

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Formerly "Youth for Socialism"

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## RIGHT WING TORIES FEAR Our Programme

By TED GRANT

THE ATTACK ON THE "SOCIALIST APPEAL" LAST MONTH BY THE ENTIRE NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL PRESS, THE RIGHT WING TORIES, THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE LIBERALS, THE MINERS' MISLEADERS—WAS LAUNCHED WITH ONE OBJECT—TO GET THE "SOCIALIST APPEAL" SUPPRESSED.

SO farcical were the charges, so irresponsible were the allegations of the miners' officials, that the campaign collapsed—for the moment. But this is by no means the end of the matter. It serves as a warning of the most serious nature to the entire working class.

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

By ANDREW SCOTT

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

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

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

### New Hope for India

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

In this the question of leadership forces itself forward insistently as the key to the situation. The type of leadership provided by Gandhi and Congress and the attitude to this leadership of a section of the British ruling class is summed up by the "Daily Herald". Objecting to the arrest of Gandhi it states:

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

The crisis from below is pushing Congress towards measures, the very thought of which gives hideous nightmares of losing control of the mass movement. For the Indian masses no longer harbour the illusions they may have had in the past about the power of British imperialism. The events of Malaya, Burma and Hong Kong have not passed them unnoticed.

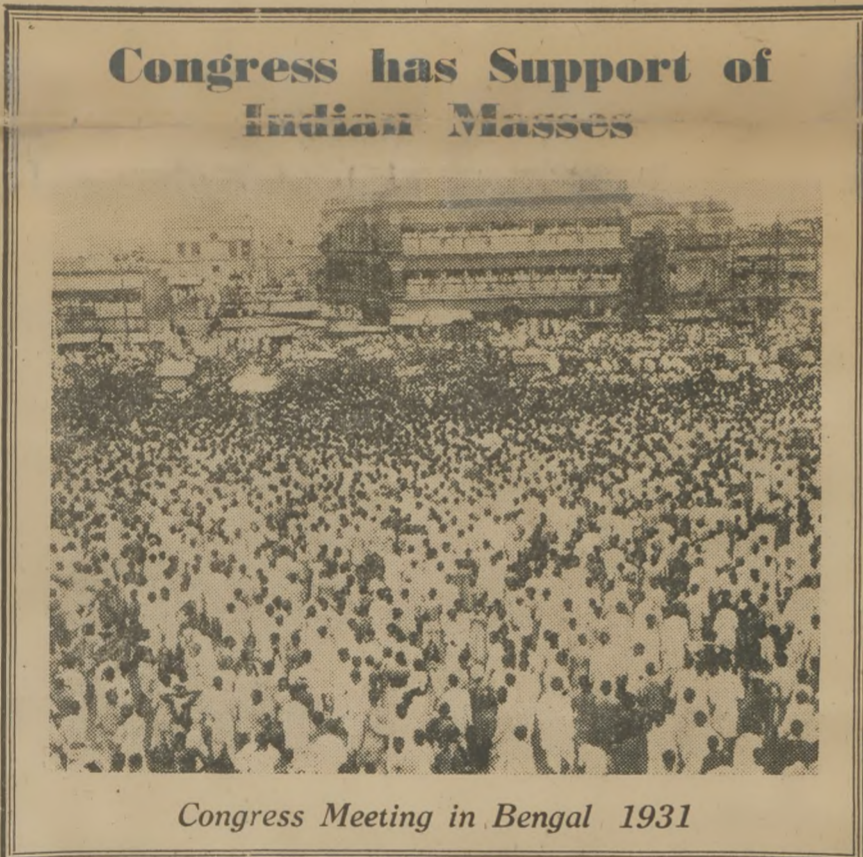
For 200 years they have suffered the occupation of their country; they have endured the indignities, poverties, and exploitation, the constant lowering of their already low standard of living that this has meant. But the "Herren-volk" has appeared strong, and have succeeded in retaining their hold by this appearance of strength.

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

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

In the first place, they were ordered into the war by Whitehall, without even the slightest semblance of consultation. And now it has meant that even rice, their staple diet, is on short supply to the extent of 2,100,000 tons.

On the basis of conditions no better than those of animals, of 200 years of ruthless exploitation, of being dragged into a war which is essentially that of their imperialist occupiers, of increased hunger and starvation—on the basis of this, the anger and determination of the Indian workers and peasants has mounted, until now the crisis has come.



Congress has Support of Indian Masses

Congress Meeting in Bengal 1931

### Arm the Indian Masses

The British Government has made every effort to demonstrate that the only effects of a mass movement in India will be to help Japan. They justify staying on by the necessity to defend India from occupation by Japan. But even Congress has been forced to point out that India could defend itself better without them. Even H. N. Brailsford has had to admit: "There is widespread doubt among Indians whether we can win this war and whether we have the ability to defend their country." Even if the British Government's claim to be only interested in keeping Japan out were true then they could do this most effectively by immediately giving India her freedom and by arming the Indian masses themselves. But, far from doing this, they have issued a statement expressly forbidding any such arming. The Times reported on August 3:

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

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

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

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

Enthusiasm was lacking in Burma and Malaya precisely because the masses there had nothing to fight for. Only a struggle in defence of a free India could raise enthusiasm in India. But still the imperialists cannot grant freedom, because it is principally for the continuation of their domination of India and the other colonial areas that they are fighting this war. Already the fringes of their Empire have gone, but if India is lost then the very heart and core has gone.

