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TWOPENCE.

CRACKS APPEAR IN NAZI GERMANY

THE WAR WEARINESS IS AFFECTING THE WORKERS OF GERMANY AS IT AFFECTED THE WORKERS EVERYWHERE. ORGANISED MOVEMENTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS ARISE ON QUESTIONS OF WAGES AND CONDITIONS, TO WHICH THE NAZI OVERLORDS HAVE BEEN FORCED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS. THE FRATERNISATION WITH THE FOREIGN WORKERS WILL UNDOUBTELLY HELP TO SPEED UP THE PROCESS.

More recently reports now indicate that the foreign workers in Germany are fraternising with the German workers and vice-versa. In many cases these foreign workers are giving the lead to the German workers in the struggle against the Gestapo. There can be no doubt that this factor is giving the Nazi gangsters a headache. "Das Reich" of November 22nd, 1942, stated:

"From 6 to 8 million men are strangers in our midst. They are tremendously active circulating all kinds of news."

And the "Schwarze Korps" capped this by stating on December 3rd, 1942 that: "Our frontiers are cracked. Millions of foreigners are not subject to our moral discipline."

When it is realised that according to Fritz Sauckel, the Nazi Commissioner for Labour, in a speech made on February 8th on this subject, that "more than two-thirds of the workmen employed in Germany's armament industry are foreigners", it can be seen to what extent the Nazi frontiers are "cracking" and to what extent the "moral discipline" must have declined in Germany.

Despite the Nazi creed of the "pure race", the crushing of Europe and the importation of slave and conscript labour into Germany has had unlooked for results. The German girls have friendly relations with the foreign workers, and indeed so widespread has this become, that it has caused some bitter comments directed again the women in the Nazi press.

The passive resistance of the foreign workers is indicated by reports commenting on the actions of the Belgian workers working in Germany. "Das Schwarze Korps" reports:

"At the end of the day the German foreman finds it impossible to figure out how so many men can do so little work... when a dozen of these fellows lifts a steel rail or a piece of timber it looks like a slow motion picture."

The German workers understand this and there is tacit agreement between them and the foreign workers.

Reports, however, indicate that the German workers will put up a bitter fight against the victory of Anglo-American imperialism. The one thing that has paralysed the movement of the German workers and soldiers against Hitler has been the fear of the reprisals that would be exacted by the Allied imperialists in an occupation of Germany. But even this fear is breaking down as the workers and soldiers see an endless vista of blood and suffering in front of them with no prospect except defeat or the enslavement of other peoples without benefit to themselves but only to the advantage of the German imperialists and the Nazi clique, even in the event of victory.

The news of the mass arrests, the executions of German workers and now even the German students, is an indication that the masses are beginning to raise their voice against their oppressors. It rests on the shoulders of the British workers, who still retain their organisations, to assist their German comrades by continuing to fight against the British capitalist class. With power in the hands of the workers here it would be possible to appeal to the German and European workers to overthrow the Nazis and jointly with the British and Russian workers and peasants, organise the United Socialist States of Europe.

LABOUR EXECUTIVE SPLIT ON TRUCE END THE COALITION!

SEVEN MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE LABOUR PARTY VOTED AGAINST THE CONTINUATION OF THE TRUCE AT THE RECENT MEETING OF THAT BODY. ALTHOUGH SEVENTEEN MEMBERS OF THE E.C. VOTED TO CONTINUE THE TRUCE, THE MINORITY VOTE IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE BECAUSE IT REFLECTS THE GROWING DEMANDS OF THE WIDEST SECTION OF THE WORKERS WHO ARE POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS AND ORGANISED IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

In reply to this growing demand of Labour workers for a more militant Labour policy of class independence, Churchill has threatened a coupon election in an attempt to blackmail the Labour Party. Thus whilst Churchill clamours for national unity and protests that to end the truce would disrupt the nation, he demonstrates that if it suits the interests of his class, he is prepared to go to the polls to-morrow.

Instead of using Churchill's threat to organise and prepare the workers

consciously for the inevitable coming struggles against the capitalists, a section of the Labour leaders use it to threaten to do a "Macdonald," and demand that the truce be further cemented—even after the war!

At the forthcoming Conference of the Labour Party numerous resolutions from some dozen Labour Federations, Divisional and Borough Labour Parties give a militant answer to these blackmailers and splitters. They have tabled resolutions demanding the end of the truce.

Although these resolutions lack clarity and a real estimation of Labour's tasks, they reflect a desire for a militant class independence and express the real interests of the workers. In their own way these resolutions point to the next step forward for the mass of the organised workers.

In contrast to these resolutions the attitude of the Labour leaders leaves the initiative in the hands of the ruling class... It leaves Churchill free to decide when to precipitate an election at the period most suitable to the interests of his class.

The organised Labour and Trade Union movement cannot leave the initiative in the hands of the Tories. Nor can it tolerate the threats of its "leaders" who threaten betrayal in advance. It must cleanse the ranks of blackmailers and splitters and insure against a stab in the back later.

Now is the time to take the initiative!

Labour must end the Truce and break the coalition!

Labour must take power into its own hands!

READ THE CLASS MEANING of the SOVIET VICTORIES in the May Issue of the WORKERS INTERNATIONAL NEWS Now on Sale Price 3d.

Continued on back page.

Transport Workers Strike for Better Wages

THE FLAT REFUSAL OF THE NATIONAL ARBITRATION TRIBUNAL TO GRANT THE TRANSPORT WORKERS A WAGE CONCESSION HAS PROVOKED WIDESPREAD DISCONTENT AMONG THE WORKERS EMPLOYED IN THE TRANSPORT INDUSTRY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

Feeling among the transport workers has been rising for some months as the result of the low wages paid in the industry while prices and profits are rising, and as the result of new speed-up time schedules. In many districts there have been localised strikes on both these questions, but the patience of the workers appears to have been largely exhausted by the blank No! to their claims by the Arbitration Tribunal.

The present strike wave began when the drivers and conductresses of the Yorkshire Traction Co., refused to take their buses out on Wednesday morning, May 12th. The tie-up was complete and involved more than 1,000 workers, including the fitters and cleaners who were in sympathy with the drivers and conductresses. Several small towns in the triangle between Leeds, Sheffield and Doncaster were affected by the tie-up. These included Dewsbury, Barnsley and Rotherham. The strikes spread to Huddersfield, Derby, Chesterfield and Mansfield, down the Thames Valley, and have even affected the outskirts of London at Grays, Essex.

The Barnsley action was discussed at midnight meetings of the Corporation transport workers of Sheffield and Leeds, both sections of which have been involved in recent strikes, and the Leeds Corporation employees numbering about 2,500 stopped their cars and buses in a 24 hour strike. These Corporation workers were supported by the drivers of the West Yorks Roadcar Co. who refused to take their buses into the Leeds city boundary.

In several districts, army lorries and private transport have been used to carry passengers, but because of the number of workers involved in the dispute, these activities have had little effect.

In Yorks, miners give every indication of support for their fellow workers in the transport industry, and although many have to walk to and from work, shouts of encouragement are given when a transport worker passes or when a meeting of transport workers disperses.

The new strike wave on top of the

recent crop of sporadic strikes which affected the workers in London as well as in the North, reflect the depth of feeling among the workers and there can be no doubt that unless they are granted some concessions soon there is a possibility of a national tie-up of bus and tram transport.

Already the militant action of the rank and file have forced the hands of the union leaders and a delegates meeting is to be held in London to decide what the next steps are to be to press the workers' claims.

The transport workers, like the engineers and other industrial workers are fast coming to the conclusion that the cumbersome machinery of arbitration ties their hands and gives the capitalists a weapon against the workers. The demand is being voiced that the unions withdraw from the arbitration machinery and reassert their independent right to bargain with the employers for better conditions and back their demands with strike action if necessary.



JOHN L. LEWIS.

SOLDIER'S DEATH SHOCKS NATION

BY JOHN SMITH

THE DEATH OF RIFLEMAN WILLIAM CLAYTON CLAYTON AND THE EVIDENCE GIVEN AT THE INQUEST BY PRISONERS AND MEMBERS OF THE PRISON STAFF, HAS ROUSED A WIDESPREAD ALARM AND DISCUSSION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

The character of the evidence as detailed in publicity the matter ended there, with the culprits going scot-free. No further steps were taken nor did any investigation into the conditions, discipline and methods of Army detention camps take place. Some labour organisations and trade unions did register protest by resolutions against these malpractices but nothing happened and the matter was allowed to drop and the whole question hushed up with the connivance of the capitalist press. Indeed, the middle-class weekly periodical, "Picture Post", in its May 12th,

Staff-Sergeant at a detention camp told the Chatham Coroner yesterday that 15 minutes after he saw a Quarter Master Sergeant strike a soldier who had collapsed on the ground the man was dead. "Aircraftman Thomas Brady said, 'I saw that Clayton was about to fall in one direction when R.S.M. Culliney bashed him in the face with his fist. Clayton fell in the opposite way, and the Sergeant Major bashed him again. He then got hold of Clayton's tunic, shook him vigorously, and punched him in the mouth or nose with his fist. Q.M.S. Salter then struck Clayton across the back with his stick.' Staff Sergeant Raeburn said that while passing some hutments he heard a voice shout: 'Leave me alone, don't knock me about I am really ill.' He saw Q.M.S. Salter holding Clayton against a wall with his arm in a locked position. As he marched past and looked back, he saw R.S.M. Culliney take off his glove and punch Clayton three or four times in the stomach." (Daily Express).

