

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY
BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

SUPPLEMENT MID - JANUARY, 1946. TWOPENCE

CLYDE BUILDERS Adopt Militant Resolution

BY R. TEARSE

ON SUNDAY, JANUARY 6th, A MASS MEETING OF ABOUT 600 BUILDING WORKERS (THE GLASGOW PAPERS ESTIMATED 1,000) ASSEMBLED IN THE ST. MUNGO HALLS, GLASGOW, TO PROTEST AGAINST THE RECENT WAGE AWARD AND TO ADOPT A FIGHTING PROGRAMME. THE MEETING HAD BEEN CALLED BY THE NEWLY FORMED GLASGOW BUILDING WORKERS' CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, AN AD HOC., RANK AND FILE BODY OF TRADE UNIONISTS.

The temper of the meeting was unmistakable. The Building workers are becoming more and more determined to make a stand for better conditions. The following Resolution, which was carried unanimously by the meeting, leaves no room for doubt as to where they stand. Bro. Milligan, a member of the London Campaign Committee, spoke to the resolution upon the invitation of the Glasgow Committee.

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED

"This mass meeting of Building Trade Workers condemns the recent Award as being wholly inadequate for the maintenance of a reasonable standard of life, and nothing less than an insult to the workers.

It emphatically declares that nothing less than OUR original demand for 3/- and 2/6d. per hour will be considered adequate by us, the rank and file Building Trade Workers.

Meeting considers it clear that compulsory arbitration is only a weapon in the hands of the employers. Only by firm, independent, working class action can we improve our conditions to any degree.

It further considers there is an urgent need for the formation of rank and file committees in the industry to organise the struggle on the job and to strengthen and revitalise the Trade Union movement. Such local and area committees to link up from district to district, culminating in a nation wide link up of rank and file job committees.

Meeting therefore declares in favour of the following policy, and calls upon all Building Workers to give it their active support.

1. An immediate application by the Trade Unions for the following demands; in the event of a refusal by the employers an immediate national ballot for strike action:

(a) 3/- per hour for Tradesmen 2/6d. per hour for Labourers, and thereafter a Rising Scale of Wages to meet any increase in the Cost of Living.

(b) A 44-hour Guaranteed Week and 14 days holiday with Full Pay.

(c) Increase in Lodging Allowances.

(d) An immediate end to Payment by Results and any piece-work scheme.

(e) A national uniform rate for every district.

2. 100% Trade Unionism and one Union for all Building Trade Workers.

3. Trade Union Officials to be paid Working Men's Wages and subject to regular election and recall.

4. An immediate end to the Industrial Truce.

5. Immediate steps by the Labour Government for the Nationalisation of the Land and the Building Industry WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND WITH ITS OPERATION UNDER WORKERS' MANAGEMENT.

6. The election of a genuinely representative Glasgow Building Workers' Campaign Committee, consisting of delegates from each site.

7. Immediate contact to be established with the London Building Workers' Campaign Committee and any other such committee, in the struggle towards the formation of a Representative National Rank and File Committee."

Bro. Milligan's speech was received with tremendous acclamation through-

out. In particular, when he made the points on the need to scrap the Industrial Truce and re-establish the principle of independent bargaining, the need for the immediate nationalisation of the land and building industry without compensation and their operation under workers' management, and for a national rank and file building workers' movement to organise the struggle on the job and to carry that fighting spirit into the Trade Union apparatus.

TOKEN STRIKE

The meeting further decided, with only 17 against, to hold a token strike and demonstration on January 16th, to "make it perfectly plain that we are not satisfied with the recent Award", as pointed out by the chairman, Brother McGuinness.

This programme of the Glasgow Committee deserves the wholehearted support of every working class organisation, and the working class in general. In their fight the Glasgow Building Workers must strive to broaden the representative base of their Committee. In this struggle they will thereby equip themselves all the more solidly to wage the battles that undoubtedly lie ahead in the next period.

MORRISON REVEALS LABOUR'S POLICY

Private Enterprise to Continue

IN A BROADCAST FROM TORONTO ON JANUARY 10th, HERBERT MORRISON STATED:

"IT WILL BE THE FACT THAT THE GREAT BULK OF OUR INDUSTRY WILL REMAIN PRIVATE INDUSTRY, AND WE SHALL NOT QUARREL WITH IT AS LONG AS IT IS PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND NOT PRIVATE UN-ENTERPRISE. INDEED, WE SHALL SEEK TO ASSIST AND ENCOURAGE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE TO THE SOLUTIONS OF ITS PROBLEMS, AND WE SHALL SPUR IT TO GREATER EFFORT IN THE COURSE OF INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS."



MORRISON

In these remarkable words, (the whole speech is one which could never be made by anyone who seriously claimed to be a Socialist) Mr. Morrison reveals the "secret" of the nationalisation policy of the Government of which he is a member.

It is not the first step towards building a Socialist Britain, nor even the first step towards a general nationalisation of the whole of British industry it is merely the taking over of those industries which have become inefficient and which fail to pay their way, and their operation under State ownership for the benefit of British Capitalism as a whole.

Nationalisation to Mr. Morrison is not a principle, it is rather an exceptional measure dictated by exceptional circumstances. He himself reassuringly informs the capitalists:

"There is... no real need for excessive excitement, for the question to be decided is whether, in the circumstances, the industry is likely to be better run by free competitive competition, private enterprise, or free monopoly private enterprise, or controlled and supervised monopoly enterprise or by public enterprise of one sort or another.

"... It is up to the nationalisers to prove their case that there will be public advantage by nationalisation." Many years ago, in the 1870's, Frederic Engels, wrote that at a certain stage of capitalist development the transfer of certain industries to the ownership of the capitalist state becomes "inevitable from an

economic standpoint", but that such state ownership was just the opposite to socialism, since the modern state "is the state of the capitalists, the ideal collective body of all capitalists.

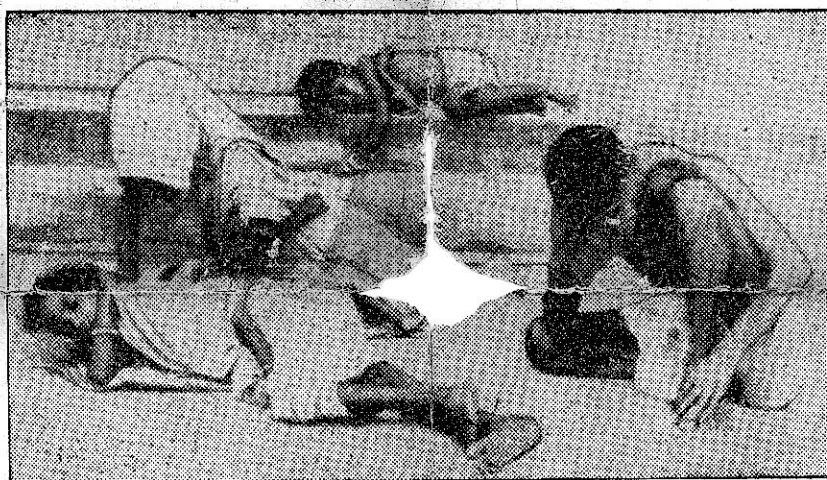
The more productive forces it takes over as its property, the more it becomes the real collective body of all the capitalists, the more citizens it exploits. The workers remain wage-earners, proletarians. The capitalist relationship is not abolished; it is rather pushed to an extreme." ("Anti-Duhring").

Precisely of this capitalist character is the nationalisation which the present Government is proposing to carry out. It is capitalist nationalisation, as Mr. Morrison himself clearly states; "My second point is," he said over the radio, "that in the United Kingdom the policy of public ownership is not a monopoly of the Labour Party. Before anybody dreamed of the British Labour Party getting a Parliamentary majority, the principle of nationalisation had already been applied by anti-Socialist Governments."

And he went on to give a whole series of examples—telephones, water supply, broadcasting, the Post Office, the Port of London, etc., etc., to illustrate and prove his point.

The capitalist character of this nationalisation is further established by the fact that the State industries will be run, not under workers' control, but in substantially the same way as they have been managed hitherto. Said Mr. Morrison:

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA



BENGAL FAMINE—1943-44. See article back page.

