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TWOPENCE.

WARNER'S FAKE FILM

'Mission to Moscow' RICH MAN'S GIFT TO STALIN

By JOCK HASTON

MISSION TO MOSCOW—THE FAKE FILM WHICH FALSIFIES AND DISTORTS A FAKE BOOK OF THE SAME TITLE, WRITTEN BY EX-AMBASSADOR J. E. DAVIES, CORPORATION LAWYER AND ALLEGED TO BE THE WORLD'S WEALTHIEST DIPLOMAT, IS NOW BEING SHOWN IN LONDON.

Despite the blurb which it has been given by the press and particularly by the publicity agency of Warner Bros., it is having a poor showing up to now.

The film introduces a new technique in unscrupulous capitalist propaganda. It is a classic example of how a wealthy, demagogic capitalist can sell himself to the public. This technique has more in common with fascism than with political enlightenment and truth.

In the United States the outstanding liberals and socialists, together with the Socialist Workers' Party have raised their voice in a strong protest against this false film and its vicious distortion of the ideas and life purpose of Leon Trotsky. Not so in Britain. Apart from the Glasgow "Forward", the so-called socialist press has remained silent or justified the film. So also with the bulk of the liberals. Certainly there has been no honest protest from these gentlemen who prate their "moral" outlook before the working class.

As a film, it is dull and boring. The only lively and interesting scene is the important section which purports to be a reproduction of the infamous Moscow Frame-up Trials. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that the biggest section of the politically conscious section of the working class will see this false film. Despite the healthy scepticism towards propaganda films which is common among wide sections of the workers, this vicious film will be used against the revolutionists and socialists in Britain.

SEVERAL MINOR FALSIFICATIONS

Between the book and the film there are a number of important contradictions apart from the Moscow Trials.

The film shows Davies and his family having an "excellent" and "real food" meal at the border town station when they entered Russia. Such a treat after eating "Ersatz food" in Germany for a couple of weeks. In his diary Davies wrote:

"... Lay Henderson met us at the border town of Negoreloye... Henderson, the poor man had eaten some 'bad food' (an experience here quite common) the night before and had been pretty sick..."

In a letter to a friend, he wrote:

"Dr. Bunkley... has given us a list of 'don'ts' as to what we should eat and avoid at diplomatic dinners. There is a lot of contagion in foods here. There is no cream save for ice cream, nor vegetables that are safe, so Billie's advice was helpful in every way, and particularly very sound in suggesting that we bring a supply of food."

In a footnote to his diary, Davies gives a list of "don'ts" which are:

- "Don't drink unboiled tap water.
- "Don't drink milk or cream.
- "Don't eat any milk product (ice cream, butter, custards, etc.) of local origin.
- "Don't eat raw vegetables.

"Don't eat canned vegetables unless you know they are from the U.S.A. Avoid rare or underdone meats. Avoid all sausages.

"Be very careful about fish... And his comment: "No wonder the staff here have their own canteen for supplies."

If this is true of the foodstuffs supplied at the Embassies, what hopes that Davies and his family would have had such an excellent meal on the railway canteen.

The film portrays Davies as "Mr. Know All". He saw everything that was to be seen—even to the extent of observing that Russian machinery was bolted down and transportable for war purposes. And what he did not see, obliging American technicians in Russia informed him of; for instance the "sabotage afoot."

Read his book. Despite the careful selections of his "despatches" and "quotations" from his diary, he makes no claim to be so well informed.

Significant to note, he gives no "quotes" from his diary during the period of the Red Army's invasion of Poland and Finland, although the film shows that he returned to America and campaigned for an alliance with Russia. There is no proof for this in his book and it is most likely, on the contrary that he was a rabid anti-Soviet "liberal" during that period 1939-1940 in which he maintains silence in his book.

THE TRIALS

The main section of the film with which we are concerned here is the frame-up Moscow trials. The principal purpose of these "trials" was to discredit Trotsky in the world labour movement. Davies admits this in his carefully "edited" book. In his despatch dated February 17th, 1937 to the "Honourable The Secretary of State" he wrote that "off the record..." the Soviet bureaucrats admit "... that the occasion was dramatised for propaganda purposes. It was designed: first, as a warning to all existing and potential plotters and conspirators (read political oppositionists to Stalin) within the Soviet Union; second to discredit Trotsky abroad; and third, to solidify popular national feeling in support of the Government against foreign enemies—Germany and Japan." (Mission to Moscow, Left Book Club Edition, page 38).

In the film the public trials are telescoped into the secret trials of which there exist no records. If we allow a wide latitude for dramatic licence, there are nevertheless a number of awkward questions which must be asked.

Four of the infamous Russian Frame-up trials—one secret and three public—are telescoped together in the film. It is no accident that this method of amalgam has been resorted to by the producer. The fantastic nature of the trials would have been too obviously exposed had they been shown separately. Yagoda as the chief of the G.P.U., was responsible for bringing the alleged "terrorists" and "fifth columnists" to book in the first two trials. But he was himself a "defendant" at the third trial! Tukachevsky, shown in the film was implicated in one of the public trials and

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FASCISM COLLAPSING

Europe's Revolution has Begun

MUSSOLINI IS GONE. FASCISM IN ITALY IS DEAD. THIS FACT HAS FILLED WITH REJOICING THE MASSES OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN ITALY. IT WILL BE GREETED WITH JUBILATION BY THE WORKING CLASS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THE FALL OF MUSSOLINI IS THE FIRST OF GREAT EVENTS THAT EUROPE AND THE WORLD WILL SEE IN THE COMING YEARS. IT MARKS THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE IN ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE. HITLER CAN SEE IN THE FATE OF MUSSOLINI THE FORESHADOWING OF HIS OWN DOOM.

The capitalist press in Britain and America has hypocritically greeted the fall of the tyrant. Churchill has hurled epithets at Mussolini. But we remember the paeons of praise he bestowed upon him in 1927, when in a press interview he said how "charmed" he was, "by Signor Mussolini's gentle and simple manner, and by his calm detached poise in spite of so many burdens and dangers." We remember also how he praised Italian Fascism for "the service your movement has rendered to the whole world."

In spite of their hypocritical rejoicing, Allied Big Business looks with watchful anxiety on the developments in the Italian peninsula. The puffed up bull-frog of the Pontine Marches, as the Socialist workers called Mussolini, has passed out of history in the most ludicrous and inglorious manner. In the hour of danger, fascism has found not a single supporter out of its boasted legions throughout the length and breadth of Italy.

Although it has come in a way unexpected to everybody, the fall of the "Duce" and of fascism is not at all surprising and was anticipated and predicted by the Marxists. The fascist regime, which by bestial terror against the Italian workers and peasants, held them in the totalitarian straight-jacket for so many years, was already in an advanced stage of disintegration and decay. The period of more than two decades during which fascism held power in Italy had been the means of exposing it completely in the eyes of the masses. The corruption and misgovernment, the hunger and want which fascism had brought the toilers in Italy had already placed an irrepressible strain on the regime. It was in an attempt to stave off the brewing revolt of the workers and peasants that Mussolini in desperation launched the war against Abyssinia, and sent

the Italian troops to Spain to fight the Spanish republic. But these wars and the conquest of the "African Empire" did not alleviate the misery of the Italians but actually intensified it. The entry of Italy into the present war provoked no enthusiasm among the population. The workers and peasants of Italy had developed an intense hatred of the regime and were completely apathetic and indifferent to defending its acquisitions and conquests in Africa. That is why the Italian soldiers did not fight very hard and surrendered without great resistance. They did not feel that they had anything worth fighting for. Twenty years of fascism had done its work. But the military defeats and the corruption and impotence of the regime began to shake it to its foundations. The masses began to stir from their long torpor. In the last few months, despite the rigid censorship, news has been leaking out of Italy telling of big strikes taking place in all the in-

dustrial towns, of minor uprisings among the peasants, of mutinies against the Italian soldiers, of demonstrations against the war and against Mussolini, despite the ruthless suppression, in all the big industrial cities. The underground revolutionary opposition had experienced a re-birth and revival throughout Italy. Illegal leaflets, pamphlets, papers and proclamations were receiving a wide circulation among the working class, and the poorer middle class in the towns and the peasants of the country side, according to neutral correspondents stationed in Italy. It has been obvious for some time that the regime did not have the slightest support among the people and was regarded with universal loathing. The recent speech of the Pope warning and exhorting the Italian people against resorting to revolution was an indication of the fears and alarm of the ruling class. Revolution was looming ahead. The reckoning was at hand for the crimes



CHURCHILL ON MUSSOLINI IN 1927:

"If I had been an Italian I am sure that I should have been with you from start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism"

and impositions of fascism! The great revenge of the working class was on the order of the day.

Faced with this situation, the capitalists and landowners, the bishops and the generals, the bankers and the monarchy—all who had subsidised Mussolini and his cut throats, who had placed Mussolini in power as a means of protecting their property and privileges, began to look frantically for a means of saving themselves.

