

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

VOL. 5. No. 8.

APRIL, 1943.

TWOPENCE.

# STRATFORD RAILMEN BAN SUNDAY WORK Defend Victimised Fireman

The ban on Sunday work by over 400 Drivers and Firemen at the L.N.E.R. depot at Stratford is to continue. This was reaffirmed at a meeting of the Stratford Branch, A.S.L.E. & F., on Saturday 27th March.

By **JOCK HASTON**

# AID RED ARMY WITH LENIN'S WEAPON

By **TED GRANT**

THE WINTER IS NEARLY OVER IN RUSSIA, AND NOW IS THE TIME TO DRAW A BALANCE SHEET OF THE SUCCESSES OF THE RED ARMY, AND OF THE WAR.

The capitalist press has been lavish in its praise of the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union and its army. It is clear that had the Nazi invaders been faced with the old Czarist army, they would have swept into Asia long ago. But the matchless spirit and hatred of the imperialist invader, who brings not only national oppression, but the restoration of the capitalists and the landlords, whom the peoples of the Soviet Union have overthrown, have led to this unsurpassed resistance.

The material preponderance of Germany, armed with a far superior technique and industrial structure, and basing herself on the resources of the whole of Europe, has not been sufficient to offset the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of the masses of the Soviet

Union. Armed with a planned and organised economy the Soviet Union has stood the test.

But Imperialist Germany is wreaking a terrible revenge on the masses in Russia for their resistance. And without the support of the masses of all

nationalities the Soviet Union would have collapsed long ago. The "Daily Telegraph" reveals how in the battle of the Donetz, the peasants supported the Red Army though armed only with knives, pickaxes and shovels.

Russia is bleeding from every pore. The losses in this most terrible war must be the greatest in all history. The Red Army's advance is unparalleled in history but the German army is still almost intact and has not been destroyed.

The principle reason for this is not far to seek. The just hatred of the Soviet masses of the imperialist invader has been deliberately distorted and misdirected into a hatred, not of the capitalists and their Nazi agents, but of the German rank and file and of all Germans as such. The whole propaganda to the Russian masses by the Stalin Government has been of an incredibly revolting nationalist and chauvinist character. "Soviet War

is brought out into the limelight and the question drops out of the public's

# "HI-DE-HI" COLONEL PROMOTED!

To Colonel W. B. V. H. P. Gates, the "Hi-De-Hi" Colonel, army life was

The workers have taken a principled stand for the reinstatement of a workmate who has been victimised by the Management, and despite the torrent of abuse and misrepresentation of their action in the yellow press, the feeling is solid among the workers to continue the ban.

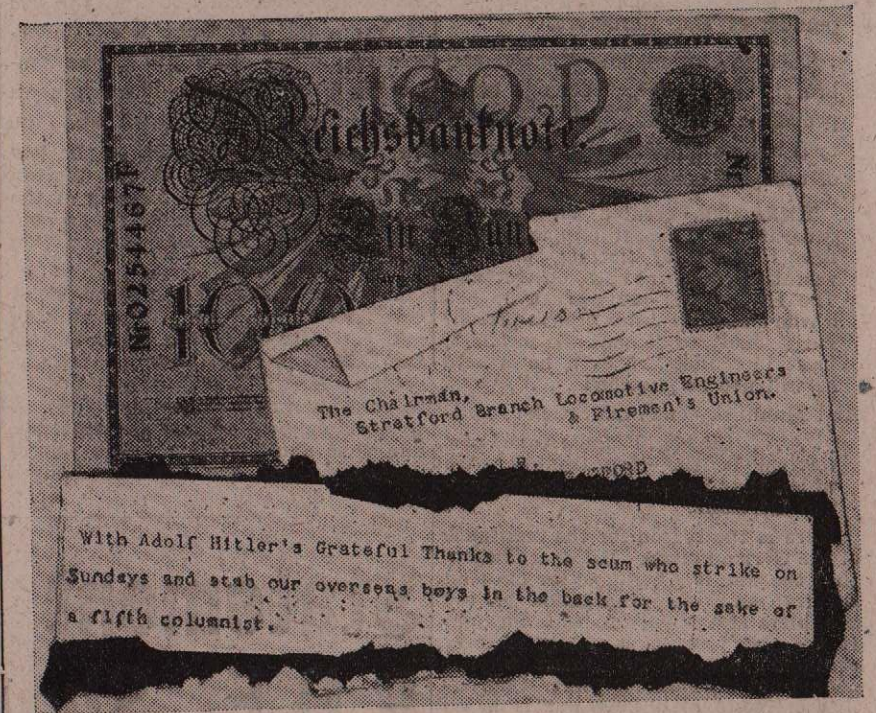
The facts of the case are simple and easily stated. Last September, 1942, a fireman employed by the L.N.E.R. at the Stratford depot was arrested for "sedition and spreading disaffection among the troops." On November 5th he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and fined £20. He was a left wing worker who correctly claimed that the war was an imperialist war and as a democrat, he openly stated his views. For this he was arrested and imprisoned.

His political views were not generally shared by the workers at the Depot or in his trade union branch, but his workmates nevertheless demonstrated their sound class instincts and proceeded to negotiate for his reinstatement from the day he was arrested.

After fruitless negotiations when the efforts of the Trade Union Branch were simply ignored or stone-walled by the management of the Depot, the Branch decided at the end of February, to impose a ban on Sunday work. At the last moment, the proposed action was called off for a further meeting with the Divisional Manager. At this meeting the Union delegation pointed out that the responsibility for the deterioration in the situation rested on the shoulders of the Divisional Manager, and if traffic was held up, he and he alone was responsible.

The manager replied that he "didn't care two hoots."

These facts clearly point to the patient, thoughtful and painstaking way in which the workers tackled the question. They emphasise all the more their sound class instinct when they finally took independent action. These facts should dispose of the wild stories in the Yellow Press and particularly in the "Daily Worker" that the



The above is a photostat of the 100 Reichsmark note with the letter and envelope which was sent to the Chairman of the Stratford Branch of the A.S.L.E. & F. The letter was anonymous, as this filthy type of communication usually is. But the signature of the Sender was woven into the text. **IT WAS INSPIRED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY.** Only the Stalinists use this phraseology. Only the Stalinists would send a note of this description. It fits perfectly with the lying and nauseating attacks against the militant railway trade unionists in the columns of the "Daily Worker." It fits perfectly with the slanderous speeches and allegations of Mr. Ted Bramley from a loud speaker van outside the Stratford L.N.E.R. depot each Friday since the commencement of the dispute.

# BEARDMORES BAN SUNDAY WORK

# PROMOTED!

To Colonel W. B. V. H. P. Gates, the "Hi-De-Hi" Colonel, army life was a game. So much so that the training battalion which he commanded became known as the "Flanagan and Allan" battalion. But the fun was all the Colonel's!

To get results, officers were instructed to use the "Big Stick". This meant plenty of confinement to barracks and labour duties, as well as pack drill which is officially banned in the army. The men were to be ridden all the way and given little or no time to think or for pleasure. A circular issued to warrant officers giving them directives on how to punish the men, ended with the words:

**"These are a few of the ways of making men's lives a misery until they toe the line."**

But the most fantastic feature indicating the character of this officer and the vicious treatment of his men, were the public reactions he demanded when men and officers under his command met each other in the streets. When officers met a squad of men they were made to spring smartly to attention and shout: "Hi-De-Hi"; the men in return were made to spring smartly to attention and reply: "Ho-De-Ho". If they failed to do so, they were severely punished.

When the ridiculous and idiotic indignities he imposed on the men as well as his vicious treatment of them, were finally brought into the light of day, instead of being kicked to hell out of the army, he was promoted!

While under suspension, he boasted that he had a pull at the war office and that he would be promoted. Sure enough, he was!

When the issue was brought up in Parliament, the "Boys of the Old Brigade" must have knotted their ties in horror. How dare these "yapping dogs", as the Colonel himself characterised the M.P.'s who raised the question, interfere in the actions of the "gentlemen" in control of the army? That was their special reserve about which there should be no public discussion. And if the Hi-De-Hi Colonel was a bit more spectacular than the rest of his co-officers are, there is little difference between them as to how they approach the soldiers as a class.

Every worker who joins the army knows that even if the officer in command does not issue circulars demonstrating how to make the rookies' life a misery, this idea is common to many officers in command of training stations. More time is spent on making the soldiers conscious of their inferior position than in military training. It is impossible for any worker to believe that this type of officer is interested in defending or extending democracy. The reactions displayed by the Colonel and in particular his reactions to parliamentary publicity, displayed the outlook of a typical fascist.

But after being adjudged "unfit to command men", he was boosted yet further up the ladder. This action of the Government cannot but arouse the distrust of the soldiers as to the sincerity of the "democratic" noises which emanate from Whitehall. One blimp

is brought out into the limelight and the question drops out of the public's gaze. But the problem still remains: How about Gates and all his friends with the same outlook, who still control the army?

In an army where the officers were under the control of the soldiers, elected to leading position because of the enthusiastic support among the rank and file, this type of officer would be completely eliminated.

Gates and his friends are specially bred in peace time in schools which turn out all the top leaders of the army. Although thousands of officers are being promoted "from the ranks" in the midst of the war, they are only junior officers and have not the slightest chance of displacing the professional caste who control the top.