NUREMBERG EXPOSES MOSCOW TRIALS FRAME-UP

THE NUREMBERG TRIAL HAS SERVED ONE USEFUL PURPOSE UNFORESEEN BY ITS SPONSORS. IT HAS EXPOSED ONCE AND FOR ALL THE FRAME-UP OF THE MOSCOW TRIALS ORGANISED BY STALIN AGAINST THE OLD BOLSHEVIKS. THE ENTIRE OLD GUARD OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION WERE WIPED OUT ON THE BASIS OF THE SO-CALLED EVIDENCE PRODUCED BY VISHINSKY IN THE MOSCOW TRIALS THAT THEY, TOGETHER WITH LEON TROTSKY WERE DIRECTLY WORKING WITH THE NAZIS AND THE GESTAPO AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. WHY THEN, HAS THIS EVIDENCE NOT BEEN PRODUCED AT THE NUREMBERG TRIAL BY THE RUSSIAN PROSECUTING COUNSEL? WE HAVE CHALLENGED THEM TO PRODUCE THEIR EVIDENCE THAT TROTSKY WAS LINKED WITH THE NAZIS AND THE GESTAPO DURING THE NUREMBERG PROCEEDINGS. NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT HAS BEEN RECEIVED.

The trial is supposed to reveal all the evidence of the systematic preparations for war by the Nazis. Tens and even hundreds of thousands of documents have been examined minutely for evidence. The archives of the German State and the Nazi Party have been ransacked. Thousands of people have been questioned and even the most trivial conversations have been recorded. In the case presented by the U.S. Prosecutor, the history of the Nazi Party was developed in detail right from its inception. The agreements and diplomatic manoeuvres of the Nazis have been systematically uncovered. The records of Hitler's discussions and plans of aggression, the conquest of each of the States which were invaded by the Nazis, including the Soviet Union, have been clearly documented. Yet not a single word, not a single hint of the supposed agreement with Trotsky and the revolutionaries executed after the Moscow trials has been mentioned.

It is significant that neither the Russian nor the world Stalinist press



VISHINSKY — Prosecutor in the Moscow Trials. He sent the Old Bolsheviks to their death on the basis of "evidence" that they were working with the Gestapo — Why is this evidence not produced at Nuremberg?

has had a single line on the subject. While at the time of the Moscow trials, the world was deluged with propaganda by means of wireless, press and meetings to convince the workers of the genuineness of the charges. Now, as though by a signal, the mighty orchestra of the world Stalinist machine is deadly silent. This silence itself reveals that they are conscious of the fact that the charges in the Moscow trials could not stand the test of independent investigation.

In the indictment of the trial of Pyatakof, Radok, Sokolnikov, Serebriakov, Muralov, and others, it states:

"The investigation has established that L. D. Trotsky entered into negotiations with one of the leaders of the German National Socialist Party with a view to waging a joint struggle against the Soviet Union.

As testified by the accused Pyatakof, L. D. Trotsky, in his conversation with the accused in December 1935, informed him that as a result of these negotiations he had concluded an

(Continued on Back Page.)

"Generally speaking, we shall not manage the nationalised industries by State departments, or Civil Servants. We shall, instead, set up public corporations in charge of boards composed of men appointed because they are qualified to do a technical job with efficiency, imagination and enterprise in the public interest.

The general basis of selection will be on the lines set out in the Coal Nationalisation Bill now before Parliament, namely from persons having had experience and having shown capacity in industrial, commercial, or financial matters, science of administration or the organisation of workers."

In other words, the old capitalist management will continue.

Thus we see that the nationalisation policy of the Labour Government is aimed not at building a Socialist Britain, but at maintaining British Capitalism. Such a programme means profits for the capitalists and lowered standards for the workers, and later unemployment and misery. Labour Workers! Exert pressure on the Labour Government to carry out real socialist measures in the interests of the workers.

Demand an end to the capitulation to the capitalist class.

Not for State capitalist, but for socialised industry under workers' control!
BY P. DIXON

500,000 WORKERS STRIKE IN U.S.A.

THE AMERICAN CAPITALISTS ARE FACING THE MOST SEVERE AND IMPORTANT STRUGGLES OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS IN THE LAST DECADE.

225,000 General Motor workers have been on strike for almost two months demanding a 30 per cent. increase in wages. Notices of two further large scale strikes are about to expire: one by the 200,000 strong membership of the Electrical Workers Union, and one by the Steelworkers Union demanding 9/- a day increase, which might involve a million workers.

Hand in hand with these titanic battles between the richest and most brutal sections of American capitalism, and the highly organised sections of the working class, goes the paralysing strike of the telecommunications workers, the strike of meat-packing workers and threats from other industries.

Thus American capitalism, confident and cocky with its successes in the world arena, is preparing, in the words of Don Iddan ("Daily Mail" 9/1/46) for a "showdown fight, a battle of Titans". The same writer writes: "A rise in wages, matched by a similar rise in prices, is the immediate cause, but the roots go deeper." "They are to be found in the stirring of the workpeople, who want the books opened, and the intricacies of profits and surplus laid bare."

From the "Militant", organ of the Socialist Workers' Party, our American brother party, which is actively engaged in the workers' struggles, we learn that the cost of living has increased by 50 per cent.; that inflation and consequent further rise in prices faces the American workers. General Motors (controlled by the wealthy Du Pont family) has made fabulous profits out of the war. So great indeed have been the profits that to their demand for increased prices to cover wage demands, President Truman has stated that they could increase wages without increased prices and that they should open their books to a Government "fact finding commission".

Along with anti-union drives, press and radio campaigns, victimisation

and intimidation (assisted fully by Truman and Congress) General Motors has pleaded "poverty"! To this the United Automobile Workers Union has answered with "OPEN THE BOOKS"! Understanding the significance of this demand, the "Militant" has stood firm in support of the closely guarded secrets of "big business."

In face of the wealthy and powerful General Motors, Fords and Chryslers, and their Congress, the workers have remained solid and determined. They have prevented every manoeuvre of the union leaders to reach a settlement for anything but a 30 per cent. increase. Picket lines, supported by the whole organised labour movement, surround each of the General Motors' plants. Ex-soldiers are right in the front of these picket lines.

With all the methods of a highly organised movement and with the experience of the 1937 battle with General Motors, the strikers are in battle with no quarter. Their initiative and militancy demonstrates clearly the radicalisation of the American working-class and the part that it will play in the world struggle for Socialism.

Crew Protests 'NONFRAT.' ORDER

The following protest has been sent to the "Socialist Appeal" by the crew of M.V. "HIGHLAND BRIGADE" taking troops to the Far East. The letter was also sent to the M.W.T., the "Daily Herald", and the Seamen's Union:

M.V. HIGHLAND BRIGADE

"Notices have been posted throughout the ship informing us that we must not fraternise with any troops which are on board... We the undersigned, protest against this measure as an insult to both Crew and Troops. We regard it as an outrage that a ban, which has been lifted in Germany, should be imposed upon us and our comrades in the Armed Forces."

Here follows the signatures of 112 members of the crew.

An accompanying letter was also sent by the crew as follows:

"Dear Sir,
Herewith find enclosed a mass protest from members of the crew of the above ship occasioned by the following order recently posted throughout the Ship 'MEMBERS OF THE CREW ARE NOT ALLOWED TO FRATERNISE WITH THE TROOPS.' We are aware that such an order was issued by the Government early in 1940. The war is over now and we

do not expect a Labour Government to continue such an undemocratic regulation, especially in view of the fact that such an order was deemed 'farical' in relation to the occupation of Germany. On approaching the Master, we were told even with a relative on board, who is a member of the Forces, permission would be required to associate with him. Apparently this order does not apply to the Ship's Officers.

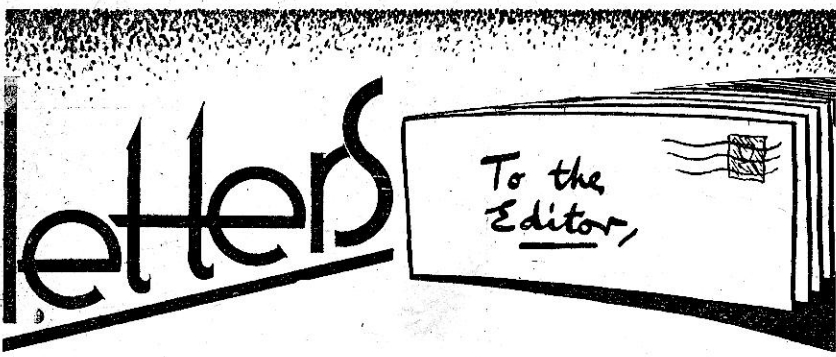
For the last six years we have risked our lives 'so that Democracy may not perish from this earth', yet this Order denies to us one of the basic principles of that Democracy—Freedom of Association. We feel that we can safely say that we claim to represent the Merchant Navy in requesting the immediate withdrawal of this reactionary order.

Hoping this will meet with your prompt attention.

We are, Sir,
THE CREW"

The Trade Union movement must support the demand of the crew of M.V. "Highland Brigade" for the removal of these reactionary restrictions. Resolutions should be sent to the Ministry of War Transport and to the Government.

TO SMASH FASCISM—SMASH CAPITALISM!



