Formerly "Youth for Socialism"

REGHT WING TORIES FEAR Our Programme

By TED GRANT

THE "SOCIALIST APPEAL" LAST MONTH BY THE ENTIRE NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL PI THE RIGHT ORIES, THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE LIBERALS, THE MINERS' MISLEADERS—WAS LAUNC WITH O SECT—TO GET THE "SOCIALIST APPEAL" SUPPRESSED.

SO so reical were the charges, so irresponsible were the allegations of the miners' officials, that the compaign collapsed the modernt. But this is by no means the end of the matter. It serves as a warning of the most serious nature to the working class.

FULL SUPPORT FOR INDIA'S FREEDOM—Stop the Terror against Indian People

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

By ANDREW SCOTT

BY REFUSING TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF GIVING FREEDOM TO INDIA AT ONCE, THE BRITISH OVERNMENT HAS DELIBERATELY CHOSEN A POLICY WHEREBY THOUSANDS OF BRITISH SOLDIERS WHO HAVE BLEN SENT OUT TO INDIA SUPPOSEDLY TO FIGHT FOR "DEMOCRACY" AND THE "FREEDOM OF NATIONS" WILL BE "SED FOR THE PURPOSE OF PUTTING DOWN BY ARMED FORCE, THE STRUGGLE OF THE INDIAN MASSES FOR FREEDOM. ARE WE TO STAND BY AND SEE OUR SONS AND BROTHERS ANDHUSBANDS USED BY THE IMPERIALISTS AS AN ARMY OF OPPRESSION AGAINST OUR COLONIAL CLASS BROTHERS? THE ANSWER OF LABOUR MUST BE NO!

The Indian masses are letting it be known that the Indian Revolution is on the order of the day. No longer fill promises of freedom "after the war" suffice. No longer will bluff delay the mighty movement for freedom which has been many years, and which the war has set aflame.

The passing of the Congress "Quit India" resolution was the signal for the British authorities to resort to a variety of "decrees" prohibiting mass action. But neither these decrees nor the violence which the Government has launched against the Indian masses can now prevail against the might of the 400 millions of India. Already the struggle has passed in innumerable areas, the boundaries set to it by Gandhi. The slightest manifestation of militancy by the Indian workers and peasants has been met with baton charges, with tear gas, and in the last resort, with bullets.

New Hope for India . . .

Against this provocation and vioence, the Indian people are being Congress has Support of Indian Masses ON THE SECOND FRONT

warfare real approaches approaches ary but also Allied confe in Moscow, with

THE POWER OF THE PRESS



For it was not merel "Socialist Appeal" that was fire: it was the struggle of the for the betterment of their lot the right to the working organise independently, to sown solution to the treproblems of today; to fight for This is what was being at The "Socialist Appeal" bore the because through it is expressive aspirations of the working the condependence and hope for the —and doom for the capitalist

hand in hand with the cam Parliament. The Right Win advanced to the attack fro possible angle, paper supplies nel, internment under 18b. pression of the paper. These aries who stand for the method and suppression against the class at the present time glac the opportunity of attacking ing class. They are longing time when they will be able methods of fascism in Britain it is the Trotskyists, tomorrov be the I.L.P. and finally th be after the scalps of Morris and the Labour leaders t But at the moment they w it seem that in this attacl "Socialist Appeal" these ionaries were motivated solel disinterested love for the Lab ment and the Soviet Union. This new-found love for

Union ill-befits them. The is of these people posing as the Soviet Union against us was but yesterday that the preparing for war against at the time of the Finnish every always. Sough and

(continued on back p

lew Hope for ndia . . .

Against this provocation and vioce, the Indian people are being ced to choose whether their struggle ll be limited to "non-cooperation l non-violence" or whether it shall a genuine militant struggle for wer. In the entire objective state affairs in India lies the necessity for truggle for power.

In this the question of leadership ces itself forward insistently as the y to the situation. The type of dership provided by Gandhi and ongress and the attitude to this dership of a section of the British ling class is summed up by the Daily Herald". Objecting to the rest of Gandhi it states:

"It will not halt the civil disobedience campaign. On the con-trary, it will transfer that campaign at its outset to the control of un-knowns who lack the experience, the knowledge and the tolerance of Gandhi."

The crisis from below is pushing ongress towards measures, the very ought of which gives hideous nightares of losing control of the mass ovement. For the Indian masses no onger harbour the illusions they may ave had in the past about the power British imperialism. The events of Ialaya, Burma and Hong Kong have ot passed them unnoticed.

For 200 years they have suffered the ccupation of their country; they have ndured the indignities, poverties, and xploitation, the constant lowering of heir already low standard of living hat this has meant. But the "Herrenolk" have appeared strong, and have ucceeded in retaining their hold by his appearance of strength.

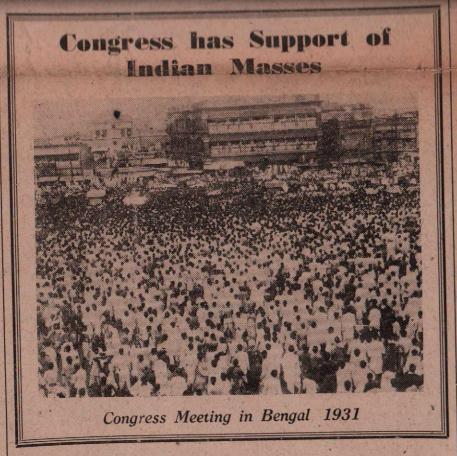
But suddenly a mere handful of apanese succeeded in sweeping British mperialism out of Malaya and Burma within the space of a few months. Never was there such a demonstration of the complete feebleness and corruptness of a ruling power.

The Indian masses have been doubly strengthened in their struggle for freedom by this revelation of the weakness of their exploiters, and the crumbling of the Empire under the impact of the mighty forces unleashed

by the war. In the first place, they were ordered into the war by Whitehall, without even the slightest semblance of consultation. And now it has meant that even rice, their staple diet, is on

short supply to the extent of 2,100,000 On the basis of conditions no better

than those of animals, of 200 years of ruthless exploitation, of being dragged into a war which is essentially that of their imperialist occupiers, of increased hunger and starvation-on the basis of this, the anger and determination of the Indian workers and peasants has mounted, until now the crisis has come.



Arm the Indian Masses

The British Government has made every effort to demonstrate that the only effects of a mass movement in India will be to help Japan. They justify staying on by the necessity to defend India from occupation by Japan. But even Congress has been forced to point out that India could defend itself better without them. Even H. N. Brailsford has had to admit: "There is widespread doubt among Indians whether we can win this war and whether we have the ability to defend their country." Even if the British Government's claim to be only interested in keeping Japan out were true then they could do this most effectively by immediately giving India her freedom and by arming the Indian masses themselves. But, far from doing this, they have issued a statement expressly forbidding any such arming. The Times reported on

"The Government of India are not prepared to countenance the formation of what have been called 'private armies' . . . the ostensible purpose of which may be to afford protection to the community as a whole or particular sections of it, but whose real object is to usurp the Government's responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, and to aim at the setting up of some kind of parallel administration."

The reason for their refusal to arm the masses is clear. They do not want to place them in a position where they can reinforce their struggle for freedom with arms in their hands. Here

is the real test of their high-minded claims. By not arming the Indian masses they show clearly that they would rather risk a Japanese occupation in the hope of taking India back from the Japanese later on. As Gandhi put it: "They may leave you just as they left the people of Burma, Malaya and other places with the idea of recapturing lost ground when they can." But they know that although they might take India back from Japan they could never take India back from an armed Indian people! Here also is the true test of their promise of freedom after the war. If freedom can be given at all, then all the more reason to give it now when it would rally 400 million Indians against Japan. But, we see that the same conditions are being prepared as in Burma. There the British occupation was continued with the same excuse, and the result was not a strengthened defence against Japan, but one of the quickest defeats in history, with the Burmese masses either apathetic or actively hostile.

The Government claims that it cannot possibly take such a gigantic decision as the freeing of India in haste. But when it suits them the British ruling class can act quickly enough.

Enthusiasm was lacking in Burma and Malaya precisely because the masses there had nothing to fight for. Only a struggle in defence of a free India could raise enthusiasm in India. But still the imperialists cannot grant freedom, because it is prince wea for the continuation of their

of India and the other s incident, that they are fighting agly unbal-ready the fringes of tho, took place gone, but if India is inburg is the heart and core has go working class

Continued back

3.30 p.m.

atest crisis. With in Moscow, with hastily-called is zi conferences in Ber-lin, with hostages being gathered and stored throughout the Hitler-occupied territories like any of the other munitions of war, the world waits with bated breath to see if Britain and America will launch their promised Second Front this year.

Above all the workers of Britain await the answer to this question with anxiety. Many, indeed, have not just waited, but have demonstrated in thousands for the opening of a Second Front. A recent Gallup Poll revealed that 65 per cent of the voters were in favour of a Second Front. With Russia in the terrible and ever increasing peril in which she finds herself the British workers are making it clear that they want help, and real help, to be given to the Soviet Union before it is too late.

But with this eagerness to help, goes a sense of frustration and a deep anxiety that have been growing throughout the war, and at an increasing pace since the attack on the Soviet Union began. And this mood has not simply sprung up because nothing genuine has been done to help Russia to gain victory, but with the deep, inescapable knowledge that even if any action is undertaken, while the present leadership is in control it is not likely to bring benefit either to the Soviet Union or the Common people of Brit-

Churchill has declared that he welcomes the great demonstrations in Trafalgar Square for the Second Front because they reveal a militant spirit running through the nation even after three years of war. But Churchill and his class also fear those demon-strations. For behind them, and des-pite the efforts of the Communist Party to lead it into chauvinist channels, there is a tremendous demand, unspoken by the masses and still not completely conscious, for a different kind of war. What the workers are demanding is not just a bigger and bloodier version of the existing war, but a compete change in aims, in methods, in oth military and political leadership. The fact that neither the

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Trotsky Memorial Meeting

OUR PARTY IS OUR TRIBUTE

SPEAKERS FROM LONDON. SCOTLAND MIDLANDS AND LANCASHIRE

HOLBORN HALL

Ininday Aug. 23rd

MPHLET AL KING TO STRUCTURE THE PARTY OF THE

the Soviet Union against us when it was but yesterday that they were preparing for war against Russia at the time of the Finnish events; who have always: fought and was the

(continued on back page)

DURHAM MINERS GIVE LIE TO LAWTHER

Rank and File Conference Demands Nationalisation Reported by Jock Haston

What was probably the most important and significant meeting of rank and file miners to be held since the outbreak of the war has just concluded (Aug. 8th) at Ryhope, Co. Durham. The meeting was a delegates' conference, called by the Dawdon Lodge of the Durham Miners' Association. Its business was to discuss the following resolution:-

RESOLUTION:

While we appreciate what has been achieved up to now by way of wages increase and joint control of the mines, we are still not satisfied with the position or that miners are are going to have any sense of security after hostilities have ceased.

Having in mind all the things that happened to wages and conditions after the last war, when the mines were decontrolled by the Lloyd George government, this conference is of the opinion that immediate steps ought to be taken to have the mines nationalised, or these things will be certain to

When wages will be reduced to starvation levels, men will be put on the scrap-heap and the coal mines be again the hand-maiden of all industry. Then again we will realise that we have been too late in taking the necessary steps to obviate this happening.

It is only by agitation now and not after the war that this can be done, or after the war this government will take away control, the old system of competition and low wages will again be in vogue and then again we will learn that we have missed the boat.

It is not our object to impede the war effort, but we do appeal to Lodges to support this conference so that the powers that be will know that the whole County is behind this demand for nationalisation.

