

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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TWOPENCE.

400 WELSH MINERS STRIKE

Horner Supports Coalowners

DURING OCTOBER, THE GELICEIDRIM COLLIERY IN WEST WALES, AT WHICH SOME 400 MINERS ARE EMPLOYED, WAS RENDERED IDLE FOR 17 DAYS BECAUSE OF THE REFUSAL OF THE MANAGEMENT TO CARRY OUT THE MEN'S DEMAND FOR AN ELEMENTARY SAFETY TEST.

On October 2nd, the men working underground had very good reason to suspect that there existed the possibility of a sudden and catastrophic inrush. Such a thing had occurred at this colliery previously in 1922, and again in 1929. On each occasion a terrible inrush of water took place in the Old Slant in 1922—the second in the New Slant in 1929.

During October the Gelliceidrim colliery in West Wales, at which some 400 miners are employed, was rendered idle for 17 days because of the refusal of the management to carry out the men's demand for an elementary safety test.

On October 2nd, the men working underground had very good reason to suspect that there existed the possibility of a sudden and catastrophic inrush of water. Such a thing had occurred at this colliery previously in 1922 and again in 1929. On each occasion a terrible disaster was only narrowly averted. The first inrush of water took place in the Old Slant in 1922—the second in the New Slant in 1929.

On October 2nd, the miners were working the Lower and Middle Vein seams which are under the Old Slant workings... They had every reason to believe that water had collected in the old Herbert Morris Bully which was driven from the Big Vein in the Old Slant directly above where work is now going on. The miners legitimate fears could only have been dispelled by real evidence that the Bully had reached the Lower Vein workings of the New Slant.

When approached for such evidence, the management produced maps to show that there was a sufficient barrier of coal to prevent any inrush of water. Unfortunately for the management, however, these maps had been produced prior to the inrushes of 1922 and 1929—maps which were of 1922 and 1929—maps which were wrong! On October 2nd, therefore, the miners demanded that a boring test be conducted—10 yards forward and 10 yards up. This the management refused to do and, since their very lives depended on this test, the men refused to work. But every morning they returned to work ready to start work as soon as this elementary safety test had been carried out.

One of the five Inspectors of Mines who visited the colliery during the

"stoppage", Mr. Prescott, is said to have stated that "maps have been proved wrong in the past, and I can remember that 60 lives were lost because of inaccurate maps." Yet despite this statement—expert proof of the correctness of the miners' action—every one of the five Inspectors supported the management's refusal to carry out the boring test!

On the 18th day of the "stoppage" the management finally consented to bore, and, the test having been successfully carried out, the men immediately returned to work. By their stupid and criminal refusal to meet the miners' demands for safety, the Gelliceidrim management have been directly responsible for a loss in coal production of nearly 4,000 tons!

The only reason for this deliberate sabotage on the part of the management was their desire to avoid paying the guaranteed wage to the 400 miners involved. Had they agreed at once to bore, it would have been an admission by them that the stoppage had occurred through no fault of the miners and that, consequently, the men were fully entitled to their guaranteed wage during the period of the pit being idle. This is no mere guesswork on our part for the Manager of the Colliery has been brazen enough to admit it. In a statement made to a very reliable Gelliceidrim Lodge committeeman he said: "If we bore, you and the rest will claim the guaranteed wage." In other words, the Company was quite ready to risk the lives of 400 miners rather than pay the guaranteed wage!

The Gelliceidrim miners have a clear claim to the Guaranteed Wage for the 17 days they were idle—but the President of the S.W.M.F., Mr. Arthur Horner, doesn't think so! On October 7th he was asked point blank by Mr. E. Phillips, the Gelliceidrim Lodge Secretary, whether the guaranteed wage was safe. Horner replied:

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T. U. C. HELPS GOEBBELS

Labour and Stalinist Leaders Betray German Working Class

BY TED GRANT

THE T.U.C. HAS LINED UP WITH THE VANSITTARTISTS IN THE MOST COWARDLY WAY IMAGINABLE. THE KEPT CAPITALIST PRESS FROM THE "DAILY MAIL" TO THE RENEGADE "DAILY WORKER" HAS HAILED WITH GLEE THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE T.U.C. AGAINST THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

One headline, taken at random, reads: "ALL GERMANS GUILTY SAYS T.U.C."

"Daily Sketch." On a card vote of 5,056,000 to 1,350,000 the position of the T.U.C. bureaucrats was carried. Anyone who has the slightest contact with the miners, the railwaymen, and other workers knows that this resolution is a travesty of the feelings of the organised working class and even of the more backward sections who are unorganised. But the T.U.C. claims to speak in their name although the workers in the unions were not consulted on this matter.

CITRINE IN THE VAN OF THE PACK

In the van of the pack, in full cry against the German workers was Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the T.U.C. He said:

"There is no dispute about the punishment of war criminals. The point of controversy arises over the responsibility of the German people as a whole..."

"It was utterly impossible," Sir Walter argued, "on the one hand to affirm the principle of restoration unless side by side with affirmation they realised that restoration must be done in the main by the German people."

Assuming they accepted that reasoning, how in the name of heaven could they affirm that the German people were innocent? They would be punishing the innocent by compelling them—the people who, they thought ought to be absolved from blame—to make good the devastation and make some form of reparation.

"If the principle is laid down that it is just and equitable that Germany should make good the devastation," Sir Walter declared, "it follows that the restoration must be done by the German people."

"What other doctrines can you evolve? I affirm that you will not know for years after the war pre-

cisely what measure of responsibility will devolve on any particular section of Germany.

"When the Allies march into Berlin we shall find so many anti-Nazis that it will be very difficult to know who has been carrying on the war in Germany.

"That is a contingency we shall have to prepare for. . . . There is far too much mushy sentimentality about this question.

"Nobody has wanted to see signs of revolt in Germany more than I have. The T.U.C. has appealed to the German Labour Movement.

"While I would be the last to deny the bravery of individual German trade unionists, I cannot escape the conclusion that there has been no large scale organised resistance in Germany since the advent of Hitlerism.

"It is not pleasant for me to have to say that."

The hypocrisy and mendacity of Citrine is positively repulsive. But it is likely that without the assistance of the Russian Trade Union bureaucrats who were "fraternal" delegates from the Kremlin, the T.U.C. bureaucrats would not have got away with it so easily. They used the prestige of the heroic Red Army and of the Russian Revolution for the filthy purposes of the imperialists.

KUZNETSOV SETS THE TONE

The speech of Kuznetsov set the tone of the whole proceedings. It was the most vicious and chauvinistic of all. Betraying all the teachings of Lenin, he gave the most racist speech of the whole Conference. Deliberately and consciously, he identified the German workers and the German masses with their Nazi overlords; the crimes of Hitler's S.S. he pretends were the crimes of the ordinary German workers and soldiers. It was in this manner that he attempted to confuse the issue. From these racialists there were no traces of the elementary

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HYPOCRITE



SIR WALTER CITRINE

CITRINE 1944 T.U.C.: "Nobody has wanted to see signs of revolt in Germany more than I."

CITRINE 1933 T.U.C.: "... A general strike after the atmosphere created by the Reichstag fire and with 6 million people unemployed, was an act fraught with the gravest consequences which might be described as nothing less than civil war."

