Workers of the World Unite.

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

LABOUR to Power

BY E. GRANT

THE COALITION BETWEEN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE CAPITALIST CLASS IS CRACKING. THE CYNICAL INDICATION BY THE GOVERNMENT THAT IT HAS NO INTENTION OF CARRYING THROUGH EVEN THE MODEST REFORMS OUTLINED IN THE BEVERIDGE PLAN, HAS PROVOKED A CRISIS WITHIN THE LABOUR PARTY.

The Labour Ministers, having established "Social Security" for themselves, do not worry about splitting hairs when the Government tosses overboard the demagogy about "freedom from want" for the masses after the war. They have shamefully accepted the Government's position. The majority of the second layer of the Labour leaders, under the pressure of mass discontent and disillusionment, have been compelled to oppose the Government on this issue and for the first time, the bulk of them voted against the Government. Thus we have the farcical situation where the Labour Ministers supported by only two Labour M.P.s vote for the Government against the overwhelming majority of their Party group.

in voting against the Government remains a piece of repulsive hypocrisy and a deception of the working class if they continue to tolerate the Labour Ministers remaining in the Government. Yet the disgraceful position

But the gesture of the Labour M.P.s | exists where the Labour M.P.s agree to allow the coalition to continue on the familiar path of capitulation and surrender to the capitalists. It is reported in the capitalist press that one or more of the Labour Ministers has threatened to resign from the Labour from the Labour movement.

Party. This is the MacDonald experience all over again. Anyone making such ultimatams must be immediately denonuced and driven

The ruling class is preparing meas- | is rapidly turning against the Govern- | It is to meet this steady move to--ures, internally and externally, for an ment of Big Finance. Nearly all the

wards the Left and towards Socialism,

NEPTUNE

BY M. ORTON

THE STRIKE INVOLVING 250 MEN AT NEPTUNE ENGINE WORKS, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE SHOWS PROMISE OF BEING THE MOST DETERMINED DEFENCE OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS SUICE THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

Now entering its fourth week, the dispute arose over the right of the workers to organise their shop on the basis of 100 per cent. Trade Unionism. Faced with the refusal of the bosses to take action against live non-Unionists employed in the shop, who had consistently resisted attempts to recruit them into the A.E.U., the workers were compelled to withdraw their labour in defence of their trade union rights.

for Home Guard

VOL. 5. No. 6.

When Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Smith, G.O.C., London District Home Guard, blurted out to what uses he thought the Home Grard would be put after the war, there was a flutter in Fleet Street and a squeak by the daily "democrats". It is no wonder they had to chide this blunderer, for like Moore Brabazon, he out the boss class

"Quite apart from the responsibility of the Home Guard during the war,' he said, "I would remind you of the great task members will have afterwards, for when Armistic is signed, human nature being what it is, there may well be an inclination for the discipline of the country, not to be as steady as it should."

In the mind of this reactionary, Home Guards will be used as strikebreakers and to attack the working class. Any manifestation of industrial militancy or class independence will be classed as "indiscipline" and this Blimp, alongside his class brothers who control the Home Guard will use it as a reactionary anti-democratic army . .

That these ideas of G.O.C. Smith are widely held among the capitalists, is demonstrated by the strike-breaking actions to which sections of the H.G. have been put on several occasions in

Indeed, only a short time after his statement, the management of a South London factory called in the Home Guard to eject a worker from the factory, who was a members of the A.E.U.

But these aspirations of the reactionery wing of the ruling class are not I going unnoticed among the workers or members of Mar Jonie Guard. Smith's statement his Cused a great deal of general conclusions from these discus-

The strike commenced in the Inside Department on the morning of January 25th, and the following day was extended to the Outside Department, which came out in support of the demands of their fellow workers.

The Neptune Yard has been a black spot on the Tyneside over a period of years due to the lack of organisation of the workers, and the management are determined to maintain this position at all costs, including a complete disregard of the interests of production. It is worthy of note that whilst the strikers are accused of sabotaging the war effort, etc., Mr. Wright, the General Manager who is Vice Chairman of the North Eastern Production Board, is not concerned how many productive days are lost, and is not prepared to come to any agreement with the striking men. It is clear from the statement made by Mr. Wright on January 25th, to the effect that workers could remain on strike for as long as they liked, since it was no concern of his, that the onus of loss of output rests entirely on the shoulders of the bosses and not the workers, who are anxious to reach an agreement and return to work.

During recent months increased methods of regimentation have been inflicted on the Neptune Yard workers, and it is generally assumed that these measures were in actual fact a test case for the whole of the Tyneside. From this it is clear that a victory for the engineering workers in this struggle would establish a precedent for 100 per cent trade unionism, which would give an impetus for the organisation of all the shipyards.

That the aim of the reactionary Shipbuilding Employers' Federation is to prevent this at all costs is shown by the stubborn stand taken by the Neptune Management.

The importance of the strike for Tyneside workers is evident. On the basis of a victory for the 250 engineers, a drive for 100, per cent trade unionism throughout the whole of the Tyneside would begin. The question of a closed shop and employment of nonunionists is one which is vital to the discussion and consternation and the interests of the workers. It therefore becomes the duty of trade union mili-

The Tyneside D.C. of the A.E.U. has unofficially supported the strike and has levied its members to raise financial assistance for the strikers. In accordance, however, with the practice of the Labour and trade union leadership, of shackling the workers in the interests of British capitalism, there has been no attempt to organise support for the strike through official union channels. Whilst exhorting the workers to greater efforts in the defence of capitalist interests, the trade union bureaucrats offer no assistance for the simple preservation of trade union rights.

The activities of the Stalinists in this struggle have been less evident than in the Tyneside dispute of October. The C.P. have no desire to further antagonise the workers in the district and bring about a depletion of their already diminishing ranks. To date, the "Daily Worker" has confined itself to a mere report of the dispute. Faithful to their policy of "national unity at all costs", the C.P. members have been active in agitating for the | not to stay underground but they rereturn to work of the strikers and in | fused. 60 year old James Delaney, sabotaging collections in the workshops. In their leaflet issued under | went down the pit despite the pleas of the signature of the North East Disthey tackle the problem with extreme | to give in and was eventually brought go back to work and state: "Stoppages of work in these circumstances are | fellow workers and organised the sendassisting fascism and weakening trade unionism"! The Strike Committee | straw for the men to sleep on. have been forced in their own defence, i to warn the workers against such acttrayal, however, was learned by Tyneside workers in the strike of October and the C.P. will find little support of their leaders, in the event of the intervention by the Ministry of Labour against the men, they are prepared if necessary to continue their struggle

At the time of going to press a deadlock has been reached; the firm remains uncompromising in its refusal to sack the five non-unionists, and the 250 strikers remain determined in their. demand for a closed shop.

The Strike Committee has expressed

BY TOM BURNS

Following the refusal of the Eire Government to accede to the demands of the miners at Castlecomer Colliery, County Kilkenny, for a 4/- wage increase, 200 miners staged a six days "Stay Down" strike.

A further demand of the miners was the withdrawal of Order 166 which prevents workers from obtaining an increase on the basic rates prevailing on April 8th, 1942. The total number of miners in Arigna Colliery, County Leitrim and Tubberella Colliery, County Sligo, struck work in sympathy on

the same day. The strike swiftly spread to the three remaining coal pits in Eire, and on January 27th, the miners at The Swan, Athy, Rossmore Colliery, County Carlow, and Wolfhill pit, Leix, came out in solidarity.

Castlecomer miners receive the lowest rates in the country and the average wage earned is a little over £2 per week. Out of this meagre sum, the workers have o supply their own lights, tools and explosives!

So certain were the Castlecomer miners of their just demands, that they endured the horrors of living underground for 6 whole days and nights. Sick men implored their comrades not to take them to the surface. The older miners were asked by their comrades who is amongst the oldest members, the miners. 18 miners are very ill, trict Orangiser of the C.P.-MacEwen, two seriously. William Boyle, refused caution but call upon the workers to up on a stretcher to hospital. The townspeople rallied to the aid of their ing down of food, tea, cigarettes and

The capitalist government had the usual support of the press and the ivity. The lesson of the Stalinist be- re try "Trish Times" carried tating: "Miners Challenge inferring that the state ld step in and deal with for their treachery. The spirit of the | the wave of strikes. As direct negotistrikers is high, and according to one ations between the trade unions and the employers on wage issues are now forbidden by law, the Government's treacherous "arbitration courts" are

> paper alternative. In a statement to the press, Mr. J. Kelly, secretary of the Miners Branch, Irish Transport and General Workers Union, showed this clearly:

being exposed for what they are-a

"Miners made application for a Wage (Standard Rate) Order on October 31st, 1942, with the desire to bring average earnings to the level of Wolfhill and Rossmore Col-

The ruling class is preparing meas- | is rapidly turning against the Governures, internally and externally, for an ment of Big Finance. Nearly all the offensive against the working class. recent by-elections show a tendency The speeches of Churchill and Roose- in this direction. In West Belfast, velt have raised the question once formerly a stronghold of backward again of the real aims of the war. Ulster Tory reaction, the Labour At home the masses of the workers, Party has won a resounding victory. and the middle class also, are becoming more and more critical of the situation in which they find themselves. The ruling class has utilised the war for the purpose of enriching themselves at the expense of the standard of living of the people. All the burdens of the war have been laid on the shoulders of the miners, soldiers, engineers, housewives, small shopkeepers, etc., while the millionaire combines and banks have ruthlessly secured an overwhelming grip | an indecisive index of opinion, such a on the economy of Britain,

restlessness and disgust of the workers something of a portent."

This is the first Labour M.P. to be sent to Whitehall from Ulster. In the Midlothian bye-election in Scotland, the Tory candidate only managed to scrape home by a few hundred votes in what was regarded as a safe Tory seat. The "Times", organ of Big Business, reflects the alarm of the ruling class at the tendency throughout the country, and reluctantly comments: "When every factor has been deducted that may make a bye-election result as that which the Midlothian Under these circumstances the electors have lately registered is still

Gandhi's Fast Mirrors Mass Starvation 1. DDUMJEE

continued detention by the British Raj has created a crisis. The tone of the press implies that he may die, and portrays the extreme nervousness of ation. In spite of the fact that conthe British ruling class at the situation which will arise in such an eventu-

And it is no wonder that the capitalists are nervous. For whilst they give plenty of publicity in the press to demonstrate the kid-glove policy with which they handle Gandhi and his friends, they clamp down an iron censorship on how they handle the rank and file of Congress and the Indian masses with shot and lash.

In India the British are sitting on a powder barrel which may go off at any moment and the death of Gandhi may be the action which would set it alight. On August 8th, last year 60,000 leaders or potential leaders of Congress were arrested and interned.

According to "Hansard", Mr. Amery, in answering a question from Mr. Sorenson, Labour M.P., stated that between August 9th and November 30th, 1942, 1,023 people were killed in "disturbances", 3,215 were more or less seriously wounded and 958 were flogged. Parliamentary questions also brought out the fact: that, since Aug. the police have fired upon demonstrators no fewer than 538 times; in other words: that a veritable civil war, or civil massacre is taking place. But the massacre of the population and the brutal floggings which are identical to the Nazi attacks on the European population and the Jews, are only a reflection of the even greater oppression of the Indian masses through British control of the economic life of the countr

other, masses of Indian workers and erty and disease, today on account of Normally suffering terribly from povpeasants are faced with starvation.

Gandhi's hunger strike against his I the bankrupt policy of the imperialists, famine is ravishing the land. And nothing is done to relieve the situditions have been deteriorating in the last year, the export of foodstuffs has

> The situation is so serious that it has led to widespread hunger riots in several parts of the country.

At Narik, in the Bombay Province on Sunday, 7th January, military assistance had to be obtained to control large crowds who had stormed the grain shops. Fifty arrests, including those of a number of starving women, were made. The police and the military are empowered to shoot without warning and curfew has been imposed in many parts of the country.

The British press is spreading the report that the situation is temporary and that nothing need be done. has been pointed out that the loss of imported rice from Burma is partly responsible for the famine and the position will be eased soon. But the Burmese imports accounted for only a small percentage of the total food supplies of the country. Again, it is pointed out by the representatives of imperialism that the provincial governments are responsible for the agricultural and food supply and that the Central Government and the Viceroy are in no way responsible for the situ-From one end of the country to the ation. But the fact is that on the outbreak of the war, the Viceroy took over sweeping powers and is a virtual dictator. This is simply an alibi to

Continued on Back page.