> George Burdess (President), Jno. McChesney (Treasurer), W. H. Copeland (Delegate), S. Barratt (Sec.), and Committee.

The Executive Committee of the Durham Miners' Association did everything to sabotage attendance at this conference and issued a circular con-demning the Dawdon Lodge and the resolution, appealing to the miners to "ignore such unconstitutional conferences". At the same time a Durham Miners' Council meeting was called for the same day, Aug. 8th, with the object of reducing the attendance at the Ryhope meeting.

Part of the E.C. circular was couch-

ed in the most self-lauditary and boast- | that we can ensure the miners get ful phrases, provoking many caustic comments from the delegates who assembled at Ryhope.

In his opening remarks, George Burdess, President of the Dawdon Lodge and of the meeting revealed the deep distrust among the miners of the coalowners, management, and Government. He also expressed the discontent of the miners at the policy of their present leadership.

"Despite the undoubted concessions in the Greene award," he said, "the cost of living had risen so rapidly as to largely negate the economic gains.

Meanwhile, the conditions had very rapidly and badly deteriorated . . . at east one other thing had to be granted before the miners could feel the slightest sense of security, that was the complete nationalisation of the mines. While we are aware that nationalisation of the mines is not social-ism, or all we would like it to be, we have got to recognise that it is a step in the right direction. In the event to a 'left wing Labour Government' coming into power it could be supple mented and strengthened by workers control. Such a government would find it difficult to deny such a direct step forward as Workers' Control would represent."

"Every miner is aware of the urgent need to assist our Russian comrades and the Red Army in its time of greatest crisis," he said. "But we also know that the people who own and control the mines are concerned first and foremost with making pro-fits. Everything is subordinated to that end. They, along with other members of their class in industry and in the Government, would rather see a victory for Hitler than have what they consider to be their birthright-the ownership of the land and mines taken from them by the workers."

The E.C. accuse us of fostering

disunity among the miners," he said but that was patently untrue. We want to implement the declared programme of our union. If we all get together with this unity of purpose, who can say that we are trying to create disunity of the miners? want to unite our own people, the workers, the miners. We want to unite them against the evils of the pits and the private ownership of the mining industry. This is the only way

a square deal now and in the future. We have heard all the grand promises of what will happen 'after the war'. But we consider it is time we had a few of these promises implemented now! The resolution aims to keep the question of nationalisation of the mines before you now and in the immediate future; it aims to bring the question sharply before the miners as whole '

The resolution was then moved by an old militant stalwart of the Dawdon Ledge, Jim Devlin.

"To listen to our agents at Durham on the question of nationalisation of the pits," he said, "one would think it was a new and terribly revolutionary idea. I remember 52 years ago in Lanarkshire where I belong, at the first meeting to be held by Keir Hardy in the district, the main theme of his discourse was that without the nationalisation of the pits the miners were doomed to continued horrible and bad

There is nothing new and outstanding in the concessions which have just been granted to us," he said. 'In principle they have all been granted in the past. Don't we know what happened in 1919 when we were feted. Don't we remember all the recom-mendations of the Sankey Commission and the promises which were made to the miners by the Government of that time? But while all this was taking place in the public eye, the employers were thinking of getting back to "normal" conditions behind the scenes.

If ever there was an opportune moment to press our full programme of nationalisation of the mines it is now. When the Government of today can and does command your livesand all this in the interest of the 'good of the country'-why can't it use its present powers to command the means of production for the country's use as well.

'Are we going to let these bonnie lads and lassies come back from the war to the same conditions as we came back to after the last war?"

"I say, men, you should not, and cannot allow it to happen. The coal-owners and Government will make all kinds of promises to us fafter the war', but we must see to it that we take a positive step to create decent

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AN OPEN LETTER to the Yorkshire Miners' Association

Our Answer to the Slanders of the President, Mr. Joseph Hall

18th July, 1942.

To the Secretary, Yorkshire Miners' Association, 2 Huddersfield Road,

Dear Sir and Brother,

Our Executive Committee has had under consideration the recent statements of the President of your organisation, Mr. Joseph Hall, regarding the "Socialist Appeal" and the people who support it. Mr. Hall has lent authority to his pronouncements by stating that he intends to have an official pronouncement from your Council at the earliest

In view of the irresponsible and slanderous character of these allegations and of the wide publicity which has been given to his statements in the press and in Parliament, it is in the interest of the working class and therefore of your Council, that it investigate the question seriously as a representative working class body and have before it all the available

evidence, before making such a pronouncement.

We propose to deal briefly with the following four outstanding allegations made by Mr. Hall to the press:

1. "I am convinced in my own mind unrest in the coalfield has been fostered by subversive influences outside the miners' organisation."

'These influences are definitely subversive and pro-Nazi. Their

object is to hinder production and thereby cripple the war effort." The effort to lead these boys away and to destroy their faith in the Trade Union movement has gone too far already."
"Young men between 25 and 30 were being paid £10 a week for

distributing the "Socialist Appeal."

BAD CONDITIONS CAUSE STRIKES-NOT "SUBVERSIVE" PROPAGANDA

The assertion by Mr. Hall that the recent strike wave has arisen as the result of, and has been fostered by "subversive" influence outside the miners' organisation, is not only untrue, it is a direct insult to the miners whom he claims to represent. Miners are forced to resort to strike action only because they have no other method of redressing their legitimate grievances of bad conditions, low wages, etc., and not at all because elements outside their ranks surrepticiously foster discontent. This is true, not only for the miners, but for the working class as a whole, and it certainly cannot be refuted by your Council or any other representative working class body. Each delegate who now plays a leading role in the Yorkshire Miners' Association, including Mr. Hall, has at one time or another in the past been accused by the mineowners as "subversive." Coming from the lips of a "leader" of the miners, the term smacks of that "MacDonaldism" which dealt such a savage blow to the Labour movement in the past decade or two.

COAL OWNERS ARE THE REAL PRO-NAZIS

Mr. Hall's statement that our organisation and propaganda is "pro-Nazı" and "aims to hold up production" is a gross slander. We challenge Mr. Hall to prove that our sympathies and aims are in any way pro-Nazi. Our tendency has consistently fought fascism in every way pro-Nazi. Our tendency has consistently fought fascism in every phase of its existence, nationally and internationally. We claim that only our programme can lead to the defeat of fascism in the Nazi or any other form. If Mr. Hall suggests that to continue the fight for the minimum demands of the miners and working peoples is "pro-Nazi"; or to demand from the miners' leaders a fight to implement the declared programme of the unions for the nationalisation and democratic control of the mines—is pro-Nazi, then he has travelled into the camp of the class enemy. He has consciously or unconsciously gone over to the camp of the coallowners. The real pro-Nazis in Britain are the coal-owners who faddy substance aided Hitler in his rise against the German workers; who today substance aided Hitler in his rise against the German workers; who today sabotage production in the interest of profits; who wish to introduce Nazi methods

production in the interest of profits; who wish to introduce Nazi methods against the British working class; and whose extreme representatives, the right wing Tories, Mr. Churchill so recently exposed in Parliament, are even now in favour of a military dictatorship in Britain.

We believe that the task of a serious working class body today is to expose this capitalist sabotage and anarchy which holds up production, and to counterpose a clear alternative programme for the workers. Far from being interested in holding up production, we consider that the situation is too serious to allow the capitalists to retain control. We believe that our programme of nationalisation of the mines and their operation under the unified and democratic control of the mines and operation under the unified and democratic control of the miners and technicians, will achieve the maximum productive results, and is the only policy consistent with the interests of our class.

IT IS THE TRADE UNION LEADERS WHO UNDERMINE TRADE UNIONISM

Mr. Hall's assertion that our propaganda has undermined the faith of the workers in their trade unions" is completely false. It is an attempt to identify the Yorkshire Miners' Association with himself and his friends who are in a similar position, and thus to identify his own interests with those of the miners. This conception was developed by J. H. Thomas before he passed finally into the camp of the ruling class. Far from independence of the trade union movement. This is becoming mee sharply exposed with each successive struggle of the miners to train their conditions of life, where the leaders are to be found, not with the miners, but on the side of the coal-owners. It is the present policy and actions of Joseph Hall and his colleagues which is succeeding in unconfidence of the miners in their unions. This is particularly the see a fighting union that he have younger-workers who are impatient to see a fighting union which backs them up in their economic demands. Disgusted at the timent at the hands of their officials, many in the Wombwell district income up their union cards in the recent dispute! Our comment at the explained the false and incorrect character of such action. explained the false and incorrect character of such action explained the false and incorrect character of such action the proposed instead to these young workers that they set up a school character of such action character of such fighting organisations.

MR. HALL'S " £10 A WEEK " LIE CAN ONLY DISCREDIT YOUR ASSOCIATION

The assertion of Mr. Hall that "young men between the ages of 25 and 30 are receiving £10 a week for distributing the 'Socillist Appeal'" cannot be other than a deliberate and premeditated lie. His object is to cannot be other than a deliberate and premeditated lie. He object is to discredit the distributors and policy of the paper in the even the miners. discredit the distributors and policy of the paper in the every suggesting that the "Socialist Appeal" is financed money is no object, he hoped to lend his statements. However, Mr. Hall attempted to afford himself some c that he received the story second hand! May we inquit that the distributors of the "Socialist Appeal" received the job? Was it someone who had connections with the or with the "Socialist Appeal" and its management? assume, some fanciful individual concocted by Mr. Hall some little credence? Let us assume that some persons. ources where who told him 10 a week for Mir movement some little credence? Let us assume that some person Hall is not well acquainted, did impart such informatio so gullible that he accepts such a statement for public dischecking on it? If so, his conduct is, to say the least, whom Mr onsible and he deserves to be censured. This question is one that ; organisation cannot afford to let go unanswered. Mr. Sorenson, a L Mr. Morrison, the Labour Home Secretary have now ask in the highest public body in the country what evidence back up his assertion. It can only bring discredit on r M.P. and the question Hall has to r Council if

back up his assertion. It can only bring discredit on Mr. Hall is without an answer.

The object of Mr. Hall's irresponsible and reactionar tack was to draw the attention of the Government to the "Socialist A al" in order to get it suppressed. In this he had the full support of the German and British fascism. Moreover, the paper which in the past, had the closest sympathy for and German and British fascism. Moreover, the paper which insistently for our suppression is the voice of the coalovers, the Daily Telegraph. By this gesture, Mr. Hall has thrown overboned all pretence methods of fascism in Britain. methods of fascism in Britain.

DEMAND A PUBLIC INQUIRY

If Mr. Hall were some backward rank and file memb it would be your task to re-educate him in the democratic leology of the labour movement. But he is your President, and as such severy action is a public centure in your president. is a public gesture in your name. The publicity give we will be severy action reactionary proclamations have already, we believe, reduced to the discredit of your organisation. Your Council cannot assure the responsidiscredit of your organisation. Four Council cannot assued the responsibility of demanding the suppression of another working class body or its press by the capitalist class. It is your duty to enquiry into the whole matter, and we feel confident the thousands

enquiry into the whole matter, and we feel confident the of members of the Yorkshire Miners Association would inquiry. We propose therefore to your Council:

1. The immediate setting up by your Council of a Secial Committee to investigate the allegations of Mr. Hall.

2. The investigations of this Committee should public. Our organisation Workers International a complete file of our political documents for the last 10 years as well as our books and files of correspondence at the disposal of such a Committee. of such a Committee.

At the conclusion of the investigation a mass meeting of Yorkshire miners should be called at Barnsley or Wonbwell to which the Committee will make its report. Present at the meeting will be Mr. Hall, the Editor of the "Socialist Appeal,", and Mr. J. Haston, the contributor of the articles of which Mr. Hall com-

plains.