In opposition to the type of officers who are turned out tailor-made at these capitalist schools, the trade union and labour movement must fight for special schools, financed by the Government, but under the control of the workers' organisations, where we can train worker officers. Men who stem from our class, who have nothing in common with the class arrogance of Hi-De-Hi Gates or the rest of the "Old School Tie" blimps, and who can be trusted to fight for true democracy not only in Europe, but at home in Britain against Hi-De-Hi and all the other class enemies who would impose capitalist dictatorship.

vader has been deliberately distorted and misdirected into a hatred, not of the capitalists and their Nazi agents, but of the German rank and file and of all Germans as such. The whole propaganda to the Russian masses by the Stalin Government has been of an incredibly revolting nationalist and chauvinist character. "Soviet War News" every week prints pages of this disgusting stuff. On the wireless, in the cinemas, and in the newspapers, all are filled with a racial hatred which could compare with that of Goebbels. To cite one or two examples. Alexei Tolstoy, writing in "Soviet War News" of February 13th, 1943, in an article entitled: "Tough Guys, Thick Heads":

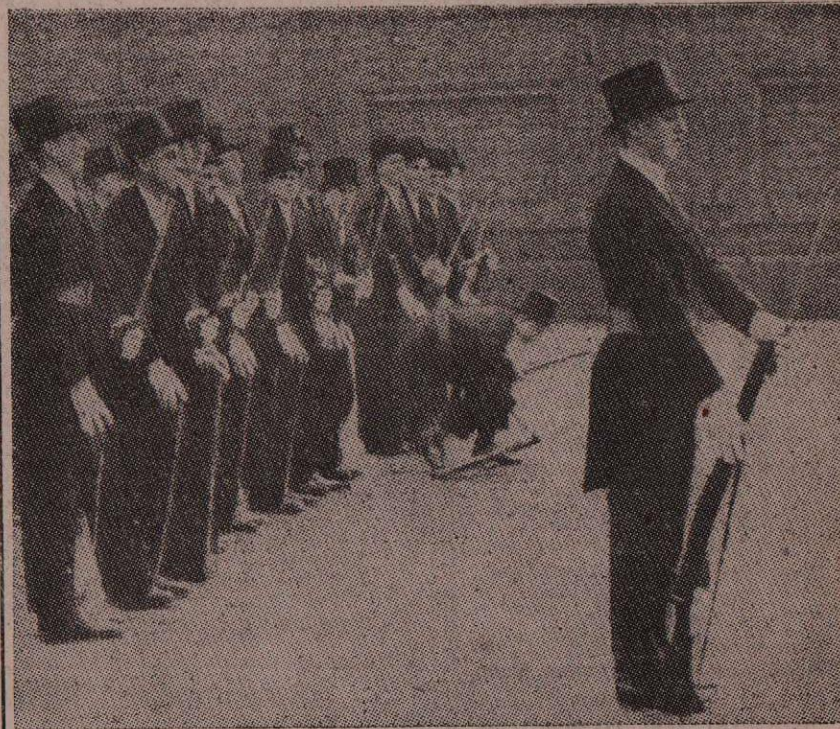
**"The Hitlerite army is held together by German training and discipline and German thick-headedness. The German soldier still has plenty of this. The Red Army will have to exert no little effort and deliver not a few blows to make the Germans whine like curs. But they soon will whine, make no mistake, because the Red Army has become really angry."**

D. Manuilsky, one of the leaders of the so-called Communist International writes: in "Soviet War News" February 8th, 1943, in an article entitled "Hitler's Accursed Generation":

"At Stalingrad, Hitler deceived his men. But let us admit frankly that they were deceived because they wanted to be deceived, because his lies correspond to the mentality bred in them by a whole lifetime of lies and deceit. They are slaves deprived of rights, without individual minds;

*Continued on page 2.*

## WHERE THE HI-DE-HI'S ARE TRAINED



Pre-war picture of the Sons of Eton on Parade.

These facts clearly point to the patient, thoughtful and painstaking way in which the workers tackled the question. They emphasise all the more their sound class instinct when they finally took independent action. These facts should dispose of the wild stories in the Yellow Press and particularly in the "Daily Worker" that the action was taken by a bunch of irresponsible pro-fascist saboteurs. The capitalist press could easily have got the facts. The Stalinists had them. But both, for their own ends, preferred to lie and distort the truth in the most despicable manner.

But the restatement of these facts do more than that. They clearly fix the responsibility for the ban and the hold up of transport on the shoulders of the Railway Company and its executive staff at Stratford.

The barrage of capitalist lies, which aims to whip up sentiment against these trade unionists, has helped only to steel the workers to see the battle through to victory. But it is the Communist Party who are the spearhead of the reactionary attack against these trade unionists. And as a result the name of the Communist Party stinks to the high heavens.

Each Friday since the dispute commenced, Ted Bramley, London District Organiser of the renegade Communist Party, has held meetings from a loudspeaker van outside the depot. At these meetings, he has thrown a

*Continued on Back page.*

## EDINBURGH LABOUR PARTY URGES LABOUR TO POWER

Edinburgh.

The pressure of the workers is at last being felt inside the ranks of the Labour Party and sections of the "Left" leadership are coming more and more to the fore as opponents of the electoral truce or of the Government.

But wherever Labour Parties continue to function with any semblance of life the rank and file workers are demanding action and not words from the leading bodies. The majority of constituency parties are against the policy of the coalition.

The Edinburgh Labour Party has passed a resolution demanding that Labour break the coalition and fight for power on a Socialist Programme.

The resolution was discussed at the general meeting of the Borough Labour Party and despite solid Stalinist opposition, was carried by a substantial majority.

The resolution will now appear on the agenda for the Annual Conference of the Labour Party, and is undoubtedly the clearest, as well as the most important to be raised, at the Conference.

## BEARDMORES BAN SUNDAY WORK Intimidate Clyde Workers

The huge Clydeside arms combine, Beardmores, which is controlled by the well-know and well-hated Sir J. Lithgow, has commenced an attack against the hours and conditions of the workers, and has backed this attack by a drive against the democratic rights of the shop stewards and workers in all the plants under their control.

First they proposed to clamp down on Sunday work and backed this up by a refusal to allow the workers in the plants to hold meetings to discuss this or other questions inside the factories.

This move has met with widespread hostility from the workers in all the plants concerned, and they have appealed not only to a number of M.P.s, including Mr. Kirkwood, but also to

the workers all over the country, to help them against this vicious attack against trade union rights.

All indications are that the wind is blowing for a storm, and while the feeling is quite strong on the question of the closure of Sunday work, which means a wage cut for the workers, it is the provocative attempts to clamp down on the rights of the workers to hold meetings in the plants, and the introduction of police provocations into the factories around which the main struggle will develop. Unless the bosses retreat and return to the status quo, there will be a tremendous battle which will close down most of the Clydeside.

At Parkhead Forge, owned by Beardmores, at Dalmuir Royal Ordnance Factory, which Beardmore's "manage" for the Government since it was presented to them by Lord Beaverbrook, and at two Ministry of Supply factories also managed by Beardmores. Notices were posted under the crest of the Engineering Employers Association, which stated that on and after March 21st no further Sunday work would be carried out at these plants.

At Parkhead Forge, there was little protest against the ending of Sunday work, although it meant a cut in the wages of the workers. But at Dalmuir R.O.F., the workers protested in the strongest terms and the Shop Stewards issued the following statement:

### Statement from R.O.F., Dalmuir

"At the outset of this statement we would like to point out that at the time of the transfer of this factory to the management of Beardmores, it was clearly laid down that the Royal Ordnance Factory, Dalmuir, would receive no less favourable conditions than those prevailing in other Royal Ordnance Factories. This was conveyed to us by Sir Patrick Dollan on behalf of Lord Beaverbrook the then Minister of Supply. At a further meeting of the Glasgow Shop Stewards held at the

*Continued on page 2.*

Every labour worker worthy of his salt will support this demand as a positive contribution to the interests of the Socialist Revolution in Britain and Europe.

# Aid Red Army

Continued from page 1

slaves accustomed to complete subordination.

Hitler promised to make them masters of the earth. He stole scraps of reactionary ideology from every quarter in order to justify the greedy desires of German imperialism, and poisoned the psychology of the young German generation so that they became a demoralised gang of plunderers and murderers.

This generation, unscrupulous and brutal, is merely robbing other peoples' countries. With cold cruelty it is exterminating the inhabitants of occupied lands.

Hitler has created an accursed generation of moral cripples which brings humanity nothing but devastation, death and destruction. The Hitlerite is brave when he has a rifle and faces a defenceless person. He is ready to commit the meanest, most incredible crimes if he is sure he will not be punished . . ."

And Manuisky ends his article:

" . . . they will understand how terrible is the responsibility with which they have saddled eighty million Germans."

Here is the reason for the resistance of the German army. Hitler tells them that the war is a struggle for national survival and the propaganda of the Stalinists serves only to back him up. If the war remains a purely military struggle there is no reason why it should not continue for years. Churchill's estimate of a long war is based on this consideration: The Anglo-American imperialists intend cutting Germany to pieces and oppressing the German people like the Nazis themselves have oppressed other peoples in Europe.

The allied imperialists look with not an unfavourable eye on the fact that the Soviet Union is compelled to bear the brunt of the war. And indeed, has this not always been the policy of all imperialists, to simultaneously weaken their "Allies" while using them to deal blows against their enemies? The "Daily Worker" of March 23rd quotes Eugene Tarle, the Russian historian who demonstrates historically, this policy on the part of British imperialism in the Napoleonic war against Czarism.

"What the British opposition publicist Cobbett said much later about Lord Castlereagh applies to many

# SOUTH HETTON PIT LADS IMPRISONED

Two lads from Sh. Hetton Colliery were convicted on March 4th at Castle Eden Police Court for refusing to carry out an instruction of the National Service Officer that they should work down the pit. A fine of £5 was imposed on one lad who had produced a doctor's certificate and he was bound over for two weeks to see if he would commence work underground. The other youth was sentenced to three months imprisonment. The action of the N.S.O. and the harshness of the penalties on the two youths incensed the South Hetton miners and a special meeting of the Lodge was held on March 7th to consider the possibilities of counter action being taken.

At this meeting after some bitter criticism from the floor at the general attitude of the leadership of the D.M.A. to these cases of victimisation under the E.W.O., it was decided to continue work in the meantime, to lodge an appeal against the sentence, and that South Hetton Lodge should circularise all the Durham Lodges

calling for a special meeting to demand the repeal of the section of the E.W.O. under which the National Service Officer could instruct youths to work down the pits.