They realise that in any event, Italy has lost the war and that German imperialism has its back to the wall. They are endeavouring to find a way out when the revolutionary tide is already up to their necks and threatens to engulf them. The fall of the major part of Sicily by Allied imperialism has been the last straw. Italy

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FIGHT BEVIN'S THREAT TO MINERS' CHILDREN

The most vicious proposal to come from the Government since the outbreak of the war was voiced by Ernest Bevin at the Miners Conference. This was the threat to direct boys of 16 to 18 down the pits.

In this statement alone, Bevin demonstrates how completely he has broken with the ideas of Labour and the Trade Union movement. It is the kind of proposal we are used to hearing from the Nazi Minister of Labour, Dr. Ley.

No Tory politician could have made such a proposal at a Miner's Conference without being thrown out of the door on his neck. Instead they put their lackeys up to do the dirty work for them.

Instead of immediately condemning the proposal, the majority of the miners' leaders including the Stalinist delegates, temporised, and with minor reservations, agreed with the drafting of 16 year olds down the pits.

The proposed measure, has already provoked a crisis in the mining villages. Among the wider sections of the working class there is a bitter hostility to this proposed reactionary measure. Everywhere the workers are discussing it and condemning it in no uncertain terms. Workers will never allow their children of 16 to be drafted into the pits whilst the pampered sons of the ruling class remain at public schools deriving the benefits

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Mr. BEVIN! HOW CAN THEY GET DOWN THE PITS IN HATS LIKE THESE?



The miners' Conference last year revealed that one in four lads who work in the pits between the ages of 14 and 16 years are killed or injured. These pampered sons of the ruling class shown in the above picture are still going to school 8 and 10 years after the son of a miner has had his first accident in the pit. You can bet these boys will not be directed down the pits.

TYNESIDE WELDERS FINED £5

A. KEEN

The 21 welders who were reported out on strike in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal" have now returned to work. They were each fined £5 and 5/- costs by the Newcastle Court. At a meeting held before the court met, their lawyer, Mr. T. Foster, using a "legal" approach was able to influence the majority of the workers to return to work. His principal arguments were:

1. Legally the workers were in the wrong for not working 21 days after tendering notice to strike.
2. The union officials could not negotiate with the boss so long as the men remained on strike.
3. The Court would take a very strong view of the case unless he could say that the workers were returning to work on the following day.

Then the workers were faced with the indignity of being charged under the Essential Works Order for fighting for their rights. Evidence was given by the foreman Mr. Fellows, the manager Mr. Helgison, and the head timekeeper.

The manager tried to justify this case against the workers by exaggerating their average wage which he said was £7, £8, £9 or £10 a week. It transpired later when the head timekeeper was examined that the average wage was £5 a week.

Questioned regarding the alteration in the practice of payment of lieu rate which had applied before Fellows had

taken over, the manager said that, if the lieu rate had been paid to the welders by the previous foreman and not by Fellows, it was due to the diligence of Fellows that it was no longer being paid.

Custom, which is accepted as a strong argument in test cases, was passed off as a foreman's inefficiency. All workers know that inefficiency is customary in capitalist controlled yards, but the boss never makes mistakes about paying out money. For two years or more the lieu rate was paid. For two years the "carelessness" of a foreman was "overlooked." Unbelievable!!

The truth came out accidentally. It proves that the boss made the attack. He is responsible for the stoppage. He is responsible for the loss of production. He should have been tried and convicted.

The workers have suffered a defeat. Their own lawyer defended them with his tongue in his cheek. The union officials deserted them. They faltered from the militant class stand they had taken and have been compelled to start from the beginning again.

The lessons of the Mitchell welders strike are clear: To capitulate to boss class moral pressure is suicide. Workers must stand solid in the struggle. The Essential Works Order which has imprisoned hundreds of workers and fined thousands more, must be repealed. Once again workers have been prosecuted. Demand the repeal of the E.W.O.

Capitalist Court Backs Joe Hall

The case of Joseph McKay versus Joe Hall, president of the Y.M.A., was concluded at the Barnsley Court on July 16th. The miners lost their case. Judgment was given in favour of Hall—with costs.

The case arose out of the strike at Cortonwood pit last year when Joe Hall signed the new price list at that pit without the consent of the local branch. The price per ton of coal in the wages of the miners was reduced from 1/7 to 1/3 by the new agreement.

The case was a test. McKay was really a representative of the miners at the pit. He claimed £45 damages for loss of wages as the result of the strike which he alleged arose from Hall's act of signing the price list without the authority of the men.

In the course of the trial, Hall stated that the new price list he had signed was the best bargain he had ever struck, he claimed that the then delegates of the pit, Rose and Saunders, had agreed to it—but even

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Our Programme for Power

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

1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumers commodities under control of the Co-ops, committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shopkeepers.
6. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
7. Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
9. Establishment of military schools 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.

WORKERS DEMAND T.U. INSPECTION OF DETENTION BARRACKS

M. LEE

A motion was tabled at the Nottingham Trades Council by A.E.U. Central and No. 14 Branches;

"That Council expresses its complete hostility towards the brutal practices against prisoners in Military Detention Camps; the recent revelations in the press of illegal practices are now brought sharply to the foreground by the death of Rifleman William Clayton, the inquest upon whom has demonstrated that he was suffering from physical violence at the hands of his jailers.

This demands a complete investigation into the conditions at these Military Detention Camps by an elected delegation of Trade Unionists, and setting up of a permanent representative of the organised workers to protect the interests of our members in the Armed Forces, and to investigate all complaints of bad conditions and mal-administration."

These resolutions represent the true spirit of workers throughout the country. They must be supported and publicised throughout the Labour movement. It rests upon the Labour movement to protect the interests of the workers in these detention camps. The workers must demand that the Labour and Trade Union leaders set up a commission of inquiry, which would have the right to visit and inspect all military detention barracks at any time without restriction, and that they should have the full right to discuss with the prisoners without the presence of the prison authorities. The Government and officer caste will object to such a procedure but the organised labour movement has a duty to the workers in the forces. They must demonstrate their solidarity and show the workers in uniform that the labour movement will protect them. In this way a genuine link will be forged between the workers and the men in uniform.

For a workers' investigation into Military Detention Barracks!

At a public meeting held under the auspices of the Urmoston Labour Party, the following resolution was passed:

"That this Public Meeting of the people of Urmoston requests that the Government will take steps to amend that portion of the King's Regulations as applied to Army Detention Barracks.

We demand that Visiting Committees, democratically elected by the soldiers be formed to take the place of the Inspection Committees now under the jurisdiction of the War Office."

SOVIET MILLIONAIRES AND THE "DAILY WORKER"

A good deal of publicity has been given in the past weeks to existence of rouble millionaires in the Soviet Union. This fact has raised queries in the minds of intelligent workers, many of whom are wondering why the extensive Stalinist propaganda has made no mention of this before.

In the past the Stalinist propaganda has been directed at convincing the workers of the world that equality for all exists in the Soviet Union. Today, Stalin is bringing to the fore all the similarities between the Soviet bureaucracy and the capitalist class, in order to convince the capitalist "allies" that the Soviet Union represents no danger to the capitalist system.

To give one example, Alexander Werth, "Sunday Times" special correspondent who is extremely sympathetic to the Soviet regime writes: "There are already millionaires in the Soviet Union. For example, in Kazakhstan, the Chairman of the Karl Marx Collective Farm subscribed his own and his families savings of 1,036,000 roubles to the War Loan."

The difficulties the Stalinists are having in dealing with this aspect of economic development, can be seen in the columns of the "Daily Worker". In the July 13th issue, Reg Bishop writes under the sub-heading "Soviet Millionaires":

"... There appear to be some people who feel that it is immoral for the citizens of a Socialist country to become prosperous, and the very word 'millionaire' makes them shudder."

"... First, a rouble millionaire is very far from being a sterling millionaire. Secondly, the accumulations of a Soviet millionaire have been gathered together entirely without exploitation of any kind, solely as the result of personal labour, or more probably, the joint labour of a family over many years."

No worker considers it "immoral" for any section of the working class or peasantry to increase its standard of life and to enjoy the fruits of their toil. It is precisely on the basis of the hopes of a future world of prosperity for all the toilers and oppressed that the Soviet Union received such widespread support from the workers of the world. But the question that must be answered is: what is the differentiation between the millionaires and the average income of the Russian peasants.

In contrast to the millionaire collectives, there are in the Soviet Union, the medium and pauper collectives, of which the latter are 20 times as numerous as the millionaire collectives. In these, the average annual income per member amount to 172 roubles. This means that it would take the average peasant thousands of years of labour to accumulate a million roubles. The fact is, that the payments for

work done on the collective farms are much too low to allow for savings at all, much less a million roubles.