If there is the slightest semblar of the friendly allocation of the fact, and the Yorkshire Miners Associated thus completely destroy any faith which local miners me policy of the "Socialist Appeal." The miners would the class run the distributors of the "Socialist Appeal." On the other hard, if Mr. Hell wherever they appeared in the future. On the other hand, if Mr. Hall is shown to be guilty, as we are confident he will be, of falsehood and marepresentation, the expansive should be sufficient to

George Weston

We announce the death of our party comrade, George Weston, who was suddenly taken to hospital, where he died from an abdominal disease.

Comrade Weston demonstrated his undying loyalty to the revolutionary movement since the early age of 19, when he formed a Labour Debate Group and became an earnest Marxist stu-

The victorious Russian Revolution filled him with enthusiasm. In 1918 he joined the S.L.P. and played a vital part in the fusion of that Party with the B.S.P. and W.F.L. into a united Com-munist Party of Great Britain.

Following the revolution he went to Russia where he served the Soviet Government for several years and contacted many of the great revolutionary leaders of the time including Sun Yat Sen, Bill Hayward, Buk-harin, Zinoviev and Trotsky him-

When Stalin came to power, Comrade Weston, remaining faithful to the principles of in ternationalism, took his stand with the Trotskyist opposition. On this account he was obliged to leave Russia and return to England.

From that time he consistently strove to build a party based on the ideas and spirit of Lenin, and in this he inevitably found himself within the ranks of Workers' International League.

In the loss of George Weston we are deprived of the services of one of the most devoted and experienced Bolsheviks in this country. His death is mourned not only by our movement but by the thousands of aircraft workers in the factory where he worked and whom he served so

CHAOS AT VICKERS-ARMSTRONG

By M. ORTON

Of the total number of workers employed by Messrs. Vickers Armstrong in this district, it is probable that only 50% are fully employed. Numerous examples of the chaos and inefficiency resulting in direct sabotage of production by the management are to be found in this vitally important works.

It is no secret that production remains at a low level. About half the men are just idling their time away, doing perhaps a couple of 'ars' work to do at all for two or e a uays in succession; others are given totally unnecessary jobs to do to fill in the time. Despite the fact that there was insufficient work for them to do, several apprentices were recently sus pended for three days for "loafing""

Correspondence

from Our Readers.

We regret that space will not permite us to print the dozens of lett of solidarity we received during the course of the recent attack against These letters came from workers in all walk of industrial and military and were a real source of inspiration to our organisation.

Miners' Views

Barsnley, Yorkshire.

To the "Socialist Appeal"

'I am the Secretary of the Working Mens' Club and Institute in our village and one of our members has been loaning me a copy of the 'Socialist Appeal' every month and of course seeing that we are all miners and work down the Coal Pits for our living, I have been showing some of our members this paper of yours. Now we have been so interested in the news printed by you that a certain number of our members have requested me to write you to see if you can supply me with six copies a month. If you find you can do me this favour please let me know how many copies you can supply me with and I will forward you the money. Here's wishing you progress in your Socialist work."

Wombwell, Yorkshire.

To the "Socialist Appeal"

"You will know by now that Hall has caused quite a stink here by his attack on the 'Socialist Appeal' and the movement in general. course fantastic seeing that the S.A. didn't come into the district for some time after the strike had been in operation. The 'subversive influence' he speaks of, is of course, himself, seeing that it was he who got the men's backs up by his fake leadership and double crossing methods during the negotiations which he took part in, during the early part of this year: the 3d. per ton reduction in the price list at Cortonwood Colliery which he signed along with another of his gang. has come to my knowledge that Hall is going to bring it up in the council meeting and I have been in touch with one of the delegates who is going to have a crack at Hall. He says that Hall will not get away with anything where he is. By the way, it would be grand if Hall would thrash this business out with you, in a public debate. He would scream to Morrison for assistance then. I'll send him an invitation I think, and see what he does about it. The RAT, everybody here realises that he is on his belly yelling, its quite common talk that if there is any NAZI influence in district it is him!

Whithurn, nr Sunderland,

Socialist Appeal"

I can only wish you and your colleagues the very best in their good work they are doing for the working class. I know what it is like. I am 50 years old and I have always been

and it is disturbing to note that spite of protests up and down country from the men concerned the rostering of these men contin for duties under Order 1411. The safety of the travelling pr

and efficient railway transport sh be the major consideration of the 1 istry of War Transport and the C panies and the enforcement of Statutory Fire Prevention (Busi Premises) Order on signalmen can lead to an increase in the fig quoted above and described as "b due to the human element".

It is to be noted that in var parts of the country, Military H ship Tribunals have unhesitati given exemption to signalmen have appealed to them because of exceptional hours of duty and nature of the work performed. power has now been taken from Tribunals therefore the Ministry War Transport and the Railway (panies must accept the responsible for any accident that is caused through the tiredness and overstrain of men, directly or indirectly through enforcement of the Fire Preven

Yours faithfully, H. R. HAN

Shop Steward Fight Redundan Victimisation

"Socialist Appeal."

21st July,

I have been instructed by Shop Stewards of one of the lar

Tank Factories in the country bring to your notice the manne which the Government Redund Act is being put into effect at Firm. Firstly, we would point that the first intimation we had Trade Union Representatives) that Act was about to operate, was summons of the two convenors to Manager's Office, where they introduced to the Man Power O and promptly informed of what about to take place, to wit dragooning of so-called free men any occupation that was considencessary by the Powers that be.

The convenors were also info that they had only been sent for of courtesy, as the matter was not to do with the Trade Union, and was no redress whatever. The draing commences—each Man is int gated by the Man Power Officia companied by the Manager, bu Trade Union Representative, and ed the choice of two or three situa none of which were statable or at tive to the majority of the Men.

der the unified and democratic control of the miners and technicians, will achieve the maximum productive results, and is the only policy consistent with the interests of our class.

IT IS THE TRADE UNION LEADERS WHO UNDERMINE TRADE UNIONISM

Mr. Hall's assertion that our propaganda has undermined the faith of the workers in their trade unions, is completely false. It is an attempt to identify the Yorkshire Miners, Association with himself and his friends who are in a similar position, and thus to identify his own interests with those of the miners. This conception was developed by J. H. Thomas before he passed finally into the camp of the ruling class. Far from being identical, the interests of the trade union bureaucracy are represented by Mr. Hall, and the rank and file, are antagonistic. Each day sented by Mr. Hall, and the rank and file, are antagonistic. Each day the trade union leaders become more and more interlocked with the capitalist state machine instead of breaking sharply and reasserting the

hire miners should be called at Barnsley or Wordwell to which the Committee will make its report. Present at the meeting will be Mr. Hall, the Editor of the "Socialist Appeal", and Mr. J. Haston, the contributor of the articles of which Mr. Hall com-

establish the facts, and the Yorkshire Miners' Associas thus completely destroy any faith which local miners associated that could the completely destroy any faith which local miners of the "Socialist Appeal." The miners would the elves run the distributors of the "Socialist Appeal" out of the distrib

Yours fraternally E. GRANT. Editor "Socialist Appeal"

MINERS' CONFERENCE REVEALS TERRIBLE TOLL OF THE PITS

IF AN OBSERVER WERE TO JUDGE THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE COAL-FIELDS BY THE STATEMENTS OF WILL LAWTHER AND HIS FELLOW BUREAUCRATS AT THE CONFERENCE OF MINEWORKERS HELD IN BLACKPOOL LAST MONTH, HE WOULD HAVE BEEN LED TO BELIEVE THAT THE MINERS HAD RECENTLY MADE THE GREATEST GAINS IN THEIR HISTORY. HE WOULD BE LED TO BELIEVE THAT THE MINERS WERE CONVINCED THAT THE GREENE AWARD WAS A REAL ECONOMIC STEP TOWARDS SOLVING THEIR WAGE PROBLEM, AND THAT THE "COAL CONTROL PLAN" WAS A GREAT NATIONAL VICTORY FOR THE MINERS.

Nothing could be further from the uth. The vapourings of Lawther ex-essed the satisfaction, not of the nk and file miners, but of the fat llied bureaucrats who visualise good os as Government officials.

Lawther exposed the real basis of s vapourings when he stated that

FLEET STREET LORDS

The Fleet Street Lords have made a vow. That all the mighty weight, Of Mail and Telegraph shall now Protect the miners' fate.

Poor miners, see them victimised. By Socialist Appeal;

But Northcliffe's proudly advertised He'll win them a square deal.

The Telegraph its Mail shall

And Mail shall Telegraph Have on! And Britain's filled with clash of

steel. As Camrose charges the Appeal.

L10 a week," the papers scream Their sellers get from Hitler! We got the dirt from Hall, who says

It's not a penny littler."

But Fleet Street-walkers soon

grew dumb,
On finding from this plenty, The Editor got a Pound a week, While Camrose gave them Twenty!

national control, increased wages, a national minimum and a national wages board brought new duties and new responsibilities. Some of their members would be at the controls of the machinery by which these historic changes were brought about. He thus expressed the satisfaction of the union bureaucrats who were in the process of passing from the camp of the workers as paid representatives, into the camp of the coal-owners through the Government as paid agents of the capitalist state. The job seemed to be more stable and would undoubtedly be better paid.

The attitude of the rank and file miners is expressed in the various strikes which have taken place since the Greene award.

ONE NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS The first important business of Con-

ference was to empower the E.C. of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to draft proposals for one national union of mineworkers instead of maintaining a loose federation of 22 district organisations such as the Federation now consists of. The only opposition to this proposal came from Spencer of the ex-scab union in Notts. Although such a union as is contemplated will suffer from all the bureaueratic deformities that the tops of the Miners Federation can impose upon it, it is the biggest step forward in the organisational field for many years

and will be hailed by miners every-where. It will break down the friction between one district and another and cut across the sectional interests of the local union bosses. In this way it prepares the basis of a centralised fighting organisation in the future. But this can only be fulfilled of course, to the extent that the rank and file reassert a democratic control.

THE TOLL OF THE PITS

Conference revealed the terrible toll of death and disablement which mining forces upon the working class.

Although the total number of miners in the pits has considerably decreased since 1938 and 1939, the percentage of accidents has rapidly increased. ures supplied by Ebby Edwards demonstrated that, whereas, the average rate of accidents in industry as a whole was 5.85, the rate of accidents in mining stood at 22.05 in 1938. In railways it was 4.45 and in factories 3.72. When one considers the speed-up conditions under which miners now operate; that miners are working more shifts today than ever before in recorded history; that such high pressure work increases the exhaustion of the miners to a high degree, it is easy to understand that the accident rate and percentage has considerably increased over 1938 when the figures stood so high.

The most illuminating facts were

given when it was demonstrated that one out of every four beys between

Read:

THE ROAD TO INDIA'S FREEDOM

The Permanent Revolution and the tasks of the British working class.

By E. Grant and A. Scott. Price threepence.

ALSO

THESIS OF THE INDIAN FOURTH INTERNATIONAL 1941

Price THREEPENCE

the ages of 14 and 16 who worked down the pit were killed or terribly injured!

On this question Joseph Hall exposed the attitude in official quarters when he stated that there was a disposition even among experts to accept the idea that for the surpose of in-creasing production a certain amount of extra risk should be taken! Who are the "experts" Mr. Hall? Are they workers or are they capitalist experts? This statement is ample confirmation of our allegation in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal" that the Government would not take steps to reduce the accident rate.

Ebby Edwards also revealed how the murderous conditions under which young boys enter the pits is responsible for driving them out of the industry altogether. In October 1934, he said, the number of elementary school boys entering the pits in North-umberland was 1,001. In 1939 the number had dropped to 500! In view of these conditions and until such times as some charter is granted "we cannot be responsible for propaganda and agitation to direct boys into the industry unless safety can be assured."

