ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

VOL. 5. No. 15.

MID - JULY, 1943.

TWOPENCE.

# DURHAM MINERS STRIKE THREE PITS OUT

1300 MINERS HAVE BEEN OUT ON STRIKE OFF AND ON FOR THE LAST THREE WEEKS FROM THE BUSTY, OSWALD AND THOMAS PITS. NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN GOING ON FOR SOME TIME BEFORE THE WHITSUN HOLIDAYS FOR INCREASES IN THE PUTTERS' SCORE PRICES,

# SECOND FRONT WILL NOT END FASCISM

THE INVASION OF SICILY MARKS A NEW STAGE IN THE WAR. THE OFFENSIVE OF ANGLO - AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AGAINST THEIR GERMAN -ITALIAN RIVALS TO DESTROY THEIR HEGEMONY IN EUROPE AND CRIPPLE THEM AS COMPETITORS ON THE WORLD MARKET.

BUT AS THE CAPITALIST PRESS IS CONSTANTLY WARNING, AND AS CHURCHILL ADMITTED IN HIS LAST SPEECH, VERY-HEAVY SLAUGHTER WOULD HAVE TO BE ENDURED BY THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN SOLDIERS, BEFORE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS WILL BE ENABLED TO GAIN A MASTERY OF THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT,

Italian Fascists are making desperate back-to-the-wall appeals to the population of Italy and Germany to resist to the utmost as the prospect of defeat looms ahead. With the victories and heroic resistance of the Soviet Union against the onslaught of the German imperialists, the German masses have become completely disillusioned with the Nazis. Ten years of fascism with all the miseries that it has meant to the German people, have left their mark on the minds of the German workers and soldiers. In the case of Italy the position is if anything, even more developed. After 20 years of fascism, the full rottenness, corruption and degeneracy of Mussolini's regime has been laid bare for all to see.

The masses in both Italy and Germany are in a state of ferment and growing opposition towards the regimes which have brought nothing but dis-Particularly in Italy, stakes and minor uprisings are taking place among the workers, peasants and soldiers. In rurin, Milan and other areas mass strikes have taken place. In the towns of the Ruhr, among the sailors at Kiel and the soldiers in the army, and also in the Italian navy and army, mutinies

Both the German Nazis and the calian Fascists are making desperate ack-to-the-wall appeals to the popution of Italy and Germany to resist of the utmost as the prospect of defeat some ahead. With the victories and eroic resistance of the Soviet Union gamst the onslaught of the German masses have forth in an uprising with the force of the soviet state of the ground resistance of the German masses have forth in an uprising with the force of the slaves and the slaves are refusing to the slaves and the slaves and the slaves are refusing to the slaves and the slaves and the slaves and the slaves are refusing to the slav a pent-up volcano.

> But statements American Imperialist Governments show that they do not have and do not expect to get the support of the peoples of either Italy or Germany. In fact they expect invasion would In fact they expect invasion would see the Italians lining up behind Mussolini in a desperate attempt at resistance. If the Allies were fighting they could a real war against fascism they sould win and obtain the support of the Axis workers and soldiers who have been groaning under the yoke of totalitarian opposition.

The aim of Anglo-American imper-ialism is not at all to rid Europe of the horror of fascism but to cripple their rivals and replace Axis domin-ation and occupation of Europe by that of Britain and America. Far from secof the Ruhr, among the sailors at Kiel and the soldiers in the army, and also in the Italian navy and army, mutinies have been reported in the British press. The Nazi and Fascist gangsters have replied to this nascent rebellion with reprisals, executions and redoubled re- American capitalists merely regard this pressions. But despite the savage and as a means to the military overthrow merciless terror against all opponents of their rivals, and even look upon it

# 1,500 R.O.F.

R.O.F. reported in the last issue of the Socialist Appeal," and which commenced on June 18th, is still in progress. A delegate from the strikers, Bro. Hepple, whose victimisation was the cause of the dispute, addressed a meeting of London militants on Sunday 11th July at the Holborn Hall. He reported that the R.O.F. management still refused to re-instate him pending an inquiry....In view of this a further meeting of the workers decded unanimously to continue the strike.

Apparently the R.O.F. authorities are not very much concerned about the production that is wasted as long as the militant is out of the factory. The London meeting expressed its solidarity with the strikers and a ollection was made towards the strike und. The workers in this factory are determined to continue to resist the attack upon their rights and not to eturn to work until the victimised conener has been reinstated. In view of the length of time the workers have been out-more than four weeks at time of writing-funds are maly needed:

On the Tuesday, after the Monday, lock was reached at the meeting and holiday the men went to work but decided to call a lightning strike in order to hasten the proceedings for increases. As a result of this there

Immediately the men went out on strike Mr. Tunny and Mr. Gilliland of the Durham Miners Association visited Hedley Hall, Craghead, and addressed the strikers. The men were persuaded, on the plea of immediate negotiations to return to work the following day.

In order to placate the miners, a meeting was called on the day of the the D.M.A. officials to adopt the men's return to work consisting of dictatorial powers of signing an agreelodge officials, representatives of the putters, and the colliery manager. The manager offered 6d. a score for the The men claim that constitutionaly it Oswald and Thomas Pits and 3d. a s not within the powers of the D.M.A. score at the Busty Pit along with other small concessions. This offer was considered unsatisfactory and was unanimously turned down by the men and the lodge officials. The men came out on strike again.

On the day the men came out for the second time that week a meeting was held and addressed by two officials of the Ministry of Fuel and Power. A decision to return to work was once again arrived at on the promise of immediate arbitration. At this meetimmediate arbitration. At this meeting an urgency committee was elected from the miners Mr. Hornsby and the meeting took place at the attempted to split their ranks by Coal Trade Hall in Newcastle on the 20th June.

Present at the meeting were 3 representatives of the owners and Mr. Hornsby, Regional Controller of Ministry of Fuel and Power. From the D.M.A. were Mr. Janes Gilliland, Mr. E. Moore and Mr. Joe Swan, together with some local branch officials. Some representatives of the putters were also present.

At this meeting the same offer was made to the putters as had previously

the lodge officials and putters representative did not agree on one single point with the employers and returned to Craghead to report to the miners. was a complete stoppage in the pits. Their decision was unanimously endorsed by the miners.

> Subsequently it was discovered that two of the D.M.A. officials had signed an agreement accepting the miserable increase offered by the owners Im-mediately the miners struck work again, and a meeting was called for Sunday 4th to challenge the legality of the agreement, and the right of ment when the "urgency committee" was not unanimous in its decision. agents to sign any agreement, whilst acting on an "usgency committee," unless that committee is unanimous in its decision to accept or reject offers

Mr. Hornby was persuaded to attend this meeting and the D.M.A. officials were also asked to be present. These latter gentlemen, however, did not see fit to put in an apparance.

threatening to have them called up into the Forces. The reaction to this threat was that the miners became more determined than ever and voted unanimously to continue strike action. The following morning 86 of the young miners voluntered for the forces, some even voluntering for submarine service. Ten of these lads were accepted as rear gunners, the rest being rejected.

Th miners think that the D.M.A. officials in signing the agreement have prevented their case from going to arbitration which they believe would have been the next step towards realising their claims. The agents of the D.M.A. have refused to open discussions with the Craghead miners about their actions in signing the agreement, until the miners return to the pits.

The miners decided that at this stage they have no alternative but to return to work on Monday 12th July on the same basis upon which they first walked out. They are solid in their resolve to carry on a relentless struggle against the powers assumed by their leaders. They still retain the perspective of taking their case to a tribunal, after they have dealt with the D.M.A. agents-

The miners have come to realise by cruel experience that these officials with life-time jobs no longer represent their interests. They have realised the need to rout them out of their cushy jobs and re-elect fresh militants as Agents of the D.M.A. In this struggle they will try to gain the support of every lodge in the country, to determine their rights on an 'urgency committee" and to revise the present status of D.M.A. officials. The miners feel that the only guarantee against a repetition of the present state of affairs is to re-elect their agents once in every two or three years instead of allowing them to hold life-time jobs.

One lesson has been learned. Miners cannot go into action against the boss for their rights if their leaders sabotage their efforts and refuse to answer for, or discuss their misdeeds with the miners. The workers still retain hope in arbitration tribunals, but from these tribunals they will get no more concessions than were granted by the manager. Only by independent class action can they succeed in winning their demands.

# WHO HELPS HITLER?

Reply to 'Hitler's Agents Exposed'

Daily Worker

ByJOCK HASTON

STALIN AND HITLER

ISSUED JOINT PEACE

STATEMENT AFTER

HITLER'S RAPE

POLAND.

The Mahons simply

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1939

tween the workers and the fascists between the slaves and the slave-

at the roots of fascism, by striking at the ruling class, they are preparing to prop up and support as quislings the

Continued on page 4.