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### ON THE SECOND FRONT

As the great thunder of mechanised warfare rumbles on, because the war approaches not only its third anniversary but also its greatest crisis. With Allied conferences in Moscow, with hastily-called Nazi conferences in Berlin, with hostages being gathered and stored throughout the Hitler-occupied territories like any of the other munitions of war, the world waits with bated breath to see if Britain and America will launch their promised Second Front this year.

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

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

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

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### Trotsky Memorial Meeting

OUR PARTY IS OUR TRIBUTE  
SPEAKERS FROM LONDON, SCOTLAND, MIDLANDS AND LANCASHIRE

HOLBORN HALL  
Sunday, Aug. 23rd  
at 6.30 p.m.

### THE POWER OF THE PRESS



For it was not merely the "Socialist Appeal" that was under fire: it was the struggle of the miners for the betterment of their lot; it was the right to the working class to organise independently, to seek its own solution to the tremendous problems of today; to fight for power. This is what was being attacked. The "Socialist Appeal" bore the brunt because through it is expressed the true aspirations of the workers; through it is offered the road of independence and hope for the workers—and doom for the capitalist class...

The campaign in the Press went hand in hand with the campaign in Parliament. The Right Wing Tories advanced to the attack from every possible angle, paper supplies, personnel, internment under 18b, and suppression of the paper. These reactionaries who stand for the method of force and suppression against the working class at the present time gladly seized the opportunity of attacking the most conscious representatives of the working class. They are longing for the time when they will be able to use the methods of fascism in Britain. Today it is the Trotskyists, tomorrow it could be the I.L.P., and finally they would be after the scalps of Morrison, Bevin and the Labour leaders themselves. But at the moment they would have it seem that in this attack on the "Socialist Appeal" these ultra-reactionaries were motivated solely by their disinterested love for the Labour movement and the Soviet Union.

This new-found love for the organisations of the workers and the Soviet Union ill-befits them. The impudence of these people posing as friends of the Soviet Union against us when it was but yesterday that they were preparing for war against Russia at the behest of the American capitalists, have always fought and conspired

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## DURHAM MINERS GIVE LIE TO LAWYER

Rank and File Conference Demands Nationalisation  
Reported by Jock Haston

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

#### RESOLUTION:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part of the E.C. circular was couched

in the most self-laudatory and boastful phrases, provoking many caustic comments from the delegates who assembled at Ryhope.

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

"Despite the undoubted concessions in the Greenfield award," he said, "the cost of living had risen so rapidly as to largely negate the economic gains. Meanwhile, the conditions had very rapidly and badly deteriorated... at least one other thing had to be granted before the miners could feel the slightest sense of security, that was the complete nationalisation of the mines. While we are aware that nationalisation of the mines is not socialism, or all we would like it to be, we have got to recognise that it is a step in the right direction. In the event of a 'left wing Labour Government' coming into power it could be supplemented and strengthened by workers' control. Such a government would find it difficult to deny such a direct step forward as Workers' Control would represent."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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# AN OPEN LETTER to the Yorkshire Miners' Association

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

To the Secretary, Yorkshire Miners' Association, 2 Huddersfield Road, Barnsley, Yorks.

18th July, 1942.

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

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

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

1. "I am convinced in my own mind unrest in the coalfield has been fostered by subversive influences outside the miners' organisation."
2. "These influences are definitely subversive and pro-Nazi. Their object is to hinder production and thereby cripple the war effort."
3. "The effort to lead these boys away and to destroy their faith in the Trade Union movement has gone too far already."
4. "Young men between 25 and 30 were being paid £10 a week for distributing the "Socialist Appeal."

#### BAD CONDITIONS CAUSE STRIKES—NOT "SUBVERSIVE" PROPAGANDA

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

#### COAL OWNERS ARE THE REAL PRO-NAZIS

Mr. Hall's statement that our organisation and propaganda is "pro-Nazi" and "aims to hold up production" is a gross slander. We challenge Mr. Hall to prove that our sympathies and aims are in any way pro-Nazi. Our tendency has consistently fought fascism in every phase of its existence, nationally and internationally. We claim that only our programme can lead to the defeat of fascism in the Nazi or any other form. If Mr. Hall suggests that to continue the fight for the minimum demands of the miners and working peoples is "pro-Nazi"; or to demand from the miners' leaders a fight to implement the declared programme of the miners for the nationalisation and democratic control of the mines is "pro-Nazi", then he has travelled into the camp of the class enemy. He has consciously or unconsciously gone over to the aid of the coalowners. The real pro-Nazis in Britain are the coalowners who aided Hitler in his rise against the German workers; who today sabotage production in the interest of profits; who wish to introduce Nazi methods against the British working class; and whose extreme representatives, the right wing Tories, Mr. Churchill so recently exposed in Parliament, are even now in favour of a military dictatorship in Britain.