Conference thereupon decided to adopt a charter for pit boys which argues that boys under 16 should not work underground proponew wage scale of from 6.

Continued on back



BOOMERANG JOE HALL'S BO

found in this vitally important works.

"Socialist Appeal"

ing the game.

I believe in what you say about the

Union Leaders. They should never have joined hands with the capitalists

or the Government. I read about the Tory M.P.s demanding from the Govt.

to close down your paper, but I thought it would be because you are

telling some home truths and they didn't like it.

You will have read about the closing of the Whitburn colliery. The owners say they are losing £50 per annum and

I don't believe it. If it is true, the

miners are not to blame. I am a Rolleywayman and I can see a lot of

unnecessary expenses that occur: I

myself reported that I had a rope burning which was causing unnecessary expense. I spliced it 20 times in

six weeks causing a waste of rope at the rate of 10 yards per day, but I

can go on for ever about this. I expected to be called before the Coal Commission at the Pit Office about it.

I have two lads in the forces and a daughter in the WAAFS, I have

already written to them and told them that the biggest battle will start when

they come home again. I know what

we got from the last war. I must thank you very much for your papers which I have passed on to friends. I thank you again and wish you all the

best, only wishing this war was over.

And then who can I vote for at the

next election? I have always been labour but look what they have done! The country will not forget this, I

believe your programme is of the best. Everything, Money and Mines in

particular ought to be Nationalised

and taken from the owners. Just think, Whitburn Colliery Owners clos-ing the colliery down. What do they care about who's going to win the

Signalmen and

Firewatching

The annual report of the Chief In-

specting Officer of Railways, particulars of which were quoted in the "Railway Review" of July 24th, 1942,

"Of the 344 reported train accidents, 157 were caused by human failures, and continued that while fatigue,

heavy traffic and less experienced

staff were important elements the

black out and war conditions gener-

ally were factors of at least equal

To this can now be added fire-watch

duties (per Order 1411) imposed on

many signalmen. Fire-watching added

to the abnormal hours of duty of a

signalman must of a necessity impair his physical and mental capabilities

The Editor,

Dear Sir.

Socialist Appeal,

importance'

Hayes, Middlesex.

July 29th, 1942.

It is no secret that production remains at a low level. About half the men are just idling their time away, doing perhaps a couple of their work work to do at all for two or to be days in succession; others are given totally unnecessary jobs to do to fill in the time. Despite the fact that there was insufficient work for them to do, several apprentices were recently suspended for three days for "loafing"".
Workers who apply for their release are refused since the granting of release to one worker may encourage others to apply.

The absolute inefficiency of the boss class is clearly portrayed by the fact that skilled and semi-skilled workers have been transferred from other important munition factories, and they are employed by Vickers' as labourers, at labourers' rates of pay. In one instance a joiner who was earning something like 2/4 an hour in London, is now working as a labourer for the princely sum of 1/5 per hour. Being single, he receives no out allowance, and has to support his mother who still lives elsewhere.

The yard is grossly overcrowded and conditions are appalling. Men of all trades are crowded together, waiting for each other to finish a job so that they can get on with their own job. There is little or no ventilation, and the fumes and sparks from paint spraying and welding are liable to damage the health of the workers as well as their clothes. Recently a number of joiners downed their tools and walked off as a protest against working under such conditions.

A vicious piece-work production bonus system exists, which has been in operation since the last war. Whilst the workers slave their guts out to earn these few extre shillings which bring their pay packet up to a "reasonable wage", their employers continue to show huge profits in the balance books. No-one can deny that this system of speeding up production results in increased output on the part of individual workers, but with 50% of the workers idle the main purpose is defeated. The increased speed at which the men work must result in the work being skimped, and sooner or later will effect the workers' health. Piece-work, however effective it may be in increasing production can only be operated at the expense of the

The usual Joint Production Committee exists. As yet only one meeting has been held, and the only question that the management could bring up for discussion was-of course absenteeism. So far as increased production or better conditions for the workers, nothing has been achieved.

The situation described above proves

conclusively that the bosses are not concerned with increasing production at all, or the manner in which production is carried out: chaos and inefficiency are of no account, so long as PROFITS RISE!

We present the only alternative for Vickers' workers: Workers Control of industry operated by Works Committees composed of freely elected representatives of the workers.

such a catas may be fore

necessary by the Powers that be,

The convenors were also informed that they had only been sent for out of courtesy, as the matter was nothing to do with the Trade Union, and there was no redress whatever. The diggering commences—each Man is interrogated by the Man Power Official accompanied by the Manager, but no Trade Union Representative, and offered the choice of two or three situations none of which were suitable or attractions. Whithurn, nr Sunderland, Durham. I can only wish you and your colleagues the very best in their good work they are doing for the working class. I know what it is like. I am 50 years old and I have always been none of which were suitable or attraca working man, a miner at Whitburn tive to the majority of the Men. Indeed, how could it be otherwise? and have seen some dirty tricks that come from the Employers and others, not forgetting the 'Leaders'. When I read in your 'Socialist Appeal' these situations were worth having it would not be necessary to bull-doze Men into them. These Men at our Factory object to being sent miles away from their homes and families to about Durham Miners Leaders I know it is true and I believe if it came to a rank and file vote, Lawther would earn a living. get the Bump alright. He is not play-

The next step is the shepherding together of these 'Redundants' where-upon they are handed their Release Notes, and Green Labour Cards with instructions where to go.

The Shop Stewards at this point were present, owing to the urgent requests of their Men. During this interview, one young Welshman said that as he had been sent from his Home to this town, and was now declared Redundant it was logical that he should return to his own country, as he knew there were situations vacant on Work of National Importance.

The reply from the Man Power Officer (little Hitler) was "You ought to be in the Army". He also stated during the interview, "You Men have either to go into the Military Army or the Industrial Army". the Industrial Army

The selection of these 'Redundants' we all know is left to the respective Foremen, which means that any good Trade Unionist who comes under the displeasure of the Foreman, through insisting upon his rights (and we have not many rights left, thanks to this War for freedom) is likely to find himself on the next Redundant List.

Craving your indulgence a little further, let us point out that we strongly contest the alleged Redundancy of these Men. There were Men on the last List who had worked for our Firm for many years, and who had, apparently given every satisfaction, and whose jobs had to be filled immediately they were off the Premises.

One Man was sent to the Smethwick Labour Exchange, from there to Handsworth, from there to Birmingham, and from Birmingham to another (I forget which) then back to Smethwick, where he was instructed to go to West Bromwich.

The Men here are asking each other WHO NEXT?

They are wondering whether Tanks are really needed. Whilst all this goes on, we have just received a batch of Scotsmen (Moulders by Trade) who were instructed to learn drop-forging. Eventually, they found themselves Labouring at this Factory, where we already have a 'Redundancy of Labouring's control of the second of the seco

To conclude, let it be emphatically understood that whether we be Irish, Welsh, Scotch, English or any nationality we are all Workers, and united in our determination to stamp out this Fascism that is showing it's head from Land's End to John o' Groats.

Yours faithfully, John Cairns. Secretary Shop Stewards.

In the concluding section of the article on the Yorkshire strike in the last issue of the "S.A", it states that Ernest Jones threatened sellers of the "S.A" with physical violence at the Miners Federation meeting in London. This is a mistake and should be cor rected. It was Joseph Hall, Preside of the Y.M.A. who threatened asq and not E. Jones.

CORRECTION. -

It is "thanks

America, and published in the Amer-

ican Militant: "According to the opin-

ions of the politicians in the demo-

cratic countries," he says, "it follows

that if we do not revolt, it indicates

that we are satisfied with the Nazi

to the attacks on capitalism (by the

Nazi leaders) and the warning that,

in the event the war is lost, a second

Versailles would emerge, that 'morale

is maintained." And then he gives

what in his opinion are the reasons

"To act now, means giving support to British imperialism. This

we shall never do. As long as the

war leaders of the democratic coun-

tries will employ fine phrases, rather

than fine deeds, we will wait until

all armies will collapse-and they

will collapse! However, as soon as

the war wil be turned into a war

The British workers have the possi-

bility of turning the war into a genu-

ine struggle for freedom! With power

wrested from the hands of the capital-

ists and in those of the workers, the

whole character of Britain's war would

be altered. And above all the per-

spective for the German workers would

be altered. No longer would they

have to fear a new Versailles. No

longer would they face a Dilemma.

They could turn and smash the power

that has made life a hell for them for

ten years, without having to fear that

their struggle would help British im-

perialism. On the contrary, they

would have the British workers as their allies in their struggle against Fascism.

No Gestapo, no S.S. divisions, could

stand up to such a force. Hitlerism

man and European workers will march

forward to build the Socialist United

States of Europe, to help rebuild

shattered Soviet Russia, and to free

from imperialism the great colonial

Together, the British, Ger-

A. SCOTT.

would be smashed for ever.

areas of the earth.

for real freedom, we will act."

why they do not act now.

It was only this blend of uncomprom age that enabled Trotsky, almos single-handed, to stand up to the entire vicious and unscrupulous campaign o which the death-blow in Mexico wa only the climax.

Together with Lenin and a handfu of others, he had swam against the tide of Czarist reaction after the de feat of the 1905 Revolution and kep the ideas of revolutionary Marxisn

above its waters. But to preserve these same funda mental ideas from being sucked into the swamp of Stalinism and Its "Soc ialism in One Country" was a more bitter, a longer and a more solitary task. Not only did Trotsky succeed in this, however, but, just as Lenis

the epoch of imperialism, so Trotsky developed them for the present period hammering them into a revolutionary weapon for the masses of mankind, weapon of power.

by the tremendous experience of the Russian Revolution. At the heart and centre of the theoretical preparation for that revolution, at the head of it many millioned columns in the actua struggle for power, in command o its armed forces in the struggle agains capitalist intervention, Trotsky gave to the revolutionary ardour of the Rus sian masses a dynamic leadership tha rendered it impregnable. And Trotsky himself emerged from these experi ences enriched by them, and ready to

apply their lessons to the problems o the great mass of humanity. It is two years since the death o Trotsky, and not only Stalin but the world bourgeoisie had hoped that Trot skyism as well as Trotsky had been killed. In its Editorial the London Times said: "None can say whether his school will survive his death" And in these words was contained the fervent hope that his "school" would

But the answer is given to the Times two years later by the commen

of a Yorkshire paper:
"Strange, isn't it, that Trotsky
while being dead, yet speaks in the
South Yorkshire coalfields." Yes! In Britain the ideas of Trotsky (which means also the ideas of Lenir

and Marx) live on and are finding greater and greater response among the masses! And not only in Britain but in America, South America, India France, China. In face of the mos vicious campaigns of slander and re pression the movement is growing an finding roots—the Fourth Internal ional is becoming a force. And it is

doing so on the theoretical feundation which Trotsky so firmly laid for it.

At the moment when imperialism stood ready to hurl mankind into th present war the French Ambassador Coulondre, speaking to Hitler, emphas

ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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BUSINESS MANAGER: M. Lee

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EDITORIAL.

"THE DAILY WORKER" AND THE

"SOCIALIST APPEAL"

For a year and a half the Communist Party has been waging an uninterrupted campaign for the lifting of the ban on the "Daily Worker." This has secured widespread support throughout the working-class movement. And it is a campaign which the "Socialist Appeal" and the Trotskyists have supported with all the means at their disposal.