After six days in prison the lad was released pending the appeal which takes place on April 5th. The other lad had already agreed to go down the pit and give the work a try. Judging by experience of such appeals in the past there can be little doubt that the outcome will be little different from the original sentence, in spite of the conciliatory attitude of the D.M.A. agents. The magistrates who sit at these trials are moved purely by interest for the ruling class whose system they represent and not in the interest of any abstract "justice."

The South Hetton miners should profit by their experience of the actions of the Watsons and Lawthers and should wage an agitation for the removal of these agents of the coal owners.

Not one section only of the E.W.O. must be repealed but the whole of it, and all such reactionary boss-class measures aimed against the working-class movement and conditions must be withdrawn.

# Statement of Dalmuir R.O.F. Shop Stewards

— CONTINUED —

end of November, 1941, this promise was again given to us by Lord Beaverbrook.

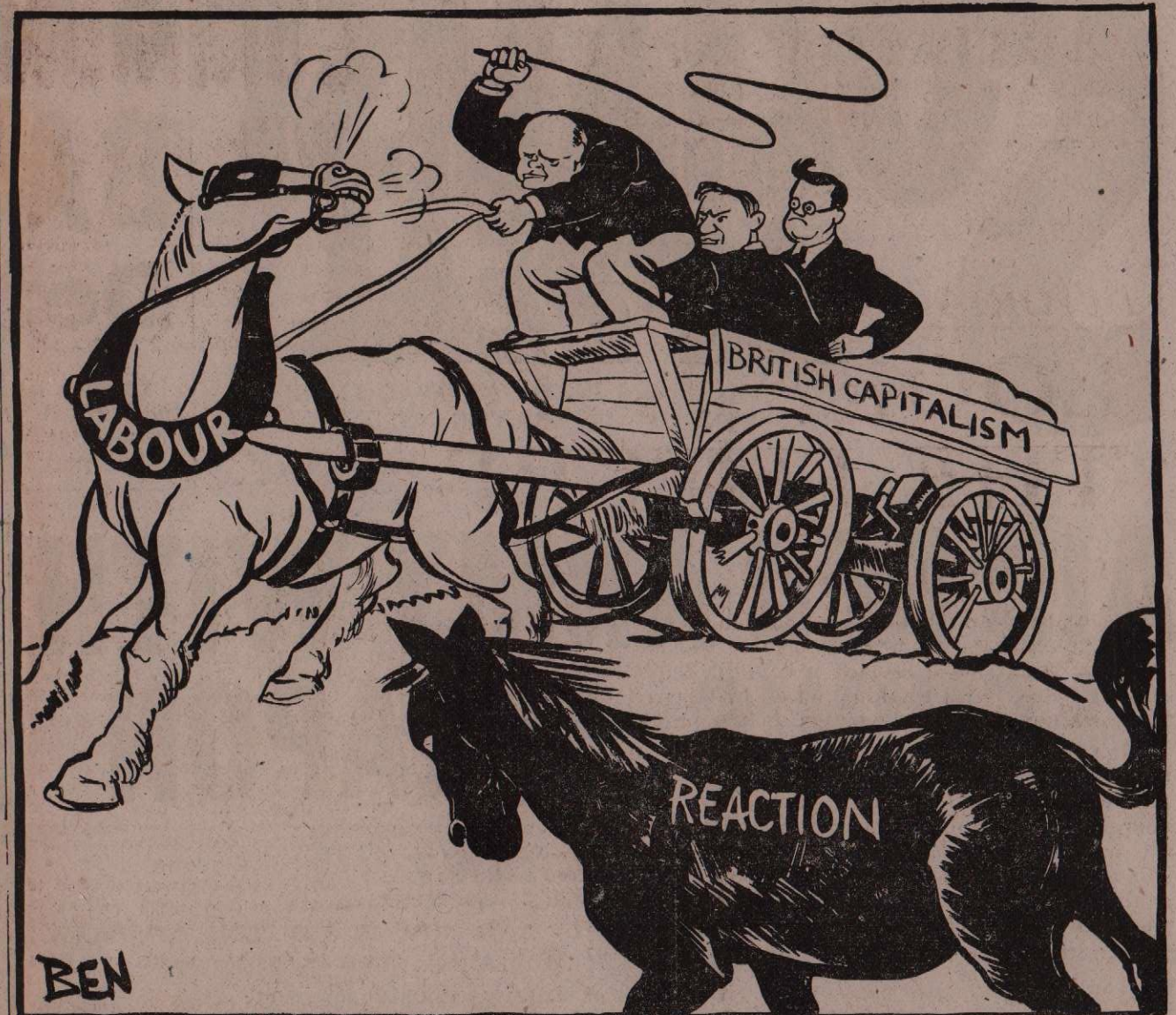
At a further meeting with Sir A. Duncan several months ago when he was questioned on the right of the Employers' Federation to participate in negotiations at this factory, he replied that:—"This was a Ministry of Supply Factory and that the Employers' Federation had no jurisdiction in the factory."

The situation which has now developed is this. The management at this factory have posted a notice under the crest of the Engineering Employers' Association, stating that on and after 21st March, 1943, there will be no more Sunday work. This factory has, for this last twelve months, had Saturdays recognised as a rest day. All

thousands of hours per week shall be lost to the country.

Every single person in this factory is at the moment deeply concerned with this most unreasonable change. We do not propose to let this matter go unchallenged, and we ask you, knowing your sincerity in the production issue, to help us to fight this matter.

Another matter which has been discussed at our Production Committee and which requires investigation is the position of rectification work at this factory. Much of the mechanism parts here are farmed out to privately owned firms. Thousands of these parts when they are returned here have to be rectified by our workpeople. This must cost the country thousands of pounds, and the figure of money involved must go against the costs of this factory. This is a public scandal and must be



'If you don't pull. I know a horse that will...'

# TYNE YOUTH Closing Ranks

BY BOB PHILLIPS

The strike of 250 engineers on Tyne-side has not been without its repercussions and their victory has strengthened the workers' opposition to the repressive measures of the bosses in the shipyards. According to one leading steward in the Neptune yard the spirit of the workers has been raised during the past month and the management no longer has things all its own way as was nearly always the case before.

The question of stronger T.U. organisation is now being raised in one important yard where amongst

# Correspondence

FROM A DUBLIN  
COMRADE

Dublin, 18.3.43.

Dear Comrade,

The material of the Fourth International is received here in Dublin like a new-born baby. It has become the guide of the confused workers—and they are confused. That is where the Stalinists have led them; that is where the Stalinists want them; and that is where the Stalinists intend them to remain, until your material got into the hands of the workers.

Not a day goes by, but we have a discussion with some worker on the Fourth International's role in the

upon the building workers' freedom of choice in feeding arrangements. The building workers will have to tackle the problem now, or they will have to pay dearly in the near future on health grounds. Acceptance of this order without a struggle will lead to compulsory billeting in building contracts in remote districts. Remember, that the Ministry of War Transport are endeavouring to force men who live 10 miles from the site to reside in these disguised concentration camps.

I am writing this to the "Socialist Appeal" as it appears to me that this is the only working class paper that is seriously concerned with the problem of organising the resistance of the workers to the attacks of the ruling

policy on the part of British imperialism in the Napoleonic war against Czarism.

**"What the British opposition publicist Cobbett said much later about Lord Castlereagh applies to many European statesmen of that time. Cobbett said 'In 1912 My Lord desired with equal ardour two things—firstly, Russian victory over Napoleon and, secondly, that this victory should not come to the Russians too easily and too soon'."**

The "Daily Worker" columnist comments: "And have we not also some Castlereaghs today?"

But of course, the Stalinists refuse to draw the conclusions from this. The policy of British imperialism in the last war while fighting to defeat Germany, was to systematically weaken their "dear ally" Czarist Russia. How much more so must this inevitably be the policy today when they are faced not with a feudal-capitalist state, but a workers state (even if somewhat degenerated).

If the war continues on the present basis, the Soviet Union will emerge from the struggle weakened and shaken. It will be greatly dependent on the good-will of the Allies. They are collecting huge resources in men and material which would be comparatively fresh, while coldly calculating to the last ounce and the last minute the resistance of the Soviet Union.

The heroism of the Russian workers and soldiers, despite material handicaps, has been sufficient to save the Soviet Union from military defeat. But even this is not sufficient to save the Soviet Union from world imperialism. Stalin's nominating of himself as a Marshall is a significant indication that the military generals and the officer caste have taken control in the Soviet Union. They will lean more and more in the direction of Anglo-American imperialism. "Victory" under such conditions would not be a safeguard against the imperialist pressure to re-introduce capitalism into Russia. Taking advantage of Russia's weakness the capitalists would take advantage of her need for machinery and materials—even food—as a weapon against collective ownership.

The nationalist methods of Stalinism in fighting the war, are leading the Soviet Union to destruction. There is only one means whereby the Soviet Union can be safeguarded: that is the method of the revolutionary war of Lenin and Trotsky. A socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe to end the fratricidal struggle by overthrowing the Nazis and going forward not to the "New Order" of imperialism in Europe, but to a United Socialist States of Europe. Such a policy would secure the support not only of the German workers, but the workers and soldiers of Britain and America. Stalinism is stabbing the Russian workers and peasants in the back by reliance on world imperialism. The only genuine allies of the Soviet Union are the workers of all countries—not least of all the workers of Germany, for the fate of the Soviet Union is bound up with their fate.

is this. The management at this factory have posted a notice under the crest of the Engineering Employers' Association, stating that on and after 21st March, 1943, there will be no more Sunday work. This factory has, for this last twelve months, had Saturdays recognised as a rest day. All other days were working days. This arrangement was satisfactory to everyone, and worked smoothly.