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

#### IT IS THE TRADE UNION LEADERS WHO UNDERMINE TRADE UNIONISM

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

independence of the trade union movement. This is becoming more sharply exposed with each successive struggle of the miners to maintain their conditions of life, where the leaders are to be found, not with the miners, but on the side of the coal-owners. It is the present policy and actions of Joseph Hall and his colleagues which is succeeding in undermining the confidence of the miners in their unions. This is particularly true of the younger workers who are impatient to see a fighting union which backs them up in their economic demands. Disgusted at the treatment at the hands of their officials, many in the Wombwell district proposed to tear up their union cards in the recent dispute! Our comrades patiently explained the false and incorrect character of such action and proposed instead to these young workers that they set up a school through the National Council of Labour Colleges to study the history of the trade union movement and to prepare to take over the functions of the trade unions themselves; in this way to convert their unions once more into fighting organisations.

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

The assertion of Mr. Hall that "young men between the ages of 25 and 30 are receiving £10 a week for distributing the "Socialist Appeal" cannot be other than a deliberate and premeditated lie. His object is to discredit the distributors and policy of the paper in the eyes of the miners. By suggesting that the "Socialist Appeal" is financed by sources where money is no object, he hoped to lead his statements a minister ring. However, Mr. Hall attempted to afford himself some cover. He claims that he received the story second hand! May we inquire who told him that the distributors of the "Socialist Appeal" received £10 a week for the job? Was it someone who had connections with the Labour movement or with the "Socialist Appeal" and its management? Or is it, as we assume, some fanciful individual concocted by Mr. Hall to give his story some little credence? Let us assume that some person with whom Mr. Hall is not well acquainted, did impart such information to him: is he so glibly that he accepts such a statement for public distribution without checking on it? If so, his conduct is, to say the least, irresponsible and he deserves to be censured. This question is one that your organisation cannot afford to let go unanswered. Mr. Sorenson, a Labour M.P. and Mr. Morrison, the Labour Home Secretary have now asked the question in the highest public body in the country what evidence Mr. Hall has to back up his assertion. It can only bring discredit on your Council if Mr. Hall is without an answer.

The object of Mr. Hall's irresponsible and reactionary attack was to draw the attention of the Government to the "Socialist Appeal" in order to get it suppressed. For this he had the full support of those newspapers, which in the past had the closest sympathy for the coalowners, the German and British fascists. Moreover, the paper which clamours most insistently for our suppression is the voice of the coalowners, the Daily Telegraph. By this gesture, Mr. Hall has thrown overboard all pretence of being a democrat himself. He proposes to adopt and implement the methods of fascism in Britain.

#### DEMAND A PUBLIC INQUIRY

If Mr. Hall were some backward rank and file member of your union it would be your task to re-educate him in the democratic ideology of the labour movement. But he is your President, and as such his every action is a public gesture in your name. The publicity given to Mr. Hall's reactionary proclamations have already, we believe, rebounded to the discredit of your organisation. Your Council cannot assume the responsibility of demanding the suppression of another working class body or its press by the capitalist class. It is your duty to instigate a public enquiry into the whole matter, and we feel confident that the thousands of members of the Yorkshire Miners Association would welcome such an inquiry. We propose therefore to your Council:

1. The immediate setting up by your Council of a Special Committee to investigate the allegations of Mr. Hall.
2. The investigations of this Committee should be conducted in public. Our organisation workers interested in the League will place a complete file of our political documents for the last 10 years as well as our books and files of correspondence at the disposal of such a Committee.
3. At the conclusion of the investigation a mass meeting of Yorkshire miners should be called at Barnsley or Wombwell to which the Committee will make its report. Present at this meeting will be Mr. Hall, the Editor of the "Socialist Appeal", and Mr. J. Haston, the contributor of the articles of which Mr. Hall complains.

If there is the slightest semblance of truth in any of the allegations of Mr. Hall there can be no doubt that such a procedure would establish the facts, and the Yorkshire Miners' Association Council could thus completely destroy the faith which local miners might have in the policy of the "Socialist Appeal". The miners would themselves run the distributors of the "Socialist Appeal" out of the district wherever or whenever they appeared in the future. On the other hand, if Mr. Hall is shown to be guilty, as we are confident he will be, of falsehood and misrepresentation, the exposure should be sufficient to drive him out of public life.

Yours fraternally,  
E. GRANT,  
Editor "Socialist Appeal"

# MINERS' CONFERENCE REVEALS TERRIBLE TOLL OF THE PITS

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

Nothing could be further from the truth. The vapourings of Lawthorpe expressed the satisfaction, not of the rank and file miners, but of the fat bellied bureaucrats who visualise good jobs as Government officials.

#### FLEET STREET LORDS

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

Poor miners, see them victimised,  
By Socialist Appeal;  
But Northcliffe's proudly advertised  
He'll win them a square deal.

The Telegraph its Mail shall don,  
And Mail shall Telegraph—  
Have on!  
And Britain's filled with clash of steel,  
As Camrose charges the Appeal.

"£10 a week," the papers scream  
Their sellers get from Hitler!  
We got the dirt from Hall, who says  
It's not a penny Hitler."

But Fleet Street-walkers soon  
Grew dumb,  
On finding from this plenty,  
The Editor got a Pound a week,  
While Camrose gave them  
Twenty!

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

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

#### ONE NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS

The first important business of Conference was to empower the Executive of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to draft proposals for one national union of mineworkers instead of maintaining a loose federation of 22 district organisations such as the Federation now consists of. The only opposition to this proposal came from Spencer of the ex-scab union in Nottingham.

