling the NEW LEADER at Communist Party meetings. AND THE CAMPAIGN IS STILL IN ITS EARLY STAGES. As the war proceeds and the workers turn towards the left, the Stalinists will, in desperation turn to more violent methods. Under these circumstances it is an elementary precaution of self-preservation that a vigorous campaign of exposure be waged, against these degrading methods of organised hooliganism. The Central Committee of the Communist Party have issued instructions that the names and addresses of all Trotskyists should be secured. This undoubtedly applies to members of the I.L.P. as well. In Spain and in France this action was a prelude to Stalinist assistance to police reaction. In the Nazi occupied countries the names and addresses of revolutionaries opposed to C.P. policy were handed over to the Gestapo. This is not a question of a merely incidental character. It concerns the VERY EXISTENCE OF WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS which operate a policy opposed to Churchill and the Communist Party. If the I.L.P. refuses to carry the struggle against the Stalinist pogroms, how will they face up to the far stronger blows of the capitalists when they really start to suppress the left wing? Particularly since they will have the active assistance of the Stalinists.

Comrades of the I.L.P.! Remember the fate of the workers in Spain! We appeal to the leadership of the I.L.P. to reverse its present disastrously negative policy and enter a united front.

We appeal to the members of the I.L.P. to force their leadership to change its present policy and conduct a vigorous united front campaign which will expose the Stalinists before the whole Labour movement as well as protect our organisations from their gangster assaults.

### WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

61, Northdown Street,  
London, N.1.

Secretary,  
I.L.P.

3rd December, 1941

Dear Comrade,

Following the recent attacks on the "Socialist Appeal" by the "Sunday Dispatch" and the Communist Party, we have issued a challenge to the latter to an open debate in order to substantiate their accusations. In confirmation of our verbal request, through Comrade Harold Atkinson, we again ask that you delegate a speaker to this meeting in order to put the case of the I.L.P. which is also being attacked by the Communist Party.

We believe that this method of thrashing out differences between sections of the organised working class complies with the best traditions of the British Labour movement. We would be grateful if you will publish our letter to the Communist Party in the "New Leader".

Yours fraternally,

E. Grant.

For the E.B. of the Socialist Appeal.

### INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY National Administrative Council

318 Regents Park Road,  
Finchley, London, N.3.

Mr. Atkinson,  
61, Northdown Street,  
London, N.1.

8th December 1941

Dear Comrade Atkinson,

I promised to let you have a note about the decision against my coming to your meeting on December 21st.

We are well aware that the Communist Party will adopt any tactics against ourselves, as well as against you, including demands as the situation develops for the suppression of our paper and of all our activities. Already they are beginning tactics here which are similar to those they adopted against the Poum in Spain.

We take the view, however, that if we hold or participate in special meetings dealing with this matter, it will assist rather than deter their purpose. We shall meet vigorously their tactics, as we are now doing in the bye-election at Central Edinburgh, but to over-emphasise the importance of their attack will only play into their own hands.

It was for this reason that we felt it inadvisable that we should accept your invitation to send a speaker to your meeting.

Fraternally yours,  
Fenner Brockway.

## 'OVER FREE' FRENCH

By occupying two small islands off the coast of Newfoundland on Christmas Eve, Admiral Musillier head of the Free French naval forces, has caused a storm in the diplomatic teacup. The reaction of the

According to London headquarters of Free France, the Vichy governor of these islands, M. De Bournat had "instituted a reign of terror, threatening the partisans of Free France with repressive measures.

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# BRITAIN ASKS JAPS to Restore 'Law and Order'

(Continued from page 1)

the slogans of Churchill and Roosevelt, because for the masses of Malaya, life, whether under the tender protection of Japanese or Anglo-American bayonets, would not be much different. As early as 1940, the blood of the Chinese dock workers of Malaya was flowing not from Japanese bullets but from the bullets of more democratic manufacture. The governor, Shenton Thomas was denouncing as "Quisling" and "Fifth Columnist" any native worker who fought for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living—and this at a time when British and Dutch finance capital was reaping gigantic profits out of the semi-starved bodies of the toilers.

## WEALTH LEFT INTACT FOR JAPANESE

The methods by which the war is being waged in the Pacific is in itself an indication of the real aims and aspirations of the ruling class. Apart from the glaring incompetence and inefficiency which have resulted in the tremendous victories of Japan, there is the incapacity to apply the "scorched earth" policy. Reports from Tokyo boast that the oil wells of Borneo will be working full pressure, producing 500,000 tons of vitally needed oil for Japan every year. When the island of Penang was captured, apart from blowing up one or two buildings, the power station, food supplies, arms and ammunition—even the wireless was left intact and is now disseminating Japanese propaganda to the Malayans. The tin mines in Kedah and Ipoh are intact for the Japanese to exploit. The rubber plantations have been handed over to reinforce and equip the war machine of Japanese imperialism.

