

T.U.C. HELPS GOEBBELS

Why Should German Workers Listen to Labour Bureaucrats ?

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ideas of internationalism, of socialism, or even common human solidarity.

"The German fascist invaders must answer for all these fiendish atrocities," Mr. Kuznetsov declared. "The Soviet Union stressed the fact that in the reconstruction of the districts destroyed Russia would need very considerable help. It would be a good thing," he said, "if all those infected with a feeling of leniency towards the fascists (let us remember he does not distinguish between the German people and the fascists) were sent for a short time to the territory where the German invaders ruled. If these people are honest, their soft hearts would, without doubt, become as hard as stone."

All this deluge of anti-German propaganda, is merely following in the wake of a campaign of race hatred and calumny that Goebbels would find it hard to beat. As he waged a campaign against all Jews, so now the capitalist press here wages a campaign against all Germans. And this is not done unconsciously. Like Goebbels' racial myth this Vansittartism has a purpose. It is a preparation for the bleeding of Germany. As the "Daily Worker" cheerfully headlines: "Germany Must Pay—Say Soviet and British Unions."

BETRAYAL OF SOCIALISM

One cannot read the pages of the Labour press, in particular the "Daily Worker", without a feeling of shame that these traitors speak in the name of the working class and of socialism. They have violated every elementary idea developed by the great teachers of socialism. You can search the pages of Marx, of Engels, and of Lenin; even if one reads the old labour pioneers in this country such as Kier Hardie, nowhere can you find anything that could be used to give even a shadow of justification to this criminal policy. How often have the teachers of socialism proclaimed that the working class of all countries have nothing to gain by war except misery and sorrow, hardship and death? The German workers have had their full share of misfortune in the present war. The ones who gain out of the war, as in every country, are the big monopolies and trusts, the Nazi hierarchy. No more than the British workers have gained out of the war, have the German workers.

Instead of attacking the people really responsible, the criminals of finance capital in Britain, as well as in Germany, they attempt to cover up the real cause of war. And there is a sinister reason behind the support of the T.U.C. leaders and of the Stalinists for a "hard peace" for Germany. The ruling class, as always, are not prepared to destroy private ownership of the means of production, not only in Britain but anywhere else. They wish to protect private property in Germany—and thus the criminals responsible together with them, for this war—and unload all the burdens of the war onto the shoulders of the German workers. Apart from the top leaders of the Nazi movement, not many of the real culprits in Germany will get their deserts at the hands of the Allies. But it is to prevent them getting their deserts at the hands of the workers, soldiers and peasants of Germany that the capitalists are devoting their efforts. In this they are receiving the full support of Stalin and the Labour leaders.

When Citrine, the new apostle of the barricades, demands of the German workers (the safety of London) that they take action at the barricades—when the Stalinists, the new found lovers of constitutionalism and legality in all the countries of Europe, sneer at the Germans for accepting the rule of Hitler, that is a sight to make the Gods laugh. The German workers will yet be on the barricades, as their French brothers have already been. But not because of the appeal of these pharisees and hypocrites, but in spite of them.

GOEBBELS GRATEFUL TO T.U.C. BOSSES

If the German nation has tolerated Hitler's rule during the last five years, the responsibility for this rests directly on the shoulders of the Citrines, the Lawthers, the Stalins and the Pollitts. It was the German peoples' fear of a new and worse Versailles Treaty of enslavement that led them to see no way out. Today, what holds the German workers back when Hitler has lost what little support he did possess, is the "hard peace" which Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin promises them and which the T.U.C. bureaucrats confirmed at its conference. Goebbels has seized with delight on the assistance rendered him by Messrs. Citrine, Kuznetsov and Co. The T.U.C. resolution was broadcast throughout Germany to convince the German people that the fate of the Nazis and the fate of the masses were bound together. "Enjoy the war! The Peace will be terrible." is his latest slogan.

REVOLTS IN GERMANY

While the new fiery warrior "Horatio Nelson" Citrine has put the telescope to his blind eye and proclaimed that he sees nothing, revolts and mutinies, strikes and uprisings, have been reported in various parts of Germany. If we had to publish a list of even half these events, the pages of the "Socialist Appeal" would be filled—and this, from the carefully edited

reports of the capitalist press. To take a couple. The Vansittart "Daily Mail" which can hardly be accused of sympathy for the Germans reported in its issue of 12th October, 1944:

"Industrial disturbances in the Ruhr and Rhineland were the main cause of the long telephone silence between Berlin and Stockholm according to travellers arriving here by plane from Germany."

