ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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TWOPENCE

TYNESIDE STRIKERS T.U. Officials Disband Militant N.U.G.M.W. Branch By MEATON LEE

SHAMEFUL ATTACK ON

THE ENTIRE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT HAS BEEN SHAKEN BY THE NEWS RELEASED ON WEDNES-DAY, 4th OCTOBER THROUGH THE CAPITALIST PRESS THAT THE NORTHERN EXECUTIVE OF THE N.U.G.M.W. HAD DISBANDED THE NEWCASTLE No 9 BRANCH OF THE UNION.

THIS HIGH-HANDED BUREAUCRATIC ACTION OF THE E.C. IS THE CULMIN-ATING ACT IN A STRUGGLE THEY HAVE BEEN CONDUCTING FOR MONTHS AGAINST THE MILITANT RANK AND FILE LEADERSHIP ON THE TYNE.

WHAT HAPPENED IN PARIS REPORT

ALTHOUGH THE CAPITALIST GROUPS, AND ESPECIALLY THE STALINISTS, SUCCEEDED IN CANALISING THE PARIS UPRISING OF AUGUST 19th TO THE 24th INTO NATIONALIST LINES, THE CLASS LINES EXERTED THEIR INFLUENCE.

the class lines, although superficially hidden, exerted their influence.

The general slogan was the purely nationalist one "Out with the Boche", and the general idea in the minds of the insurrectionists who fought and died on the barricades, was that the sole purpose of the uprising was the ejection of the Germans from the city. In fact, the Communist Party of Infact, the Communities of Communities and Infact, the Communities of Communities were elected to take over the factory canteen.

The food situation being acute, the factory canteen. Not only the workers, but their families fed at them. A large proportion of the disputes and strikes that took place in the weeks prior to the capture of Paris, were reejection of the Germans from the city. In fact, the Communist Party of In fact, the Communist Party of strikes that took place in the weeks prior to the capture of Paris, were regreatest influence in the resistance movement (in Paris the F.T.P. Frances ments—over the quality and quantity of the food its prior of the graph of the prior of the movement (in Paris the F.T.P. Frances Tireurs et Partisans, formed the major part of the F.F.I.) deliberately fostered this mood. "L'Humanite" appeared one day with the headline: "A chaque Parisien son Boche" (To each Parisian his Boche"). However, if the class issues were momentarily confused detachments, sont cut by the featured class issues were momentarily confused in the minds of the masses, the character of the movement revealed the underlying class issues.

The actual street fighting was done largely by the F.F.I. (F.T.P., etc.) in the city itself, and of the tarricades by elements of the petit bourgeoisie (the local shop keepers, functionaries, housewives, etc.) and workers in the popular districts (14th 11th, etc.)

The workers of the banlieu (suburbs) of the big factories, Renault, Citroen, S.N.A.C., Gnome et Rhone, etc., did not, in general, descend into Paris. They intervened in quite another way. They intervened in quite another way. They occupied the factories, arrested or forced the arrest of the collaborating directing personnel, and in the most advanced cases, prepared the factories to start production again under their central their control.

In most factories, the initiative was taken by Communist Party factory militants, and Trotskyists. Example:

Although the bourgeois groups, and especially the Stalinists, succeeded in canalising the Paris uprising of August 19th to 24th into nationalist lines, making it a "national" insurrection, the class lines, although superficially hidden, exerted their influence.

The general slower was the small.

course to direct requisitioning. Black market stocks were raided by organised detachments, sent out by the factories to supply the canteens. In the districts, Housewives' Committees sprang up to fight the Black Market and ensure the distribution of captured German food stocks.

FACTORY MILITIAS

In many factories the nuclei of workers' militias had already been built up secretly under the German occupation. The Communist Party had called for the formation of "Milices Occupation Party lightness" but in two Ouvrier Patriotiques", but in two ways their growth was obstructed. Firstly, whatever arms were available to the Resistance movement, were distributed mainly to the reactionary elements, the O.C.M., the Armee Secrete, etc. The F.T.P. and workers had to arm themselves mostly from arms captured or stolen from the Germans. Secondly, the Stalinists urged the workers to leave the factories and militants, and Trotskyists. Example:
At a factory employing over 1,000
workers, about 15 workers assembled
at the factory. These included about
10 C.P. members and supporters and 10 C.P. members and supporters, and about 2 or 3 Trotskyists. These 15 was their stronghold, and not allow

PRODUCTION UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL

In many factories in the Paris region similar conditions as in Italy in 1919, and in Spain in 1936 existed, where the whole of the managing and technical personnel of the works had either fled or were arrested. The Workers' Committees appointed new directors foremen, technicians, etc., to work under their control and prepare the factories for a restart of production, and they sent delegates to de Gaulle's Ministry of Production, of Labour, etc., asking for permission to start work and laying out detailed plans. They were told that it was impossible to start production as there was no power for the machines. The Government, they said, would appoint administratuers delegues (picked or delegated administrators) to take over the rac-tories whose directors had been arrested. In the meanwhile, nothing was to be done.

Even in the Paris Metro, the staff on their own initiative, drew up a plan and time-table for the trains, made the necessary repairs, and said to the authorities: "Let us run the Metro."

At the same time, the workers in the factories drew up "Cahiers de Revendications" (Lists of Demands) which varied from factory to factory, but included commonly, wage increases, workers' control of and inspection of the books, workers' control of employment and exchange, control of the canteen, etc.

In some suburbs, the different fac-tories linked up and called inter-factory delegates meetings, representdemocratically elected by secret ballot.

The "illegal C.G.T.", and the returned Trade Union official from Algiers, tried to bridle this spontancous creation of Factory Committees, etc. One example shows the mood in which they were received. At a meeting of district factory delegates in a Paris suburb, an official of the C.G.T. intervened and declared that the meeting had no authority, was not properly constituted, and represented nothing. Whereupon one delegate, not belonging to any party, jumped up and exclaimed: "And who the hell do you represent? I represent ——— Factory, I was elected by so many workers. Who Union dues for 15 years and it (the C.G.T.) has done nothing for us at all." He was loudly applauded by the rest of the meeting. The C.G.T. official had to withdraw

Thus, although the Paris insurrection took place under nationalist, "classless" slogans, and although all tendencies in the Resistance, from

cial had to withdraw.

Continued on page 4.

Morale in the **Red Army**

Despite years of effort towards the stifling of revolutionary ideas by the Stalinist bureaucracy, the socialist idea of world revolution for the overthrow of capitalism has not been eliminated from the consciousness of the Soviet working class.

W. C. Heinz, correspondent of the 'New York Sun' in the French port of Cherbourg, now occupied by Allied troops, reports that there are a number of Russians there who were brought in by the Nazis from the Eastern front

to do forced labour.
"In talking with the Russians here," he writes, "the authorities found that they had a quiet appreciation of the second front, but were still interested in world revolution and were steadfast in their assertion that they would have nothing to do with any country in which the workers were abused."

National Union of General & Municipal Workers

leadership of Bro. Pearson, the Chairman of No. 9 Branch, has been a thorn in the side of the dock and union bosses. As a workers' representative

on the N.E. coast Port Council, and

the Quayside Sub-Committee, he has fought consistently and uncompromisingly for workers' rights and condi-

tions. He has the unqualified support

of every docker on the Quayside.

Mark Hewitson in his press state-

ment designated the Tyne as the black spot in the country, and inferred that there were certain elements who re-

quired investigating. A brief survey of the dockers' struggles during the past two years will show that it is not

the rank and file leadership, at whom his remarks are directed, whose re-cords need investigating, it is not the

> Northern District APPROVED SOCIETY FOR NATIONAL

> > Our Ref.

unications to be addressed to 24 The Grove, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 3

I, the undersigned, in desiring to remain a member of the N.U.G.M.W., wish to enter the new branch,

and to take up continuous membership. I undertake to observe the Rules of the Union,

as decided upon by Biennial Congress, and I further undertake to honour and observe Trade Union Agreements Regottered on my Sylven the who will be the machinery set up for that purpose.

Signed......

Card No.....(late Newcastle 9). Contributions to be paid (pro tem) at 3 Higham Place, Neweastle-on-Tyne.

THIS SCANDALOUS SHEET OF PAPER IS BEING CIRCULATED TO THE DOCKERS BY THE UNION BUREAUCRATS, BUT NOT A

For years the courageous, militant | dockers who are the saboteurs. It is | they had had to fight against the rank the record of Hewitson, Liste and the bureaucrats of the N.U.G.M.W. that needs investigation, they are the saboteurs of trades unionism. They make the Tyne the black spot by their very presence in office.

Hewitson's signature on the infamous Arbitration Agreement on Dec. 2nd, 1941 to cut the 'lieu rate' of the

Type Dockers which had been established by custom at 23/- per shift down to 16/4 precipated the Tyneside Dockers strike of May 1942. Hewitson's acceptance of the cut in the face of the unanimous opposition of Tyneside Dockers, and the victory which the bosses scored in the strike which broke out as a result of the dissatisfaction over the agreement, gave the bosses the self-assurance they lacked when

HEATON LEE

ition from the dockers he agreed to the bosses' proposals for a reduction of the size of the shore gang. Recently eight cases which had been submitted for arbitration were all decided against the workers. Ever since the introduction of Bevin's Dock Labour Scheme and compulsory arbitration the Tyne-side dockers have not had a single decision in their favour. " Past practice and custom" was always interpreted in favour of the bosses. The "give and take" policy which had been operated by the workers in their direct negotiations with the bosses, had become all "take" and no give so far as the

bosses were concerned.