British Soldier in Java

An envelope arrived at our office with a printed heading across the top:

Djawatan Kereta-Api
REPUBLIK INDONESIA.
S.E.A.C.

December 18th, 1945.

Dear Comrade,

Much against my will, I am now in Batavia, helping to bolster up European imperialism. I have only been here for a few days, and therefore cannot give you a complete picture, but hope to do so in the near future. I am enclosing a newspaper and leaflet which I found—I am afraid I cannot read Malay yet, so I can not translate it, but it appears to be issued by some "left" organisation.

Although I realised before I left Singapore, that public opinion in Java was on the side of the Indonesian Republic, it was not until I arrived here that I realised the overwhelming support which the Republic commanded among all sections of the population. The Javaneses of every class are unanimous in their approval of the I.R.'s 1945 Constitution, whilst the overwhelming majority of the Chinese and Indians living here support this new blow against their exploiters.

Everything was organised and running comparatively smoothly until British and Dutch intervention began, but now the whole island is in a state of chaos. The main trouble seems to be that neither side understands the class basis of the struggle. The mass of the Indonesians are anti-European,

making no differentiation between the wealthy Dutch planter, and the unfortunate Eurasian clerk, who finds himself unacceptable to either side.

The average British soldier too, is both anti-Dutch and anti-Indonesian—against the Dutch because he blames them for his being here; and against the Indonesians for the deaths of British soldiers out here.

There is also a strong prejudice against the Labour Government growing amongst the troops for sending us here. I find more and more chaplains willing to listen to the policy of Revolutionary Communism although another section, in their disillusionment, are taking an anti-parliamentarian stand.

Incidentally, I have just heard from a Dutch soldier, who is very anti-imperialist, one of the latest Dutch schemes for creating trouble in this part of the world. The Indonesians still use the currency issued by the Japs, and will not accept Dutch Guilders, so we are paid in two currencies—Dutch Guilders at the rate of one D.G. 2/7s, also 150 Jap Guilders per week, which are a "free gift" from the Dutch Government!! Their latest move, however, is to pay Dutch soldiers no official wages, but to give them instead 1,500 Jap Guilders per week, thus causing severe inflation throughout the country!

I must close now as I am on duty in a few moments.

Best wishes to all,

Yours fraternally,

P.

MON. BUS STRIKE SUPPORTED BY MINERS

The entire staff of 78 workers have been sacked by the West Monmouthshire Omnibus Board for participating in an unofficial strike. The strike was in defence of a Trade Union principle—the right of appointment by seniority.

On November 17th, the W. Mon. Omnibus Board announced the appointment of an inspector to take effect from Jan. 1st, 1946. The man chosen for the job was an ex-service man who was once employed on the Board's office staff. This appointment cut right across the Union's established agreement of appointment by seniority—a principle which had been in existence for over 19 years, and which was well known to all members of the Board. (Appointment by seniority means that all appointments to an official's job are governed by length of service as driver or conductor.)

At a General meeting of the employees on Dec. 19th, it was decided unanimously to cease work as from 12 o'clock that night.

On Sunday 23rd Dec, D. T. Jones, M.P. for West Hartlepool, who is also Chairman of the Transport Committee on the Pontypridd Council, and A. V. Nicholls, secretary of the Pontypridd Branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, contacted the Strike Committee in an attempt to mediate in the dispute. After hearing the men's case, Jones contacted the Board. Later that day he returned to the Committee with the Board's reply—"No negotiations until the men return to work."

Jones admitted that the men had a strong case, but nevertheless advised a return to work in order to preserve the negotiating machinery. But the strikers had different ideas. They had no intention of dulling the enthusiasm of the men by agreeing to the usual trick of the employers—long drawn out "negotiations". They voted to continue the strike.

On Christmas Eve the following notice was issued to all the employees:—

"Notice is hereby given to each employee of the Board who is now wrongfully withholding his services to the Board that unless he returns to work on or before Wednesday next, 26th instant, his employment will be deemed to have terminated at that date."

be terminated at the expiration of one week from that date.

(signed) Trevor Griffiths, Clerk of the Board."

At a meeting held on Dec 26th, the strikers stood firm in the face of this blatant intimidation and again voted to continue the strike. The Board then sent for Morris, District Organiser of the T.G.W.U., but his efforts to get the men back to work were as unsuccessful as the notice of dismissal.

A statement from the Board was then issued offering to put a bus at the disposal of any workers who presented themselves for work. But not one striker answered this call to blackleg.

Every one of the 9 members who issued the call for Blackleg Labour are, or have been, officials in the Trade Union movement. In fact, the Board itself is composed of 3 members of the Mynyddiwlwyn Urban District Council, and 6 members of the Bed-Welly U.D.C. and both these Councils are 100% Labour! And, to add to Labour's disgrace, the local Labour Party actually called Public meetings to support and give publicity to—the West Mon. Omnibus Board! At one of these meetings a member of the Strike Committee was refused a hearing—even from the floor, leave alone from the platform, where of course he should have been at a Labour Party meeting.

In contrast to the strike breaking activities of the Labour Party, the Strike Committee has conducted itself in a militant and disciplined fashion in making the men's case known up and down the mining valleys. Leaflets have been produced and reports given to Trades Councils and Trade Union Branches. A dozen Public Meetings have been called by the Committee and they have been a great success. At one such meeting held in Oakdale and attended by over 200 miners, a resolution of support was passed which demanded that the Board open up negotiations with the Strike Committee. A collection for the strikers was also taken at this meeting.

The miners of Oakdale are to be congratulated in standing by their striking fellow bus workers. Such solidarity will stand them in good stead when it is the miners turn to fight. If the Strike Committee can succeed in retaining the support of the workers in their militant struggle—as they certainly deserved to—then no doubt that they will win through.

NATIONALISATION A Miner's Point of View

The article published below was received by us in response to a recent statement in the "Socialist Appeal" inviting contributions from Miners on this all important question of Nationalisation.

We are in general agreement with the views expressed in this contribution although the demand raised by the author for the "re-election of all officials every five years" allows for far too long a period of office. In our opinion, the demands around which the miners can wage a real struggle against the prevailing conservatism and incompetence of the top leadership of the N.U.M. should be:—

- (1) All officials to be paid working men's wages.
- (2) All officials to be subject to immediate recall by a majority of the men who elected them.
- (3) All officials to stand for ANNUAL re-election.

Our previous offer to publish miners views on mining problems still stands—whether those views are in agreement with our own or not.

Contributions should be sent to J. Lawrence, R.C.P. Offices, 17, Alfred Street, Neath, South Wales. Incidentally we should be pleased if "John Riding" (the author of the article below) would send us his address. J.L.

FROM A YORKSHIRE MINER

Any miner of experience could give an impassioned reply to such as Horner. Unfortunately, men like Horner forget the fact that it was their fellow-workers who put them where they are. They labour under the idea that it was their own superior talents that raised them in status. It was indeed lamentable and tragic that a long list can be made of men who once worked at the coal-face, and whom we believed in and trusted, who have betrayed that trust. The shame is on them, not on us. Look at them over a number of years. William Brace, "Mabon" Frank Hodges, Horner, Joe Hall, Joseph Jones, and in a lesser degree those miners' leaders who accepted titles.

Of course, it is quite true we are often taunted with the remark: "You are all alike—You would do the same if you had the chance!" But consider: How many thousands of miners have remained true, not merely from economic interests alone, but because they believed in the moral righteousness of their cause? Of course, it is a foul insult to our honesty and integrity to charge us as being tarred with the same brush. (True it is offensive to our intelligence and ideals to impute motives of self interest, when we have often suffered for our devotion to principles and a strict adherence to Price List payments.) We could, as I say, boil over with rage and lash these traitors with all the vehemence and invective of the old testament prophets. But where does it get us? Nowhere!

The answer is with the Miners themselves. It lies in the Miners Lodges. Any miner knows that every Tom, Dick or Harry who can gab a bit—sometimes a lot—and can work up the pretence of having his fellow workers interests at heart, can get the official



positions by sheer cheek and impudence. The rest is easy. It follows automatically, step by step to the top. Let us look at the national leaders! Time works changes. These agitators who once fulminated against the coal owners, and who urged their fellow workers to have more guts, suddenly become respectable members of society with a capital S.

The position now calls for reason, not emotion. The rules and constitution of the Miners' Federation must be altered to deal with the possible treachery of promoted leaders. A five year term of office should be made a law and any leader desiring to continue in office should seek re-election or be superseded by a more worthy man. Leaders must give an account

Over the Top! WELL DONE COMRADES!

The Expansion Campaign Fund target has been well exceeded. The total amount collected was £671 17s. 9d.

This is a splendid achievement and it shows that our members and sympathisers are capable of real efforts to stabilise the finances of the Party when the problem is tackled in this way.