Witnesses testified without astonishment that an attack took place on Clayton before the eyes of other prisoners and members of the prison staff. One witness testified that he had stated to a Military Court of Inquiry that he had seen nothing; he "was afraid" because he had another three months to do. This would indicate that whatever the decision on this inquiry, beatings are not uncommon in Military Detention Camps. The case of the unfortunate and helpless Clayton reached the press only because he died.

These Detention camps, used solely for imprisonment of offenders of varying shades of crimes, who are members of the armed forces, are policed and manned by picked personnel of the most reactionary type.

It will be recalled that some time ago, a similar case occurred, that of a group of conscientious objectors imprisoned in a military jail at Liverpool, and who were subjected while confined there, to a brutal 'beating-up' by a sergeant and others in whose charge and 'care' they were placed. Although this case also reached the court and received some



BEN

U.S. MINERS LEAD THE WAY

The strike of 500,000 American Miners has given a lead to the whole of the working class. It is the reply to the terrific offensive on the part of the American bosses against the conditions and standards of living of the American workers. While profits are soaring to unprecedented heights exceeding even the boom period of 1929, Roosevelt has "frozen" wages. In face of the tremendous rise in the cost of living, this was nothing less than a provocation.

Early in March 1943, the miners' union, the United Mine Workers, led by John L. Lewis, and under the determined pressure of the rank and file, notified the soft-coal owners that when the old agreement based on a wage far behind the existing cost of living expired on March 31st, 1943, they intended to demand and fight for, a new agreement.

The demands of the miners were for (a) A basic wage increase of 72.00 cents a day (b) an additional eighty-five cents a day for workers receiving sub-standard wages, such as slate-pickers, greasers, flaggers and throwers; such a demand would tend to equalise the wages of all the workers in the mines. Under the old agreement the miners received \$7.00 a day, and the helpers \$5.08 a day. A further demand the men wanted included in the new agreement, was, that all foremen and supervisory employees in and around the mines must become members of the union. The U.M.W., on behalf of the men, also insisted that the new agreement be operative for one year only, instead of, as previously, for two years. The reason for this was that in view of the constant rise in the cost of living, any new wage award at this time, would be wiped out, and further increases would be necessitated.

These demands must be viewed in the background of the conditions which forced the men to take strike action. Under the "Little Steel" formula, which laid down a policy of 'wage-freezing' in line with the ruling of the Roosevelt Administration, bituminous miners are entitled to no increases and anthracite miners to a patently inadequate 5 per cent increase. The average soft coal miner earns less than \$1,400 a year (approx. £340) out of which he must pay \$1.00 a day for materials and equipment. On top of this initial expense, he is forced to pay the outrageously high prices for food and clothing that prevail in the mining communities. The cost of living on food essentials in the average mining town has increased 124.6 per cent between August 1939 and February 1943. Also, the Department of Agriculture estimated that during

1943, the farmers would receive an average of 20 to 25 per cent more for their products than in 1942. And, of course, increased taxation and higher cost of clothing will place an added burden.

Sections of the British press, attempted to give a reactionary and false picture about the actual plight of the American miners. In articles and press items it was stated that the American miners earn £10 per week, but gave no indication of the extremely higher cost of living in America as compared with Britain.

When it became clear that Lewis was not going to even discuss with the War Labour Board except for the full wage increase, the immediate reaction of the coal-owners was to argue that the industry could not afford any wage increases. They ignored, in line with this policy the fact that labour costs in the industry have gone down. In the anthracite mines, during 1942, production was increased by four million tons over the previous year, despite the fact that there were some fewer thousands of workers in the industry. The basic wage rate was, in 1942, fifty cents LESS each day than it was 20 years ago. In addition, technological advances in mining have reduced labour costs and consequently increased profits. But not only this, the Government had already granted the coal-owners a price increase on their coal which amounts to 22 cents a ton (11d.). This evidence of the assured higher rates of profits to the coal bosses exposed their policy as one of deliberate wage repressions. But in following this course, the coal-owners were following the lead on wages given by Roosevelt and his 'wage-freezing' line. Meanwhile no restrictions have been placed on profits or the high salary earning groups, directors, etc.

When the men did strike, Roosevelt carried out his earlier threat and took over the mines and called in the military, but these measures were taken as a move to bluff the miners and frighten them back to work. But the miners were fully prepared to continue the struggle even against these threats. The miners, having called Roosevelt's

Continued on back page.

CLOSE RANKS AND FIGHT POINT OF AYR WORKERS VICTORY

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 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.

The miserable wage award granted to the engineers by the National Arbitration Tribunal has aroused a widespread unrest and disgust among engineering workers.

After months of patient negotiations on the part of the workers through their trade unions, negotiations which have been blocked and prolonged by every means at the disposal of the employers, the demands of the workers have been completely ignored. Only a small percentage of the engineering workers gain from the award and then only the most unfortunate and lowest paid workers in the trade. The overwhelming majority of the workers are no better off.

The award demonstrates that the employers and their Government through the N.A.T. have decided on a definite ceiling to the wages of engineering workers although the profits of the employers, both open and secret, are constantly increasing.

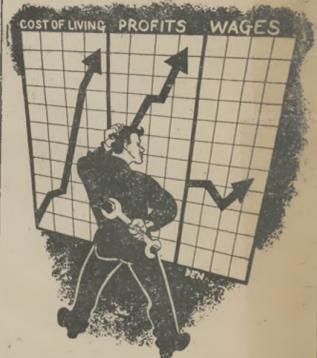
The award, "granted" after prolonged negotiations, further demonstrates, that the hands of the workers are tied by the union participation in the National Arbitration machinery and by the capitulatory policy pursued by the leadership of the A.E.U. While this policy is continued by the union leadership the bosses can thumb their fingers to their noses at the workers, safe in the knowledge that the policy of collaboration, strikes from the hands of the workers the only weapon which is capable of forcing the necessary wage concessions. But the patience of the workers has certain limits. And the boss class are taxing the workers to the limits of their patience. The workers do not want strikes. But by this wage decision the employers and the Government are provoking the workers into direct action in defence of their living conditions.

The next few months are likely to be stormy ones in the engineering trade. But the responsibility for any unrest must be clearly laid at the door where it belongs: the employers and the Government.

Spontaneous movements against the award have already commenced in several parts of the country expressed in the form of protest strikes and a ban on overtime. At the same time

varied demands are now being voiced by sections of the engineers. This is a dangerous situation which can lead to disaster for the engineers. The movement of the workers can be defeated piecemeal and reaction will reign triumphant.

It is necessary to unify the demands of the workers and to impose the discipline of the members on the leaders. Any other road will only fritter away the energy of the workers. Only by united, generally agreed action, if necessary united action even against the union leadership as well as the bosses, will it be possible to force the bosses to capitulate. The E.C. and the D.C.'s of the A.E.U. must call special area meetings to discuss the award and



formulate policy as to the next steps to be taken to gain the minimum concessions demanded by the workers.

It is necessary to reaffirm the original demand of a flat rate increase of 11/-, a lieu rate of 33% for time workers; and the restoration of pre-1931 conditions. This must be backed up by a clear demonstration of no confidence in the negotiating and arbitration machinery. The unions must re-establish their independent bargaining power by withdrawing from the arbitration machinery and reaffirming the right to strike as the only means of protecting the conditions of the engineering workers.

A number of illuminating facts came to light in a case before the High Court concerning the Ministry of Fuel and Power's (Major Lloyd George) order of February 5th 1943, taking over control of the Point of Ayr Colliery.

According to Major Lloyd George the order was necessitated to prevent mass strikes amongst the North Wales Mines. This apparently was the only reason.

The dispute between the miners and the colliery owners has been brewing for years and has only been brought to a head by the pressure of the North Wales Miners Federation. The conditions in the Point of Ayr Colliery have been described as "worse than any in Germany." The Colliery is the only one in the district and consequently the only means of livelihood for the workers in that area. According to H. B. Vaissey, K.C., "Father and son have followed each other since 1885." In 1926, during the General Strike the owners formed a reactionary Company union, which was financially subscribed to by the owners. This union was not affiliated to the North Wales Miners Federation and until recently only a few men had been members of the Miners Federation. (1942 "only" 10% members).

The miners have been fighting since 1937 for the right to join the Miner's Federation, and for better wage rates and conditions. The owners' K.C. (H. B. Vaissey) revealed the dangerous working conditions of the miners, he said: "The colliery is an isolated one and has under-sea workings, working conditions were somewhat unusual and peculiar. It was worked on the pillar system and not on the long wall system and required very careful handling because it was continually faced with intrusion by the sea. "The dangers and difficulty of

gas at the Colliery were excessive." Special machinery was used.