Now apart from the interference of the Employers' Association, and also apart from the cutting off of Sunday work, we have several other serious objections to raise. The first is that we have long established Saturday as an 'off day' at this factory, and besides the advantages as a rest day, it is a day in which our many women workers can do their shopping. We would also like to point out that this is a blitzed area, shops are few and far between. Many of our workers have perhaps one and a half hours travelling to and from work. Where is the sense in having our workers come out on Saturday for four hours when they have three hours travelling. Besides the obvious injustice of this to the workers, the waste in transport must be very great.

Secondly, and in our opinion the most important, we only lose four hours per person on production against the full day lost on Sunday. It should be noted that we lose the whole day without any compensation on the Nightshift, thus

## Police Retreat in Face of Angry Workers

The Shop Stewards proposed to call a mass meeting of all the workers in the factory to discuss the question on Wednesday, March 11th, at 7.30 a.m. and informed the management of their intention. Two days before the meeting, the management informed the stewards that the meeting was not to be held and referred them to the Emergency Powers Act (Protected Areas) as the basis for the decision—despite the fact that the workers had established the right over a long period to hold such meetings.

Subsequently, all the Stewards in the Beardmore plants were informed through Mr. Williamson, the Managing Director, that no further meetings were to be held in any Beardmore concern.

The Shop Stewards, however, refused to have their democratic rights filched in this dictatorial manner, and the Dalmuir Shop Stewards pinned up notices advertising the meeting, despite attempted intimidation on the part of the security police.

The meeting was attended by 1,600 workers and took place at 7.30 a.m. in the canteen. Towards the conclusion of the meeting, representatives of the management, backed up by detectives and uniformed police, broke into the canteen and attempted to disband the meeting. The workers greeted them with a storm of derision and had it not been for the skilful handling of the situation by the stewards, the provocateurs would have been taught a sharp lesson. After threatening the stewards with arrest, the police beat a hasty retreat and left the workers in charge of the canteen.

The Shop Stewards at Parkhead

here are farmed out to privately owned firms. Thousands of these parts when they are returned here have to be rectified by our workpeople. This must cost the country thousands of pounds, and the figure of money involved must go against the costs of this factory. This is a public scandal and must be clarified.

There are many other items on the production side which must be sorted out.

This arbitrary interference by the Masters' Federation must be eliminated.

This childish interference with the already smooth working of the factory hours must be stopped, and above all, this attack on the production at this factory by reducing the hours must be countered.

No one can argue from any point of view that Sunday is a better day than Saturday as an 'off day', but where the women are concerned it is an imposition to ask them to forego their Sunday and to come to work on Saturday. Some one must have engineered this thing who was unmindful of the country's interests, and the interests of our women workers, who have sacrificed so much in the common cause. Feeling is already running high in the factory.

We ask your aid and support in the satisfactory settlement of this matter. If something is not done and done quickly, we can foresee grave consequences."

Forge met the same evening and heard a full report of the events at Dalmuir and decided **unanimously** to challenge the management. They arranged to call meetings in all departments on the morning of Friday 13th. **Again the police attempted to provoke the workers and to smash these large departmental meetings, but their schemes were soundly defeated by the workers whose mood was such, that, again, but for the tactful handling of the situation by the stewards, they would have tossed the police out of the factory and into the gutter.**

The police came well prepared for battle at these meetings and the riot cars were stationed around the factory, obviously with the expectation of business. All the evidence points to deliberately thought-out steps by the management in conjunction with the police, which cannot be regarded in any other way, by the workers, but as a provocation.

The activities of the Beardmore Management cannot be justified from the standpoint of democracy or production. The compulsory cut in Sunday work will chop down production which they constantly proclaim as their aim. The attacks against the democratic rights of the workers and the high hand attitude introduces friction into the plants which results in widespread discontent.

The workers have taken the first steps to end this situation.

They have appealed to the management, the trade unions and the Government—and they have backed up their appeal with a determined expression of independent industrial solidarity.

ward the spirit of the workers has been raised during the past month and the management no longer has things all its own way as was nearly always the case before.

The question of stronger T.U. organisation is now being raised in one important yard where amongst the engineers alone it is reported that there are over 50 non-unionists.

The increased militancy has effected the apprentices and at two engineering firms in Wallsend they disputed the right of the managements to suspend the customary half-day holiday on Shrove Tuesday. The excuse of the bosses for abolishing the holiday was that pressure of work made it impossible, but when the lads took the holiday in spite of the opposition the management suspended them for three days. On presenting themselves for work next morning the apprentices were met by police, firemen, and patrol-men, who prevented them from starting work.

After losing half a day the lads were told that the suspension had been lifted, where-upon they demanded payment for the time which had already been lost. The bosses, however, replied that they would only pay the 26 who had obtained the signature of their foreman before leaving work the previous day and refused to concede to the lads demand for payment of the lot. Although the apprentices remained solid and united they were without any organised leadership and were finally induced to submit their case to arbitration, the graveyard of workers' rights.

Great strides have been made on Tyneside along the road of organising the different shipyards. Full and efficient organisation is essential, however, for all sections of the workers and not simply the skilled tradesmen. Skilled, and unskilled, apprentices and women workers must unite in their determination to defeat the attacks of the bosses. A strong militant leadership must be created and a struggle waged for the expulsion from the workers' ranks of all boss-collaborating and half-hearted elements.

### COMMITTEE FOR CO-ORDINATION of Militant Trade Union Activity MEETING "THE LESSONS OF THE NEPTUNE STRIKE"

To be opened by a delegation of three strikers.

All Trade Unionists urged to attend

Basement, Mack's Restaurant, 100, Oxford Street, London, W.1.

(Between Tottenham Court Road and Oxford Street Tube Stations)

SUNDAY, 11th APRIL, 1943  
3 p.m. sharp.

from the site to reside in these disguised concentration camps.

I am writing this to the "Socialist Appeal" as it appears to me that this is the only working class paper that is seriously concerned with the problem of organising the resistance of the workers to the attacks of the ruling class.

Yours fraternally,  
JOE McCANN.

Yours fraternally,  
Trade Unionist.

### BUILDERS' CONDITIONS

To the Editor, Socialist Appeal, 24th March, 1943

Through the medium of your valuable paper I should like to draw the attention of all building trade workers to what I consider to be a blatant act of class oppression. The matter is of vital importance and should receive their special attention for the coming months.

Welfare and food problems have been among the most serious and the most sadly neglected of all on building sites, since the beginning of the war. There must be precious few people outside the trade who are aware of the privations that workers living in camp huts are undergoing at present.

This position is accepted with complacency by the employers and the higher officials of the N.F.B.T.O., and in the meantime, bad feeding is sapping the strength and resistance of thousands of workers who are engaged on heavy work out of doors in cold and wet weather. This class of worker needs more food than a stationary worker indoors. If he doesn't get the necessary food of the right quality, he becomes tired more easily, and becomes more susceptible to colds and other infections.

The Government's disregard for these conditions is clearly shown in the latest edict issued by the Food Ministry, that all men living on the sites (I say living advisedly) must cancel their ration books. In view of the conditions prevalent on most sites, the men have refused to carry out this order. The Ministry's officials are countering this by threats of prosecution, intimidating local shopkeepers to refuse men from hostels with ration goods, although they may be registered. And in cases of new men being drafted from Eire to the sites, the ration books of the men concerned are sent to the employers, with the instruction that they are to be retained by him until the men leave the site.

Every possible device is being used by these lackeys of the ruling class to force men to work 10 to 12 hours on the meagre and badly cooked food supplied by the canteens on the sites.

The resistance to the growing pressure of the Food Ministry, employers and reactionary officials of the N.F.B.T.O., and some members of the C.P., is strong, but is purely of a passive and defensive character. The need of the moment is strong militant organisation on the sites which would lead to the smashing of this organised attack

# Break the Coalition

## LABOUR TO POWER on the following Programme:

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

READ: THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WAR — LOOK AT THEIR RECORD! ONE PENNY

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**

ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

EDITOR: E. Grant.

BUSINESS MANAGER: M. Lee

61, Northdown Street, London, N.1.

12 issues 3/- . . . Post free.

**EDITORIAL.****LOOKING TO  
THE FUTURE  
Capital and Labour**

The British capitalists are preparing for the future. The same class that insisted that the workers must not strike or raise "controversial issues" because it would "help Hitler," are not only making plans, but are taking action to prepare for a drive against the working class for bigger and better profits after the war.

Big motor car firms are keeping their best designers and technicians, and hundreds of workers busy preparing their post-war models. Aircraft firms are devoting tremendous energies to planning new passenger carrying planes for use after the war. The great shipping companies are continuing to build ships which are entirely unsuited to war conditions and to the race against the submarine, but are of the most economical type for post-war competition. The same shipping companies find time and energy for waging campaigns for the right to run freight transport after the war. The big catering interests are organising themselves into a solid bloc to fight against Bevin's Catering Bill, for its operation would increase their costs after the war.

And the latest example of this concern of the capitalists with the future, is the resignation of four of the five Directors of the British Overseas Airways Corporation. The needs of war transport clashed with the peace time interests of these gentlemen and their company—so they went on strike. So much for the capitalist plea that the demands of the war come before everything else.

And meanwhile, what of Labour? The most cursory examination reveals that, far from taking action to prepare for the future, the official leadership of Labour is not even making plans for action. What plans are being made by the Attlees, Morrisons and Bevins, are for the deepening of Labour's subservience to capital, not for its independence. They are busily engaged in getting themselves, and the minds of the Labour workers ready for a continuation of collaboration with the capitalists after the war. Bevin's action in challenging the Labour M.P.s to expel him for his support of the Government on the Beveridge Report show this. Many Labour leaders are preparing, not to fight the forces of reaction, but to join with them; more accurately, to make permanent their present union with them through the medium of Churchill's projected "Third Party."

Thus, while the class enemy is not only preparing for the future in the industrial field, but has already mooted a "Four Year Plan"

**COMMUNISM—NOT TERRORISM  
Will Free Europe from Fascism**

March 15th marked the new time limit decreed by Hitler for the complete mobilisation of enforced labour in occupied Europe. The reply of the European workers, particularly in France, has resounded throughout the world.