Far from preparing to strike

## PEACE OFFER TO EUROPE

Trotskyists.

boomerang.

Soviet-German Declaration On War In West

#### NEW EASTERN FRONTIERS • FIXED

N OFFER OF IMMEDIATE PEACE TO THE WESTERN WORLD ON THE BASIS OF THE PEACE ALREADY ESTABLISHED IN EAST EUROPE--WAS MADE YESTERDAY BY THE COVERN-MENT OF THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS.

With this offer, the German Government associated itself. In a joint communique the two Governments yesterday declared

The Cerman Covernment and the Covernment of the USSR wing, by a Treaty signed today, finally settled the questions arising from a dissolution of the Polish State, and thereby creatRd a firm foundation a lasting peace in Eastern Europe, they in mutual agreement express opinion that the liquidation of the present was between Cermany on one hand and Creat Britain and. France on the other would meet the

Therefore both Covernments will direct their com-efforts, if necessary in accost with allow freedly ers, in order to attain this aim as early as possible.

The Communist Party has recently published a pamphlet entitled 'Hitler's Agents Exposed" from the pen of one John Mahon. This pamphlet consists of a 20 page attack against the "Socialist Appeal" and runs true to the frame-up pattern and technique which is such a familiar feature of Stalinist "literature" directed against the revolutionary socialists.

This pamphlet is significant only because it demonstrates a new phase in the history of the British Stalinist relations with the Trotskyist movement; because it emphasises the advances being made by the "Socialist Apeal" not only in the ranks of the organised and advanced workers in the Labour and trade union movement-but also in the ranks of the British Stalinist Party Itself.

In the past the British C.P. could ignore the programme of the

churned out a series of lies and slanders. By this means they hoped to frighten workers away from our tendency and isolate us in the labour movement. Eighteen months ago thousands of leaflets "Clear Out Hitler's Agents." Thousands more local leaflets were printed by District Committees and local branches of the Party based on the central leaflet This was followed by W. Wainwright's pamphlet of the same name, which was so full of slanders and historical falsifications that even the Stalinist workers could not stomach it. When the "Socialist Appeal" published an offer of £10 to any Communist

Today the situation is different The Stalinist workers are being faced with the Trotskyist Programme Hundreds of C.P. members are becoming critical of the party line and find themselves in agreement with the flooded the factories with Trotskyist programme in one aspect or another. Hence the need for this pamphlet which purports to "examine" the programme of the "Socialist Appeal" and claims to give an "objective" answer.

Mahon sets out to "prove' that the policy of the "Socialist Appeal" coincides with the policy of Hitler and indeed that our policy is directed by the Goebbels radio station "Workers Challenge."

This filthy slander runs true to the familiar technique of all reaction: (fascists) in Russia during the revolu-

#### With reference to the article on the Transport Strike in Sheffield published in the May issue of the "Socialist Appeal" it has been drawn to our notice by Mr. Scott of the T.&G.W.U. that certain inaccuracies were contained therein.

APOLOGY

The statement to Mr. Scott in the Sheffield "Star" that the strike would fizzle out was corrected on the following day. Unfortunately, we have not seen the disclaimer and in view of the "Star's" withdrawal, we also withdraw and apologise.

We have also to point out that our statement that Mr. Scott had resigned was due to a misunderstanding. It is not the case that Mr. Scott resigned, and we unreservedly withdraw our statement and apologise to him for having made it.

### TYNE WELDERS STRIKE SUPPORTED

21 Welders have been out on strike the lodging allowance payable to some now for 7 weeks at a Tyne shipyard.

few months ago a new foreman. Mr. Fellows, was brought on to the job and his methods of working made it impossible for the workers on piece work to realise even the normal hourly rate (known as the lieu rate) paid to the Welders which is 2/4d. an hour.

When the difference between the wages they received on piece work and the wages they could have earned on time work became so marked that at all workers working in establishments times skilled journey men walked out with £3 15s. to £4 while training dilutees were receiving £4 9s., the workers began to protest strongly. They sent deputation after deputation to the management demanding that they be paid for the number of hours they had worked at the lieu rate.

The management refused to enter-tain this demand and referred the workers to the Employers Federation. The workers pointed out to the man-ager that under the E.W.O. they were entitled to at least 47 hours at 2/4d. which is £5 9. 8d. a week. But the management's reply each time was to refer the men to the Employers Feder-

The workers felt that the way they were being treated was a direct contravention of the E.W.O. That the boss was entirely in the wrong, and that their only possible action was to file a strike notice. This they did through one of the workers who was not the Shop Steward. Immediately

Continued on page 2.

of the workers was stopped, showing quite plainly that the notice had been received. On the technical ground however that the Shop Steward had not filed the strike notice and that "officially" they knew of no strike the management induced the National Service Officer to prefer charges against the workers under the E.W.O.

This is a test case and involves not only the workers of the Tyneside but scheduled under the E.W.O. in Great

These 21 welders are leading the struggle against the reactionary Employers Federations. The magnificent response the strikers have and are receiving in answer to their appeal for financial assistance, in spite of the fact that rumours have been put about, to the effect that the workers have gone back to work, demonstrates the solid-arity and support that they are getting from the workers in all the shipyards on the Tyneside.

Among the strikers are discharged soldiers who took part in the retreat from Dunkirk. These workers are experiencing already the 'gratitude' of the bosses for having fought for their interests. Throughout the yard there

Party member who could prove that the so-called quotations from the Trotskyist press were not forgeries, or that the Mensheviks and "Black Hundreds" there were less than five lies in any single page of Wainwright's pamphlet, tion of 1917 accused Lenin and Trot-nobody collected the £10. Wain- sky of being agents of the foreign wright's pamphlet acted as a

Continued on Back page,

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

- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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
- 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.
- 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.

### POPULATION FIGURES AND THE SYSTEM

The rapid decline in the population rate is causing alarm in the ranks of the crise ruling classes. The bourgeoisie is worned because the shrinking population threatens their prosperity and rate. The very fact that family allow profits. Less labour power, less con-sumers and above all less cannon

The debate in the House of Lords on June 6th led by Lord Geddes made some startling suggestions and reveal-ed even more startling omissions. Lord Geddes stated that for some reason at present unknown the "reproductive germ plasma" among the races of North-West Europe has declined during the last 150 years. That this has resuited in these people developing a "psychological bias" so that not only are they unable to have children but commission be set up to investigate the biological problem" of the population figures. As is usual in the House of Lords, the social, political and econupon the minor negligible aspects of the threatened destruction of the human race.

The Empty Cradle is a Conscious Act, it is a conscious and decisive condemnation of our present social sys-

Lord Geddes deliberately or otherwise ignores this fundamental aspect of the problem. By his statements he is either trying to prevent the truth falling birth rate is only an aspect of from becoming known, or he does not understand the question, and should therefore not be taken seriously de-spite his undoubted scientific know-

rate fluctuations follow economic crises precisely. For instance 1933 the period of the greatest slump coincided with the lowest recorded birth ances are becoming a common demand even from reactionary sections of society gives proof of the fact that the economic basis for the falling birth rate is more clearly understood by laymen than by Lord Geddes, a former anatomist of some reputation. allowances however, cannot solve the problem since mere subsistence will not induce parentage.

Women who have struggled to free themselves from the drudgery of the kitchen and the washtub will not easily give up the results of their emanci-pation. Only a fundamental change that they are more and more unwilling in the whole social system can make to have them. In the face of this it possible for women to become threat of the extinction of mankind mothers, which is the possible for women to become Lord Geddes suggested that a Royal society remain free. Only a ocialist society can solve the problem of nurseries, communal kitchens, and automatic cleaning, as well as offer a reasonable security during the period of pregnancy, childbirth and convalomic reasons for the problem are ignored and Lord Geddes concentrates upon the minor negligible aspects of which limits the family. But the most important aspect is one of per-

> Capitalism in decline offers nothing but war, famine, disease and death.
>
> Men and women to-day, having the
> necessary knowledge and possessing
> the means, choose, deliberately not to have children.

The question of the survival of the human race is in the balance. The the rapid extinction of the human race should the present barbaric system continue.

Only with a Socialist Society can If statistics are studied over the period of the last century it can be irrefutably established that the birth-

#### TYNE WELDERS' STRIKE good until the tribunal gives a decision.

Continued from page 1

so many workers thrown on the scrap heap.

Although the number of workers involved in this strike is small the issues at stake are extremely large, and from their leaflet it is obvious that the workers appreciate the magnitude of their struggle:

"We treat this as a test, and if the Management are allowed to impose their conditions and we are forced to accept, it will affect every piece-worker on this river."

to return pending arbitration. The workers are prepared to do this providing their interpretation, which is

the general interpretation on the Tyneside with regard to lieu rate, holds

precedent by accepting the bosses' when Hitler came to power in Gerinterpretation while waiting for the
arbitration tribunal to meet. They are
determined to resist all threats or retain their fat salaried positions

gates see Walker get a tro
he did in London, they will
stand the correct position.