In March this year, the workers' representatives on the Quayside Sub-Committee gave notice to the employ ers that owing to the changed wartir conditions, the past practice of remoing and replacing hatch covers at inclusive piece work price could-longer be continued. They asked the employers agree to a paymets... 3/- per day for the removal a placement of hatches.

The employers' representatives asked for time to consider the application. At a later meeting they refused the application which was referred to the N.E. Port Committee, who considered it and threw out the workers' claim. The matter was raised again on the Quayside Sub-Committee by the workers' representatives. This time the employers agreed to consider the application afresh. Two months had already been wasted.

After a few days the employers pro-

duced a draft, which was submitted to the workers for consideration. Its conditions were so odious that they were. rejected out of hand and so the negomonths. Meanwarte no hatches was lifted or replaced by the dockers, the work being done by lumpers and rig-gers on the big vessels and by the crews of the smaller coastal vessels.

Then at a meeting of the Sub-Committee on August 11th the employers "conceded" a minor point in the draft that the agreement would cover all vessels. Without consultation with the dockers Lisle, the full time organiser of the dockers section, agreed to the draft, the principal section of which provided that only 1/- would be paid to each member of a gang of 7 men for removing **a whole** cover and 1/for replacing the whole cover.

He agreed with the employers' secretary that the new "agreement" (Continued on page 4)

Vickers Sack 200

No Transfers to Parent Factory

Some 200 workers at a small dispersal branch of a large Southern England engineering firm, received something of a surprise on Tuesday, Sept. 19th, when the management made it known that the establishment was to be closed forthwith, and that every one of the personnel would be discharged before the end of this year. There were to be no transfers back to the parent factory of the skilled men who had moved their homes during the 1940 Blitz to the vicinity of the dispersal plant, or of those who still lived near the parent factory and who travelled from there every day.

The A.E.U. shop stewards, knowing that the decision to close down in this way was vitally interesting to all employees, especially in view of the pre-valence of redundancy throughout the industry, met to discuss the position. An unsuccessful attempt having been made, meanwhile, to get further in-

formation from the management. The discussion was divided into two

(1) The immediate local issue, and, (2) Redundancy as a National issue and what was to be done about

On the first part, it was realised that a number of employees would want to make some move of their own rather than wait until they were discharged, and also that a great number of personal problems would arise, so it was decided to obtain all the information possible from the local Ministry of Labour as to the local work position, the moving back of homes, the pos-ition of certain classes of men, and many other points which would obviously arise from individual circum-

By H. G. HOWARD Convener of Shop Stewards

The management were approached for permission to hold the meeting outside working hours but on the firm's premises. This was, as usual, refused in their best non-cooperative manner, a local Mission Hall was secured for the purpose. An excellent attendance, and the spirit of the meeting proved the concern felt over the issue. After the chairman opened, the Works Convenor described his efforts to obtain information from the local Ministry of Labour officials. From his report it seemed that these officials did not like the idea of having 200 men thrown suddenly on to their books owing to the difficulty of placing them. The possibility of any workers being the immediate or the imm placed in jobs in the immediate or adjacent localities seemed very remote.

He then clarified the position of workers in various circumstances, from which tollowed a considerable number of questions and discussion. Having cleared up personal problems as far as possible, he then went on to say that although the establishment was only a small one in comparison with the parent factory, the question of redundancy was one in which other branches of the group and the main factory itself were intimately con-cerned, so therefore a meeting of all Shop Stewards in the group should be

called immediately.
In view of the known rifeness and growth of redundancy throughout the country a more farsighted view should be taken, and workers should look beyond their own factory and see the problem as a much deeper one, capable only of being solved properly on a Resolutions were drawn up, and it was decided to call a Works meeting for the following day (Friday) for the endorsement of these.

The fact that the spectre of unemployment, even with the war still on, was fast becoming a stark reality, proved that something was wrong, and also the resolutions. National basis. The fact that the

I immediate drastic action. He thought that Nationally, the problem was far too big for the honouring of the Relaxation Agreement to have any appreciable effect. Splitting the workers for the sake of just tickling at the problem

would do more harm than good.

He suggested that a solution could be found either by sharing existing work out, or creating new work. If work could not be provided, then now was the time for a reduction in hours of the working week, without reduction of wages. After their great efforts and sacrifices for the purpose of winning the war, continuous employment was not an unduly big reward for the worker to ask for, but ask for it they endorsing the following resolution, re-commended by their Works committee:

"In view of the fact that redund-ancy in the industry is on the increase and that the Union in the district should prepare itself for all eventualities, this meeting urges the District Committee to call a conference of all Shop Stewards, Works Committees and Branches in the district to formulate plans for dealing with all matters arising from redundancy, and the change over from war to peace pro-

duction. We suggest that the District Committee press for curtailment of the working hours per week, thereby ensuring employment for all members, this to be on the lines of the recent application by Executive Council, i.e.

with no reduction in wages." After discussion this was carried

Two other resolutions were also car-

The first was as follows:-"That this meeting demand that a

Continued on page 4.

European Trotskyist Parties Meet

In a letter to the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, signed by the "European Secretariat" of the Fourth International, we are informed of the work of our European comrades. This is one of the most important reports to come out of Europe since the collapse of France in 1940, and the news it contains will be heartily welcomed by Fourth Internationalists and revolutionary workers the world over. The European Secretariat, which has nationalist Workers' Party) and

general structure of the Fourth Interestablished.

news of the rise of our Italian movement, this news from Europe demonstrates the vitality of the programme and party of the Fourth International. It deals a harsh blow to the pessimists who have spoken about the collapse of internationalism.

We have received news of our British brother party, the R.C.P. together with a number of copies of your publication, the "Socialist Appeal". We in's Voice" hope shortly to get a complete report of all the international sections out-side Europe and to take up our international connections. Here shortly is news from us.

In February 1944, a European Conference met in France. Present were representatives from the following sections: P.O.I.-P.C.I. (France); Revolutionary Communist Party (Belgium) Internationalist Communist Party (Greece); Lenin and Trotsky Group (Spain); Internationalist Communist Group of the German Emigration in

The Conference lasted six days with coutive Committee and a European Experiment of the leadership were deported to Germany; Secretariat were set up. The two French organisations, P.O.I. (Inter-

been set up is clearly a provisional P.C.I. (Internationalist Communist body and will find its place within the Party) were unified in the Internationalist Communist Party (P.C.I.). general structure of the Fourth International as the connections between the international leadership and the European leadership become firmly become firmly clandestinely until now and which has clandestinely until now and which has Following so closely on the great ews of the rise of our Italian move-French Party publishes "La Verite" of which 70 clandestine issues have appeared since 1940. Since the unification, 15,000 copies of each issue are produced. The French Party is now preparing the first legal number of "La Verite" which will appear in a few

The Belgian Party publishes "Lenin's Voice" in French, in 10,000 copies, and "The Class Struggle" in Flem-

ish, in 7,000 copies per issue. The Greek Party publishes "The Proletarian" and a magazine, "Fourth

International". The German group in France published a printed paper, "Arbeiter und Soldat" ("Worker and Soldier"). The Spanish group, the magazine "Comu-

The Nazi repression dealt us heavy blows everywhere. Dozens of militants were shot, mainly in France and Holland, Greece and Belgium. Hundreds of others were imprisoned and deported to Germany. Among the leading comthe following results: a European Ex- rades: in France eight members of the

Labour to Power

on the following Programme

AN END TO THE COALITION WITH

THE BOSSES. LABOUR AND THADE UNION LEADERS MUST BREAK WITH THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT AND WAGE A CAMPAIGN FOR POWER ON THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMME:—

Industrial and Economic Policy.

Nationalisation of the land, mines,

panks, to sport and all big in-

dustry wit... ut compensation, as the prerequisite for a planned economy

and the only means of ensuring

full employment with adequate standards of living for the workers,

and the operation of the means of

production under control of work-

Confiscation of all war profits, all company books to be open for trade union inspection, control of pro-

duction through workers' commit-

tees to end the chaos and mis-

Distribution of food, clothes and

other consumers commodities under

the control of committees of work-

ers elected from the Co-qps, dis-tributive trades, factories, house-wives' committees, and small shop-

keepers, and allocation of housing

under the control of tenants' com-

A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum; the rate for

the job; and industrial rates for all

Democratic Demands

Repeal of the Essential Works

Order, the Emeregency Powers Act

and all other anti-working class and

Full electoral and democratic rights

for all persons from the age of 18

years. Full democratic and political

rights for the men and women in

Immediate freedom and uncon-

ditional independence for India, Ireland and all the colonies of Brit-

ain; immediate withdrawal of Brit-

ish armed forces from these countries; full economic and military

assistance to the Indian and colon-

ial peoples to maintain their inde-pendence against all imperialist at-

Clear out the reactionary, pro-fascist, and anti-labour officer caste

in the armed forces and Home

Guard; election of officers by the

Establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of workerofficers; arming of the workers under the control of workers' com-

mittees elected in the factories, unions and in the streets for the defence of the democratic rights of

the workers from reactionary at-

tacks by the enemies of the working class at home and abroad.