The most important means of acquiring this wealth is on the "free market" or the Black Market where the prices of commodities are nine times higher than those on the controlled market. And since the only rationed goods in the Soviet Union are butter, meat and certain fats, the workers are forced to pay enormous prices on the free market, which was legalised as a concession to the peasants. According to Walter Graebner, "Daily Mail" correspondent, it is not infrequent that one sees honey displayed in the open market at £10 per lb., scraps of meat cut from evil looking carcasses being grabbed at £4 per lb., eggs selling at 12/- each, and milk at 21/- a cup. All these things are beyond the means of the Soviet average worker, whose sole diet is black bread and potatoes.

If, according to the Stalinists, the accumulation of wealth in the Soviet Union is acquired solely due to personal labour, how account for the enormous personal savings of the priests who have received the blessings of Stalin for the vast fortunes they have been donating to war funds?

Stevanov, Priest of the Uspensky Church is reported to have donated "all my private savings in cash, totalling 273,000 roubles" (Pravda 4/1/43) or Vvedensky, First Priest of the Orthodox Renovated Church of the U.S.S.R., handed over "my private property, valued at over 500,000 roubles" (Pravda 7/1/43). These are but a few! Reg Bishop will be telling the "Daily Worker" readers next that the priests have earned these savings by the blood and toil of their labour!

When concessions were made to the peasantry by Lenin these concessions were called by their right name: concessions to capitalism. Far from these having been eliminated under the leadership of Stalin, more and more concessions have been made to capitalist tendencies at the expense of socialist economy. Unless this course is altered; unless the workers of the Soviet Union re-introduce the Soviet democracy and overthrow the bureaucracy which rests on the privileges of the few; unless a return is made to the original formula of Lenin and Trotsky; that no sections or officials of the community shall receive incomes higher than the average worker, all that has been achieved by the October Revolution will be lost and there will arise in Russia once again capitalist property relations. Because nationalised property still remains as the basic conquest of the Revolution, the Soviet Union must be supported in spite of concessions that have been made to capitalism.

L.M.

DISGRACEFUL PENSION SCHEME FOR WAR HEROES

BY JIM HINCHCLIFFE

An exposure of the cynical indifference and contempt with which the Government treats the soldiers and men in uniform injured through war service, and their dependants if they are killed, is vividly demonstrated in the miserly concessions contained in the Government's White Paper on War Pensions, just published.

Nowhere is the class character of the existing system more clearly revealed than in the sharply different treatment which is meted out to the servicemen and their wives on the one hand, and to the generals, admirals, etc. on the other. Even the small concessions granted, camouflaged under a show of the customary diplomatic language, are subject to "conditions", "bits", and "ifs", which make the increases even more microscopic than they first appear.

The manner in which they treat the widows of Field Marshals, Admirals and R.A.F. Marshals, stand in vivid contrast to the niggardly treatment of the "lower orders" whose widows are separated into "capable" and "incapable of self-support" classes. The widow of a Field Marshal in the Army now receives £700 a year, approx. £13 10s. a week, which is an increase of nearly £1 a week, and equivalent to the total pension granted to the widow of an ordinary serviceman who is "not incapable of self-support" and which is an increase of exactly 2/6d. per week. If the widow is incapable of self-support and has, say, one child, she receives 36/2d., a princely increase of 1/8d.—and this includes payment of rent not exceeding 8/- per week! If we deduct the 8/- allowed for rent, we have the following figures:

- Widow with one child 28/2d.
- Widow and two children 36/8d.
- Widow and three children 44/2d.
- Widow and four children 51/8d.

These are the new proposals, and it is upon these sums that they are expected to exist. It is upon £2. 11. 8d. that a widow is expected to feed, clothe and house her four children! On top of that, while it is stated that there will be no Means Test, they carefully point out that "Regard will be had to receipts which in effect reduce the rent, e.g. from sub-letting."

The shamefully inhuman and class attitude adopted by the Government towards the men in uniform, is expressed also in the gratuities which

are granted to men who have lost some part of their body, limb, etc. The worth of a soldier has already been very carefully calculated by the War Office, and they have worked out exactly how much the various parts of the body are worth. A Great Toe for instance, is worth more than all the other four put together and a gratuity of £70 is granted for such a loss whilst only £47 is granted for the loss of four toes, (£19 if only one joint is affected), and the officers, evidently being constructed of better "class" material, are worth exactly twice as much, and receive £140, £94 and £38 respectively for the same injuries.

It need not be stressed that the worth of a finger or a toe to a worker, forced to work for an existence, is infinitely more than to an officer drawn from the upper strata of capitalist society. The loss of a limb to a worker may impose serious handicaps upon his ability to produce as much or to work as hard as the average worker, and would inevitably result in unemployment. Full maintenance must be guaranteed to all those who are unable to get work through this condition!

The amount of a disability pension which can be granted, is to be determined by a Medical Tribunal before whom the applicant has to appear. These Tribunals, which have been set up after nearly four years of agitation, have been set up in such a way as to make them as harmless as possible. That the serviceman can expect scant sympathy from such Tribunals can be seen by the fact that they are carefully selected by such eminent personages as the Lord Chancellor in England, the Lord President of the Court of Sessions in Scotland, and the Lord Chief Justice in Northern Ireland. These are the people who will choose the 3 members of the Tribunal which will be composed of a lawyer, a doctor and a layman.

Even in the unlikely event of these hand-picked Tribunals being favourably disposed towards the appellant, there is no guarantee that its decisions will be carried out. Dr. Morgan, M.P., in the House of Commons debate on June 24th, told of a revealing case after the last war, of a Tribunal of which he was a member, arriving at an assessment of 60 per cent disability, and then went on to say:

"... Quite unusually for me, because I am not very punctual, I

got to the board early the next day, and on the chairman's desk I saw a document from the assessor, who had never seen the case. He was employed by the Ministry of Pensions, and the document changed the assessment from 60 per cent to 30 per cent. He was putting it before the chairman for his signature. I reminded the chairman that we had decided the matter by a majority of two to one and asked him what he was going to do. He said he could not help himself in the matter. I said, 'Make it 40 per cent' and in my presence he then made the assessment 40 per cent, and initialled it. I fought that case bitterly when I was in the Ministry of Pensions, but within a few weeks I was sent to another department to do précis notes for the Ministry of Pensions, because they did not want me on the board. If those methods exist now, you will still have your assessors behind changing the assessments agreed to by a majority on the boards... Decisions come to should not be interfered with by Ministerial inside procedure and overruled."

Nevertheless, in the reply given by the Secretary to the Minister of Pensions, Mr. Paling, no assurance was given and in fact, no mention was made of this point at all.

These facts fully demonstrate the hollowness of the phrases of the capitalist class. While they proclaim that they are fighting for democracy, freedom from want, etc., the glaring inequalities which exist within capitalism are even further accentuated during war time. The members of their own class are much more richly rewarded for services rendered than are the workers and their families. The reward for the soldier who is killed on the battlefield and who leave behind a wife incapable of self-support, and a child, is that they can exist on 36/2d. a week! What a hollow mockery of the smooth-tongued phrases of our rulers who can spend so freely upon their own whims and fancies and yet deny a bare subsistence allowance for the workers.

The pensions schemes which are proposed and operated by the Government, have one principle, and one principle alone: how to save the maximum amount of money at the expense of the workers in uniform, at the expense of the wounded, maimed and blinded of the war.

Whilst these inequalities and injustices can only be abolished through the overthrow of the system itself which breeds them, the workers must demand that adequate allowances be made for the soldiers and their dependants; that these allowances and pensions must be on a rising scale to meet the ever-rising cost-of-living. They must demand that the Tribunals which determine the disability pensions be abolished, and a minimum maintenance allowance be granted to all who are totally or partially unfit for work. If the workers are considered fit to fight, be injured or killed in this war to "free humanity", then they have the right, which they must persistently demand, to be maintained in the "peace" which will follow.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING ON THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF HIS ASSASSINATION

Conway Hall, Friday, August 20th at 7 p.m.



PAMPHLETS Every Worker Should Have

- 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 Look at their Record! 1d.

VICTIMISED SHOP STEWARD REINSTATED

Correspondence From an Indian Comrade

The Editor, "Socialist Appeal" 20th July, 1943. Sirs,

If the recent statement of the Admiralty on disputes in the shipyards had been open and precise, the full onus for the many strikes occurring in this industry should have been placed squarely on the shoulders of the employing class. Instead, this governmental service of the capitalist class is just shifting the blame from the employers to make it appear as if the responsibility rests on both sides.

Here is a dispute which is typical of many, and is a counter-blast to the Admiralty point of view.

Brother Haggerty, a hard working and militant shop steward in the sheet-iron department of a Glasgow shipyard received a dismissal notice as being redundant labour. On hearing of this the workers made a protest, understanding it rightly as sheer victimisation. Only a week previously a list of 22 men had been posted as redundant labour. On the following week another list appeared with only 2 names, Bro. Haggerty and another worker.