One of the main reasons cajolings to return to work and their under Hitler. fine militant stand is receiving the support it deserves from the workers of the Tyneside.

management is employing 20 girls to the Manchester Conference it was untake the strikers' place. The yard animously adopted, which shows the opens up again on 12th July after dire need for a strong campaign being closed for a week's holiday. This throughout 'the union against this is a deliberate provocative action on policy. the management's part, and the strikers firmly believe that the whole yard will down tools as a result of this The union official has attempted to blatant attempt to employ scab labour. convene a meeting to arge the workers | We arge the workers on the Tyneside demand for a national conference

# BONUS GRIEVANCE

but in practice they only receive a small addition to their meagre wage while the employer is reaping in more

Some months ago, the National Ex-ecutive of the E.T.U. balloted the membership with the view to introducing into the trade, a bonus scheme A huge majority, nationally, voted in favour of the status quo. This demo-cratic decision did not apparently satisfy Mr. Bevin, Minister of Labour, as he called together the shop stew-ards of this industry and dictated to them that either they accept the bonus scheme, or else he would ask the employers to apply it independ-ently. The bureaucratic leadership of the E.T.U. accepted the principle and an agreement was drawn up between the Shipbuilding and Engineering Em-ployers Federation and the Union. The Scheme was put into operation on the 22nd February, 1943.

I's yard, a collective bonus for all ships under construction, was the method adopted by the boss. For sheer excessive profit-making, this idea takes some beating. The employer assesses the costs of the ships and the time to be taken. If the workers work extremely hard and speed up the job the savings-will be divided out as

Although the agreement stated that a monthly result was to be shown, at the end of March no figures were pro-duced giving the monthly bonus. A great agitation swept throughout the ranks of the electricians and forced the employer finally to give a provisional bonus of 10 per cent. In hard cash this meant the paltry sum of 38/- on an average for the month. At the end

Continued next Column.

### STEEL WORKERS OPPOSE T.U.

The trend towards the left which is developing throughout the trade union movement is sharply reflected in the ecisions taken at the Divisional Conference of B.I.S.A.K.T.A. held in London on July 3. In this, the most conservative of all engineering unions, 27 delegates, representing about 4,000 steel workers and engineers, made history when a ananimous vote (apart from 4 abstentions) they demanded that an Annual National Conference should be held in place of the existing divisional conferences. This was the first time such a demand was successful. It constituted a fitting reply to the anti-democratic Vansittart policies of the Brown Walker caucus. It is proof of the unrest which is sweeping the union, indicating the grouping to gether of a left-wing, particularly in the London area. Further resolutions of a militant character, such as the withdrawal of the Black Circular were also carried, while the resolution on C.P. affiliation to the L.P. was defeated by only one vote.

#### WALKER AND VANSITTART,

One of the main discussions at the conference was the Vansittart resolu-tion which attacked the German workers as being equally as guilty as Hit ler. Cunningly phrased, this resolu tion on the surface, appeared to be a modification of the usual Vansittart rubbish, but its underlying motives were the same. James Walker, M.P. the political secretary, made this clear as far back as 1941 when in his presidential address to the Labour Party Conference he stated: "I cannot separate the German people from the Ger-man Government. They are just as responsible for the acts of the Government as the Government itself." Mr. Walker has continually seized upon the political backwardness of B.I.S.A.K. T.A. members to foist this reactionary But the workers refuse to create a tell the members of his union is that

Strong opposition was forthcoming against this resolution at the Conference, and it was only carried by 13 It has just been learned that the votes to 10, with 4 abstentions.

#### LONDON GIVES THE LEAD

B.I.S.A.K.T.A. members everywhere must rally full support for London's Closer contact amongst the members

The electricians in ... ship-yard, Glasgow, complain bitterly, about by the workers to change this position. the new bonus arrangement which was bureaucratically enforced on them by the Government. The 'sparks' work harder expecting a reasonable bonus, off the April standard so making the amount 6 per cent. Therefore, for working till 9 p.m. on Tuesday and Thursdays, Saturday afternoon to 4.30 o.m. and alternate Sundays the average bonus earnings amounted to only 25/- for the month.

This decision so infuriated the electricians that a mass meeting was alled and decided to wire Bevin and tell him what they thought about his conus scheme. A half day strike folowed. Mathieson, a prominent Stalin-st and member of the shop committee tayed on at work.

The local agreement on the 'payment by results' is, to put it mildly, one-sided. In point 8 it says:

"The percentage of work done on each ship will be assessed by a qualified man appointed by the management and the bonus to be paid will be decided by the management whose decisions must be accepted as final."

In the section dealing with penalties. orkers will lose their bonus if time eeping is not kept, or, if they break my of the yard rules and regulations. Altogether the agreement is a very poor ne as far as the workers are conwas introduced the management has declared many electricians redundant, getting more work done by a less number of men.

When it is realised, that the wages paid to a shippard electrician is only 10d. plus 4ths of a penny per hour, is not surprising that these workers desire an increase in their pay packet, especially with the present high cost of living. The original demand of the electricians in opposing 'payment by results' should be pressed forward more sharply through the yard committees, shop committees and branches. Bevin dictatorial attitude as representative of the capitalist government in imposing the present agreement onto the workers, must meet the instant condemontion of all sections of the working class.

The leadership of the E.T.U. must be forced by the membership to drive forward for a genuine wage increase



#### PAMPHLETS BY TROTSKY

WAR MAND WORLD REVOLUTION

TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL 6d

TRADE UNIONS

LLP. & THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

will not only ensure more democracy inside the union, but it will also greatly assist the education of the membership. When the national delegates see Walker get a trougging like he did in London, they will soon under-

One of the main reasons for London playing a leading part is because stress is continually being laid upon members taking an active interest in union affairs. The B.I.S.A.K.T.A. union affairs. The B.I.S.A.K.T.A. leadership don't like this because they thrive upon the inertia of the members. That is why members must immediately commence to play an active part in the union. Connections should be opened up with militants in other areas and a rank and file campaign instituted in the union to support London's lead. At forthcoming divisional conferences this year the slogans should be:

Against Vansittartism and Walker. For more democracy in the Union. For an Annual Conference.

# Correspondence

#### A SOLDIER ON A.B.C.A. **LECTURES**

Socialist Appeal, Dear Comrade,

I am writing to you about a most instructive experience I have had in the army. An experience which show-ed me quite clearly that the army chiefs and the Government are determined that the rank and file shall not be allowed to discuss seriously at the A.B.C.A. meetings the questions that really interest them. The ban on the discussion of the Beveridge Report may have been lifted, but the brass-hats are going to see to it that this does not lead to any serious discussion of the problem of social security.

An expert came to our camp to teach the officers how to give A.B.C.A. lec-tures on the Beveridge Plan. Two dozen privates were detailed to act as a stooge audience to which the "ex-pert" gave a demonstration lecture while the officers looked on and listen-ed. I was one of the stooges. I thus had an excellent opportunity of getting the tip straight from the horse's that the straight from the horse's

The usual attempt was made to reate the "heart-to-heart talk". rente the which was more firmly controlled, or more carefully guided. The speaker limited the discussion strictly to the relatively technical question of health services. Nothing else was allowed. The point that the first essential for an improvement in national health is good wages, sufficient good food, leisure, etc., was ruled out of order as being beyond the scope of the discussion. The same with every other point that left the sphere of the purely technical and threatened to become politi-

For an hour we debated how doctors should be paid. The rights and wrongs of the panel system. The question of

July, 1943. | compulsory medical inspection for the whole population. But social security wasn't even touched on. The speaker's idea of discussion-was to ask a ques-tion, and whenever the man who answered it got beyond a simple yes or no, to stop him and say he was not sticking to the subject.

It must be admitted that the speaker was a past-master in his particular art. But it was not the art of promoting discussion. On the contrary it consisted in killing discussion com-And the officers were listening all the time, learning to do the same.

It is quite clear that the army bigwigs regard the A.B.C.A. discussions merely as a safety valve. are determined that the rank and file shall not turn them into something

The Beveridge Plan itself is no more than a species of safety valve. It is highly significant therefore, that workers in uniform are not even allowed to The official propaganda states that one of the purposes of the war is to secure a better future for everybody. But the very men who atmosphere. ("You can smoke, chaps," are supposed to be fighting for that and 'This is just a chat between you and me.") Then came the "discussion". And I have never heard one work in the army. The Government and the army chiefs have been forced to allow some sort of discussion on the Beveridge Plan; but they are determined to keep it within limits. The demonstration lecture by the "expert" showed this clearly.

But whether or not the officers can handle the situation in the same way is another matter. It is up to the men to see that the discussions are not confined to trivial details and banalities but are a serious interchange of ideas on the real problems that face the British working class, whether they work in the factory or in the army.