It is to meet this steady move towards the Left and towards Socialism, that compelled the Government to attempt to by-pass this opposition by announcing the Beveridge Scheme as a great scheme for Social Reconstruction. Despite warnings and efforts to avoid it by all the means in their power, the Government had to follow in the footsteps of Lloyd George. His "Land fit for heroes" has once again been pulled out of the drawer of capitalist promises and dusted over, his demagogy furnished with a new gilding, entitled "Freedom from want for all Social Security", etc.

But immediately Bevin introduced the Catering Bill-meagre and inadequate as it was-to alleviate the horrible sweated conditions in this nightmare industry, the Tories showed their teeth. A substantial number of Tories voted against the Government. "National Unity" was contemptuously thrown aside even when a modest proposal such as this was placed before them. Their class interests and their right to exploit the workers as much

Continued on Back page.

Guard to eject a worker from the factory, who was a members of the A.E.U But these aspirations of the react-

ionery wing of the ruling class are not 1 going unnoticed among the workers or members of the Home Guard. Smith's statement his taused a great deal of discussion and consternation and the general conclusions from these discussions on the part of the rank and file are very different from those of the G.O.C. The question of the use of the Home Guard to eject a worker from the plant was raised on the S. London D.C. of the A.E.U. and the workers protested in no uncertain terms at the H.G. being used as private army against them.

Workers who joined or were conscripted into the Home Guard on the plea of fighting fascism, do not intend to allow themselves to be used as an anti-democratic and pro-fascist force.

The best guarantee against the Home Guard being used to impose Smith's conception of "discipline" on the working class is for the officers to be under the control of the workers. It is not possible to trust officers with Smith's reactionary class outlook, Only officers elected by the ranks could be trusted to be genuine democrats and to fight against reaction.

The Red Guard which was set up by the workers of Russia under Lenin and Trotsky was an armed force of this description. It was a workers' militia, a workers' Home Guard, organised and led by the workers, whose officers were not hand-picked for their loyalty to capitalist reaction but elected by the workers for their loyalty to the working class: that is the kind of force that we need in Britain, a force that will organise working class discipline.

the importance of the strike for Tyneside workers is evident. On the basis of a victory for the 250 engineers, a drive for 100, per cent trade unionism throughout the whole of the Tyneside would begin. The question of a closed shop and employment of noninterests of the workers. It therefore becomes the duty of trade union militants to render every assistance to the strikers. Failure to do this will give the bosses a free hand, and force the workers to capitulate through lack of

We learn that already substantial

financial support nas been received not only from Tyneside and other shipbuilding and engineering centres, but also from the organised Tailors and Garment Workers and other such nonengineering organisations on the Tyne and other parts of the country. With the perspective of several weeks of hard struggle, more financial assistance will be needed if the strike is to be carried through to a victorious connecessary to continue their struggle

At the time of going to press a deadlock has been reached; the firm remains uncompromising in its refusal to sack the five non-unionists, and the 250 strikers remain determined in their demand for a closed shop.

The Strike Committee has expressed its desire not to impede production unnecessarily, but should the Ministry of Labour intervene on the side of the firm, the workers believe that the extension of the strike would be a simple measure of self defence. The strikers can expect no measure of support from the Ministry of Labour or the Trade Union bureaucrats. The struggle can be won only by the solidarity of the workers and their own independent working class action.

For the whole of Tyneside the future of trade union organisation hangs in the balance. Meanwhile the strikers face the fourth week of enforced idleness-solid, and confident of their ultimate victory.

being exposed for what they are a paper alternative. In a statement to the press, Mr. J. Kelly, secretary of the Miners Branch

Irish Transport and General Workers Union, showed this clearly:

"Miners made application for a Wage (Standard Rate) Order on October 31st, 1942, with the desire to bring average earnings to the level of Wolfhill and Rossmore Collieries. There had been a difference of approximately 4/- per shift in

average between the collieries. This application was ignored although the Ministries had received ample time to consider it before strike notice was given.'

All the pits but Castlecomer returning to work on February 7th.

The strikes did not receive the official support of the bureaucratic leadership of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union and miners were refused strike pay.

Full support to these courageous miners in their struggle for a living

RED ARMY BORN OF REVOLUTION

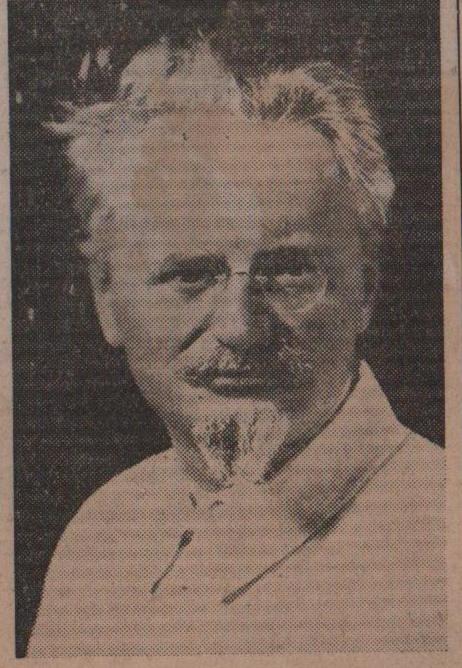
When the British Press is sufficiently determined it can perform feats of mis-representation that at first sight would seem to be wildly impossible. In the past it has distorted every aspect, every manifestation and every theory of the working class struggle. But the way it has dealt with the 25th Anniversary of the Red Army, it has reached to new depths of vulgar hypocrisy and distortion.

HALLELUJAH ARTICLES THE NEWSPAPER KNIGHTS HAVE NOT PERMITTED A SINGLE MENTION OF THE NAME OF THE FOUNDER AND GREAT EST LEADER OF THE RED ARMY TO APPEAR. TO PRE-SENT THE RED ARMY WITH-OUT TROTSKY GOES FAR BE ROND THE PREVIOUS CLASSI-CAL EXAMPLE OF DISTORTION —PRESENTING HAMLET WITH OUT THE PRINCE. BUT THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT THE BRIT-ISH PRESS HAS SUCCEEDED IN DOING, AND WITHOUT SO MUCH AS TURNING A HAIR.

If it were only a matter of suppressing mention of the role of an individual, that would in itself be a matter of little importance. But what they are really glossing over is the true character of the Red Army, the conditions under which it was founded, "His income was estimated . . . at | the new foundation on which it was built, the politics that inspired it; in other words, the fact that it was founded and built as a revolutionary army. And so closely connected is the name of Trotsky with all that was truly revolutionary in the formation of the Red Army that they dare not even mention it for fear of giving their own

In re-writing this vitally important part of history, the Beaverbrooks and

IN ALL THE LONG TONGUE- Rothermeres are playing Stalin's game. What, on the other hand, could be IN-CHEEK EDITORIALS AND But not merely to please Stalin. For 1 more dangerous than an army based this new, castrated story of the Red Army suits the British capitalists down to the ground. What could be more harmless than a purely national army fighting only for the "Motherland" and to 'expel the German invaders'?



LEON TROTSKY ORGANISER OF RED ARMY-1918-1925

on a proletarian revolution which was not national but was seen as part of a great international, world revolution?

It was the profoundly internationalist character of the Red Army and its struggle that struck terror into the heart of world capitalism during the first few years of the Red Army's life. And Trotsky's voice and leadership, giving unmistakeably clear expression to what was truly revolutionary and internationalist in the Red Army, became the particular object of capitalist hate and fear.

The very decrees which formally brought the Red Army into being sent shivers of apprehension through the ranks of the privileged in every country. The decrees of January 2nd, 1918 stated:

"The old army functioned as an instrument for the oppression of the workers and the exploited classes. With the transfer of state authority to the workers and the exploited classes there arises a need for a new army to serve as a bulwark for the Soviet regime . . . and as a basis for the socialist revolution in Europe."

This decree was based on the report submitted by Trotsky. Later, addressing the First World Congress of the Comintern, Trotsky stressed the internationalist role of the Red Army:

"I can assure you that the workercommunists who comprise the core of this army feel they are not only the guard of the Russian Socialist

Continued on Back page.

PITY THE POOR RICH!

Lord Fitzwilliam, aged 70, died at his house at Wentworth-Woodhouse near Rotherham, on February 15th.

This coal millionaire, whose house stood in the middle of the Yorkshire coalfields from which he drew thousands of pounds in royalties as the owner of the land, lived and died in what was described as the largest private residence in Britain. It had 365 rooms. One for every day of the year! At one time guests arriving at the house, were given a small packet of wafers-no, not to eat-but to drop as they went to their rooms, so that they could find their way back again.

365 rooms! This is the kind of residence that the coal kings live and die in. They do no work but they eat, sleep and are housed on a similar scale; all on the sweat and blood of thousands of men who go down to dig coal. And while a coal king possesses a house with 365 rooms, hundreds of miners whose blood went to build up the Fitzwilliam fortune are without even a decent room to live in after 40 and 50 years in the pit.

press over the past few years which relate to this gentleman:

Fitzwilliam is entertaining for the St. | him.' Leger, is one of the largest country seats in the Kingdom, and has the reputation of possessing more windows than any other private residence in the

The great mansion has been built and rebuilt and added to at various periods, and the oldest wing, now devoted to the servants quarters, goes for some reason by the name of Bed-

There is a story of a former owner going exploring one day in Bedlam | "Evening Standard", 15th Feb., 1943.

Here are some clippings from the | entirely losing himself, and being piloted back to more familiar regions by a servant lad whom he had never "Wentworth Woodhouse, where Lord | seen before and who had never seen

> "Daily Mail", 5th Sept., 1927. "Lord Fitzwilliam' owns rich colleries. He is reputed to be a millionaire. Wentworth is the largest house in England. It has a thousand windows on the front alone. He also owns houses in London and Ireland."

> "Daily Express", 11th Sept about a thousand pounds a day, and his fortune at about £5,000,000."

Fitzwilliam has died but his heirs will go on exploiting the miners and living in the same luxury on the backs of the miners. He is only one of a class. There are others—all of them live on a similar scale as Fitzwilliam.

What wonderful resthouses these coalowners homes would make with their spacious rooms and splendid gardens. How contented aged and sick miners could feel in surroundings like these! A man'could only monopolise a house of 365 rooms in a reactionary society in which one class filched from the workers the best portion of their product. Under socialism it is the men who dig the coal who will live in these houses which will be owned in common and used for the benefit of the people.

PARKHEAD FORGE WORKERS ANGRY

Transfers the Cause

The workers in Parkhead Forge have once more been attacked under the E.W.O. A number of men have received instructions from the Man Power Board to go to work in factories as far apart as Dundee and Bristol. In every instance the transfer means a reduction in wages of approx. £2-£3.

The Shop Stewards spurred forward to do something by the workers have spent hours discussing this position. As a result of their deliberations, a deputation repreenting three of the four factories in the combine was sent to London to interview Bevin but without success. The only people interviewed there were Kirkwood, Gallacher, Maxton and through the latter, Tomlinson, Secretary to Bevin. Bevin himself refused to meet the deputation. Tomlinson promised to raise the whole position with Bevin, and after presenting a statement outlining the chaos and hardships caused through the transfer of labour, the deputation returned home having accomplished exactly nothing. In the meantime the situation had come to a head in Parkhead Forge. One man who stood to lose £3 per week by his proposed transfer had already had his appeal dismissed by the hardship tribunal and on refusing to accept the transfer had been dismissed. He is at present idle and is being paid his average wage by

the workers in his department. The Shop Stewards Committee met to hear the report back from the deputation, and after hours of heated argument and discussion it was finally carried to ask the A.E.U. to give the Government Departments concerned 21 days notice of strike action, unless the proposed transfers were withdrawn and an immediate inquiry made into the whole question of transfers. This motion was carried by a majority of 10, against a Stalinist amendment to make a further appeal to the Ministry of Labour and the Man Power Board. It was also agreed to hold a mass meeting of the men to put the position before them.

This mass meeting was held at 6 a.m., about 1,000 workers attending. It was very badly handled, but it was nevertheless very clear that the workers realised the gravity of the situation and were in a real fighting mood. The outcome of the meeting was a decision by a large majority to declare a stoppage for 24 hours and send a deputation of Shop Stewards and workers to interview the Conciliation Officer, and tell him that the workers demanded the withdrawal of all transfer notices. The deputation will report back and failing some immediate results, it is odds on that a stoppage will take place involving most of the Engineering workers on Clydeside. The Stalinists have moved heaven and hell and used every hackneyed argument to avoid a showdown but without much success.