The amounts raised in the various localities—and special mention must be made here of the efforts of our Comrades in the Forces—the prompt and regular way in which the money was sent to the Centre has considerably eased our burden. It has enabled us, not only to keep pace with our regular commitments, but to expand along the lines indicated by the Campaign objectives, and to make some plans for the future.

It is now possible to maintain a full-time Secretary for the London District Committee; donations have been made from the Fund to our West Wales organisation; and a substantial part of the cost of the Municipal Election Campaign in Bootle and Walsend was borne by the Fund.

On the propaganda field, we have been able to regularise the appearance of "Workers' International News" and to respond to the events in Indo-China and Java with a pamphlet devoted to the subject.

Additional pamphlets are in the hands of the printers including "The Russian Revolution" and "Germany The Key To The International Situation" (2nd impression) by Leon

Trotsky; "A.B.C. of Trotskyism—Testimony of James P. Cannon" (3rd impression); and "Imperialism in the Middle East" by T. Cliff, dealing with the problem of Palestine. Pamphlets on Nationalisation and Party Recruiting are also in the course of preparation. This programme can be carried through only if our Comrades

BOXING

At Hollywood City W.F.F.
Pattison Road, POONA.
On SUN. 23rd OCT. 9 p.m.
Sensational return 10 Round Battle for Featherweight Title of Poona.
For Winner-Take-All Plus Side Stake
A Silver Belt will be awarded to the Winner.

BUDDY YASMIN
The Burma Champion and Belt Holder for Bantam and Feather Weight, Championship of Burma and Southern India Oct. 6

SOLDIER
GEORGE DENHOLM
The Fighting Scotsman (Cameronian Regt.)
With an English Record of over 250 Victories, etc.

GEORGE DENHOLM—"THE FIGHTING SCOTSMAN" HAS CONTRIBUTED GENEROUSLY FROM HIS WINNINGS TO OUR CAMPAIGN FUND.

Branches	Target	Paid in £ s. d.	% of c.
FORCES	£40	134 1 6	335%
EDINBURGH	£15	37 6 7	249%
CENTRAL OFFICE	£50	98 11 4	198%
HENDON	£20	34 18 0	174%
ILFORD	£5	6 16 6	137%
COVENTRY	£4	4 9 9	133%
SOUTHALL	£15	18 0 0	120%
EASTBOURNE	£5	6 0 0	120%
NORWICH	£7	8 0 0	114%
CHELTENHAM	£1	1 1 0	105%
SHANDON	£25	25 10 0	102%
SOUTH WEST LONDON	£25	25 10 0	102%
SHEFFIELD	£20	20 0 0	100%
LEEDS	£8	8 0 0	100%
NOTTINGHAM	£25	25 0 0	100%
NORTH LONDON	£25	24 7 0	97%
NEWCASTLE	£30	27 10 0	91%
WEST LONDON	£30	26 5 0	88%
ENFIELD	£5	4 6 6	87%
NEATH	£15	12 12 8	84%
BEVERLEY	£3	2 10 0	83%
GLASGOW	£40	29 11 4	74%
SOUTH EAST LONDON	£20	13 5 8	66%
OXFORD	£5	2 10 0	50%
LONDON DISTRICT COMMITTEE	£35	16 19 8	49%
BIRMINGHAM	£20	9 14 6	49%
NEWARK	£3	1 9 0	48%
CANNOCK	£5	2 6 6	46%
LIVERPOOL	£30	12 0 0	40%
GWAUN - CAE - GURWEN	£8	2 11 6	32%
MERTHYR and TREDEGAR	£7	1 3 6	17%
PALESTINE COMRADES		£64 17 9	
		30 0 0	
		£671 17 9	

MINERS' LIVES VERSUS PROFITS

BY JOHNNY JONES (CROWN)

The fall fell on the steel sides of the stairs which led to the pit head. It was very dark. The laboured breathing of some of the miners who passed me on the stairs made me think of the pit's silicosis victims and of the many who had died this year from this dread disease. I also thought of old Tommy Davies—killed a few days before last Christmas and I remembered with anger how the management had callously deducted from his pay the period during which he had lain dead at the coal face. I looked around me in the strong light of the pit head electric lamps and wondered if all the miners gathered there would enjoy the Christmas holiday which was only one day away.

At the pit bottom we separated to go to the various districts. I, with 80 others to the Lock and Key district. Everyone seemed happy as the "spake" (man train) which was taking us to the inner workings, started. Someone started singing a Christmas Carol—"Silent Night". All joined in.

The "spake" (man train) reached the end of its journey and we walked the remaining mile to the coal face where my mate and I finally separated from the others to enter our "stall road". Jack Williams (my mate) being a First Aid man, inspected his "Surgical Box" and at the sight of that blood coloured box I again wondered whether it would be necessary to use it during that shift.

Unable to commence work at once, we both lay down in the strange silence and watched the fantastic shadows cast by our lamps on the roof. A mouse ran across my face and I shuddered. And at that same moment a voice echoed through the darkness... "Come quickly, Jack! Heddwyn is under a stone!" What I had feared had come. I started up and both of us ran towards the accident. As I ran I cursed fate for its inhuman ways—and I cursed the management as well.

When I arrived at the stall of my unfortunate comrade I found that eight of my mates were already up the higher part of the "stall". It was a tragic scene. My comrades sweated to extract the body from under the stone and soon they were carrying it down to the "stall's" roadway. The body was terribly crushed. The First Aid man suspected a fractured spine and I wondered if any life at all was left in the body of poor Heddwyn.

Then the stretcher arrived and the First Aid man ordered that all available men (about 26) were to help in carrying the injured man because of the nature of the injuries, the long

distance to the pit bottom (about a mile and a half), because of the very rough and bad state of the haulage roadway. When we lifted our comrade onto the stretcher he screamed with pain. . . . We reached the surface at about 11 a.m.—just as the sun was breaking through the heavy black rain clouds.

Heddwyn Williams, age 27, of Cwmlynnfell, even if he survives, will be crippled for life. . . . That is what the hospital report says.

Such incidents as this are not rare in the pits, and this true story would never have been written had not the Steer Pit management provided the following disgusting epilogue:

They disputed the need for 26 men to carry out the injured miner—and this despite the First Aid man's instructions to this effect. The First Aid man is supposed to have full powers in such cases—and, Jack Williams, the man involved in this case, resigned his position in protest.

On pay day, only 14 of the 26 men were paid the half shift they had lost while acting as stretcher bearers, but even they had their allowances deducted. Which meant that they actually received nothing. 6 of the other 12 have been promised the half shift allowances, but as these will not get the normal half shift's money, they also will lose money.

Gow, the manager, is said to have stated: "So many men going out with the injured man is all a game!" What brazen callousness! Had only 6 men (which Gow considered was enough) carried the injured man out of the pit, it is almost certain that, under the prevailing bad conditions, he would never have reached the top alive.

On December 28th, in protest against this inhuman attitude of the management, all the men from the Lock and Key district staged a one day strike.

Apart from this almost unbelievably callous concern for profit on the part of the Steer Pit management, there is one other lesson which must be learned from this tragic incident. Many an injured miner has died on his way to the pit top because of the primitive First Aid methods still employed in most pits.

Modern First Aid Stations must be installed in every district under-ground—fully equipped with every device for ensuring the safe and speedy removal of the casualty to the pit head. This aspect of the miners safety must be definitely catered for in the coming plans for Nationalisation of the industry.

SOCIALIST APPEAL
 Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International.
 256 HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2
 Phone: CUN 2528.
 EDITOR: E. Grant.
 BUSINESS MANAGER: Ann Keen.

SMASH The Fascists

Fascist propaganda and organisation is being revived. Printing and publishing establishments are being prepared and the centralisation of the scattered fascist groups, organisations and contacts is already taking place.

These facts constitute a serious threat to the interests of the working class and its political and industrial organisations.

We know from bitter experience that the failure of the Italian and German workers to destroy fascism while it was still weak led to the massacre of the best representatives of the working class, and the destruction of all the industrial, political and cultural organisations of the working class once the fascists came to power. We must never make the same mistake in this country.

FASCISM MUST BE DESTROYED AT BIRTH.

To break up and destroy the fascists before they can constitute a serious reactionary force is therefore a pressing task that must be undertaken by the workers. If our forces are mobilised now and a serious onslaught on fascism begun, we will gain the support of all racial and religious groups who are made the scapegoats of the foul propaganda of the fascist gangsters.