### ON THE T.U. MOVEMENT AND THE FORCES

The following letter, written by a serving soldier, is republished from the June issue of the "A.E.U. Monthly Journal". The ideas contained are so clear and indicate such a firm class content that we consider it should be discussed and the ideas supported by engineering workers in all parts of the wuntry .- Ed.

I should like to welcome the promin-ence given in the March Journal to the question of the Union and the many bers in the Forces. The attitude of the Trade Union Movement to the Forces is of paramount importance.

The Army to-day is one vast open hop, and like all open shops can and, to an extent, is being used against the organised workers. We all know of strikes which have taken place, many of them in defence of elementary trade union rights and standards, where the troops have been drafted in to break them-that is, make unwilling strike-

Soldiers will be and are being used as cheap labour against the unions. Executive Council to act. could give example after example of soldiers doing civilian jobs at Army rates of pay: jobs such as dock labouring, farming (labouring), building, unloading on the railways and in many other spheres.

The differences in pay between a soldier and a civilian make it easier for the "Engineers are getting £10 a week" type of propaganda to meet with some success. These attempts by the master class to divide us must be

In the factories you have organisation, shop stewards, etc. These rights were won after many years of bitter struggle. Keep hold of them, not only for yourselves, but for us in the armed

You will all readily appreciate, brothers, that because of what is termed "discipline", it is very difficult for us in the Army to do very much. In fact, it is very difficult for us even to say very much, so, though we will do our best, the lead must come from You can, and must, forge the imk between us by using your organisation to fight for our demands.

By that I mean taking up, not only in the A.E.U. but on the Trades.Councils, questions affecting the welfare of the worker-soldier, demands such as:-

1. The right of soldiers to have

King's Regulations which make it a crimmal offence to put forward a collective complaint.

2. Trade union rates where civilian jobs are being done. More pay.

3. Full rights of soldiers to take part in Union affairs, to elect delegates to Trades Councils, etc. These are but a few. Take up these

questions, brothers, discuss them in the factories, in the branches, and inast that our Executive Council takes them up. "We believe that by coming closer

them, we in the factories and our comrades as the Services can defeat any attempt to divide as and at one ion against the other. That was Journal Editorial. Good. You have it in your power to forge the link between us.

First recognised that as an open shot we, as turners, fitters, sheetmetal workers, etc., are a direct menace to your standards and conditions. Having recognised that, start discussions in the branches and on the Trades Councils on the points I raise and culminate this discussion with resolutions to the

The Editorial also suggested that the Union "adopt" R.E.M.E. and asks for suggestions on how to operate this "adoption". I believe I speak for the wast mass of worker-soldiers when I ay, the best way to operate this adoption is to fight for those you

Think what support the A.E.U. will get from us in the R.E.M.E. when the lads hear that three-quarters of a million organised trade unionists demand the right of soldiers to elect Grievance Committees, demand more pay for the troops.

A.E.U. nights, as suggested in the Editorial, are a fine idea. Every step which will draw us closer together must be supported. This applies also to the proposed Solidarity Fund. But here we have to be very careful, soldiers do not ask the Union for charity. As members of the A.E.U. now in the Army, we ask you to fight on behalf of us, and in this way you will win over that section of the community who, left as they are to-day without a champion or a voice, can be the greatest threat to the organised work-

I hope that other brothers, particularly those in the Army, will send in contributions to this discussion and will themselves attend their local branch Elected Grievance Committee. Repeal that section or sections of our demands there too.

#### Read:

An A.B.C. of Trotskyism THE CASE FOR

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

SECOND EDITION 6d.

ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

61, Northdown Street,

London, N.1.

EDITOR: E. Grant BUSINESS MANAGER: M. Orton. 12 issues 3/- . . . Post free.

### RACE RIOTS IN AMERICA

broke out in Detroit costing the lives of twenty-four negroes. The American Press has compared this with the serious racial riots of 1919. It brings to the attention of the American workers and workers in other parts of the world the degrading position of the American Negroes and the revolutionary path they have to travel to end the economic differences which lie at the root of racial differences.

It is pointed out that one of the root causes of the present trouble in Detroit is the shortage of houses. The Correspondent of the "Manchester Correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" reports: "It is ironic that plans to increase Detroit housing were thwarted by the efforts of Detroit business men, who did not foresee the unhappy results of keeping the supply of houses limited and rents and sale prices high." In effect it means that the White and Negro workers fought among themselves for living accommodation and business men prevented the expansion of housing, in order to keep the rents high.

The recent riots are only symptom-atic of the deep-rooted historical causes of the Negro problem in America. It is embedded in the growth and development of American Capitalism and will be destroyed only by the united efforts of the American white and Negro workers overthrowing capitalism. It is one of the fundamental axioms of capitalism that necessary counter-poise should be created and fanned to stem the rising tide of working class militancy. In Europe it has taken the form of the Jewish problem in South Africa as the Native problem and in America the Negro problem.

#### POSITION OF AMERICAN NEGROES — GENERAL

Roughly 10 per cent of the American population consists of Negroes. According to the 1930 Census, the Negeroes are the second largest minority in America, with the "foreign born" heading the list with over 14,000,000 people. A false currency is given to the view that the problem of Negroes is mainly confined to the South and in the North they enjoy perfect equality. But in the decade 1990-1990 there was a wave of prigration from South was a wave of regration from South to North with 32 per tent of the total vegro population in the North being concentrated in the three cities—New the following decade, a number of race onflicts between the Negroes and Whites occured in the North. The pinion of many American sociologists that in some respects the Negroe that in some respects the Negroe wars, or the descendants of such soldiers may vote iers may vote. York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. In the following decade, a number of race conflicts between the Negroes and Whites occured in the North. The opinion of many American sociologists problem has shfted to the North

#### ECONOMIC POSITION: AGRICULTURE

As a hang-over from the period of slavery, the Negro has mainly remain-ed in Agriculture. His position is that of a tenant or hired worker. There are thousands of white share-croppers, may vote who understand some select-sharing the misery and poverty of the ed clauses of the constitution and who Negro share croppers. The total number of Negro tenants in the U.S.A. is estimated at 700,711 out of which nearly 698,000 are in the cotton states. The system of tenant farming is a consequence of the period of slavery. After Civil War, when slavery was abolished, the Negroes had no capital, no land, and no farm animals. Out of these conditions arose the system of share

From the sample investigations made into the earnings of share croppers by the Committee on Minority Groups in the Economic Recovery it was found that the incomes averaged 105 dollars a year for a family with a monthly overage of 1.75 dollars for each person. Dr. Johnson concludes:

cropping.

"With such earnings it is to be expected that the standard of living would be low; that food would be re duced to pellagr-inducing scarcity and This is a White Man's country, boys, cramped, dreary and bare; that mortality would be high and family life on a low plane. As a result of the system in which the tenant families live and work there is a dependent and ignorant peasantry, too listless and too harassed to adjust itself, without aid, to the new requirements of American agri-

Consequently, there is a steady decline in the number of farmers. Between 1920-1930, 84,000 farms had been surrendered by the Negro tenants.

#### POSITION — INDUSTRY

Beginning with the last war, there has been a steady influx of Negro labour into industry. Three causes contributed to this. Firstly, increasthe limitation of foreign immigration bosses to end exploits increased the demand for cheap labour. racial discrimination:

On Monday, 21st June, racial riots In 1930 about 27.8 per cent of the occupied Negro population was engaged in industry.

The position of a Negro worker in industry is summed up as follows; "Often he is paid a lower wage than the white worker for doing the same job; if the job is one involving a piecework rate, the Negro is paid the same rate but is given newer, slower, or more difficult jobs, thus keeping his wage at a lower level. Finally, the Negro worker is usually the "last to be hired and the first to be fired".

Some of the Trade Unions bar membership to the Negroes. In all not more than 100,000 Negroes are memers of Trade Unions.

#### HOUSING AND HEALTH CONDITIONS

The death rate and the infant mortality rate of Negro population in comparison with the white population reveals the poor environment and malnutrition resulting from low economic standards. The following table gives-comparative death rates.

#### Percentage of Total Deaths in Each Age Group: U.S.A. (1934)

Age group, years.	Whites	Negroes
Under 1	8.52	12.88
1-19	7.04	10.49
20-44	14.25	30:07
45-64	27.30	28,65
65 and over	42.78	17.88
Infant mortality in	1933	was 52.8

among the white mortality, and 91.3 among Negroes. For every 150 whites there is one hospital bed; for every 2,000 Negroes there is one bed.

#### POLITICAL POSITION

Legally, the Negroes have the same rights of voting as the whites. But by a series of measures they are barred from voting in the South and insur-mountable difficulties are placed in their way in the North.

The following eight methods have been listed by which the Negroes are debarred from voting

1. Literary. Voters must be able to

ertain amount of property.

paid his poll tax within the year or for a number of years.