Affected centres mentioned are Dusseldorf, Cologne and Saarbrücken but the trouble is believed to have spread further afield."

On the 15th October, W. E. Mundy of the "Telegraph" report under the headline: "Peace Riots Stamped Out in Ruhr. S.S. Armed with TANKS AND GAS!"

"The anti-Nazi demonstrations in the Ruhr and Western Germany which I reported recently, and which flared up again last week prior to the five days' Berlin-Sweden telephone silence, have caused Himmler to issue a savage warning."

He has threatened to send tanks, machine-guns and tear gas to be used by fanatical S.S. youth against German underground factory workers, foreign workers and Wehrmacht officers inside the Reich who are trying to undermine the regime."

Any new mutiny in the streets or the factories will be ruthlessly suppressed."

The "Telegraph" of the same day reports:

"An unconfirmed report, broadcast by F.F.I. Radio Lyons said: 'Riots have taken place in Berlin. S.S. troops were called and fired into a crowd demonstrating for peace. One small group of rebels routed an S.S. formation.'"

WHY SHOULD GERMAN WORKERS TRUST BRITISH LABOUR LEADERS ?

Citrine says: We appeal to the German workers. But what does he offer them? Churchill instead of Hitler! Why should they prefer Churchill to Hitler? He has always been the enemy of the workers everywhere. But what is even more important: why should they trust this Citrine. He notices the crimes of the German imperialists—so does even the "Daily Mail", and the capitalists from the City of London who financed and helped Hitler to power. It is profitable for them to do so. And it is in serving them that Sir Walter Citrine does this dirty work. How easy it is for Citrine and Co. to point the finger of scorn at the German workers. Yet, he is silent about the crimes of the British capitalists as black as those of the Nazis. In India 5 million died of starvation on the direct responsibility of Churchill and his class, and a new famine is imminent. Not a word at the T.U.C. Conference! Citrine does not face the firing squad and the torture chambers of the Gestapo, but yet not a word. Brave Citrine! What can the Indian workers think? And the German workers? Is it to this hypocrite that they must hearken? The very idea is laughable. "Look not to the mote in the other man's eye before you look at the beam in your own." When your own hands are clean Messrs. Labour leaders, you can accuse others. The Indian workers might just as well say that the British workers are responsible for their 5 million dead in India; for the thousands murdered by British imperialism; the tens of thousands in jail. But we know that the British workers were not responsible for these crimes committed in

Russian Revolution

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masses were living under conditions of hunger and even starvation on his first journey to Moscow. One more thing. When Trotsky was at the head of the Red Army the Generals did not live much better than the ordinary soldier. Today, the differentiation in wages and conditions between a soldier and an officer in the Red Army is even greater than in the capitalist armies of Britain and Germany! Measures of petty tyranny have been introduced which not even the British and American army has dared to do. Privates in trains, buses, etc. must stand while the officer sits down—even if there are vacant seats!

There is not a single aspect of Soviet life without exception in which there has not been a retrogression from Lenin's and Marx's conceptions of what a workers' state should be—education, religion, women, internationalism, armed forces, workers control of factories, wage differentiation among workers and peasants—most of the gains achieved under Lenin are being wiped out by Stalin.

That is why Churchill hails the wiping out of these achievements and acclaims the changes in Russia as the wiping out of "Trotskyism". That is why Churchill and Roosevelt make agreements with Stalin. They are not afraid of Stalinism, as they were of Leninism, but regard it as an ally and a prop in the struggle against world socialism.

But there is still something left to defend in Russia. Stalin has not yet

their name; no more are the German workers responsible for the crimes of Hitler. BUT CITRINE AND STALIN BEAR THEIR SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR BOTH. The gallant Kuznetsov and his companion had not a word to say about the atrocities under the British flag. They looked with equanimity on the crimes in India.