Although such a union as is contemplated will suffer from all the bureaucratic deformities that the tops of the Miners Federation can impose upon it, it is the biggest step forward in the organisational field for many years

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

#### THE TOLL OF THE PITS

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

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

The most illuminating facts were given when it was demonstrated that one out of every four boys between

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

By E. Grant and A. Scott.

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THESIS OF THE INDIAN FOURTH INTERNATIONAL 1941

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

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

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

Conference thereupon decided to adopt a charter for pit boys which argues that boys under 16 should not work underground, proposes that a new wage scale of from 6/- a shift at

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## George Weston

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

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

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

Following the revolution he went to Russia where he served the Soviet Government for several years and contacted many of the most devoted and experienced Bolsheviks in this country. His death is mourned not only by our movement but by the thousands of aircraft workers in the factory where he worked and whom he served so well.

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

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

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

# CHAOS AT WICKERS-ARMSTRONG

By M. ORTON

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

It is no secret that production remains at a low level. About half the men are just idling their time away, doing perhaps a couple of hours' work

each. Some workers have to work to do all for two or three days in succession; others are given totally unnecessary jobs to do to fill in the time. Despite the fact that there was insufficient work for them to do, several apprentices were recently suspended for three days for "loafing". Workers who apply for their release are refused since the granting of release to one worker may encourage others to apply.

The absolute inefficiency of the boss class is clearly portrayed by the fact that skilled semi-skilled workers have been transferred from other important munition factories, and they are employed by Wickers' as labourers, at labourers' rates of pay. In one instance a joiner who was earning something like 2/4 an hour in London, is now working as a labourer for 1/6 princely sum only per hour. Being single, he receives no out allowance and has to support his mother who still lives elsewhere.

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

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

Piece-work, however effective it may be in increasing production can only be operated at the expense of the workers.

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

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

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

# Correspondence

from Our Readers.

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

## Miners' Views

Barnsley, Yorkshire.  
22.7.42.

To the "Socialist Appeal"

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

Wombwell, Yorkshire.  
15.7.42.

To the "Socialist Appeal"

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

Whitburn, nr Sunderland,  
Durham.

"Socialist Appeal"

I can only wish you and your colleagues the very best in their good work they are doing for the working class. I know what it is like. I am 50 years old and I have always been a working man, a miner at Whitburn and have seen some dirty tricks that come from the Employers and others not forgetting the "Leaders". When I read in your "Socialist Appeal" about Durham Miners Leaders I know it is true and I believe if it came to a rank and file vote, Lawthorpe would get the bump alright. He is not playing the game.

I believe in what you say about the Union Leaders. They should never have joined hands with the capitalists or the Government. I read about the Tory M.P.s demanding paper, but I thought it would be because they are telling some home truths and they didn't like it.

You will have read about the closing of the Whitburn colliery. The owners say they are losing £50 per annum and I don't believe it. It is true, the miners are not to blame. It is the Rolleywayman and I can see a lot of unnecessary expenses that occur. I myself reported that I had a rope biting which was causing unnecessary expense. I applied it 20 times in the rate of 10 yards per day, but I can go on for ever about this. I expected to be called before the Coal Commission at the Pit Office about it.

I have two lads in the forces and already written to them and told them that the biggest battle will start when they come home again. I know what we got from the last war. I must thank you very much for your papers which I have passed on to my friends. I thank you again and wish you all the best, only wishing this war was over. And then who can I vote for at the next election? I have always been labour but look what they have done! The country will not forget this, I believe your programme is of the best. Everything, Money and Mines, in particular ought to be Nationalised and taken from the owners. Just think, Whitburn Colliery Owners closing the colliery down. What do they care about who's going to win the war?

Who NEXT?  
They are wondering whether Tanks are really needed. Whilst all this goes on, we have just received a batch of Scotsmen (Moulders by Trade) who were instructed to learn drop-forging. Eventually they found themselves labouring at this factory, where we already have a "Redundancy of Labour".

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

Yours faithfully,  
John Cairns,  
Secretary Shop Stewards.

"Of the 344 reported train accidents, 157 were caused by human factors, and continued that while fatigued, heavy traffic and less experienced staff were important elements the black out and war conditions generally were factors of at least equal importance."

To this can now be added fire-watch duties (per Order 1411) imposed on many signalmen, fire-watching added to the abnormal hours of duty of a signalman must of a necessity impair his physical and mental capabilities

and it is disturbing to note that in spite of protests up and down the country from the men concerned that the rostering of these men continues for duties under Order 1411. The safety of the travelling public and efficient railway transport should be the major consideration of the Ministry of War Transport and the Companies and the enforcement of the Statutory Fire Prevention (Business Premises) Order on signalmen can only lead to an increase in the figures quoted above and described as "being due to the human element". It is to be noted that in various parts of the country, Military Hardship Tribunals have unhesitatingly given exemption to signalmen who have appealed to them because of their exceptional hours of duty and the nature of the work taken from the power has now been taken from the Tribunals therefore the Ministry of War Transport and the Railway Companies must accept the responsibility for any accident that is caused through the men, directly or indirectly through the enforcement of the Fire Prevention Order.

I remain,  
Yours faithfully,  
H. R. HANN.

# Shop Stewards Fight Redundancy Victimization

"Socialist Appeal," 21st July, 1942.