International Policy

10. Against race hatred and discrim-

ination of all forms (Vansittartism, Anti-Semitism, and the Colour Bar); for the fraternisation and co-operation of workers and sold-

11. Unconditional defence of the Soviet

Union against all imperialist

essential materials to the Soviet Union under the control of the

Trade Unions and factory com-

12. A Socialist appeal to the workers
of Germany, Europe, Japan, and
the rest of the world, on the basis

of this programme in Britain, to join the socialist struggle against Nazism, Fascism and all forms of capitalist oppression and for a Socialist United States of Europe and

iers of all countries.

mittees.

Military Policy

members of the armed forces.

strike-breaking legislation.

ers committees.

management.,

mittees.

uniform.



From Serving Soldiers

Benghazi Forces **Parliament**

Egypt, M.E.F. 15th September, 1944

Socialist Appeal, Dear Comrade,

You will by now have received my cable and will have interpreted this as "congratulations" on the result of

Congratulations to all of you on the magnificent manner in which you have carried on the struggle during these critical war years. I can fully appre-ciate the great strain and the volume of work this has entailed and only wish I had been with you all and able to help in a really practical manner as in

I have, however, done all possible during my three years out here and have recently been posted back to Egypt from Cyrenaica by an instruc-tion received out here from "War Office Security H.Q."!

On my arrival back in Egypt 1 was interviewed by our Disciplinary Officer, who told me that I had been in prewar days, connected with an organisation now fomenting strikes! As a result security people in London were "worried" about the possibility of my conducting "anti-war" activity out

The position is, and I feel you will agree with me, that I decided to take an active part in the ABCA scheme out here. Its limitations, as far as any utterances of mine were concerned were fully appreciated by me, but felt that at least I could do two things

- 1. I could impart some knowledge on a subject about which large numbers of troops were ignorant; and
- 2. I could get a line on how my col-leagues were thinking on different subjects and particularly on postwar problems; also their reactions to day-to-day events.

Accordingly, I commenced to lecture on "Trade Unichient" on which, in electure teen months in Cyrenaica, I gave around 60-70 talks. Also, I lectured on "Socialism and Capitalism" some 20-30 times.

In addition, whilst in Cyrenaica, I became Prime Minister and Home Secretary of the BENGHASI FORCES PARLIAMENT.

It was just at the stage that the latter had begun to grow, that I was posted. We had at that time some 60 members in the House and an average weekly attendance of 100 in the Strangers' Gallery. You will be interested to learn that each week we allowed the Strangers present to ask questions of the Government or Oppos-

This Parliament was a purely spontaneous affair, arising from ABCA discussions and at its opening meting I servicemen with a bit too much cash

It is interesting to note that on my recall to Egypt, at the interview I mentioned earlier, no mention was made of my activities out here—only the statement I indicated earlier-but obviously there was a very real connection between the two.

The "Parliament" I now learn, the 'Tarlament' I now learn, is functioning as a "Brains Trust" and interest has dropped to an attendance of a dozen or so people. This of course, was a fate similar to the "Parliament" in Cairo—the members of which, however, refused to countentage of the course of the course of the counter of the course of t ance any other form of organisation than that started by them and thus this one exists now in no form what-

In the case of Benghasi no attempt was made to interfere with the "Parliament" until after I had left.

By all this you will guess I have had a somewhat hectic career but can assure you that I have learned much during my sojourn out here. Like most chaps here now, I am awaiting the day when I can return to "BLIGHTY" and once again meet my old comrades and see at first hand the progress you have made there.

An interesting side line for you will be the fact that, although the English paper published here announced the paper published here announced the conviction and sentencing of the comrades, no mention has been made of the result of the appeal!!

To Ann Keen, Roy Tearse, Jock Haston and Heaton Lee my sincerest congratulations on a bold stand and a great victory!

great victory!
To the "Socialist Appeal" and "Workers International News" and the R.C.P. "Fraternal Greetings, Greater Strength and Ultimate Victory!"

Fraternally yours, Arthur Leadbetter.

PUNISHMENT

"What should we do with Hitler?" was the subject of a school competition in one of the Southern States of America.

The prize was won by a Negro girl, who said: "Put him in a black skin and make him live

"Sick" Soldiers

29th September, 1944

Editor, Dear Comrade,

The following order published on the 28th September 1944 at this depot is just another example of how a Hi-de-Hi officer can ignore army council orders and impose his own egoistic wil upon the men:

SICK

- . All ranks reporting sick for the first time will report to the orderly corporal's office between 06.30 and 07.30 hrs. and no other time.
- All fresh cases will lay out their small kit in the drill shed at 7.30
- All ranks below Sgt. with "attend B or C'' will parade at 18.00 and 20.00 hrs. each night for identification under the Squadron Police Staff outside the orderly corporal's

this order over-rules an A.C.1 published some months ago which stated that it will be made as easy as possible for a man to go sick, and it also countermands the medical officer's order "attend C" which excuses duties and parades.

Yours fraternally,

Tpr. W. L.

Service 'Increase

Infantry Training Corps 24th September, 1944

Editor,

"Socialist Appeal" Dear Comrade,

I am writing this letter to let you and your readers know of the disgust and indignation felt by the lads here at the begrudging manner in which the Government has granted the long

All men with three years service have been granted an increase of 1/per day, and an extra 6d. per day for every year over that.

That seems quite a substantial increase on the surface, but actually noone will receive that amount.

Most married men have War Service grants made to the dependants to raise them just above the starvation level. These men, and there are nearly 500,000 of them, are to have their W.S.G.'s cut by the amount due to them under the so-called increase.

Just in case that might leave a few outlined the method of procedure, etc. in their pockets, single men will have

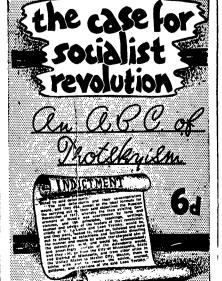
> This demonstrates once again the British Government's complete callousness with regard to Service Pay and Allowances and, a continuation of their policy of giving with one hand and taking back with the other!

I know I am'speaking on behalf of all servicemen and their families when l ask you to continue to fight vigor-ously for a decent rate of pay and substantial increases for dependants' al-

We, the conscripted workers in the armed services of this capitalist government, rely on you, our more fortunate comrades to carry on the struggle in the manner denied to us.

Revolutionary greetings,

Pte. M. M. Yorks.



ONE MINERS' UNION EDENIE

By JOHN LAWRENCE

Five years of war have seen a tremendous speeding-up in the process of monopolisation. Particularly is this so in the coal industry. Huge combineslike Powell Duffryn and Amalgamated Anthracite in South Wales-have developed their power to such an extent that they are now in a position to engage an expansive ''monopolising'' specialist, Mr. Robert Foot, to reorganise the industry into 25 great combines producing the entire national output of coal. These combines will be closely linked to other sections of heavy industry and the whole will be subjected to the centralised "plan" of Big Business by a process, already familiar in the Fascist States, known as "State Control".

With the ending of the cut-throat competition which previously existed among the numerous individual colliery owners, there is ended also, the possibility of small and separate miners unions being able to utilize such competition to improve the wages and conditions of their memberships. Agreements will now have to be wrung from powerful national coal monopoly. enforce such agreements it is essential that the miners confront the coalbarons with an equally united and determined national organisation.

This much will be obvious to most miners and, from this point of view, the recent recommendation of the M.F.G.B. that the existing miners organisations be fused into one Mineworkers Union will receive the general support of the Districts.

But this is not the only point of view! The Coal monopolies are themselves in favour of the unification of the miners federations!-and for very obvious reasons. The monopolisation of the industry which we have briefly described will require, from the point of view of Big Business, more than ever the disciplining of the miners and the subordination of their interests to the reactionary policies of the coal owners. Whilst it is true that Lawther in Durham, Horner in South Wales. Hall in Yorkshire, Moffatt in Scotland, have all done their dirty best to "discipline" the miners, they have not been altogether successful. The wave of coal strikes last March were all "union. This is only partly explained official" is received the active on the successful.

miners leaders, do not feel any confidence in these people as at present organised, to carry through the fight against the rank and file. Their attitude is well put by the "Western Mail", reactionary organ of the South Wales owners. In its editorial on Aug. 19th it states:—"Many causes have contributed to the unification of the movement but one of the chief is the movement, but one of the chief is the manifest inability of local Federations to retain the confidence of the rank and file and to maintain discipline . . . again and again the executives of local Federations were flouted and ignored, and although trade union penalties were threatened few, if any, were imposed. Prima facie, the new national body should be strong enough and firm enough to stop the rot in the industry".