A full meeting was called on the job, the deputation of four went to the management but obtained no satisfaction, with the result that it was decided to hold a protest strike for half a day (July 6th). About 200 skilled men and helpers took part. This stoppage was very effective. The National Service Officer due, most likely, to this pressure stated that the firm was in the wrong and told Bro. Haggerty to carry on at work.

Tempers throughout the yard were in the meantime rising at the lack of a settlement by the management. The Shop Stewards' Committee made a protest at the reactionary attitude of the firm. As further action from the workers seemed most likely, a conference was held with the union representative present and the employers' side. A right about turn was made by the boss with a new excuse stating that Bro. Haggerty was slow on the job. As this allegation was shown to be downright nonsense the victimised worker had to be retained.

Shipyard workers do not have to be told as to who is responsible for industrial strife. Only by a strong workshop organisation and a militant leadership can the workers safeguard their rights and to go forward to attain better rates and conditions on the job.

I quote rather in extenso from the comments by Reg Bishop in Worker's Notebook. (Daily Worker, 15.7.43.)

"The food situation in India has become quite serious... and the Communist Party have been organising People's Food Committees... In many centres the Committees have been able to prevent rioting and looting by compelling the authorities to prosecute the offenders, and in Calcutta alone as a result of their activities, 185 cases of black market or hoarding were sent for trial during one recent week..."

To the ordinary persons these activities seem highly praiseworthy... but there are some in India who would like to reimpose it (the ban of illegality on the Communist Party) now that the danger (of Japanese invasion) seems to have receded.

The kind of action, which the Communists have undertaken... has been of enormous value to the War effort."

(My emphasis and interpolations in brackets).

It is obvious that the Communist Party in India are now acting as treacherous spies and counter-revolutionaries. That the Party, once established by Lenin, could descend to such an unspeakably low and mean level is a matter of extreme regret and of undying shame in working-class history.

It is obvious as well from the concluding remarks above that the British rulers in India do not at all feel grateful and will cheerfully cast the Communists off as orange peels as soon as their purpose is served. Treachery acts like a boomerang.

Yours faithfully, Caliph Abu Belr.

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EDITORIAL

The Future of Europe

Mussolini has gone. Like the bullfrog in Aesop's fable, the most boastful and inflated figure in European history has burst. Together with Mussolini, Italian fascism is departing from the scene "not with a bang, but a whimper."

Badoglio is being thrust forward as the Italian Petain. The Governments in London and Washington are no doubt being deluged with applications from the Italian brand of Quislings.

But beneath the shifting of personalities, class forces are at work: undermining the old regime, cementing the forces for the new.

At the top, the same disgusting scenes are being enacted in the Italian capitalist camp as in France of 1940. The venue is different, but the play remains the same. Below, the beginnings of a popular revolutionary movement similar to that which was to overthrow the Czar of Russia in February 1917 and prepare the basis for the October Revolution, has begun.

HAVING DRAWN THE NATION INTO THE PRESENT DISASTER, INCAPABLE OF INTRODUCING A PROGRAMME WHICH CAN ROUSE THE ENTHUSIASM OF THE POPULAR MASSES, FACED WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF A POPULAR REVOLUTION, THE ITALIAN CAPITALISTS, TRUE TO THEIR CLASS, PREFER TO SELL OUT TO THE "FOREIGN ENEMY."

The British and Yankee capitalists may not do a deal directly with Badoglio and the King. They may seek a more "popular" figure who has not been so compromised with fascism — some figurehead, more acceptable to the liberals and social democrats in the democracies. But whatever steps they take, whatever bloc they lean upon, they will not succeed in staving off the inevitable mass revolutionary movement of the Italian workers and peasants. Mussolini collapsed because of the rising tide of proletarian revolution.

In Bulgaria and the Balkan countries as a whole, the collapse of the Fascist regime in Italy will have profound effects. Already the workers of Sofia have demonstrated in thousands against the war. The peasants have given ample evidence of their desire for peace and a reckoning with the rotten ruling strata. Daily the police are meeting death in political clashes with the revolutionary workers. If not today, then in the very near future, the Balkans will also be in the flames of revolution. In France and even in Germany itself, the collapse of the tyranny of Mussolini will be understood by the masses as the beginning of the end.

But what do the Governments of Britain and America offer to replace the foul regime of Fascist capitalism which is crumbling? Only guarantees that private property will be protected and the introducing "after a suitable period" of Parliamentary democratic forms of government. A programme of demagoguery and lies!

In 1918, Italy emerged from the war as a "victor" nation. Weak in economic structure, shattered by the years of war, faced by millions of peasants who were demanding the land, and millions of workers who were seeking some compensation for the death and suffering which the war had brought to them. **ITALIAN CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY WAS FORCED TO TURN TO THE PATH OF FASCIST POLITICS AND THE MASSACRE OF THE MILITANT WORKERS AND PEASANTS.** How then will it be possible to organise a new "liberal" capitalist democracy when Italy emerges from this war defeated and completely ruined? A new flowering of democracy is impossible in Italy whilst the capitalist system remains the economic mode. Even resting on the bayonets of Anglo-American imperialism, it will be impossible for a defeated capitalism to solve the economic and cultural needs of the Italian people.

A temporary sham democracy must soon give rise to military dictatorship of the Franco character.

But Italy is only the beginning of the dilemma in Europe: forward to socialism and a new culture, or the continuance of capitalism and a barbaric regime of military occupation and the destructure of culture. These are the alternatives.

The war to end fascism is a sham and a trick whilst the power remains in the hands of the capitalist class. Socialists who accept the capitalist programme are treacherously stabbing the European workers in the back.

"Imperialism," wrote Lenin, in 1914, "has placed the fate of European culture at stake. After this war, if a series of successful revolutions do not occur, more wars will follow — the fairy tale of a 'war to end all wars' is a hollow and pernicious fairy tale."

The superiority of Lenin's Marxist science over the utopian idealism of Labourism and Stalinism has been confirmed by the whole experience of a generation since Lenin died.

The new stage of imperialist antagonisms pose the question of Europe's culture more imperiously than in 1914. The collapse of Mussolini has begun a "series of revolutions" in Europe.

Against the programme of military occupation, the protection of capitalism and the maintenance of petty reactionary capitalist states, Workers' International League and the Fourth International proclaims the fraternisation of the Allied troops with the European people, the joint expropriation of the land and factories with the workers and peasants and the introduction of a workers' democracy through the United Socialist States of Europe.

Shame upon these so-called socialists and communists, who, whilst the Italian workers seek salvation by revolution, continue to support the programme of the self-same Churchill who welcomed Mussolini's dictatorship against the Italian workers not so many years ago.

Now is the time for Labour to lift its voice to the Italian, German and European workers and give them inspiration in the struggle to destroy the basis of fascism and all other forms of capitalist reaction. But that can only be done if a genuine struggle for power is conducted by the British workers.

End the coalition with the capitalist class! Not a military dictatorship and "Allied" Quislings on the necks of the European population! But the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the fraternal collaboration of all peoples through the United Socialist States of Europe!

This is the Programme of the Fourth International! To-morrow it will be the programme of the European and world working class!

A M G O T

The occupation of a large part of Sicily by the Allies has already foreshadowed what precisely American and British Imperialism mean by their projected "liberation" of Europe.

Already in Africa the occupation of the Italian colonies and of Abyssinia has shown exactly what "liberty" was foreshadowed for the colonial peoples. Abyssinia is not independent and its "ruler", Haile Selassie is no more than a puppet under the control of British imperialism. The British military administration still controls these territories and it is obvious that they have not the slightest intention of handing them over to the control of the native inhabitants. It is symbolic of the position that on the heels of the British troops, the Big Banks set up business in the conquered territory, Barclays immediately establishing headquarters in Addis Ababa. All the conquered territory, Eritrea, Abyssinia, Libya, Italian Somaliland, was to come under the control of the "Occupied Enemy Territory Administration" headed by Lord Renfell of Rodd who is a partner in the "democratic" banking firm of Morgan, Grenfell & Co.

When the Allies occupied North Africa they immediately betrayed their cynical aims by co-operating with the fascist gangsters, Darlan, Peyrouton, Giraud, etc., who had co-operated with the Nazis in France after their victory. Now with the occupation of Sicily the picture is somewhat clearer. The same banker has been established as head of the new "Government" in Sicily. The Anglo-American imperialists have set up joint control of the area under an administration which has been named A.M.G.O.T. Apparently the good "allies" are watching one another's moves in case one desires to secure an advantage over the other, and have established a rigid joint control, despite the inconveniences of a double rule.