Dear Sir,  
I have been instructed by the Shop Stewards of one of the largest Tank Factories in the country to bring to your notice the manner in which the Notice of Redundancy Act is being put into effect at our Firm. Firstly, we would point out that the first intimation we had (as Trade Union Representatives) that the Act was about to operate was the summons of the two convenors to the Manager's Office, where they were introduced to the Man Power Officer and promptly informed of what was about to take place, to wit the draconian rules of the Act, considered necessary by the Powers that be. The convenors were also informed that they had only been sent for out of courtesy, as the matter was nothing to do with the Trade Union, and there was no redress whatsoever. The convenors were then introduced to the Man Power Officer, who explained the various situations which the Act would create, and offered the choice of two or three situations none of which were suitable or attractive to the Men. Indeed, how could it be otherwise? If these situations were worth having it would not be necessary to bull-doze Men into them. These Men at our Factory object to being sent miles away from their homes and families to earn a living.

The next step is the shepherding together of these "Redundants" whereupon they are handed their Release Notes, and Green Labour Cards with instructions where to go. The Shop Stewards at this point were present, owing to the urgent requests of their Men. During this interview, one young Welshman said that as he had been sent from his Home to this town, and was now declared Redundant it was logical that he should return to his own country, as he knew there was no situation vacant on Work of National Importance.

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

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

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

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

The Men here are asking each other WHO NEXT?  
They are wondering whether Tanks are really needed. Whilst all this goes on, we have just received a batch of Scotsmen (Moulders by Trade) who were instructed to learn drop-forging. Eventually they found themselves labouring at this factory, where we already have a "Redundancy of Labour".

Understand that whether we be Irish, Welsh, Scotch, English or any nationality we are all Workers, and united in our determination to stamp out this Fascism that is showing its head from Land's End to John o' Groats.  
Yours faithfully,  
John Cairns,  
Secretary Shop Stewards.

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



BOOMERANG.....JOE HALL'S BOMBHELL

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

PUBLISHED MONTHLY  
EDITOR: E. Grant BUSINESS MANAGER: M. Lee  
61, Northdown Street, London, N.W.1.

### EDITORIAL.

#### "THE DAILY WORKER" AND THE "SOCIALIST APPEAL"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pro-Nazi and subversive influences was the way in which he described them."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# GERMAN WORKERS WAITING FOR BRITISH WORKERS—Together we will March

## TROTSKY is DEAD— TROTSKYISM LIVES!

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

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

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

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

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

But the madmen of the Nazi Party delude themselves into believing that there is an alternative way of smashing the Revolution. They will select a State police of "men of the best German blood, who unconditionally identify themselves with the philosophy of life which is fundamental to the Greater German Reich"; they will train these men in all the arts of repression, thuggery and violence; they will send them into battle to give them real training in warfare and to "blood" them; they will treat them as a military elite, trained to regard the workers and peasants as beasts of burden and slaves. In this way they hope to inoculate them against the contagion of the Revolution.

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

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

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

Daily Mail, June 15, 1942.

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

#### 25 HAMBURG DOCKERS SHOT

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

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

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

militancy. Hamburg has a tradition of struggle as stirring as that of Glasgow. Who will say that the workers of Hamburg are "One" with the Gestapo? No! The struggle goes on, and has gone on for ten years. The Daily Telegraph recently admitted:

"The war against so-called 'enemies of society' has been a permanent feature of the Nazi regime."

In the recent incidents that war can be seen increasing in tenseness. On the workers part, it has not developed into major hostilities, but the events which are reported are significant. The B.U.P. correspondent on the German frontier, for instance, writes that:

"He has had two separate reports, one from Berlin and the other from Munich, stating that every morning at daybreak patrols have to be sent out with whitewash and water to cover up or clean off scores of anti-Hitler inscriptions which now appear nightly on walls or pavements."

As time passes, the red posters that announce the execution of those who have "offended against the war regulations increase in number. Eight are shot for "anti-Hitler activities" in Berlin on May 24; Four are shot at Mannheim on the following day. Warning against the spread of rumours, the Gauleiter of Hessen-Nassau "went on to say that it was a great surprise to some when the People's Tribunal at Frankfurt sentenced a number of Communists to death."

"Red posters bearing the names of 7 men executed on Friday for treason have been placarded throughout Berlin," says the Daily Telegraph. And so the tale goes on.

#### 34 GERMAN N.C.O.s EXECUTED

It is not only the workers in the factories who are being shot for de-

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

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

Why?

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

#### THE RESPONSIBILITY RESTS WITH US—

these German workers, seeking a way out of the madhouse in which they find themselves, can be seen in a letter

written by one of them to a friend in America, and published in the American Militant: "According to the opinions of the politicians in the democratic countries," he says, "it follows that if we do not revolt, it indicates that we are satisfied with the Nazi regime." It is "thanks to the attacks on capitalism (by the Nazi leaders) and the warning that, in the event the war is lost, a second Versailles would emerge, that 'morale' is maintained." And then he gives what in his opinion are the reasons why they do not act now.

"To act now, means giving support to British imperialism. This we shall never do. As long as the war leaders of the democratic countries will employ fine phrases, rather than fine deeds, we will wait until all armies will collapse—and they will collapse! However, as soon as the war will be turned into a war for real freedom, we will act."