6. Reputation. Persons of good re-putation who understand the duties of a citizen may vote.

7. Grandfather clauses. Persons who could vote before the Negroes were enfranchised, or descendants of such persons, may vote.

8. Understanding clause. Persons ed clauses of the constitution and who can explain these clauses of the con-stitution to the satisfaction of the registration officials.

More intimidatory and violent meth-ods are used in the South, as shown by a poster in Florida elections reproduced by the Crisis:

#### "BEWARE"

Negro Citizens, as long as you keep your place We will protect you, But

Beware.

the Ku Klux Klan is Again Alive And Every NEGRO who approaches a polling place Next Thursday will be

#### A MARKED MAN

monotony; that the housing would be so save your own life next Thursday Ku Klux Klan Miami Chapter.

> P.S. Don't think for a minute that we don't know you. A white man will be at every polling place with his book. Don't Get In That Book."

> To conclude: The American capitalists shed crocodile tears over the racial theories and the persecution of the Jews on the continent. Quite rightly the American Negro retorts: "There is a glorious chance for you to prove your professions of racial equality in America. No one believes you unless you can end this monstrosity here."

The American Negroes are no longer satisfied with great phrases and empty the tenant farmers from the land. Secondly, shortage of labour during the war brought Negroes into the industrial cities of the North. Thirdly, the limitation of foreign immuration.

# "MISSION TO MOSCOW"

WARNER BROS. WITHDRAW

company which produced the picture 'Mission to Moscow" from the book by ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, itself provided the proof that it was a historical frame-up when it admitted that it had inserted into the picture a scene showing Leon Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution and founder of the Red Army, meeting with the Nazi von Ribbentrop in the German

Embassy in Oslo, Norway!
The Davies' book and film give the official Stalinist version of the infamous Moscow Trials of 1936-37, which were staged to discredit and eliminate many of the working class opponents of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the U.S.S.R., and which were rejected by world labour opinion as crude frame-ups. The trials were filled with all kinds of false charges against Trotsky, all of which were later irrefutably disproved—but neither the trials, the Davies' book nor the worst Stalinist slanders ever dared charge Trotsky with having met von Ribbentrop.

#### ONE BETTER THAN THE TRIAL SLANDERS

Nevertheless, the Stalinist authors of the movie scenario and the Hollywood whitewashers of the bloody Stalin regime decided to go the Moscow Trials one better and to insert this scene. After all, what is one more die in a picture full of falsification?

But apparently somebody in Holly-wood acquainted with the official Stalinist lies about the trials saw this scene and pointed out that since it was an easily exposed falsification, its inclusion would do more to hurt than to help the purpose of the picture. Consequently, according to the most recent reports, it has been eliminated.

The report that the picture would show Trotsky meeting with von Ribben-trop was first printed in the New York daily, P.M., on March 17. The historical truth of this scene was immediately challenged in a letter to P.M. by Daniel Bell, managing editor of the New Leader, U.S. Social Democratic

#### WITHDRAWN, BUT NOT REPUDIATED

On March 19, P.M. printed Bell's protest, together with an answer and a movie still from "Mission to Moscow," showing actors supposed to represent Trotsky and von Ribbentrop. P.M.'s answer said in part:

We asked our reporter (in Holly wood) to recheck and he reported back vesterday by wire this statement from Warner Bros.: 'We had ample author-ity for truth of this scene. This week, ity for truth of this scene. This week, however, it was decided to drop scene since Trotsky's deallings amply exposed

In other words, the scene was so obviously phoney that the producers cut it out—but they still pretend to stand by its "truth". They are careful not to reveal who was the "authority" for it. That's not necessary when they can slander Trotsky and other Bolshevik co-workers of Lenin in the "trial sequence"—for which they at least have the "authority" of Stalin and the G.P.U. and the "revelations" of Davies four years after the trials, in 1941 when Hitler's attack again made Stalin into an ally of Washing-

Protests against the film must be reaching sizeable proportions. On clear by the episode of March 14 The Worker said that the Ribbentrop sequence.

clique of Trotskyite and Social-Demoerat supporters of the Hitler agents. Erlich and Alter. But let them ravenobody will listen to them

Three days later, however, the same paper admitted that Warner Brothers 'are being showered with a stream" protests and appealed to its readers to send letters to Warner Brothers congratulating them for a faithful rendering of an epoch-making book.

Warner Brothers' intentions in producing the picture, and the State Department's aim in authorizing the

#### JOSEPH E. DAVIES, STALIN'S NEW-FOUND FRIEND



E. Davies, wealthy corporation and banking lawyer, poses with a section of his valuable Russian Art collection. "I am definitely not a sommunist I am a capitalist. I am proud of the designation," said Davies to Stalin.

### 2. Property. Voters must own a ertain amount of property. 3. Poll Tax, The voter must have and his roll tax within the page or By ROSE CARSON

serious strikes have broken out in the Ruhr factories. Workers have refused to go to work at night for fear of the terrible air raids. This can be readily understood and appreciated by British workers. They remember what took place at Coventry during the winter of 1940, when the British workers also refused to report for work during the terrifying and destructive bombing. The militia was called out, martial law was declared and the factories guarded by soldiers with fixed bayonets while the Riot Act was read. No civilians were allowed in or out of the city for several days. The reactions of the workers to the murderous air raids was similar in Germany, while the measures taken by the Nazis had their usual brutality. The 'News Chroncile' reports:

"The strikes which have spread throughout the entire area, resulted in a series of searches in which it was hoped to find the ringleaders. As these proved fruitless, the Germans shot 100 workers out of hand, most of them foreigners."

From this it is clear that the majority of the people in the Ruhr were in sympathy with the strikers, since they did not allow terrorism to induce them to expose the leaders of the strikes. It shows also that foreign workers were used as scape-goats.

The riots in Munich appeared to be of a more political character. The recent execution of Students and a University professor not only belie the complete unity of the German nation, it also shows active opposition to the regime. Particularly is this important since the German Students and Professors were among the first to accept Hitler's "ideals" and to join the Nazi Party in large numbers. To-day we see that the University of Munich, cradle of National Socialism is the seat of the main opposition to the Nazi egime. Hans Scholl the leaders of promises. They are increasingly relying on their own militant struggles. product of the Nazi regime. He was member of the Nazi Students' organisation and was trained as a soldier in the Nazi Army. He was imbued with workers. Such a solidarity will be a contempt for every conception other forged in common struggles against the bosses to end exploitation, and to end sophy". He fought with his regiment at Stalingrad but was sent back to

The daily press has reported that resume his studies before the final defeat. The terrible ordeals which he suffered and the awful shambles, to which Scholl was witness, seems to have changed his outlook. On his return to Germany the whole regime appeared in its true light. As a result of his change of ideas he and his sister brought out a leastet in which he

> "What Hitler and his confederates mean by freedom and honour they have shown only too well in ten years of destruction of all personal freedom, all freedom of thought, all moral principles of the German people. The eyes of the most stupid Germans have been opened by the terrible blood bath in which they endeavour to drown all Europe in the name of the freedom and the honour of the German Nation. The German name will remain forever dishonoured if German youth does not at last rise, revenge, atone, destroy its tor-mentors and help build up a new spiritual conception of Europe."

There, was widespread response to the call of these students and it resulted in an anti-fascist riot prior to Scholl's arrest.

Scholl was not betrayed by his fellow students or the professors of the University, since it is known that between ten and twenty professors were arrested for implication in the "plots" He was betrayed by a porter, one of the spies that exist in every university, every school, every hospital, every workshop and every tenement through-out Germany. Hans Scholl, his sister and four others, as well as a professor were shot, but their heroic opposition is not ended. Disturbances, unrest is reported not only from Munich but from Karlsruhe, Heidelburg., and Leipzig.

It is quite clear that not only are the German workers not responsible for Hitler and his gangsters, but that they are daily suffering torture and risking their lives in a struggle against Hitler and the fascist regime. With each day that passes the mood of the German

masses becomes clearer.
On June 13th, the 'Voelkischer Beobachter', the voice of the Nazi Party, stated:

"We in particular must acknow-ledge our close links with the Party, even though this may require a good

deal of "civic courage". It is easy, and it may appear advantageous to profess membership of the Party on testive occasions, to appear and act as a Parteigenesse (party comrade) in everyday life and at all times is incomparably harder and by no means easy."

An analysis of this statement made by the Party shows a clear admission not only of the unpopularity of the Nazi Party, but of the dislike that members have of admitting membership of the party, as well as an unvillingness to act as a member at all imes. This statement alone clearly exposes those traitors to the working lass in the British Labour Movement who have succumbed to the lying propaganda of the British imperialist uling class.