That the above does in fact represent the real aims of the MFGB leadership can be proved by even a cursory glance at the vicious, antimilitant activities of these gentlemen. They have shown an untiring energy in carrying through their filthy campaigns against the "subversive minorities" and it will be remembered that the MFGB as a body has wholly endorsed Bevin's reactionary Regulation 1A(a).

We can now see more clearly why the MFGB and the coal owners favour unification. The pressure of the rank and file on a local leadership during a period of upsurge is difficult to resist. But an isolated bureaucracy, with offices in London, far removed from the scene of actual conflict could resist the pressure for a much longer period of time. True enough, in the long run the miners will sweep away such a reactionary "leadership", but in the meantime, the knowledge that their own leaders are the faithful police sergeants of the coal owners can give rise to a tremendous wave of disgust and demoralisation—especially among the youth and this is exactly what Big Business desires. Before it can resort to open Fascist methods it must first utilise the depraved union leadership to discredit Trade Unionism as such. This

official", i.e. received the active opposition of the "leaders", whilst the in Europe. The miners reason—and

militant minority in Lanarkshire con- | correctly-that since the MFGB leadtinues to grow on the basis of its anti-collaborationist policy, and its paper, the "Militant Miner" is receiving an increasing support in almost every coalfield. The coal owners, despite the efforts of the various policy. This is absolutely correct. All the facts show that Lawther and Co.

> National Mineworkers Union. Economic developments necessitate this Had the union been created with the fullest participation of the rank and file—thus securing workers demo-cracy within the union—and had it adopted a determined policy of struggle against the coal owners, it would have represented a tremendous and unqualified step forward. But the miners leaders have a healthy fear of the rank and file participating in union policy. Therefore, the Conference in Notting-ham—which consisted almost entirely of officials—decided all the details of the new union's policy and constitution. The ballot vote in the districts will merely decide whether this new union, which has been created entirely by the bureaucrats, should actually become a living reality. The nerve of these people is simply breath-taking!

To sum up. The struggle for a real fighting organ of struggle for the miners must still continue. The bur-eaucratic creation of one Miners Union nerely shifts the struggle from a local ind regional on to the National arena Once more and with much greater vig-our, the membership must raise these demands, the fulfilment of which is the only guarantee of the creation of an organisation capable of resisting the coming attacks of the coal owners.

But these demands cannot be gained for the asking. Only if the militants in the Union organise themselves into a Left wing round this or some similar programme, can the Union be transformed into a real fighting weapon of the miners. The militants in the Union must carry a systematic and organised campaign into the Lodges.

- 1. One National Miners' Union.
- Down with collaboration! For a militant policy of class struggle!
- Re-election of all union officials every two years.
- 4. Salaries of all officials to be no higher than the average earned by

ORDER NOW!

GERMANY-The Key to the International Situation

By LEON TROTSKY. December, 1931

The background to the rise of Hitler and the responsibility of the Labour and Stalinist Leaders.

INTRODUCTION by TED GRANT - -<u>/</u>

U.S. TROTSKYISTS AID R.C.P.

1,000 DOLLAR SOLIDARITY FUND

The Socialist Workers Party of America has initiated a drive to raise the sum of \$1,000 as a Solidarity Fund innains the international maintains the international by the Business Manager of The Military on behalf of the British Trotsky. the sum of \$1,000 as a Solidarity Fund to aid the British Party being perse-cuted by the Tory Government.

This is how the "Militant", weekly organ of our American brother Party, reported the demonstration of the close bonds existing between the Trotsky-ist Parties of both countries.

Outlining the facts of the attack on the R.C.P. and the arrest of our four comrades, the "Militant" points out that "The British Government, like its counterpart in the United States, atempts to screen its reactionary blows against the Labour movement by sing-ling out for special persecution, the most politically advanced and class conscious vanguard of the working

Readers of the "Socialist Appeal" know that 18 members of our American brother party are at present serving sentences for their revolutionary ideas, convicted of having violated the Smith "Gag" Act, another piece of anti-Labour legislation, passed by the U.S. Congress.

The S.W.P. has given a practical demonstration of the international solid-arity of all Trotskyist parties in the the Second International and the Lon- skyists."

the words of the "Milltant":

"An injury to one is the concern of all A blow against the British Labour movement and its vanguard, the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Party is the concern of class conscious workers throughout the world. We are sure that the advanced section of the Amer-ican working class will rally to the support of our British comrades."

CELLS IN GERMANY

A special cable to the "New York Times" from Stockholm reports: "Following earlier reports of organised Communist activity in Germany, stories of the first underground Communist convention 'somewhere in Germany'

have been heard.

"The convention's aim was to establish a Communist trade union central body. This is reported to have been done. Communist 'cells' have been formed in many German industrial centres.... the German Communists. most effective manner possible—by formed in many German industrial subscribing \$1,000 to the funds of the centres. . . the German Communists R.C.P. At a time when the Third are said to be internationalists, or as International has been dissolved, and they would be called in Moscow, Trot-

tant on behalf of the British Trotsky-

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WARSAW AND THE RED ARMY

By Vic Simms

Warsaw has capitulated to the weight of superior German arms. Betrayed by Stalin and the Anglo-American Imperialists, the people of Warsaw had to end their heroic resistance.

Amidst the gloom that surrounds Warsaw, the Polish workers and peasants may ask what are we to do? If Stalin and the Anglo-Americans play a counter-revolutionary role, to whom can we turn for assistance? In the territories already occupied by the Red Army, what attitude should we adopt to the Red Army? As it marches into other parts of Poland, have we to greet it as an army of liberation or a counter-revolutionary force?

In the first place it is necessary to take these questions in their correct perspective. This is not the first time that the Red Army is on the soil of Poland. During the revolutionary struggles of 1919-20, it approached the gates of Warsaw. It did not then come only with weapons of destruction. The most potent weapon it wielded was the political weapon rousing the peasants to seize the land and set up Soviets. Stalin and Voroshilov blundered during the campaign and the Red Army had to retreat beyond the frontiers of Poland. Once again a feudal capitalist oligarchy was entrenched in power. The Polish masses were denied the most elementary rights and anti-semitism was rampant.

Once again the Red Army occupied parts of Poland in 1939. Now it was not there to assist a struggle of the Polish masses. It was there because the Stalinist bureaucracy had an agreement with Hitler. In spite of that, Sovietisation of occupied territory went ahead. Landlords had to be expropriated. Long-standing oppressive debts had to be swept away. Many liberals and radicals wondered at this contradictory process. Why was Stalin, even though he was doing it by bureaucratic measures, expropriating the capitalists and the landlords and sovietising parts of Poland? Had he not already politically liquidated the Soviets in Russia?

There is nothing historically new in such a manifestation of a radical programme abroad and a bureaucratic stranglehold at home. Napoleon Bonaparte arrested the French Revolution by establishing a military dictatorship. But his European conquests were accompanied by the abolition of seridom. Such a contradiction can only be explained by taking into account the class nature of the army. Napoleon's army was not the instrument of a feudal order but the product of a bourgeois revolution. However, at a certain stage the capitalist counter-revolution had consolidated itself to such an extent in France that it was incapable of playing a revolutionary role abroad. Thus, Napoleon, in his struggle against Czarism refused to abolish serfdom when he invaded Russia. Similarly, the Red Army is the product of the October Revolution. In its westward march follows a mass radicalisation. The peasants seize the land; expropriate the landlords; workers occupy the factories. Peasants' and Workers' councils spring into action. In the initial stages, Stalin is forced to sanction such activities, only with a view to smash them politically tomorrow by bureaucratisation. In all such cases, the most class conscious workers should participate in the Councils and the Soviets, explain to the masses of the workers the role of Stalin and consolidate the gains made. They should enter into comradely discussions with the rank and file of the Red Army and in that way conduct an irreconcilable political struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Of course, in the case of Warsaw the matter did not proceed so far. The insurrectionaries were not in contact with the Red Army. Here it is a simple question of the masses separating themselves from the leadership of the London Government and carrying on a struggle through ad hoc workers militias and street committees. Undoubtedly, the Stalinist treachery drove them into the arms of the Anglo-American inspired London Committee.

At this stage sceptics may raise a hypothetical question. Is it not possible, that Stalin, consciously playing a counter-revolutionary role, will use the Red Army to Suppress insurrections and place at the head of these countries puppet capitalist regimes? In replying to this question, it is necessary to separate the functions of the Red Army. On the one hand, the Red Army is the instrument defending the Soviet Union as a Workers' State. On the other hand, it is also the instrument of the bureaucracy, which in attempting to maintain its own privileges, desires the status quo, opposes to the World Revolution its own foreign policy of alliances with Imperialist Governments. Where a direct clash between the Red Army and the revolutionary masses develops, the defence of the Soviet Union demands the victory of the revolutionaries and the defeat of the Red Army. In every instance, the revolutionaries must be on their guard to examine whether the Red Army is directly acting as a counter-revolutionary instrument of the bureaucracy against the masses, or in defence of the Soviet Union.

