

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Formerly  
"Youth  
for  
Socialism"

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## BOSSSES PREPARING ANTI-LABOUR DRIVE Workers Must Organise Counter-Offensive

BY G. READ

Under the slogan of increased production a great offensive against the workers is in preparation. The basis is being laid by speeches in Parliament and outside along the lines of Sir Roger Keyes' speech in which he stated that the workers "deliberately idled their time to get increased overtime and to draw very high wages."

It is universally held that the present under-productivity, disorganisation and waste in industry cannot possibly continue, and the capitalists are girding their loins to organise production their way.

Their basic idea is that the workers are not putting their shoulders to it and what is needed is force. They say if the workers can't have enthusiasm they will have the whip—all this in the name of the war for democracy.

### LABOUR BAITING CAMPAIGN

In the recent coal debate in Parliament for instance, Sir Waldron Smithers, Tory M.P., complained that the public had been kept in ignorance of the real cause of the restrictions on the use of coal, which were absenteeism and reduced output per shift, and went on to demand greater compulsory powers against the workers and more effective disciplinary action through the amendment of the E.W.O.'s machinery. Compulsory overtime, piece work and many additional measures are already coming into force. An amendment to the E.W.O. effected recently by the Joint Consultative Committee makes it a criminal offence to be absent or persistently late for work, "without reasonable excuse." A further dangerous precedent has been set which will inevitably undermine the confi-

### Nazis Execute French Trotskyist

We mourn the death of Jean Meichler, who has died on the proletarian firing line. He was held by the German occupation army as a hostage and summarily executed by the barbaric Nazis. In the loss of Comrade Meichler at the hands of fascism, the revolutionary movement of France and the world is deprived of one of its most devoted and ardent members.

Jean Meichler was one of the founders of the French Trotskyist movement. He was well known in the French revolutionary movement and respected by everyone for his ardent spirit and adherence to the cause of the liberation of mankind and the struggle for socialism.

dence of the workers in their shop organisations if carried out, namely, the provision under the order for prosecution to be effected through the "works committees" or other "Joint Council" on which the workers are represented, also employers must now keep records of absentees which will be made available to the National Service Officer. It is well to bear in mind that only by the confidence and solidarity of the workers in their shop organisations have the N.S.O.'s dictatorial power been kept in check, if the workers allow their organisations to become appendages to these labour dictators the way will be left open for the speedy imposition of a British form of Nazi Labour Front.

While it cannot be doubted that if a totalitarian regime is established in this country some increase in production will be achieved, is this what the working class are giving their lives for? The question of absenteeism and of increased hours of work do not touch the real root of production deficiencies at all. The picture the ruling class presents of the worker—a workshy creature whose first thought is to take a day off is given the lie by the fact that the worker has no bank bel-

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## DECISIVE VICTORY for BLACKHALL MINERS Six Years' Grievance Settled by Strike Action

BY JOCK HASTON

IN FACE OF THE MOST HOSTILE PRESS CAMPAIGN YET CONDUCTED AGAINST ANY SECTION OF THE WORKERS SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR, AND DESPITE THE STRIKE-BREAKING POLICY OF WILL LAWTHER, THE MISLEADER OF THEIR UNION, THE MINERS AT BLACKWELL WON A MAGNIFICENT VICTORY AS THE RESULT OF THEIR SOLID FRONT.

The strike was forced upon the workers by the reactionary action of the management, who had refused to alter the system of weighing at the pit—a system which the men claimed lost them the price of 240 tons of coal in every week.

The "Agreement" arrived at as the result of arbitration favourable to the workers, accepts the demands of the miners for controlled weighing at the pit. It blasts the claim of the press that the miners were responsible for the strike and gives the lie to the reactionary chorus that the strike was "frivolous and ill-advised."

The system of weighing the coal tubs at the pit is based upon an agreement made in 1913. This gave the management the right to weigh coal drawn from the pit whenever they deemed it necessary. In this agree-

For more than 6 years, friction at the pit has risen as the result of the system of weighing. Over a series of test periods the miners established that they were being done for the price of approximately 240 tons of coal per week, which was being "set out" against them. As the result of these tests they requested that weighing be carried out only in the presence of their checkweighman. This the management refused to do.