U.S. "MILITANT"

We learn from America that the "democratic" Roosevelt government is continuing its attack on the Trotskyists in the U.S.A.

Four issues of the "Militant", the weekly paper of our brother party, the Socialist Workers Party of America, have been seized by the Post Office and lestroyed without warning or explanition. Four other issues have been held up in the post and only released fter great delay and it is not known what has happened to the ninth.

At the same time, detectives from he F.B.I. have called at the Party's ffices in New York to inquire whether he leading members of the party had nything to do with a train wreck which took place more than 18 months go-this because in the train precedng or following the one wrecked, ngineers and officials of the Soviet nion were travelling!

Our American comrades have ad ressed an Open Letter to the U.S. ttorney General pointing out the intastic nature of the questioning and

This attack on the "Militant" is the sequel to savage attacks on the rights and standards of the American working class. Big business has been piling up collossal profits at the expense of the masses. So unrestrained is the grab by the upper strata that Congress has just passed a Bill abolishing the limits imposed on salaries that can be earned by business executives, etc. Even though this was a purely nominal restriction and did not work out in practice. Meanwhile, wages are frozen and prices are rising. At the same time Congress is breathing fire and thunder if the workers should dare "unpatriotically" to strike.

Our comrades have striven to defend the rights of the American workers and are fighting for the independence of the Labour movement from capitalism, exposing in a forthright manner the unbridled appetite of the Wall Street bankers for world domination.

It is this which has resulted in the persecution of our American comrades. Just as the reactionary elements in Britain strove to suppress the "Socialist Appeal" for voicing the interests

ARANST LANARKSHIRE GIVES RANK AND FILE LEAD

The pressure of class exploitation which arises from the speed-up campaign of the bosses, finds its most vivid expression among the miners in the present period. The series of strikes in Yorkshire, culminating in the Cortonwood dispute which lasted more than a month and was the most bitter strike struggle since the outbreak of the war, has resulted in a growing opposition among the rank and file miners in Yorkshire and a tendency to throw up a new fighting leadership as opposed to the Hall gang with its disposition to sell-out.

In Durham the miners have thrown up a rank and file leadership centred in the Ryhope and Dawdon lodges who are demanding from Lawther and Co. that they fight for the original programme of the miners of nationalisation and workers' control.

This tendency is also being reflected in South Wales coalfields where several spontaneous attempts have been made to oust the local Stalinists who dominate the union, and have only been defeated by the strength of the Party machine which blankets the opposition.

But it is in the Scottish district the struggle has reached its highest phase. At the January Council meeting of the Lanarkshire Miners Union, the following resolution was discussed:

"This meeting of members of Branch 76 of Lanarkshire Mine Workers' Union, having heard the report of the delegate to the Conference of Mining Representatives in London, on Saturday, 31st October, is of the opinion that the Conference can have served no useful purpose insofar as increasing production is concerned, and condemns the speeches delivered at the Conference in that they tend to place the responsibility for the coal shortage on the shoulders of the miners.

It calls upon the M.F.G.B. to immediately end the suicidal policy

VENTILLATION TO ACTION -S. LONDON.

The effectiveness of direct action by the workers as a means of solving their problems was amply illustrated by the actions of the men employed in the Blast Shop at the E.N.V. workers in London. These workers, as a result of the persistent refusal of the management to accede to the mens demands for better ventilation, smashed

of class collaboration now being practised, and to launch an immediate nation-wide campaign with a view to making it clear to the public that the government and the owners are solely responsible for the coal shortage, and demanding that the coal industry shall immeliately be taken under common ownership without payment of compensation, and placed under the control and direction of the workers employed therein as the only solution to the problems confronting the industry."

This resolution which was moved by Clark, the delegate of Kingshill No. 2 and seconded by McNulty, the delegate of Castlehill, was defeated by only one vote, the final vote being 21 to 20 against the resolution. When it is understood that the resolution was hotly contested by Pearson and Waugh, the leading Stall vists in the L.M.U. who dominate the union and who have handled the Council almost any way they wished in the last few years, it

Socialist Appeal, Dear Comrade,

Glasgow. 10.2.43.

As the result of the fining of 90 men £10 or 30 days each for striking in defence of victimised workers, the Works Committee called a meeting of Shop Stewards and Works Delegates on Sunday, 7th February, to appeal for financial support for these men.

17 factories were represented and a good discussion took place. The delegate of the men concerned said that there was a strong possibility of the men refusing to pay the fines if they could be sure of support from the other workers in the area. A further meeting was called for Sunday, February 14th, to hear reports from the other workshops.

. Many opinions have been expressed among the workers that an organisation similar to the Clyde Workers Committee can be built from this situation to fight this and other persecutions of workers. The general feeling throughout the area is a desire to fight, but meantime a clear lead and directive is lacking. It is up to us to give it.

is possible to understand the full signifigance of this vote.

The high level of political consciousness is shown by the clear unambiguous character of this resolution and its large support, but it is emphasised by the split in the Stalinist faction itself, and the struggle against Pearson which has been undertaken by McKendrick who was undoubtedly the outstanding member of the Communist Party in Lanarkshire among the miners for many years. On several occasions he has opposed the "production" policies of the C.P. When the Stalinists moved that the usual 3 day New Years' holiday in 1941 be reduced to one, McKendrick moved an amendment that a three day holiday was in order and was necessary. Again, he opposed the C.P. policy and nominee for the "Coal Board of Scotland" sponsored by Lord Trapain and propagandised by the Stalinists. He also opposed the nominee of the C.P. for President of the Scottish Miners Union, and on numerous other occasions he has demonstrated his break with Stalinism.

The full effects of this movement are not yet felt because of its spontaneous character. Also by the fact that the bureaucrats, who control the union machine, are organised and centralised in opposition to movements of this description. But already a group of Lanarkshire miners are attempting to unify the rank and file movement in Scotland. Their lead must be followed in every coal field. Dissident, militant pits and branches of the union must be linked together on a county basis and centralised into a national rank and file movement, which alone would be capable of conducting a genuine struggle for a militant miners' programme and for the ousting of the fakers who are now in control of the union.

This movement will be difficult to organise and will demand the full attention of honest and enthusiastic miners, but it is the only guarantee for victory against the set-up at the top; against those leaders who live well themselves and don't give a damn how the miners live or are exploited, and who collaborate with the coalowners and their government to undermine the hard-won conditions of working

The programme of this rank and file movement must be based on the ideas advocated by the "Socialist Appeal". Demand the nationalisation of the mines without compensation to the owners and the operation of the mines under the control of the miners and technicians:

For the ending of life jobs in the miners unions and the election of all officials to the highest paid posts every two years.

Workers Apathy in

THE RIFT WIDENS

BEN POALITION

Correspondence

MILITANT PAINTER VICTIMISED BY N.S.P. EXECUTIVE

To Socialist Appeal, Dear Comrade,

The case of Brother Jock Milligan exposes the official element in control of the National Society of Painters. They suppress militant members, without whom the movement would be unable to bind the employers to observe agreements and prevent the conditions of Labour being transgressed.

He has been a member of the Nathad a fine record of trade union act-

why they should not vote for the inauguration of "a full time E.C."

Several other members had visited branches and done likewise but no action was taken so far as they were concerned. On the other hand the General Council, the Executive Council, and London District Committee members visited Branches all over the country trying to persuade the members to vote for a full time Executive Council. Two of their members were present at the Branch meetings when the voting on this question took place, and made speeches explaining why the members should give the E.C. a nice comfortable job and a nice fat salary. Maybe they will accuse themselves of disruptive tactics and place a ban on themselves also; or does it mean that democracy and freedom to express one's thoughts is permitted so long as what ional Society of Painters for the last one says is agreed to by the oricial nine years and during that period has | element? In other words one cannot have one's own opinion or disagree with

the leading members of the party had anything to do with a train wreck which took place more than 18 months ago—this because in the train precedng or following the one wrecked, engineers and officials of the Soviet Enion were travelling!

Our American comrades have addressed an Open Letter to the U.S. Attorney General pointing out the fantastic nature of the questioning and branding it as a possible preparation for a frame-up.

It was only after enquiries had been made, that it was revealed that the paper had been barred from the post and even then the postal authorities refused to give any explanation of why they had exercised their arbitrary and lictatorial suppression.

and are fighting for the independence of the Labour movement from capitalism, exposing in a forthright manner the unbridled appetite of the Wall Street bankers for world domination.

It is this which has resulted in the persecution of our American comrades. Just as the reactionary elements in Britain strove to suppress the "Socialist Appeal" for voicing the interests of the workers, and as they imprisoned and attempted to have our Irish comrades interned.

Large numbers of unions and other working class organisations, and even sections of the Liberal press in America have protested against this attack on the elementary democratic rights of the working class.

"War Hero" gets Raw Deal

ers to the "heroes" of the last war has been brought into the limelight by the dismissal of a worker from a factory in South London:

The worker in question has a record of 24 years service in the firm. In the last war he was severely wounded in the leg but continued his work as soon as he was fit and discharged from the army. In this war he has lost a son in uniform; the workers at the factory having clubbed together to bring his son's body home for burial.

In the past 12 or 18 months, his war wound had affected his leg and it had to be amputated.

When he was fit to return to work at the beginning of this year and applied to the firm, he was handed his cards. No explanation was given him despite his lifetime of service to the firm! On two occasions he called to see the management but after being kept for an hour in the waiting room, he was not granted an interview.

Later, he received a letter from the management confirming the fact that he had been sacked and informing him that he should find no difficulty in obtaining another job in the present period!

This disgraceful attempt to ditch any inancial or moral responsibility to a worker who had given the best years of his life to the firm and who was now physically in a different category, but capable of work, only came to light by accident. It was disclosed as the result of a letter written to a personal riend in the plant who raised the question with the shop stewards. In this etter recording the facts of his victimsation, the worker commented that he noped the wounded lads in this war would be better treated than he and hose of the last war had been.

Thousands of "heroes" of 1914-18 have been cynically cast onto the crap-heap and already in the course of this war hundreds have suffered the ame treatment. The capitalists emloy workers because they make profit ut of their labour not because they vant to see the workers well-fed or oused, or because they have any hilanthropic attitude towards the orking people. They recognise no

The cynical attitude of the employ- | material or moral obligations to the working class. The action of the management at this plant is a classical example of capitalist "morality". The hopes entertained by the victimised worker that the "heroes" of this war will be treated differently will undoubtedly be shattered. If the capitalists cannot face up to their obligations in the present favourable situation when every available worker is being pressed into industry and when profits are at the highest levels since 1929, how will they do so when a slump sets in and profits start to drop after the war?

> The shop stewards at the plant are to be congratulated for bringing this affair into the light of day. They are demanding that the management recognise their responsibility to this worker. But they must not leave the question there: for this will continue as long as the capitalists continue to rule and control the tools of production and the state machine.

Jip.

The effectiveness of direct action by the workers as a means of solving their problems was amply illustrated by the actions of the men employed in the Blast Shop at the E.N.V. workers in London. These workers, as a result of the persistent refusal of the management to accede to the mens demands for better ventilation, smashed the windows, broke open a fire-escape door, and in the words of one worker, "waged a miniature civil war" in the

-S. LUNDUN.

The Blast Shop was built so that jobs vital to the war effort could be completed during the Blitz. For this purpose orin sheets, 1 inch thick, had been placed in front of some windows, and others had been bricked up, thus effectively blocking up any ventilation. To aggravate this, there is a continual flow of hot air from the hardening shop. Coupled with the vile smoke that erupts from the gear-cutting machines in the Blast Shop, it produces an atmosphere akin to a furnace room.

For some months past the men have been complaining. The shop steward has interviewed the management again and again and finally a ventilation plant was installed. This was so inadequate however, that it did little to rectify the conditions. It is not surprising therefore, that the men have got into the habit of walking out through the fire-escape door into the street for a breath of fresh air.

The setter in charge of the machines, fed up with constantly telling the men to stay at their machines, informed the foreman, a Mr. Bew. Mr. Bew told the management who immediately closed and locked the door. The men asked the shop steward to see the management, but he refused adding that any action taken by them would be backed up to the hilt by him. This resulting in the "miniature civil war" described above.