The Red Army is also in occupation where puppet capitalist regimes have been established. These rulers were forced on Rumania and Bulgaria. In Sofia, the presence of the Red Army, according to a "News Chronicle" report, resulted in immediate fraternisation between the Bulgars, Red Army and the Germans. The Communist Party could have taken power but was ordered to set up a Regent and continue the rule of the Capitalists. In Rumanja, the Red Army remains a passive observer, while the feudal-capitalist oligarchy stabilises its rule. After the entry of the Red Army into Warsaw, no doubt a similar procedure will be adopted. Civil Power will be handed over to the Committee of Polish Liberation, which is essentially Capitalist in composition. Undeterred by the chains of the Committee, the Revolutionary workers of Warsaw must bring their temporarily suspended street and factory committees into action. With arms in hand, they should go ahead to expropriations and seizure of power. In this process, they must appeal to the rank and file of the Red Army not to be passive observers but to render active assistance in clearing out the exploiters. Such an appeal setting the rank and file of the Red Army into motion in Warsaw could be the beginning of the end of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow if

In all events, the touchstone by which the revolutionaries of Poland will decide their attitude to the Red Army is, how does it help the revolution? In answering this question, the class nature of the Red Army will play a determining role. By a correct approach to the Red Army, the workers of Poland can strike a death blow to the Stalinist bureaucracy. They can be the vital link for the coming European Revolution and for the establishment of the United Socialist States of Europe.

SOCIAL SECURITY

How to Starve in Easy Stages

With a fanfare of publicity rarely a small percentage, and yet in reality is paying for the lot! ody—"From Dukes to Dustmen, from the cradle to the grave'', has been hailed as a masterpiece of legislation.

The Rothermere press, the "Evening News", refers to the scheme as "a monumental reform typically British" It could only be the British ruling class, with its long experience in knowing how to cheat and deceive the workers, who could be capable of producing such a scheme, which on the surface appears to be so benevolent and generous, and yet leaves the pockets of the wealthy practically untouched, and provides a cover for an actual cut in the living standards of the working

Who will IN REALITY pay for the scheme? We find that apart from the worker's direct contribution of 3/10d. the employer's contribution of 3/1d. will inevitably be added upon the cost of production, and will be paid for by the workers in the shape of higher prices. The Government's contribution will be gathered mainly via indirect taxation upon the essential commodities, which the worker must have in order to—not LIVE, (that is too much for any worker to expect) -but in order to exist! and for which he will have to pay. The remainder will come from the local rates which will once again mean increased rents.

Yes, for the capitalists it is undoubt-

A GLORIFIED WORKHOUSE

Since this plan covers everybody from the cradle to the grave, we can easily trace the life of a worker who possesses the doubtful good luck of being born with the commencement of the scheme. His mother to begin with, is rewarded for the privilege of bringing him into the world by a maternity grant of £4 plus 36s. 0d. a week for thirteen weeks. Do not worry if the £4 will not buy all the necessary clothes, or the measly 36s. Od. will not pay for all the equally necessary food for the maintenance of both mother and child—for then the family allowances come to your assistance. But wait-for a not-so-obscure reason, you receive no allowance for the first child, so you must hurry and produce another, when you will then receive 5s. 0d. a week, that is, 2s. 6d. a week for each child. Thus the 5s. 0d. a week is an ILLUSION since you NEVER receive as much as 5s. 0d. for every child, unless out of work, which makes the position even worse.

"This is not designed to cover the cost of keeping a child," the Government states, reminding us that the children will also receive free meals and milk. They then continue to say that the orphan's allowance is 12s. 0d. per week, instead of 5s. 0d., and what is more, this sum is also granted for the first child. May we ask what is the difference? If it costs 12s. 0d. a week to keep an adopted child, (hardly an extravagant sum) why should it be ably a very good scheme. For who can deny the brilliance of any plan in which the worker appears to be paying only In actual fact the reason is clear, since

By JIM HINCHCLIFFE

in the case of an adopted child, it is a matter of CHOICE for the step parents, and therefore the bribe has to be raised in order to induce them to adopt a child!

If this is not scandalous enough however, we then see that if the bab is born into a household where the father is unemployed, the allowance remains at 5s. 0d. (for every child) and allowances issued under these cir cumstances must necessarily signed to cover the cost of keeping a child." Our "good Government" as the "Daily Express" terms it, admits by this action, that the allowances in reality serve to starve the workers into submission, and not as they hypocritically proclaim, to secure a 'decent life for all'.

Should the worker manage to survive the first 20 years of his life, he will receive 24s. Od. a week if he is unemreceive 24s. Ud. a week if he is unemployed or sick, and if he is married, £2 per week. If he is unemployed for more than 30 weeks, he will then be subject to the notorious Means Test too. It is quite clear then, that nobody need worry about the encouragement of lariness—certainly not whilst workers. laziness—certainly not whilst workers have to exist on these pittances! Later on, having successfully endured a lifetime of work, the worker can look forward to an old-age free from worry and want. At least, that is the official

HOW TO STARVE IN EASY STAGES!

Sir William Beveridge had previously laid down the minimum sum upon which a married couple could live, as £2 per week. Whilst we contest this estimate, it appears that even this had been interpreted as being too generous by the Government, for they have now made the minimum to be 35s. Od., this being the sum granted to the old age pensioners and others. In this alone, omitting any other considerations of the scheme, we have the real class atti-tude of the Government revealed in all its naked heartlessness, for is there anyone who can claim that two people can live on 35s. 0d. a week?

By HAROLD ATKINSON

ONE OF THE MAJOR TASKS

The provision of homes for the

Official estimates give the immediate

needs as one million houses. Four

million at least will be required in the next 10-12 years. These are the absolute minimum requirements and were

assessed before the doodle-bug laid it

Against this, the Government, ac

cording to its own announcement in

100,000 houses built or building during

In the interim, "temporary" accom

modation is to be provided in the shape

of Portal "steel tents" and, for home

A sub-committee appointed by the Ministry of Health has published a

Housing". Presumably the conclu-

sions of the committee will be accepted

by the Government. The Minister of Health has already announced the

policy of subsidising private enterprise

the first year after the European war

and 200,000 during the second year.

has a programme aiming a

entitled "Private Enterprise

trail of destruction.

less Londoners, huts.

BUILDING RACKET

TO CONTINUE

workers "don't know anything about it, and you don't understand the system" thereby revealing his own con-tempt for the masses generally. From their point of view, in all these social security schemes, the workers 'don't understand' apparently, because they after all, ONLY have to exist upon these measly sums, and are consequently prejudiced and biased on the matter! It is our Cabinet Ministers, by receiving an old £13 10s. per day, and consequently relieved of the date of such (prejudice) who are able to of such 'prejudice', who are able to survey and 'understand' the question in a more **impartial** manner! Such hyprocrisy could hardly go further.

IT WILL SLASH WORKERS LIVING STANDARDS

Behind the whole plan lurks a much more clever manoeuvre. In the post-war period, inflation will act to cut the real buying power of the £, and it is hoped that these grants will at least help to check a too rapid a drop in the standard of living. On top of that, the rise in the cost of living will make the real value of these allowances fall below the 1939 level. No wonder the praise is loud for the plan!

The phrase "from the cradle to the grave" is an extremely good characterisation of the whole scheme, because after the Government has encouraged your entry into the world by means of grants etc., it appears intent to drive you to the grave by means of staryation allowances throughout your life We are sent into the world with a £4 maternity grant and sent out with a £20 funeral grant, the only sum of any size which is granted throughout the whole plan, and which will benefit only the undertaker! Workhouses may have no place in our future society under this scheme, but only because the whole of Britain will have been transformed into one!

In this new world about which we hear so much, the workers are entitled to at least work or full maintenance. and to the same treatment which the capitalists make so certain of providing for themselves. They are entitled to. and must struggle through every possible channel, for decent homes, good food and clothes for the entire family, When Sir W. Womersley, the Pensions Minister, was heckled at a meeting recently, he shouted that the with ample pensions and allows for all those who are in need, when through age, accident or sickness. with ample pensions and allowances for all those who are in need, whether

Die Totengräber Rußlands











dings der Silelvater Lenies tie Kinder lernett hebralecha Tenzeile verwandell, während die Be jadischen Rabbiner nach wie























masses is to be entrusted to private enterprise subsidised by the Govern-

Above is a typical anti-Bolshevik leaflet issued by the Nazis during the German elections in 1932. Under the heading "The Gravediggers of Russia", reading from left to right and from top to bottom are Lenin, Trotsky, Yurovsky, Zinoviev, Radek, Sverdlov, Uritsky, Efremov, Steklov, Schreider, Avanesov, Martov, Berkman, Volodarsky, Kamov, Sukhanov, Levine, Goldman, Bela Kun. The description under Trotsky reads as follows: "The Jew Trotsky, correct name Bronstein was in 1917, upon the representation of Jews in France released from prison, provided with gold in New York and let loose on the Russian people. This foul and poisonous propaganda of the Nazis about Trotsky particularly has been taken up by Stalin and reversed. The Nazis accused Trotsky in their anti-semitic propaganda of being provided with Jewish gold from New York and being let loose on the Russian people—Stalin in his anti-communist, anti-internationalist propaganda accused Trot-sky of being provided with Nazi gold and let loose upon the workers

FRENCH STALINISM

The "Evening Standard" of 15th September, 1944, carries an item which needs no comment beyond emphasising the identity of policy between the French and American Stalinists which clearly shows this capitulation is not a national phenomena, but a world

"French capitalists are 'Idiots' if they are afraid of Communism (read Stalinism-D.J.), according to Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the French Communist Party, who outlined to me today, the post-war programme of his Party.