The miners were paid 3d. per ton for slack and 6d. per ton for coal. Where all was coal 25% was paid for a slack. It was calculated that in order for a loader to earn a decent living wage he had to lift to the height of 5ft. 6ins., 360 shovels of coal per hour, 6 shovels per minute. After a threat to strike, the loaders obtained a rate of 73d. per ton for slack and coal, along with a 32% bonus on output. Even so the bonus worked differently in all cases, and was not in practice a standard bonus. Due in the first place to the isolated character of the mines and the fact that they were dependent upon this colliery for a living, and in the second place, the speed-up character of the bonus system; the production in this colliery was the highest in North Wales and possibly in the whole country. 30-2 cwt. compared with 19-6 cwt. in the whole of North Wales. This was admitted by the owners through their representatives when answering the question: "What was increased output due to?" by saying "partly mechanisation... with the same number of men."

Despite the fact that Ministry of Fuel and Power control only implies that no decision can be made without ratification from the Ministry's representative, the order has caused some discussion and fear amongst the mine owners and the press. This type of control cannot solve the questions confronting the miners, since it is only a question of conducting the owners' business in a more efficient manner.

By their militant attitude, the North Wales Miners have secured a definite victory both in the sense of better conditions and 100% union organisation.

Get a Load of This!

The advertisement reproduced below is appearing in a number of American papers. Marx taught us that religion was the opium of the people. We've got to hand it to the Yankee dope peddlers for the way they keep pace with the times. In the old days they peddled their opium to the Indians along with a bottle of hooch to save them from hell's fire. Now they hook it to 20th century American women with a gold-plated, steel case, to fit the pocket, cover the heart, guarantee against gun fire.

GIVE YOUR HERO GOD'S WEAPON



HEART-SHIELD BIBLE Fits Snugly in Uniform Pocket
THE ENGRAVED GOLD-PLATED STEEL FRONT COVER PROTECTS HIS HEART

Let God walk with your hero across the fields of action by giving your son, brother, nephew, sweetheart, friend, the most inspiring, soul-satisfying companion a brave man ever cherished: The HEART-SHIELD BIBLE. It fits the pocket over his heart... protects his heart... and in actual combat may save his life! You see, the HEART-SHIELD BIBLE has a gold-plated, engraved, 20-gauge steel front cover, pre-pressed to deflect supercharged 38-calibre service bullets at five paces (15 feet), and may as miraculously deflect either bayonet or shrapnel... Take your choice of any of six slogans on the gold-plated steel front cover: (1) May This Keep You Safe From Harm; (2) For God and Our Country; (3) To My Dear Boy; (4) God's Weapon; (5) To My Sweetheart; (6) May God Bless You... A presentation card, with your name and his, is on the inside front cover. Boys from all fronts are writing home, requesting the HEART-SHIELD BIBLE. Why not mail your hero one today?

NEW TESTAMENT
Regular, \$2.95 Gilt Edge, \$3.95
CATHOLIC PRAYER BOOK
One Edition Only: Gilt Edge, \$9.95
Each HEART-SHIELD BIBLE is packed in a sturdy, self-mailing carton; a 3c. stamp carries it to your hero any place in the world... Sold in better stores throughout the nation... or write us.

KNOW YOUR BIBLE CO.
317 SYCAMORE ST. - CINCINNATI, OHIO

back. The Stalinists rag "Unity", never said one word about the whole strike. Of course it might upset their attempt to the coalition that they are advocating and with all they say in the Labour Party. I spoke to some of the men and told them that the "Socialist Appeal" would expose it. There is great unity among the men. And the only thing that will force them back is starvation. Big Jim Larkin addressed the men but he is just like the rest of the Trade Union leaders. I think that is all. I hope you will publish this in the "Socialist Appeal" and show the Irish men and women in England the way their brothers are treated by their De Valera Government.

Indian Workers Assc. Issue Manifesto

To The British Workers. Comrades,

On this fourth May Day of the Second World War, we, the Indian workers in this country, greet you in the name of millions of Indian workers and peasants, who, gagged by censorship, calumniated by unscrupulous and lying propaganda and brutally murdered by baton and bayonet, by rifle and machine gun fire, by air bombing and tear gas attacks, are unable to speak to you in their own name.

In August of last year, provoked beyond endurance, they entered into a conflict with that crushing and ruthless Imperialism which has been preying on them for two hundred years.

After two hundred years of British Imperialist rule the average Indian worker and peasant

HAS A WAGE OF SIX PENCE A DAY
HAS LESS THAN ONE FULL MEAL A DAY
HAS TO WORK INTOLERABLY LONG HOURS
HAS AN AVERAGE LIFE OF 25 YEARS.
DIRT, DISEASE, ILLITERACY AND GRINDING POVERTY ARE HIS LIFE-LONG LOT.

Fellow workers of Britain, do you intend that your brothers now with the army, conscripted to fight for "democracy" shall be used to shoot down their Indian comrades and perpetuate this vile regime?

In 1861 when the Prime Minister Palmerston was preparing to help the Slave States in the American Civil War, the workers of Britain under the leadership of the London Trades Council frustrated his knavish tricks. During 1919-21 the workers of this country under the slogan of "Hands Off Russia" stopped the flow of arms to the enemies of the Soviets and compelled Churchill to withdraw the British armies he had sent to destroy the young Workers' State.

To-day when the masses of India are striving to break asunder all their chains and throw off the crushing burdens of British Imperialism, we call upon you to take immediate and effective action in their support and compel your Government and the Labour Leaders

TO RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
TO END THE REIGN OF TERROR
TO RECOGNISE IMMEDIATE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE
TO PERMIT THE FORMATION OF A PROVISIONAL INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO CALL A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY BASED ON UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE
TO ARM THE INDIAN MASSES UNDER THEIR OWN LEADERSHIP.

(Issued by the Indian Workers Association)

TURF STRIKE IN IRE

There is a turf strike taking place in Ireland. As you know, the people in the Twenty Six Counties get no coal but have to use turf as fuel.

The strike started on 29th April in Dublin and other men went on strike on Tuesday, 4th May, in Featherhead Bog and Castlekelly. The men in Dublin are employed at Turf Dumps, one in the Phoenix Park and the other in Alexander Basin East Wall Road nearly a 1,000 men are employed at these two dumps unloading the turf that comes from the bogs in the country and staking it. They also serve the bellmen that serve it to the people in Dublin. The men are employed by the Irish Fuel Importers Ltd., which is a semi-Government firm. The conditions with this firm are not so bad. They get pay for wet weather and have trade union conditions. But this firm seems not to be getting enough out of the men. They have given the contract to a private firm called the South of Ireland Asphalt Co. This firm is a noted slave shop.

Their first move was to give a hundred and fifty men the sack and demand that the men work in the rain or else not to be paid. This firm is composed of Government and Fine Gael T.D.'s (M.P.'s). They have a very bad name with the workers in Ireland. This year the Government said they wanted four times as much turf brought to Dublin than any other year. Instead of taking on men for the rush, this bunch of slave drivers think they can do it with less men, so sacked a number of workers.

When the men went up on Friday for their pay, they were handed their cards first. But they refused them. They were told that if they didn't take their cards they would not get the money that was due to them. Some of the men, thinking of their wives and kids, had to take them. But not many. Some said they would starve first. It is a real threat against the workers conditions throughout the country. The unions and Labour leaders are blind to it all, and are sitting

Continued at foot of next column

NATIONALISE THE MINES

says Northumberland Miner—JACK FRATER



This article is written expressly for the Miners of Northumberland and Durham, by a man who toils daily in the pit and has laboured under similar conditions as hereunder mentioned.

I believe if most of we miners would only consider for a few minutes, and ponder a little over some of the inhuman conditions imposed upon us, we would not tolerate them for twenty-four hours, but take steps immediately to remedy them.

In the House of Commons on March 16th, 1943, a complaint was raised about poor people being charged £3 a ton for "adulterated" coal. One gentleman holding up a large paper packet, said it contained 4 lbs. of solid stone, taken from one shovelful of best house coal. This represents 50 per cent useless rubbish sold as coal. This can only happen under one system of Government, and that is capitalism. Let us examine the conditions of the producer and see how he fares under the same wonderful system.

Imagine a miner heaving coal from a 3 feet seam, with 3 inches of rubble following down and making his coals dirty. His heaving price is 1/5 per ton, plus 1d. per ton for shifting Rumble. He produces 3 tons of coal, bringing him 4/6 as wages, minus his county percentage. When he arrives on the surface he finds one of his tubs of coal "laid out", or considered dirty by carrying 10 lbs. of stone; probably through an indifferent light, or maybe dizziness through the effects of foul air; he is fined 4d., simply for renewing, approximately, one ton of the Coal Company's stone. In other words, they gave him 3d. to do the work, then

took 4d. from him, for doing it. To simplify the matter, it means for every hundredweight of coal the producer sends to the surface, if 1 lb. of stone is found therein, or the 112th part is stone, he is penalised and his wages docked accordingly. Yet the coal owners and the coal merchants can sell half and half with impunity.