Despite the murderous Nazi regime

and its propaganda, despite the lies and slanders of the so-called socialists f Britain, the German workers are eginning to regain their confidence. They are beginning to see, if not a lear alternative, at least who are

John Gurney, writing from Stock-holm on Thursday, June 10th, reports significant statement from the German underground movement:

"It is by ourselves alone not from the invaders-that we shall get our freedom."

This statement shows a consciousness and determination that does honour to the oppressed, beaten and terrorised to the oppressive peace that the people of Germany, a consciousness not even contemplated by the so-called free socialists of Britain. If the British workers do not immediately take steps to wipe out their leaders' shameful betraval of internationalism, they will not only strengthen the machinations of their oppressors, who need to divide the workers of the world in their own interests, but they also strengthen the power of the fascist criminals.

The events of the war are fast undermining the support which the Nazis had among the German people. Instead of assisting the movement of the German workers and student revolution, the leaders of the Labour Party, are giving Hitler plenty of material to bind the waverers to his regime. The Vansittart policy could

Continued next Column.

#### What of Britain's Role?

In the third Moscow trial, held in March, 1938, Bukharin and others were made to confess that they had been plotting not only with Germany and but also with Britain and

Stalin's presecutor at the trial, Vyshinsky,

"Implicated in this case are the remnants of . . . at least, as has been scenario, have been made perfectly exactly established by the trial, four clear by the episode of the Trotsky-von foreign intelligence services, the Japanexactly established by the trial, four ese, German, Polish and British-and. it goes without saying, all the other foreign intelligence services which maintain friendly, so-called operative contact with the above-mentioned in-

telligence services."
Thus, if the official venon of the Moscow trials is to be believed, the defendants were plotting to overthrow Soviet Union with Britain and with other of the present "United Nations including presumably the United

if you catch a man in a lie, his whole story is placed in doubt. Davies should be compelled to publicly state whether or not he accepts this part of the official version of the trials; and if he rejects it, on what ground he pretends to accept the other parts.

#### Demonstration in America against Film

Socialist Workers Party branches in New York and Los Angeles led demon-strations at showings of "Mission to last week to acquaint the public with the real facts about the film and the Moscow trials.

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party conducted a second protest demonstration against Warner Brothers' whitewash film 'Mission to Moscow' last Sunday night. The purpose of the demonstration was not to prevent 'people from entering 'the theatre but to call attention to the lies in the motion picture and to the truth about the Moscow frameups

Thousands of copies of The Truh-About "Mission to Moscow" and the Moscow Trials, a four-page tabloid, were distributed. In this exposure of the lies and slanders contained in the film, the latter is branded as a "100% Stahnist he" produced with "un-

Stahnist he" produced official" government blessing.
The demonstrators carried placards the defence of the Soviet Union and denouncing "Mission to Moscow" as a white-wash of Stalin's crimes against labour. The demonstration attracted the attention and interest of thousands of theatregoers and passerby. So great was the interest of the crowd that gathered to read the placards, that the theatre management attempted to "dim-out" their effect-iveness by extinguishing the marquee lights. When this failed, the management tried to serve the demonstrators with cups of coffee in the hope that the passers-by would thereupon construe the demonstration as aff advertising

Stalinist plug-uglids milled about the theatre obviously seeking for a pretext to break up the action. They were prevented from using their customary hooligan methods by the disciplined and firm conduct of the distributors and placard bearers.

A warm reception was accorded the tabloid The Truth. Hundreds of people who had seen the picture or who had become acquainted with the controversy in the capitalist press around "Mission to Moscow" to Moscow' were eager to acquaint themselves with the Trotskyist analysis

of the Moscow trials.

After the first demonstration of the Socialist Workers Party conducted against "Mission to Moscow" when it opened at the Hollywood Theatre on April 29, many letters were received by the party's New York office, 116 University Place, asking for further information on the trials.

been written by the Nazi propagandists themselves.

The Nazi press is full of this Vansittart resolution. Look! says Goebbles, even the Labour Party will suppress the whole of the German people. Do not think you will be treated any different from Nazi party members. We will all be annihilated and suppressed together. There is no

other way but to fight. If the Labour Party Conference had demonstrated its complete break with an anti-German position; if it had placed on record its complete hostility

capitalists are preparing for the German workers; if it had informed the German and European workers that British Labour stands for a United Socialist States of Europe, the whole situation could be transformed. This would give courage to the revolutionists to continue the underground struggle. It would strike a weapon out of Goebbles hands and give hope to the mass of the German workers who have for so long suffered under the domination of Hitlerism.

The task of the Socialists in the Labour movement is to fight for the overthrow of this disgusting Vansittart policy, re-establish the independence of the Labour movement from capitalist ideology, and demonstrate in deeds to the German masses, that not have been better framed had it they really stand for a free Europe and a free world.

# WHO HELPS HITLER? THE CAPITALIST A Reply to "Hitlers' Agents Exposed"

Continued from Page 1.

enemy, the Kaiser. The German capitalists and a section of their labour lackeys accused Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht of being agents of Britain and France, John McLean and James Connolly were accused by British imperialism and a section of their labour lackeys of being agents of the Kaiser. And only recently a section of the capitalist class used the same argument against the British Communist Party at various stages in the present war.

Unfortunately for Mr. Mahon the period which the British C.P. were And the same amalgam was garding "Workers Challenge." Major We will select only two of the most Attlee who was saying: "Hitler's blatant and even stupid ones.

fully. It helped him in trying to persuade the Germans that this country was disunited." The Communist Party through the lawyer Pritt, spent no little money in trying to

and slanderous document such as Mahon's is to know where to begin. It is very simple to lie, but it is not so simple to unravel a string of lies and falsifications, each of which involves a restatement of history. Apart from the general mis-statements, there are Communist Party were prolific publicists during the "Peace with Hitler" so many secondary, but nevertheless important forgeries, that it would take a book to explode them. On some propagating from October 1939 to June pages almost every sentence of Mahon's pamphlet is a lie, which used against the Communist Party re- makes it impossible to deal with here.

#### Stalin's Relations with Lenin

On page 10, Mahon states:

When in 1924 Lenin's trusted comrade in arms Joseph Stalin, became the General Secretary of the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky continued the struggle." (against the Bolshevik Party)

Every time these pen prostitutes put ink on paper a blot appears! Firstly, Stalin did not become the General Secretary of the Bolshevik Party in 1924. He was made the General Secretary at the March Conference in 1921. This is not a deliberate lie on Mahon's part. He simply does not know. But such is the modern school of Stalinist "historian"!

But aside from the blunder in the above quoted passage, it also contains a few falsifications. Far from Joseph Stalin being "Lenins trusted comrade in arms," according to Lenin's wife Krupskaya, Lenin broke off comradely relations with Stalin before he died. What is even more damning, Lenins last letter to the Party, dated December 25th, 1923, contained the following

"Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution,"

In the postscript to that letted dated January 4th, 1923, Lenin added:

Stalin is too rude and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes un-Secretary .. therefore, I propose to skyist statement . . . at least on this the comrades to find a way to re-

dispose of this slanderous allegation. The difficulty of dealing with a foul

move Stalin from that position and to appoint to it another man who in all respects differs to Stalin only in superiority - namely, more

patient, more loyal, more polite, more attentive to comrades, less

capricious, etc." In these few lines, Lenin drew the portrait of Stalin: a rude and disloyal bureaucrat! Let the paid Stalinist hacks prate about "Stalin, the lifelong comrade of Lenin" two decades after his death. The real Lenin shattered this falsification as his last political act. And lest Mahon and his cohorts try to earn their bread by denying the existence of Lenin's statement; Stalin himself has testified to its existence as well as its content in a speech which was printed by the Communist Party in "International Press Correspondence" of November 17th, 1927, In this published speech Stalin said:

"It is said that in the 'Testament' in question Lenin suggested to the Party Congress that it should deliberate on the question of replacing Stalin and appointing another Comrade in his place as General Secretary, this is perfectly true. . . ."

The question must be answered: Why is it that so important a document as the last letter of Lenin to the Bolshevik Party, has been kept under lock and key and has never been published by the Stalinists? Because it expresses the official lie that Stalin was the "trusted comrade" of Lenin supportable in the office of General It demonstrates the truth of the Trot-

#### Trotsky "Forewarned" the Enemy-Stalin Gives the Lie to Mahon

with is on the same page of Mahon's was personally supervised by Stalin? pamphlet-page 10. He writes:

"When Lenin in November wanted date, Trotsky announced it publicly forewarning the enemy."

The first portion of this crude lie was fabricated after the murder of Zinoviev by Stalin's gunmen. It appears for the first time in the "History of the C.P.SU" 1939, printed in Moscow and circulated by the British CP at 1/6 a copy On page 205 of this book, the following is stated:

"Although at this meeting Trotsky did not vote against the resolution (to fix the date for the uprising) directly, he moved an amendment which would have reduced the chances of the uprising to nought and rendered it abhortive. He proposed that the uprising should not be started before the Second Congress of Soviets met, a proposal which meant delaying the uprising, divulging its date and forewarning the Provisional Government.