The British workers have the possibility of turning the war into a genuine struggle for freedom! With power wrested from the hands of the capitalists and in those of the workers, the whole character of Britain's war would be altered. And above all the perspective for the German workers would be altered. No longer would they have to fear a new Versailles. No longer would they face a Dilemma. They could turn and smash the power that has made life a hell for them for ten years, without having to fear that their struggle would help British imperialism. On the contrary, they would have the British workers as their allies in their struggle against Fascism. No Gestapo, no S.S. divisions, could stand up to such a force. Hitlerism would be smashed for ever.

Together, the British, German and European workers will march forward to build the Socialist United States of Europe, to help rebuild shattered Soviet Russia, and to free from imperialism the great colonial areas of the earth.

A. SCOTT.

## SOVIET UNION IN 1919—

Here is a map of Soviet Russia in 1919. This is all the territory that was held by the Soviets when 22 capitalist armies of intervention were launched against the newly formed workers' state. What would today seem a well-nigh hopeless task, was achieved by the Red Army under the leadership of Trotsky. Indeed, had the struggle then been conducted on the present Stalinist basis relying purely on military resources, the small and then weak young workers' state would never have survived.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

All profit is wrung from our class, from the sweat, and blood, and tears of the working people.

It is the same in all countries. In England, in France, in Germany, in Austria, and in Russia.

Does Nationality count? No! It is class that counts.

WORKING CLASS OR CAPITALIST CLASS. ON WHICH SIDE ARE YOU?

Capitalists have investments in all countries. Where their money is there their hearts are also. There is no patriotism for them. But they always remain loyal to their class.

As against the working class the capitalists of all countries are united. They understand the class war.

There are only two camps, the workers camp and the capitalists camp. IN WHICH CAMP ARE YOU?

The interests of the workers of all countries are the same. No matter



## DEFEATED 22 ARMIES WITH WEAPONS LIKE THIS:

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

The workers are always opposed to the masters.

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

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

We have a workers' government.

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

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

AND YOU HAVE BEEN BROUGHT HERE FOR THAT PURPOSE.

What are you, a worker or a capitalist? If you are a workman, then you must be on our side, for we are workmen too. We are of the same class. Learn from the capitalists and be loyal to your class.

AN INJURY TO THE WORKERS OF ONE COUNTRY IS AN INJURY TO THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES. If you help to crush our revolution, you will only be helping to fasten the shackles of wage slavery more firmly on yourselves. REFUSE TO DO THE WORK OF THE COMMON ENEMY, THE CAPITALISTS!! JOIN WITH US IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CAPITALISM AND WAR!! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!!

# Our Programme For Power

- 1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
- 2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
- 3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
- 4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
- 5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumer commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.
- 6. Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
- 7. Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
- 8. Clear out the reactionary professional officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
- 9. Establishment of military academies by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
- 10. Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or Petainism.
- 11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the Colonies.
- 12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe on the basis of this programme in Britain to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

# MANPOWER MUDDLE

by LESLIE KING

The Minister of Production, Mr. O. Lyttleton, has admitted that the Churchill Government will shortly be unable to increase production in this country. He has told the S. Wales Institute of Engineers that "we are now approaching a point when, unless we reduce our armed forces, which is clearly impossible, we cannot look for increases in production." (Telegraph, July 4).

This must sound a farcical position to the workers who, already sick of the hypocrisy of Mr. Bevin's glowing statements of how labour power is being organised in this country, know that many of their fellows stand about idle for large periods of time.

Apart from the obvious restrictionist policy of the bosses with regard to Coal, Steel, Cement and other basic industries in their lust for profits, there is no question about it that the mis-use of man-power is one of the biggest indictments of industry as it is being run today. It is the greatest contributing factor to the chaotic state in which we find production and the average worker knows this only too well: even the bosses admit it. Let us quote Major A. H. Brockhurst, himself a managing director, who states:—

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

Yet, despite this criminal policy of the bosses, of which the Churchill Government is well aware, the Minister responsible for production pops up in South Wales and tells us that production cannot be increased because sufficient man-power is not available! In this statement there appears an ominous warning to the workers: The ruling class have not hesitated to place the blame for the shortage in production on the shoulders of the working class, and they will hesitate less now. A furious agitation is being waged by the bosses on the question of absenteeism and lateness. Already we have heard from Mr. Bevin that well over 1,000 workers have been prosecuted and this reactionary policy of the capitalists which is reducing the workers more and more to industrial serfdom, whilst the real saboteurs of industry, the ruling class, are going "Scott-free", is receiving the support of the Trade Union and Labour leaders and the collaborationists of King Street, headed by Harry Pollitt.

Let there be no mistake about it, following this utterance of the Minister of Production, the bosses, who are incapable of arousing any enthusiasm from the people, will be preparing to impose greater and greater restrictions on the workers and to strip the few rights of organised labour that haven't already been handed over by the Labour and Trade Union bureaucrats. Conscious of their own redundancy and terrified of the rising militancy on the part of the workers, who are beginning to realise more and more the role of profits in the present chaos, the boss-class will wage more ruthless attacks than ever before against the people and in this policy they receive the full support of their labour lackeys.

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

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

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

# LESSONS OF MINERS' CONFERENCE

Continued from page 1

15 to 12/- at 1941 be introduced; demands greater safety and health standards, improved conditions and regular employment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thomas Brown of Llancaire revealed that of seven cases who had died of silicosis in his own district, the amount of compensation paid since certification of the disease was deducted from the amount the workers would have received if their men had died instantly!