Resistance is spreading throughout Europe, and most significant of all, collective resistance in the shape of strike action, is being continued by the French workers.

Algiers radio, on March 15th said: "French workers in Toulon have declared a general strike as a protest against the deportation of some of their colleagues." Also that "a strike has broken out among the Hotchkiss workers (gun factory)."

A guerilla movement of some proportions has sprung into action and Reuter reports confirm that a well organised force, led by General Cartier and other army officers, said to number 12,000, has gone into action in the mountains of High Savoy. These guerillas are well equipped with ammunition, including machine guns, rifles, revolvers and 75mm. field guns.

Reporting on the widespread sabotage of the enforced recruitment the "Sunday Express" states:

**"French engine drivers ordered to take loads of conscripted workers to Germany, are said to be halting the trains in mid-country, so that the workers can take to the mountains and join General Cartier."**

According to "Volksrecht" the Swiss paper, recent attacks on German troops have taken place in such widely separated places as Paris, Lyons, Lille, Brest, Lorient, Chalens and La Rochelle were made simultaneously and with military precision.

George Slocombe, in the "Sunday Express" of March 14th, reports on an interview with a recent arrival from France:

**"My informant added that during the last few weeks there have been signs of an intelligent direction of guerilla activities. He drew attention to the systematic attacks on German troops and supply trains. There is not a main railway line in France which has not been damaged or blocked, often in many places in a single night, by sabotage or the derailment of rolling-stock."**

From Paris comes the news, reported by Reuter, of "extreme tension". German troops have built barbed wire protections around their barracks; barricades have been built in many streets. 600 German tanks are said to be stationed in the Paris district.

From other parts of Europe comes more news of sabotage and guerilla activity. In Riga (Latvia) guerillas

by the score are taking place in Holland and Belgium as reprisals for the killing of fascists. In Norway, 40 professional workers have been arrested for anti-German activity.

From this picture, it is obvious that Hitler's slave recruitment has aroused the people of Europe. They have taken all steps, from passive resistance to strikes, to open guerilla warfare, in demonstration of their opposition to deportation to Germany.

Even assuming that the explosions which Hitler's plans have aroused, should end in failure, other movements of resistance will arise.

The French reactionary politicians and military adventurers in the camp of the Allies, make haste to assume leadership of this movement of resistance. It is symbolic that in this period Giraud and De Gaulle are coming together and that Giraud made his "solema undertaking" to guarantee the French people the right to choose their own provisional Government.

With no more guarantee than his own worthless assurances, Giraud promises the French people "freedom" on the morrow of Allied military victory. Philip Jordan, war correspondent of the "News Chronicle" describes the attitude of the Liberals in his comment on Giraud's statement:

**"It is quite impossible to seriously believe that such men as Nogues, Bergeret and Peyrouton sincerely subscribe to this almost complete return to the fundamental principles of the Republic whose throat they so efficiently helped to cut. There will not be wanting here many to doubt the ultimate sincerity of the promises so long as Giraud remains surrounded and advised by these men and their immediate subordinates, such as the Cagoulards, Lemaigre, de Dubreuil and Jean Rigaud. It is impossible for anyone who has been here since the Allied landings to trust the promises of any administration which offers its supreme positions to as shameless a crown of Vicars of Bray as have disgraced French public life."**

Giraud has made promises and issued declarations that were to take effect in the future. For example:

**"Local councils have been suspended will again function, but fresh elections will not be held until France is liberated."**

This pie in the sky is a typical example of the "freedom" legislation. "Racial and other discriminatory laws will disappear" but why not now is not explained.

prisoned anti-fascists and Jews has only been granted as a result of British pressure because the British Government see the need for this as part of the "democratic" bluff. The catchwords with which they camouflage their out-and-out reactionary aims, are intended to confuse the French workers, and deflect their struggle for freedom into a defence of a dying empire. Nor can the methods offered by the De Gaullists and their Stalinist supporters who advocate and initiate acts of individual terrorism against German soldiers; and who propagate French nationalism in the most chauvinist form, be in the best interests of the people of Europe.

The shooting and bombing of individuals brings wholesale reprisals and prematurely condemns the best and most courageous workers to imprisonment, torture and death. It antagonises the German soldiers and drives them closer to their officers and the Nazi regime. This serves the imperialists who strive at all costs to prevent fraternisation between the German and European soldiers and workers.

In place of the sporadic acts of terrorism the European Trotskyists advocate mass, class action and fraternisation with the occupation troops on the part of the workers. For it is such class action that has proved in the past to be the only method by which the workers can gain victories and best rouse the sympathy of the army of occupation. Fraternisation was one of the greatest weapons in the hands of the workers during the last war. If the people of France allow themselves to be misled by the statements of reactionary adventurers, who have already proved that their actions belie their words, nothing but defeat and further enslavement will be their lot. For the workers of France a genuine struggle against fascism is a matter of life and death, it is the difference between freedom and barbarism. Fascism can only be decisively defeated by Socialism.

The Fourth International is the only world party of the workers which raises the programme of the European workers and peasant masses onto its correct historic plane. It is to the cadres of the Fourth International, weak in organisational strength but steeled in conducting a revolutionary struggle against the reaction, to whom the workers and peasant masses will turn in the revolutionary period which is opening up in Europe. It is these cadres of the Trotskyists, who have not besmeared their banner with a foul reactionary capitalist alliance, who will

**World Workers  
Will Judge  
Labour Leaders**

BY RON BLAKE

The representatives of the transport workers, miners and metal workers of Great Britain, have formed a Joint Council "to aid in the reconstruction of the Trade Unions destroyed by the Axis." They have elected Will Lawther as President. The first task of the "Joint Council" was to issue the following statement:—

**"For more than three years, we have watched with amazement the German workers, who constituted one of the most powerful trade union movements in the world, remain silent in face of unparalleled crimes committed by your country on other people."**

**"Show us by your actions if you agree with these, or not."**

**"Upon your actions will depend the judgment that the international working class passes upon you."**

**"This may be your last chance of showing that those qualities we admired in the German trade unionists are not completely destroyed."**

"Daily Herald," 23.3.43.

The pharisee in the parable was thankful he wasn't like other men. These "leaders" of the workers are the modern pharisees. They have "watched with amazement" the failure of the German workers to react to the crimes committed by "your country." There is no hint of action from them to help the German workers, only "amazed watching," which is going to become the "judgment of the international working class." These impudent bureaucrats, whose only actions since the start of the war have been to try to wreck every attempt of the workers to better their living and working conditions, who have thrown in their lot with "friends" of the working class, Churchill and Halifax, these bureaucrats now attempt to identify the German workers with Hitler and his gang of thugs.

What has the Council done about the crimes of their own ruling class? Did not the official labour movement condemn the Indian workers for not collaborating with their British slave-masters. Do they take action to help the poverty-stricken, sweated black workers of South Africa? Do they raise their voice in protest against the shooting down of hundreds of innocent Indian workers and peasants, or against the razing of villages and the imposition of fines on whole communities?

But that is not the full extent of the hypocrisy of these labour fakery. They even threaten the German workers that this may be their "last chance."

It was the Trade Union "leaders" of Germany who offered their services to Hitler and his regime when he came to

leaders are preparing, not to fight the forces of reaction, but to join with them; more accurately, to make permanent their present union with them through the medium of Churchill's projected "Third Party."

Thus, while the class enemy is not only preparing for the future in the industrial field, but has already mooted a "Four Year Plan" in the political field, Labour is left to face the coming period of stress and storm, not only without an independent programme, but with a leadership with its foot already in the enemy's camp.

To permit this state of affairs to continue will be fatal for the British workers. In the course of years of struggle, and by dint of tremendous sacrifice, they have succeeded in building up their own independent party. And they have built it up to lead them in the struggle against capitalism and for a better social system.

But at the very moment when the old system is revealing its full bankruptcy, and is leading on the path of even worse poverty, unemployment, oppression and further wars; at that moment the Labour movement is left to drift helplessly and at the mercy of tides that can only lead it to destruction.

If catastrophe is to be avoided, Labour must counterpose to the reactionary plans of the capitalists, its own programme for a genuine and lasting solution of the problems that face the British masses. Every Labour worker knows that Churchill's "Four Year Plan" and all the other "plans" of the capitalist class, are only for the purpose of safeguarding capitalist interests, and are aimed directly against the workers. These reactionary plans must be combatted by a Labour plan.

And the time for implementing such a plan is NOW. The capitalists have shown that where their own interests are concerned, they do not separate the war from the peace. Life itself is showing that the war cannot be separated from its aftermath. The more submissive Labour is during the war, the more enslaved will it be after the war. The capitalists have shown that they are not shy about taking action during the course of the war that will "help Hitler." All the more reason for Labour, therefore, to pursue the only course that will truly lead to the overwhelming defeat of Hitlerism, not only in Germany, but in Britain too.

The cry must go up at the coming Labour Party Conference, that the Labour leaders break the truce, not merely to become an "opposition," not to support Churchill's "Four Year Plan," but to put into operation a truly socialist programme. We offer full support to the Labour leaders if they will wage a struggle for power on a socialist programme. While we put forward our programme as the only realistic one for the workers, we welcome any steps forward on the road of class independence.

At the same time we would warn the Labour workers that their leaders have already charted out their own path! a path which leads in the opposite direction of class independence.

The only political force in Britain to-day that stands for the true independence of Labour and the struggle for power on a Socialist programme is the Fourth International. Only under its banner is the forward march to Socialism and genuine social security possible.

## Pass the "Appeal" On

The supplement to the "Socialist Appeal" has aroused a wonderful response from our friends and supporters throughout the length and breadth of the country. Scores of letters were received asking for extra "Appeals" after the last issues had been sent out, and it was not possible to meet the demands. The limitations of paper supply imposed by the Government regulations determine the maximum circulation of our paper. We are therefore forced to ask our friends to see that their copies are passed on—not to one comrade or work-mate, but to several. This is an elementary duty of every real supporter of the "Socialist Appeal."

by neuter, or extreme tension German troops have built barbed wire protections around their barracks; barricades have been built in many streets. 600 German tanks are said to be stationed in the Paris district.