When told of the occurrence, the foreman threatened to sack the two leading spirits, but after the shop steward had stated that he would have to prosecute the men and that statements may be made in court which would seriously discredit the management, he apologised and let the whole matter drop!

Wombwell Miners Meeting

REFORM CLUB.

MONDAY, 8th MARCH, 1943 at 6.30 p.m.

The Lessons of Cortonwood

BREAK WITH THE BOSSES LABOUR TO POWER!

Speakers:

TED GRANT, Editor Socialist Appeal. JOCK HASTON. WALT BUNTING in the Chair.

Organised by-

Wombwell Local, Workers' International League.

Workers Apathy in Bristol Bye-Election

BY ALAN CHRISTIANSON

The central by-election was remarkable for the universal apathy of the electorate and was chiefly characterised by the colourful and skilfully demagogic propaganda of Jennie Lee and the reactionary pro-Toryism of the Communist Party.

An important outcome of the election was the split which was forced on the Labour Party by the central office bureaucrats who suspended 7 councillors from the party as well as other well known local L.P. members for their open support of Jennie Lee.

The main contest centred on Lady Apsley and Jennie Lee. The former had the backing of the combined reaction and the latter the support of the dissidents in the Labour Party and a "brilliant" platform of Common Wealth and Beaverbrook stars.

In her propaganda Jennie Lee made some telling points against the Tories, particularly by quoting the following extract from a letter sent by Lady Apsley to the "Times" on April 8th after she had made a visit to Hitler pendent workers candidate. We stand Germany:

"Do we not make tragic mistakes

in judging other nations by our own standards and outlooks? BECAUSE THE MAJORITY OF UNEMPLOY-TO DRAW THE DOLE AND DO NOTHING UNTIL PAID WORK IS AVAILABLE, IS THAT A REASON WHY WE SHOULD NOT COM-PREHEND THAT YOUNG GER-MANS WOULD ACTUALLY PRE-FER HARD PHYSICAL WORK IN DRAINING SWAMPS FOR 21d. A DAY IN A LABOUR CAMP, RATHER THAN DO NOTHING? This trait is older than Nazidom but in addition Hitler has made spartan simplicity a fashionable virtue today that makes light of necessity. I pray that we are not too soft to meet the challenge. Unfortunately the untravelled Nazis think we are."

This broadside was bound up with an all-round attack which correctly exposed the plans of the Tories for a reactionary post-war Britain, but instead of finishing with a bold appeal to the workers to break the coalition and put Labour in power, it concluded with the lame and miserable idea that a few Jennie Lee's in parliament would solve the workers' problems.

But her caricature of a "left" labour policy was exposed when she turned and venomously attacked John McNair from a chauvinist point of view; In her manifesto headed, "Alderman Hennessey and his Labour Colleagues Calling All Voters in Central Bristol" which was aimed basically against John McNair, she said:

"John McNair's attitude was, and still is if he speaks plainly, that is of military age he would prefer to go to gaol rather than join the

No party in Britain is more critical

of the attitude of conscientious objection on the part of the I.L.P. than W.I.L., but we reject the foul chauvinistic and reactionary imputations of Jennie Lee's propaganda: "McNair Won't Fight Hitler". The correct criticisms that Jennie Lee makes of I.L.P. policy at Munich were not used to make a socialist criticism of the I.L.P. and present a revolutionary alternative, but to support her "left" jingo and reactionary capitalist policy. Whatever criticisms we have of Mc-Nair's policy and methods at the election, he was the only genuinely indesolidly with McNair and the I.L.P. against Jennie Lee and her middle class fellow travellers.

The split which Transport House forced upon the Bristol Labour Party should be a warning to the rank and file of the Party. It is an indication ED MEN AND WOMEN PREFER of what lengths the Labour bureaucrats will go to keep the Labour Party in the straight-jacket of the coalition. The left wing of the Labour Party. who are opposed to the continuation of the coalition and are seeking an alternative policy, are attracted to the middle class demagogues organised in Common Wealth. They become prey for unprincipled adventurers and careerists such as Jennie Lee.

> This process has great dangers for the Labour movement. The middle class have no independent programme.

Only the working class is capable of producing an independent programme for the overthrow of the capitalists and the establishment of a socialist system. At this stage the middle class are drawn towards the workers. But instead of leading the Common Wealth supporters under the banner of Labour for a break with the capitalists, the left wing of the Labour movement are tailing behind the Common Wealth who can easily go over to reaction tomorrow.

To end this dangerous situation; to draw the disillusioned middle class behind the workers: It is necessary for the left wing to conduct a decisive struggle inside the L.P. and T.U.'s to Break the Coalition and Place Labour in Power. This is the Lesson of Bristol.

of Labour being transgressed. He has been a member of the National Society of Painters for the last nine years and during that period has

out whom the movement would be un-

able to bind the employers to observe

agreements and prevent the conditions

had a fine record of trade union act- | have one's own opinion or disagree with It was the painters strike on the Camberwell Borough Council in March

1935 over the presence of non-union labour in which he was conspicuous as | Branch, "not by the union." The E.C. one of the leaders, that compelled the Executive Council to recognise his qualities in being able to give the correct lead to the workers. This strike was at first labelled unofficial by the E.C. but the persistent struggle of the members, forced them to give official backing to this dispute after it had been on for seven weeks. The men resumed work after a stoppage of 13 weeks. The strike was not entirely successful but as a consequence, the painters of Camberwell are now very much respected by the Camberwell Council.

His unbroken and consistent activities continued to June 1939, when as steward on the job at Pocock Street Blackfriars, London, a strike developed over non-union labour which again was defined by the E.C. as unofficial. This dispute was never recognised by the bureaucrats, but in spite of their reaction, victory was achieved.

As a result of this stoppage o work, the E.C. gave instructions to the London District Committee to refrain from issuing ticket Steward's credentials to him in future.

During November 1939, further trouble arose with the Camberwell Borough Council regarding non-unionists. Bro. Milligan attended a local branch and submitted his opinion on the question under discussion; he also dealt with the previous dispute at Camberwell. For using his democratic right in this direction the Executive Council resolved: "That the general conduct of Bro. Milligan is such that he is not a fit and proper person to hold any office in the Society. Therefore it must be clearly understood he is removed from office by the E.C. and warned that unless he conducts himself properly he will be subject to expulsion from the Society."

At that time he was Chairman of his Branch and was removed from that position irrespective of the Branch's appeals and expression of the fullest confidence in him. The action of the E.C. was endorsed by the General Council at their statutory meeting that an appeal could be made for the revision of the decision after the lapse of a period of time, and the case would be considered on its merits.

The victim of this suppression has never had an opportunity to defend himself against any allegations, the E.C. were prosecuting council, defending council and judges all wrapped into one; as a matter of fact he has never been before any committee or tribunal on a charge of any description during the whole of his membership.

An appeal was made to the E.C. by his branch in October 1942 for the removal of the ban. The appeal failed. The E.C. on this occasion resolved: "That in view of the continued disruptive conduct of Bro. Milligan, the E.C. see no justification for raising the

When asked what the continued disruptive conduct referred to was, they stated that Bro. Milligan had visited a number of Branches in Lon- | you. don and addressed the members on

members should give the E.C. a nice comfortable job and a nice fat salary. Maybe they will accuse themselves of disruptive tactics and place a ban on themselves also; or does it mean that democracy and freedom to express one's thoughts is permitted so long as what one says is agreed to by the oricial element? In other words one cannot the bureaucrats.

Bro. Milligan represented his branch on the local Trades Council, the affiliation fee to this body are paid by the recently notified the Trades Council that Bro, Milligan is not eligible to be a delegate. The Trades Council, when this correspondence was discussed, expressed their warm appreciation of the splendid work he had done over the last eight years as a delegate of his

I have tried to give you the facts of this case, and think it is up to every trade unionist to counteract the dictatorial technique of our officials. especially appeal to all painters to demand that the ban imposed on this member be repealed. Discipline is the main factor in good organisation, but if a member has violated the Constitution or behaved in a disruptive manner, or whatever the allegations are, he should be given the opportunity to defend himself against his accusers before a "tribunal" set up for this purpose. Plenary powers in the hands of those incapable of using them, is a menace to working class institutions; so if we do not maintain control of our leaders, we might as well pack up.

May I paraphrase Voltaire: I don't agree with what you say; I don't like what you say;

But I will fight to the end that you _ shall have the right to say it

Wally Allen.

ON THE JEWISH QUESTION WALES.

The Editor, "Socialist Appeal",

Dear Comrade,

Having read your article on the 'Jewish Question' in your February issue, I will not miss this opportunity on congratulating you on the splendid way in which you state the real facts.

Being a refugee from Germany myself, I am of course very grateful to this country for the refuge they gava me. But when I at the same time hear of things that are going on, I sometimes wonder whether there is anything wrong somewhere. I have at the moment (as far as I know) a father and a brother in a concentration camp. What good is a promise to me that their murderers will be punished when before the war we could not get them over here with £200 as guarantec money, which has been given to us for that purpose I think all this pro-Jewish (?!!) propaganda does more harm in the end than good, as people might start to believe that as Lord Haw Haw tries to tell us the Jewish Capitalist-Bolshevik is behind this war.

If there are Jewish capitalists (which I do not doubt) then do the same with them as all of that class deserve, but don't blame the Jews for it as a whole. The trouble only is, that the working class Jew is hardly ever noticed, but as such I stand whole-heartedly behind

Yours truly, . . .

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

EDITOR: E. Grant

BUSINESS MANAGER: M. Lee

61, Northdown Street, London, N. 1.

EDITORIAL

CASABLANCA CONSPIRACY

The diplomatic battle is on! The Russian victories have been the signal for its outbreak. On the one side Goebbels is emphasising the German defeats and holding up the spectre of a "Bolshevised Europe." On the other, Stalin is underlining the harmless nature of the Russian advances, and assuring his "allies" that there is no danger of the Bolshevisation of Europe from his direction.

The "democratic" leaders, for their part, are the recipients of both lines of talk - and policy. And it is the policy behind the talk that is important. On Goebbels' side it is that Britain and America should make a separate peace with Germany, or at least should take no embarrassing military measures such as a Second Front, otherwise they will be faced with a Communist Europe. "And, what" he asked in his last speech, "would England and America do if the Continent of Europe fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks?" On Stalin's side it consists of the repeated demand for real military assistance in the form of a Second Front in Europe.

On the Russian side, Stalin has in his latest Order of the Day called on the Red Army to "rout the German invaders and to expel them from the boundaries of our motherland." The meaning of this formula has not been lost on the British capitalists, and the "Economist" has pointed out that Stalin "has thus, in fact, redefined the war in terms of a defensive national struggle." Another Soviet spokesman, Zaslavsky, has warned "over-zealous 'friends' against helping German propaganda by attributing any expansionist ambitions to Soviet Russia."

On the Nazi side it is not so much a direct proposal for immediate peace as a plea that there should be no Second Front. "Open a Second Front," says Goebbels, "and you will have Bolshevism in Europe." "Nonsense!" replies Stalin. "The Red Army will not pass beyond the 1941 frontiers of Russia. Hitlers come and go but the German state remains. There is no fear of us Bolshevising Europe. In fact we will help you to prevent Communism on the Continent."

These are the conflicting appeals with which Churchill and Roosevelt are faced. What is their attitude? What will be their action? The principal task of the Casablanca meeting was undoubtedly to sum up the pros and cons of this question, to assess the strength of Russia and Germany, and to base their plans on the

result of this assessment. and the imperialists. At

BY JIM HINCHCLIFFE

We are promised that after the "war to free Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, Norway from the Nazis", the war to "free" the Chinese, Burmese and the Eastern peoples from the Japs will continue. This is the one important theme running through all the war speeches of the British and American imperialists at the present time; that the war will go on after Germany is defeated; that the war in the Far East is to take its toll of human life and has delivered up its dead.

Words have not been spared by Churchill and Roosevelt in proclaiming their admiration for the heroic resistdetermination to secure freedom for China, but events are rapidly demonstarting what the real character of the policy of Roosevelt and Churchill is with regard to China,

China and the United Nations begins to look more and more like what it really is, an alliance of words. So far as real aid is concerned, the British and American imperialists have deliberately stopped any adequate supplies being sent to China. Revealing information was given by the wife of the Chinese Ambassador to London, Madame Wellington Koo, on February 2nd, and writing on this, Allistair Cooke, in the Daily Herald, Feb. 6th, said:

"... of all America's Lend-Lease programme, China gets 2 per cent and of this only 1 per cent ever got to Burma, and only half of that got through to China.