Take the case of conveyor fillers filling in a yard seam, with one foot of rubble following down with the coal. The filling price being 10d. a ton, with 10d. per shift added for shifting rubble. The stint is usually eight lineal yards in a 4ft. 6in. cut, or approximately 12 tons of coal, making his wage for coal alone 10/-, minus percentage. By putting his day's work into cubic feet, he will find at the end of his shift, he has filled 12 tons of coal, and also removed the equivalent of 1 1/2 yards of a 4 feet stone canch. for the handsome sum of an extra 10d. When he arrives on the surface he is generally glad if he has no more than four of his tubs of coal "laid out" at 4d. a time. This makes him a loser by 6d. per shift, simply for removing the equivalent of 1 1/2 yards of a 4 feet stone canch.

Is it possible to labour and live, under a worse system?

I have before me as I write, a price list of filling prices at a Northumberland colliery. There is no payment whatever shown for rubble or band, yet the "laid out" scheme is in operation. here it is:

Filling price at 3ft. 3in. 1/1d. per ton, plus 40%.
"Laid Out" Scale.
2d. fine for 28lbs. of stone.
4d. fine for 56 lbs. of stone.
Forfeit tub for 90 lbs. of stone.

Forfeit tub, simply means; if 1/12 of the tub is stone, yet get nothing for it whatever; yet the same may have cost you in production, not only energy and sweat, but the expense of one pound of explosive. This means the coalowners, through their agents claim 1,030 lbs. of coal for nothing, which the producer has won honestly.

Miners in every county coalfield must be suffering similarly to the foregoing, hence so many strikes and stoppages. On June 2nd, 1942(there were reported 86 strikes involving 58,000 wage earners; 141,688 man shifts were lost; this for three weeks ending May 23rd, 1942, and are the Ministry of Mines figures. The way things are shaping at present, 1943 may prove a good deal worse, as the miners are full to the teeth, and in no mood for further tinkering or temporising with the industry.

The Sankey commission was set up

in January 1919, and on March 20th, 1919, in an interim report, signed by Justice Sankey, Mr. A. Balfour, Sir A. Wuckham, and Sir T. Royden, it reported:

"Even upon the evidence already given, the present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands CONDEMNED, and some other system MUST be substituted for it, or a method of unification by national purchase and/or by joint control."

Good gracious! Glory be! This was twenty-four years ago, and the nation is still waiting and paying dearly for it, instead of demanding nationalisation of the mines forthwith. All we have got up till the present are Pit Production Committees, where none of the members seem to know where their produce goes to, or the profit it makes, and are only having their brains picked for the coal-owners benefit. Is there another commodity in the world today so valuable as coal? Is there another produced so cheaply as 1/6 a ton, plus forty per cent as wages to the producer, and sold so dearly at £3 a ton to the consumer? It makes one think there is nothing but profit-seekers and fee-snatchers running the country for their own ends. Let the people stop the rot, and press the Government for nationalisation at once.

In a debate in the House of Commons on the coal question, a Lieut. Col. Mayhew is reported to have said:

"I do not wish to interrupt my Honourable Friend, but there is a war on, and I think he is not quite justified in talking about the profits of mineowners while there is a war on. The principle is to produce coal. We are all concerned with the production of coal, and I think my Honourable Friend has laid too much stress on the profits of the mineowners."

The-Right-Honourable-double-barrel-titled-Lieutenant-Colonel is obviously unaware there is always a war on for the miners. Recent statistics prove that. But there are no casualties among the owners. All the killed and wounded are among the miners. During the last six years more than 5,000 miners have been killed in the pits, and 700,000 injured. The totals employed in 1937, were: Wage-earners 791,738, salaried persons, 15,509.

Sure enough there is a war on, and we mustn't mention the profits made out of it. In answer to our Honourable Friend, I would like to say something in our good old Northumbrian Pit phraseology, but feel the miners themselves will be able to find more fitting terms for the occasion.

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EDITORIAL

A NEW PHASE IN THE WAR

The news from North Africa indicates a new turning point in the Second Imperialist World War. This defeat for German imperialism underlines the change in the relationship of forces that has taken place.

The overwhelming predominance that had been established by Hitler has now receded into the past. Germany's military domination of Europe had been secured through the superiority of German industry, which in turn had meant the supremacy of the German war machine. But the unparalleled and heroic resistance of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union has entirely altered the balance of forces. The flower of the German army lies buried on the plains of the Soviet Union.

While Europe has been groaning and growing weaker under the yoke of the Nazis, the Soviet Union and Germany have been engaged in mutual destruction which to the satisfaction of the imperialists weakened both of them. The imperialists of Britain and America have been utilising the time given them in preparation for their decisive intervention, at a time of their own choosing and in their own interests.

Last year according to American calculations the Soviet Union lost 900,000 men, Germany 750,000 to 800,000, and Britain and America only 75,000 together. Meanwhile during the course of hostilities in the war, 10,000,000 men have been killed. This apart from the millions who have died of hunger, executions and all the other horrors inseparable from wars of the all-embracing character of the present struggle.

These conservative estimates, if anything are an under-estimate of the real position. Meanwhile, one factor stands out above all others. This year American imperialism, with the mightiest productive apparatus in the world is building a military machine which dwarfs even the former might of Germany into insignificance. From the predominance of the Nazi Reich based on her military might, the situation has changed to the predominance of the United States.

The next move contemplated by the Anglo-American imperialists is apparently for the Battle of Europe. The possibilities of a Second Front and the desirabilities will form the theme of the discussion. This is not primarily a question of military expediency but above all, a political problem. Before they invade Europe the imperialists desire to make thorough preparations for its occupation. Europe is a powder barrel. To throw the lighted match of military action into it, might precipitate a chain of uprisings and revolutions throughout the Continent. It is to make sure of the control and destruction of the Socialist revolutions that forms the main preoccupation of the capitalist statesmen of all countries.

The defeats of the Axis have aroused the rumble of opposition and revolt in Italy and Germany. Despatches in the last few weeks have contained reports of minor uprisings, of strikes among the workers despite the terror of the O.V.R. and the Gestapo and of a growing unrest which has culminated in arrests and executions. In occupied Europe, not a day passes, but the newspapers report some heroic act of resistance to the Nazi oppressors. The sun is setting on the Third Reich. The foundations of the "New Europe" are crumbling even before the ideological cement has had time to set. The German imperialists can see the writing on the wall.

Yet despite the movements that have taken place among the masses in the Axis countries and within the German and Italian army the people of Germany and Italy for the greatest part remain passive and inert. Not because they support either Hitler or Mussolini but because of their fear of a victory for the Anglo-American imperialists and their enslavement under a foreign imperialism.

Goebbels and Woe Woe Ansaldo denounce the crimes of Anglo-American imperialism in India and the colonies. The experience of North

Africa has not passed unnoticed in Europe. This has had its effect on the German workers and soldiers. That is why the invasion of Europe will mean terrific slaughter and casualties on a scale comparable to that on the Eastern front. Faced with a threat of invasion the German soldiers will fight with a courage of desperation. Victory for the Allied imperialists in the European war cannot come easily. It can come only through a sea of blood and suffering, of hecatombs of corpses. This not only in Europe but in Asia as well.

Meanwhile the problem of the existence of the Soviet Union remains a major question for the self-appointed masters of the destiny of the world in Washington.

The terrific power of resistance of the Soviet Union has taken the capitalist world by surprise. It was completely unexpected and unforeseen by them. They have welcomed the blunting of the teeth of German militarism but the defeat of Hitler would entail leaving the Red Army as the only organised military machine in Europe. The Workers and peasants in Eastern Europe are looking with hope to an advance of the Red Army to liberate them. The terrific destruction of industry in the territory occupied by the German armies has left the Soviet Union in a weakened and crippled condition but nevertheless still a formidable force. As a measure of security against his dear "Allies", Stalin has been demanding the restoration at least of the frontiers established in 1939 in Poland, of the Baltic States, of Bessarabia, and of the area taken from Finland. This has been the real basis of the dispute between the Polish Government in London and the Soviet Union.

But the Allies, while convinced of the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism, fear and realise the revolutionary potentialities which remain while the Soviet Union stands as an example and a symbol to the tortured peoples of Europe.

The workers of Britain and of the world do not need to be told what would be the consequences of a victory for the Axis powers. Such a possibility is now receding into the distance and becoming less and less likely. But a victory for Anglo-American imperialism would not be any better in its consequences for the workers in Europe and Asia. The actions and deeds of the capitalists have shown that the war for the Allies (as for the Axis, is a war to decide which group of gangsters is to rule the world. Primarily it is a contest between Washington and Berlin to decide who is to dominate, with the other capitalist powers, as satellites to one or the other. The war therefore remains for the capitalist powers as it commenced: a struggle for markets, raw materials, spheres of influence and colonial slaves.

Every worker naturally desires to see the destruction of fascism in Europe and of Japanese militarism in Asia. But in place of the tyranny of Hitler and Mussolini the imperialists intend establishing the tyranny of Anglo-American imperialism.