Thus Citrine justified the betrayal of the German Labour and trade union leaders in allowing Hitler to take power and consolidate his rule without any organised resistance or opposition.

denn and vilify strikers who were accused of being saboteurs and of "stabbing the boys in the back", etc., etc., no attack was made on the bosses for this, the first lock-out of the war. Rather, they made every attempt to cover up the bosses' culpability and satisfied themselves by merely reporting that:

"The dockers who had been on strike for three weeks expressed their willingness to re-start yesterday, further information from various sources is, however, being awaited by the National Dock Labour Corporation, employer of the men." ("Evening Chronicle" 17/10/44.)

They make no mention of the fact that the men handed in their cards on the Monday and that the bosses had refused to give them work, although soldiers had been put to work on a ship which docked that very day. There appears to be a conspiracy between the bosses and Union officials who constitute the "Board", and the Government authorities. The lock-out is still in operation. The Control Point is locked and no staff are on duty, and although the men are available each morning for work they are not being booked on and are not receiving the lying-on time to which they are entitled. For the last ten days there has been a conspiracy of silence in the capitalist press and official T.U. circles about the lock-out.

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9 MINERS FINED

BY JOHN LAWRENCE

Powell Duffryn, the huge coal monopoly of South Wales has succeeded—this time with the able assistance of the capitalist court—in striking yet another dirty blow at the miners unfortunate enough to be in their employ.

On October 19th, in the Police Court of the little Welsh mining town of Abercynon, nine colliers from the Penrhylceiber Colliery were convicted for having "failed to work with due and proper diligence" and each was therefore ordered to pay damages to Powell Duffryn for "breach of contract." The actual amount of the damages is to be announced in court at a later date.

In announcing this decision the Abercynon Stipendiary, Mr. Joshua Davies, K.C., stated that the conviction was based on two factors—"the evidence of the prosecution" and "the admissions of the men themselves." From this statement—and it was printed without comment in the press which reported the case!—one would naturally conclude that the accused had actually admitted the charge of "canny". Whereas, in fact, the admissions consisted of flat denials of the charge—each convicted miner staunchly maintaining that any fall in output was due entirely to the disgraceful conditions under which they were compelled to labour! The real position is, therefore, that the learned Stipendiary arrived at his decision on the basis of one solitary factor—"the evidence of the prosecution". What majestic impartiality!

According to Barklam—Powell Duffryn's lawyer servant—the prosecution for "canny" had been instigated because production at the Penrhylceiber Colliery had steadily declined from 1,000 tons a day in November 1942, to 500 tons a day in August 1944. The Company maintained that a "reasonable" output per man per shift was 7 tons. As the accused had only averaged 2½ to 3 tons this was sufficient proof, in the opinion of the management, that a "conspiracy to go-slow" existed in the colliery. In proof of their claim that 7 tons was a "reasonable output" Barklam produced in court only one piece of evidence which was in the slightest degree substantiated—namely, the so-called "tests" conducted by two of the Company's firemen. These two gentlemen, it was claimed, had produced, in one shift working in the places of the accused miners, 15 tons of coal between them.

Now even if this test was quite honest and genuine, the output of the firemen cannot be taken as "reasonable" for the very simple reason that they worked only one shift. They could not possibly have maintained this output, day in and day out, over a period of years, as apparently the accused are now expected to do. However, far from the "test" being genuine, it was in fact, a downright fraud—a piece of contemptible and deliberate trickery!

Even if we couldn't prove this statement—and we certainly can!—the fact that the test was conducted in complete secrecy would at once make it immediately suspect! No miner, no Union official, no-one in fact, except the management, two master-hauliers, and the two firemen concerned, knew that any such test was being taken. Why this conspiratorial secrecy if the test was perfectly honest and genuine?

The convicted colliers claimed, as we have stated, that the reason for the comparatively low output was the disgraceful conditions of the roads in this particular pit. Each man from his own experience—and some of them had 10-15 years at the coal face!—ably demonstrated this in court. They showed how smaller trams than those normally used in this pit had to be introduced on these particular roads because of the very low and dangerous roof; how the abnormal "squeeze" resulted in tremend-

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TYNE DOCKERS' LOCK-OUT

There have been startling developments in the Tyneside dockers' strike since the last issue of "Socialist Appeal" went to press. Owing to lack of information and the fact that the men had to rely to a large extent on the capitalist press for news of the developments in connection with the dispute; numerous malicious and fountless rumours found their way amongst the men and disoriented them.

Torn between their loyalty to their Trade Union and the resolution that had been passed not to join the new branch of the Union, sections of the men began to drift into the Union offices to sign the Union's ultimatum sheet.

By the 12th October it was obvious that the only alternative left to the remainder of the dockers was to do the same, and to continue their struggle in the new Branch.

The Union's action in closing down the Branch had had the desired effect of temporarily decapitating the militant leadership and disorienting the rank and file.

On Sunday, 15th October, the inaugural meeting of the new branch was held, and the dockers demonstrated their wholehearted support of their old militant leadership by re-electing Bros. Pearson and Spencer to their original positions of Chairman and Secretary of the Branch by unanimous acclaim. It was also decided at this meeting to resume work the following day on the old basis. Lists

BY HEATON LEE

having given the meeting to understand that he had received the assurance of the employers that the 22 men whose cards were held by the employers would not be victimised. By the old basis was meant the conditions that prevailed before the signing of the Top Hatch Agreement, i.e. hatches of the smaller vessels would be removed by the dockers at an inclusive piece-work rate, while those of the bigger vessels would be handled by riggers and lumpers. The 6 o'clock news that evening reported that the Tyneside dockers strike had ended. Next morning the dockers handed in their Port Registration Cards and Unemployment Books at the Control Point but to their amazement they were not signed on as being available for work. Their employers, the Dock Labour Corporation Ltd. (Bevin's joint collaborationist board) had instituted a lock-out!

Although the local capitalist press has always done its utmost to con-

NARAIN ON TRIAL FOR TREASON

Defending Counsel Arrested in Court

BY M. NAIDU

JAI PRAKASH NARAIN, THE SECRETARY OF THE INDIAN CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY IS TO BE TRIED FOR TREASON, AND ATTEMPTING TO OVERTHROW BY VIOLENCE "THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED BY LAW."

THE LAW BY WHICH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS ESTABLISHED WAS THE GANGSTER LAW OF CONQUEST.

Narain was arrested along with the other Indian National leaders on the 7th August 1942, following the Congress Resolution on the 8th demanding an end to British rule in India. These provocative arrests were immediately replied to by strikes and demonstrations all over the country.

The British Government thereupon instituted a monstrous regime of repression. The following measures were adopted:

1. Strikes and demonstrations were broken up by the use of tear gas and whipping.
2. Orders were issued to shoot on demonstrators.
3. Aerial bombing was resorted to, and by military occupation, villages were completely destroyed, as in the case of Chinner.
4. Collective fines were imposed on villages.
5. Hostages were shot as in the case of the Kaypur peasant leaders.

Jai Prakash Narain escaped from prison, and led the movement driven underground by the brutal repressive measures. After a few weeks a letter from him was circulated, drawing the lessons of the struggle. (This is not the place to analyse the theoretical and tactical mistakes made by the Congress Socialist Party). He was recaptured in 1943. It is believed that his recapture was due to a betrayal by the Indian Stalinists.

When he was brought before the Lahore High Court to be remanded in custody, Pardi-Wallah, a barrister from Bombay travelled to Lahore to defend him. The barrister was arrested in the Court and deported to an unknown destination.

Narain himself had been remanded in custody, and after over a year of

imprisonment without trial, he is now being brought up for trial.