"There is the naked and shivering fact-China gets from the United States one quarter per cent of the Lend-Lease supplies."

In the Manchester Guardian (Jan. 1st) was also the admission that:

"At present the Chinese were getting almost no material from and Madame Wellington Koo stated.

(Daily Herald, Feb. 3rd): "Not a pound of food went over

the Burma road, or is going to China To Roosevelt however, such factual revelations are of little importance. He went so far as to state to Congress

"... we are flying as much Lend-Lease material into China as ever traversed the Burma road." (News

Chronicle, Jan. 12th). But when we examine exactly how much material can be sent via these routes, we discover, as reported in the Manchester Guardian recently, the astonishing fact

" . . . that free China's daily import capacity is a few hundred tons brought overland from Burma, a similar amount brought in by sea by means of clever blockade-running, and a small tonnage imported by

On this question let it be said, Roosevelt didn't lie-he just "omitted" to mention the amount of material that could be sent along this route!

That the greater part of even this meagre amount of material never reaches China is admitted by Lin Yutang, in a legter to the "New York Times" last year in which he says:

be kept guessing what the Allied strategists are or are not going to do. There has been exasperating waste of China's strength."

But this failure of economic and military co-operation is not an eccident. China is not being deprived of supplies because Britain and America cannot spare them. It is part of the consistent imperialist policy of these countries, who will free China from Japanese Imperialism only in order that tears even after the war in the west | they may in turn, exploit and enslave the Chinese masses. It was Japan's entry into the war, representing a direct threat to the interests of Britain and America, that put a stop to the ance of the Chinese people, and their | sending of war materials to Japan, and opened the Burma road for supplies to China.

China, they see quite clearly, must always remain well under the heel of the imperialist "democracies", and for In practice the alliance between | China to free itself, to allow China to liberate itself from Japan, and to emerge as an independent nation, this would endanger too greatly the interests of Britain and America. That is why they keep assistance down to the minimum, and in the meantime prepare for a struggle against Japan after the conclusion of the European war.

"GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY" CONTINUES

If the British capitalists were really interested in granting China her independence, why is it that in signing the treaty with China and relinquishing extra-territorial rights in that country, Britain refused to discuss the question of Kowloon, on the mainland opposite Hong Kong? Precisely because this piece of territory provides a useful jumping off ground for further inroads into China at some future date. The "Times" which considered that the treaty marked the end of an era of "Gunboat Diplomacy", nevertheless carefully refrained from mentioning that the refusal of the British to include Kowloon in the treaty is in practice a continuation of the same "Gunboat Diplomacy" which was the favourite method of British Imperialism in assuring its dominance over the smaller nations and which will, inevitably, be adopted again.

The working class cannot continue to tolerate the sacrifice of their best sons for the interests of these imperialist bandits. The struggles of the Chinese people have struck a deep sympathy into the hearts of all rank and file workers and militants in this country. But if this desire to help the Chinese people is to be effectively translated into genuine help, the working class must supervise and control that help themselves. They cannot do this while they allow the espitalists to control the state and its policy. For the capitalists will and must continue their policy of exploitation and subjugation. Only a Britain controlled by the working class, extending the fraternal aid made possible under socialism, only such a

Britain can aid the Chinese people.

THE HIGH PRESSURE CAM-PAIGN FOR COMMUNIST PARTY AFFILIATION TO THE LABOUR

ATION.

PARTY IS WELL UNDER WAY. STALINIST SPONSORED RESOLU-TIONS ARE COMING UP AT LAB-OUR PARTY BRANCHES, AT TRADE UNIONS AND AT ALL AFFILIATED ORGANISATIONS TO THE LABOUR PARTY, PROPOSING SUPPORT FOR THE C.P. TO BE-COME AN AFFILIATED ORGANIS-

On their attempt to secure affiliation in 1936, the Stalinists rallied 592,000 Wotes, one quarter of the L.P. Conference. In the present campaign there can be no doubt that they will rally many more, and even if the decision goes against them, they will give the leadership of the L.P. some very anxious moments.

Writing in the February 1943 issue of the "Labour Monthly", Harry Pollitt states that "the application of the C.P. to be accepted as an affiliated organisation with the L.P. is an important and serious political act." And so it is! It is one of the most immovement; probably the most importconscious and organised workers at the present stage. The outcome of the application will greatly affect the perspectives and life of the organised movement in the next decisive period of regroupment and preparation for the coming class battles.

The question cannot be dismissed by the left wing but must be seriously studied in the setting of impending political crisis and revolutions in Britain and Europe. To foresee the process of differentiation in the Labour movement; to understand the role of Stalinism and the precise reasons for the proposed affiliation; to base our attitude towards the question on these factors: that is the task of the Fourth Internationalists in Britain.

UNITY FOR WHAT?

The Trotskyists are in favour of genuine unity of the working class. But we cannot associate ourselves with creating any false illusions that "unity" of and by itself can achieve victory for the workers against their exploiters and against reaction. The Austrian workers were organised almost one hundred per cent behind the Austrian Labour and Trade Union leaders, but they suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of reaction. Unity of itself did not avail them, for they were united on a policy which the British Labour leaders have continued and which the Stalinists want to perpetuate. As Trotsky explained in "Wither France' in 1935: "The Austrian Social Democracy rallied almost the entire proletariat, but only to lead it to ruin. The Belgian Labour Party has the right to call itself the sole party of the proletariat, but that does not prevent it from going from capitulation to

BY JOCK HASTON

capitulation. Only people hopelessly naive can hope that the Labour Party, which completely dominates the British proletariat, is capable of achieving victory. What decides the issue is not unity in itself but its actual political content."-We want to know who is uniting and at the Labour Party Executive, the

for what purpose are they uniting; we want to know how their particular brand of unity will affect the working class before we cast our vote.

The present Stalinist campaign, as in 1936 is being waged precisely around the slogan of "unity" not the unity of "labour and anti-fascist forces", as in the fake left phrases of 1936 however, but "national unity" behind Churchill and the capitalist clique who at present favour the continuation of the pact and alliance with Stalin. In numerous articles, pamphlets and speeches by leading members of the Communist Party, its case for affiliation is clearly stated. The same general line can be observed throughout: a miserable, snivelling, cringing, unprincipled attitude, minimising the political differences which separateportant questions facing the Labour | or to be more precise, which ought to separate—the Third and Second Interant tactical issue facing politically | nationals, Communism and Social Democracy.

ONLY DIFFERENCES OF OPINION!

In the old days the "Party" still retained at least a few remnants of Lenin's phrases and boasted that fundamental political differences existed between the class collaboration policy of the Labour Party and the "revolutionary" policy of the Communist Party. Today, their efforts are bent on minimising the differences between the two trends and organisations; in demonstrating that any differences with Social Democracy are now in the past. Capitalist democracy or proletarian dictatorship; Reform or Revolution; these fundamentally opposing political conceptions to which Lenin devoted years of patient explanation and struggle, and which led to the setting up of the Third International against the false reformist policies of the Second International—swept aside as a mere difference of opinion!

Speaking at a Central Committee meeting of the C.P. in January 1936, during the discussion on affiliation, Harry Pollitt made bold to say: "1 think we have to remember that the Labour Party is based on the practice and policy of social democracy. Against this we must carry on a political struggle."

In the same speech he informed the world that in applying for affiliation, the members of the Communist Party must lead "the fight for unity of action on the part of every section of the working class movement in every phase of the daily struggle against capitalism, fighting to transform the Labour Party from the basis of class collaboration onto a class basis . . . "

But the present campaign is cond eted along somewhat different lines in very different tones. In his

the part of the Stalinists and the prospect of having them as bed fellows. According to Trevor Evans, industrial reporter for the "Daily Express" writing an article devoted to the question from an angle favourable to the C.P.; when the question was mooted only votes cast in favour were those of the proposer and seconder Sam Watson of the Durham Miners' Association, and Emanuel Shinwell. There were only four votes cast for the proposal that a delegation of the Labour Party meet a delegation of the Communist Party to "see what differences exist and if they can be whittled away." These two, plus Mrs. Barbara Ayrton Gould and Harold Laski.

On this showing there is still a solid bloc in the Labour Party Executive who oppose the affiliation of the C.P. And in the case of the supporters of the resolution, there is evidence of complete confusion. Laski has never had a clear idea in his life. On numerous occasions he has appeared to be on the point of breaking with the Labour leaders and swing to the left, only to finish up as a charwoman for the Executive with some dirty job to clean up at Conference against the left. Shinwell claims to be an "opponent" of the Labour leadership and dresses himself in the garb of a "rebel". Just at a period when the Stalinists are maintaining and strengthening the National Government and are hostile to all who desire to break the coalition. Shinwell is timidly pushing forward the idea that labour must reassert its independence by breaking the coalition. Yet, at the same time he wants "unity" with the Stalinists! The ways of the labour "lefts" are truly

The "Tribune", which is run by a group of Labour "lefts" who have been the closest to the Stalinists among the labour tops, indicates their dilemma in its issue of February 19th. After attacking the Stalinists for supporting Tory candidates against Common Wealth and independents, they make the following comment:

"The Communists now seek affiliation to the Labour Party. Normally they would get the support of the Left Wing of the Party. But now the Labour Party members will hesitate. Surely the right wing of the Labour Party needs no reinforcing with a conservative C.P. wing"!

These "left" wing fakers are not in a very happy position. They want to sparkle on pro-Soviet platforms and bask in the reflected glory of Russia's victories, but at the same time they reflect the class pressure of the workers and want to be popular with the masses. In consequence they are forced to conduct a sham battle against the coalition, and this brings them into collision with the Stalinists.

LABOUR FAKERS FEAR FOR JOBS

Basically, the right wing Labour leaders reflect the fear and interests of their capitalist masters, who in turn le in the February 1943 issue of dread the entrenchment of the Stalinists in the working class. The capital-

These are the conflicting appeals with which Churchil and Roosevelt are faced. What is their attitude? What will be their action? The principal task of the Casablanca meeting was undoubtedly to sum up the pros and cons of this question, to assess the strength of Russia and Germany, and to base their plans on the result of this assessment.

The decisions are by no means simple for the imperialists. At the present stage of the war matters are very finely balanced. In particular, any action which would give military assistance to Russia has to be very carefully considered. "Supposing," the imperialists must be saying, "that we had opened a Second Front in Europe last Autumn - Why, the Red Army would be in the region of Berlin by this time!" And that is precisely why they did not open a Second Front last Autumn. For, in spite of Stalin's assurances, and in spite of their knowledge of the counter-revolutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy, they know that a decisive defeat of Hitler's forces at the hands of the Red Army would mean revolution in Germany and throughout Europe. At the same time, there is always the possibility that with increasing demoralisation among the German forces, the Red Army will be enabled in any case, without the aid of a Second Front, to make further great advances. In this case it would be necessary for Anglo-American imperialism to invade Europe in order to attempt to control the revolutionary movements which would inevitably take place.

The official statement announced that the plans worked out at Casablanca will have as their prime object "to draw as much weight as possible off the Russian armies by engaging the enemy as heavily as possible at the best selected points." This in any case was supposed to be their policy long before Casablanca. But even in its new form it leaves the way open for exactly the same sort of interpretation as the previous communique — that it was intended to deceive Hitler. And was it necessary to have an eleven day meeting in Africa either to come to this profound conclusion or to make arrangements for a Second Front - and without consultations of any sort with Soviet military representatives?

Churchill left a further loophole when, in his speech to the House of Commons after the meeting he said that "to try to draw the enemy from the Russian front was accepted as the first of our objectives ONCE THE PROBLEMS OF THE U-BOAT WAR HAD BEEN MET IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ENABLE US TO ACT AGGRESSIVELY."

The steps, military and diplomatic, that will be taken by the "Allies" during the next nine months will be decided on the basis of a careful estimate of the factors operating in Europe - particularly those of Revolution, and of the advance or retreat of the Red Army. These will be measured in relation to the interests of Anglo-American imperialism, and the appropriate steps taken. Second Front or no Second Front. Peace with Italy or continuation of war with Italy; Mihailovitch as ally in Yugoslavia, or the Croat partisans as ally; the British and American imperalists will take the decisions — and in their own interests.