The war will bring nothing but ruin and horror to the peoples of the world. The way to the destruction of fascism is through the destruction of the capitalist system. The workers of the world are not in support of the imperialists of any country, but taking the power into the hands of the working class. This would mean the end of Fascism everywhere. A Revolutionary Socialist government in this country would issue a revolutionary call to the workers of Germany, Italy and Japan; a call which would rouse immediate response. For only such a government which has nothing to gain from the exploitation and suppression of their class brothers would genuinely launch a war of liberation against fascism for the freedom of the peoples of the world. In place of the coming perspective of bloodshed and the slaughter of millions of the British and European working class on the Continent, would be the beginning of the fraternal co-operation of the peoples in a Socialist United States of Europe lasting to a Socialist world.

"MISSION TO MOSCOW" WHITEWASHES STALINISM CINEMA USED BY U.S. DIPLOMACY

BY JOCK HASTON

In a few weeks time, the film "Mission to Moscow" based upon Ambassador Davies' book of the same title, is to be released in Britain. The book was published in the United States in December 1941 and in Britain in 1942 by Victor Gollancz. At a five day Conference on "Mission to Moscow," Warner Bros. decided to spend on advertising the film, the greatest sum of money in the history of the industry. A press release announced that they were preparing to show simultaneous premieres in New York, South America, Africa, Russia, China and Great Britain.

As a prelude to releasing the film in this country, the national press has been running reviews on what they term this "sensational film." Needless to say these have been part and parcel of the "democratic" capitalist war propaganda designed to deceive the British working class.

Like the book, the film undoubtedly has a mission. That mission is to confound the isolationist critics of the Roosevelt policy to add weight to Roosevelt's war policy; to convince the American capitalist class that Stalin is a reliable ally; that he has successfully crushed the revolutionists in Russia and is prepared to assist in the crushing of the European revolution on the morrow. But both the book and the film has another mission: to do service to Stalin in return for the continued alliance by slandering Lenin's collaborators; and the Russian Revolutionists who remain true to the ideas of Communism as being "agents of Hitler."

DAVIES—A CAPITALIST

In the United States Davies has made a name for himself as a corporation and banking lawyer. And as a wealthy member of the capitalist class, he has strong instincts to preserve capitalism. In his book he has taken great pains to explain to his class that he has not gone haywire, that he has not gone Bolshevik. On the contrary, his efforts are bent on convincing the bourgeoisie that the policy which he (and Roosevelt) are advocating, is the best means of preserving and extending American imperialism. The first few pages of the book which consists of selected notes, despatches and letters are devoted exclusively to this:

As I stated to Mr. Stalin, President Kalinin and the others of the Soviet leaders, I am definitely not a com-

munist. I am called a capitalist. I am proud of the designation." And again: "... I explained to the members of the Soviet Government that I was a capitalist."

To demonstrate that he has absolutely no illusions about, or leaning towards Communism, he says that he is "convinced that Communism as such cannot work on this earth."

"BUREAUCRACY LIVES VERY WELL"

After repeatedly emphasising that he remains, as always, a capitalist and that his credentials are henceforth sound, he sets himself out to demonstrate to the capitalist class of the U.S.A. that they have nothing to fear from Stalin because far from stimulating and propagating the extension of the revolution, he is crushing the last vestiges of Communism within Russia itself.

"The Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, the Russia of the Bolshevik Revolution—no longer exists. Through gradual, stern and often cruel evolution the Government has developed into what is now a system of state socialism operating on capitalist principles and steadily and irresistibly swinging to the right."

To emphasise this "evolution," he republishes a "strictly confidential" letter to Cordell Hull, part of which reads:

"The idea of a classless society has been and is being destroyed in practice. The government itself is a bureaucracy with all the indicia of a class, to wit: special privileges, higher standards of living and the like..."

To Steve Early, who was apparently interested in the question; he wrote, "These Commissars certainly treat themselves well..." To Pat Harrison, the Mississippi sociologist, he said: "The bureaucracy live very well and many have their country homes, or dachas in the country."

WORLD REVOLUTION ABANDONED

This observant bourgeois lawyer is no fool. Having reassured his class brothers that the Stalinist leadership have set themselves up as a privileged strata, he proceeds to allay their fears of the dangers of revolution from Stalin and the Comintern. In the same way as some employers still fear

the Labour and Trade Union leaders, many ignorant capitalists still fear Stalin as a revolutionist. They have not yet grasped the degeneration which has taken place in Russia and the counter-revolutionary role which Stalin plays. This section of the capitalist class must be reassured. To the Secretary of State, Davies writes: "The idea of the world proletariat and revolution has been set aside and replaced with the idea of a nationalist Russia."

"Practically the only original Bolshevik leaders now left are Stalin, Kalinin and Voroshilov. All the others have been banished or are dead; many liquidated or shot." Quoting from his diary, the Belgian Minister, De Tellier, whose opinions he had noted:

"Stalin he thinks, is a practical realist who is a nationalist, not an internationalist like Trotsky. Stalin in his opinion, would 'ditch' the Comintern in a minute if he were assured of peace. He holds on to it as a military defensive agency."

"Personally, I do not think that the world is in any real danger from Communism for many years to come. Communism won't work. It hasn't worked here... The crowd in power, the Government... while professing left ideas they are actually projecting rightist methods..."

In a letter to Stephen Early, Davies wrote:

"The French Ambassador has said to me that the Comintern (the agency for the international revolutionary idea) is resorted to not because of desire, but purely as a military and strategic necessity. Stalin, he maintains, wishes to prove Socialism in Russia first, as a successful object lesson to the world. Trotsky advocated world revolution, without which, he maintains, there can be no successful communism."

Almost his first report to Cordell Hull, upon his arrival in Russia stated:

"Trotsky was then and is now the ardent proponent of the idea that the world revolution was foremost."

CONFESSIONS IN SOVIET LAW

This man Davies was sent to Russia as an agent of American finance capitalism and his statements on these questions are worth the attention of

the working class, since he gives his own class a proper accounting. No doubt the British Stalinists will squirm at the revelations about the way the bureaucracy lives and the degeneration of revolutionary politics as a reflection of bureaucratic privileges. But this will not prevent them from boosting the film. For they will forgive all this for his dealings with the Moscow Trials. For here he turns a complete somersault on his earlier opinions regarding the Moscow Trials, which he had held were frame-ups, and now propagates the Stalinist vilification that the Old Bolshevik Guard, are "agents of Hitler."

According to Arthur Webb, in the "Daily Herald" of May 3rd, 1943: "He (Davies) admitted that he went to the trials of the Russian Generals accused of treason, half ready to believe the gossip that they were being framed."

But before the trial was over he said that as a lawyer he had no alternative but to realise that their confessions were true and hadn't been made under duress."

Let it be stated that Davies does not say in his book that he went to the trial of the Generals, nor could he have done. The trials of the Russian generals were held in secret. He attended, he says, some of the sessions of the Moscow Trials of Kamenev-Zinoviev and Radek-Piatakov. But there is not a shadow of doubt that he believed these trials were frame-ups at the time they were taking place. Indeed, his selected despatches reproduced in his book, despite the most careful sifting, show that after the shootings of the Red Army Generals without public trial, Davies was speculating whether or not this marked the beginning of the downfall of the Stalinist regime. Curiously enough, it was not until late 1941, after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, that he changed his mind!

This is quite clear from a careful examination of the book. Three days after the attack on Russia, he was lecturing on the U.S.S.R., when someone in the audience asked him "about the Fifth Column in Russia." "Off the anvil I said there aren't any, they shot them." Thinking this question over after the lecture, he writes, "there came a flash in my mind of a possible NEW (our emphasis) significance to some things that happened in Russia when I was there."

NO DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE IN COURT RECORD

It was then that he changed his mind about the trials, very conveniently, when it suited the interests of American capitalist diplomacy. In the "News Chronicle," Robert Writhman, commending on the film version of "Mission to Moscow," says: "You see sabotage breaking out and you are led up to and through the Moscow Trials in which the Prosecutor Vyshinsky... establishes the guilt of the prisoners by way of confessions."

The value theoretically attached to confessions in Soviet law is stated as follows by Professor M. S. Strogovich

Continued on page 4

POVERTY IN BRITAIN CAPITALISM CONDEMNED

BY ROSE CARSON

The Hygiene Committee of the Women's Group on Public Welfare have issued a book of 143 pages called "Our Towns, A Close-up." In this book the authors have attempted to collate material on the condition of a section of the working class, basing themselves on facts revealed during the evacuation schemes in the early days of the war.

The authors set out to explain how it is that in Britain (not India or the Colonies, but Britain) children are lousy, badly fed, inadequately clothed and ill-housed. They give a fairly accurate picture of the surroundings and economic conditions of this "running sore" in British national life.

The section of the working class under observation is the unskilled and worst paid section, whose average weekly wage, when employed, is below £3 a week. The conditions under which this large section of the working class exists is a terrible indictment of the existing social system.

There are laws against overcrowding, and laws on sanitation, yet, in 1936, it was found in the East End of London that whole families of 5 or 6 persons slept in one bed. Also a family of 7 were found sharing one room, and another family of 5 sharing a bedroom with 6 cats.

The lavatory accommodation is, if anything, even worse. "Hundreds of thousands of families in all parts of the country have not a private closet, and there are areas where it is the exception for a family to have one."

("Our Towns, A Close-up.") In Clerkenwell there are sometimes 8 or more tenancies to one W.C. The food and clothing of these families are as bad as their housing conditions.