However, AMGOT's first move was to decree the dissolution of the fascist party—apparently a very revolutionary move when compared with the actions of the Allies in North Africa. In reality this democratic sounding decree is empty of any real meaning. After 20 years of fascism, the blackshirt tyranny is utterly hateful to the Italian masses. Mussolini has now disappeared ignominiously from the scene at the first serious test and the regime has vanished without resistance. After the defeat in Sicily it was obvious enough that the fascist regime which brought the collapse, would vanish from the island. So that this decree merely echoes what had already been irrevocably established. It is obvious that despite the decree "abolishing fascism", all or most of the officials in Sicily who supported fascism and bled the people with their extortions will be retained and used by the "democratic" Allies. Otherwise they would have evolved procedure for their dismissal and the election of people who genuinely represent the population according to the usual democratic formula.

But this decree was supplemented by a statement that no political activities of any sort would be tolerated. So that the nominal disappearance of the fascist gangsters has merely meant a transition to military dictatorship based on the bayonets of the British and American armies in Sicily. "Democracy and the Four Freedoms" are conspicuously absent.

It is possible that at a later stage, under the supervision of Anglo-American bayonets "democratic" quislings will be "elected" as agents of the "democratic" imperialists. But the argument that democratic rights will be bestowed later on by the Allied military commanders is obviously false. Elections which take place with restricted freedom, without free organisation of trade unions and

peasants' committees, will obviously be unrepresentative and as meaningless as the plebiscites of the dictators. Democracy, if it means anything at all, means that control should be in the hands of the people.

But U.S.-Anglo imperialism intends to see that the politics they desire (at least as long as they are capable of deciding events), will be imposed on the people of Europe. As Churchill piously expressed it in parliament: they hope that the people in Italy will turn to "Liberal" politics. But what—as is inevitable—if they turn towards Socialism? U.S.-Anglo imperialism will help the local capitalists to "correct" their false ideas, by clamping down as they have already done.

The newspaper reports say that the Allied troops received a welcome from the population in the areas occupied in Sicily. It is clear that the Italian soldiers evinced no great enthusiasm for fighting for a regime that has tortured and oppressed them in barbarous fashion for 20 years. Anything the Sicilians have said in effect, must be better than the fascist regime. But side by side with the decree forbidding politics—that is the right of free speech, press, meetings, etc., and the right of the people to choose their own Government has come the promise of General Alexander: **Your existing personal and property rights will be fully respected.**

This is a guarantee to precisely those classes in Sicily and Italy which financed and organised Mussolini and his bands of cut-throats and for whose benefit the fascists ruled and terrorised the population, the landowners and the capitalists. For these are the only ones who have "property rights".

Their gesture of dissolving the fascists is merely a case of dismissing the hireling who in any case has no support any longer, and protecting the financiers of these same fascists. This coupled with the refusal of any political rights to the workers and peasants shows exactly where the British and American "democracies" stand. Their armies are to be used as a shield to protect the blood-stained capitalists and landowners who have battened on the toil of the landless peasants and the workers who have been deprived of their trade union rights for two decades.

Of course, they will demand their price. The lion's share will go to the

Anglo-American imperialists as tribute for the occupation and to establish economic dominance for after the occupation.

The occupation of Sicily and the regime established there is a mirror of the regime which the Allies intend establishing in Europe. The place of Hitler's S.S. thugs and Mussolini's gangs are in the calculations of the Allies, to be taken by British and American troops. The same capitalists who have co-operated so loyally with the Nazis and fascists will be protected and kept in control.

But it is obvious that such an outcome will not endure for long. The British and American soldiers are fighting for what they believe means the end of fascist tyranny and the liberation of Europe. They have been greeted as liberators by the masses in Sicily and will probably be greeted as such by the people in Europe when they first land. But once the people in these countries begin to see that the fascist tyrants and invaders are merely being replaced with "military" regimes under the rule of puppets controlled by British and American capitalism and that no fundamental change will take place, their friendliness will change to hatred and disgust. The Allied troops will feel themselves facing the same implacable hostility as the German troops are finding in Europe today. But the British and American soldiers will not stand for this long. They will fraternise with the populations of Europe, including Germany. They will demand that deeds replace words. In the last war Allied troops had to be withdrawn from Germany not because of the "kind-heartedness" on the part of British and French imperialism, but because the French poilus and British Tommies could not stand aside and see the suffering and starvation of the German women and children. They shared their rations with them.

The way out for the working class does not lie in supporting any of the imperialists, but in the fraternisation and co-operation of the workers of all lands to end fascism and its breeder, capitalism. The British and American workers must co-operate and assist the workers of Europe not to replace one gangster tyranny by another, not to replace the domination of one nation by that of another, but by ending capitalism and national oppression once and for all in a Socialist United States of Europe.

Natalia Trotsky on the Dissolution of the Comintern

Mexico City, May 22.
 Stalin's move to dissolve the Communist International makes it clear to the world that the tradition of the October Revolution and of Lenin and Trotsky is carried on only by the Fourth International," says Natalia Sedov Trotsky in a statement released to the Mexican newspaper, "Excelsior", the Associated Press and United Press.

The full text of the statement by the widow of the founder of the Fourth International follows:

"The formal dissolution of the Third International by Stalin is but the final rite in the slow death of a once revolutionary organisation."

"The Third International has long since ceased to exist as a progressive force in the workers' movement: Stalinist policy slandered and killed its founders and ideological leaders; by means of a constantly shifting but always fallacious policy the Stalinist International led its sections to defeat successively in China, in Germany, in Spain and in France.

"The tragedy of each such defeat was that it signified the crushing of the labour classes in these countries, the victory of Fascist and Nazi reaction and finally the preparation for the Second World War with its consequent onslaught against a Soviet Union now weakened by the defeats of its working class allies abroad as well as by the legal frameups and murder of the revolutionary generation at home.

"The press reports that Stalin was pleased with ex-Ambassador Davies' book, 'Mission to Moscow', and the film of the same name produced with semi-official approval in the United States. One cannot help but ask himself whether Stalin was not assured that by such methods the governments, at present allied to the Soviet Union, could better spread the lying justification of his crimes than could the subsidised local 'Communist' parties.

"It is now clear to the world that the tradition of the October Revolution and of Lenin and Trotsky is carried on only by the Fourth International."

STRIKE OF LEICESTER CONDUCTRESSES By BOB SHAW

Dissatisfaction with the operation of a "straight-nine shift" led to a 3 hours strike of conductresses at Leicester on July 17th. The stoppage was a spontaneous protest on the part of the women employees against the deplorable conditions under which they have to work—the introduction of the new long shift being the proverbial "last straw."

To solve the problem of providing more trams and buses in the peak hour periods, the corporation had resorted to the method of lengthening the duty time of the transport workers and had concluded a new agreement with the Union officials in April, the new times being brought into operation early in July.

Whereas the old conditions meant that the crew of a tram or bus were "available" for duty for 9 1/2 hours, the new arrangement lengthened this time to 14 hours. Thus the one crew would cover all three heavy peak periods, morning, noon and evening and would actually work 8 hours 50 minutes without a break.

The enormous strain which such a shift, with the present over-loading of transport, would bring about is obvious. Having worked the new system for three weeks the Leicester conductresses had finally resorted to strike action in an attempt to force the Corporation and the Union leaders to attend to their grievance. The women had the sympathetic support of the men and were united in their determination to remove the onerous shift.

At a meeting before which Mr. Cyril Hadley, local secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union and the Corporation Traffic Manager appeared, the conductresses and men complained bitterly against the imposition of further adverse conditions. They pointed out that there were times when four or five of the straight-nine shifts had to be worked in one week, with consequent deterioration in health. Feeding facilities and the general amenities of welfare were conspicuous by their absence. The workers' anger had been roused and it was not until an undertaking was given by the Traffic Manager that efforts to work out a new system of shifts would be made, that they agreed to return to work.

The strike was ended 3 hours after it started on the basis of a continuation of the new system until July 22nd after which the workers would return to the old duties, pending the working out of a satisfactory system.

The women conductresses of Leicester have demonstrated once more the determination of all transport workers to resist the attacks made by corporation and private employers on their standards of life. The union leaders, by their conciliatory and compromising attitude are directly aiding such attacks. As a first step in the fight for better wages and working conditions the members of the Transport Unions should press for the removal of all such leaders and their replacement by militant workers.

U.S. Trotskyist Paper Deprived of Mailing Rights

By D. JAMES

In passing the anti-strike bill, Congress dealt a blow to the whole of organised labour. This is a culmination of a series of smaller blows. Yet even now, the trade union leaders, conduct no serious opposition to the capitalist class. These bureaucrats, with the Stalinists bringing up the rear, represent no danger to the bosses. No wonder, then, that in their anti-working class fury, the capitalists and their government direct their blows against the revolutionaries who alone conduct a policy of independent working class action, and represent the future of the labour movement. It is the Socialist Workers Party, the American Trotskyists, who have been the first to suffer the blows of political repression. The Minneapolis Trial, in which the most outstanding leaders of the S.W.P. received prison sentences, rebounded to the credit of the Party: thousands of copies of the Court testimony were circulated as propaganda pamphlets, and the Party received a good deal of press publicity. But the government continues its attacks against the revolutionaries.