On the 2nd November, 1943, a question was asked in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, and the Government replied that the whereabouts of Narain will not be revealed.

On the 9th November 1943, Pundit B. R. Surma moved an adjournment motion in the Punjab Legislative Assembly to discuss the alleged inhuman treatment of Narain in Lahore Fort by the Punjab C.I.D. The Government did not deny the allegations, but the motion was disallowed. On the same day several similar motions were moved regarding other political prisoners and all of them were disallowed.

On the 13th November 1943, G. V. Deshmak, a Nationalist Member of the Central Legislative Assembly moved an adjournment motion to discuss the arrest of Narain's lawyer in Lahore and his deportation to an unknown destination. The motion was again disallowed.

On the same day Deshmak moved another adjournment motion to discuss alleged inhuman treatment of Narain while under custody. The specific charges were that he was made to sit on an ice box; that he was given a chair with no back and thus made to keep awake day and night; and that such meagre food was allowed that he was verging on starvation. Once again the motion was disallowed but the allegations were not denied.

Narain's case is symptomatic of thousands of others who are in the prisons in India. Their "crime" was that they demanded independence for India. In enforcing that demand, against the armed resistance of the British imperialists, if the masses of India resorted to violence—that violence is justifiable. The criminals, in the eyes of the workers, are the imperialists who strangle India by violence and repression.

An immediate demand should be raised in all working class organisations, trade unions and trades councils, for an independent inquiry into the inhuman treatment of political prisoners in India.

A demand must be raised to demand an inquiry into the treatment of Jai Prakash Narain and his barrister!



Letters

To the Editor

Detention Barracks

Glasgow, 20th October, 1944.

Socialist Appeal, Dear Comrade,

Having just been released from Chorley Military Detention Barracks (No. 2 D.B.) after 6 months' sentence, I would like to confirm in general the description of D.B. conditions which were exposed in your September issue.

As at Chatham Detention Barracks, there is the same continual effort to "make good soldiers" by breaking the spirit of the men and keeping them in a state of fear and humiliation.

If a man finds it impossible to accept in silence the cattle-herding treatment to which he is subject all the time, he soon finds himself "on a report", and punishment for quite trivial offences usually consists of 2 or 3 days P.D.1 (Punishment Diet No. 1) or a week's P.D.2—together with a loss of three to eight days remission.

P.D.1 consists of 2 or 2½ slices of bread and a mug of water in place of breakfast and again in place of tea. No dinner.

P.D.2 is the same with a small portion of gruel and a couple of dirty potatoes added at mid-day. And it must be remembered that this is imposed on men whose "normal diet" whilst under Detention is lacking badly in sugar content, Vitamins C, D and B, with no fresh fruit or vegetables of any sort continuously over a long period; and who are expected on this diet to expend MORE energy (on P.T. drills, marches, etc.) than the normal.

Also, I must report that although rare, physical brutality is not totally abolished. There was a case in my last week or two, of a soldier under sentence being thrown to the floor by a "screw" (guard) and his head banged on the ground till it was cut open. Owing to a little "thoughtfulness" on the part of the Staff Sergeant in forgetting to take the precaution of first locking up all the other prisoners, his action was witnessed by at least two soldiers—of whom prevented the "screw" from hitting his victim with a rifle.

I don't know if any enquiry has yet been made into this particular case but the names of the witnesses and the victim are available. This, in any case is only one example where, I know by experience, that actual use of force was followed threats, which although technically forbidden, are by no means infrequent.

Earlier this month I had complained to the Warrant Officer on duty—backed up with witnesses' statements—of threats of physical assault.

Yours sincerely,
ex-Private C. P. Stanton.

A Soldier on Bulgaria

R.A.F., C.M.F. 7.10.44.

Dear Comrade,

The only local news is of a recent demonstration by the Communist and Socialist Parties to the nearby grave of a local martyr. The demonstrators were mainly older peasants, and comparatively few youth.

You have heard of the recent formation of soldiers' soviets in the Bulgarian army, with the use of the Red Flag and the clenched fist salute. On September 21st, Major-General Velchev (Minister of War) issued an order to the Bulgarian Army in which he forbade the use of the Red Flag and clenched fist salute, and instructed army commanders to set up Committees of inquiry to advise on cases of military personnel recently arrested.

Yours, R. 12.10.44.

Dear Comrade,

Regarding the news of Bulgaria in my last note to you, here is some more to supplement it.

Apparently the coldness of the Russians' attitude to the recent revolutionary manifestations has disillusioned many Bulgarians. According to some accounts, red flags and clenched fists were less in evidence in Sofia, where the Russians ignored them, than in Plovdiv, where there were no Russian troops.

There is no local news at the moment All the best, R.

TANNER at the Stoll

South London, 19th October, 1944.

"Socialist Appeal," Dear Comrade Editor,

I am very surprised that the report of Tanner's speech at the Stoll Theatre contained in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal" under the title "Tanner Prepares New Sell-Out" by Ann Walker, contains a number of inaccuracies. Such inaccurate reporting can only do damage to our paper which has established a tradition for truthful and accurate accounts.

To report accurately is sufficient condemnation of Tanner and the other Trade Union bureaucrats.

In the interest of correct reporting which is necessary at all times for the prestige of the Party, and therefore in the interests of the working class, I offer criticism of the article.

Firstly, as I understood Tanner, he said, not that Joint Production Committees should supersede Works Committees, but that the scope of the Works Committees should be broadened to include Production problems. This in itself is bad enough, because it means a sell-out on the lines that workers have become all too familiar with during the war. The Joint Production Committees have been used mainly for the purpose of speed-up, and penalising the workers for lateness and absenteeism, etc. The advanced workers know the role of these Production Committees and how they have served the interests of the employing class against the interests of the workers.

Secondly, in dealing with the exclusion of quite a large number of members, he suggested more rigid card inspection, which of course, we support, and that as the stewards were extremely busy with so many new problems, other means should be taken to ensure that brothers did not drop out. I, and other of our brothers in my work-shop understood this to mean card-stewards or such like.

At any rate, such revolutionary, or rather counter-revolutionary measures, as the article suggests, is only possible through the democratic machinery of the union and would mean a change of Rules which could only be done by the Rules Revision Committee. This Committee is elected by the National Committee. There are a sufficient number of democratic checks to prevent any attempt in this direction at this stage.

Thirdly, in regard to the removal of the assistant organisers by the ruling of the Appeal Court, both sides (E.C. members and F.A.C. who voted this) agree that there is need for more assistance to organisers. But the majority of the Appeal Court decided that the rule that the E.C. used did not

allow them to abrogate the rule that states that all organisers must be elected, and that methods within the constitution must be found to solve this problem. Brother Hallett, one of the members of the Appeal Court, moved at the last Rules Revision Committee meeting in 1942, when women were admitted, that in view of the new situation, more organisers were needed; and if the motion had been supported by the E.C. we would have had the organisers elected by now. The onus for the situation rests upon the E.C. But the difficulty still remains and a way out must be found without allowing more power to the E.C. We desire a contrary policy, i.e. more power to the Shop Stewards.

The inference that could be drawn from the article accusing the E.C. of supporting IA(a) is incorrect. Although Tanner supported IA(a) when it was introduced, he later changed his mind under pressure, and now speaks against it.