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

Despite the drop in the numbers of miners employed; despite the drop in coal production, the average rate of profit has been well maintained and in some cases increased.

## THE SECOND FRONT

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

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

this was the only means whereby "Britain may be saved from the dangers of invasion and the Nazi war machine decisively defeated."

Pollitt was there in person to see that the Party fraction put the case for the resolution in its proper chauvinist content. And, indeed, it was presented in a manner which Pollitt himself would have found difficult to outdo in reactionary chauvinism.

In view of the undoubted progressive sentiment which this reactionary resolution covered and the popular support which it received from Conference, Tom Stephenson of Cumberland, is to be congratulated for the high standard of revolutionary socialist consciousness which he displayed when he voted against the resolution and attempted to expose its reactionary content. The vote was taken without him getting a chance to put his position.

## WHY LAWTHER ATTACKED THE "SOCIALIST APPEAL"

The "Socialist Appeal" is the only working class paper in the country which has consistently exposed the tendency of the trade union leaders to grovel and fuse together with the capitalist class. It is the only working class newspaper which has attempted to demonstrate the need for an alternative policy which will renew the trade union tops and reorganise the unions—infusing them once more with the spirit of independent working class struggle. We have in particular exposed the role of the leaders in the miners union and our warnings have resulted in the miners in various districts, moving to take steps in attempting to stop the rotting process which is taking place at the top.

The direction in which the "Lawthers" are steering the miners union was eloquently demonstrated by the presence for the first time at a miners' conference, of a capitalist minister, direct representative of capitalist politics. He was Major Lloyd George, Minister of Fuel, who was there to seal the heavy bonds of "national unity" upon the limbs of the working miners. He clearly demonstrated his purpose at Conference when he said that the miners would have to work harder and produce more coal.

It is no accident therefore, that Will Lawther should plead with the capitalist Minister of Fuel to suppress the "Socialist Appeal" and thus clamp down upon that tendency which exposes his treachery.

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

The friends of the delegates, with the delegates in which we participated, and their spread-works about Joseph Hall and Will Lawther who had been particularly prominent in attacking us was to be contrasted with the crestfallen expressions of these gentlemen and the anguish in the eyes of Harry Pollitt when they saw the manner in which the delegates received the "Socialist Appeal".

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

# Miners Demand Nationalisation

Continued from page 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

It gives the lie to all the halli-balls of the miners' leaders regarding the recent coal plan and wage proposals.

# Indian Workers Support our Programme

The India Meeting held in Coventry under the auspices of Workers' International League on July 19th was a great success. A hundred were present including 75 Indians. Most of the questions came from the English workers, dealing with "National Unity" against Hitler. One Indian supported Bose, and from discussions with many Indian workers, the idea is commonly held that Bose is still a socialist and will free India with a Japanese army. The response will then clear out why the British are defeated. The speakers effectively dispelled this idea by showing the disastrous consequences of supporting any imperialist power and emphasised the unity of interests between Indian and British workers. Our programme for the immediate freedom of India on the basis of a Constituent Assembly received enthusiastic support because it offers the only solution for the present period. Our case was ably put by Comrade John Williams from Coventry, Comrade V. Sastri, Secretary of the Indian Workers' Association, and Comrade Ted Grant.

# SECOND FRONT

Continued from page 1

Labour party nor the Communist Party offer a way of satisfying this demand has led to a general mood of frustration embracing millions upon millions of workers.

The fundamental point that must be remembered about the Second Front is the same point that must be remembered about the war in general—war is a continuation of politics by other means. The Second Front, if it is launched by the present capitalist leadership will be launched for capitalist ends and by capitalist means. It will be launched, not to re-instate the Soviet Union, not to set Europe free, not to smash Fascism once and for all, not to lay the foundations of a genuine peace.

These are the aims of the workers and many of them confusedly "exert pressure" for a Second Front in the hope of seeing them come to pass. But the capitalists will not venture on the Second Front because of "pressure". They will choose to open it or not to open it according to their own interests. And even if they open it successfully it will be found that their policy in regard both to Europe and the Soviet Union will be unpleasantly different from the desires of the workers.

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

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

# FREE INDIA NOW!

Continued from page 1

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

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

But even through this distorted system it can be seen that behind Congress, exerting pressure on it, are not 3 million people, but scores of millions. The Moslem League, whose "rights" Amery and the press so virtuously defend, is nothing but a creation of British imperialism—a stooge organisation which does not represent the Moslems at all, but only serves the interests of India's exploiters. In the elections of 1937 the Moslem League only secured 4.6% of the total Moslem vote. In provinces which contain a large majority of Moslems, Congress and not the Moslem League was returned! So much for the lies of Amery and the capitalist press.

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

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

In some areas in India this mood has expressed itself in action. In Sind, for instance, the British have been compelled to dispatch troops to put down a rebellion. The Times reports: "By extensive sabotage of public works, such as telephones and canals, they have held an intolerable threat to the normal traffic on the

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Karachi-Lahore railway. . . . There is no doubt that the Pir Pagaro has introduced some measure of military training into his organisation."

The Times also reports that the British force used parachute troops, that houses were burned down and 27 members of the tribe were hanged. After a certain time-limit, anyone seen in the desert in this region was to be fired on.

To all this pressure, the climax of 200 years of ruthless British oppression, the Congress has been forced to respond. If the Congress merely opposed the will of the masses, then the masses would turn in other directions for leadership.