What must the working class do to end the menace of fascism? Shall we rely upon the policy of those who say: **BAN THE FASCISTS?** Or must we counterpose a clear and definite slogan that contains a working class directive: **SMASH THE FASCISTS?**

STATE MACHINE CAN'T SMASH FASCISM

The campaign to Ban the Fascists, which relies on bringing pressure to bear on the Government, is a dismal evasion of the real problem. It cannot succeed because the State machine, even under the Labour Government, is a capitalist State machine. The Army, Police and the Courts are ridden from top to bottom with fascist elements and sympathisers, **ESPECIALLY AT THE TOP.**

The trial at Nuremberg, despite the careful selection of the evidence, has already shown sufficient contact between leading representatives of British monopoly capitalism and aristocracy and German fascism, to make this point clear. The way in which the State machine in pre-war Britain protected the fascists, the connection between the State machine and fascism should be clear to the most backward person by now. How then is it possible to call upon the workers to rely upon the State machine to impose a ban, even if the Labour Government is induced to impose such a ban?

CLEARLY IT IS A QUESTION OF SMASHING THE FASCISTS AND NOT OF BANNING THEM. The working class must be mobilised for this task.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR ACTION

To stop fascist printed propaganda, trade unionists must be instructed to refuse to print, handle or transport fascist propaganda. The union executives must be forced to make this a rule. All who violate it must be black-listed by Labour organisations and excluded from the unions.

Mass pickets, representing the united front of all industrial and political organisations of the working class, must be formed to disperse and smash fascist propaganda meetings. By demonstrating the united might and force of militant organised Labour the scum who flock to the banner of fascism will be dismayed and frightened off.

These are the forms of activity which, while drawing the broad mass of the workers into conscious anti-fascist activity will ensure that fascism will be unable to raise its head.

FORCE THE GOVERNMENT TO OUTLAW FASCISTS

But this does not mean that we must not seek the support of the Labour Government to destroy and ban the fascists. On the contrary. The Labour Government was placed in power by the votes of the organised working class. It claims to represent the wishes of the workers, their aims and aspirations.

We must demand from the Labour Government:

That it publish the names of all pro-fascists in the so-called "Red Book" of the fascist Capt. Ramsey.

That it publish all evidence and information in the hands of British Intelligence which reveals the connections between Nazis, Fascists and representatives of the British ruling class.

That it introduce legislation to make fascist propaganda and organisation illegal, and to protect all workers who are involved in picketing and other forms of anti-fascist propaganda aimed at smashing the fascists.

DESTROY CAPITALISM TO DESTROY FASCISM

Fascism is one of the political expressions of the middle class in opposition to the working class, and in favour of capitalism. To strike real blows at Fascism it is necessary to strike at monopoly capitalism. If the Labour Government fails to take real measures against capitalism the economic crisis will be inevitable and fascism will receive a tremendous filip. We must force the Labour Government to take the widest possible measures against the capitalists and thus help to destroy the basis of fascism.

The task of the political organisations of the working class in this connection is to bring every possible measure of pressure upon the Government to destroy the fascists, but at the same time to rely only upon the force of the independent industrial and political organisations of our class as the weapon of destroying fascism.

SMASH THE MORTAL ENEMY OF THE WORKING CLASS — FASCISM — WHILE IT IS STILL WEAK!

FOR A UNITED FRONT OF ALL LOCAL AND NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS OF LABOUR AGAINST ANY FORM OF FASCIST ACTIVITIES!

THE ROLE OF THE C.P. IN ITALY

BY ENRICO

Throughout Italy at various times there have been and will continue to be, small strikes affecting a particular industry, general strikes affecting a town or province, and general spontaneous opposition to the terrible conditions which prevail and which do not improve.

Italy had been under the iron heel of fascism for 20 odd years and with its coming to power a curtain came down on the working class movement and working class parties. After the overthrow of Mussolini by the Italian working class the Socialist and Communist Parties came out into the open.

In Italy, more so than in any other country in Europe, a study of the role of the Communist Party would be well advised, particularly so for members of the British C.P., and C.P.s throughout the world. They have grown up with the changing policies of the Communist Party, but in Italy because of the gap from 1923 to 1945, the difference between the Italian C.P. of '23 and that of '45 is seen in all its sharpness. When the C.P. went under in '23 it was a revolutionary Party of a revolutionary International. Today it has nothing in common with communism, except the name. It is not part of a revolutionary international. Instead it is part of a 6-Party coalition, with Right Catholics serving under Prince Umberto, with a Right Catholic Prime Minister.

Whilst the Italian working class are living in abject poverty and are attempting to struggle against this, the Communist Minister of Justice, Togliatti, is busy signing his name to measures to suppress any opposition on the part of the Italian masses and for the improvement of their leaders. To such depths has the party sunk, Italy, and the example we shall give,

must serve as a warning to Communist Party members and workers all over the world that the line of collaboration put into practice by the Italian C.P. must mean their helping to suppress on behalf of the capitalist class, the rising tide of militancy on the part of the working class.

It makes the Communist Party equally responsible with the other five members of the Committee of National Liberation for every rise in the price of bread, of oil, of clothes. For every worsening of the standards of the Italian masses.

MASS FIGHT FOR LIFE

The province of Apulia is one of the poorest in Italy. And to add to the terrible conditions of the workers and peasants for almost all goods resort must be made to the black market. The cost of living is assessed at 500 lire a day (the skilled mechanics working for British Military receive 280 lire a day). Oil, a most essential part of the household budget costs 600 lire a litre.

The peasants had asked for 220 lire a day instead of the 110 which they were receiving. This was refused. The reply of the peasants and workers of Andrea, Minervina and Murg, all in the province of Apulia, to this refusal was a complete stoppage of work. The movement developed, and placing themselves at the head of the peasants, were the workers of Bari led by the Communist Party and its local leader Di Gaetano. The Italian Government, the coalition Government of the 6 Parties of N.C.L., immediately moved against the workers and peasants in an attempt to crush them. They failed to defeat this movement by force of arms and in

* 400 lire to the £.

the fighting that ensued there were many killed and wounded. The municipality was burned down, the Carabinieri (Royal Police) were disarmed, and led by the local C.P., the workers went on to form their own Red Guard to open the prisons and to occupy the local barracks.

Here now was something serious for the N.C.L. Here was a test for them. To oppose the just demands of the hungry peasants and workers of the side of reaction. They chose the latter.

ROLE OF C.P. LEADERS

Having failed by force, the Government sent to the scene Communist ministers FAUSTO GULLO and MAURO SCOCIMARO, and Socialist Minister GAETANO BARBARESCHE. They appealed to the workers and peasants in the name of "law and order" and promised there would be a betterment in the standard of living and no victimisation. None of these promises were kept. The standard of living did not improve, and there followed the immediate arrest of DI GAETANO and about 20 of his comrades.

Remember workers and members of the Communist Party, the Minister of Justice is a member of the Communist Party. These local members of the C.P. were imprisoned by a "communist" and abandoned by the Communist Party. This is the reward by the Communist Party to those of its members who take up a fight for a better standard of life for the masses and against reaction. The C.P. abandoned them to their fate. From prison Comrade Di Gaetano

contacted our Italian party (P.O.C.) asking on behalf of all Bari C.P.s, for information about the party.

Since that time the P.O.C. have carried on friendly discussion with these militant workers. As a direct result of these discussions and the sell-out of Togliatti & Co., Comrade Gaetano and 50 of the Bari C.P. have joined the Fourth International.

TROTSKYISTS FIGHT WITH THE MASSES

The WORKERS' COMMUNIST PARTY (P.O.F.) Italian Section of the Fourth International, has come out for the immediate release of the Bari Communist Party members as good honest working class fighters, and they demand of the Government (of which the C.P. is a member) that they release these C.P.s and that the standard of life of the Italian workers be raised immediately.

We take this opportunity of saluting the heroic workers and peasants of APUGLIA, and of Comrade DI GAETANO and his comrades now abandoned by the Communist Party. We demand of the Labour Government that it uses its powers to effect the release of these workers. Every move that the workers make, the C.P. members will inevitably find that the Party policy of class collaboration is a block in the path of progress. They will come to see that the WORKERS' COMMUNIST PARTY, with its policy of and its demand that the Communist Party and Socialist Party break from the capitalists and form a Government, is the only party in Italy that can march with the Italian workers and poor peasants and finally win with them a Socialist Italy as part of a United Socialist States of Europe.



In Defence of
**The COLONIAL
 REVOLUTION**
 Hands Off Java!
 AN END TO THE
 LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S
 IMPERIALIST POLICY
 BY AJIT ROY
 (Twopence)

From LEFT and RIGHT

By "Agitator"

THE FRAUD WHICH IS CAPITALISM

Corruption and fraud, long designated by socialists as an essential feature of capitalist society, has now received "official recognition" as a legally accepted institution.

Writing on the budget debate in France, the "Times" correspondent says: "Salaries are taxed by a lower rate in France than other forms of income, because it is assumed in case of other income that the declarations are fraudulent."