But not because we agree with the policy of the Communist Party. We are fundamentally opposed to the treacherous, strike-breaking, anti-working-class attitude of the Communist Party. We have supported this campaign because we stand for the right of any working class organisation to put forward its point of view. The only protection which the working class has against the attacks of the bosses is the strength of its own organisations and their right to print and to speak openly their policies. To permit the capitalist class to take away the right of free speech and free press from one organiation can only lead at a later stage to their taking away these rights from all sections of the working class.

No matter what the differences within the working class, these can be solved through workers' democracy, through open and honest discussion and argument within the ranks of the working class itself. The different policies of Trotskyists, Stalinists, Labour Party, and I.L.P., can be tested by the workers themselves, and they can decide by their own experience which is correct. The capitalists and their government cannot be allowed to intervene in the discussions and differences between workers' organisations.

Basing itself on this elementary principle of Socialist politics, Workers' International League protested vigorously against the ban on the "Daily Worker" immediately it was imposed. We were opposed to the fake "anti-war" line of the C.P. at that time, which in reality amounted to a pro-Hitler position, just as much as we oppose the pro-Churchill policy of the C.P. today. But nevertheless, we insisted on the right of the C.P., or any other working class party to put forward its point of view.

Now, today, once again the forces of reaction have launched an attack on the rights of the working class. An attempt has been made to suppress the "Socialist Appeal." And foremost in this effort to secure the banning of a working class paper has been the leadership of the Communist Party!

But they have not worked openly. To have called openly for the banning of another working class paper in the midst of their tremendous campaign in the Trade Union and Labour movement for the lifting of the ban on the "Daily Worker," would have made the Communist Party a laughing stock and the subject of contempt within the ranks of the working class. The Stalinists did not dare to do this. Instead, they pursued an even more vile and disgusting tactic. They intrigued with the most reactionary Tories behind the scenes, persuading these enemies of the workers (and this could lifficult) to put forward their dirty policies for them.

GERMAN WORKERS WAITING FOR BRITISH WOEKERS—Together we will March

One of the most revealing documents of the war is the secret Nazi bulletin captured by the British in Libya. Almost the entire British Press has deliberately closed its eyes to the real meaning of this document. But the meaning is clear for all to see. It is that Hitler and the Nazis regard the German workers as their main enemy, that they are continually increasing their preparations for civil

The document is addressed to the Army chiefs and, in general, is an effort to explain to them the specialised role of the S.S. troops, and perhaps to allay their suspicions regarding the growing power of these troops. The essence of the document is contained in these words:

"Only a contingent of such men will resist in critical times disruptive influences. Such a contingent will feel a pride in its integrity and will, therefore, never fraternise with the proletariat and with the underworld which undermines the fundamental

It must never again be tolerated in the future that the German forces, conscripted from the whole people, should be sent into action in times of interior crisis against their own fellow-citizens. Such a step is the beginning of the end."

In these words is revealed the worst nightmare of the Nazis and the German capitalists—their fear of a mass rising of the German working class, a fear that has obsessed them without pause since 1933. They know only too well that they cannot rely on the regular army to quell a popular revolution. The Army is not a thing apart from the masses. Its ranks are drawn from the workers and peasants themselves. The Army cannot be kept in a vacuum. It is influenced by precisely those forces that influence the broad masses. The Army cannot be Nazified-and for exactly the same reason that the mass of the workers and peasants cannot be Nazified-because Nazism has nothing to offer them but starvation and slavery.

But the madmen of the Nazi Party delude themselves into believing that there is an alternative way of smashing the Revolution. They will select State police of "men of the best German blood, who unconditionally identify themselves with the philosophy of life which is fundamental to the Greater German Reich": they will train these men in all the arts of repression, thuggery and violence; they will send them into battle to give them real training in warfare and to "blood" them; they will treat them as a mili-

of struggle gow. Who stirring as that of Glas-of Hamburg vill say that the workers of Hamburg are "One" with the Gestapo? The struggle goes on, and has ne on for ten years. The Daily Tengraph recently admitted:

"The war against so-called 'enemies of source against so-called 'enemies of so-called 'enemie

ent feature of the Nazi regime."

In the receit incidents that war can the workers part, it has not developed into major has incidents, but the events which addre which dere restrictes, but the events.

The Bly P. coported are significant.

H has had two separate reother from Manich steeting that every morni that daybreak patrols and water to out with whitewash ver up or clean off scores of A Hitler inscriptions which now a ear nightly on walls or pavements

As time pass the red posters that announce the e cution of those who have "offended gainst the war regulations increase number. Eight are shot for "antiv Hitler activities" in Mannheim on 4; Four are shot at Warning against the following day. ours, the Gaule the spread of rumwent on to safer of Hessen-Nassau surprise to some that it was a great when the People's Tribunal at Fr when the People's number of Cornkfurt sentenced a 'Red posters be munists to death." men executed of Friday for treason lin," says the Day of the tale goes the tale goes and the tale goes the tale go

34 GERMAN N.C.O.S EXE UTED

It is not only

rg has a tradition | monstrations and acts against the | written by one of them to a friend in regime. The Army itself has inevitably reflected the spirit that exists among the civilian workers. The Times reports that posters on the walls of towns in the Frisian island of Sylt gave the names of 34 German N.C.O.s and privates who were executed in June for insubordination or 'cowardice in the face of the enemy.' Unmistakably," says the Times, "the real crime in every case was open denunciation of the war." And again, the Daily Telegraph reported on June 18 that "a steady stream of deserters from the German Army is flowing into Switzer-

> Thus far the resistance has gone. But, despite the unprecedented sacrifices, despite a food shortage which has even meant smaller supplies of potatoes despite all that the war against Russia has meant in dead and wounded, despite the fact that each of Hitler's victories has only meant an increase in misery—despite all this, the opposition of the German workers has not broken out into an open and direct struggle against Hitler.

Why?

The answer is not far to seek. It is because there hangs over the German workers continually the fear that an open attack on the Nazis may only result in a victory of Churchill and the chaining upon them of a "peace" that will put Versailles in the shade. Announcements that America is training a million men to police Europe after the war can only strengthen these fears, that an Anglo-American victory will mean a regime little different from that of Hitler. The state of mind of

THE RESPONSIBILITY RESTS WITH US-

these German workers, seeking a way factories who are the workers in the out of the madhouse in which they being shot for de- find themselves, can be seen in a letter

and then w

Soviets when 22 capitalist armies of intervention were the newly formed workers' state. What would today hopeless task, was achieved by the Red Army under the leadership of Trotsky. Indeed, had the struggle then been conducted on ung workers' state would never have survived.

Note that the survived of the s hist basis relying purely on military resources, the small

POSITION OF THE FRONTS INTHE SUMMER OF 1919.

But they have not worked openly. To have called openly for the banning of another working class paper in the midst of their tremendous campaign in the Trade Union and Labour movement for the lifting of the ban on the "Daily Worker," would have made the Communist Party a laughing stock and the subject of contempt within the ranks of the working class. The Stalinists did not dare to do this. Instead, they pursued an even more vile and disgusting tactic. They intrigued with the most reactionary Tories behind the scenes, persuading these enemies of the workers (and this could not have been difficult) to put forward their dirty policies for them.

But first of all, in order to lay the basis for their members accepting the reactionary attacks on the "Socialist Appeal," they put forward Hall's attack as if it were grounded on facts. "World News and Views" wrote on July 18:

"Mr. J. A. Hall, Yorkshire Miners' President, is to be congratulated for taking the offensive against Trotskyists in the

Pro-Nazi and subversive influences was the way in which he

And then Gallacher got down to the job in Parliament, intriguing with Right-wing Tories behind the scenes and urging them to press the attack on the "Socialist Appeal." The Home Secretary gave some indication of what had been going on when he said in the course of his reply to Earl Winterton:

"I often suspect, not altogether unintelligently, that the Conservative Press is inspired to denounce the Trotskyists by the Communist Party. The hon. Member for West Fife (Mr. Gallacher) is getting into respectable bourgeois company lately."

The Communist Party attemps to justify its policy by means of the slander that the "Socialist Appeal" is "pro-Hitler." In this they find themselves in the company of the pro-Fascist "Daily Mail" and "Sunday Despatch." Not even one of the responsible capitalist papers dared to use this argument against us. But if the Communist leaders really believe it to be correct, then why did they not come out openly for the banning of the "Socialist Appeal"? In reality they are consciously deceiving their members and the working class, and dare not call openly for suppression because they are only too well aware of their false

The behaviour of the C.P. leadership in lining itself up with the miners' union officials and the extreme reactionary wing of the ruling class on this question is no accident. As strike-breakersin-chief to the capitalist class, they dare not allow any independent working class thought and opinion to be expressed. Their perfidious slanders against the Trotskyists have now been extended to the I.L.P., to anyone who opposes the war, and even to the Leftwing Labourites and trade unionists who reflect any of the feeling of opposition among the workers against the capitalist class and its government.

Against the unholy coalition of forces, the only working class organisations to offer us support was the I.L.P. through the "New Leader," and the Anarchists in "War Commentary" which to their credit, took up the correct stand of class solidarity, in spite of the fundamental differences which separate us.

The workers know how to treat such slanders. Already expressions of sympathy and support for the "Socialist Appeal" are coming in. Already political and trade union organisations have passed resolutions protesting against the threatened suppression of the paper. The rank and file of the Stalinists is demonstrating clearly that it diverges violently from the path of the leadership.

In these resolutions of protest we have in operation the genuine struggle of the workers to maintain freedom of their press and freedom of discussion of all the gigantic problems that face the working class movement at the present time. And in spite of all the strike-breaking policies and slanderous campaigns of the Stalinists the workers must continue to support the campaign for the lifting of the ban on the "Daily Worker." Indeed, the reappearance of the "Daily Worker" would serve to expose the socalled Communist Party in the eyes of the workers for what the are.

In the struggle of the tendencies within the working class movement we are confident that our ideas and our programme will triumph.

German blood, who unconditionally identify themselves with the philosophy of life which is fundamental to the Greater German Reich"; they will train these men in all the arts of repression, thuggery and violence; they will send them into battle to give them real training in warfare and to "blood" them; they will treat them as a military elite, trained to regard the workers and peasants as beasts of burden and slaves. In this way they hope to inocculate them against the contagion of the Revolution.

250,000 S.S. TROOPS PREPARING TO DEAL WITH GERMAN WORKERS

The document was written in August 1940, and now, two years later, we see bodies of S.S. troops, having been "tested" on the Eastern Front, returning to police Germany and occupied Europe. And it is not accidental that so many return at this time, nor that the numbers have recently been increased, so that now the body consists of 10 divisions, amounting to about 250,000 men. For inside Germany the events of the war, and particularly the sudden switch against Russia, with all its bloody sacrifice, has caused a stiffening of resistance against the regime. The activities of the S.S. reveal how seriously this is taken by the Nazi chiefs:

"In recent months the S.S. have quietly been taking over strategic corner sites in Berlin main arteries, and probably in other important cities as well. They may be needed in street fighting some day."
Daily Mail, June 15, 1942.

Who will dare to say, in face of this, that the German nation is One-and Fascist "One" at that? Hitler, at least, shows himself to be sceptical of such "racial unity" nonsense. It is because he knows that a day of reckoning with the German workers is coming that the machine-gun nests are being prepared.

25 HAMBURG DOCKERS SHOT

The resistance has manifested itself n a score of ways in recent months, and where it has been serious has been met with death. In the middle of June, for instance, the police attacked Hamburg dockers who had thrown coffee to some women nearby. The Daily Telegraph continues:

"Strong Gestapo units soon arrived and the crowd stoned them. In the scuffles which followed, during which the Gestapo used firearms, 7 policemen were killed and many seriously injured. Mass arrests were made and 25 dockers chosen at random on the spot, were shot. During the fighting civilians used revolvers, and the Gestapo are trying to find out where these weapons came from.'