Lastly, the whole tone of Tanner's speech was for state control over industry and for the participation of the Union in such control. He also stated that only a Labour Government would guarantee fair working of the controls. But he did not demand the expropriation of the bosses without compensation, without which state control would not only not benefit the workers, but would be detrimental to their interests and act only in the interests of the employers, even if a Labour Government were nominally in control.

But we are to fold our hands and wait patiently until election times come, and then wait for Bevin and Morrison and Attlee to deal with the pressing problems of the engineers? It is impossible to overestimate the importance of political action—but political action cannot be offered as a substitute for industrial action. The fight for a Labour government cannot be a mere ballot box affair, but must be the integral part of a mass struggle which has to be waged in every factory and workshop for shorter hours, higher wages, for work and full maintenance. Only through such comprehensive struggle can the engineers deal with the terrible threat of mass unemployment. It was the hope of getting such a lead from the President of the Union which drew a large crowd to the Holborn Hall. But the lead was not forthcoming.

Lastly, the whole tone of Tanner's speech was for planning—that the richness of productive methods made employment and plenty for all possible—that only a Labour Government would guarantee fair working of the controls.

(Continued next column.)

34/6 A DAY FOR N.U.R. BOSSES

BY SID BIDWELL

At the Special General Meeting of the N.U.R. to be held in November, two outstanding items will occupy most of the 90 odd delegates' attention. They will be considering the draft of a new programme which, if adopted, will become a charter for rail workers. They have, also, to accept or reject an E.C. proposal to establish two scales of Union contributions which involve an increase of 1d. per week per member on the General Fund.

In the case of the former item discussions in the Branches, District Councils and National Grade Conferences have been reaching fever heat. The Union's Annual Conference held in July last, threw out the E.C.'s programme as being inadequate to meet the desires of half a million rail workers. As a result a special committee was set up consisting of E.C. members and Annual Meeting representatives on a departmental basis.

The document drafted by the Committee has been thoroughly discussed by the Branches. In many cases special meetings have been called by Branches up and down the country to consider it.

The document's proposals concerning wage rates seek to keep all adults within the orbit of a £4 10s. minimum and a £6 maximum. The major criticisms made so far, are that the rates mentioned are based upon pre-war prices and cannot be considered adequate in the present period. As promotion in the industry is rigidly departmentalised and grades are placed in groups, a justifiable demand is being made that all grades shall have the right to aspire to an equal maximum.

It is therefore, anticipated, that at the Special Meeting the chief proposals of those seeking amendments will be along the lines outlined above.

PROPOSED INCREASE IN CONTRIBUTIONS

By no means of less importance is the E.C.'s proposal to increase members' contributions. They are proposing two scales i.e. 8d. and 1/- . At the present time, membership of the various benevolent funds is optional, and the General Fund is 5d. per week. They now want to make it 7d. on the G.F.

It is pointed out that the existing scale of contributions is the lowest of all Trade Unions, but, it must be borne in mind, so are the wage rates of the workers in the industry. In introducing their proposals, the E.C. talks of the necessity of preparing for the future, and hints at coming fights when a large bank balance will be required. At the Conference the E.C. spokesmen will, no doubt, link the programme with the need for increased contributions.

34/6 A DAY FOR OFFICIALS

As we have stated hitherto, the volume of antagonism on the part of the rank and file members to the headquarters squandering which goes on, is tremendous. The fat salaries of the officials as compared with the shocking wage rates on the railways, is a subject for discussion in every signal box, and mess-room. If a vote of the members should be taken, we are sure, 75 per cent would be in favour of an immediate reduction of salaries and the introduction of a method whereby T.U. representatives would get actual expenses and not a flat rate payment irrespective of expenses as they do now.

To crown it all, at the September meeting of the E.C. a decision was carried increasing the official's payment by 5s. per day, making the present rate 34/6d. per day. Some A.G.M. delegates will seek to justify this on the grounds that Hotel expenses have increased. This is quite true, but what prevents the representatives from lodging with rail workers, as delegates to the National Grade Conferences have to do for the most part?

It is well known that a representative whose home is in the vicinity of the meeting makes a handsome profit on this flat rate system of payment. The position is disgusting when we consider the finances of the N.U.R. are made up from contributions made at sacrifice from platelayers and porters, whose basic wage rate in the industrial and rural areas is less than 50s. a week with war wage increases added.

To this we reply that only a Labour Government pledged to socialist measures of nationalisation without compensation, with Workers Control of production, would mean the elimination of the capitalists and their system with its inevitable slump and boom—mostly slump.

The end of the article dealing with unity, etc. was correct. The publication of this criticism, which is in the democratic tradition of the working class movement and the best demonstration of the democracy enjoyed by our organisation and its members. I hope this will be appreciated by our brothers and comrades in the working class who have raised criticisms of the article.

We stand four square for the A.E.U., and oppose any attempt to injure it; we are against splits; against tearing up of cards, and for a struggle in the union for the militants to educate themselves up to the ability to run for positions in the A.E.U., and the replacing of the present reformist leadership by one that will follow a militant policy of struggle against the bosses and for socialism.

Yours fraternally,
Jim Piper.

FOR A MILITANT FIGHTING FUND

To be sure, it is necessary to build up a fighting fund which will sustain the workers when they are on strike. But the members want to know if this is what it is actually required for. If it is, so then let us commence a fighting fund obligatory upon all members—a fund which cannot be touched by the squanderbugs of headquarters.

What is most imperative at the moment, is that the members who realise the position and know that a show down between the rank and file and the leadership is coming fast, should get together, draw up a programme of simple demands to propagate inside the Branches and District Councils.

Whether the reckoning with the leadership results in wholesale tearing up of cards—and we have had symptoms of this already—or whether the Bensteads and Watsons will be ousted to make room for a leadership fresh from the industry, depends upon the co-ordination of militant activity. The former picture would be disastrous and would only facilitate the coming attacks of the employers and their government.

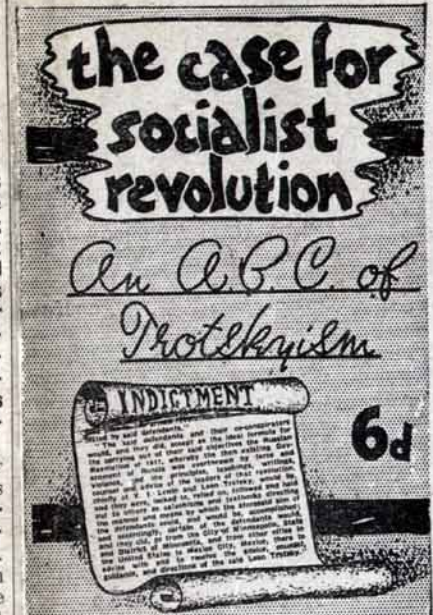
The Union is the property of 405,000 members who, for the most part, have allowed their organisation to degenerate under a bureaucratic leadership thoroughly immersed in smug self-satisfaction and willing apostles of boss ridden arbitration machinery.

Long hours of duty and continual Sunday work in the first two or three years of the war resulted in a sharp decline in Branch attendances. There are now signs of greater Branch attendances with an influx of new and younger blood which, if it continues, bodes ill for the bureaucrats.

E.C. members and A.G.M. representatives cannot hold their positions for more than three years. This principle should be applied to the General Secretary and his Assistants. If salaries were scaled down, instead of being presented with a long list of candidates, we would have a considerably shortened list, but we would know they would be the most sincere workers setting out to serve their fellow workers and not only themselves.