What a condemnation of the rottenness and corruption which is capitalism. Here the whole capitalist class stand indicted. Only the workers' incomes are taxed on the assumption that the returns are honest, although this information is also supplied by employers. Thus we see that the capitalists, whilst evading their obligations to the state, which exists to defend their interests, make sure that the workers have no similar opportunities. And because it is the capitalists who are doing it, such practice receives what amounts in essence to legal sanction.

In typically logical fashion, France is the first capitalist state publicly to recognise a phenomenon by no means French.

IN THE NAME OF "LIBERATION"

When Indonesian resistance to Anglo-Dutch imperialist occupation first began, the ruling circles here, and their agents the Labour leaders, hastened to condemn the Japanese nationalist movement as Japanese-created and inspired. The opposite was true, and it is gradually becoming clearly revealed.

According to the "Daily Worker", Jan. 1st, "A Leading Japanese war criminal has been returned to Java to take up his old post at Bandoeng at the request of the Allied High Command. He is Major-General Yamamoto, Chief of Staff of the Japanese 16th Army, and head of the Japanese propaganda section during the occu-

pation of Java, says a B.U.P. message from Batavia."

One of his tasks, the report indicates, will be to "endeavour to straighten out the difficulties caused by the refusal of Japanese naval personnel to obey British orders."

Thus the British Labour Government attempts to use the Japanese naval forces against the Indonesian nationalists and recruits "Japanese war criminals" to assist it. Darian, Badoglio, and Doenitz were used by the Allied imperialists against the possibility of an uprising by the workers. Yamamoto is recruited to help to crush an uprising of the colonial masses which is already in progress. This is not just a "continuation" of reactionary Tory policy. Mr. Bevin, but a shameful development of it. There is yet time, and the need is urgent, for the British workers to enforce an end to this monstrous imperialist gangsterism which is carried out in Labour's name.

Workers International News 6d
 Theoretical Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

CONTENTS —

EDITORIAL NOTES
 IMPERIALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST by T. CHIF.
 OUR TASKS IN EUROPE
 TROTSKYIST TASKS IN EUROPE by William Simmons
 TACTICAL PROBLEMS OF THE EUROPEAN MOVEMENT
 By Felix Morrow

I.L.P. MILITANT JOINS R.C.P.

Comrade W. A. Mellors Appeals to I.L.P'ers

Many comrades will know me as the Secretary of the London Federation of the I.L.P. and a member of the Divisional Council, and will be surprised to learn that I have now broken with the I.L.P. and become a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

For a number of years, I worked in the I.L.P. because I believed that the I.L.P. possessed the potentialities of a revolutionary party that could lead the workers to the conquest of power. Such a belief, however, was unfortunately based on the acceptance by myself of the "revolutionary statements" of the leaders, rather than on a critical examination of the programme, policy and composition of the I.L.P. But hard realities in the shape of even harder events have demonstrated that the I.L.P. can never fulfil that role. The Trotskyist criticism of the I.L.P. has been fully justified, contrary to my own earlier beliefs. Its programme, policy and perspectives have been demonstrated to be based upon Marxian theory and experience capable of assessing the day to day political events and needs of the workers and in the light of inflexible socialist principles.

When events proved the naivety of the "Socialist Britain Now" Campaign, the I.L.P. leaders lost their hopes; forgot their past revolutionary statements; watered down their principles—all so as to get back into the Labour Party as soon as possible. Their lack of Marxian understanding left them floundering as political events exposed the hopelessness of their policies. There is today amongst the leadership, no alternative programme to that of the Labour leaders, no perspective of building the I.L.P. as a revolutionary party. This necessarily serves to add to the illusions of the workers that reformism can solve their problems, necessarily rules out the need for a party independent of the Labour Party utilising the practice of a reformist Labour Government, in order to win the workers away from the theory and practice of reformism.

The epitaph of such leaders can already be seen when it is now the general opinion of I.L.P. members, that the right wing of the leadership will desert to the Labour Party when it becomes certain that the I.L.P. will not be granted affiliation.

But even more important is the fact that the bankruptcy of the leadership has resulted in the floundering of the party, and not in the crystallisation of a "left wing" equipped with the programme and principles for founding a revolutionary party. The bankruptcy of the leadership is paralleled by the com-

plete disintegration of the "left wing".

Indeed, there is no "left wing" in the I.L.P. Only odd groups and individuals, disillusioned and disintegrated. And this disintegration will continue. It is to these left wingers that I appeal: You have seen how the I.L.P. has failed to stand up to the test. You know that today the leaders have no faith in the Party's future... I learn that behind the backs of the members some have already been discussing with Common Wealth on the question of what is to happen to those who do not want to go into the Labour Party. They are deciding the future of the Party behind the back of the membership.

It is evident to all active and alive members that the day to day policy of the party on all issues has been inadequate. The Dock Strike, despite magnificent work by the London Organiser and individual members, did not receive the real support (that is genuine revolutionary support) of the I.L.P.

I wish to add here that my break with the I.L.P. growing over a period is directly and immediately due to the Dock Strike, when the gap which divides the I.L.P. from the real struggles of the workers, was shown most obviously to me. It is true to say that during that strike the I.L.P. as a party had no policy, not a single idea to offer the strikers. Similarly the gas strike, in spite of equally magnificent work by the London organiser and one or two party members. Again with the Building workers struggle, owing to the inadequate and non-Marxist policy, no correct guide was given to the I.L.P. militants leading the builders' struggle, and constantly they made mistakes which have now led to the strangling of the builders' struggle by allowing it to fall into the hands of the Stalinists.

In all these struggles the correct lead of the R.C.P. has been evident. The perspectives of the R.C.P. have been a clear guide to the future and have shown themselves to be correct. The Marxian programme of the R.C.P. has shown itself capable of giving a correct political and industrial direction to the advanced elements of the working class.

It is to the few remaining militants of the I.L.P. that I appeal: You have keenly felt the inadequate help and support of the party behind your efforts. Experience and theory must inevitably force you to the same conclusions as mine if you wish to serve the interests of the working class. Join a party which is capable of becoming the revolutionary party which will lead the workers to the conquest of power. Join the Revolutionary Communist Party.

W. A. Mellors

RELEASE THE I.N.A. PRISONERS

BY AJIT ROY

THE RELEASE OF THE THREE OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY BY THE VICEROY AFTER THEY HAD BEEN SENTENCED TO TRANSPORTATION FOR LIFE BY A COURTS MARTIAL ON CHARGES OF TREASON, REPRESENTS A GREAT VICTORY FOR THE INDIAN PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF ALL I.N.A. PRISONERS. BUT THAT STRUGGLE HAS NOT YET ENDED. BESIDES THESE THREE WHO WERE TRIED THERE ARE HUNDREDS MORE STILL AWAITING TRIAL.

It is also estimated that in numerous prisons and detention camps scattered throughout India, there are thousands more whose fate is still being debated upon by the authorities. Many of these prisoners are subjected to brutal treatment. Among the officers detained in the "RED FORT" in Delhi, which possesses a well-equipped torture chamber, some are believed to have committed suicide, while at least one has been transferred to a mental hospital.

MASS PROTESTS AGAINST I.N.A. TRIALS

Here in Britain, we have been given very little information concerning the trial of the Indian National Army officers. But it is becoming clear from the mass strikes and demonstrations that have taken place in India, what a tremendous repercussion these trials have had upon the Indian people.

According to the latest reports received from our Indian comrades of the **BOLSHEVIK LENINIST PARTY OF INDIA**, Indian Section of the Fourth International:

"A wave of mass protest and indignation, occasioned by the trial at the hands of British Imperialism of men of Subhas Chandra Bose's Indian National Army, has been sweeping the whole of India during the past month.

Huge meetings and demonstrations, frequently culminating in clashes with the police have convulsed the country from one corner to the other. And before the Calcutta events shootings and lathi charges had already taken place in MADURA, LAHORE, DELHI, LUCKNOW, and AMRITSAR.

EVEN THE INDIAN ARMY AND AIR FORCE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM WAS BEING INFECTED. OFFICERS AND MEN WERE NOT MERELY SENDING IN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE I.N.A. RELIEF FUNDS AL OVER THE COUNTRY, BUT EVEN APPEARING ON THE PLATFORMS OF MASS MEETINGS TO PRESENT THOSE CONTRIBUTIONS."

So strong is the popular feeling on this issue that, not only the Indian Congress leaders, but even the traitorous Stalinist leaders have been forced to campaign for their release. As our Indian comrades put it:

"These agents of Imperialism in India (Indian Stalinists) who up to now had been denouncing the I.N.A. men as 'Fifth Columnists and Fascists', suddenly discerned their patriotic virtues and began campaigning for their release. The pressure of the masses had goaded them into a painful and half-hearted change."