Without any warning, the first two issues of the "Militant" (the American Trotskyist paper) for November 1942, were held up by the post office. In response to enquiries, the publishers were informed that these issues were found to be "non-mailable" and were being destroyed. Further issues were held up for about two weeks and then released: which for a weekly paper is equivalent to suppression. Meanwhile, the suppression extended to the magazine "Fourth International", the December 1942 issues being held up and destroyed. After more of this, a "court" was held to decide whether the second-class mailing rights of the paper should be revoked. The items objected to exposed the imperialist character of the war, particularly as evinced in the Darlan deal and the profiteering of Big Business; the Government's anti-labour policy; and the discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces and in industry.

Although it was not claimed that the statements of the MILITANT were untruthful and in spite of the fact that no violation of the Espionage Act could be proved, the second-class mailing rights were revoked. This meant that the paper had to go as third or fourth class matter, at much more expensive rates. However, although these rights had been guaranteed, further instances of virtual suppression occurred. The paper was often held up for 2 weeks for "examination". After a protest against this, Post Office solicitor Miles said that the procedure would remain, but if the paper was deposited at the Post Office on a Thursday it would be dispatched on Saturday. The issue of April 3rd was deposited on April 1st;

on April 14th nothing had been heard of it, in spite of repeated enquiries. The issue of April 24th was declared "non-mailable" and destroyed.

The first news of this attack on the free press brought protests from many left wing and labour newspapers, including the "New Leader", the "New Republic" and the "Call". After the revocation of the second class rights, protests came even from big capitalist newspapers, who saw in it a dangerous precedent, which might bring suppression onto the head of any newspaper daring to criticise phrases of the "Administration's" policy. Thus the "Philadelphia Record" of May 13th:

"Grounds on which the 'Militant' has been suppressed by the Post Office department establish a dangerous precedent . . . As the 'New York Times' observes editorially, 'Encroachments on the freedom of the press almost always begin with publications we can do without and affect individuals with whom most of us do not sympathise'."

Only the Stalinists welcome the attack. As usual, these gentlemen care nothing even for the most elementary democratic rights of the working class if they conflict with the interests of their allies of to-day—Big Business and its government.

This issue must be seen as a whole. The attack on the "Militant" was a prelude to a whole series of vicious laws directed against labour. The "Militant" gives the line along which the American Labour movement should retaliate: by building an independent Labour Party, ending the traditional political subservience of the working class to the capitalist parties. And that is why it was suppressed.

JULY - AUGUST
Workers International News
 will contain The Summary of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials.

Revolution in Europe

Continued from page 1.

threatens to become a battlefield. The capitalists feel on their necks the hot breath of revolution.

They feel that the only means of saving themselves and salvaging something from the wreck of fascism is to do a deal with Big Business in the "democracies." Mussolini is no use to them for this purpose. The Italian people detest him and the workers of the democracies would never stand for a deal with Mussolini. For the capitalists of Britain and America it would be too dangerous. Mussolini could not serve the purpose of the capitalists any longer and had even become a dangerous incubus to them. The myth of the "leader" was easily dispensed with. With no more ceremony than that with which they would dismiss an office boy, they have booted Mussolini out. There is nothing surprising in this as Mussolini, like all fascist dictators was nothing but an obedient clerk in the service of Big Finance.

But the end of fascism will not see such an easy passage for the property owners in Italy. They are quite willing to use Mussolini as a scapegoat for their crimes. Despite them, the fall of Mussolini will act like a rock which falls down a mountain and releases an avalanche. The workers and peasants of Italy are on the march. The Socialist revolution in Europe sees its first faint dawn. Already in all Italian towns huge demonstrations are taking place. The masses have been tearing down the insignia and posters of fascism, blackshirt militia have had their blackshirts torn from their backs by the infuriated crowds, not willing to tolerate the emblems of slavery a moment longer, the jails are being assailed by demonstrating crowds and the political prisoners released. The Red Flag has been proudly carried at the head of the demonstrating workers of Milan, who now can openly proclaim their allegiance to Socialism. In spite of the severe gestures of the new military ruler Badoglio and of the King who are now in control and have proclaimed martial law, they cannot prevent the upsurge of the masses.

New waves of strikes, demonstrations and clashes are inevitable in the next days and weeks. Even a general strike is not unlikely. The masses who have rid themselves of Mussolini will not tolerate his accomplices for long. The conditions which brought about the fall of Mussolini will still exist and even grow worse. The landowners and capitalists will attempt to continue the unbearable exploitation of the masses as under Mussolini. The removal of Mussolini is the removal of the safety valve. Contrary to the expectation of the Italian ruling class it will not quieten the masses and relieve the situation but will release their pent up energy, despair and hopes and they will surge forward in the endeavour to obtain an alleviation of their unendurable slavery and obtain a better world.

The Italian ruling class is using desperate measures in the attempt to save the situation and they are relying on the Allies, to provide a safeguard against their own masses. They intend behind the scenes to do a deal with Britain and America and gain the best terms they can. And already Churchill has refused to give an explicit refusal against any dealings with the new Government in Italy, and Roosevelt has condemned wireless broadcasts from America which attacked Badoglio and the King. This bares the cynicism and reveals the real aims of the democracies. For the King and Badoglio are as guilty of the crimes of fascism as Mussolini himself. It was they who smoothed his path to power and handed him control in Rome. Daniel Guerin describes the role of Badoglio and the army generals in the rise of fascism to power in Italy in his book "Fascism and Big Business".

"But it was the army above all that favoured the Black Shirts. We have seen the role played by the colonel whom the Ministry of War charged with studying the technical problems of the anti-socialist struggle. Shortly afterwards, General Badoglio, Chief of Staff, sent a confidential circular to all Commandants of Military Districts stat-

ing that the officers then being demobilised (there were about 60,000 of them) would be sent to the most important centres and required to join the fasci, which they would staff and direct. They would continue to receive four-fifths of their pay. Munitions from the State Arsenal came into the hands of the fascist bands, which were trained by officers on leave or even on active service. Many officers, knowing that the sympathies of their superiors had been won over to fascism, openly adhered to the movement. Cases of collusion between the army and the blackshirts were more and more frequent. For instance, the fascio of Trent broke a strike with the help of an infantry company, and the Bolzano Fascio was founded by officers of the 232nd infantry."

It is these fine gentlemen who now wish to don the cloak of "anti-fascism."

The Workers of Britain and America have a responsibility to the workers, peasants and soldiers of Italy. Their gathering movement of revolt has caused the fall of fascism. Its impact will shake every country in Europe. The real anti-fascist revolution has hardly begun. The removal of a few figureheads does not alter the nature of the regime and the masses will never be content with this. The movement will spread and broaden and begin to affect other countries as well. But British and American imperialism will attempt to destroy the gathering social-revolution in Europe as they did in the last war, when Churchill organised the armies of intervention against the young Soviet Republic. The fall of Mussolini is the beginning of a new epoch, the epoch of Socialist Revolution. British workers must prevent the ruling class from going to the rescue of the corrupt and rotting ruling class of Italy and save them from destruction. Together with the workers of Europe in the coming epoch we must advance to the overthrow of capitalism, the Father of fascism and advance to the new society of Socialism.

TED GRANT.

HOW MUSSOLINI CAME TO POWER

The downfall of Mussolini will be hailed with rejoicing by the working class throughout the world. His regime of blood and terror against the masses has endured for 21 years. The ending of fascism in Italy, the country of its origin, will be the first step towards the Socialist revolution in Italy and throughout the world. But only if the Italian workers and the workers of Europe and Britain learn the lessons of history. To do so the working class must understand the reasons for the victory of fascism, how it arose and why it was enabled to conquer power.

Italy, although on the side of the victorious powers in the last war, came out of the struggle economically weakened. France and Britain seized the lion's share of the territorial gains and left Italy only with desert and un-fertile acquisitions. All the burdens of the war were placed on the shoulders of the masses of workers and peasants, and of the middle class.

Like the workers and peasants of all Europe who had become disillusioned with capitalism which allowed the Big Combines and banks to amass enormous fortunes out of the war at the expense of the blood and suffering of the masses, the Italian workers and peasants were disgusted with capitalism and its wars for profits, markets and raw materials. They had in front of them the example of the Russian workers and peasants who had overthrown capitalism, and, for the first time in history, had expropriated the capitalists and established a workers' Government.