From other parts of Europe comes more news of sabotage and guerilla activity. In Riga (Latvia) guerillas are said to have destroyed a huge power plant that supplied the whole of Latvia with electricity. In Yugoslavia they have killed 138 Italians near Sedle, capturing 40 machines and quantities of ammunition. Executions

will again function, but fresh elections will not be held until France is liberated."

This pie in the sky is a typical example of the "freedom" legislation. "Racial and other discriminatory laws will disappear" but why not now is not explained.

The French workers can place no reliance on these pro-fascist and fascist collaborators. Not one real "reform" or "pledge" has been carried out in their tenure of office in North Africa. The release of a section of the im-

organisational strength but steered in conducting a revolutionary struggle against the reaction, to whom the workers and peasant masses will turn in the revolutionary period which is opening up in Europe. It is these cadres of the Trotskyists, who have not besmeared their banner with a foul reactionary capitalist alliance, who will teach and lead the workers of Europe to consciously understand their role as liberators of mankind from the shackles of capitalism and all its attendant evils, fascism, national oppression and imperialist war.

imposition of lines on whole communities?

But that is not the full extent of the hypocrisy of these labour fakery. They even threaten the German workers that this may be their "last chance."

It was the Trade Union "leaders" of Germany who offered their services to Hitler and his regime when he came to power, and not the rank and file of the trade unions. These German labour leaders had the same general characteristics and the same policy of class

Continued on page 4.

# EASTER WEEK—1916 LIVES IN IRISH TROTSKYISM

By JIM CORBETT

On Easter week, 1916, the Irish Citizens Army wrote a glorious page in the history of the working class. By its heroic revolt which resulted in the seizure and control of the centre of Dublin for several days, and which led to the proclamation of the Irish Republic, it left a tradition which has influenced and shaped the ideas of the best of the Irish revolutionary socialists until the present day.

The fierce battle which ended in the temporary victory of the British army was followed by a terrific repression and the murder, shooting and imprisonment of the leaders of the Irish revolutionary movement. The vanguard of the workers' movement was almost entirely wiped out.

It was James Connolly who organised and led the Irish Citizens Army. It was James Connolly who led the Easter uprising and it is Connolly's tradition that lives in Ireland today, despite the attempt of De Valera and the capitalist and middle class republicans to emasculate and eradicate that memory.

What distinguished the Irish Citizens Army from any other army organised in Britain was that it was a workers' army. Originally established as a defence corps to defend striking workers in the great Dublin strike of 1913, it soon became an armed workers' militia aimed against British imperialism and its capitalist allies and quislings in Ireland, who—led by Carson, organised the anti-nationalist UNIONIST VOLUNTEERS which was equipped with 35,000 German guns in 1914.

It was on Monday, April 24th, that this gallant band of armed Irish workers swung out of the trade union headquarters at Liberty Hall, Dublin and marched to the General Post Office to proclaim the Irish Republic from the Post Office steps. Appended to the proclamation of the Republic were the signatures of the seven members of the Provisional Government: Padraic Pearse, T. J. Clarke, J. MacDermott, T. McDonagh, E. Kent, J. Plunkett and J. Connolly.

The national oppression in Ireland had long created and prepared the conditions for revolt. Using the crisis of British Imperialism, not to support their oppressors as the Irish Stalinists now advise the Irish working class, but to overthrow British rule, the Republicans had long prepared the insurrection.

The uprising was planned for Easter Sunday. It was to be aimed at the overthrow of British civil and military rule in the key city of Dublin and to be simultaneously supported by a rising in the most important towns and rural districts of the South. A Provisional Government was to be established which would guarantee the setting up of a Government freely elected by the Irish people themselves. All sections of the national Government were to participate in the insurrection for self-determination. The capitalist and middle class nationalists organised in the Irish Volunteers and united under the military command of Eoin MacNeill and Padraic Pearse were to play the leading role in the organisation of the insurrection, although the Citizens Army would remain, as before, under the banner of its own class and class leaders.

But at the last moment the upper strata of the nationalists, capitalist to the core, lost heart. Fearful of the possible mal effects of an untimely insurrection and defeat, but more fearful of the consequences of a victory which would be based on the strength of an independently organised army of the Dublin working class, they faltered and split from top to bottom. Only the most intransigent of the nationalists carried the struggle through to the end. All of them who played a leading part were to pay the supreme penalty.

At the last moment, Eoin MacNeill, the Commander of the Nationalist Army, the Irish Volunteers, countermanded the order for the Easter Sunday parade which was to be the signal for the insurrection. As the result of this countermand, confusion reigned throughout the ranks of the insurrectionists. The connection between one district and another was broken or partly broken, the intelligence staff failed; the insurrection was collapsing without a shot and it would inevitably be followed by a ruthless hounding by the British army and police, when Connolly stepped into the leadership

and filled the breach with the Irish Citizens Army.

The insurrection started late and without the national link-up and support which was originally planned—but it started. It was led by the workers and that is why the tradition of the Easter Rebellion rightfully belongs to us.

For several days a bitter battle raged from street to street and house to house. A British gunboat was brought up the river Liffey to shell Liberty Hall and the buildings in the vicinity which the workers held at point blank range. Artillery was turned on the centre of the city and explosive and incendiary shells were poured into the Post Office and surrounding buildings. But the Citizens Army contested every inch of the ground. Armed only with antiquated weapons, many of them home made, they fought against the most modern weapons of the British army and only surrendered to avoid the loss of workers' lives in the districts where they had the most support.

The signatories of the proclamation were ruthlessly shot out of hand. Connolly, who was already wounded and could not stand to face the firing squad, was shot in a bath chair in one of the most brutal executions in modern history.

The Dublin uprising was the first blow struck against imperialism in World War No. 1. Its effects, despite the terrible consequences of the defeat in the assassination of the leadership of the working class, were demonstrated by the overwhelming support for the Irish Republic in the elections of 1918. The inconclusive character of the struggle of the republicans from 1918 to 1923 and up until the present day, are the result of the failure of the workers to learn the lessons of the Easter rebellion and the fact that they allowed the movement for self-determination and national freedom to slip entirely into the hands of the Irish capitalists and middle class.

But the terrible conditions of modern Southern Ireland are rapidly teaching the Irish workers that De Valera's republicanism is a capitalist republicanism. All the strictures and police regulations which were familiar features of British rule have been re-introduced in a more vicious form to maintain the profits of the Irish capitalist class and hold the working people in continued slavery. Added to this there is unemployment and starvation eating the heart out of the mass of the people.

The turn away from the capitalist and nationalist republicanism find its expression in the growth of the parties of the working class. But the Labour Party, whilst sneaking Connolly's tradition, emasculates and distorts his teachings of the class struggle and Socialist revolution as the means of emancipating the Irish working class. Instead, it compromises with Irish capitalism and formulates a programme of reforms which are but a pink reflection of De Valera's policy.

In place of Connolly's Marxian conception of economics, they base themselves on a policy of Douglas money credit reform, which cannot alter the conditions of the Irish workers, but only disillusion them and prepare the basis of fascism among the more backward sections of the middle class and unemployed sections of the working class at a later stage.

But in Dublin, for the first time there are growing young cadres in the Irish Labour Party who take the traditions of Connolly seriously and want to put Connolly's policy into operation.

The Irish Fourth Internationalists are the only section of the Labour movement who can develop them to take this step. For in the Irish Trotskyists is combined the understanding of and the continuation of the revolutionary ideas and traditions of Connolly as a national and international revolutionary socialist, but also the Leninist attitude towards building a working class party which unfortunately Connolly did not fully understand. Added to this there is the rich experience of the theoretical and political preparation of the last 20 years of the Trotskyist movement in Russia and the rest of the world.

It is impossible for serious Irish revolutionary socialist youth to avoid studying the ideas and programme of the Fourth International as a continuation of all that is best in Connolly's tradition.

# SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY HENRY PARKER

The writer of this article, is a European South African, who worked for years in the South African mines. His data is, therefore, first hand.

## Workers Will Judge Labour Leaders

Continued from page 3.

collaboration as has Lawther and his friends who control the labour movement here.

Without any appeals or threats from Lawther or his reactionary brothers in the trade union leadership, the best of the German workers have continued the struggle against Hitler and will be responsible for his final overthrow.

In Nazi Germany, workers who demonstrate their hostility to German capitalism and the Nazi regime, are shot or tortured. Only the bravest of the workers are continuing the struggle under these conditions. But who can blame the German worker who scorns the foul "advice" of Lawther and his friends, the labour fakors. Who can blame the German worker who replies to Lawther: "Match your democratic noises with consistent democratic deeds. One does not get one's head chopped off in Britain . . . yet, for demanding and fighting for democracy and unconditional freedom for the enslaved colonial people. Take a real step in this direction and we will be convinced of the bona fides of your promises."

But that is the last thing that the "Joint Council" will do. They have already acquiesced to the moves by the ruling class to put quislings and fascists in charge of the "armies of liberation."

Do Lawther and Co. seriously think that they can induce the German workers to throw out their own oppressors, merely to make room for the quislings of Roosevelt and Churchill? The German workers will respond to an appeal from British Labour, only when they know they will have the support of British labour against the savage repressions that the "democrats" Churchill and Roosevelt have in store for them.

There is only one way to rally the German workers—and that is the international way. Not this mealy-mouthed moralising criticism of our German worker brothers, who are struggling—the German civil punishment lists show this—but to move forward to a workers' government in this country as a stimulus to the workers of Europe to overthrow their tyrants. This will be the guarantee that when they do rise they will be free from the armies of occupation and the disasters that fall upon them.