INDIAN TROTSKISTS IN FOREFRONT

Our Indian comrades are playing their part in the struggle. During the demonstration in Calcutta they were on the scene when all the "leaders" had fled. They addressed the students as they squatted on the road, praising their courage, condemning the treachery of the Congress misleaders and urging them to maintain their ground and re-enforce their strength until the imperialist police were forced to let them pass. Our comrades urged them to call out the workers to support their demands. They called for the organisation of "disciplined co-ordinated action through Joint Committees of Workers and Students, joint demonstrations and meetings.

Thus they demonstrated that the Trotskyists provided not only the theoretical, but the only fighting leadership of the anti-imperialist movement.

BACKGROUND OF THE I.N.A.

The Indian National Army was organised by the late Mr. Subhas Bose, an ex-President of the Congress, who had spent the greater part of his life in British prisons due to his opposition to British rule in India. Early in the war, Bose escaped from police custody, and eventually found his way into Japanese occupied Burma. Here, in collaboration with the Japanese authorities, he founded the "Free Indian Government", and organised the Indian National Army which was to act as the spear-head of an attack upon British rule in India.

The I.N.A., which at one time comprised some 150,000 men and women, was recruited mainly on a voluntary basis from the Indian Prisoners of War in Japanese hands, as well as from resident Indians in South-East Asia.

In his speeches, and propaganda, Bose identified the struggle of the Indian people against British imperialism, with the cause of the Axis powers. While correctly denouncing the pretence of the British imperialists that they were waging a "war for democracy", he failed to denounce the equally false claim of the Japanese capitalists that they were waging a war in the interests of "All Asiatics". He failed to see that the struggle of the Indian people against British imperialism, could not be separated from the struggle of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism, and the struggle of the working class in both Britain and Japan against their capitalist rulers. Thus, by aligning himself with the Axis powers, whatever might have been his motives, he acted in effect, as the agent of one section of oppressors against another.

To the British working class, the facts concerning the Indian National Army throw a revealing light on the tremendous hatred which British imperialism has engendered among the Indian people. Could there be any stronger indictment of British rule in India than the fact that some 150,000 men and women, mostly soldiers of the British Army, should volunteer for service in the I.N.A.? The vast majority of these men joined the I.N.A. in the belief that they would be striking a blow for India's freedom. In the eyes of the Indian

masses, this Army has come to symbolise their age-old struggle for national independence. Thus it is that almost the whole of the Indian nation is violently agitated over the trial of these men on the charge of treason by the British.

In the eyes of the Indian masses, the worst traitors and quislings who are always found on the side of British Imperialism against their own people are—the Indian princes, high Indian officials, the Landlords, big capitalists, and the Stalinists, who collaborated with British imperialism in the suppression of the mass movement of 1942.

But the I.N.A. men are being tried, not for treason towards India, but for treason to the British imperialist oppressors of India.

As our Indian comrades said:

"The I.N.A. is being tried for having waged war against the King, that is, British Imperialism. This attack on the I.N.A. is an infringement of our birthright, viz, the right of the oppressed people to rise against its oppressors, which is why a popular movement is centering around the defence of the I.N.A."

It is the duty of all class conscious workers in Britain to express their solidarity with the Indian people in their struggle for the release of the I.N.A. prisoners. If the Labour Government persists in its policy of persecuting these men and women, it will deliver serious blows to the cause of unity of the British and Indian working class in their common struggle for socialism.

Demand the release of the I.N.A. Prisoners!

NURENBERG EXPOSES MOSCOW TRIALS

(Continued from page 1.)

agreement with the said leader of the National-Socialist Party in the following terms:

- (1) 'To guarantee a generally favourable attitude towards the German Government and the necessary collaboration with it in the most important questions of an international character;
- (2) 'To agree to territorial concessions;
- (3) 'To permit German industrialists, in the form of concessions (or some other forms), to exploit enterprises in the U.S.S.R. which are essential auxiliaries to German economy (meaning iron ore, manganese, oil, gold, timber, etc.);
- (4) 'To create in the U.S.S.R. favourable conditions for the activities of German private enterprises;
- (5) 'In time of war to carry on extensive diversionist activities in war industry enterprises and at the front. These diversionist activities are to be carried on under Trotsky's instructions, in agreement with the German General Staff.

'The principles of this agreement, as Trotsky related, were finally elaborated and adopted during Trotsky's meeting with Hitler's deputy, Hess.

'Likewise, said Trotsky, he had well established connections with the "government" (Vol. I, p. 267-68.) (quoted from International Press Correspondence, p. 128, No. 6, February, 1937.)

These and other charges were investigated by the Commission of Enquiry into the Charges made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. This Commission was established under the Chairmanship of the world famous Dr. John Dewey and supported by sections of the Labour movement and radical opinion throughout the world. An examination of the evidence, and the questioning of Trotsky and other witnesses, revealed that the charges at the Moscow trials could not be substantiated by evidence.

Using them as a cover, tens of thousands of Old Bolsheviks, those who carried through and organised the revolution were imprisoned or murdered, and in their place former White Guards and Mensheviks, such as Vishinsky, Maisky, Koltzov, Troyanovsky and thousands of others of a similar calibre, took their places.

Trotsky in dealing with the reasons for the trials and the change of personnel in the leading positions explained (in his speech "I Stake My Life" p. 12):

"These sweeping alterations in personnel, especially striking in the provinces, have profound social causes. What are they? It is time, my listeners, it is high time, to recognise, finally, that a new aristocracy has been formed in the Soviet Union. The October Revolution proceeded under the banner of equality. The bureaucracy is the embodiment of monstrous inequality. The Revolution destroyed the nobility. The bureaucracy creates a new gentry. The Revolution destroyed titles and decorations. The new aristocracy produces marshals and generals. The new aristocracy absorbs an enormous part of the national income. Its position before the people is deceitful and false. Its leaders are forced to hide the reality, to deceive the masses, to cloak themselves, calling black white. The whole policy of the new aristocracy is a frame up. The new constitution is nothing but a frame-up."

Our Party has issued a challenge to the Russian Prosecuting Counsel, the text of which reads as follows:

"Now, at the Nuremberg Trial, the Russian representatives have the possibility of establishing the claim of the Stalinist Government as to

(Continued from previous Column) only if the mines are placed under the control of the workers themselves can an effective safeguard against all forms of sabotage—either technical or financial—be established.

NO COMPENSATION TO THE MINEOWNERS FOR A POLICY OF WORKERS CONTROL!

NOTTINGHAM:
Thursday, January 24th at 7.15 p.m.
ROOM 4, THE PEOPLE'S HALL, HEATHCOTE STREET,
Subject: **PRESENT POLITICAL CURRENTS**
Speaker: **TED GRANT.**

ROTHWELL:
OLD BAND ROOM
(Behind "Coach & Horses")
Tuesday, 22nd January, at 7 p.m.
CAN THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT SUCCEED?
Speaker: **TED GRANT**

LONDON:
HENDON:
PUBLIC MEETING THE HOUSING PROBLEM
Speakers: **DAVID JAMES HAROLD ATKINSON**
Wednesday, 23rd January, at 7.30 p.m.
STANFIELD HOUSE
(Off Hampstead High Street)

the alleged role of Trotsky as a Nazi agent. The archives of the Nazis are in the hands of the Allies. Before the Court of Nuremberg, with any possible suspicion attached to the Soviet courts removed, and with the press of the entire world represented to report on the evidence produced, it should be possible for you to produce, not only from the Nazi archives, but from the archives of the Russian Government, the necessary evidence to establish the verdict that:

"The materials in the possession of the investigating authorities on the present case (Moscow Trial) established that the connections between enemy of the people TROTSKY and the German political police and the intelligence services of other countries were established at a much earlier date. The investigation has definitely established that TROTSKY has been connected with the German Intelligence Service since 1921, and with the British Intelligence Service since 1926."

(Indictment. Verbatim Report of Court Proceedings in the case of the Anti-Soviet 'Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists'.)

We challenge you to produce the so-called 'evidence' at the Nuremberg Trial, upon which the cream of the Old Bolsheviks were shot and done to death. Here is an opportunity to prove to the sceptics of the Russian Government's allegations that Trotsky collaborated and acted as an agent of the Nazis and the British against the Soviet Union.

The failure to produce such evidence at the Nuremberg Trial will establish that the Stalinist Government was guilty of a monstrous frame-up against the Old Bolsheviks and Leon Trotsky."

Every honest worker, every sincere member of the Communist Party rank and file must ask himself why the Stalinist Government and the Communist Parties throughout the world are so silent on this question today; and must ask himself why they do not produce their so-called evidence against Leon Trotsky. Here is an opportunity to show the position of Trotskyism, and expose it to the contempt and anger of the world working class. But they dare not raise this question because it would expose not Trotskyism but them.