The problem of cleaning the N.U.R. is inseparably linked with the need for rejuvenating the whole Labour Movement, capturing it for the membership and turning it into a fighting instrument on behalf of the working class.

These are most urgent questions if we are to end, once and for all, the capitalist system which breeds poverty, fascism, unemployment and war.



WHAT ARE WE TO DO?

Question to Trade Unionists

BY JOCK MILLIGAN

Many workers in Trade Unions are tearing up their cards. Attendance at some Branch meetings is smaller than ever before. Many militants with years of activity to their credit; with a devotion to the economic struggle of their class which has earned them the respect of their fellow workers and the enmity of the boss are becoming disillusioned. "What can we do?" they ask. Our leaders are too busy looking after the interests of the employers to bother about us.

Examine the role of Bevin since he became Minister of Labour especially the reasons he gave for introducing that vicious and pernicious Regulation IA(a), also that other piece of anti-working class legislation dealing with those young lads (commonly known as the Bevin boys) who are condemned for life to go down the pits; whether they like it or not. Nationalisation of the workers for the mines, not nationalisation of the mines for the workers.

However, Bevin does not stand alone. The Tanners, Hicks, Lawthers, Marchmonts, etc., not forgetting Sir Walter Citrine, have indeed served our employers well. Yes, the capitalist lackeys have got such a control over the organisations we and our fathers before us fought for, and suffered to build; that it is now an instrument that hinders, rather than advances our cause.

"What can we do?" The leaders won't stand for strikes at any cost, no matter what the provocation from the employers and the justice of the workers' case. Although they know that the workers only strike as a last resort when there is no other remedy. (It's unpatriotic, they say). If we take unofficial strike action they do everything to suppress us. We get no notice pay, our best shop stewards have their credentials taken from them, and we are sometimes expelled from the union. The leaders won't negotiate until we return to work. Then negotiations are so long drawn out that before a settlement is reached, the real issues are lost sight of.

"Yes, what can we do?" Let's not minimise any of the difficulties before we tackle their solution. We are in an imperialist war, and while the military General Staff may be launching a big offensive on the Western front, their other General Staff, the bosses and the Government are launching their offensive attacking the workers everywhere.

This attack is going to be intensified and our trade union leadership is going to sell out more and more. Therefore the workers now, more than ever before, need their mass organisations, every serious trade unionist now, more than ever before, must put his back into the work of building them.

The new struggles, like the former struggles, will take place in spite of the union bureaucrats efforts at sabotage.

The British trade unionists will sooner or later come to recognise the union bureaucrats for what they are, and will come up against the burning task of replacing them. The most class conscious militants now should be ever more urgently organising to grasp the great union machines from the hands of the bureaucracy. One can understand a certain disillusionment on the part of the rank and file trade unionists. But these tendencies must be resolutely fought. In this era of extreme social unrest, the Unions must serve the workers in the conflict with the bosses. And this means that the union machines must be turned into uncompromising opponents of capitalism. These great national working class organisations must be seized from the hands of the boss class servants, the bureaucrats, and put into the service of the masses who built them. If the union militants fail to perform this task, the coming struggles of the

workers will be sold out by the agents of the boss class in high places in the unions. Most union militants and revolutionary shop stewards appreciate the necessity of the task. Those who toy with the ideas of ignoring the union machinery or turning away from it into purely shop or ad hoc organisations must be convinced of the need to make their voices heard in the Union. We have a powerful weapon in the shop stewards committees. Historically on a higher level of working class organisation than the unions, the two supplement each other. The functions of the shop committees exceed the functions of normal union activity. The question of workers' control, is constantly present in the activities of shop committees. But the shop committees must make the union in their own image, must drive to make the local union and national union organisations follow a militant policy.

During the last war the paralysis of the official trade union movement gave rise to the Shop Stewards Movement. Elected by all the workers on the job, irrespective of craft or of trade union membership, they created a hundred per cent class counterweight to the will of the union bureaucrats.

Trade Unions normally embrace no more than 20 to 25 per cent of the working class, and that, predominantly, the more skilled and better paid layer. This organisation, based on the branch, does not give direct representation in negotiations between workers and employers, but indirect representation through the cumbersome district and national committees. Factory organisation as against branch organisation, breaks down the barrier of craft, of the distinction between skilled and unskilled workers and the antagonism between trade unionists and unorganised sections of the workers. Their united demands, conveyed by worker delegates, elected and controlled by all the factory workers, assumed an imperative force that could not be easily side-tracked by the boss or the trade union bureaucrat. Nevertheless the Shop Stewards Committee (or Works Committee, the name is unimportant) fought for a hundred per cent trade unionism. They thus carried the fight directly against their own reactionary leadership; made use of the National Organisation; fought for strike and victimisation pay, etc., and ensured that after the war period and the awakening of the spontaneous movement, a strong trade union organisation would remain.

Just as the development of large scale machine manufacture drew scores of trades and crafts into one gigantic enterprise and gave production a social character, so must the industrial workers' organisations correspond to this development. The Factory or Workers' Committee is the form of organisation that serves this purpose best. The Trade Union bureaucrats, in line with their general conduct, will resist the creation of these committees as they resist every bold step along the road of mobilising the masses. However, as the movement sweeps on, their resistance will be partly broken.

The employers, backed by the Government, have launched their offensive. They succeed only to the extent that we are disorganised. Wage slavery rests upon the disunity and competition between the workers contending for their mouthful of bread.

Close the ranks! Attend your Branch meetings! Strengthen the Trade Unions; weaken the stranglehold of the bureaucrats! Fight in your trade union branch and factory, or works depot for the creation of real democratic fighting union leadership and that all T.U. officials should receive no other wage than that enjoyed by a first class Tradesman in their respective trades, irrespective of their position in the Union.

Belfast "Young Christian Workers"

BY J. HANNA

The attention of the political world in Northern Ireland has once again been focussed on the Falls Road area of Belfast. The ever-present problem facing the workers' movement, that is the misplaced outlet for the militant feelings of the young nationalist workers, has again been brought to the forefront.

During a drive for election popularity by the Stalinists late in September, two meetings held by them on the Falls Road, were smashed up by demonstrations of the "Young Christian Workers"—an organisation of young Catholics. Disturbances, such as the loud beating of dust bin lids, and the singing of Catholic hymns, forced the abandonment of the meetings within fifteen minutes of the start.

The demonstrations of the Young Christian Workers resemble the actions of the Unionist thugs at meetings before 1939 when the police only intervened after the damage had been done—a sinister parallel for militant young nationalists.

The Young Christian Workers is the offspring of the Catholic Church—the arm with which it hopes to smite any turn towards Communism. It has international connections in many countries in Europe, being founded in Belgium in 1914. It has "militant" slogans such as: "Youth demands it, Christ commands it—Workers, we must conquer!" and "Deeds not words." Its paper in Ireland, "New Youth" published every two months, has many

Labour Party. They can only help to drive these young militants into the hands of reaction.

This movement is similar to the unionist and Orange movements. It must be branded as being just as reactionary.

The main problem in Ulster is to achieve the unity of the "Orange" workers with the "Catholic" workers against their common enemy—British and Irish capitalism. The whole aim of the capitalists, both Protestant and Catholic is to divide and split the workers by sectarian issues and thus retain the control in their own hands. They succeed in doing this by pitting and inciting the workers against each other by religious means. It is for this reason that the Catholic minority is persecuted. But the Protestant workers can only achieve their emancipation by the support of the nationalist minority. The Nationalist problem can only be solved by the support the Catholic workers receive in their struggle against discrimination and persecution from the ranks of the Protestant workers.