The typical pre-war diet of these workers consisted of bread-and-margarine and tea for breakfast, fish-and-chips from the local chipshop for dinner, with tea and cheap jam or sausages for the last meal at night. The clothes worn by this poverty-stricken section of society is described by the authors of the book as "tripe"; shoes made with compressed cardboard soles, cotton blankets, suits and coats of inferior cotton cloth. Most of these shoddy goods are purchased through the "tally-man" and whose sole object is "to get people into debt and keep them in it."

On the question of health the

authors maintain that these badly-fed, inadequately clothed children, suffering from a chronic lack of sleep, are easy prey for every disease that is prevalent.

"A comparison made in Newcastle-on-Tyne ten years ago disclosed that among 124 children under 5, from the professional classes, there had been 2 cases of pneumonia, 1 of pleurisy, 2 of chronic and recurrent cough, and 6 of measles. Of 125 children of the same age from the poorest city streets there have been 17 cases of pneumonia, 32 of chronic or recurrent bronchitis, 46 of measles, 6 of chronic diarrhoea, and frequent cases of abscesses and skin infection."

— "Economist," May 1st. One of the worst aspects of the conditions revealed was the lousiness of the children. It is estimated that 50% of all children under 5 in the large industrial cities were infested.

In their conclusions and summing-up, the authors state:

"Always on the edge of pauperism and crime, riddled with mental and physical defects, in and out of courts for child neglect, a menace to the community, of which the gravity is out of all proportion to their numbers."

Commenting on this the "Economist" observes: "Give these families children's allowances, remove them to new environment, the result will still be disheartening." This is a slander on the working class. It has long been established that environment plays a large part in determining character. Grinding poverty brings in its train all the evils of which the social workers despair.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS DISCUSSES THIS QUESTION

On May 5th, Lord Geddes, a director of many companies, raised the question of the "secrets revealed" by the evacuation scheme. The charges brought against the children, he said, were; they lied, pilfered, swore, they were verminous, they wetted and soiled their beds, and even their clothes. He said this could only be overcome by education and the cultivation of health. Lord Geddes then made an interesting and significant remark. He stated:

"The women had no knowledge of

their own country, but seemed to know something about the Spanish Civil War, and quite a lot about Russia."

This reactionary bourgeois is here trying to suggest that class-consciousness goes hand in hand with ignorance and dirt. If workers have no knowledge or interest in their "own country," this is the result of the low standard of education sponsored by Lord Geddes and his class. The interests of these people in the Spanish Civil War and in Soviet Russia raises the whole class issue. Their interest in, and knowledge of, the Spanish Civil War reveals the class-consciousness of these oppressed peoples. The civil war in Spain signified the struggle of their class brothers against their oppressors. Soviet Russia represents to them a workers' state, that is, a state where capitalists, such as Lord Geddes and his class, have been overthrown.

"His Lordship's solution to the whole problem is health."

"Only a General Staff of Health who would collect the results of research in all countries and tell us what was really health."

How people without adequate means, living in slums, could "cultivate health" His Lordship does not indicate.

Lord Latham, Labour Leader of the L.C.C., and also director of several companies, taking part in the discussion, stated that he had been brought up in a slum. He came a little nearer to understanding the problem. He stated:

"How could children be expected to be clean when they lived with 6 or 7 other families in a house intended for 1 family? How could one expect a housewife to cook when there were no reasonable facilities for cooking? Much as one might deplore the fried fish shop, it was the restaurant of the poor, and but for it, the families of which Lord Geddes had spoken would never get a cooked meal. One might deplore the dictatorship of the tin-opener but there was no alternative until these people were provided with adequate cooking arrangements and storage space for food. Often water had to be fetched from two or three storeys below or from outside."

The only solution Lord Latham could suggest was to replace the slums with decent houses. We are in favour

Continued at foot of next Column.

Pamphlets

BY TROTSKY:

- WAR AND WORLD REVOLUTION 2d.
- TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL 6d.
- TRADE UNIONS I.L.P. AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL 2d.
- DOES RUSSIA'S ENTRY ALTER BRITAIN'S WAR? By A. Scott 2d.
- PREPARING FOR POWER (Thesis of British Trotskyists) 3d.
- A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM 6d.
- Cannon's Testimony in U.S. Labour Trial 6d.
- THE ROAD TO INDIA'S FREEDOM by A. Scott and E. Grant 3d.
- THE C.P. AND THE WAR 1d.
- Look at their Record!

of better housing, but the low wage-level of this strata of society enable them to rent only the worst type of dwelling. Since it is unprofitable for builders and landlords to build houses for people on such a low income-level, it is inevitable under the profit system that these lower-paid workers are forced to live in these filthy and dilapidated houses.

All those who took part in the discussion were equally careful not to mention the real cause of the "running sore," which is the present social system. All these comfortable gentlemen ignored, in their solutions, the present trend of society, which is not towards reform or the betterment of conditions, but towards fascism and the worsening of conditions. Neither Lord Latham nor Lord Snell, who are members of the Labour Party, and represented it in the discussion, advanced socialist measures. So long as the present system exists so long will this "shocking state of affairs" remain. In its decline capitalism cannot ameliorate the sufferings of its victims, it can only intensify them. Only Socialism can put an end to such degradation and poverty.

U.S. Miners

Continued from page 1

bluff, waited to see his next move, but Roosevelt was not prepared, at this stage, to carry on a struggle which, as so often in the past rich history of the trade union struggles in America, would have resulted in an open and violent physical clash with the miners. Roosevelt could not but have recognised that if the miners' demands were conceded other sections of the organised workers will table their demands for wage increases to offset the high cost of living. Despite this, fearing to alienate the support of the workers from his Administration, in view of the coming national elections, Roosevelt withdrew and through Leakes, chief of the War Labour Board, called for a 14 day truce and a partial settlement of the miners' demands. This move was a partial victory for the miners, resulting in the establishment of a six-day guaranteed week and a temporary wage settlement, although not in full. Roosevelt hopes, no doubt to be in a stronger position to attack the workers after the elections, and is biding his time to settle accounts with the miners for their blow against his Administration.

THE ROLE OF THE MINERS' LEADER, JOHN L. LEWIS

It is necessary to have no illusions about Lewis' militant role in the strike. Naturally workers will and must support any such militant actions of a trade union bureaucrat that furthers the interests of the rank and file. But the limits of such a type as Lewis must be clearly understood. John L. Lewis is an American labour leader of a very shrewd type. Lewis' long experience in the struggles of the American trade movement has taught him that a 'left' reputation enhanced the value of a bureaucrat. That a strong basis and support from the rank and file placed him in a strong position both within the union itself and in his bargaining relations with the bosses. As head of the U.M.W. Lewis led the fight of the miners in this recent strike in a manner which strengthened his position and won him the support among the workers which he largely lost when he supported the republican candidate, Willkie, in the last national elections. Lewis has, in the past, sold out to the bosses at the expense of the rank and file, and under certain conditions will undoubtedly do so again. It must be understood that it was not only because he was smarting from his defeat but also the militancy of the miners in the recent issue which pushed Lewis to take a militant lead. Before the strike began, the rank and file of the U.M.W. showed that they were in no mood to be sold out by fake agreements. This was shown some months previous when the men decided to strike, if necessary, to enforce the new agreement. At that time Lewis was against a strike, and stated that he would not grant them any strike funds. The reply of the miners of the union to that threat was to form a rank and file committee to work out their own wage demands. They refused to continue to pay the fifty cents monthly to the strike fund if, as they said, they could not benefit when they needed it. As the end of the old agreement drew nearer, it became clear to Lewis that the men were not going to step back one inch from their demands, but were determined and prepared to strike and wage a struggle independently of the attitude of the union leaders and John L. Lewis. This militant attitude threatened to isolate and undermine Lewis' position in the union and the labour movement generally, and dictated his action in placing himself at the head of the strike, thus retaining his control over the miners. The only guarantee that the miners will have against the possibility of Lewis selling them out in any future struggles is if the rank and file are alive to the fact that they hold the key—by their independent militant action, inside the trade union movement, to force such leaders to carry a struggle in the interests of the members—or get kicked out of the union.

THE LESSON FOR THE BRITISH WORKERS

The paramount feature which stands out is the fact that the miners were determined not to allow themselves to be sold out to the coal-owners, either by their union leaders or by so-called arbitration boards. That, quite independently of the leadership of the U.M.W. they were prepared, and did, to create a new militant leadership which would carry through the struggle to enforce their demands, if the union leadership failed to carry out their wishes or had made any attempt to sell-out. The fact that Lewis fell in with the demands of the men for decisive action, is of course, only to be welcomed, and noted as further evidence of the strength of the miners when they are set on a determined and militant course. The action of John L. Lewis is in sharp contrast to the despicable role of the Murrays and Greens in America, and the Bevins, Citrines, Lawthers and Halls and others of their ilk in Britain. Content as they are, only to sit on the class-collaborationist arbitration boards, and claim to be 'representing and protecting' the interests of the rank and file. Yet refusing aid and openly making reactionary condemnations when workers have been forced to strike to enforce their legitimate demands in defence of their wages and rights. Such bureaucrats as these prefer to discuss around the table of these 'arbitration' committees, Greene committees, etc., with the result that the workers have discovered too late that their 'leaders' have signed and made agreements over their heads and all they receive is niggardly parings. An alive, alert and militant rank and file with a new fresh militant leadership from that rank and file is the guarantee of success in the coming struggles. That is the lesson of the 500,000 American miners strike.