The reason underlying this is quite easy to understand. The imperialists' argument that this is a war against fascism and aggression is used as an ideological cover to gain the support of the workers. *What they are fighting for is their property and privileges.* Rather than destroy these, they prefer to place the resources accruing from them, into the hands of Japan, rendering their "enemies" enormous assistance. They do so in the hope of ultimate reconquest of these territories. But meanwhile the fact that these resources will be instrumental in the slaughter of thousands of British troops, and renders the task of re-conquest

more difficult, is not sufficient inducement to operate a genuine policy of "scorched earth" when weighed against the prospect of *future profits.* Apart from this lust for profits, the scorched earth policy cannot be operated without the support of the broad masses. In Russia it was the workers and peasants who destroyed the factories, farms and fields, because the means of production have been taken out of the hands of the capitalists, and rather than allow these to fall into the hands of the Nazi invaders they were prepared to undergo terrible hardship and suffering which must result from such a policy. For them the struggle against Hitler is a class issue, with their whole lives and future at stake. But for the masses of Malaya and Hong Kong the struggle between Britain and Japan is one with which they are not concerned. At Hong Kong the British were compelled to surrender because of "riots and disorder" among the Chinese workers and coolies at Kowloon. One of the terms of the British capitulation was that the Japanese should restore "law and order"! So that the British imperialists, far from relying on the native masses, felt themselves closer to the Japanese imperialists. The moment the workers, who are bitterly exploited and oppressed by the British, showed signs of being shaken out of their apathy by the events of the war, the British capitalists soon retreated in face of the common enemy. For the imperialists, these workers are mere instruments to produce profit.

In the quarter ending September 30th, 1941, 101 rubber companies made a total profit of £2,575,255 which was an increase of £1,284,381 during the same period of the previous year. Let us examine a few more figures.

Kuala Lumpur	£62,288	£85,356
Laras (Sumatra)	£89,724	£126,687
Bukit Mertajam	£93,377	£127,096

It is for this, the fleshpots of the Empire that Dutch and British imperialism is fighting in the hills and swamps of Malaya.

## BRITAIN SUPPORTED JAPAN

For years our ruling class openly aided the Japanese imperialists in their war on the Chinese people. In 1933, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India wrote:

"Japan has got a very powerful case based upon fundamental realities. She was quite right in acting with the object

of creating peace and order in Manchuria and defending herself against the continued aggression of Chinese nationalism. Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt stands condemned if we condemn Japan.

Cannon broke this down with a clear exposition of the party's legislative programme to secure government appropriations for special military training camps where, under the control of the trade unions, workers would be trained in the military arts and outstanding workers would be trained as officers. This form of conscription, Cannon explained, would make impossible such catastrophes as the treachery and capitulation to Hitler of the French general staff; it would be a bulwark against both domestic and foreign fascism.

To continue summarising the specific points on which Cannon refuted the trumped-up charges of the prosecution would be a poor substitute for the verbatim text of Cannon's testimony. Such a summary would give only a thin indication of the authoritative quality of the original. Every serious worker must read Cannon's own testimony. It is published in *Workers' International News*, January 1942, and in pamphlet form and made available to the whole working class. For it gives the message of socialism not in the drab form of a textbook but in the dramatic form of struggle which, though decorously conducted in a courtroom, is nevertheless one of the great battles of the class struggle.

of creating peace and order in Manchuria and defending herself against the continued aggression of Chinese nationalism. Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt stands condemned if we condemn Japan.

The Chinese people retreated from city after city for lack of arms, huge shipments of war material were crossing the Atlantic not for the defence of China, but for the Tokyo war lords. While Japanese bombers were roaring over the defenceless Chinese sky, the King was sending a congratulatory message to the Emperor in Tokyo.

British and American imperialism are sending the best sons of the workers to die in the swamps and jungles of Malaya—and for what? For the tin, rubber, oil and the innumerable riches of the whole Pacific basin above all the prize for which the Japanese and British-American imperialist bandits are fighting is the 1,000,000,000 colonial people from whom the greater part of the wealth of the planet is cruelly and brutally extracted. It is a struggle between slave-masters for slaves.

No promises of a better future given by the imperialist rulers will deceive the exploited toilers. So long as the capitalists rule Britain, Britain can find no support among the colonial masses.