The bringing of "pressure" to bear on them, and the holding of farther Trafalgar Square meetings has been shown by the events of the last year to be futile and hopeless. As long as they are in power they will go their own way, using the blood and sacrifice of the Soviet masses as a buttress for their privileges and their empire. The Axis peace overtures are in reality a request for an agreement for a common struggle against both the European revolution and the Soviet Union. If the British workers and soldiers are to have guarantees that these offers will not be accepted then they cannot allow the present Government to speak and act in their name. Only a Government truly representing the workers and soldiers will be able to stand side by side with the Red Army and the peoples of Germany and Europe and with them smash the last remnants of Fascism. Europe must not become another North Africa, with one form of Fascism giving place to another. Europe must become free. The British workers have a vital and responsible part to play in the struggle for a free Europe. The conspirators of Casablanca can only offer capitulation to Fascism and a struggle against the revolution. The workers have a new Europe and a new world to fight for. And the first part of that fight is the struggle against imperialism at home.

On this question let it be said, Roosevelt didn't lie-he just "omitted" to mention the amount of material that | Britain can aid the Chinese people. could be sent along this route!

That the greater part of even this meagre amount of material never reaches China is admitted by Lin Yutang, in a leater to the "New York Times" last year in which he says:

"The greater part of the transport_ planes sent to China were held up and diverted before they reached China. The few bombers that did reach China and participated in the recent bombing of Hankow were taken out again and diverted to Egypt . . . Unless an immediate order be given to divert planes from India to China, instead of diverting planes from China to India, it will be too late . . . The transport planes diverted to India must be immediately diverted back to China . . . "

This clear example of the deliberate sabotaging of supplies to China can be laid only at the doors of the British and American imperialists who have complete control over such supplies.

CHILDREN EXCHANGED FOR HANDFUL OF GRAIN

The necessity of China, as a result of this policy, to rely upon her own resources, has resulted in terrible privations and hardships for the masses. ... The "Daily Express" reported last year of a famine raging in the Honan

"... in a space of 20,000 square miles, there are 18,000,000 people who are eating leaves of trees, bark and roots . . . Bishop Yupin saw thousands of children with their faces and upper bodies just skin and bone . . . children were being sold for a handful of grain . . . "

Allistair Cooke, reporting Madame Wellington Koo's speech, said:

. . . that the Chinese don't worry much about rationing because there is nothing to ration and said that, an indifferent meal costs 15s. A yard of cloth costs £2. 10. A mud and straw hut costs just short of £900, coal is at the price of dia-

Doctor Shushi Hsu reported also: "today ten. Chinese soldiers are dying of dysentery or malaria for

every one wounded . . . "

In the sphere of military co-operation we find the same mixture of sly hypocritical gestures completely belied by action. Since his appointment as the "Allied" generalissimo in the Far East—Chiang Kai-Shek has acquired the distinction of being the only generalissimo whose opinions need not

"China," writes the famous Chinese author Lin Yutang, "must be let into the mysterious secrets of the "Allied Grand Strategy" before efficient co-operation on the part of

China can bring the most useful results, Chiang Kai-Shek must not | combatted for many years.

Britain controlled by the working class, extending the fraternal aid made possible under socialism, only such a | the proletariat, but that does not pre-

protocariat, but only to lead it to ruin. The Belgian Labour Party has the right to call itself the sole party of vent it from going from capitulation to



STARKEY JACKSON (CENTRE) WITH THE FIRST BRITISH YOUNG WORKERS' DELEGATION TO SOVIET RUSSIA. 1926.

We have learnt with deep regret of the loss at sea of Comrade Starkey Jackson, a leading Fourth Internationalist in Britain.

Comrade Jackson is reported missing, presumed drowned whilst his regiment was being transported abroad.

Although still in his early thirties, Starkey Jackson had taken an active part in the Socialist movement for nearly 20 years. He joined the Labour League of Youth when he was 14 years old. At an early age he lost his job as the result of activities in the General Strike and he threw himself wholeheartedly into Socialist work.

He was elected by the Labour League of Youth as a delegate to the first Youth Delegation which visited the Soviet Union from Britain in 1926 and acted as the Secretary of the delegation.

On his return to England, he broke with the Labour Party and joined the Young Communist League and for a short period was the Editor of the Communist Party youth journal "The Young Worker."

He was an activist in the unemployment movement for several years and was sentenced to six months imprisonment after a demonstration in which he played a leading role, was broken up in the most brutal manner by the police. Towards the end of 1929, Comrade Jackson became critical of Stalinism and

the policy of the British C.P. and as a result of his experiences he eventually joined the Fourth Internationals. For some years he was the Secretary of the Militant Group and in 1938 became the Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist League, which post he

fulfilled until he was called up early in the war. Starkey Jackson entered the army as a proletarian revolutionist adopting the attitude of our movement that a revolutionist must go with the workers of his age and class, to carry on the struggle for the socialist revolution in

the army as well as in industry. We salute a comrade who lost his life in the imperialist war which he

INTERNATIONAL NEWS WORKERS

THEORETICAL ORGAN OF W.I.L. (FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)

CONTENTS OF CURRENT ISSUE

By ANDREW SCOTT SOCIALISM OR FASCISM IN POST WAR BRITAIN ... By MARC LORIS OUR TASKS UNDER THE NAZI BOOT LABOUR'S OPPORTUNITY IN SOUTHERN IRELAND By TOM BURNS THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION (THESES) By LEON TROTSKY POLICE REGIME IN NORTHERN IRELAND ... By BOB ARMSTRONG

ontificati, and this bridge them into on the part of every section of the working class movement in every phase of the daily struggle against capitalism, fighting to transform the Labour Party from the basis of class collaboration onto a class basis . . .

But the present campaign is conducted along somewhat different lines and in very different tones. In his article in the February 1943 issue of the "Labour Monthly", Pollitt wants us to forget what he said vesterday "It would be easy," he says, "to make full play with the political differences of the past as a means of avoiding facing up' to hard new facts of the present position. But if this were done it would not represent serious leadership." And later, "There is a keen awareness in existence, a keen desire to understand, a desire for unity, accompanied by astonishment that political differences of the past can be allowed to prevent mature judgment now being directed to achieve maximum unity while there is yet time."

What has happened in the course of these nine years to have changed Pollitt's opinion? Has the Labour Party broken with the "policy and practice of Social Democracy" Have the 'political differences of the past' evaporated because the Labour leaders have taken to the road of class struggle and revolution? On the contrary Not even Pollitt would have the termerity to put that one across. The Labour leaders capitulated to reaction and the class enemy as never before in history. Their role as lackeys of finance capital has never been so clearly exposed as at the present moment No! It is the Communist Party which has reduced itself to the "practice and policy of Social Democrapy"! The process of degeneration which had reached the high degree of ripeness in 1936 has now completely fructified. From an organisation which maintained at least a few verbal principles, the C.P. has degenerated to a diseased political corpse differing no whit, on their own admission, from the reformist Labour Party. . A medo of 5

REAL AIMS PARTLY HIDDEN

If this was the only reason why the Stalinists are attempting to affiliate to the Labour Party, the revolutionary left could breathe a sigh of relief. For if there are no fundamental differences between the organisations then they ought to get together and every socialist worker must support this move. But there is another feason, why the Stalinists want to get inside the L.P. a reason which they do not boast about too loudly. Like Moore Brabazon, who inadvertently revealed the real ideas and aspirations of the reactionary capitalist class regarding the Soviet Union, the less experienced of the Stalinist leaders reveal the true aims of their party. John Gollan, writing in a recent issue of "World's News and Views'', attacked the Glasgow "Forward" for "sniping" at national unity and revealed that one of the tasks that the Communist Party would have to undertake is to end this left feeling inside the Labour Party.

Here we see it. They want to smash the growing left wing movement in the Labour Party which is demanding the End to the Coalition and a more positive class policy on the part of Labour; they want to act as policemen for the capitalists in the ranks of the Labour movement.

DILEMMA OF LABOUR LEFTS

Meanwhile, the Labour leaders are none too happy about the new turn on

collision with the Stalinists.

LABOUR FAKERS FEAR FOR JOBS

Basically, the right wing Labour leaders reflect the fear and interests of their capitalist masters, who in turn dread the entrenchment of the Stalinists in the working class. The capitalists are well aware that although the Third International is no longer a revolutionary movement, the loyalty of the British C.P. is primarily to Stalin. In view of the possible clash between themselves and the Soviet Union, they have no stomach for a labour movement controlled or influenced by the Stalinists which would be a powerful lever in Soviet foreign policy in the event of such a clash. The Labour leaders can be relied upon as their faithful lackeys—they can be trusted to have a "stabilising influence" on the workers; the Stalinists, however, can change their policy overnight as they have done so often before, and completely upset the political equilibrium in the country. Moreover, the Labour leaders fear

that their vested interests as controllers of the Labour movement will be undermined—they have no wish to share with the Stalinists their well paid jobs as government officials, M.P.'s and "specialists". Their privileged economic position is bound up with their continued control of the Labour movement. In the present moribund state of the Labour Party, it would not be long before the Stalinists had seized control of the constituency parties, or at least insinuated themselves into key position's and organised a formidable opposition to undermine the existing leadership.

In their statement rejecting the C.P.

application, the L.P. Executive reveals this fear. Without making any genuinely principled statement in opposition to the C.P., they nevertheless score some telling points and do not hesitate to use demagogic arguments about the "instability" and "political irresponsibility" of the Stalinists. One passage of their statement runs: "The continual activities of the C.P. in this country between September 3, 1939 and June 1941 were characterised by political somersaulting of the most contemptible kind." But this truthful statement, is cynically capped by another, that: "The Labour Party has always stood firmly for a policy of friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Britain." The Labour fakers have not yet successfully learned to "spit in the wind". For the last quoted passage blows back in their faces with all the slush and anti-Soviet propaganda which they dished out when the Red Army entered Poland and when "poor little democratic Finland" was attacked by the Soviet Union. Truly, the political "somersaults" of the Labour Party Executive, during the same period as they quote for the Stalinists are also of the "most contemptible kind"! On that score the Labour fakers shouldn't cast stones at their Stalinist opponents because they are brothers under the treacherous skin.

NO POLITICAL REASON FOR SEPARATE ORGANISATIONS

On all counts, there is no fundamental political difference between the Labour Party and Communist Party. Despite its more revolutionary background and phraseology, the Stalinists are even to the right of the Labour Party. Both are parties of Social reform; both support the war and the class who are conducting the war. Both support the continuation of nat-

Continued on Back page

Internationalism in the I.L.P.

The "New Leader" report of the Divisional Conferences of the I.L.P reveals a turn towards the left on the part of the membership.

Judging from the resolutions which secured substantial support in certain areas, the Left Wing has made big progress since the annual Conference

An amendment to one of the I.L.P. DEGREE. resolutions passed by the London Division, declared that:

tempt of the Government to make peace with the German capitalist class over the ruins of the German

the Party to maximum possible supply of arms and assistance to the Soviet workers and any future workers' state which is attacked and to defence of a Socialist Britain by a from the ranks."

"New Leader", 20.2.43.

A resolution condemning pacifism secured big support in London. And a Marxist resolution on the Soviet clared: "admiration for the Red Army, condemnation for the Stalinist

to the Fourth International for discussions for "international unity of all socialists who oppose the war and stand for socialist revolution" was de- population would be even worse than

These indications of a move to the Left on the part of the I.L.P. rank and file are a part of the general process of awakening which is taking place throughout the working class. The emergence of the Left wing in the I.L.P. augurs well for the future. If it is to make further progress it will itical attack by the capitalists against italists, the Fine Gael. It is no accihave to fight a relentless struggle for theoretical clarification and a consistent Leninist programme within the I.L.P. Such a struggle would lead to the conviction that the road to the building of a revolutionary Socialist Party lies under the programme and banner of the Fourth International.

Continued from Page 1.

the Third International.

SOUTHERN IRELAND

BY JIM CORBETT

THE WAR HAS AFFECTED THE PEOPLE OF "EIRE"—THE 26 COUNTIES OF SOUTHERN IRELAND, TO ALMOST THE SAME EXTENT AS THE COUN-TRIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN HOSTILITIES. IN MANY RE-SPECTS IT HAS AFFECTED THEM TO AN EVEN GREATER

The strictures which the war has "the I.L.P. will oppose any at- placed on Irish foreign trade, which has declined to almost half, and the British policy of "squeezing" Ireland beginning of 1942 and would have been | ionary parties of the capitalist class. workers' army with officers elected double this but for the wholesale migdaughters who are working in British North and South. war industries, the conditions of the Teated on the voting by only 13 votes | those which prevailed during the years of 1912-1913.