These people hope that the working class has short memories. It is not so long ago that Molotov proclaimed that fascism was a matter of "taste", and that the Allies should cease fighting against the peace lover Hitler. It was not so long ago that Pollitt and Co. were proclaiming:

"Hitler repeated once again his claim that the war was thrust upon him by Britain. Against this historical fact there is no reply. Britain declared war, not Germany. Attempts were made to end the war, but the Soviet-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."

"Daily Worker" Editorial, February 1st, 1940.

Citrine is a good barricade fighter. The "Daily Herald" editorial on the T.U.C. remarked that the German people must be sternly dealt with—they 'quailed' at the barricades. But Citrine too, must hope that the masses have short memories. Do you remember Citrine, the T.U.C. Conference of 1933? Do you think you were speaking in the name of the British workers when you, at Brighton in 1933, said:

"All I can say is that a general strike was definitely planned and projected, but the German leaders had to give consideration to the fact that a general strike after the atmosphere created by the Reichstag fire and with 6½ million people unemployed, was an act fraught with the gravest consequences which might be described as nothing less than civil war."

Thus Citrine justified the cowardice and treachery of his brother Social Democratic leaders in Germany for refusing to lead the German workers who were willing and eager to struggle against the Nazis. And this even after Hitler was in power. Faced with the same position in Britain we cannot doubt that he and his colleagues will behave in the same treacherous and cowardly fashion. Yet he and his ilk slander the German workers.

This is the real Citrine. Together with the Stalinists, you are responsible for the victory of Hitler. You betrayed the German workers then, as you are betraying the British and German workers now.

THEY FEAR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

But Citrine and Stalin do not want to punish the German workers because they do not revolt, but because they are going to revolt. They are afraid that the German revolution will gain the support of the British workers. In spite of Gestapo and the S.S., the ordinary Germans fraternised with the peoples of Europe. Special orders had to be issued to the German soldiers threatening them if they fraternised with the population in Russia and other countries. In Russia the German soldiers gave their rations to starving

women and children. They know that the British workers will behave in the same way in Germany. That is why new military orders have been issued threatening the Germans with punishment if they dare to get on friendly relations with Allied soldiers. But this campaign will be in vain. A journalist writes in the "Express" fatalistically:

"How are you going to stop the British soldier from being friendly to the German civilians once he gets into Germany? I suppose it can be done, but it is difficult to see how. If nature takes its course, he will hand out his chocolate to the babies, and his rations and his cigarettes to the hungry parents."

I am only going by what has happened in Italy, and around a thousand prisoners' cages all the way from here to Africa."

The terrible thing is that the class conscious workers whose normal reactions would be those of international class solidarity are precisely the ones whose "misleaders" are leading them into reactionary paths. Instead of agitating among their more backward fellow workers on international lines of class solidarity, those workers influenced by Citrine and especially by the "Communist" Party, propagate Vansittart doctrines. There lies the danger to socialism in Europe. Under these conditions the first duty and the first task of all genuine class conscious workers is to ceaselessly counter these vile activities.

British workers! Don't be fooled. They are playing with your lives and your future. If you allow yourselves to help the crushing of the German workers, you are preparing the same medicine for yourselves.

Socialist workers! Do not listen to Citrine.

Communist workers! Do not be fooled by Pollitt.

REBUILD A SOCIALIST EUROPE

Remember the teachings of the great socialist teachers.

In the last war the German Junkers and Generals—like the British capitalists and Generals—plundered, burned and murdered in Russia, just as the Nazis have done in this war. Yet Lenin always distinguished between two Germanies—the Germany of the workers and the Germany of the capitalists, and two Britains—the Britain of the workers and the Britain of the capitalists.

But the question will be asked, how is the ruin and damage to be paid for and the reconstruction of Europe to be achieved? To socialist workers the answer is simple: Lenin's way. Expropriate all the criminals responsible for the war. But they sit not only in Berlin, but in London, Paris and New York. A socialist Europe with voluntary and enthusiastic co-operation of the German people, with the skill of German labour and German technique, would mean a new life for Europe—a new standard of living for the whole of Europe and a new and higher culture for all humanity. The German workers would gladly give their all in sacrificing and building for the benefit of the workers of all Europe. But a capitalist Germany and capitalist reparations, hunger for the German people—that is what a stern peace will mean—will bring hunger to the British, French and other workers too. A perpetuation of hatred will mean new wars. The defeat of Germany does not end war; on the contrary, it prepares new wars between the victors. If you don't destroy the cause of war and fascism—its parent, capitalism, these calamities will descend with tenfold severity on the peoples of the world.