A. Roy.

# International News

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From the London area reports of widespread organised hooliganism comes from all areas. At Wimbledon, the Stalinists called the police to remove our comrades, but they stood their ground and continued selling. At Ilford, one comrade selling the "Socialist Appeal" was set upon and his papers were ripped. The same happened at Wood Green. At Chiswick a copy of the Appeal was posted up on a wall with a swastika scrawled over it, and the words Poison! above and below. At the Stoll theatre over a dozen Stalinists attempted to push our comrades away but they stood their ground and sold several dozen copies of the Appeal.

At all these meetings the tactics of the Stalinists were the same. From 6 to 12 formed a ring around each seller, screening the "Socialist Appeal" from passers by, threatening and pushing. But the campaign was not only limited to sellers of the Appeal. At the Stoll Theatre, a bundle of "New Leaders" were snatched from the hands of a woman comrade of the I.L.P. by one of the stewards at Pollitt's meeting.

The best elements of the Communist Party cannot but regard this campaign with dismay. There was no enthusiasm even on the part of those carrying out the assaults, while many protests were heard.

We appeal to the rank and file of the C.P. to force their leadership to abandon such methods, but in any case we do not intend to tolerate this hooliganism and will meet it by an organised defense on the part of our comrades.

## MARXIST STUDY CLASSES

Holborn Hall.

Room No. 2. Lectures start at 3 p.m. Sunday, 18th January.

**Why Hitler Came to Power**

Jock Haston

Sunday, 25th January.

**Revolution and Counter Revolution in Spain**

G. Healy

Sunday, 1st February.

**Lessons of France**

A. Roy.

Sunday, 8th, February.

**The Theoretical Basis of the Fourth International.**

E. Grant.

**LONDON CLASSES:**

Wimbledon: William Morris Hall, 227 Broadway. Every Sunday, 7.30 p.m. Also at Edmonton, East End, Southall Kilburn, Hendon and Shepherd's Bush. Ask for Particulars.

**GLASGOW:**

Clarion Rooms, Wellington Street. Every Sunday at 7 p.m.

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# 'OVER FREE' FRENCH

By occupying two small islands off the coast of Newfoundland on Christmas Eve, Admiral Musillier head of the Free French naval forces, has caused a storm in the diplomatic teacup. The reaction of the "democracies" lifts the lid off the secret negotiations and manoeuvres which are taking place behind the scenes and exposes the real attitude of Roosevelt and Churchill to "Quislingism" and "democracy".

Deploring the "over free" action of the Free French, the "Sunday Times" of December 28th, attempts to explain the awkward situation created for the "democracies" by the somewhat impulsive action of Britain's lackey. We are told that America "remains in full diplomatic relation with Vichy—the only legal French authority from the American point of view."

It is not a question of "democratic" principle, which dictates the attitude of the ruling classes in the democratic states. Indeed how could this be, when they rely on quislings as well as armed force to maintain their empires. But the Yanks are not at all convinced that De Gaulle, the British Quisling, has sufficient force to further the interests of American imperialism at the present moment. They are not at all convinced that Vichy may not yet be induced to swop masters and serve New York instead of Berlin. It was largely due to popular pressure that Whitehall was forced to break public relations with Vichy, but who can doubt that there are still secret negotiations to win Vichy over yet.

According to London headquarters of Free France, the Vichy governor of these islands, M. De Bournat had "instituted a reign of terror, threatening the partisans of Free France with repressive measures. Families of men who had volunteered to join the Free French forces were either persecuted or deprived of state support while anti-British propaganda was encouraged." But the "democracies" are content to allow this state of affairs to continue as long as it does not interfere with their strategic aims in the war. Although a plebiscite of the population showed that 98% of the islanders were in favour of Free France, the great democrat Roosevelt is prepared to violate the will of the population and hand them back to Vichy. The tone of the British press shows that under pressure Churchill and the British capitalist class would readily agree.

In this action is mirrored the attitude of the "democracies" to democracy. Therein is reflected the type of regime which will be imposed on Europe if they are successful in crushing German imperialism and moulding the "peace" after the war.

The British and French, as well as the European and American workers must learn the lessons of this diplomatic by-play. Only when secret diplomatic negotiations with Fascism and their agent quislings is put to an end; only when power is taken out of the hands of the capitalists will real democracy arise only then will the question of workers' democracy versus fascism be posed as a genuine issue.

## STOP PRESS

Case of U.S.A.

12 defendants have sentences of 16 months and 6 of 1 year

## A MEETING ON Industrial Policy

to be held on

Sat. 21st Feb. at HOLBORN HALL