It is no accident that this incident, together with the seemingly unbalanced fury of the Gestapo, took place in Hamburg. For Hamburg is the very home of German working class

ewiy formed workers' state, What would today seem a well-nigh hopeless task, was achieved by the Red Army under the leadership of Trotsky. Indeed, had the struggle then been conducted on the present Stalinist basis relying purely on military resources, the small cung workers' state would never have survived.

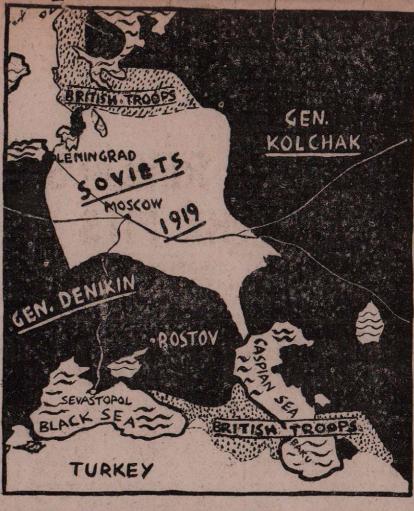
It was a ved decisive in dissolving posing armies and finally ided the war.
"How was this victory explained?" asked Lerin. "Clearly", he answered, "this was not achieved only by victories at the hieved only by victories at the front, but rather by this, that we were able to attract to our side the soldiers of the countries warring against us . . . By means of agitation and propaganda we took away from the Entente their own soldiers. We vanquished the imperialists not only by means of our own soldiers but by basing ourselves on the sympathy of their own soldiers." (Lenin's Selected Works.)

The reason that Stalin has failed to win the German soldiers and workers where Trotsky and Lenin succeeded is because he has sold himself to the bitter enemy of the German workers -Churchill and the British rulers who are fighting to tear Germany to pieces and reduce her people to the state of colonial slaves. In this lies Stalin's greatest crime. He has deprived the heroic Red Army of its most powerful and effective weapon—the weapon of class pro-

It is not too late—Our fight, the fight of the Soviet workers and peasants, is to restore that weapon which the Red Army now urgently needs in its hour of trial.

An example of the propaganda used by Lenin and Trotsky is here reproduced. It is a leaflet in English, of which we have the original, which was issued to the invading armies in 1919 by the Department of Soviet

POSITION OF THE FRONTS IN THE SUMMER OF 1919.



but in America, South America, India, France, China. In face of the most vicious campaigns of slander and repression the movement is growing and finding roots-the Fourth International is becoming a force. And it is doing so on the theoretical foundation

which Trotsky so firmly laid for it.

At the moment when imperialism stood ready to hurl mankind into the present war the French Ambassador, Coulondre, speaking to Hitler, emphas-ised the dangers of the threatening conflict—" Only Trotsky can win," he said. And with this, Hitler agreed!

In Britain the movement is growing, but it must travel a long way yet before it can win the majority of the workers to the struggle for socialism. Above all it must base itself on that most insistent of the ideas that Trotsky hammered home—the need for a firmly based revolutionary party. "Without it," he said, "we are nothing. With it, we are all."

The crisis of the war inexorably approaches. The masses of the Soviet Union, of China, of India, of Europe, of Africa and of America face only limitless disaster while control remains in the hands of their present rulers. Only the programme of Trotsky, the programme of the World Revolution, the programme of the Fourth Inter-

national, offers them a way out.

As he lay dying, Trotsky urged with his last words: "Go Forward! I am sure of the victory of the Fourth Inter-

Workers' International League is determined that these words will be justified. It will continue the struggle to build a party which will lead the workers of Britain to power and, in the same way as the Bolsheviks made the the ideas into the mighty foundation on which a genuine civilisation will be

In that will lie our real tribute to the memory of a great Marxist, a courageous soldier of the Revolution and an inspiring leader.

DEFEATED 22 ARMIES WITH WEAPONS LIKE THIS:

The peoples of the world are not divided by nationality, but by class. What interests have you in common with your master? Even if he is your fellow countryman, even if he is of the same race as you are, does that prevent him from sweating you? Does that prevent him from making you work as many hours as possible, for as little money as possible? Not in the least.

Even during the war, when you the working people were sacrificing your lives, your all, the capitalists have continued to exploit you and your families. The sole aim of the capitalist is profit.

They make profit out of food. They make profit out of the uniforms you wear. They make profit out of the guns you use. The war has been for them an Alladin's Cave from which to draw wealth beyond the dreams of avarice.

What has been for the masses the cause of death, destruction, ruin and despair, has been for the capitalists a means of piling up colossal fortunes, both now and in the future.

lies rung from our class, from the sweat, and blood, and rehearsal people.

class will countries. In England, in France, in Germany, powerfu int? No! It is class that counts.

n Britain S OR CAPITALIST CLASS. ON WHICH SIDE

g paper a vestments in all countries. Where their money is ct your ar vestments in all countries. Where their money is cialist April also. There is no patriotism for them. But they give it to their class. give it to their class.

D us to wo camps, the workers camp and the capitalists camp.

H TO MP ARE YOU?

erests of the workers of all countries are the same. No matter

where you live, in England, France, Germany, if you are a workman you must work for a master, and he will only employ you if he can obtain a profit out of your labour.

The workers are always opposed to the masters.

Real freedom, economic and social freedom, will only be achieved when the workers of all countries overthrow the master class and take control in their own hands.

We in Russia have done this. We have abolished capitalism and landlordism in Russia.

We have a workers' government.

Your capitalists know that our revolution is a menace to them. They fear that the workers in other countries will follow our example.

They are therefore supporting the Russian Capitalists against us. They are determined to crush our revolution and put the landlords, capitalists, and the Tzar back again.

AND YOU HAVE BEEN BROUGHT HERE FOR THAT PURPOSE

What are you, a worker or a capitalist?

If you are a workman, then you must be on our side, for we are workmen too. We are of the same class.

Learn from the capitalists and be loyal to your class.

AN INJURY TO THE WORKERS OF ONE COUNTRY IS AN INJURY TO THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES.

If you help to crush our revolution, you will only be helping to fasten the shackles of wage slavery more firmly on yourselves.

REFUSE TO DO THE WORK OF THE COMMON ENEMY, THE CAPITALISTS!!

JOIN WITH US IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CAPITALISM AND

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!!

Our Programme For Power

An end to the coalition with the bosses. Labour and Trade Union leaders must break with the capitalist

Government and wage a campaign for power on the following programme:

- and factory sommittees.
- 3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade
- 4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
- 5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of

increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.

Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working

class and strike-breaking laws. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages or all workers in the armed forces.

pense of the state for the training

10. Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of

11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the

12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe on the basis of this programme in Britain to Join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

Yet, despite this criminal policy of the bosses, of which the Churchill Government is well aware, the Min-ister fesponsible for production pops up in South Wales and tells us that

production cannot be increased because

sufficient man-power is not available!

In this statement there appears an

ominous warning to the workers: The

ruling class have not hesitated to place

the blame for the shortage in produc-

tion on the shoulders of the working

class, and they will hesitate less now.

A furious agitation is being waged by the bosses on the question of absent-

eeism and lateness. Already we have heard from Mr. Bevin that well over

1,000 workers have been prosecuted

and this reactionary policy of the capitalists, which is reducing the workers

more and more to industrial serfdom whilst the real saboteurs of industry,

the ruling class, are going "Scot-free", is receiving the support of the Trade

Union and Labour leaders and the collaborationists of King Street, head-ed by Harry Pollitt.

Let there be no mistake about it.

following this utterance of the Minister

of Production, the bosses, who are

incapable of arousing any enthusiasm from the people, will be preparing to

impose greater and greater restrictions on the workers, and shatter the few rights of organised labour that haven't

already been handed over by the Lab-

and terrified of the rising militancy on

the part of the workers, who are be-

ginning to realise more and more the

role of profits in the present chaos, the

boss-class will wage more ruthless attacks than ever before against the people and in this policy they receive the full support of their labour lackeys.

The only answer to this problem is for control of production to be in the hands of the only class—the working class—who are capable of running pro-

duction on a sound and efficient basis.

The "Socialist Appeal" has consist-

Conscious of their own redundancy

our and Trade Union bureaucrats.

LESSONS OF MLLERS' CONFERENCE!

Continued from page 1

15 to 12/- at 19½ be introduced; demands greater safety and health standards, improved conditions and regular

While the charter as it stands is inadequate and could only be introduced as a result of militant action, it is nevertheless an expression of the tremendous pressure which comes from the miners who are demanding measures to protect their sons. It is also an example of the way in which the trade union leaders are being forced by the pressure of the boys themselves to better their conditions.

The ravages of industrial disease particularly silicosis were shown by Conference to be particularly severe. Speaking on this question Arthur Horner, South Wales Stalinist, presented some damning evidence when he declared that in a recent investi-gation in South Wales in the anthracite and coal district where 20,000 miners were employed, it was revealed that hundreds died every year from silicosis. One company in South Wales employ-ing 17,000 miners spent twice as much on compensation for silicosis as it did for all other accidents and diseases put

Lung disease had become so wide-spread and bad, he continued, that boys were demanding periodical medical examination and if they were found to be suffering from the disease, they wanted to be taken out of the pits.

There is hardly a house in South Wales, he said, where either a father, a brother or a son has not died within the last 50 years from silicosis. Men They coughed their lives out for five years, suffering with the knowledge that nothing and nobody could save

It is necessary to contrast the scurvy treatment of these workers, murdered in the process of production, to that accorded to the parasites who own the coal-lands and who run the collieries.

If a miners wife is earning sufficient money not to be dependent upon her husband's earnings she is entitled to only £15 as compensation in the event that he dies from this terrible scourge

ed that of seven cases who had died of silicosis in his own district, the amount of compensation paid since certification of the disease was deducted from the

Despite the drop in the numbers miners temployed; despite the drop to profit has been well maintained and in some cases increased.

THE SECOND FRONT

this was the only means whereby "Britain may be aved from the dangers of invasion nd the Nazi war machine deicisvely deated."

Pollitt was therein person to see that the Party fracon put the case for the resolution it its proper chauvinist content. An indeed, it was presented in a mayer which Pollitt himself would have bund difficult to

outdo in reactionary chauvinism.

In view of the undubted progressive sentiment which the reactionary resolution covered and the popular support which it receive from Conference, Tom Stephenson of tumberland, is to be congratulated for the high standard of revolutionary socilist consciousness which he displaye when he voted against val resolutin and attempted to expose its reaction content. The vote was taken whout him getting a chance to put his position.

WHY LAWTHER ATTACKED THE "SOCIALIS APPEAL"

bpeal" is the only The "Socialist working class in the country atly exposed the Plunion leaders to which has cons tendency of the t with the capitgrow and fuse to alist class. It e only working xeed for an alterclass newspaper to demonstrate t native, policy w will renew the I reorganise the trade union top 1 once more with unions-infusing the spirit of indep struggle. We ha ent working class in particular exposed the role of the leaders in the miners union and ir warnings have resulted in the more r which is taking ple at the top.

The direction Which the "Lawthers" are steering the miners union was eloquently disonstrated by the presence for the first time at a miners' conference, of a pitalist minister, direct representat e of capitalist politics. He was A jor Lloyd George, Minister of Fue who was there to seal the heavy unity" upon the ubs of the working unity" upon the labs of the working miners. He clear demonstrated his purpose at Confe nce when he said that the miners spould have to work harder and prody more coal.

It is no accide therefore, that Will Lawther should tead with the capitalist Minister of quel to suppress the "Socialist Apped" and thus clamp down upon that tendency which exposes his treach ry.