The Communist Party in Britain is waging a justified campaign demanding the publication of the lists of the names of the Nazi sympathisers in Britain discovered among the archives in Berlin. Thus the connections of the Nazis with sections of British Big Business, High Society and Court circles would be uncovered. But they have not even replied to a letter sent to the Editor of the "Daily Worker", asking that they raise an agitation on this question of the alleged relations between the Nazis, the German General Staff and the Trotskyists.

If the question were raised at Nuremberg it would not necessarily prove the correctness of the charges. But the fact that it has not been raised and there is not even a whisper in the Stalinist press and publicity on the Nuremberg Trial, is damning and irrefutable evidence that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups.

The Moscow Trials, according to the Commission of Enquiry "violated Soviet law on criminal procedure on every important point." And we see that the Stalinist bureaucrats dare not submit their fantastic charges to a tribunal, over which they do not have complete control, even one so favourable to them as that at Nuremberg where their Allies sit on the same Judges' bench, together with a Russian judge, and conduct the prosecution together with a Russian prosecutor. They have not been able to prime and drill the accused, witnesses, defence lawyers, the condition and judges and thus the conditions for a frame-up which would be convincing to the world, are not present.

Thus the Nuremberg Trial is serving one very valuable and important function for the world Labour movement: it is demonstrating that not Trotsky made agreements with Hitler, but only Stalin, in the Stalin-Hitler Pact; that not the Trotskyists but the Stalinists betrayed Socialism and the ideals of the Labour movement; and that the Moscow Trials were monstrous frame-ups.

In the light of this failure to bring out the alleged evidence, it can be understood why the Stalinist regime refused to allow the Second International (of which the British Labour Party was a section) to send independent lawyers to be present at the Moscow Trials or to interview the accused. The findings of the Commission of Inquiry are confirmed to the hilt. To every person of integrity, to the Labour movement, to all those who aim at establishing the truth, there can no longer be even a shadow of doubt: once and for all the Moscow Trials are condemned in their true role as the most sinister farces, and revolting judicial murders.

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WINNERS OF XMAS DRAW

Sheffield L.C.P.

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| FIRST PRIZE | Ticket No. 142. |
| J. Marshall, 47, Edward Street Flats, Sheffield. | |
| SECOND PRIZE | Ticket No. 19. |
| Mrs Parker, 51, Vane, Sheffield. | |
| THIRD PRIZE | Ticket No. 197. |
| John O'Connor, 25, Elliott Road, Chiswick, London, W.4. | |

REVOLUTIONARY POLICY FOR MINES

A BILL TO NATIONALISE THE MINES WILL BE DEBATED IN PARLIAMENT NEXT MONTH. WITH THE MINERS, WE REJOICE THAT AT LAST THE UNDISPUTED, CENTURY-OLD RULE OF THE REACTIONARY COAL OWNERS IS TO BE CHALLENGED. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE WORKERS WILL TAKE THIS BILL AND MAKE IT THE STARTING POINT FOR A DETERMINED DRIVE FORWARD TOWARDS A SOCIALIST SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF OUR CLASS.

The Bill itself accomplishes only one positive thing—the transference of ownership from the mine owners to the State. But of itself, this State Ownership can solve nothing for the working people. As we shall show, only when the State is a Workers State, based on the elected organs of Workers Control and directing the economy in accordance with the principle of production for use and not for profit, can State Ownership bring any benefits to the working class. Even a brief examination of Mr. Shinwell's Bill reveals it to be in fact an attempt to turn the Coal Industry into a State Capitalist Monopoly serving the general interests of the capitalist class.

In the first place, the Nationalised Industry is to be run by a National Coal Board composed of nine "experts" (coal owners not excluded!) who will receive "commercial salaries" that is, salaries far higher than those paid to the higher Civil Servants. The existing managements are to remain in charge of the industry but will now be responsible to the National Coal Board which, in turn, is responsible only to the Ministry of Fuel and Power.

The coal owners are to receive ample compensation in the form of interest bearing State Bonds—the exact amount being determined by two High Court Judges (Greene and Cohen) and one City Accountant. With such a Tribunal, it is reasonable to assume that the ultimate figure of compensation will be on a most generous scale. But in any case, until the final cost of "buying out the coal capitalists" has been worked out, the present owners are to draw out of the industry—that is, out of the sweat of the miners!—a guaranteed annual profit of £91 million. Furthermore, the Coal Board is to be granted a loan of £150 million for re-equipment and modernisation and the interest on this also is to be paid out of the proceeds of the industry. Altogether, with the coal owners £91 million, the interest

BY JOHN LAWRENCE

on the State Loan, and the salaries of the Coal Board and its host of local and regional officials, the total financial burden to be placed on this ruined and declining industry will be in the region of £18 to £20 million a year.

Finally, to ensure that the industry will be run in the interests of British capitalism's drive to regain foreign markets, a so-called "Consumers Council" composed of representatives of Big Business is to be set up to give "advice" on matters affecting the price and quality of coal.

WHAT DOES ALL THIS MEAN TO THE MINER

What does it mean to the men who have fought for over half a century for a policy of Nationalisation in the hope that it would bring an end to the slavery of coal mining? Will Shinwell's Bill realise these fervent hopes? **IN ITS PRESENT FORM IT CERTAINLY WILL NOT.** Tied to bankrupt British capitalism and saddled with this huge financial burden, it will be impossible for the industry to provide any significant improvement in miners wages or working conditions. Compensating those who have ruined the industry excludes any possibility of bettering the lot of those who have been (and still are being!) ruined by it.

Every worker who desires to see the MINERS benefited from Nationalisation; every worker who wants to see an abundance of cheap coal in his house, will campaign now, throughout the whole Labour movement, for an end to this criminal policy of compensating the coal capitalists.

And that is not all we must fight against in Shinwell's Bill. The machinery of control by capitalist State officials must be abolished and replaced by a system of control exercised by the workmen themselves through their own elected Committees.

WHY IS WORKERS CONTROL A VITAL NECESSITY?

Shinwell himself has rejected it, haughtily declaring it to be so much "doctrinaire" rubbish. In reality, of course, Workers Control is the very essence and life blood of Socialism. Take first the question of production.

If the managers and technicians are to be responsible only to the State they will pursue a policy of "making the industry pay"—a policy of producing cheap coal for the Steel Kings at the expense of the miners and the working class. But if the managers are made responsible directly to the elected Workers Committee then they will either conduct the colliery in the best interests of the men (and God knows, every possible technical assistance is needed to lighten the present inhuman toil of the miner!) or—the Committee will take ruthless action against them. Consider next the question of possible capitalist sabotage. How else can this be prevented except by making the elected Workers Committees the supreme power in each colliery. And here it will be worthwhile digressing a little in order to show that capitalist sabotage is inevitable as the struggle develops.

Although the coal capitalists have not yet displayed any open hostility to Nationalisation, no worker will place any trust in their protestations of "loyalty to the decisions of the electorate". Of course, they have been pleasantly surprised by the respect which the leaders of the Labour Party have displayed towards the sacred rights of private property and certainly the terms of compensation can give them no real cause for complaint. But there can be detected an underlying note of fear in the coal owners praise for the "wisdom and moderation" of the Labour leaders. For only too well these exploiters know that behind the "reasonable" Atlees and Bevins there stand millions of exploited workers ready to go to the end in the struggle for a fuller and better life. And they know too,

that the ability of the Labour leaders to retain their present "moderating influence" over the workers is limited to their ability to produce results. But in this epoch, capitalist policies such as the Government is now pursuing can only produce results exactly the opposite of those the working class so fervently desires. The coal owners—and the employing class in general—therefore hate this majority Labour Government, not because of its present policies or because of its present leaders, but because of what its future policies might be. In short, they hate it because of its working class content.

For these reasons the coal owners can have no intentions of "loyally co-operating" in the Government's plans for Nationalisation. When the opportunity occurs, they will launch their attack—and sabotage (both open and concealed) will be one of their most powerful weapons.

And who could be better fitted to carry out this sabotage than those managers and technicians whom Mr. Shinwell proposes to leave in control of the industry. The whole outlook and training of such people is anti-working class. Quite clearly then,

(Continued in next Column.)

What's on

SHEFFIELD R.O.P.
BURNGREAVE VESTRY
BURNGREAVE ROAD,
SHEFFIELD.

Wednesday Evenings at 7.30 p.m.

Jan. 23rd:
LENIN ANNIVERSARY MEETING
A Leninist analysis of the present political tendencies.
Speaker: **TED GRANT**

Jan. 30th:
HISTORICAL MATERIALISM
English Revolutionary Struggle
Speaker: **HEATON LEE**