Immediately that war ended and the Italian capitalists launched their attacks on the standard of living of the masses a tremendous revolutionary ferment began in all sections of the exploited classes in Italy. The workers and peasants strove to emulate the example of the Russian workers and peasants. In "Fascism and Big Business", Daniel Guerin describes the turmoil in Italy thus:

"In Italy, after the war, there was a real revolutionary upsurge of the masses. Workers and peasants, although they were not mature enough to address themselves to the conquest of power, at least were militant enough to force big concessions. Industrial workers got better wages, the eight hour day, general recognition of collective contracts, and a voice in production through 'factory committees'. One strike followed another—1,663 in 1919; 1,881 in 1920. In Genoa and other big seaports, the solidly organised dock workers won out over the shipowners. The steel workers did even better: in September 1920, they broadened a simple wage dispute into a large scale class struggle. When the big industrialists resorted to a lock-out, 600,000 Italian metal workers occupied the mills and carried on production themselves through their own elected 'shop committees'. They opened their safes and discovered secrets, so closely guarded, of cost prices and profits. . . . They won the fight: they were given—on paper, anyway—the right to check up on management, and workers' control."

The peasantry showed no less fighting spirit. Returning from the trenches, they demanded the 'division of the land' which had been promised them, and when it was not forthcoming, they occupied the coveted soil. A governmental decree sanctioned the fait accompli: on condition that they organise themselves into co-operatives, they obtained the right to remain four years on the lands they had spontaneously occupied (Visochi decree, September 2, 1919). The tenant farmers also succeeded in improving the terms of their leases. The agricultural day labourers formed strong unions, the famous 'Red Leagues', backed up by the rural communes, won over to socialism, which had become so many proletarian fiefs. They bargained with the great landowners as one power with another, forcing from them union agreements, etc."

By their occupation of the factories the workers demonstrated their desire to finish capitalism, once and for all and to take power in order to do so. But the Labour and T.U. leaders sabotaged the struggle of the working class; ordered the workers out of the factories and exhorted the workers to stick to "constitutional" means in the struggle against capitalism. In face of the revolutionary offensive of the working class, the capitalists were powerless to resist. But the Socialist leaders, curbing and breaking the movement of the masses, saved capitalism in Italy from destruction. The Communist Party, (although not yet degenerated into Stalinism) was in-

The film is aimed against the revolutionary movement of the working class. It will assist the campaign of reaction which will be, and is being, directed against revolutionary workers particularly the Trotskyists, as "fifth columnists" in the coming period of class struggles. There is an old saying among the British working class: when the boss puts our leaders on the back it is time to expect a stab in the back from the leaders. That is why this film has been produced: because Stalin and the national "communist" parties have long left the socialist path—have long been administering the stab in the back. The workers must protest against this false film. If the capitalist get away with this, we can expect a flood of a similar type of reactionary propaganda films—glorifying the rich man who has a soul of gold, and vilifying the revolutionists who aim to change the social system.

capable of playing a role in events, as it was too immature and weak and suffered from all the infantile diseases of leftism, refusing to attempt a united front with the Socialists, standing on the basis of ultra-leftism, and anti-parliamentarianism and thus dooming itself to isolation from the masses.

The revolutionary upsurge of the masses thus failed to overthrow capitalism. After weathering the storm by giving concessions to the workers and peasants, and having received a terrible shock, the capitalists began to prepare for their revenge against the workers.

"In Genoa at the beginning of April, 1919, the big industrialists and landowners sealed a holy alliance for the fight against 'bolshivism'. 'This gathering,' Rossi wrote, 'is the first step towards a reorganisation of capitalist forces to meet the threatening situation.' On March 7, 1920, the first nation-wide conference of industrialists was held at Milan, and the General Federation of Industry was created. An all-embracing and detailed plan of joint action was drawn up, covering everything including the strategy of the campaign against the labour unions. Shortly after, on August 18, the General Federation of Agriculture was formed. 'Industrialists and landowners will no longer enter the battle with scattered forces.' (Fascism and Big Business).

For the purpose of fighting against the unions and the workers' organisations the big industrialists began to organise, arm and finance bands of thugs and hooligans to fight against the working class. Just as in Britain, the capitalists had begun to subsidise Mosley and his gangsters.

"... at the end of 1920, they furnished Benito Mussolini the means to carry on in his paper, the 'Popolo d'Italia, now a journal with a big circulation, a noisy campaign for naval and air armaments. In the issue of December 23, Mussolini announced that he was going to campaign 'for a foreign policy of expansion'." (Fascism and Big Business).

In the beginning these gangs were being used for the purpose merely of terrorising the workers and murdering the militant leaders of their organisations. But the economic situation went from bad to worse. In January 1921, there were 600,000 unemployed. The middle-class, the small shopkeepers, students, the professional classes, ex-servicemen, and the youth found themselves ruined and impoverished by the economic crisis. They began to look for a way out of the agony and suffering which capitalism had imposed on them. Meanwhile, while the unions and other working class organisations continued to exist, the capitalists who were savagely attacking the standards of the workers and peasants and taking back all the concessions gained by their struggles, could not drive them to the starvation pittance which was necessary for the continued existence of the system. The capitalists saw the only way out in the destruction of the organisations, rights and liberties of the working class. Mussolini was financed and helped to organise the Fascist Party.

Taking advantage of the cowardice and treachery of the Socialist leaders who failed to put forward a radical programme for power, the magnates of Big Business subsidised the Fascists who put forward a demagogic anti-capitalist programme to suit the demands of the middle class. The middle class, failing to receive a lead from the workers and their organisations in sheer despair supported the programme put forward by the fascists. As Guerin explains the situation:

"After the war a rather large section of the battered middle classes placed their hope in socialism. In

Arrests Outside Cinema

The lying film "Mission to Moscow" is now showing at Warner's Cinema, Leicester Square and at the Regal, Marble Arch, London. From 11 a.m. when the first showing was made on Friday, 23rd July, until the last showing ended at 10 p.m. on Saturday, members of Workers' International League picketed the cinema with posters and sold a special "Mission to Moscow" folder. Some of the comrades stood selling for 3 and 10 hours without a break. So each day since the film has been shown, our comrades have been exposing the fake character of the film in their free time.

7,000 copies of the penny folder were sold on the first week-end outside the cinemas.

The posters attracted the attention of thousands of passers by and the clear slogans of our comrades "Mission to Moscow Falsifies History—Read the Truth", etc., interested the mass of cinema goers in what we had to say.

Several of our comrades were assaulted by hysterical Stalinist men and women (a miserable bunch of middle class patriots) with the object of creating a scene and attracting the notice of the police. Out of the huge crowds which collected as a result of these attacks, hundreds of people bought the folder exposing the film. Each day a few of our comrades have been arrested by the police and lodged off to the police station on a charge of "obstruction". The Stalinists selling Davies' book "Mission to Moscow" and anti-Trotskyist pamphlets are usually left unmolested by the police.

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"Mission to Moscow" FRAUD

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was most carefully exonerated by the state prosecutor Vyshinsky. A short time later he was shot after "trial" in camera.

But the height of fantasy was reached when Yezhov—the personal friend of Stalin—who brought Yagoda to trial was also shot and to crown it, the chief judge of all the trials, Ulrich, was shot after a secret trial!

The trial scenes show men like Bukharin, Radek, Sokolnikov and others confessing to be "agents of Hitler" under the leadership of Trotsky. Vyshinsky, the prosecutor, ex-Menshevik who opposed the Bolshevik Revolution, is shown as a lynx-eyed defender of the workers' conquests. Tukachevsky, the outstanding military leader of the Red Army for years, is shown mouthing a speech which was in the actual trials made by Muranov. Krestinsky is shown confessing that under Trotsky's instructions he made contact with the German General Staff in 1921 and received 250,000 marks a year for espionage activity.

What are the facts about the personalities and the statements at these trials?

It is true that the Russian Government made an arrangement of a military character with the German Government which was led by the Social Democrats. General Von Seeckert did have contact with the Red Army which was training German Army officers. But the agreement was made while Lenin was at the head of the Government. Stalin supported the agreement at the time. When Trotsky, according to Krestinsky, in the film scene, was receiving 250,000 marks a year for espionage, the mark was tens of millions to the pound. Trotsky would have received the price of a box of matches for a year in exchange for the Soviet Union!

Why was Tukachevsky, who was tried and shot secretly, brought into the "public" trial, while people like Rakovsky were kept out? Because some of the accused, including Rakovsky confessed to being agents and Fifth Columnists on behalf of British Imperialism. Rosengoltz "confessed" that he had been an agent of the British Secret Service since 1926! Rakovsky "confessed" that he had been an agent of Britain since 1924! Khodkov "confessed" that Bukharin stressed the need to make connections with England, as from the standpoint of the "Fifth Column" . . . "the most feasible proposal was a British protectorate . . ." And so on, and so on.

If the section of the confessions which "proved" these men to be paid agents in the pay of British imperialism are rejected by ex-Ambassador Davies and by Warner Bros., what makes him accept the confessions that they were agents of Hitler?