The reception to the "Socialist Appeal" by the delegates at the Conference revealed a decided lack of hostility, despite the terrific campaign which was being conducted against it in press and in parliament. More copies were sold than at any previous Conferences—almost every delegate having bought one, and many a couple of copies to take lack to their districts.

The friendly than with the

tions with the As about Joseph her who had been ent in attacking us

Miners Demand FREE INDIA **Nationalisation**

social conditions now as a guarantee. Referring to the statement of the E.C. that they had been able to get valuable concessions because of their and the national E.C.'s "commendable courage and wisdom," he said, "every man in this room and in the pits is aware that it was not the leadership at all which was responsible for the concessions which had been gained Had it been left to them the miners might have even suffered a reduction. It was only by the determined attitude of the rank and file miners who showed the owners that they would not put up any longer with the wages they were receiving, that the Govern-ment finally decided to take action. They were spurred to do so by the actions of the Betteshanger, Blackhall,

and miners at other pits.
"It was only when the resolution came up in the Council demanding the resignation of Lawther that he got a move on . . . A week afterwards he got onto a platform and said the miners were worth the 'princely' sum of 2/- extra a shift! Even the concessions which had since been granted were apparently 'beyond the concep-tion' of Lawther at that time."

"We must pass this resolution," he concluded, "and make it a rallying point for all the miners in the coun-

All of the delegates who spoke did so along the same lines. In the course of the speeches, dozens of examples of outright sabotage of coal production by the owners were given, particularly by the delegate from the Whitburn colliery. Almost every delegate attacked the Pit Production Committees and exposed how the coalowners tried to use them for attacks upon the

Twelve lodges were represented. These were the largest and most militant in the country. Despite the opposition of the Stalinists who, at one time were very strong in the district, the conference was a success. The resolution was unanimously passed after full discussion and it was decided to conduct a campaign, to implement the resolution throughout the Durham coalfield, with the object of gaining the support of all the Lodges in the county.

This meeting is of extreme import-

ance to mineworkers all over country. It is essential that it be given the widest possible publicity so that its lead can be taken up by miners lodges to branches in the various coal producing counties.

It gives the lie to all the hallilujahs

of the miners' leaders regarding the recent coal plan and wage proposals.

Indian Workers Support our Programme

The India Meeting held in Coventry under the auspices of Workers' Inter-national League on July 19th was a great success. A hundred were pre-sent including 75 Indians. Most of the questions came from the English work-ers dealing with "National Unity" ers dealing with "National Unity" against Hitler. One Indian supported Bose, and from discussions with many Indian workers, the idea is commonly

The entire British press has waged a lying and dishonest campaign against Congress, trying to smear it with charges of working for Japan's victory. To read these papers it would appear that a tiny handful of maniacs and irresponsibles, headed by the fakir Gandhi, is trying desperately to stir up trouble among a population which is contented to look for protection to Britain against not only the Japanese but against Congress itself The opinion of the Moslem League, the Princes, and of every nonentity who opens his mouth in support of the continued rule of British imperialism-all these are gathered together and built up to look like an expression of mass opinion. In reality it is the opinion of an insignificant privileged minority. The impression is deliberately conveyed that Congress represents a small section of the Indian masses and that a strong hand is needed to "protect" the people from its "tyranny"

This press campaign and Amery's lying speeches have asserted that Congress only represents 3 million out of the 400 millions of India. In the first place, millions who support Congress cannot even afford the small membership fee of one Anna. This is itself a reflection of the poverty in which British imperialism has kept the Indian people. In the second place the Government of India deliberately prevents the Indian masses from showing where their sympathies lie by its methods of restricting the elections by property qualifications and other tricks.

But even through this distorted system it can be seen that behind Congress, exerting pressure on it, are not 3 million people, but scores of millions. The Moslem League, whose "rights'

Amery and the press so virtuously defend, is nothing but a creation of British imperialism-a stooge organisation which does not represent the Moslems at all, but only serves the interests of India's exploiters. In the elections of 1937 the Moslem League only secured 4.6% of the total Moslem vote. In provinces which contain a large majority of Moslems, Congress and not the Moslem League was returned! So much for the lies of Amery and the capitalist press.

But far from this being the case it is the masses behind Congress who have pushed it so far along the road it has taken. Let there be no doubt about it-Congress has the support of the overwhelming majority of the workers and peasants, Hindu and Moslem alike.

The Congress Party has been reluctantly compelled to take up the cudgels against British imperialism by

is no doubt that the Pir Pagar introduced some measure of mi

The Times also reports tha British force used parachute t that houses were burned down a members of the tribe were ha After a certain time-limit, anyon in the desert in this region was

To all this pressure, the clin 200 years of ruthless British opprothe Congress has been forced spond. If the Congress mered posed the will of the masses, th masses would turn in other dire for leadership.

Congress is the representative Indian capitalist class. The L Times recognises this clearly w says: "Congress is predomina bourgeois party, largely finance the past at any rate, by indust and landlords.

The class which Congress sents cannot carry out an indep policy. It cannot lead a strug Indian independence against eit British or the Japanese impe Its position is such that it ca make efforts to receive a bigge of the fruits of the exploitation Indian masses from British in ism. Perhaps a few members, the British Empire in collapse to profit more by a transfer of subservience to Japan. But t majority still look to the Briti

See how Gandhi emphasis need for non-violence on the the campaign:

"It may be that in a mor anger they might do thin might provoke you. Neve you should not resort to viole put non-violence to shame."

The Daily Telegraph Corres points out that in the course speech "Again and again he re ed his belief in non-violence.'

But this is not the advice saintly pacifist, as Gandhi wou the Indian people believe. rather, that of a shrewd repres of the Indian capitalist class, at the thought of the masses a genuine struggle for freedon how can the Indian masses freedom by replying to the violence of British imperialis "non-violence"? He admitt self in 1930: "I know that t revolutionary like me impe progress of the violent revolu want full suspension of his

See also, together with this on non-violence, Gandhi's i that there must be no hatree British: "We must remove h

I am free to admit that I dr

more than I dread Lord

"Concrete examples of the waste of time and energy . . . are repeated daily in my own business and it is not difficult to appreciate how, in their accumulative effect, our national output is seriously and needlessly hampered. Among examples of waste I will put labour time first (our emphasis). Firms particularly the smaller firms, cannot always take advantage of the general willingness of employees to work over-time and on Sundays, because contracts obtained in competition cannot always bear the increased wage rates. And "Overtime must be restricted to the 'cost plas' contracts, no matter how disturbing this may be to the

works' organisation and in spite of the time which may be lost in the change

1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions

2. Nationalisation of the land, mines banks, transport and all big in-dustry without compensation.

union inspection.

workers elected from the distri-butive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.

by LESLIE KING

The Minister of Production, Mr. O. Lyttleton, has admitted that the Churchill Government will shortly be

unable to increase production in this country. He has told the S. Wales

Institute of Engineers that "we are

now approaching a point when, unless we reduce our armed forces, which is clearly impossible, we cannot look for increases in production." (Telegraph,

This must sound a farcical position to the workers who, already sick of the hypocrisy of Mr. Bevin's glowing statements of how labour power is

being organised in this country, know that many of their fellows stand about

idle for large periods of time.

Apart from the shameful restriction-

ist policy of the bosses with regard to Coal, Steel, Cement and other basic

industries in their lust for profits,

there is no question about it that the

mis-use of man-power is one of the

biggest indictments of Industry as it is being run today. It is one of the greatest contributing factors to the chaotic state in which we find produc-

tion and the average worker knows this

only too well: even the bosses admit it. Let us quote Major A. H. Brock-

hurst, himself a managing director,

Establishment of military academies by the Trade Unions at the ex-

of worker officers.

invasion or Petainism.

MANPOWER MUDDLE for this deplorable incompetency of the bosses in organising available man power in this country.

Thomas Brown of Lancashire reveal amount the widows would have received if their men had died instantly!

Thousands of miners with a record of 30, 40 and 50 years down the pit were living on the miserable old age pensions which the Government considered adequate to maintain them at present. The imposition of the Means Test cut the amount they received to the minimum in a great number of cases since they lived in the same village as their families.

s take advantage of the general gness of employees to work over-and on Sundays, because conobtained in competition cannot bear the increased wage rates.

'Overtime must be restricted to sost plas' contracts, no matter disturbing this may be to the 'organisation and in spite of the which may be lost in the change

ort from the host of reasons why iency on this question exists, such d transport arrangements, bad ng and housing conditions, bad ing of location of factories (i.e cessibility), rising accident rate o exhaustion, defective canteen gements, etc., etc., the main (which also gives rise to the s) is that the capitalists in their or profits, subordinate production e interests of their filthy greed competition of rival firms for the ning of the "best" (most profit-labour, the necessity of retaint all costs the best and most skil bour, even if it is more urgently d elsewhere. On the other hand are is no suitable work available the time being for a valuable be, he must be kept idle—under reumstances will they allow him lost to a competitor. All of these s, and more, combine to make

role of profits in the present chaos, the role of profits in the present chaos, the boss-class will wage more ruthless attacks than ever before against the people and in this policy they receive the full support of their labour lackeys.

The only answer to this problem is for control of production to be in the hands of the only class—the working class—who are capable of running production as a sound and efficient basis.

duction on a sound and efficient basis. The "Socialist Appea" has consistently explained that the Capitalists are incapable of solving the question of production, and now, through Mr. Lyttleton, they have at last admitted their complete sterility. It is only the worker at the bench and machine, through his representatives on the factory committees who can solve this question of the full utilisation of manpower and the other industrial re-sources of the nation. Moreover, such a step, the taking of the control of production into their own hands, would not only guarantee a tremendous step-up in output, but would make it unnecessary for the workers to lose any of their hard won rights-in fact it

For workers' control of production to end the chaos and mismanagement in industry!

For workers' control of production to ensure the maintenance and extension of working class rights and conditions!

ileges which flow from them.

present. The imposition of the Means Test cut the amount they received to the minimum in a great number of lage as their families.

Despite the drop in the numbers of miners temployed; despite the drop in coal production, the avery e rate of profit has been well maintained and in some cases increased,

THE SECOND FRONT

More than any other section of the British working class, the miners have shown solidarity with the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union. It is they who have maintained the closest connections between the Soviet Union and the industrial strata of the British working class. But their genuine desire to assist the Soviet Union was distorted into a horrible caricature by the resolution which was proposed by the Communist Party delegation from South Wales.

This resolution urged the Government to immediately open up a Second Front in Europe and pledged the miners to subordinate their interests to such a Second Front. It was not presented as a revolutionary call to the British working class to defend the remaining gains of the October revolution. It was presented with the usual jingoistic formula of the Stalinists that

in press and in parliament. More copies were sold than at any previous Conferences—almost every delegate having bought one, and many a couple of copies to take back to their districts.

of copies to take back to their districts.

The friendly cons with the determinant their sardonic as about Joseph Hall and Will her who had been particularly properties of these gentlemen and the anguish in the eyes of Harry Rellitt when they saw the manner in Pollitt when they saw the manner in which the delegates received the 'Socialist Appeal"

The lesson that stands out crystal clear from the Conference is that if the miners are to press forward to consolidate their gains in their present struggles, they must save the unions from the Lawthers and Stalinists alike. They can only do this on the basis of a clear and definite programme of nationalistation of the mines without compensation under the democratic control of miners and technicians. This must be linked to an organisational programme designed to democratise the unions and save them from bureaucratic officialdom; an organisational programme designed to renew the paid functionaries of the unions from top to bottom and convert the unions into instruments of the socialist revolution.