"SPECIAL POWERS"

AGAINST WORKERS This collapse of Irish economic life is accompanied by a reactionary polthe Irish workers and the victimisation of militants who have played a leading role in the struggles of the Trade 'Special Powers" which have been even more rigorously than in Britain. Left Wing nationalists and militant workers have been interned under these Special Powers. The Trades Unions have been shackled to the State by the infamous "Order 83", the Anti-Trades Union Act of 1941. The unundergo training in Government "Construction C-ops", or starve.

WORKERS TURN TO LABOUR PARTY

The inability of De Valera and the Republic but also the Red Army of Irish capitalists to solve the problems of Eire and establish a minimum live-Into the fashinoning and leading of lihood for the masses, has resulted in

its glorious labour traditions, the Labour Party gained 13 seats instead of its usual 3, and thus secured control of the Council. Not only in the cities did the Labour Party gain in votes and prestige, but also among the small farmers and farm labourers. The number of Labour Party branches increased during 1941 and 1942 by 250

UNITE LABOUR IN ERIE AND ULSTER

For the first time in Irish history in repayment for her "neutrality", has the possibility is opening up for the "The amendment also committed resulted in a terrific decline in the Labour Party to become the mass party standards of living. The cost of living of the working class; a possibility of has risen by almost 70 per cent, unem- Labour taking the control of the govployment has risen to 102,000 in the ernment from the hands of the react-

At the same time, the desertion of ration of young Irish men and women the Northern Irish Labour Party by into British industry and army. Midgely, who formerly exercised a re-Extreme poverty, a characteristic feat- actionary "Orange" influence inside it, ure of Irish working class life in times and whose exit was followed by the Union which was only rejected by one of peace, has now intensified to a most reactionary and conservative vote at the North East Division, de- degree unknown for many years. clique, can only have resulted in the Evictions of tenants for non-payment strengthening of the Left Wing of the of rent is a daily occurrence in the city | Belfast and Northern Irish Labour "New Leader", 20.3.43. of Dublin. But for the monies sent Party. This offers a favourable con-A resolution demanding an approach home by the husbands, sons and dition for the unity of Irish Labour-

PRO-WAR STALINISTS SEEK TO SPLIT LABOUR

It is in these circumstances that the Stalinists are seeking to shatter the Labour Party of Southern Ireland, and are advocating a coaliton between Labour, Fianna Fail and the Party of the most reactionary pro-British capdent that they find themselves advocating the same policy as the notorious pro-British and Fascist Blueshirt, Dil-Union and Labour movement. All the lon, who advocates a coalition and the entry of the 26 Counties into the war. introduced in Eire have been applied For that is what they want: to undermine the class independence of the Thousands of members of the I.R.A. Irish workers, to subjugate them to the pro-British ranchers and to drag them into the imperialist bloodbath as canhon fodder for Britain. They seek to undermine the confidence of the workers in their own organisations, and if necessary, are prepared to shatter employed have been compelled to the unity of the Irish Labour move-

In Dublin, where they have a fraction in a number of Branches of the Labour Party they are feverishly discussing and preparing a split behind the scenes. Everyone in the Dublin | Labour movement knows it. Everyone in the Dublin movement accepts The time has come to sound the this mighty revolutionary instrument, the beginnings of a political crisis, alarm and arouse the workers. The

the hands of the Irish capitalists, in particular the most reactionary and pro-British wing

LABOUR LEADERS HELP SPLITTING PROCESS

Undoubtedly, their work is being facilitated by the reactionary policy of the right wing leadership of the Irish Labour Party. For instead of preparing a real struggle to place Labour in Power on a workers' and farmers' programme, aimed at taking over complete control of the nation's industries, expropriating the capitalists and landlords, and granting government subsidies to the small farmers, these labour leaders have fiddled around with a programme of reforms which is but a pale reflection of the policy of the Government itself, and is centred around the most stupid caricature of the utopian Douglas Credit policy of currency reform. At the same time, fearing the leftward swing on the part of the rank and file, and in an attempt to placate the clergy who demand a conciliatory right wing policy, the Labour bureaucrats have eliminated all the Left Wingers, such as Jim Larkin, from the candidates' slate for the forthcoming parliamentary elections, and foisted onto the party membership, a reactionary, middle-class bunch of opportunists.

NO SPLITS - NO DESERTIONS

This action on the part of the leadership has disgusted a wide section of the rank and file, who without any clear alternative policy, are dropping out or falling under the demagogic Stalinist criticism of the leaders.

The present situation is pregnant with disastrous consequences for the Irish Labour movement. The party is being sabotaged by the right wing, who limit its appeal to the workers by manoeuvres at the top and the abandonment of any vestige of a socialist programme; it is being undermined by the Stalinists who seek to wreck the movement in the interests of involving the 26 Counties in the war.

FOR A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT

Militants in the Dublin area must give a lead to unite the Irish workers and destroy both of these corroding tendencies. The unity of the Labour Party and the Labour movement can only be maintained if the Left Wing work out a militant transitional programme aimed at power.

LABOUR TO POWER ON A

Coalition Cracks

Continued from Page 1.

as possible were, as always with the capitalists, their guiding considerations. If the Labour leaders showed only one per cent of the class consciousness of these reactionaries, the future of the workers would be assured.

ment's proposals has been shown by the statement on the Beveridge Report. To quote the pro-Government "Daily Worker":

"Under the pressure of the most reactionary group of Tories the Government has already partially surrendered to the vested interests opposing Beveridge. No other meaning can be drawn from Sir John Anderson's speech in the Commons yesterday.

The "Daily Herald" stated:

"There is profound dissatisfaction with Sir John's assertion that although the Government accepts the principles laid down by Beveridge, it is unable at this stage to enter into any specific commitments."

So that the brave, new world they promised, of which they have now given a glimpse, is nothing but the same old world-only worse. The same as the "good old days" after the the bye-elections. last war. Means Test, unemployment, misery and want for the working class. Even the carrying through of the Beveridge Report itself would not alter this in any way. But the capitalists and their government are showing already that the Beveridge Report was not meant seriously. Sir John Anderson and Kingsley Wood have demonstrated quite crudely and brutally that this scheme was purely meant as fairy tale to keep the masses quiet. Says the "Times" on the Government

"The Government's acceptance with so many conditions and qualifications as to leave the impression vaguely desirable, that it may be It goes too far for the Tories. postponed for years, or may even be of poverty and depression."

tive journal of British capitalism, sums | general election. And a General Elecup the Government's position as it ion under these conditions would give "appears" to be. Of course, the alarm the Labour Party an overwhelming of the "Times" is merely voiced at majority. It is time for the farce of the indiscretion of the Government "national unity" to be ended. End revealing the brutal truth of the pos- the Coalition with the Capitalistsition of British capitalism too soon. Labour must take power! No more They realise what the reaction among compromises, no more sell-outs by the the masses will be, as the bye-elections Labour and Trade Union leaders to have already shown. It is in this the bosses. atmosphere that the Labour M.P.'s, Workers' International League befaced with the pressure of the workers, lieves that only the taking of power have threatened a "revolt" against the by the working class can solve their

Europe. The whole of the capitalist press fanned the justified indignation of the masses at the destruction of Lidice in Czechoslovakia, and of other towns in occupied Europe. Yet a report published in the "Daily Telegraph" reveals that British troops are burning and destroying villages, seiz-But the emptiness of air the Govern- ing the inhabitants' cattle, and driving them from their former homes. This is a picture of the regime which they intend establishing in Europe and Asia when they have been "liberated" from the iron grip of German and Japanese imperialism. The farce of the "war against fascism" has been exposed in North Africa by the installation into power of the French fascist quislings.

The capitalists are planning ahead both for the struggle against the peoples of Europe and the workers of Britain. They offer a future of hunger and chaos, of Quislings in Europe and Asia, and inevitably of reaction and fascism at home. The working class must plan ahead as well. The Labour leaders have been holding the masses in check with the fiction of "national unity". But even the "Times" can see that the workers want an alternative to the rotten system of capitalism. In undisguised dismay they watch the barometer of

The Labour members of parliament have been forced into opposition over the refusal of the Government even to pay lip-service to the Beveridge Plan. This is not enough! Speeches in Parliament cost nothing but hot air! The time has come to act!

The bulk of the workers in the Labour movement support the Labour 'leaders because they believe that they represent their interests. The Labour leaders have entered the government with the cry that it was necessary for a struggle against fascism. Sacrifices must be made, they said. But only 'in principle' of a very large part the masses, not the capitalists have of the report has been presented made the sacrifices! Sacrifies for the workers, profits for the bosses! Now even the miserably inadequate Beverthat action, in their view, is only idge Plan is not even to be promised.

If the Labour leaders desired power deferred altogether in a coming era it is theirs for the taking. A campaign throughout the country on a militant Thus the "Times", most authorita- socialist programme would force a

against the Arabs, as the Axis uses in | problems. But the road to this lies through the independent struggle of the working class. We believe that the Labour leaders do not represent the interests of the workers, but since the masses of the workers still have confidence in these leaders, we will fight side by side with them to convince them that our point of view is correct. But the whole course of the war has shown the rottenness and bankruptcy of the coalition. The next step forward is the reassertion of the Demand that the Labour leaders fight for power.

> Workers, members of Trade Unions, Labour Parties, Co-ops and the whole Labour movement, the time has come to exert pressure now. We appeal to you-Don't put your trust in the capitalists and their politicians. Watch the actions of your own leaders. Rely on your own strength, your own forces, your own organisations. Only the working class can solve the problems facing the workers. End the Coalition! Labour to Power! Put into force the programme of the "Socialist Appeal", which will lead the workers to victory.

Our 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. Confisoation 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.

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 profascist 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 Petainism.

11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the

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.



Continued from Page 1.

the Third International."

this mighty revolutionary instrument, the beginnings of a political crisis, genius. From one to another of the closeness of imperialist war. The sary. He put heart into weary soldiers has resulted in a rapid turn, almost ing organised with the purpose of fighting against the heaviest odds. amounting to a landslide on the part undermining the Irish Labour move-And he did so, not by urging them of the workers towards the Labour ment which is strongly against the war, to fight for the "Motherland", but by | Party. rekindling in their hearts the fires of In the recent muncipal and county among the masses, thus strengthening revolutionary internationalism.

"Whites" and sang:

"When Wrangel's volunteers try to land,

We'll give them all to the fish

"But (and we quote from Erich Wollenberg) Trotsky issued an army order forbidding this parody, on the ground that Wrangel's volunteers astray and that the Proletarian Reation, which the soldiers of the Red Army must shun, because they were the human material with which the Socialist State was to be built up."

This stands in glaring contrast with the spirit of hatred which the Stalinist bureaucracy is deliberately trying to instil in the minds of the Red Army men. The continual cry now is "Death! Death!" And their leading writer, Ilya Ehrenburg, refers to the German soldiers as "Fritzies" "barbarians", "sausage-makers", etc. On this path no real revolutionary approach can ever be made to the German soldiers and workers.

"mistakes". Lenin, however, payed through the entire world. clear and honest tribute to Trotsky's great part in the building of the Red of struggle the example of Trotsky's

army in a year and won the respect of the military specialists as well.

Continue on next column.

struction Cops", or starve. WORKERS TURN TO

undergo training in Government "Con- ment.

LABOUR PARTY The inability of De Valera and the the scenes. Everyone in the Dublin Republic but also the Red Army of Irish capitalists to solve the problems Labour movement knows it. Everyof Eire and establish a minimum live- one in the Dublin movement accepts Into the fashinoning and leading of lihood for the masses, has resulted in it. The time has come to sound the situation calls for the immediate and Trotsky put his whole energy and long suspended only because of the most serious attention of every Irish worker who wants to abolish Irish fourteen fronts on which it had to Fianna Fail, originally the party of fight against intervention, he travelled. the Irish middle class, once the mass. capitalism; who wants Labour in pow-For two years he lived in his special popular party in Southern Ireland, has er; and who is fighting for the estabmilitary train, hurrying off always to established its subjugation to Irish lishment of the United Irish Socialist where the danger was greatest and his capitalism and is rapidly losing the Republic. great organising powers most neces- sympathy of the Irish masses. This This criminal splitting tactic is be-

elections which took place in the 26 Always Trotsky emphasised to his Counties last year, the Labour Party soldiers of the Red Army the revolu- arose from comparative insignificance tionary nature of their fight. And he and secured 215 seats against 245 for did this in small things as well as in the Fianna Fail, and 127 for the Fine big. For example, some of the Red Gael, the right wing Tories. In Dub-Army men parodied a song of the lin, the largest city in Ireland with all THE RESTRICTION OF THE PARTY OF

> We have got such a man! We have got everything!"