Down with Vansittartism! Protest in your branch against the Vansittart resolution of the T.U.C.! For the hand of friendship and fraternity to the German workers! For a socialist Germany in a socialist Europe!

ITALY 'LIBERATED'

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aristocracy, with whom it wines and dines and spends week-ends.

Further, on June 15th, the Chicago Sun reported the following statement made by General Hume:

"The problem of what to do with the fascists against whom many people believe this war was directed, remains unsolved."

Here we have clearly exposed the lie of the war again fascism. And the "Socialist Appeal" has constantly pointed out, the present war is not a war against fascism but an imperialist war fought over markets, raw materials, colonies and colonial slaves. Anglo-American armies of occupation realise the truth of their commanders' statements, all the plans, all the schemes of A.M.G. of the Allies imperialists will not be worth the paper they appear on. Once they realise the truth of what we have reiterated year after year, neither the British nor the American troops will allow themselves to be used for counter-revolutionary purposes. Inevitably the workers of all countries will come to understand the true meaning of the present war and the "liberation" that will result from it.

9 MINERS FINED

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ous quantities of muck having to be continually cleared by the colliers; and how trams had so often, at great labour, to be placed back on the road, that coal-getting was continually interfered with. So much extra dead-work was involved in these roads that, as one collier put it in court, the men had never worked so hard in their lives as during the period of the alleged 'ca-canny'.

That the statements were true is proved by the significant fact that the prosecution never attempted to deny them! And even the impartial Stipendiary in his summing-up was compelled to admit that at least in No. 11 road, abnormal conditions of work existed! Is it not obvious then that no two firemen—however anxious they were to please the management—could have produced 15 tons of coal if they had laboured under similar conditions to those described above. But here we encounter Powell Duffryn's crooked methods! For the indisputable facts show that the 'test' was carried out under conditions which were about as 'normal' as a clean face on the pit-bottom!

To prove this point the Defending Counsel, Alan Davies, K.C., called as witness a roadman of some 30 years experience in the Penrhwycolliery. Under examination, it was clearly established that this worker, knowing nothing of the impending 'test', had been ordered to spend the whole shift cleaning up No. 11 road. On the next shift the firemen conducted the 'test' on the same road! Furthermore, it was proved in court that the firemen had not confined their coal-getting to one particular stall but had taken loose coal from at least 3 or 4 other stalls! And finally, it was also established—and remember that Barklam didn't attempt to deny any of these facts!—that the firemen were served throughout the 'test' by two hauliers (and master-hauliers at that!) specially detailed to look after them. Small wonder that the management didn't invite any of the accused or any Union official to witness these efforts at 'proving' that 7 tons per man per shift was a reasonable output! It was so obviously a rotten swindle that even the Stipendiary had to admit that the 'test' was "not wholly satisfactory"! However, he continued, "it was, nevertheless, entirely genuine!" A legal conundrum which, when unraveled, means—the tests were a fraud but the miners have to pay just the same! For, solely on the

basis of these "not wholly satisfactory tests", the Court has ordered nine hard-working Welsh colliers to pay damages to the millionaire coal combine of Powell Duffryn. That is what it all boils down to.

As at the recent 'ca-canny' trial at Hamilton, in which ten Scottish miners were each ordered to pay £10 damages, these Penrhwycolliery colliers have been the victims of a vicious frame-up. And the purpose of the coal-owners is equally clear in each case—to compel a certain level of output regardless of the conditions under which the work is performed.

This is an issue which affects every miner in the country. Prosecutions for alleged 'ca-canny' are now becoming a feature of almost every coalfield. Apart from the two cases mentioned above, we learn from the "Militant Miner" that a further 18 Shotts miners are scheduled for a 'ca-canny' prosecution! In West Wales, the Amalgamated Anthracite Company are alleging 'ca-canny' on the part of 17 hauliers employed at the Steer pit in Gwaun-cae-Gurwen. In all these cases the prosecution, or threat of prosecution has followed hard on the heels of the management's refusal to meet the men's just demands for better price lists or contract rates. The conclusion is therefore quite clear. The coal-owners are attempting to use the capitalist courts to enforce a certain level of output regardless of any deterioration in the conditions of work in the mines or the physical well-being of the miners. That the courts will invariably side with the owners is proved by the experiences of Abercynon and Hamilton.