Continued from page 1

st the Soviet Union and the Labnovement, while we have consistfought and defended the Soviet n and the Labour movement st all attacks; all this is typical of brazen hypocrisy of the ruling

e attitude of the Press and of the onary M.P.'s is a commentary on ituation in "democratic" Britain . What capitalist paper or politarty would have questions of this cter asked about their reporters, supplies, etc.? The pro-Nazi ily Mail" for instance? It is for granted that the capitalist and organisations should have ight to conduct its normal funcwithout interference by the state. when it comes to a Socialist newsin which the down-trodden and essed find a voice then no inquisor persecution is too severe.

e paper which carried out the determined and persistent camwas the mouthpiece of the coalrs, the "Daily Telegraph". Disng Hall's allegations from the t, the "Telegraph" conducted a aign day after day because they only too well aware of the real ion in the coalfields and the fact he "Socialist Appeal" voices the aspirations of the miners.

ey based their campaign for our ession on a soher estimation of programme, printing sections of programme in order to illustrate ingers to their class. Their inial correspondent underlined this remarks while interviewing us: s paper is dynamite! Even the y Worker' in its militant days t touch your programme!'

STRENGTHENED

seem astonishing that such a fearful have lost the confidence of the miners assault should be waged on a small in their leadership. Their shameless organisation and its Press. The daily stand on the side of the coalowners in newspapers mentioned, possess berecent strikes has led to disgust and tween them a circulation in a single disillusionment among the rank and day more than what the "Appeal' file. The miners are beginning to see possesses in a year. Yet they are that such rotten leadership can only afraid! This arises out of the uneasilead to capitulation to the coalowners. ness of the ruling class at the present The Trotskyists have been putting fortime. The masses of workers are disward among the miners and other satisfied with the exiting state of workers the necessity of turning the unions into fighting organs really reaffairs. The most reactionary sections of the ruling class are already thinkpresentative of the workers and to ing in terms of suppression and dicreplace the present leadership by more tatorship as a means of keeping the militant ones. Now at the first signs workers in check. The workers are of a threat developing to their positions beginning to realise the shameless prothey run whining to their masters for fiteering of the capitalists and the help, not scrupling to use such dirty mockery of equality of sacrifice. That weapons as the slander of pro-Nazism. is why they want to silence those who The most encouraging feature of this attack, and one that bodes well consistently and untiringly fight for the interests of the workers. It is not for the future of Socialism in Britain,

our number today but the fact that our is that while the coalowners, the capitalist press, the Right-wing Tories, programme will become the prothe miners' leaders and the Stalinists gramme of the masses tomorrow, which has driven the most reactionary united for a unanimous assault on the sections of the ruling class to take the "Socialist Appeal", we had the symoffensive against us. pathy and support of the broad masses of the working class. The readers and supporters of the "Socialist Appeal" But the question can be asked why should the miners' leaders appeal to the Tories for aid. Apart from the were angered and indignant at this irresponsible Mr. Hall, there is Mr. W. vile attack. Not a single one faltered in support of their paper. Not only Lawther, the President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. It was those who had read the "Appeal" they, who raised the question first and in the past but thousands of new sympathisers were gained. Dozens of provided the Right Wing Tories and the coal-owners with the opportunity letters were received from miners, of launching an offensive against the soldiers, engineers and other workers, workers' press. The reason is that with whom we had never been in these "leaders" would resort to any touch before, enquiring about our vile means to defend their bureaucratic paper and organisation. Far from domination of the union and the privweakening, the attack strengthened us

in the eyes of the working class. The reasons for the monstrous The Government has refused to supslanders on the part of these union press the "Socialist Appeal" at the

present stage, on the grounds of our weakness. There is apparently no question of democracy and the free-dom of the press involved! It is purely an estimate of strength and potentialities. When we gain the ear of tens of thousands of workers, then apparently all democracy will go by the board. So we see the ruling class is prepared to tolerate opposition, only so long as that opposition is not effective. The moment the working class evinces a desire for change, at that moment all rights of free speech and free press are cast aside and the rulers resort to methods et suppression, and ultimately to fascism. The only road to defeat Fascism both at home and abroad, lies in defending the rights and interests of the workers wherever they are menaced, and in marching ahead to the establishment of workers' power and socialism. That is the pro-

gramme of the "Socialist Appeal".
Workers! Trade Unionists! Miners! Readers of the "Socialist Appeal"! It is your paper that is under attack! It is you and your rights they are attacking! And it is in your hands that the real defence of the "Socialist Appeal Fies."

This is but a dress rehearsal. Tomorrow the working class will be faced with even more powerful attacks, as the situation in Britain grows ever more tense. In the struggle the workers need a fighting paper and a fifighting leadership. Let your answer to the attacks on the "Socialist Appeal" be that you resolve to give it even greater support than in the past.

Join the ranks of Workers' International League and help us to build a party that will make fregramme of the "Socialist And living reality.

The India Meeting held in Coventry under the auspices of Workers' Inter-national League on July 19th was a agreat success. A hundred were present including 75 Indians. Most of the questions came from the English workers dealing with "National Unity" against Hitler. One Indian supported Bose, and from discussions with many Indian workers, the idea is commonly held that Bose is still a socialist and will free India with a Japanese army. The Japanese will then clear out when the British are defeated. The speakers effectively dispelled this idea by showing the disastrous consequences of supporting any imperialist power and emphasised the unity of interests between Indian and British workers Our programme for the immediate

freedom of India on the basis of a Constituent Assembly received enthusiastic support because it offers the only solution for the present period. Our case was ably put by Comrade John Williams from Coventry, Comrade V. Sastry, Secretary of the Indian Workers' Association, and Comrade Ted

have pushed it so far along the road it has taken. Let there be no doubt about it-Congress has the support of the overwhelming majority of the workers and peasants, Hindu and Moslem alike.

The Congress Party has been reluctantly compelled to take up the cudgels against British imperialism by the deep seated discontent of the masses with British rule. To give no vent to this discontent would, as Congress has warned; lead to a repetition of the events of Singapore, Malaya and Burma, where the apathy or the direct aid of the masses helped the Japanese. In some areas in India this mood

has expressed itself in action. In Sind, for instance, the British have been compelled to dispatch troops to put down a rebellion. The Times reports:

"By extensive sabotage of public works, such as telephones and can-als, they have held an intolerable threat to the normal traffic on the

SECOND FRONT Continued from page 1

Labour party nor the Communist Party offer a way of satisfying this demand has led to a general mood of frustra-

tion embracing millions upon millions

The fundamental point that must be remembered about the Second Front is the same point that must be re-membered about the war in general war is a continuation of politics by other means. The Second Front, if it is launched by the present capitalist leadership will be launched for capitalist ends and by capitalist means. It will be launched, not to re-instate the Soviet Union, not to set Europe free, not to smash Fascism once and for all, not to lay the foundations of a genuine peace. These are the aims of the workers, and many of them confusedly "exert pressure" for a Second Front in the hope of seeing them come to pass. But the capitalists will not venture on the Second Front because of "pressure". They will choose to open it or not to open it according to their own interests. And even if they open it successfully it will be found that their policy in regard both to Europe and the Soviet Union will be unpleasantly different from the desires of the workers.

And if they decide not to open it what will the Communist Party and its Trafalgar Square meetings and its "pressure" do then? It is impossible to exert "pressure" on Churchill and the Government to lead the masses into action without at the same time trying to increase the confidence of the masses in these "leaders". The Second Front will be a continuation of politics by other means. The lack of a Second Front will be a continuation of politics by other means.

Events have already made clear the policy of the Churchill Government to the Soviet Union. They would wait until Moore-Brabazon's famous hope had become reality and the Soviet Union and Germany had reduced each other to such a state that Anglo-American imperialism could step in and dominate both of them. But now some of their calculations may have been upset by the lightning advance of the Germans in South Russia. A sudden collapse of Russian resistance or a Stalin-Hitler peace would be cata-strophic for them, and they see that such a catastrophe is not entirely out of the question. In such a case they may be forced to invade Europe earlier to set than they had ally intended. But tasks.

if they do so, it will still be entirely

for their own interests and for their own ends. It will serve these if only it succeeds in prolonging the struggle in the East a little longer until Whitehall and Washington have completed their preparations for dominating Europe, Russia, the world.

Europe, Russia, the world.

Another factor enters into the complex equation of the Second Front—the oppressed peoples of Europe. They will almost certainly seize the opportunity to wage a desperate struggle against the Nazis the moment any Anglo-American force lands on the continent. But if that force represents the interests of capitalism one of its the interests of capitalism one of its principal duties will be to assure that the struggle of the European masses does not become a real struggle against Fascism, a struggle for Socialism. Already the American Government has announced that it is training a million men to police not only Germany but Europe after the war. Here is the perspective that a capitalist Second Front holds out for Europe.

The British workers want a Second Front, and they genuinely want it for the highest and noblest of reasons for the saving of the first workers state, for the smashing of Fascism, for the liberating of Europe from its

The only way forward lies in the workers themselves taking power into their own hands. In that case their aims and aspirations would not be choked up in a fog of frustration as at present, but would be clearly and invincibly the aims and aspirations for which they were fighting. In that case, a Second Front could genuinely be launched for the liberation of Europe launched for the liberation of Europe, the smashing of Fascism and the aiding of the Soviet Union. But such a Second Front would scarcely be necessary, for the workers of Germany itself, no longer having to fear the vengeful peace they know the capitalists would impose, would be free to turn on the Nazis and deal with them themselves. themselves.

Whoever encourages the workers to believe that a capitalist Second Front can solve a single one of their prob-lems or of the problems of the Soviet Union is a deliberate deceiver of the working class. So long as power re-mains in the hands of the capitalists, it is capitalist tasks, that the efforts of the armed forces will be devoted to solving. Only when power is in the hands of the workers will they be able to set about the solving of their own

progress of the violent revolutionary. want full suspension of his activity. am free to admit that I dread him more than I dread Lord Irwin's

See also, together with this emphasis on non-violence, Gandhi's insistence that there must be no hatred of the British: "We must remove hatred for the British from our hearts . . . I am a greater friend of the British now than I ever was." This refrain is carried on through all his speeches, and it is the truth. He is the friend of British imperialism.

There is, however, evidence in these speeches of Gandhi's fear that the patience of the Indian masses with the leadership of Congress and with 'non-violence" is becoming exhausted. He admits:

"I know we have not done much by the way of non-violence." And again, he confesses: "It may be that I am not going as rapidly as you want

DEMAND THE FREE VOTE FOR INDIAN MASSES

A mighty mass movement is starting in India, a movement towards the overthrow of the imperialist oppression that has kept the Indian masses enslaved for 200 years. The British workers must do everything in their power to support that movement and help it to success. For the enemies of the Indian workers and peasants are also their own enemies. The struggle of the Indian masses for freedom is also a part of the struggle of the British workers against capital-

The workers of Britain must support the demand of the Indian masses for the setting up of a freely elected Constituent Assembly. This will not be an end in itself, but the first step on the way to workers' power.

India must be free! Never were Marx's words more applicable than now: "Labour in a white skin cannot be free while labour in a black skin is enslaved." A free India would make it impossible for Japan to occupy India as she has occupied Burma and Malaya. A free India would sound the death knell of all imperialisms. That is why the British capitalists are not prepared to grant India freedom, or even to arm the masses. That is why the British workers must struggle for power themselves. The Indian masses will have many enemies to fight: not only the imperialists of Britain and of Japan, but their own Congress leaders and the Stalinists, who are now among the most openly reactionary sections in India. The interests of the workers of the two countries are identical.

British imperialism claims that this is a war for freedom and democracy. But when the masses take them at their word, and demand the right to determine their own desting, the Churchill government replies with terror and imprisonment. workers! Demand the immediate r lease of all political prisoners, the right of the Indians to themselves.

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