He went on to say that far from his party insisting on a Communist Government for France they will even refrain from putting forward a programme for radical social reform. 'We are not even interested in the question of a 40 hour week. As far as we are concerned the workers will work 60 hours weekly if it is necessary for the rehabilitation of

On the question of Communist representation in de Gaulle's new this is the Government, for example, over which Stalinists.

some indignation, he was mildness

'Yes, I know we have only two they occupy two of the least important posts—Ministries of Health and will be able to afford either to buy or Air—but what does that matter? rent a home. We are simply not interested in holding office. All we want is to help get things done.

'That is why,' he continued, 'postwar Communists will co-operate with any Government elected by the French people.'

But Duclos' most surprising disclaimer was his denial that the Communists wished to give self-government to France's colonies. The natives in the majority of

these colonies are backward people,

and it is France's responsibility to give them a helping hand. As for the Indo-China Communists, they would not be opposed to French troops fighting to regain it

Support of capitalist imperialismthis is the programme of the French

One inescapable conclusion which flows from the report is that the build ing trade, if left to its own devices

to build houses after the war.

Yes, I know we have only two will cut its own throat. Because of the overwhelming demand for houses prices will soar so high that no worker

SUBSIDY FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

The committee has therefore concluded that some measure of price control is essential. To ensure the profits of the builders and building societies a subsidy must be paid. In this connection they certainly suffer from no illusions as to the motives of the building capitalist. "He will oper-ate," says the report, "if he is sufficiently sure that there will be a ready demand for his houses . . . at a price FUTURE OF BUILDING WORKERS which will return him a profit."

After the last war subsidies were poured into the building industry by various channels. The only result was to ease competition and keep prices of houses high.

According to this report building costs were 200 per cent above pre-war.

cent general rise in the cost of living. When the original subsidy was termin-FACING THE GOVERNMENT IS THE PROVISION OF MILLIONS OF HOUSES FOR THE WORKERS.

OVERCROWDING WAS RAMPANT THE WAS THE WORKERS. BEFORE THE WAR. THOUSANDS Price for the same type of house was #494.

HAVE LOST THEIR HOMES
THOUGH BOMBING. MANY
THOUSANDS OF SERVICE MEN
WHO HAVE MARRIED DURING
THE WAR HAVE NEVER HAD A

""

#494.

In 1927, when the subsidy under the 1923-4 Acts was reduced, and again in 1929 when it was finally withdrawn, 1929 when it was finally withdrawn, 1929 when it was finally striking reductions occurred." ductions occurred . . .

> What hannened then 'It was often alleged that the subsidy paid to private enterprise during the inter-war period went into the pocket of the builder instead of to the benefit of the purchaser or tenant of the houses." And it will happen again! So much is admitted. "We see no way of entirely eliminating the risk, save by unduly restrictive conditions which would defeat the object of subsidy, viz., the production of houses as speed-

> ily as possible." Just how this object can be achieved remains a mystery; for the committee has shown that subsidy in the interwar years served only the purpose o keeping prices at high levels. Of the 3,000,000 houses which were built by private enterprise between the two wars they could attribute to only 433, 000, any connections with subsidy.

> It is estimated that the present cost of house building would be 99 per cent bove that of pre-war. Just how much above this it will rise when subsidised, (and when inflation really starts) can only be imagined. But some indication might be gleaned from a glance at the war time activities of the capitalist builders.

> A Select Committee on public expenditure conducted an enquiry into the cost of some of the military undertakings financed by the Treasury at "cost-plus" and "target" prices. "cost-plus" and "target" prices. These shocking revelations show just how the nation is being plundered

A Royal Ordnance Factory scheduled to cost £6 million cost £11 million. Storage premises for which the contract price was £760,000 cost an additional £3,311,000. Camps estimated to cost £21 million cost £80 million.

In addition, hundreds of air raid shelters have either fallen down or had to be pulled down and re-built. The cost of all this has yet to be revealed.

This is something of the war time record of the building barons who are now eagerly looking forward to bigger and better profits at the expense of the housing of the people.

AT STAKE

And these gentry certainly have no Robin Hood qualities in their makeup. It cannot be argued that they rob the rich in order to give to their workers. Building workers ply their trade

(Continued on page 4.)

Die Totengräber Rußlands



Lexis (richtiger Name Ulanew). Der Jobe Trothaty (rochtiger Der Rosse Ulassew war aller-itings der Stieftvafer Lemine. hier Vorstehungen der Juden hie Einige der Stieftvafer Lemine. hier Frankricht, und auf der Lemin hatte dem Joden zur Fran, "rankricht, und auf der "manner Volk longstassen." Be judischen Rebbiner nach wie





Der Jude Jankel Jurowsky. Der Jude Sinowjew (richtiger Der Jude K. Radek (richtiger Mörder die Zaren und Familie. Name Aplethaum). Der Massen Name Nobelachan), später Sowrebschuldeber von Medalan, agent in Berinn gewerke.













Swerfdow II Vors. Der Jude Moses Uritzky, Kom. Det Jude Efremow-Chaimonitzh. Der Jude Steckton (irishtyet oprasses d. Arbeiter misser z., Bekimphing d. Organ. Leiter der politischen Ablanbang. Name Richanhers). Preschiktation Schaltenität. Organical Circletals. Maswen.







Der Jude Marlow (richliger Der Jude Samuel Berkmann, Name Zederbaum), Mitglied der Exekulisie der Arbeiterrate,





Der Jude Wolodarsky (nelviger Name Cohen) Mawied des Volleugsrales.



Der Jude Kamkow (richfiger Plante Katz). Im Kommissarist J. d. Pressewesen.



Der Jude Ssuchanow (richtiged Name Chinmer): Mitglied dest Vollzugsrales



Der Jude Levine (richtiger Näine Die Judin Emma Goldmann. Nissen). Mitveranstalter des "Die russische Rosa Luxemburg Münchenes Geischmolden.





Der Jude Bela Kin (richtiget Name Cohn). Vormals Über-nant il ungarisch. Räterepublik, apater russischer Kommissar zus

What Happened in Paris

(Continued from page 1).

ultra-reactionary Royalist to the Communist Party, tried to give it a national and classless character—from the very beginning the working class, basing itself on the factories, spontaneously threw up class organs-factory committees, factory militias, etc .- and began to put forward class demands, thus creating the elements of dual

In the districts (arrondissements) of Paris, a form of dual power as between the Resistance (mostly Stalinist FTP) and the de Gaulle authorities exists. During the fighting, detachments of the FFI, FTP, etc. took the local mairies (town halls) by storm, and once the Germans were ejected, contrived to occupy them and assure the municipal services. At the same time housewives' committees sprang up to control the food rationing. The reactionaries are already trying

to liquidate this duality of power which exists between them and the Stalinists who control the FTP and the mairies. (The headquarters of the FTP were raided and searched by the police!) The formations of the FFI are either being integrated into the regular army or dissolved. De Gaulle, in his speech at the Chaillot, was certainly referring to the FFI and the FTP when he warned: "France must have a united army which belongs to France only.

ROLE OF THE C.P.

Undoubtedly, the French Communist Party had a decisive influence in Paris and on the course of the insurrection—in the factories, the FFI, through the FTP, and in the districts. If it had pursued a policy of "Les Soviets Partout" (Soviets Everywhere) and actively pushed the workers' committees, etc.; if they had called upon the workers to build up their committees as the basis of workers' power as an alternative to the Provisional Government, the insurrection would very quickly have developed into a workers' revolution. In fact, all the prerequisite conditions for a revolutionary situation existed, except for the presence of a sufficiently strong

revolutionary party.

The Communist Party, by its very nature, representing the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, could not but play an altogether different, counterplay an altogether different, counterplay and provided the counterplant of the revolutionary role. By pursuing a "Popular Front" national unity policy, and calling for a purely "national" insurrection; by exciting to the highest pitch, the nationalist and chauvinist sentiments of the masses, confused the class issues in the minds of the work-

It now finds itself in the dilemma of being faced with an offensive by the reaction to liquidate, "legally" and peacefully if possible, the duality of power, and of being equally afraid of leaning on the support of the masses. The Trotskyist organisation, on the other hand, calls for the strengthen-ing of the Workers' Committees in the factories and their co-ordination, on first a local, and then a regional and national plane. It points out that the only way to legalising the power of the municipal councils is to base them on the "comites de Quartier" (District

Building

Continue

under some of the worst possible con-

Nor is this the only threat to their

union rights.