For the present, and for their own purposes, Churchill and the British capitalist class are playing ball with were merely men who had been led their diplomacy they are pretending to the situation. accept the Stalinist legend about the volution would find the way to bring Red Army. They are concealing their opinions have been clearly expressed Churchill before the necessity for diplomacy arose. Broadcasting in 1940 about Finland, Churchill said

"The service rendered by Finland to mankind is magnificent. They the military incapacity of the Red Army and of the Red Air Force. Everyone can see how Communism India. rots the soul of a nation: how it and proves it base and abominable

the Soviet Union is among the most this appalling state of affairs can be cynical and slimy pieces of diplomacy Stalin has now completely re-written in history. It is in essence an effort gathered from the following table the history of the Revolution and of to utilise the self-sacrifice and heroism published by the Nutrition Research the Red Army in order to conceal the that spring from a great revolution for Laboratories, Coonoor. part played by Trotsky, and above all the foul purposes of British imperialpresent policy and that pursued by present flattery of Stalin and accept-Lenin and Trotsky. He has attempt- ance of the new "history" of the Red particular role either in the Party or acy. But neither Stalin's falsifications the October insurrection," and that in nor Churchill's pretended belief in the wars of intervention he, Stalin, them can for one moment affect the had continually to remedy Trotsky's tides of class struggle that are surging

In the coming days Army. Maxim Gorki in his recollec- military and political leadership and tions of Lenin described how Lenin | the miracles wrought by a Red Army banged his fist upon the table and which was armed with the weapon of proletarian internationalism will not "Show me another man who could be forgotten. On the contrary. They have practically created a model will serve as a beacon for the revolutionary workers of Britain, Europe and the entire world.

In Dublin, where they have a fraction in a number of Branches of the Labour Party they are feverishly discussing and preparing a split behind gramme aimed at power. alarm and arouse the workers. The

> WORKERS' AND SMALL FARM ERS' PROGRAMME MUST BE THE CENTRAL POLITICAL SLO-GAN TO RALLY THE MASSES IN THE FORTHCOMING ELEC-TIONS TO THE DAIL. NO SPLITS! NO DESERTIONS! MUST SLOGANS IN THE PRESENT PERIOD!

Militants in the Dublin area must give a lead to unite the Irish workers and destroy both of these corroding tendencies. The unity of the Labour Party and the Labour movement can only be maintained if the Left Wing work out a militant transitional pro-LABOUR TO POWER ON A

THE ORGANISATIONAL

and American imperialism are using just as inhuman as brutal methods BETTER THAN

Continued from page 1

the Soviet bureaucracy. As part of cover up the deeper issues involved in

and curbing its growing influence

The real game was given away verses, he explained, were merely real opinions about the Soviet Union when Amery said that in a sub-Conthe products of military brutalis- and Communism. But these real tinent like India the present machinery of administration is not adequate to deal with the situation. A simple analysis of the situation will demonstrate what a revolutionary transformhave exposed for all the world to see, ation is necessary to provide adequate and equitable distribution of food in Dr. Arkroyd's calculations makes it abject and hungry in peace, show that 98 per cent of the family budgets showed no reference at all to Churchill's so-called alliance with the use of milk. Full significance of

to conceal the difference between the ism and its war for survival. And his COMPARE DAILY CONSUMP-TION OF FOOD PER ADULT ted to prove that Trotsky "played no | Army is an integral part of his diplom- | MALE IN THE HOMES OF FREE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AND IN THE PRISONS OF BOMBAY

Items of Food- stuffs	INDUSTRIAL WORKERS Bombay Madras				INDIAN CONVICTS IN PRISONS OF BOMBAY			
	Textile Industry		Textile Industry		Light Heavy Labour Labour			
CEREALS	1.29	lbs.	1.13	lbs	1.38	lbs	1.50	lbs.
PULSE	.09		.07		.21	**	.27	
MEAT	.03			The same	.04	11	-04	
SALT	.04	"	.05		.03	**	.03	**
OIIS	-02		.03	**	.03	"	.03	
FOOD ADJUNCTS	.07		.07	"			-	1
TOTAL	1.54		1.35	"	1.69	11	1.87	

There are three causes inherent in the present Indian economy to account

only part of the total cultivable land is actually under cultivation. The root cause of this is the increasing it locally, power must pass into the indebtedness of the peasantry and the consequent transfer of land to the nonproducing absentee landlords. According to the estimates of an emin can effectively deal with the situation. ent Indian economist, R. K. Das, 70 Anything but this will remain a paper per cent of the cultivable land is decree. wasted!

Secondly, burdens of the peasantry in the form of uneconomic holdings, appalling distribution of land and lack of capital for improvements, have resulted in a very low productivity per head. As a matter of fact it is the lowest in the world.

Thirdly, because of the colonial position of the country there has been a steady increase in the production of non-food crops and deterioration in food crops. According to Mackenzie, the area of non-food crops has increased 54 per cent compared to the increase of 12.4 per cent in food

To these permanent causes is added the presence of a huge alien army in the country, supplies sent to the Libyan forces and the hoarding of food stuffs. The cumulative effect of these conditions is a rise in the prices by as much as 182 per cent in some parts of the country. Professor Vakil, the economist, has added that the monetary policy of the Government has brought about an inflation of currency.

The present bureaucratic imperialist government is incapable of dealing with hoarding. In the villages it is the landlord who hides the grain. He combines in himself the functions of a money-lender, grain dealer, landlord, and in many cases the Government

for these miserable conditions. Firstly, | village administrator. (Patel, Reddy, Manikar, etc.). To search his granaries, to seize the grain, to distribute hands of village peasant committees (Kisan Sabhas). No other administrative measure imposed from above

Government.

That is the position with regard to

home politics. So far as foreign poli-

tics is concerned, Lord Beaverbrook

has shown the miserable trickle of

"aid" and supplies which have been

sent to the Soviet Union. The capital-

ist class and the government are look-

ing with hidden fear and trembling

at the advance of the heroic Red

Army. In India and the colonies the

famine is being imposed on the masses

of the people. In "liberating" Tunis

Similarly in the urban areas and the industrial centres, Committees of itself graphically in industry through workers and consumers with their own volunteer corps, organised and controlled by them with full powers to search and seize food stuffs for equit- the I.L.P. and by the even greater able distribution—only such popular organisations can bring order into the present chaos. Those who doubt the ability of Indian workers to undertake administrative control should read Brailsford's description of Sholapur in

It is these conditions of poverty and starvation which are responsible for the discontent and hostility of the Indian masses. Added to this, the national oppression of 400,000,000 people by the police-military dictatorship of British imperialism, is creating the conditions for the mightiest explosion in all history.

Gandhi's death may hasten this explosion. On the other hand, as the representative of the Indian native capitalist class, he may be preparing for the great sell-out, as he has so often done in the past. Only the working class can conduct a genuine struggle to free India and solve the agrarian, economic and national problems of India in the interests of the masses. But in any case, the British working class must demand the immediate and unconditional release of Gandhi and of all other nationalists and working class political prisoners in India. They must also demand the right of the Indian people to freely choose their own government without the interference or dictatorship of the hated British ruling class.

of the "Times" is merely voiced at majority. It is time for the farce of the indiscretion of the Government "national unity" to be ended. End revealing the brutal truth of the pos- the Coalition with the Capitalistsition of British capitalism too soon. Labour must take power! No more They realise what the reaction among compromises, no more sell-outs by the the masses will be, as the bye-elections Labour and Trade Union leaders to have already shown. It is in this the bosses.

atmosphere that the Labour M.P.'s, Workers' International League befaced with the pressure of the workers, lieves that only the taking of power have threatened a "revolt" against the by the working class can solve their

trol of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or Petainism.

11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the

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.

Continued from page 3.

ional unity and the continued subjugation of the colonial masses in the interests of that national unity. Both oppose the breaking of the coalition with the bosses and the reassertion of the independence of the organisations rule of blood and terror, of force and of the working class. Both fight every vestige of independent activity or miltancy on the part of the workers which raises the class consciousness of the from the Axis, the armies of British working class, but will "antagonise" the Tories and "jeopardise National Unity". Both use their authority acquired in the past as working class leaders to defeat and mislead that spirit of militancy on the part of the workers and thus aid and strengthen the reactionary Tories.

With all this in common, there is no political justification for the labour leaders to attack the Stalinists and refuse them affiliation. There is not even the justification for the existence of separate organisations.

WORKERS WANT FIGHTING

UNITY

The rank and file of the Labour movement can have nothing in common with the aims and objections, or arguments of the Labour leaders. The workers must and do approach the question of unity from an entirely diff- | the Stalinists into the Labour Party; country there is commencing a political awakening among all sections of the population. At this stage it reflects strikes and industrial friction. In the political field it is expressed by the rising working class vote for independent working class candidates put up by support given to middle class Common Wealth and "independent" candidates. In the only part of the land where the coalition does not tie the hands of the mass Labour organisations—Northern Ireland, the Tories have received resounding defeat at the hands of Labour. All this is demonstrative of the deepening crisis and growing criticism of the capitalists on the part of the workers. And this movement is in the direction of breaking the coalition and reasserting the independence of the workers' organisations. It is accompanied by a genuine desire for a united movement on the part of the working people.

Meanwhile, for the first time possibly, partly as the result of the victories of the Red Army and its associa ations with the October Revolution, there is slowly crystallising among the masses, the idea of a "Communist" radical, alternative to the present capitalist system. But this turn on the part of the masses is taking place precisely at a period when the Stalinists have turned their backs most decisively against Communism and all its prac-

SPLIT HELPS STALINISTS

The split between the two organisations tends to confuse and disorient these leftward moving workers. It I of the Fourth International.

serves the Stalinists with a "left" cover and allows them to still pose as the representatives of Communism. This is facilitated by the attack against the Stalinists from the Labour fakers who are most deeply associated in the minds of the workers with the sell-out and disastrous coalition. The growth of the C.P. into the beginnings of a mass party have faced the leadership of that organisation with some problems which they did not have in the past, such as demands from the rank and file who moved towards the C.P. during the "militant" period, for a policy more consistent with the interests of the working class. As the Stalinist leaders reveal more blatantly their wedlock to Churchill's special brand of reaction, these workers split away and can be influenced even by the Labour lefts. The best workers in the organised

movement are astonished at the strike breaking activities of the leadership of the C.P. in industrial struggles; they have no stomach for supporting Tory candidates (most of whom at one time or another have praised Hitler and Fascism) and are horrified and dismayed at the energy publicly displayed by the Stalinists in supporting the reactionaries. Sections of these workers may legitimately oppose the entry of erent standpoint. Throughout the as they would oppose the spread of a cancerous growth. We must convince these workers that with a correct attitude on the part of the left wing, the affiliation of the C.P. can only aid the genuine socialist movement.

CLEAR THE WAY FOR NEW REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The majority of Labour workers still associate the Stalinists with the October revolution and have many illusions about their revolutionary role. In + close contact with the Stalinists; in experience inside one organisation and through concrete daily struggle the illusions of these workers will be shattered. This is one of the most important reasons for supporting the Stalinist affiliation. Inside the Labour Party, the C.P. would be the baton for the Labour leaders, they would quickly expose their true role in the working class movement. For the first time it would be possible to subject the policies and leadership of the Communist Party to criticism by using the Labour Party as a forum.

In self defence, the left wing would not only crystallise itself against the Labour bureaucrats, but against the Stalinists as well. And this tendency would attract to itself all the best elements that are drawn to or remain inside the Communist Party on the basis of its revolutionary traditions. Such a movement would and could only have a progressive function. With the Stalinists cleared out of the way as an obstacle and as a separate organisation, the road would be opened for the formation of an independent revolutionary party of the working class—the Party

Published by E. Grant, 61 Northdown Street, N.1 Printed by C. A. Brock & Co., Ltd., (T.U.), 79 Southern Row, Kensal Road, W.10