"What has shocked every black man from South Africa is the behaviour of your British Tommies. Their character is wonderful and to explain it can need many pages. They shake hands with us, they talk to us, they sit next to us in cinemas, they drink beer with us. Even when one goes to the British hospital he gets the same food with them, he lines into one line with them, he is given a bed in the ward same to other beds and blankets, he is sent to the ward according to the nature of his sickness. They have offered us more kindness than God has done. It is the first time in life that we have seen people of that kind."

"Evening Standard" 16.3.43.

This excerpt of a letter from a South African Zulu soldier to H. G. Wells, conveys to anyone conversant with the colonial conditions of the natives, a moving reminder of the race hatred which permeates the relations between white and black people in South Africa, and of the horrible conditions endured by its black population of 8,000,000.

In a country where the cost of living is higher even than it is in England, the wages paid to the black workers in the towns, averages less than £1 a week. At least 5/- of this has to be spent on travelling fares to and from the "locations" in which the natives are compelled to live by law.

These locations are usually miles away from the industrial and commercial parts of the towns, and are entirely segregated from European habitation. Overcrowding exists in every single location throughout the country, the majority of workers living in shacks of corrugated iron and bits of packing cases, while the gaps are stuffed with old sacks. Sanitary arrangements are either entirely inadequate or do not exist at all. Water has to be drawn from communal pumps; and diphtheria rages.

In some areas these locations resemble concentration camps. High barbed wire fences have been built around them to prevent the inhabitants from leaving their prison at night, and to prevent trespassers from entering. The municipal location managers have dictatorial powers and can refuse permission to anyone to enter a location under their control.

After paying rates and compulsory poll tax the worker and his family try to eke out an existence on 10/- or 12/- a week. Malnutrition, miserable housing and unsanitary conditions take tremendous toll of human life. An average of 5 out of every 10 children die within a month of being born.

### CONDITIONS OF THE NEGRO PEASANTS

The conditions of natives in the rural

farmers, for £5 a year. For 2/- a week the husband works on the land, while his wife does the domestic work in the farmers' household, and the children herd the sheep and cattle.

They live in mud huts and are clothed in sacks and rags. From the wages that they earn, half is paid in taxes. Most of the land in South Africa is owned by the European farmers. An acreage of land considered inadequate for one white farmer, is divided between no fewer than 600 coloured peasants and with primitive methods of agriculture on unfertile land, they can hardly raise sufficient produce to pay their poll tax, and millions of them starve. Under these conditions hundreds of thousands are compelled by starvation to travel hundreds of miles from their homes to the gold mines of the Witwatersrand.

### NATIVE MINERS LIVE IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

In the mines they work 14 hours a day thousands of feet below the surface for an average of 2/- a day. The natives are contracted to work down the mines for 18 months. During this period they are forced by law to live in compounds on the mining property on which they work.

These "compounds" are nothing short of prisons. Huge brick barracks with a single entrance and central quadrangle. From 10,000 and 20,000 miners are housed in this one building. They sleep 50 in a room on concrete bunks. They have no facilities for washing and their food is usually unfit for human consumption. For 18 months they are copped up in these compounds, separated from their wives and families, and forbidden to bring their womenfolk into the compound. Daily, they are marched like criminals to and from the shaft head. At the end of this period, they return home human wrecks and with only enough money to pay their land taxes and poll taxes.

### SLAVERY ABOLISHED—BUT THE NATIVES ARE STILL SLAVES

All natives in South Africa are compelled to carry an identification pass and a poll tax receipt at all times. In addition, special permits must be carried on special occasions. Throughout the country, natives are subject to a curfew at night in their own land. If they wish to be out after 9 o'clock at night they are forced to ask their employer or location manager for a special permit or "pass". If they wish to travel from town to town, this also requires a special pass. They cannot seek work, unless they have yet another special "werksoek" pass.

They are subject to constant fear of the police, who can stop them at any

ation of mine workers into trade unions is illegal, and any worker found guilty of this crime is brutally punished.

### BRITISH AND AFRICAN SOLDIERS FRATERNISE

War has brought worsened conditions to the downtrodden black people and compelled thousands to volunteer for service in the army. Under this horrible and brutal regime, it is natural that all natives are forbidden to carry weapons of any kind. Even possession of a knife, not to speak of firearms is a criminal offence. Even the native troops are not allowed to learn the use of instruments of war to defend themselves. Their only role in the present South African army is that of a Labour corps. The native South Africans are, of course, separated from the white South African troops. But it has been found impossible to completely segregate them from the British Tommies. The British officer caste have readily adopted, as they have always practised in India and other parts of Africa, the ideas of the S. African anti-black, but unlike the professional armies of the past the modern British Tommies conscript workers have treated the blacks as fellow workers. With profound democratic instinct, they have refused to discriminate against them because the colour of their skin was different.

The British workers really believed in the freedom and equality for all which has been proclaimed by the Atlantic Charter. The hypocrisy of the ruling class is shown by the fact that South Africa is an ally allegedly to help in the fight against tyranny, race discrimination and oppression. Nowhere, do we find a denunciation of the regime in South Africa—a régime of despotic race barbarism it would be hard for Hitler to equal. On the contrary, all efforts are made to conceal the truth from the British workers.

As a Liberal, H. G. Wells sent the letter from the Zulu soldier to the B.B.C. Naturally, they refused to publicise it. For this would expose the real conditions of racialism under the Union Jack. Nevertheless, the actions of the brothers and sons of the British workers in the army are something of which the British workers can be proud. They show the true instinct and class solidarity of the oppressed. It is a good omen for the future of the working class. Fascism and race hatred will never be destroyed by the capitalists of any nation. Only the taking of power by the working class will end the basis of race discrimination and racial barbarism. The soldier-workers have shown by their attitude that instinctively they see, that in the words of Marx, "Labour with a

# COMPULSORY TRANSFERS

OPPOSITION GROWING

A wave of protest is sweeping the engineering trades at the manner in which the compulsory transfer of labour regulation is being administered. Day after day new protests from the factories cram the agendas of the Union District Committees in all parts of the country. Everywhere, militant trade unionists are demanding that the trade unions take a stand and fight against what is nothing more than a victimisation agreement between the employers and the Government.

But as usual, the collaboration between the trade union bureaucrats and the Government stifles all opposition, not only at head office but also among the ranks of the smaller bureaucrats on the district committees. There are signs of a strong opposition to this policy from the branches, and already many branches of the A.E.U. in the London area have demanded action from the National Executive.

### WHAT THE REGULATION MEANS

One of the obstacles which hampers a real struggle against compulsory transfers is the ignorance which prevails among the union rank and file as to the real meaning of the Act. All sorts of tricks are utilised in order to get workers to move out of the factories. Vaguely worded agreements are used to sow false hopes that the worker stands to lose nothing and that he always has the "democratic" right to appeal. It is only when he is brought face to face with the question of transfers that the harsh meaning of the Act is revealed.

The compulsory transfer legislation was introduced under Essential Works Order Regulation 58A in May 1941. Briefly its meaning is as follows:

- A worker can be ordered to leave his present job for another which may be in another industry, or a different part of the country, and at a lower rate of pay.
- A worker can be ordered to remain in his job although he wishes to move to another.
- Men and women unemployed or not previously working for any employer can be required to do paid or unpaid work or to enter industry.

Powers to operate these drastic regulations are vested in anyone have a National Service Officer's warrant. In the case of transfers they are operated by Regional Manpower Boards acting under the advice of Labour Inspectors who "comb out" the factories.

Once a worker is placed on the transfer list he has four days to appeal and if his appeal fails and he still disobeys, a fine of £100 or three months imprisonment can be imposed. All unemployment relief is also stopped.

Many members of the trade union

sary over-ride the decisions of the Appeal Board. In other words the Appeal Boards are purely advisory bodies and have no real powers. The reactions of the Labour movement against the dictatorial privileges of the N.S.O. are summed up in a resolution on the agenda of the Surrey Federation of Trades Councils from the Mitcham Trades Council, which reads as follows:

"This Conference calls upon the T.U.C. to start immediate negotiations with the Government to amend the Essential Works Order with a view to altering the power of the N.S.O. to disregard recommendations of Local Appeal Boards."

### PROBLEMS ARISING FROM TRANSFERS

The principal problems arising from transfers can be summed up under three headings:

(1) In areas where the organised resistance of the trade union movement is weak, powerful employers can use the legislation to victimise militants with comparative ease.

(2) Workers transferred from one industry to another may be used to undercut the standard rates of the industry to which they are transferred.

When a worker is placed on the transfer list he is asked to report to the local Labour Exchange, where he is handed a schedule form on which are outlined his instructions, i.e., the name of the firm he is to work at, how he is to get there, the occupation he is to follow, and what is most important, the rate of pay he is to receive. Bearing in mind that a worker is legally bound to accept this schedule without reservation, one can easily appreciate the dilemma in which he or she is placed on being ordered to transfer to some distant part of the country where the conditions of work are entirely unknown. Cases have come to light where workers have been transferred to areas at a greatly reduced rate of pay to that prevailing in the district. Large-scale transfers can in fact introduce a section of poorly paid workers into districts where a comparatively high rate of wages is paid.

(3) In industries having a system of area rates, transfer to another area may mean a considerable fall in wage rates.

Every trade unionist knows that the district rates in various parts of the country are very varied. It is ironical for example that on the Clyde side where you have the world's finest craftsmen, the district rate is one of the lowest in the country. Trade union agreement lays it down that in the case of transfer a worker must be paid the district rate, but on account of the differences in the district rate a considerable loss of income can be inflicted.

struggling—the German civil punishment-lists show this—but to move forward to a workers' government in this country as a stimulus to the workers of Europe to overthrow their tyrants. This will be the guarantee that when they do rise they will be free from the armies of occupation and the disasters that followed the last time America and England "gave peace" and restored "freedom and justice and the brotherhood of nations" to Europe.

ing and unsanitary conditions take tremendous toll of human life. An average of 5 out of every 10 children die within a month of being born.