We have space to name only the

most famous. Buckingham Palace was

partially built by scab labour under military protection. This followed a

pitched battle between the trade union-

conditions that the building workers have had to battle against. With the

ist Party in the factories. In several big factories in the Paris region, the nitiative in the occupation of the factories, in the formation of workers' committees, was taken by Trotskyists supported by C.P. militants. In fluid conditions, as existed in Paris, it has been shown that a small body can, with a correct orientation, definitely contribute to the development of the situation.

CONCLUSIONS

The problem that poses itself in France is: who will triumph? The workers and peasants, through the development of their own class organs (workers' committees, peasants committees, etc.) into a Soviet Government-or the bourgeois reaction, in the form of a military bonapartist dic-tatorship? There is no middle road possible. A Constituent Assembly might be elected, but the internal contradictions and antagonisms in France are too acute to permit of France going through a more or less lengthy period of parliamentary demo-Even before the elections for cracy. Even before the elections for a Constituent can be held, it is quite possible that the contradictions will have developed to a stage that makes the holding of "free" elections impossible. However, the struggle for all the democratic liberties—liberty of organisation, liberty of the press and of speech wight to strike out. f speech, right to strike, etc.,—are in France today of paramount importance and must be fought for and defended vigorously against all attacks. In the long run all these democratic liberties can be guaranteed only by the class organisations of the working class, allied to the peasantry and the lower middle class. The developments in France, of

course, are not separate, but part of the developments in Europe itself. The ruling class, expressing itself through De Gaulle, is staking its claim to a share in the peace settlement, the partition of Germany and the policing f Europe as a great power. In fact; France no longer has the power to play such a role in view of its economic, political and military weakness, and the preponderant power, economic and military, of the USA. In an attempt to stake his claim, however, De Gaulle plans—as his speech at the Chaillot palace shows—to rebuild the French army and gear the whole economic life of France to the war effort. But such a burden will prove too heavy. France will be like Balaam's ass. The imposition of such a burden upon the already weary masses, after four years of German occupation, can only be achieved by dictatorial methods. De Gaulle, perhaps, hopes to become a new Napoleon.

Balkanised Europe, or its social revolution, bringing into power a Soviet Government, will be but one part of plete sell out to the capitalists. the European revolution for a United

Socialist States of Europe.

September 1944.

P.S. When Jacques Duclos, in a speech at a big mass meeting in the Velodrome d'Hiver (Winter Stadium) said:

rank and file members of the Commun- case learn from their own experience.

were called out against them.

jobs as the re-building of the Houses

of Parliament, Woolwich Dockyard and the erection of Nelson's Column. This

new Waterloo Bridge. The story could

Strikes, lockouts, and all forms of

the toilers. And in sufficient quantity But if "private enterprise housing"

ecomes a reality that will not be so

ates will be the methods employed by

serve the workers as homes

ers' government can operate.

be continued right up to the present

Racket

For years they have fought last monument to imperialism, like the

against the imposition of piece-work in the industry. But with the aid of built by scab labour. More recent and

Bevin's infamous Essential Work of equally famous structures have also their record of strikes and battles. The ed in that direction too. Payment-by-results is now established in the

possible exception of mining, it is doubtful whether any industry has a more bitter history of violent struggle have always been the lot of the build-

between the employers and the workers. Most of the historic buildings in this country are monuments to struggle for elementary demands and trade the opportunities and released from the

ALBION STRIKE CONTINUES

on the Clydeside have now been on the streets for more than six weeks in one struggles during the whole period of

Apart from the history of the strike, which has been previously reported in the "Socialist Appeal", it was pointed out in our last issue that after a delegation from the Strike Committee had met the management on September 11th without results, a mass meeting of the strikers on September 22nd in-structed the officials of the A.E.U., E.T.U. and West of Scotland Brass Finishers to go back to the management and present the terms of the strikers again. This was the answer of the rank and file workers to the "advice" of these officials to go back to work and then negotiate.

Since that date the Strike Committee has had no word from either the Management or the Union Officials and the

On Tuesday, October 3rd, a further Mass Meeting was held and the Strike Committee informed the rank and file workers of this position. The result was the passing, by an overwhelming

the strike to a successful conclusion.
This is the answer of the Albion workers to any hopes that the Employers of the most bitter and drawn out or Union bureaucrats may have for an extrugeles during the whole period of early collapse of the morale of the strikers, and it can truthfully be said that their ranks are as solid after these six weeks of hardship as they were on August 29th, the date of the com-

> mencement of the strike. The reason for this can undoubtedly be found in the fact that the Albion workers look upon their fight as a test case for the future struggles facing the Working Class of Britain as a whole. In a leaflet issued by the Strike Committee is the statement-referring to the conditions existing side by side with the impending military victory of the "United Nations"—

"... we have remaining with us all the elements of a revival of the same foul mess with the difference that instead of having its home in Germany or Italy it is domiciled in our own British workshops and fac-

"This challenge to British workers has now broken out in open struggle at Albion Motors."

"Nowhere more than at the Albion works has this general picture of the

ers during the war been clear . . .

However, in a further official interview granted to the "Socialist Appeal", the Secretary of the Strike Committee stated "It cannot be stressed too sharply the tremendous difficulties we are facing in trying to deal with hardship cases which are mounting up as time goes on. This is the position, although it can be said that encourag ing support has been forthcoming from Union Branches and factory commit-tees." No one can doubt the truth of No one can doubt the truth of this statement, as workers realise that six weeks can seem like six years when the problem is to be faced of keeping house and family together without pay.

In order to try and overcome this problem, apart from circulating more leaflets, the Strike Committee obtained the permission of the local magistrates to conduct street collections during the week ends of October. One such col-lection has already been carried out. The secretary stated that "although the first attempt was ad hoc, and we hope to correct this in the future, the response was very good; a substantial amount being received."

The Strike Committee is also sending out delegates to various parts of the country to try and enlist the support of other factories and Union branches . . . the first skirmish in the defence of YOUR standards in the 'Peace' that

In the opinion of the "Socialist Appeal", thinking workers all over the country will watch the outcome of this struggle with deep concern. They will no doubt feel that the struggle of the Albion workers is a real test of the measure of Social Security they are supposedly going to obtain after the war. All the recent reports and schemes fade into insignificance in the light of the concrete reality facing Clydeside workers today. This is why Clydeside workers today. This is why it can rightly be said that a victory on the part of the Albion workers will be a victory for the whole Labour move-

Vickers Sack

(Continued from page 1)

meeting of all Shop Stewards of the Vickers group, including dispersal factories, be convened for the purpose of discussing the question of redundancy in the industry and particularly the V.A. group. Owing to the present state of affairs we demand that the meeting take place immediately.'

For the second, a deputation of 4 Shop Stewards was elected to take it to the local Labour Exchange. It was

"That the employees at Vickers Ltd. demand, in view of the decision to close the factory forthwith, that no dismissals take place until suitable employment is available. We request that all matters appertaining to this shall be fully discussed by the workers representatives, i.e. the Shop Stewards or the Works Committee, this to particularly apply where transfers are contemplated."

The deputation has since acted as instructed by the mass Works meeting. This resulted in a conference with local Ministry of Labour officials, who promised to arrange a conference with a more appropriate official and the works maiagement present, thereby opening a method of negotiation new to the area concerned.

It is also noted with some satisfaction that since the mass meeting took place, it has been announced in the press that the A.E.U. are pressing for negotiations with the Minister of Labour on redundancy.

The workers of this factory feel that only in this way will a solution be found for this very serious problem and recommend you to take similar steps before the situation becomes chaotic.



TANNER PREPARES NEW SELL-OUT

Addressing a mass meeting of A.E.U. members at the Stoll Theatre on Sunday, Oct. 8th, Jack Tanner, President of the A.E.U. spilt the beans on the post war plans of the Executive Coun-

private with Bevin the Wednesday before the Stoll meeting, and Tanner declared himself unable to divulge what went on at this discussion, but he revealed quite enough of the plans of the Executive Council (to be published in this month's AEU journal) to cause grave anxiety to every genuine Trade revealed in Tanner's speech, as a com-

He began by pointing out the enormous increase of productive capacity and technical knowledge which had occurred during the war, and how if it were properly used it could provide on the "comites de Quartier" (District Committees), on the housewives' and factory committees, through democratic elections, thus confirming them as the real expression of the will of the masses.

It is because these demands correspond to the needs of the situation and the real interests of the masses, that they are being followed even by rank and file members of the Communication that the proportion of two Communication in the Government does not represent the real relation of two Communication in the Government does not represent the real relation of forces in the country," he was very vigorously applauded.

If, in Britain, the slogan for the coming period is "Labour to Power", in France one can similarly say: in Thorez au pouvoir" (Thorez in power!), and let the masses in each rank and file members of the Communication in the Government does not represent the real relation of forces in the country," he was very vigorously applauded.