Already from the official historical quotation, we see that Mahon adds his own extra piece of falsification. The already fake 1939 "history" states that the proposal not to precipitate the uprising until after the Congress of Soviets met, would have resulted in the Provisional Government becoming aware of the date. But Mr. Mahon must needs go further than even the official historians and state that "Trotsky announced it publicly, forewarning the enemy."

If this statement is true, why does merely a second rate hack? Why fence of Kameney and Zinoviev. As have the so-called "Histories" of the a matter of fact, Stalin was the main some two dozen-not mentioned this against Lenin Juring this period'

The second falsification we will deal fact-including the 1939 edition which

However, the lie is given, not only to Mahon,, but to Stalin's personally to fix the date for the uprising, edited "history," by the master him-Trotsky wanted to delay it. When the Central Committee decided the the Stalin regime against Trotsky, statement of Piatnitsky in the "Comentitled "Errors of Trotskyism" and published by British Communist Party in May 1925, he stated:

> "These minutes (of the C.C. referred to by Mahon) destroy the legend that the C.C. was faced by a split on the question of the insurrection. It is evident from the minutes that the opponents of immediate revolt-Comrade Kamenev and Zinoviev joined the organ for the political direction of the revolt, just as those who were in favour of it. . . . How is it to be explained that the Party escaped a split? It is to be explained by the fact that these comrades were Old Bolsheviks . . . because comrades Zinoviev and Kemenev were Leninists, were Bolsheviks"

Strange indeed, that Stalin does not attack Trotsky for forewarning the

Commenting on the debate on the C.C. of the Bolshevik Party regarding Lenin's proposal for insurrection in the same book, Stalin states:

. a resolution of Comrade Lenin's as to the revolt is put to the vote. The resolution is passed with a majority of 10 against 2 votes .. (Kamenev and Zinoviev).

When Trotsky, in his book "Lessons of October" wrote a criticism of the vascillations of Kamenev and Zinoviev precisely for the action which Mahon now attributes to Trotsky, Stalin and it appear for the first time from the all his paid Manous were mobilised in pen of Mr. Mahon, who after all, is the attack against Trotsky and in de-C.P.S.U.-of which there have been defender of Kamenev and Zimoviev

#### Have the Stalinists Fought Fascism

The most vociferous argument of one occasion they were the actual a blatant lie which they try to ram false policy. down the throats of the workers fighting Fascism, but on more than larly on the part of the German Com-

the Stalinist leadership is that they allies of fascists. And when they did are, and always have been, the prin-range themselves against the fascists, ciple opponents of Fascism. This is they fought with false weapons and a

When Fascism was rising in Gerthrough their powerful propaganda many from 1928 to 1933, a correct machine. Not only have they never policy on the part of the German adopted the revolutionary method of Social Democratic Party, and particu-

papers had reported the Convention munist Party could have crushed fascism without formidable opposition from the Nazi thugs. But instead of fighting for a united front of the workers organisations to crush the Nazis, the Communist Party were fighting the Social Democratic workers on the streets and even voted with the Nazis against the Social Democrats.

To day, the C.P. try to convince the workers that they were for a united front with the Social Democrats in Germany, but the truth is the very opposite.

During this critical period the Communist Party "theoreticians " claimed that the main enemy of the German working class was the German Social Democratic Party and not the Fascists. Stalin had written in his first article to be published in the "Communist International" (No. 6. 1925):

"Fascism and Social Fascism (Social Democracy) are not antipodes, they are twins."

Flowing from this Stalinist "theory which was dropped from 1925 until 1928) the argument was developed that the Labour and Trade Union leaders were concealed Fascists and the organisations they controlled were concealed fascist organisations. In July 1929, the Theses of the E.C.C.L. published by the British C.P. formulated the idea of Social Fascism, as

"In countries where there are strong Social Democratic Parties, fascism assumes a particular form of Social Fascism."

While Trotsky was clamouring for the Communist Party of Germany to give a lead to organise a United Front with the Social Democratic Party, to fight Hitler and prevent his coming to power, the Stalinists actively opposed genuine united front, as did their Social Democratic counter-parts.

"It is significant " observed the 'Daily Worker' less than a year before Hitler's triumph, "that Trotsky has come out in defence of a united front between the Communist and Social Democratic parties against Fascism. No more disruptive and counter revolutionary class lead could possibly have been given at a time like the present."

—" Dally Worker " May 26th 1932.

Only a couple of months before Hitler was made Chancellor, Ralph fighting in the Popular Front forces, fakers deny this historical fact! wrote an article on the German situation in the December 1932 "Communist

"Insisting all the time that Social Democracy is the chief social support of capitalism, the Party has carried on intense and unceasing struggle against the German Social Democratic Party and the new 'In dependent Socialist Labour Party as well as against right wing and Trotskyist renegades who wanted the party of the proletariat to make a united front with Social Fascism against Fascism."

Today Stalinists try to brush all this aside, and inform the workers that they repeatedly offered the Social Democracy a united front. But the who according to the Stalinists would munist International" for March 15th 1932 (English edition) should put all doubts on this score aside. Attacking Comrade Trotsky for urging the united front between the Communist and Labour Parties against Nazism,

"The Social Democrats too some times put forward the slogan of And in this the renegade Trotsky hastens to their aid with his proposal for a 'bloc' between the Communists and the Social Democrats. . . . How is it possible to deduce . . . the necessity of estab-lishing a 'bloc' with the German Social Democrats say, for the struggle against Fascism when the Social Democrats are doing nothing but helping the Fascists?"

However, if this theory made it impossible for the Stalinists to have a united front with the Social Democrats against the Fascists, it did not prevent the Stalinists having a united front with the fascists: with the Nazis against the Social Democrats! When, in 1931, the Nazis instituted a referendum to remove from power the Social Democratic Government in the Prussia, the Stalinists united with the Nazis to oust the Labour Party. The spontaneous reaction of the German Communist rank and file as well as sections of the leadership, was to unite with the Labour Party against the Nazis. But instructions were received from Moscow to participate in the Nazi referendum. Thus, we had the spectacle of the German C.P. participating in the Nazi referendum, working side by side with the Nazis to unseat the Labour Government. And Gallacher had the dishonesty to label the Nazi referendum, a 'Red Referendum''!

The Stalinists attempt to deny that the "line" had come from Moscow. But their denials are worthless to any honest worker who wishes to study the period and read a statement which the Secretary of the then Communist International wrote in the "Guide to the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I." published by the British C.P. through Modern Books:

"You know, for example, that the and unprincipled line; into supporting

leadership of the party (the German C.F.) opposed taking part in the referendum (the Nazi- referendum) on the dissolution of the Prussian Landtag. A number of party news papers published leading articles opposing participation in that referendum. But when the Central Committee of the Party jointly with the Comintern arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to take an active part in the referendum, the German comrades in the course of a few days, roused the whole party. Not a single party, except the C.P.S.U. could do that . . . .

supported the Nazis against the Social

How they would like to forget this period of their history! What sums they would give to erase their printed word of vesterday!

In Britain, following the instructions of Moscow, the same mad policy was pursued. Pollitt today cringes before the Labour leaders in making an application for affiliation to the Labour Party. But on the Editorial page of the "Daily Worker," January 29th 1930, Pollitt directed the members of the Communist Party to smash up Labour Party meetings by means of physical

"There should not be a Labour

They should never be allowed to address meetings. This will bring us in conflict with the authorities but this must be done. The fight can no longer be conducted in a passive manner."

For three years this policy was arried out, and the Communist Party recruited many hoodlums, whose main activity was to smash up Labour neetings.

The Trotskyists were expelled from the British C.P. precisely for opposing this policy and demanding the adoption of a correct united front policy with the mass organisations of the working class, the Labour Party and the trade unions. In 1932 they were expelled without the right to state their case at the Battersea Conference. Fox, who was later killed in Spain Let Pollitt, Campbell and the other

Attacking Trotsky for proposing the united front against fascism, Willie Gallacher in a pamphlet entitled Pensioners of Capitalism," 1934,

keeping out the fascists."

From this sorry position the Stalinists swung right over to the equally false position of the "Popular Front with capitalist parties. This resulted in the "Communist" Parties subjecting the interests of the workers to those of the "non-fascist' capitalists carry out a genuine fight against the refrained from putting forward their own class policy! In practice this meant having a united front with one section of the capitalists against the workers and eventually the victory of fascism over the popular front.