#### CONDITIONS OF THE NEGRO PEASANTS

The conditions of natives in the rural areas are even worse than those of their urban brothers. They are forced to hire out their own labour, as well as that of their whole family, to the white

location manager for a special permit or "pass". If they wish to travel from town to town, this also requires a special pass. They cannot seek work, unless they have yet another special "werksoek" pass.

They are subject to constant fear of the police, who can stop them at any time and demand to see their passes and tax receipts. At night their houses are raided and searched without warrants by the police. The organis-

red will never be destroyed by the capitalists of any nation. Only the taking of power by the working class will end the basis of race discrimination and racial barbarism. The soldier-workers have shown by their attitude that instinctively they see, that in the words of Marx, "Labour with a white skin can never be free while labour with a black skin is branded." The task of the revolutionary workers' movement is to make that instinct conscious.

who "comb out" the factories. Once a worker is placed on the transfer list he has four days to appeal and if his appeal fails and he still disobeys, a fine of £100 or three months imprisonment can be imposed. All unemployment relief is also stopped. Many members of the trade union movement suffer from the illusion that if they win their case at the Appeal Board everything is in order. In fact the opposite may be the case, because the power of the N.S.O. can if neces-

when you have the world's craftsmen, the district rate is one of the lowest in the country. Trade union agreement lays it down that in the case of transfer a worker must be paid the district rate, but on account of the differences in the district rate a considerable loss of income can be inflicted.

The trade union leaders remind us that in the case of direct transfer a worker loses nothing; that is, he must be paid the district rate plus his merit allowance and the Government's 24/6 if his transfer is outside his own district. In actual practice, however, there is very little direct transfer. All a firm who wishes to get rid of a number of its employees has to do is to make out a redundant list; the Manpower Board will then send the men to the Labour Exchange, where if no work awaits them they become for the time being technically unemployed. When they are sent to another firm under such agreement, they are only entitled to the bare minimum district rate, that is they lose their merit allowances. For example the London district rate for toolmakers is 2/0½ per hour, but the vast majority of toolmakers earn round about 2/9 to 3/- an hour. If they are transferred on the grounds of redundancy they are only entitled to the 2/0½ an hour rate. In many cases workers stand to lose as much as £3 to £5 a week.

#### FOR SHOP STEWARDS AND TRADE UNION CONTROL OF TRANSFERS

The employers have only one thought in the present war and that is how much they can make out of it. So far as production is concerned it is a purely secondary question to the one of profits.

In the compulsory transfer scheme they see only a means to victimise workers and force down the standard of living. The chaos of the scheme itself proves this. Workers from the North of Scotland are transferred to the South of England whilst workers from the South of England are transferred to the North of Scotland. It is rather a grim joke but if you tell the Labour Exchange that your home is 200 miles away from where it is, you stand a chance of being moved near your home. In many cases workers have actually transferred to factories where they have had to stand about idle for weeks before there was any work for them to do. Coupled with this, transfer from home for married workers often means being thrust into overcrowded lodgings hundreds of miles away from their families. It is clear that as long as the employers and the Government control transfers the workers are going to suffer.

Many trade union branches have already adopted the programme of Workers' International League on this question, and have sent forward to their Executives the demand that they should press for Trade Union and Shop Stewards Control of transfers as a real constructive alternative to the present reactionary set-up. Only under such an arrangement would the present chaos be ended and the penalisation of the workers cease.

For Shop Stewards and Trade Union control of transfers!

G. H.

# STRATFORD RAILMEN BAN SUNDAY WORK

Continued from page 1

torrent of abuse and invective at the workers involved. Faced with a public challenge to debate the issue, the Stalinists were first forced to agree, but later retracted and sent a letter to the Chairman of the Stratford Branch of the A.S.L.E. & F. refusing the debate and couched in the following terms:

"We have no dealings with liars, renegades, murderers and assassins; followers of Trotsky—friend of Hess; people who applauded the wrecking in the Soviet Union . . .!"

But this foul invective was overshadowed by the letter which they sent and which is reproduced in photostat. Addressed to the "Chairman, Stratford Branch Locomotive Engineers & Firemen's Union, L.N.E.R., Straford, the envelope contained a 1918 100 Reichsmark note, Nr 0254467F and the following unsigned statement:

"With Adolph Hitler's grateful thanks to the scum who strike on Sundays and stab our overseas boys in the back for the sake of a fifth Columnist."

This monstrosity was well typed on cheap paper and envelope and was intended to give the impression that it was sent by an infuriated "Pro Bono Publico." But the mind that conceived and framed it is woven into the few lines of the text. It was the Communist Party who conceived it. The terminology is that of the Stalinists and that of the Stalinists alone.

Compare the text and ideas with the photostat of the "Daily Worker" headline of Ben Francis' article for Wednesday 24th March:



When the Branch Committee were questioned about the "Daily Worker" report under that headline, they stated it contained more deliberate false-

hoods than all the other press reports together. For instance, according to the "Daily Worker":

"The decision not to work Sundays was taken at a small meeting of the Stratford Branch of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and, with the support of No. 1 Stratford Branch of the National Union of Railwaymen."

This is a deliberate lie. The meeting was the largest meeting of the Branch for years. Out of about 600 men at the Depot, over 250 were present at the meeting, the rest being on duty. Almost every man who could come, was there, including a vociferous band of Stalinists. Of 700 men booked for Sunday work including members of the N.U.R., 400 applied the ban on Sunday 25th March. The majority of the workers at the depot not only support the ban but apply it. At the Union branch meeting reaffirming the ban the majority of the Stalinists went out before the vote was taken and only 3 out of a meeting of 200 voted against. The "Daily Worker" said:

"The ostensible cause of the strike is the refusal of the railway company to re-employ a fireman who had been convicted for spreading disaffection among the troops.

Actually, as one driver pointed out, there are a number of pro-fascists in the area who have seized on this incident to disrupt the war effort.

They are not concerned with the reinstatement of the fireman involved, and in fact, now that the man's history is becoming known, they are trying to shift their ground by raising such issues as bad engine repairs, poor feeding arrangements and conditions generally."

The reply to these allegations by the Branch officials when questioned was that they were a series of calculated lies. The following is a summary of the reply:

"The ban was imposed to gain the reinstatement of the victimised worker and had no other object than establishing the class opposition of the railway workers to the victimisation of a brother unionist. That remained the issue. There was no shift of ground. No other issues were being raised.

There is nothing sinister about the fireman's record that is 'now becoming known.' His trial was public. It was reported in the press. Every worker at the Depot is fully aware of ALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES and although no other worker in the Branch has exactly the same political opinions as the victimised fireman, the class stand was taken as a matter of principle.

The further statement of the 'Daily Worker' that 'the decision to place an embargo on Sunday work was taken without due consideration of all the facts involved' is therefore also a deliberate lie."

"If there are any 'pro-fascists . . . who have seized on the incident to disrupt the war effort,' why does not the 'Daily Worker' name them? Why does it hint darkly instead of bringing these people into the public light and branding them?"

The statement of the 'Daily Worker' that 'Drivers and Firemen approve of the decision of their Executive Council to intervene in the dispute' is false. The Drivers and Firemen have not been asked to approve or disapprove of the Executive Council's statement."

And finally, the general comment of the officials:

"The Branch Committee consists of Trade Unionists who have held leading positions in the Union for many years and have the full confidence of the majority of the workers in the branch. In all their experience they had never seen such venomous strike-breaking and lying propaganda as appears in the 'Daily Worker' on their dispute and it has certainly never been known in the working class movement in the past."

But the action of the C.P. leaders in the dispute, is not only disgusting to the non-Stalinist workers, but is even tearing their own faction to pieces. Although the bulk of the Party membership oppose the strike and advocate strike-breaking, several of the best have stood with their class comrades on the issue and have been thrown out of the Party in consequence. This indicates that the best C.P. workers stand with their class and that the C.P. will be torn to hell in the coming industrial and political struggles in

Continued at foot of next Column.

## TRIBUNE EXPOSES 'GOEBBELS BOGEY'

It is time a stop were put to a new game now common in some political circles. It can be simply described as "playing Goebbels." The Poles have issued productions from the German Press to show how Goebbels uses the "Times" leaders on Eastern Europe. Lord Simon calls upon a mysterious Nazi station called the "Workers' Challenge" to confute criticism of the Government bombing policy by Labour Peers. The critics of the Darlan policy were being told that Goebbels was making use of them. Now the Communist Party has issued a pamphlet against the Trotskyists showing that what they say is exactly what Goebbels is saying in his "Workers' Challenge" Station. We are not concerned here in this note with the merits of all or any of these controversies, but simply with this growing mischievous practice of arguing with Goebbels's arguments.

As we go to press we received the C.P. pamphlet referred to in "Tribune." This will be fully answered in forthcoming issues of the "Appeal." The pamphlet is entitled "HITLER'S AGENTS EXPOSED!" by J. Mahon and can be obtained at "Editorial Office," Socialist Appeal, 61 Northdown Street, London, N.1.

Tribune, 26.3.43.

Continued from previous Column. Britain. For here is where the battle for democracy is being fought. The workers maintain that the fireman has suffered his punishment at the hands of the State. He is not a criminal and must be reinstated by the L.N.E.R. If the Company get away with this step, it can be put the prelude to other victimisations. Socialists and trade unionists everywhere can be proud that sober and experienced trade unionists have taken this up in spite of the vicious slanders that have been heaped on them. The leaders of the A.S.L.E. & F. are trying to let the issue fizzle out and hope

that it will eventually do so. But railwaymen must not allow them to sneak out of their responsibilities just like that.

The Trade Union leaders in all three Railway unions must be forced to publicly demonstrate that the Management was responsible for any hold-up in transport and thus fight for the principles upon which the trade unions were based. Only independent militant working class action can conclude this struggle with a victory for the trade unionists at the earliest possible moment.