If, in Britain, the slogan for the unions' which had developed during the war, the increased co-operation between officials and the union. We believe in loyalty to our class, but the war, the increased co-operation between officials and the union. We believe in loyalty to our class, but the war, the increased co-operation between officials and the union. We believe in loyalty to our class, but the war, the increased co-operation between officials and the union. We believe in loyalty to our class, but the war, the increased co-operation between officials and the union. We believe in loyalty to our class, but the unions' which had developed during the war, the increased co-operation between officials and the union. We believe in loyalty to our class, but the unions' which had developed during the war, the increased co-operation between officials and the union. We believe in loyalty to our class, but the unions' which had developed during the unions'. The war is a power of the union is a second to the union in the union is a power of the union is a power of the union is a power of We all know that the proportion of jobs for all with ample leisure and extension of this co-operation at all levels from the workshops to the Union JOINT PRODUCTION COM-

MITTEES SHOULD HAVE THEIR
SCOPE INCREASED, AND SHOULD
SUPERSEDE THE WORKS COMMITTEES AND THE SHOP STEWARDS' COMMITTEES IN THE FACARDS' COMMITTEES IN THE FAC-TORIES, SO THAT ONE COMMIT-TEE SHOULD DEAL WITH ALL THE QUESTIONS THAT ARISE IN About the same time (1825) the masons union declared "black" such

> should take the place of the independent workers' organisations is a stab in the back for the union membership. No less treacherous is the suggestion that the class collaboration between the union tops and the boss class government which has produced, among other things, Regulation 1A(a) and the Essential Works Order, should continue in an intensified form after the war.

SHOP STEWARDS TO BE MADE POWERLESS.

fetters of capitalism, the building workers will produce decent houses for Worse is to come. Having disposed of the shop stewards' committees, Tanner did not openly declare for the elimination of the Shop Stewards, he Whatever is produced will be at the expense of the building workers. The bosses will be bribed by huge submerely hinted at a reduction in their status to that of card inspectors, saying that the task of negotiating with sidies and colossal profits. But the workers, as in the past, will be sweated under the most intolerable conditions. It is management made it inevitable that they neglected their duties of card inspection and winning of new mem-Compulsory transfers, payment-by-results and large scale introduction of bers, with deleterious consequences on the million membership campaign, and unskilled and dilutee labour at cheap that steps should be taken to give them more time for this essential work. If the building bosses in the production of jerry-built shacks, which will have union bureaucracy against the shop and in Nantes, Grenoble and Touleuse. union bureaucracy against the shop and in Nantes, Grenoble and Touleuse. stewards is not checked in time the The departure of the German troops There is only one solution to the shop stewards will find themselves no released the hitherto compressed acthousing problem. The building inlonger the recognised leaders of the juity of the masses. In the Parisian dustry, like all basic industries, must be taken over by the state, without any compensation for the owners, and operated under workers' control. And this is a measure which only a work
this is a measure which only a work
are convernment can enoughly a more checking cards as their sole function, while the fight for the day to day factory committees there are Party command can enoughly a work
are convernment can enoughly a more interests of the workers will officially commades. pass into other hands.

"ORDERS IN COUNCIL" FOR THE E.C.

The rules of the union, said Tanner, would have to be changed to meet the new situation. In particular, the E.C. must be given greater powers so that it could act quickly in urgent matters. He quoted as precedent, the fact that These plans had been discussed in the Government could not have carried on the war unless it had Orders in Council, and the E.C. must have similar powers. This caused protests from the floor, so he had to soften the blow by talking about democratic checks. Why does Tanner demand Emergency Powers for the Executive Council? A leadership which has the democratic support of its members always responds quickly to urgent situations, but one which intends to act new Napoleon.

The fate of France cannot be separated from that of Europe. Either it will become a Bonapartist state in a Rellanged Furone or its accidence.

Inionist who attended the Stoll meeting. For, with the demagogy peeled off, the Executive Council Plan was ernment regulations, but one which intends to act against their wishes feels the need of bureaucratic machinery. Whilst leaders who have to be backed up by Government regulations, such as IA(a) are not leaders at all but renegades.

The Executive Council realize that they are in for some trouble when they try to operate their post war plans. Tanner conceded this when he said that in the difficult times ahead, differences of opinion might arise within the union, and these could only be avoided by co-operation between offi-

UNITY-WITH WHOM?

Tanner made great play with the words "Unity of the Working Class".

and Labour leaders want genuine working class unity and the state planning The role of the Joint Production Committees, is well known in every factory where they have functioned actively as tools of the boss to discipline the workers. The suggestion that these bodies of class collaboration should take the place of the independand control of production in the inter-

All genuine trade unionists in the A.E.U. must now embark on a struggle for the fullest democracy within the union, and its complete independence from the bosses and their govern-

European **Trotskyist Parties Meet**

(Continued from page 1)

tary of the Party. In Greece, the secretary of the Party, C. Poulipoulos, was shot, together with two other members of the leadership. Comrade Wintley, leading comrade of the German group in France, was recently murdered by the Gestapo.

Since the unification in France the Party has made progress, particularly

September 15, 1944.

T.U. OFFICIALS Attack Tyne Dockers

(Continued from page 1) should be drawn up which would be signed by both parties when completed. (So far as can be ascertained this document has never been signed.) .

Neither the terms of the "agreement" nor the date on which it was to come into operation (Ang. 21st) were conveyed to the workers. Their first intimation came from the stevedore in charge of the unloading of a ship. The workers denied knowledge of the "agreement" and in spite of Lisle's intervention they did not remove the hatches.

The following day the employers notified the union official that until such time as the workers were pre-pared to accept the agreement in full no payment would be made for removal of hatch covers. he workers naturally assumed

by this action the employers considered the "agreement" null and void, and they were perfectly satisfied with this But the employers were deposition. termined to enforce an "agreement" which was favourable to them. On 26th August they notified the union that they would refuse to attend meetings of the Quayside Sub-Committee to discuss any other business "until the men honoured the top hatch agreement'

At a specially convened mass meeting of Newcastle No. 9 Branch, at which 400 dockers were present, on the 31st August, Lisle tried to force the "agreement" down the workers throats. He was strenuously opposed by the branch leadership. A resolution rejecting the agreement and expressing the resolve of the members not to handle hatches was unanimously adopted by the meeting.

Five days later the Northern Executive of the N.U.G.M.W. met and decided to remove Bro, Pearson from the position he held on the N.E. Coast Port Committee, the Quayside Sub-Committee, the Main Registration Committee and the Newcastle and cision before the Branch officials did, the 5th Oct. and they immediately convened a meeting of the Quayside Sub-Committee. With Bro. Pearson so conveniently removed from office they felt they could now proceed with their attack and meet the men's representatives. This in spite of the statement that they refused to meet the workers' representatives until the top hatch agreement had been honoured. Lisle the N.U.G.M.W. organiser, tried francially to provide other, workers to tically to persuade other workers to take Bro. Pearson's position on the Sub-Committee. Not a single worker would accept nor would any of the other delegates attend the Sub-Committee meeting unless Bro. Pearson attended.

At a meeting of the branch a resolution was sent to Yarwood, the District Secretary of the Union, callng on him to convene a special meeting on Sept. 10th to explain to the members the E.C.'s high-handed bur-

Pearson from the offices he held. Again the resolution had the unanimous sup-

port of the 500 members who attended. The resolution was ignored by the E.C. Confident now of the support of the union officials in enforcing the "agree-ment" the bosses moved to the at-

On Wednesday, 20th Sept. at the 1 o'clock call. 22 dockers were employed by the Coast Lines Ltd. to unload a small coastal vessel. On arrival to un-load they found that the crew of the ship had refused to remove the hatches. The 22 dockers abided by the decision of the branch and waited patiently for the bosses to move. By night there was no move. By noon the following day there was still no move and the dockers asked the employers for the return of their port registration cards so that they could return to the pool to get another job received from a Mr. Atkinson, the manager of the Docks Corporation, the employers refused to return the cards

That evening the dockers met and engaged on, but to refuse to be re-employed until the 22 men received their cards. Technically no strike exists.

Lisle convened a meeting for the 24th, but phoned at the last moment to say he had received instructions not to attend. The meeting passed a vote of confidence in Bro. Pearson unanimously. Hewitson (whom it is rumoured has

been in the area since the stoppage started) has not seen fit to address the workers. He has, apparently, preferred to meet the pen prostitutes of the capitalist press in order to vilify the dockers and their leadership.

In spite of a vicious press campaign of lies and slander, the dockers are

standing firm.
On Tuesday, 3rd Oct., the Northern E.C. of the N.U.G.M.W. met again and capped their previous bureaucratic action by disbanding the whole branch of the union. The press was notified Gateshead area Sub-Committee. The and gleefully reported that a new employers knew of the Executive's de- branch would be formed on Thursday branch would be formed on Thursday

The press lyingly reported that a steady stream of recruits had gone to the appointed place to sign the guar-antee to be docile. Not one worker signed this disgusting sheet.

At a meeting held at the docks during the afternoon it was overwhelmingly decided to regard the new enrolment slips as toilet paper. Throughout the entire dispute the

union bureaucrats have played a most despicable role as bosses' lickspittles. So long as the industrial and political truce remains so long as life employees of the workers can sign away workers' rights and stifle workers' democracy, so long will the workers find their struggle for decent wages and con-ditions sabotaged and betrayed.

Demand independence of unions from the state. Demand full workers' democracy in

the Trade Union movement. Demand the re-election of T.U. offieaucratic action in removing Bro. cials at least every two years!

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