Congress is the representative of the Indian capitalist class. The London Times recognises this clearly when it says: "Congress is predominantly a bourgeois party, largely financed, in the past at any rate, by industrialists and landlords."

The class which Congress represents cannot carry out an independent policy. It cannot lead a struggle for Indian independence against either the British or the Japanese imperialists. Its position is such that it can only make efforts to receive a bigger share of the fruits of the exploitation of the Indian masses from British imperialism. Perhaps a few members, seeing the British Empire in collapse, hope to profit more by a transfer of their subservience to Japan. But the vast majority still look to the British capitalists.

See how Gandhi emphasises the need for non-violence on the eve of the campaign:

"It may be that in a moment of anger they might do things that might provoke you. Nevertheless you should not resort to violence and put non-violence to shame."

The Daily Telegraph Correspondent points out that in the course of his speech "Again and again he re-affirmed his belief in non-violence."

But this is not the advice of a saintly pacifist, as Gandhi would have the Indian people believe. It is, rather, that of a shrewd representative of the Indian capitalist class, terrified at the thought of the masses waging a genuine struggle for freedom. For how can the Indian masses achieve freedom by replying to the ruthless violence of British imperialism with "non-violence"? He admitted himself in 1930: "I know that the non-revolutionary like me impedes the progress of the violent revolutionary. I want full suspension of his activity. I am free to admit that I dread him more than I dread Lord Irwin's wrath."

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

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

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

## DEMAND THE FREE VOTE FOR INDIAN MASSES

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

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

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

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

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# ATTACKS STRENGTHENED "APPEAL"

Continued from page 1

against the Soviet Union and the Labour movement, while we have consistently fought and defended the Soviet Union and the Labour movement against all attacks; all this is typical of the brazen hypocrisy of the ruling class.

The attitude of the Press and of the reactionary M.P.'s is a commentary on the situation in "democratic" Britain today. What capitalist paper or political party would have questions of this character asked about their reporters, paper supplies, etc.? The pro-Nazi "Daily Mail" for instance? It is taken for granted that the capitalist press and organisations should have the right to conduct its normal functions without interference by the state. But when it comes to a Socialist newspaper in which the down-trodden and oppressed find a voice then no inquisition or persecution is too severe.

The paper which carried out the most determined and persistent campaign was the mouthpiece of the coal-owners, the "Daily Telegraph". Dismissing Hall's allegations from the outset, the "Telegraph" conducted a campaign day after day because they are only too well aware of the real situation in the coalfields and the fact that the "Socialist Appeal" voices the true aspirations of the miners.

They based their campaign for our suppression on a sober estimation of our programme, printing sections of this programme in order to illustrate its dangers to their class. Their industrial correspondent underlined this in his remarks while interviewing us: "This paper is dynamite! Even the 'Daily Worker' in its militant days didn't touch your programme!"

Nevertheless at first sight, it might seem astonishing that such a fearful assault should be waged on a small organisation and its Press. The daily newspapers mentioned, possess between them a circulation in a single day more than what the "Appeal" possesses in a year. Yet they are afraid! This arises out of the uneasiness of the ruling class at the present time. The masses of workers are dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs. The most reactionary sections of the ruling class are already thinking in terms of suppression and dictatorship as a means of keeping the workers in check. The workers are beginning to realise the shameless profiteering of the capitalists and the mockery of equality of sacrifice. That is why they want to silence those who consistently and untiringly fight for the interests of the workers. It is not our number today but the fact that our programme will become the programme of the masses tomorrow, which has driven the most reactionary sections of the ruling class to take the offensive against us.

But the question can be asked why should the miners' leaders appeal to the Tories for aid. Apart from the irresponsible Mr. Hall, there is Mr. W. Lawther, the President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. It was they, who raised the question first and provided the Right Wing Tories and the coal-owners with the opportunity of launching an offensive against the workers' press. The reason is that these "leaders" would resort to any vile means to defend their bureaucratic domination of the union and the privileges which flow from them.

The reasons for the monstrous slanders on the part of these union

leaders, rises out of the fact that they have lost the confidence of the miners in their leadership. Their shameful stand on the side of the coalowners in recent strikes has led to disgust and disillusionment among the rank and file. The miners are beginning to see that such rotten leadership can only lead to capitulation to the coalowners. The Trotskyists have been putting forward among the miners and other workers the necessity of turning the unions into fighting organs really representative of the workers and to replace the present leadership by more militant ones. Now at the first signs of a threat developing to their positions they run whining to their masters for help, not scrupling to use such dirty weapons as the slander of pro-Nazism.

The most encouraging feature of this attack, and one that bodes well for the future of Socialism in Britain, is that while the coalowners, the capitalist press, the Right-wing Tories, the miners' leaders and the Stalinists united for a unanimous assault on the "Socialist Appeal", we had the sympathy and support of the broad masses of the working class. The readers and supporters of the "Socialist Appeal" were angered and indignant at this vile attack. Not a single one faltered in support of their paper. Not only those who had read the "Appeal" in the past but thousands of new sympathisers were gained. Dozens of letters were received from miners, soldiers, engineers and other workers, with whom we had never been in touch before, enquiring about our paper and organisation. Far from weakening, the attack strengthened us in the eyes of the working class.

The Government has refused to suppress the "Socialist Appeal" at the

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

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

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

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