Despite the statements of the charwomen of the G.P.U., including D. N. Pritt, practically no documents were entered into the court records as substantial evidence in the trials. Davies admits this in his book. But to prove a connection with Trotsky, the "confessors" had to claim that they met Trotsky outside Russia. For the first time it became possible to check up on the veracity of the "confessions". Thus Piatakov stated that in Dec-

ember 1935, he went to Germany where he met an agent of Trotsky who "urged . . . Piatakov should fly to Oslo . . . Next day he met this agent Heinrich or Gustav, who gave him a specially prepared German passport and attended to all the customs formalities. The plane arrived at Oslo at approximately 3 p.m. They drove for about 30 minutes to a small house where Trotsky was then awaiting them." (Page 23, Official Trial Report issued by Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee, 1937).

The Director of the Oslo airport at Kjeller, which Vyshinsky "established" as the airport in question, issued a statement to the press while the trial was proceeding, that no foreign airplane arrived at the airport from September 1935 until the 1st of May 1936. This was published in the world press. Konrad Knudsen, a Norwegian Labour M.P., at whose house Trotsky was a guest during his stay in Norway, telegraphed Vyshinsky before the conclusion of the trial that it had been confirmed that no foreign or private plane landed at the Oslo airfield in December and that as Trotsky's host, he confirms that no conversation could have taken place in Norway between Trotsky and Piatakov.

In view of the fact that the Director of the airport was a Government official; that the Norwegian Government was a Labour government; that there was a military guard at the airport records, etc., and also in view of the fact that a Norwegian M.P. together with his family testified that Piatakov's evidence on this score was untrue, Vyshinsky was duty bound to cross-examine him on this score and raise the matter during the trial of Piatakov. This is doubly true when it is remembered that Trotsky denied meeting Piatakov and issued two lists of questions to Piatakov which were published in the world press. The fact that Vyshinsky did not put the detailed questions to Piatakov proved conclusively that a cross examination of the testimony would have blown it to hell and that the trial was a carefully rehearsed frame-up to implicate and discredit Trotsky.

At the Dewey Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, dozens of official documents were produced and numerous statements were made by well-known people not sharing Trotsky's political ideas, which completely blasted the statements of Piatakov as lies.

As with Piatakov, so with the other "witnesses" who "confessed" to being in touch with Trotsky. On every count, the confessions insofar as it was possible to test them, were demonstrated by the Dewey Commission as being fabrications and lies.

The final demonstration that the trials were a frame-up from beginning to end was given by the refusal of the Stalinist government to lay charges against Leon Trotsky with the Norwegian Government and demand his extradition which they could have legally done, and which Trotsky publicly demanded. Since this would have meant a public trial in a Norwegian court, Vyshinsky was unable to follow this course. Had the charges been genuine and backed with any evidence at all, what better demonstration could

Stalin have given to the world working class, than to have had this proved by public trial in Norway? The failure to do so is the most convincing and damning proof of Trotsky's innocence and of Stalin's guilt.

The trials claimed to prove that on the basis of these incriminating witnesses and defendants that Trotsky had made an agreement with Hitler. THE FACTS ARE THAT IT WAS NOT TROTSKY, BUT STALIN WHO MADE SUCH AN AGREEMENT!

From 1931 Trotsky in article after article and in several pamphlets warned of the dangers of Hitler's rise. He advocated a united workers' front of the German Communist Party with the Social Democrats. But Stalin instructed the German Communist Party to have a united front with the Nazis, with Hitler, against the Social Democrats.

Pyatakov "confessed" that Trotsky informed him of extended discussions, he—Trotsky—had held with Hess. The facts are that it was not Trotsky but Molotov and Stalin who had extended discussions with Hitler and Hess. In the book "Mission to Moscow", under the date line November 14th, 1940, Davies wrote:

"Molotov and his staff of sixty-five in number left Berlin today after having had extended discussions with Goring and Hess and other industrial experts and after a second long conference with Hitler and Ribbentrop. The official communique gives no actual light on what occurred except that 'it led to agreement on all important questions of interest to Germany and the Soviet Union'."

Remember how Von Ribbentrop was feasted and wine with his staff in Moscow when Poland was being carved up? Remember the beaming smile on the newsreels of that meeting. It was not Trotsky, but Molotov who said that "fascism is a matter of taste". It was not Trotsky but Stalin who said that the unity of Hitler Germany and the Soviet Union had been "sealed with blood."

So with every crime that Stalin has charged to Trotsky. It was precisely Stalin who carried out the crime.

Stalin charged Trotsky with advocating and carrying out acts of individual terror. The facts are that it was Trotsky who was murdered by an agent of Stalin—Jacques Mornard. It was the Stalinist together with the fascist press who applauded Trotsky's assassination. So was Trotsky's son, Sedov killed by the gunman of the G.P.U.; so were 8 of his secretaries, one after the other. Not only Trotskyists, but Anarchists, Socialists of various parties have been victims of the murder machine of the G.P.U. STALIN WAS THE INDIVIDUAL TERRORIST—NOT TROTSKY.

At the trials, Trotsky was accused of wanting to bring the Kulaks once again into existence and to introduce various forms of capitalism into Russia—including the elimination of the State monopoly of Foreign Trade.

The facts are that it is Stalin who has introduced a class of rouble millionaires, farmers who are in essence Kulaks: it is Stalin who has increased wage differences to such an extent that the basis of a new ruling class is being prepared and who will be the fore-runners and proponents of counter-revolution; it is Stalin who is preparing to break down the barriers of State Monopoly of Foreign Trade in the interests of British and American imperialism. ON ALL COUNTS STALIN IS GUILTY OF THE CRIMES HE ATTRIBUTES TO TROTSKY.

Continued foot of next Column.

the 1919 election, the ballots of the petty bourgeois were cast with those of the workers in greater numbers than ever before. When the metal workers occupied the factories in 1920, they had the sympathy of a great part of the petty bourgeoisie. But the Socialist party showed itself absolutely incapable of leading the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. Instead of placing itself at their head, it dragged in their wake. In Mussolini's own words, it did not know how to profit from a revolutionary situation such as history does not repeat!"

Mussolini began to organise his thugs, with the full assistance of the monarchy, the Army, the landowners and capitalists. A veritable reign of terror was instituted against the masses. While the fascists were busy organising their murder raids against the workers and their organisations, the workers resistance was paralysed by their leaders. Mussolini and his hoodlums were enabled to march against the workers with impunity, while their leaders preached the necessity to rely on the "State" and the Constitution, at a time when the police and the heads of the army and the state machine were giving every encouragement and support to the fascists.

It was in this atmosphere of workers confusion and demoralisation that the capitalists placed Mussolini in power to retain their organisations and rights, even if in an attenuated form, at the present time. But they will suffer the same fate as the Italian and German workers. Capitalism in its decay breeds fascism and to support the capitalist class is to make certain its victory. Not only fascism but a super fascism will be imposed on the workers if capitalism is allowed to continue to exist. Only the building of a new Revolutionary Socialist party which has learned the lessons of the defeats of the workers in Europe can lead to a victory over the forces of fascism and reaction; the forces of Europe and Britain will find their way to the ranks of the Fourth International, which alone can lead the toilers to a world of Socialism and peace, and thus guarantee the impossibility of the recurrence of the barbarism of fascism and war.

Hall Implicates "Socialist Appeal"

Continued from Page 1.

if they had not he would have signed it just the same.

Hall alleged that the court case was instigated by an "alien political organisation" and that the strike committee had assisted "a paper financed by the Trotsky organisation."

This allegation was obviously directed against the Socialist Appeal and Workers' International League. It is entirely false and has not even a shred of truth in it.

Far from instigating the case against Hall, we have advised the miners PUBLICLY against such an action: firstly, on grounds of general principle—that the struggle against the trade union bureaucracy can only be properly carried out inside the union itself; secondly, on practical grounds that it was unlikely they would win such a case through the capitalist courts.

In our view, had the Cortonwood miners spent the time, energy, and money on conducting a campaign throughout the Yorks coalfield to make their case known they would have gained far more in every manner than they have by this court case. They would have solidified a wide bloc of progressive miners who are in favour of a new administration at Barnsley and strengthened the union and the working class.

If the miners did not know it before they certainly know it now: "the law is the law but it is not always just."

Let us hope that they will draw the practical conclusions from their experience and get down to the task of training fresh forces in the district, contacting the other branches in the area and conducting a campaign to end the system of life jobs in the union and replacing it by the election of paid officials every two years.

FIGHT BEVIN'S PROPOSAL

Continued from page 1.

of a higher education, at the expense of the blood and sweat of working youth.

Whilst the misleaders of the labour and trade union movement carry out the most vicious attacks against the rights and freedom of the workers, they make no serious attempt to expropriate the coalowners and the capitalist class. Not a single important step has been taken to curtail the capitalist property rights, or the rights to bleed the workers for huge profits.

OUT of the Labour movement with the Bevin's who propose such vicious steps against working class youth! Out with the lackeys in the trade union and labour movement who refuse to fight against such steps by every means! Not a working class youth must be directed down the pits while the capitalist class remain in control of the pits and the state.