Neither "good neighbourliness" with De Valera, nor support for Brooke can attract the militant nationalist workers. They look for a programme of power to the workers, for the breaking of the chains of capitalism, and for the achievement of a workers' Ireland federated to a Socialist United States of Europe. They can achieve this only under the banner of the Irish Section of the Fourth International,

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International. 256 HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2. Phone: CUN 2526. EDITOR: E. Grant. BUSINESS MANAGER: J. Graham.

Russian Revolution 27 YEARS

THIS NOVEMBER MARKS THE 27th ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. (ACCORDING TO THE OLD RUSSIAN CALENDAR IT TOOK PLACE ON OCTOBER 25th—ACCORDING TO THE WESTERN CALENDAR, THE 5th OF NOVEMBER.) THIS IS A DATE WHICH WILL BE REMEMBERED FOREVER IN THE MEMORY OF MANKIND AS MARKING THE GREATEST STEP FORWARD IN HUMAN PROGRESS. THAT THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION HAS ENDURED FOR 27 YEARS IS A WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENT IN ITSELF. THE REGIME HAS SURVIVED TESTS THAT WOULD HAVE LED TO THE DOWNFALL OF ANY OTHER FORM OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION. YET IN SPITE OF CIVIL WAR, INTERVENTION, FAMINE, AND NOW WAR AGAIN, THE SOVIET UNION STILL STANDS.

Today the Stalinists try to portray the Russian Revolution as a purely national phenomenon; as a purely national achievement of the Russian people. But the Soviet Union was and is a part of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class on a world scale. 27 years ago when the Russian workers and soldiers stormed the Winter Palace of the Czars and brought down an empire which had endured a thousand years, it was not primarily as a national force, but as the vanguard of the struggle of the world working class to overthrow capitalism.

Time and again, Lenin, Trotsky, and other Bolshevik leaders emphasised their solidarity and dependence upon the working class of the whole world. The workers and soldiers who carried through the revolution did not do it as an isolated national phenomenon. They knew that Russia was at war and suffering tremendous defeats and that without the support of the world working class they would be lost. Immediately the Bolsheviks took power, Lenin broadcast an appeal to the workers of the world for support. Without it, it would have been impossible for the Soviet Union to survive the first difficult years, at a time when the Soviet Union was weakest. And the Russian Revolution did gain the aid which was confidently anticipated by Lenin and Trotsky. The masses throughout Europe and the world were thoroughly sickened with the slaughter of the chauvinism and hatred that was systematically being fostered by the criminals who stood to gain out of the fratricidal conflict.

Instead of pitting nation against nation; race against race; worker against worker, a new hope dawned for the tortured peoples of the world. The enslaved coolies in China, the ryot in India, the backward tribesmen of Africa and above all, the advanced workers of Europe enthusiastically and instinctively greeted an event which offered a way out of the shackles of capitalist enslavement. Here was a message which transcended all national frontiers with its message of class solidarity, of hope for the oppressed and downtrodden masses of all humanity. The Russian Revolution brought not only a message of hope, but as important, a message of hate for the bloodstained capitalists, "statesmen," and priests who battered on the misery of the people.

The whole world shook at the impact. The capitalists of all lands trembled with fright as they felt the ground shake beneath their feet. Churchill, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Wilson—all were paralysed by the sweep of the revolutionary wave which was stirred into action throughout Europe and Asia by the Russian Revolution. Churchill and Lloyd George have admitted that at the Peace Conferences, the possibility of a Bolshevik Europe was seriously taken into account by these representatives of the old order. In a frenzy of hate and fear, for three years they waged war with Winston Churchill in the van, against the young Soviet Republic. A campaign of slander and vilification was launched against Lenin and Trotsky as "German agents," as mass murderers, as satanic rapers of women, of everything that was beastly and vile in mankind. No lie was too incredible. No vituperation too base for them to use against a state which proudly proclaimed itself as the Citadel of the World Working Class.

But all their attempts were in vain. Owing to the internationalist policy of Lenin and Trotsky, the weak forces of a backward country exhausted and bled more than any other in the first world war, survived the assault of the combined capitalist forces of the whole of the rest of the world. In spite of the fact that the crimes of the interventionists—German, British, Japanese and American—were as black as those of the Nazis, Lenin and Trotsky systematically differentiated between the workers and the capitalists. In the battle against the British forces of intervention, Trotsky as Commander in Chief of the Red Army, issued the following order to the army and navy on October 24th, 1919:

"But even today, when we are engaged in a bitter fight with Yudenich, the hiring of England, I demand that you never forget that there are two Englands. Besides the England of profits, of violence, bribery, and bloodthirstiness, there is the England of labour, of spiritual power, of high ideals of international solidarity. It is the base and dishonest England of the Stock Exchange manipulators that is fighting us."

Those were the greatest days of the Russian Revolution. Those were the foundations upon which the Soviet State were built. Without such a policy there could never have been a revolution and a Soviet Union.

It was primarily by ideological, not material means, that the struggle was waged successfully. It saved the revolution from the hands of Churchill and the White Guard interventionists. But by 1920, owing to the destruction wrought by the armies of intervention, Russia was reduced to a state of economic collapse. Her industry amounted in 1920 to only 10 per cent of that before the war!

Yet look at what has been achieved today from the level to which Russia was reduced! The Russian workers held on in the hope of aid from the West. But the revolution in Europe was defeated... or rather betrayed by the Labour leaders of Europe. Thus, taking advantage of Russia's isolation, of the weariness of the masses, Stalin and the bureaucracy usurped the control. For the first time there was introduced the reactionary utopia "Socialism in one country". Trotsky foresaw this development, but owing to the defeats in other countries could not prevent it. Even so, the struggle which Trotsky and the internationalists waged was not without its fruit. While inflexibly opposing this revision of Leninism, it was Trotsky and his followers who proposed the Five Year Plans of industrial development which became Russia's salvation in the present war. Stalin and the ruling clique fought against what they termed, this "super industrialism". As late as April 1927 Stalin asserted at a Plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, that to attempt to build the Dnieperstroy hydro-electric station, would be the same thing for Russia as for a peasant to buy a gramophone instead of a cow. But in spite of himself Stalin was compelled to adopt Trotsky's programme (even though in a caricatured form) after he was expelled in 1927 for among other things, advocating the Five Year Plan!

The Five Year planning in peace and the successes of the military struggle in the war against Hitler, have established the superiority of nationalised property and planned economy over the anarchy and chaos of private property under capitalism. This basic conquest still remains, and that is why the Fourth International still stands unconditionally for the defence of the Soviet Union against all the imperialists. But the Soviet Union has developed far from the state which was created by Lenin and Trotsky. Its government has become a loathsome caricature of all the ideals of socialism. Not a single one of the conditions which Lenin laid down for the setting up of a workers' state, let alone socialism, are in existence at the present time. In "State and Revolution" Lenin laid down "measures analysed in detail by Marx and Engels:

- 1. Not only election but recall at any time of the Soviets);
2. Payment no higher than the wages of a worker;
3. Immediate transition to a regime in which ALL will fulfil the functions of control and supervision so that ALL may for a time become 'bureaucrats', and therefore NOBODY can become a bureaucrat.

This is the first step with which "we should and must begin upon achieving a proletarian revolution."