FOR A GENERAL ELECTION IN ULSTER

BY BRIAN AHERNE

The crisis in Northern Ireland has concluded its first phase with a Cabinet reshuffle which came after a storm had raged in Unionist circles for months before hand. Faced with the growing solidarity of the Ulster workers, irrespective of creed, big business has realised that the ground was being cut from under the feet of its Unionist (Tory) Party—which has based itself consistently since 1922 on the dividing of the workers by religious antagonisms.

With the intention of giving their party a fresh lease of life a Cabinet reshuffle has taken place, replacing the 'Old Guard' Tory Cabinet ministers with a fresh Cabinet consisting mainly of former junior ministers and newcomers.

Since the artificial inception of Northern Ireland as a political unit, the Unionist tactic of encouraging religious strife amongst the workers has been made simple for them by the consistent and heavy unemployment and also by the absence of any real political organisation from a revolutionary workers standpoint.

However since the war much has happened to bind together Catholic and Protestant workers in solidarity. War industry has resulted, until recently, in a great diminishing of the numbers of unemployed thus strengthening the class ties of the different sections of the workers. Common sacrifices endured in the imperialist war (air-raids, autocratic rule of the big industrialists, etc.) more relentless persecution of the Republican workers by the police dictatorship, victimisation, by the bosses and their state apparatus, of legitimate trade union activities have all hastened this development of growing unity.

To examine the recent Cabinet changes in this light is most instructive. At the helm is now placed Sir Basil Brooke, a landlord, and one of the most notorious and vicious reactionaries in the country. His most distinguished services to the Ulster bosses have lain in the field of Catholic-baiting. This is the same gentleman that invoked the infamous phrase "A Protestant parliament for a Protestant people". To show that he could go one better still he boasted at a public meeting that he had not a single Catholic worker employed on his estate, and that he always made a point of advising his neighbours never to engage Catholic labour. It is interesting to note, in passing, that this "Comrade" spoke some months ago at a Russia Today meeting in company of McCullagh the leading Belfast Stalinist.

Amongst the newcomers to the Cabinet are two Protestant Clerics as Ministers for Agriculture and Education, thus completing the welding together of the landlords, industrialists, and Church, into a Holy Trinity arrayed against the working people of Northern Ireland.

But the most interesting member of this happy family is another newcomer, Mr. Harry Midgely, the same renegade socialist who so recently endeavoured to split the North Ireland labour movement along sectarian lines. Happily his persistent efforts at sabotage failed to effect the hard won unity of the masses. However, this unscrupulous traitor has received his pay-off from

the bosses by being allotted the post of Minister of Public Security.

Midgely started his political career as a self-styled socialist standing on a United Ireland platform, that is to say, on a ticket designed to appeal chiefly to the Republican workers. However gradually he worked round his position until, subsequent to his election in 1940 as Labour M.P. for Wiltowfield (a former Loyalist stronghold), he openly proclaimed his Unionist sympathies. After his election to parliament in 1940 he became chairman of the Northern Ireland Labour Party. While holding this position he opened a series of vicious attacks on the Republican minority, persistently slandering them as traitors and fifth columnists. Midgely quarrelled with the Labour Party bureaucracy in December 1942 leaving the Party to form a pro-imperialist "Commonwealth Labour Party" but failed, despite appeals, to get any support from the rank and file of the Labour and Trade Union movement.

The composition of the new Cabinet clearly points to an attempt, by the Ulster reactionaries, to revive the old sectarian hatreds once more. By attempting to split the united working class into hostile Protestant and Catholic (Loyalist and Republican) factions they hope to stymie the general turn towards united labour. This constitutes a mortal threat to the whole Irish labour movement. It is essential that Irish workers understand the meaning of these moves on the part of the reactionaries in power and organise a militant opposition as the first step in clearing the way for the permanent unity of all sections of the Irish working class.

The victory of Beattie as the Labour candidate in the recent bye-election was the warning to the Ulster reactionaries which has helped to precipitate this change. Labour has now a wonderful opportunity to win the majority of the workers and farmers by a campaign round a fighting Socialist programme. A campaign must be launched immediately throughout Ulster round the demand for the resignation of the "new" Tory Government and for a general election to allow the electorate to decide what government they want. Ulster reaction has lost the support of the masses. The Orange landlord-capitalist coalition must go!

After a systematic campaign for a new election, round a fighting Socialist programme, the Labour M.P.'s in the Stormont should resign and force bye-elections, which would demonstrate the fact that the Unionist clique has lost the confidence of the people and force its resignation. The Irish workers in Ulster have the opportunity of giving the lead to the workers of all Britain.

Workers' International League in Ulster will fight for Labour to take Power as the next stage in the struggle, while putting forward our own programme of Socialist demands as the only programme that can solve the problems of the working class. In this way W.I.L. will clear the way for winning the Irish workers to the banner of revolutionary socialism and for a Socialist Ireland federated with a Socialist Britain.

Soldier's Death Causes Widespread Indignation

Continued from page 1.

1942 issue, devoted no less than seven pages of pictures and comments to a stupid and gushing account of a 'typical' Army detention camp, from the point of view of an 'outsider looking in' of course! To quieten it would seem the stir aroused in public opinion at that time by the Liverpool case. To quote but one revealing statement from this 'Picture Post' puerility: "Reports that prisoners are physically knocked about by members of the prison staff—however justified such a measure might seem—are nonsense."!!

Innumerable instances of the inhuman methods tolerated and encouraged in these military prisons are known and is common knowledge among the soldiers and armed forces generally. As for instance, all the little refinements of the 'glasshouse Gestapo' that are used to break the spirits of the prisoners completely, and to stamp out any show of initiative of those who attempt to assert themselves against these hand-picked bullies. Shaving at the double, polishing the same brass objects for hours on end, cleaning long flights of stairs with a bucket and a toothbrush, constantly being picked on and punished for imaginary and petty offences, such are only a few of the little methods used to render the lives of prisoners unbearable.

But it is not a question of isolated instances, nor of isolated military prison policemen with sadistic tendencies running riot occasionally, the reason for the inhuman conditions goes deeper than that. It is the very lines along which these detention camps and prisons are organised by the military caste itself, which creates the conditions and possibilities for such brutal methods and practices against helpless prisoners are tolerated by the Army officers and authorities in charge. Witness the terrible case of Rifleman Clayton who, suffering as he was from

an advanced stage of tuberculosis and who reported sick time and time again to the prison M.O. was according to the evidence given at the inquest, treated by that personage as a malingering and given as treatment—Medicine and Duties!!—which any soldier will tell you means nothing at all.

The utter disregard for the interests of the soldier in order to uphold the prestige of the military caste and its discipline as these events reveal, are not accidents but a policy deliberately and calculatedly pursued. As a result of the death of Rifleman Clayton and the unavoidable publicity (distasteful no doubt to the military apparatus), and the immense public indignation that has swept through civilian and members of the forces alike, some action will be taken against those members of the Prison staff who were responsible. But the matter must not be allowed to rest there nor be hushed up.

It is the duty and the immediate responsibility of the organised working class to demand that an investigation into the conditions and methods of Army detention camps and prisons be undertaken by workers' committees through the Trade Unions together with soldier representatives. These committees must conduct an independent investigation on behalf of and in the interests of the rank and file of the armed forces. They must carry out their investigations untrammelled by any Governmental, police or military interference. The committees must establish their right to call upon any soldier to give his evidence freely without being subjected to army discipline or punishment for doing so.

By a public campaign to expose the conditions of the military detention camps, the workers will eliminate the worst conditions at these camps and cement the bonds of solidarity with their comrades in uniform.

I.L.P. LEADERSHIP MOVES RIGHT

The Jubilee Conference of the I.L.P. held at Easter revealed a distinct tendency of development on the part of the leadership towards the Right: exactly what an analysis of the Conference material and of the process through which the I.L.P. has been passing, would have led one to expect.

The I.L.P. is in a process of transition. The leadership is making a sharp turn towards the right and back to the position of Left reformism. The rank and file is in a state of flux. Some of the best elements in the rank and file have been pushed further to the Left and a more critical attitude towards the leadership has been established.

The keynote of the Conference was the complete confusion of the leadership and following this, a large measure of confusion among the rank and file delegates. On every issue the clarity which a self-styled 'revolutionary-Socialist' leadership should have sought to obtain on the political resolutions was completely absent.

On the issues which were in front of the Conference the most important was the question of the Political Truce and Labour Unity. The pretended revolutionary intransigence of the

I.L.P. leadership on this question was completely exposed.