These prosecutions will only cease when the coal-owners are made to recognise that the whole of the organized strength of the Union will fight with every means in its power to prevent this vicious attempt to introduce industrial serfdom into the mines. So far, at Abercynon as at Hamilton the miners' leaders have stood meekly aside while the individual Lodges have borne the burden of these costly court cases. This is disgraceful! It is almost a deliberate encouragement to the coal-owners to continue their attacks. Every miners' Lodge in Great Britain has the duty to demand now that the Executives employ the whole organized might of the union to defend their prosecuted members. Demand now that the leadership—gets off its knees and Fights!

400 WELSH MINERS STRIKE

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"The management should bore—but you can't claim the guaranteed wage."

Ironically enough, Horner made this shameful statement directly after coming out of a meeting in Neath with the Amalgamated Anthracite Company, the purpose of which was—to increase coal production in West Wales! Yet while he was pleasantly chatting with the coal-barons on how best to get the workers to increase production, the representatives of these very same coal-owners were holding up coal production in Gelli-ceidrim at the rate of 1,500 tons a week. Instead of taking immediate steps to prosecute the management for: (1) deliberately holding up coal production; (2) endangering the lives of 400 miners; and, (3) illegally with-

holding the guaranteed wage;—instead of, in other words, acting in the interests of the miners he is supposed to represent, this miners "leader", a member of the so-called "Communist" Party, had the impudence to attack the miners by refusing even to support their demand for a guaranteed wage! The Gelli-ceidrim dispute is just one more proof of two facts, which are becoming widely recognised today in South Wales. The first is that the coal-owners care nothing for coal-production—their only concern is for profits. The second is that the majority of the S.W.M.F. leadership cares nothing for the miners interests—their only concern is to secure their own positions. But, as this dispute also proves, the desire of Horner and Co. for increased production stops short at the coal-owners fat profits! It is high time that Welsh miners got together and created a leadership that will fight the owners—not the workers!

Dockers' Lock-out

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Nobody knows who is responsible for the continuation of the lock-out, whether it is employers, T.U. officials or the M.O.L. But the responsibility must be placed where it belongs—on the employers and T.U. officials who constitute the "Board" and on the Ministry of Labour who rushed to intervene and prosecute the striking dockers in 1942, but who have taken no action against (but who appear to be giving active support to) the employers who lock the workers out in 1944.

The following report which appeared in the "Newcastle Journal and North Mail" 19/10/44, continues its attack on the workers and gives an inkling of the reason for the continuation of the lock-out. Pay-as-you-earn Income Tax rebate is providing 'relief' for Newcastle dockers in the Quayside strike which completes its fourth week tomorrow" (The biased gutter press falls to mention that for the last week the "strike" has been a lock-out). "Having disbanded the rebellious No. 9 Branch of the N.U.M.G.W., the district officers are faced with the fact that the Chairman and Secretary of the defunct branch—have been elected Chairman and Secretary of the new branch. Officers of the Union are not prepared at this juncture to make a

statement on the position thus created; but it is said to be possible that the area executive body will decline to approve these appointments, and so precipitate another show-down.

The men decided last Sunday to resume work on the terms of the existing agreement relating to the handling of hatch-covers, but until the branch administration is satisfactorily settled a resumption is unlikely."

Meanwhile many of the dockers are beginning to go hungry, some men with big families are literally starving. It appears as if the T.U. officials are utilising their position as joint employers of the men to bring them to heel, as one would a hungry dog.

Workers throughout the country must protest against the utilisation of the despicable methods to which T.U. officials have stooped in order to "discipline" their members. A demand should be made throughout the T.U. Movement for a T.U. enquiry into the lock-out of the Newcastle dockers.

READ The Death Agony of Capitalism AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS By Leon Trotsky THE PROGRAMME OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL 6d