Not one of these conditions exist today. The Soviets have been abolished, and in their place a "parliament" to which only one candidate can be nominated in each constituency! This converts elections into a farce and an insult to the masses. Not only is there no real control over the so-called representatives, but there is no longer any real election. As an example, some dozens of deputies were shot in the purge, without trial, yet new representatives mysteriously appeared without any new election.

Instead of the officials receiving a wage no higher than that of an ordinary worker in order to guard against corruption and degeneration, today a Russian bureaucrat can earn a thousand times more than an ordinary worker. In fact, the bureaucrats consume as much of the national income in proportion as the capitalists do in the West. Far from the workers having control over the managers, it is the managers who control the workers. The law introduced by Lenin and Trotsky that no officials of the state must receive a wage higher than that of an ordinary worker has long since been abolished under the Stalin regime.

While Lenin and Trotsky lived under conditions of Spartan simplicity, the top bureaucrats of today squander and live like Byzantine emperors. The newspapers, more cautious on Churchill's second trip because of the reactions of the workers, had revealed the menu of Stalin and the bureaucrats at a time when the

Continued on page 4

CRISIS IN BELGIUM

BY E. BONNE

After some weeks of Allied occupation of Belgium, the exhilaration of the first few days of "liberation" has vanished. For the mass of the population, the main problem is once again—and more than ever—how to maintain a bare existence?

All means of transport and communication have collapsed and the food situation is acute. For the first time since the beginning of the war, Brussels has been without bread for nearly two weeks; for nearly a month the people in the capital have had neither coal nor gas, which means that they have no means of cooking whatsoever.

The British capitalist press has made great play of the fact that the Belgian Government, headed by Pierlot, was the first of the Allied Governments established in London to return to its country, and to be received there as the legally and unanimously recognised government. In fact, it took the Belgian capitalist class a fortnight of cautious consideration and sordid haggling, before the new Pierlot government could be constituted.

After some flirtation with the idea of choosing an ultra-reactionary "strong" man for the job of Prime Minister of a country which is obviously faced with severe social convulsions, Pierlot was retained as Prime Minister solely because he was the only personality the various parties could be made to agree upon.

The newly constituted cabinet comprises:

- 6 Catholics
5 Socialists
3 Liberals
2 Communists
1 Representative of the Resistance Movement.

The Catholics hold the most important posts—Prime Minister, Finance, Interior and Justice. The Socialists, with Spaak remaining Minister of Foreign Affairs, have taken upon themselves the load of all the labour and social affairs, food supply and communications ministries. The Liberal, appointed as Minister of Economy, is a well-known industrialist from Liege. The representative of the Resistance Movement is, curiously enough, a

Catholic! The "Communists", as recognition for their participation in the capitalist government, have been granted posts of... Public Health and Minister without Portfolio. The set-up is an essentially conservative and reactionary one. The relation of forces between the various tendencies has been assumed to have undergone no changes since 1939, and the "will of the country" as expressed by the clandestine organisations during the four years of occupation, has been systematically ignored. On this basis the Government naively hopes to be able to "govern".

So far it has taken a number of preparatory measures, such as attempting to incorporate a small number of members of the resistance movement individually into the army as volunteers and dissolving the rest of the organisation forbidding the carrying of arms except by members of recognised organisations detailed to assist the police force. It has also decided to issue a new currency and withdraw that now in circulation, which will be exchanged on the basis of a franc for a franc up to a certain figure. Exceptions, are, however, foreseen, especially in the case of "persons handling large sums of money in the normal run of business."

But none of these measures have sufficed to pacify the masses. Great

LESSONS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND GERMANY — WHAT NEXT? PUBLIC MEETING Monday, 6th November, CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE. Speakers: JOCK HASTON, TED GRANT Questions and Discussion

Lenin and Trotsky, 1918



"The inspirer of the revolution from beginning to end was the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Lenin. Vladimir Ilych was then living in Petrograd in a conspirative apartment in the Vyborg district. On the evening of October 24th, he was summoned to Smolny for the general leadership of the movement. All the work of practical organisation of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the skilful direction of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and first of all to Comrade Trotsky."

— Stalin, in "Pravda", 6th November, 1918.

ITALY "LIBERATED"

BY ROSE CARSON

While the great bulk of the Italian workers are still struggling against German imperialism in the North of Italy, the real meaning of what Anglo-American "liberation" signifies for the mass of the people is becoming clear.

Will Lawther, President of the National Union of Mineworkers, who recently returned from a tour of "liberated" cities and villages in Italy, reported that the degree of unemployment, starvation and disease prevalent in the "liberated" territory is "beyond description."

Official rationing provides less than half the quantity of food necessary to maintain even the barest minimum standard of health. Supplementary food must therefore be bought on the free market of unrationed foodstuffs or the black market. Lawther explains that in spite of the stabilisation of the Italian lire at 400 to the £ sterling and 100 to the dollar, money has no real meaning, since the majority of the people are without normal employment. There are 20,000 in Rome alone wholly unemployed. Those who have jobs earn between 50 and 150 lira per day.

Lawther gives a few examples which illustrate the conditions "liberation" has imposed upon the Italian people. "A modest meal in a first-class restaurant costs between 100 and 200 lira (more than employed workers earn in a week). Olive oil, an important commodity for Italian feeding, cost 4 lira (approximately a quart when available and rationed) and black market prices range from 50 lira (Bari) to 550 (Rome).

A pair of leather shoes cost between 3,500 and 4,500 lira. If we compare these prices with the 50 to 150 lira daily earnings of the average workers—Civil Servants, Judges, Carabinieri and Police are paid less—one realises how much any real basis for social life is lacking.

"OCCUPATION" FOR THE WEALTHY

While the masses are beginning to recognise that imperialist "liberation" means a continuation of oppression, hunger, inflation, and the black market, the capitalist landlords and aristocrats view the "occupation" quite differently. These erstwhile fascists and supporters of fascism, parading today as respectable and "sincere monarchists" preservers of "law and order," against unscrupulous "parties seeking power" see in the Allied bayonets the only guarantee of the existing social order, that is, the continuation of their power and privilege.

On the 28th September the "Daily Mail" correspondent Edwin Tetlow cabled the following from Rome:

"You would have to go a long way here in Rome today to find any non-Italian who would not agree that if the war ended tomorrow and the Allies went home, Italy would be in the throes of revolution and civil war inside a week."

strikes have broken out, completely paralysing industry in at least two of the most industrial areas of the country—the Charleroi and Liege district. The strikers came out for an increase in pay and allowances. In spite of appeals, the Belgian workers in these districts have firmly refused to resume work until they are given satisfactory wage rates to meet the high cost of living.

According to the "Manchester Guardian's" Brussels correspondent:

"At one time so extensive did the strike at Charleroi become that it was feared that the pumping crews would come out and that mines would be flooded. The intervention of the Allied Civil Affairs authorities has prevented this, but there is still no sign of coalmining being resumed."

The Government has decreed a general increase in wages of 60 per cent, but this increase calculated on the basis of pre-war rates, is blatantly insufficient to meet the rise in the cost of living, and the general increases already granted under the German occupation.

Belgian trade union bureaucrats, who had taken refuge in Great Britain during the war, have been hurriedly rushed back to Belgium in a specially chartered plane, in the hope that they might be able to "re-establish law and order", as they usually managed to do in the good old pre-war days. But the exiled reformists are reporting back that the trade union situation is "very bad" (for them!) and that they by no means have the situation "in hand."