The leadership of the I.L.P. is preparing a complete capitulation to the Labour bureaucracy at the first convenient opportunity which is offered. They intend re-affiliation, probably when the political truce is broken. Not of course that revolutionary-Socialists would be against affiliation. But the I.L.P. leadership is not doing so for the purpose of exposing the Labour leaders and winning over the working class to the banner of the Socialist Revolution but to adapt themselves to the reformism of the L.P. Maxton in speaking against an amendment which attacked the role of the Labour leaders with their policy of coalition as being traitors to the interests of the working class said "He was concerned not with regard to the selfish narrow interests of Labour or the I.L.P. but for the working class . . . he was prepared to believe that the Labour leaders were honest in entering the coalition . . . it was no good the rank and file of the Labour movement approving the entry of the leaders and then blaming them . . . This attempt to put the responsibility for the present position on the shoulders of the rank and file Labour workers while defending the leadership is an indication of the theoretical confusion and the fact that basically nothing fundamental separates the I.L.P. leadership from left reformism. This was borne out in the discussion on the problems such as the Beveridge Report where a completely reformist position was developed by the leadership. The question of internationalism had been ruled out of order by the leadership and was thus not discussed, although the Left wing rallied strong opposition to the shelving of this question and the reference back was only defeated by a small majority.

An agenda overloaded with trivial amendments helped the leadership

immensely as it prevented a full discussion on all the controversial issues. This assisted to intensify the confusion and lack of clarity in the minds of the rank and file, especially as the leadership revealed themselves as only too anxious to avoid a principled discussion which would reveal the confusion in their policy and outlook.

Nevertheless despite all these disadvantages the young Left wing disclosed that it had made substantial gains within the I.L.P. since the last Conference. The best of the working class delegates were obviously becoming critical of the tops as they began to see in which direction the leadership is travelling. During the course of the Conference the Left wing gathered on the most important questions somewhere between 40 to 50 votes. This unfortunately was not a homogenous grouping but contained various shades of ultra-Lefts, who evinced confusion on the question of re-affiliation to the Labour Party. There is a danger that the opposition of the best elements of the rank and file to the opportunism of the leadership may lead them into the sterile position of the ultra-lefts.

However if the Left wing carries on an active struggle for clarification on the problems facing the British workers they should succeed in convincing and winning the best worker elements in the I.L.P.

So far as the I.L.P. itself is concerned the process of differentiation which had already begun in the membership should be speeded up by the development of events. The leadership is moving to the Right while the rank and file are moving towards the Left. The movement reaching its culmination in re-affiliation should speed up this process. Affiliation is likely to take place on a rising tide of militancy within the working class which would force the ending of the coalition with the capitalists. Such a wave of radicalism, which has already begun in Britain should immensely assist the forces in the I.L.P. moving in the direction of revolutionary socialism. They will find that only the programme and policy of the Fourth International can serve as a guide to the problems facing the working class.

Socialist Appeal

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Admission - 2/-
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'Mission to Moscow' TRAVESTY OF HISTORY

Continued from Page 1.

in a book entitled "Criminal Trials, A Textbook for Law Schools and Juridical Courses," edited by the State Prosecutor A. Y. Vyshinsky, who conducted the case for the prosecution in each of the trials:

"In no measure whatever does it correspond to the principles of the Soviet criminal trial to re-evaluate the evidential significance of the testimony of the accused, to depend on it as the fundamental and most important proof. Such significance the testimony of the accused in a Soviet trial does not and cannot possess; the testimony of the accused, in particular his admission of guilt, like every other piece of evidence, is subject to verification and careful evaluation as a result of juxtaposing it with all other evidence gathered in the case.

"As was pointed out above (p. 36) the Fascist criminal trial fixes its course upon the admission of guilt by the accused, extorting this admission by all sorts of violence and torture (p. 44)."

"A special form of testimony by the accused is constituted by the so-called denunciation. That is to say, testimony by one of the defendants implicating another defendant or extraneous individuals and by virtue of this very thing mitigating the responsibility of the defendant himself. In the nature of things, this is evidence of a witness inasmuch as in these instances the defendant gives evidence not against himself but with respect to actions of other parties. This form of evidence is the least meritorious. The low evidential value of denunciation flows from the fact that the accused, in denouncing another party acts usually on motives of personal interest, desirous of shifting a share of his guilt upon another and thereby mitigating his own responsibility. (p. 45)."

NO DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE IN COURT RECORD

Yes! The "guilt" of the prisoners was "established" by way of "confessions." Not only were the prisoners convicted on the basis of their own confessions and those of self-inculcating witnesses, but their evidence was entirely uncorroborated by any important documentary evidence. According to Soviet law, it is illegal to judge and sentence prisoners on the basis of confessions. Yet no documents were entered into the records of the court. Even Davies noted in his despatch to the Secretary of State:

"Whether there was serious variance between the allegations of the indictment and the documentary proof submitted, as the trial developed, it was impossible to say, as the documents themselves were, in some instances, not produced (alleged to have been destroyed as self-incriminating) and in other instances only referred to in the course of testimony or re-

ferred for presentation to the military court in chambers." (In secret).

DEWEY COMMISSION BLASTED FRAME-UP

But if there were no documents entered into the record of the court to prove that these men had committed the crimes they confessed to, or to prove that they were Trotskyists and received their instructions from Trotsky, there are hundreds of documents on record in the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Charges made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials headed by the noted American educationalist, Professor John Dewey. This investigating committee established that the testimony of the accused, was false and that there were hundreds of documents in existence of an official character as well as from private individuals to prove this. The fact that Vyshinsky did not confront the accused with copies of Trotsky's denials of complicity or his series of questions which were cabled to him and published in the world press was to say the least a dereliction of duty and elementary legal practice even in bourgeois courts. The refusal to bring this evidence before the court and before the accused, underlines the carefully prepared and rehearsed character of the confessions, which could not stand an independent investigation in open court.

It is important to note that when John Dewey wrote a letter to the "New York Times" denouncing Davies version as a frame-up and falsification he did not reply.

SOME AWKWARD QUESTIONS FOR DAVIES

According to American correspondents Davies states that the film will eliminate antiquated conceptions regarding the Moscow Trials. In other words, it will put the Stalinist version on these frame-ups and portray the Old Bolsheviks as "Agents of Hitler." Apart from the fact that he shared these "antiquated ideas" himself at the time of the trials, it poses some very important questions which Ambassador Davies ought to answer, but which he burks.

The Ramzin trials "proved" by "confessions" that the British and French General Staffs were organising wrecking, espionage, sabotage, and were preparing for an immediate intervention against the Soviet Union in 1930. This coincided with the policy of Stalin, who at that period was seeking an alliance with Germany against Britain and France. During the Bukharin trial, when Stalin was already turning towards a pact with Hitler, it was "proved" by the confessions of some of the accused that they were agents not only for the Nazis and the Japs, but that they were British agents as well. But it is a certainty that the film will not show the defendants pleading that they were subsidised by the British Government to organise and prepare for intervention against the Soviet Union!

TRIALS REFLECT STALIN'S DIPLOMACY

These "trials" which were held by the whole international labour and trade union movement to be frame-ups or a mass character unparalleled in history are a reflection of Stalin's foreign policy. When Stalin had a pact with Hitler, the revolutionists were slandered as agents of British, French and American imperialism. Before the G.P.U. murdered Trotsky during the Pro-Hitler orientation of Stalin, the Mexican Communist Party, which like the British C.P. is controlled by the G.P.U., conducted a frantic press campaign, accusing Trotsky of being an agent of Yankee imperialism. So also during the period when the C.P.G.B. wanted peace on Hitler's terms at the end of 1939 and the first few months of 1940, Sean Murray, the then secretary of the Irish Communist Party and Peadar O'Donnell, leading Stalinist intellectual in Ireland publicly accused the writer of this article when in Dublin of being an "agent of British imperialism." With the change of alliance, these same people who now want to drag Southern Ireland into the War on the side of the "democracies" call us "agents of Hitler."

The murder of the Polish socialists Alter and Ehrlich which was only revealed by Stalin about 18 months after their death at the hands of the G.P.U., adds yet further proof as to the frame-up character of the Stalinist trials. These two outstanding Polish Jewish Labour leaders were accused of "pro-Hitler" activity by the G.P.U. Despite the allegations that they had "confessed" their murder was condemned by the whole of the international labour and trade union movement as a foul atrocity. But Ambassador Davies remains silent on this question.

This lawyer is once again to go to Russia as the representative of Yankee imperialism. Clearly he has done a good job of work for his friends and employers. His book and the film reveal that he is the most blatant type of bourgeois political crook. If the mass of pro-Soviet workers in America and the "allied" countries do not understand the counter-revolutionary role of Stalin and the bureaucracy, Davies certainly does. He and his class are attempting to turn this to the benefit of Yankee imperialism against the interests of the working class. The film is a war propaganda film. That it had the backing of the United States Government is clear by the endorsement of an almost official character given to the book and the film by Sumner Welles, who authorised the use of state archives which are quoted here and there in the book and are used in the film. Like all propaganda films it conforms to the official lie of the moment. This alone should serve to engender suspicion in the minds of the workers. Whatever assistance it will render the Stalinists against the revolutionary socialists, can only be temporary. For the mass movement of the workers under the banner of the international revolution which Trotsky held aloft, will sweep this great falsehood into the dustbin of history.