But even after the victory of Hitler,

of the British Labour movement was

foisted on to the members of the C.P.

on October 7th, 1939. Suffering from

the hangover of the "Popular Front"

line; incapable of fully understanding

the implications of Stalin's pact with

Hitler: the leadership of the C.P.G.B.

continued to support the British ruling

class-to support the war. But it took

one month for the "line" to seep

tion with the Stalinist parties in all

Pollitt and Campbell were accused

through from Moscow. In conjunc-

the "democracies," the C.P.G.B. com-

of leading the Party off the rails-

against the wishes of all the other

members of the E.C. This fairy tale

was driven home by the "declara-

tions" which these miserable creatures signed and which were

widely publicised in the party press.

The atmosphere was created that the

new decision was a "self arrived" at

the overwhelming majority of the

party executive.

But the truth is very different and

is easy to establish. There is not a

single published document in existence

written by one of the so-called "anti-war" faction preceeding the

manifesto of October 7th either of a

public character-or written for in-

ternal party discussion opposing the

pro-war line. What happened to these

they allowed two of their members-

even if they be leading members, to

force the party into a completely false

intransigent" "Bolsheviks" (!!!) that

"democratic" decision on the part of

pletely reversed its policy.

capitalists and landowners in Italy and

On several other occasions they

passing of resolutions is not enough. There should not be a Labour meeting held anywhere, but what the revolutionary workers in that district attend such meetings and fight against the speakers, whoever they are, so-called 'left, 'right' or centre.

"So the Bourgeois liberal Trotsky puts forward the apparently simple, but totally un-Marxian, solution of a united front with the Social De-

to Justification of Hitler

people of Europe: If further proof is needed of the hypocrisy and cynicism in the claim democracies" that they stand for the "liberation" of Europe and the rights of its peoples to determine their

own destiny, it is provided by the atti-tude towards Giraud. The Anglo-American imperialists in North Africa have decisively intervened in the struggle being waged between Giraud and de Gaulle for control of the French armed forces in North Africa. This should have been an "internal" question for the French themselves to decide according to ordinary capitalist diplomacy. But proclaiming their deire not to intervene in French affairs, the American imperialists dragging the British after them, intervened and forced the retention of Giraud as Comand mander-in-Chief of the armed forces. Not that there is much to chose between these two measures the capitalists are preparing worthies. The masses in France, to protect their colonial loot and associate Giraud with the Vichy regime profits. which cynically hired itself out as a kept servant and which helped the Nazis to exploit the French people. Giraud supported Petain and kept in power the Vichyites in Algeria. Yet he is kept in power by the will of American imperialism. To the of American imperialism. To the Americans he appears as a pliant tool who can be used for the ends of Wall Street. Thus the capitalists in control even today, are making certain of having the puppets to continue the struggle against the they want ready to thrust into power ruling class in Britain. The sole soluat the expense of alienating the people

wiped off the face of the earth once the Fourth International which

would mean to all workers. But the victory of Anglo-American Imperialism Germany and throughout Europe as would not at all mean the destruction agents for the exploitation of the of fascism: It would not have much of fascism: It would not have much better consequences for the workers

of the world than that of the Axis. Meanwhile, Hitler by enslaving all Europe has united the workers of all Europe against him in a common bond of solidarity. The revolution in Germany will unite Polish, French, Czech, Dutch, Norwegian, Ukrainian and other workers taken as slave labour to Germany together with the German workers. But when the masses Germany begin to revolt, the British capitalists will attempt to suppress them by force. At the same time that the capitalists are making these preparations, the Labour leaders and the so-called Communist Party are playing the game of the capitalists by repeating the lies and slanders against the German workers and hiding the real causes of the war, and of fascism. They act as deceivers of and traitors to the working class. They support the profits.

It is the duty of the British workers to give class solidarity and support to the German workers. If the British workers had to take power that would sound the death-knell of Hitler and When the German and Mussolini. Italian workers move to overthrow their rulers they must receive the full support of the British working class. The best aid that the British workers can give their comrades in Europe is tion to the problems of war and fasef Europe.

Every worker wishes to see fascism the Workers' International League and and for all. It is clear to the workers on the fight for a Socialist Britain and of the whole world what ghastly herror a Socialist United States of Europe.

Front Campaign, put forward a united front proposal to the French fascist youth against the Nazis. The Italian Stalinists put forward a united front policy with one section of the Italian fascists against another, and particularly against the German fascists. In Czechoslovakia in 1939, when Hitler cynically violated the Munich agree ment and marched on Prague, masses of the workers clamoured for arms to defend themselves. Instead of giving the workers a lead to take action against the Government which was helpless in the face of the onrush of the Nazi Army, Gottwald the leader of the Stalinist party of Czechoslovakia, appeared on the balcony of the Czech Parliatogether with Rasin, the leader of the Czach fascists and called upon the workers to trust General Syrovy! General Syrovy, who at that mocracy with the main object of moment was negotiating to hand the

city over to the Nazis! But Stalin himself was to have a united front with Hitler. Secretly negotiating with the Nazis, the "antifascist" policy was thrown over-board within 24 hours. The non-aggression pact freed Hitler's hands for war, and Poland was invaded. In Moscow, Stalin was wining and dining with the lazi butchers just as he does today fascists . . . but only if the workers with the representatives of allied imperialism. And while Stalin was assuring the workers of Russia and Germany that this unity was "sealed in blood" and that there was now no possibility of war between the Soviet Union and Germany. Trotsky was publicly warning that Hitler would a negotiated peace, and so also did use the pact to consolidate his base and with the introduction of the in Europe, and then turn round and Popular Front policy, the Communist rend the Soviet Union. From Support of British Imperialism

opposiog it? Either they were spine-

evidence, not a single written line that

any member of the C.C. opposed the

war during this period. But there is

a mine of information that they

supported the war in exactly the same

issue of the " Daily Worker," " World's

News and Views," "Challenge" and

all the other C.P. controlled press

carry articles from the pens of Rust,

Dutt and all the other executive mem-

bers supporting the war during this

period. Far from the party leaders

making a genuine "mistake" at the

beginning of the war, the evidence all

proves that they got the line from

But the new "anti-war" line, far

from being a genuine revolutionary

policy for the overthrow of capitalism

and the defeat of Hitler, demanded

peace with Hitler on Hitler's terms.

The Manifesto of the C.C. of the C.P.G.B. dated October 7th 1939,

formally reversed the partyline. In

"the continuance of this war is not

in the interests of the people of

Britain, of France, of Germany.

End this war before it has brought

death and destruction upon millions

and millions of people, before the

flower of our youth is slaughtered."

italics, this manifesto stated:

just the scapegoats!

Pollitt and Campbell were

terms as Pollitt and Campbell Every

less time-servers without principle .

Party had proposed united fronts with With this statement we are in com-The fascists. A section of the French plete agreement of Y.C.L. at one stage in the Popular But how to end But how to end the war and defeat the war-mongers in Britain and destroy Fascism? The "Socialist Appeal" advocated then as it does now, that the British workers should struggle for power in its own hands here and then assist the German and European workers to overthrow Nazism. Not so the Stalinist Party. advocated "Peace With Hitler"! Of course, they tried to cover it up with left terms. Here are a few typical quotations from the "Daily Worker" during this period:

On October 2nd the main "Daily Worker" headline read: "It is not Too Late" - Moscow

view of Peace Offer to Europe. And on the following day their main headline said in regard to Hitler's peace offer:

\*Opinion Grows in Favour of Serious Consideration'."

On the day after that so quickly had opinion grown in favour, that the Communist Party issued a special statement saying:

"We are against the continuance of the war. We demand that negoti-ations be immediately opened for the establishment of peace in Europe."

In answer to a questionnaire sent round by the "Daily Worker," Bernard Shaw advised:

"Cease Fire, Turn Up the Lights" and this provided the headline of the October 14 issue of the "Daily Worker." Professor Haldane agreed on the necessity for an armstice and that present redoubtable champion of democracy" Sir Stafford Cripps. Willie Gallacher toed the line with:

"We must face up to whatever peace terms there are." And don't forget: these peace terms were Hitler's Peace terms!

On November 2nd, 1939, Molotov en-The most cynical trick in the history | the war when they should have been dorsed the Nazi policy of rapine and conquest in the following statement quoted from the "Daily Worker or the statement that they "opposed' the war was a fake. There is no of the following day:

"Today so far as the European great Powers are concerned, Germany is in the position of a State which is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace. while Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaiming against aggression are in favour of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. Roles you see are changing."

Commenting on Hitler's speech at the end of January 1940, the Editorial of the "Daily Worker" of February 1st, stated:

"Hitler repeated once again his claim that the war was thrust upon him by Britain. Against this historical fact there is no reply. Britain tempts were made to end the war, but the Sovet German peace overtures were rejected by Britain. All through these months the British and French Governments have had the power to end the war. They have chosen to extend it . . . War should never have been declared on September 3, there should have been negotiations and peace talks."

To be continued.

NEXT ISSUE WE WILL DEAL WITH THEIR SO-CALLED CRITIC-ISMS OF OUR POLICY.

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