The reason for this is clear. For more than 4 years the Belgian workers have had to rely upon clandestine trade unions and illegal factory or pit committees, and through these, they have managed to wrest concessions even from the German occupation authorities. At present they are showing no enthusiasm whatsoever to return to the old bureaucratically controlled unions which the former reformist leaders are attempting to re-establish. The workers intend to have militant fighting organisations, directed by militant fighting leaders. They have undergone the experience of being betrayed and abandoned by the leaders of the organisations they built up.

The "Manchester Guardian" correspondent concludes his description on the situation in Charleroi:

"Now there is conflict between the old unions and the new underground ones, a conflict made worse by a good deal of agitation conducted on old fashioned Trotskyist lines which has done so much harm to the situation that it is difficult to believe that it is not inspired by Fifth Columnists."

Even before the war, the Charleroi workers used to turn for leadership to the Trotskyist Party, the Belgian Revolutionary Communist Party (P.C.R.)—then called the Revolutionary Socialist Party, whose main strength lay in the Charleroi region.

We hail the fact that today, at the first signs of revival of the labour movement, our Belgian comrades are in the forefront of the struggle, in spite of the sad losses they have suffered at the hands of the Nazi oppression, and particularly in spite of the loss of the Charleroi leader, Leon Lesoil—killed in a German concentration camp.

The accusation of "Fifth Column" activity is the usual last argument of the capitalist class of all countries, when faced with any large scale movement which threatens the basis of capitalist rule. If they use this slander in Belgium itself, it is hardly likely to impress the workers, who have seen these same comrades, "fifth columnist Trotskyists" resisting the Nazi oppression, and who are today vainly demanding the tracking down and punishment of the real "collaborators"—the big industrialists who drew large profits from their collaboration with the German capitalists at the expense of the Belgian working class, and who at present rule the country under the protection of the Allies.

BREAK THE COALITION!

Labour to Power

on the following Programme 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:—

Industrial and Economic Policy.

- 1. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation, as the prerequisite for a planned economy and the only means of ensuring full employment with adequate standards of living for the workers, and the operation of the means of production under control of workers committees.
2. Confiscation of all war profits, all company books to be open for trade union inspection, control of production through workers' committees to end the chaos and mismanagement.
3. Distribution of food, clothes and other consumer commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the Co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives' committees, and small shopkeepers, and allocation of housing under the control of tenants' committees.
4. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum; the rate for the job; and industrial rates for all members of the armed forces.

Democratic Demands

- 5. Repeal of the Essential Works Order, the Emergency Powers Act and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking legislation.
6. Full electoral and democratic rights for all persons from the age of 18 years. Full democratic and political rights for the men and women in uniform.
7. Immediate freedom and unconditional independence for India, Ireland and all the colonies of Britain; immediate withdrawal of British armed forces from these countries; full economic and military assistance to the Indian and colonial peoples to maintain their independence against all imperialist attack.

Military Policy

- 8. Clear out the reactionary, pro-fascist, and anti-labour officer caste in the armed forces and Home Guard; election of officers by the ranks.
9. Establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of workers-officers; arming of the workers under the control of workers' committees elected in the factories, unions and in the streets for the defence of the democratic rights of the workers from reactionary attacks by the enemies of the working class at home and abroad.

International Policy

- 10. Against race hatred and discrimination of all forms (Vansittartism, Anti-Semitism, and the Colour Bar); for the fraternisation and co-operation of workers and soldiers of all countries.
11. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; despatch of arms, food and essential materials to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany, Europe, Japan, and the rest of the world, on the basis of this programme in Britain, to join the socialist struggle against Nazism, Fascism and all forms of capitalist oppression and for a Socialist United States of Europe and a Federation of Asiatic Soviet Socialist Republics.

"She is in a dangerous state of suppressed turmoil already."

However, this opinion that Italy is on the verge of revolution is not only the opinion of non-Italians. The "New York Herald Tribune" of June 16th gives a report of some enlightening conversations with Italian business men.

"A large part of Italy's population especially business men and others with property, are fearful of what may happen when the country is given back to the Italians. Some think Italy will go Communist, some think there will be Civil War some think the people will founder for lack of leadership. Some Italians are saying the present Bonomi Government is a Kerensky Government which will lead to Communism. One Rome business man said: 'The Allies ought to stay here and govern the country for five years. How can a people with so little training in governing themselves take over the most difficult reconstruction job in history?' And then he said: 'I'm afraid that as soon as the war is over America will go isolationist again, and the British will pull out too, then there is almost sure to be Civil War and Communism.'"

This clear-sighted estimation of the revolutionary situation in Italy and the open confession of impotence by "the Italian business men" is a resounding

reply to traitors, like the Stalinists who attempted to rescue the reactionary Badoglio regime, and now prepare to deceive and betray the Italian masses again. When the "business men" refer to the certainty of civil war and Communism, they demonstrate the futility of Stalinist collaboration, and its moves to hold back the tide of social revolution which alone can truly "liberate" Italy.

Furthermore the fears expressed by the "business men", that a withdrawal from Italy of Anglo-American troops would certainly be followed by Civil War and Communism, show their recognition of Allied occupation as the spearhead of the counter revolution. This fact has been understood and gleefully accepted by the impotent, decadent ruling class of Italy, it is also being pounded home to the masses at every turn in the situation.

"A.M.G.'s" AIMS

In a report from the Associated Press of December 19th, 1943, we have some frank avowals of what A.M.G. does not intend to do. General Hume, A.M.G.'s military commander told the A.P. correspondent that: "A.M.G.'s task in Italy is not to squash fascism."

The truth of this assertion has been amply underlined by the continued toleration of fascists in the A.M.G. administration, and most specifically by the class solidarity of the A.M.G. officials with the reactionary Roman

(Continued on back page)

T.U.C. HELPS GOEBBELS

9 MINERS FINED

Why Should German Workers Listen to

(Continued from page 1).

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

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

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

BETRAYAL OF SOCIALISM

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

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

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

GOEBBELS GRATEFUL TO T.U.C. BOSSES

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

REVOLTS IN GERMANY

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

Labour Bureaucrats ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The "Telegraph" of the same day reports:

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

WHY SHOULD GERMAN WORKERS TRUST BRITISH LABOUR LEADERS ?

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

Russian Revolution

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Hitler repeated once again his claim that the war was thrust upon him by Britain. Against this historical fact there is no reply. Britain declared war, not Germany. Attempts were made to end the war, but the Soviet-German peace overtures were rejected by Britain. All through these months the British and French Governments have had the power to end the war. They have chosen to extend it . . . War should never have been declared on September 3, there SHOULD HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE TALKS."

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

Citrine is a good barricade fighter. The "Daily Herald" editorial on the T.U.C. remarked that the German people must be sternly dealt with—they "quailed" at the barricades. But Citrine too, must hope that the masses have short memories. Do you remember Citrine, the T.U.C. Conference of 1933? Do you think you were speaking in the name of the British workers when you, at Brighton in 1933, said:

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

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

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

THEY FEAR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

Socialist workers! Do not listen to Citrine.

Communist workers! Do not be fooled by Pollitt.

REBUILD A SOCIALIST EUROPE

Remember the teachings of the great socialist teachers.

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

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

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

ITALY 'LIBERATED'

(Continued from page 3)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

400 WELSH MINERS STRIKE

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

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

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

Dockers' Lock-out

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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