In December last, the question came to a head. The miners decided to force official intervention by the Gov-

A JAPANESE POSTCARD



## Lessons of Grantham By-Election

By F. Findlay

### BREAK THE TRUCE

The recent by-election in Grantham and Sleaford Division resulted in the election of the Independent Candidate, W. D. Ken-

trivious and ill-advised. The system of weighing the coal tubs at the pit is based upon an agreement made in 1913. This gave the management the right to weigh coal drawn from the pit whenever they deemed it necessary. In this agreement the standard weight of a tub is established at 9½ hundredweights. A tub which is 28 lbs. less in weight than the accepted standard is "set out." That is to say a fine of 4d. is placed against the price of the tub to the miners.

tests they require that weighing be carried out only in the presence of their checkweighman. This the management refused to do.

In December last, the question came to a head. The miners decided to force official intervention by the Government. Failing to obtain agreement with the management, they gave 21 days' notice to the Ministry of Labour that a dispute was in progress at the pit—this to conform with the legal requirements of the Essential Works,

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## THE REAL BASIS OF MORALE

By ANDREW SCOTT

What is the war being fought for? This question is being asked more and more insistently both in the factories and in the army. Workers and soldiers are being forced by the whole development of events, and by their day to day experiences, to ask themselves—is this war really being fought for democracy and the freedom of small nations?

The answers they themselves are providing to their own questions are rapidly becoming increasingly cynical and negative. So much so that the ruling class is beginning to see in this process a grim writing on the wall. They have recently increased their propaganda on the subject to counter the growing mood, running whole campaigns on "morale" and the "right spirit." Sir William Beveridge has pleaded on the wireless recently for a return of the "Crusading spirit," for a manifestation of that eager, self-sacrificing feeling that springs from the knowledge of fighting in a great and just cause. But how noble is a cause when professors have to provide the masses with a microscope so that they can see its "nobility"?

The Communist Party has backed up this campaign in its own way by demanding that the workers in the factories show the same willingness to toil and make sacrifices as the workers in the Soviet factories, and that the soldiers in the British Army display the same spirit and morale as the men of the Red Army.

All these appeals from above, however, have as much effect on the mood that is growing among the masses as a pike would have on a tommy-gun. For, as we have said, this mood springs, not from fads and fancies that can be swept aside with a flick of the hands, but from the day to day experiences and observations of the workers and soldiers.

In the broader aspects of the war, they see for themselves how actual events run in complete contradiction to the official stories handed out by the Government. They see such semi-fascists as Sikorski welcomed as allies; they see the Indian people continue in chains. They see the Vichy crew spurned by the British Government while the brother "democracy" across the water continues to recognise the betrayers of France. They see Butcher Franco wooed and feted while he grinds the Spanish masses into an ever deepening misery. They see the struggle of the Chinese masses being recognised only when the Japanese armed forces, which British imperialism has helped to build up, are turned against that same British Imperialism. They see British soldiers being sacrificed by the thousand in the jungles of Malaya because their leaders cannot win as allies the millions of Malayan people, who cannot be persuaded to become enthusiastic in a struggle to avoid being transferred from one master to another.

Within the Army itself the soldiers see "democracy" being led by an officer caste that cannot by any stretch of imagination be

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A group of Chinese soldiers, their heads severed from their bodies by the Japanese in the Manchurian war. Why did the British Capitalists not protest then?

## REMEMBER HONG KONG And all this too....

The tales of the atrocities committed by the Japanese army upon British soldiers at Hong Kong have aroused the British masses as no atrocity story has done since the outbreak of the war.

And no wonder! It is our husbands, sons, brothers and friends upon whom these terrible atrocities are being committed.

Even if we discount the exaggerations and falsifications of the British ruling class, the history of Japanese imperialist aggression against the Chinese people and the subsequent atrocities committed by the Japanese ruling class leave us with no doubt that they have indeed committed acts of barbarism on the bodies of captured British soldiers.

We publish here a photograph of the heads of a group of Chinese soldiers, severed from their bodies by the Japanese imperialists during the conquest of Manchuria. It was the left wing of the working class movement which published these pictures and tried to rouse the masses of the world to protest against this horrible aggression and accompanying outrages. But what were the journals of British imperialism saying? They were not interested in rousing the masses then! They were apologists for Japanese imperialism and were justifying their actions! Each successive Government of British capitalism covered up the atrocities of their Japanese class brothers and official British spokesmen tried to minimise what was taking place, or even directly claimed that the Japanese were carrying civilisation into China.

Only a few months ago Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons admitted that the British Government had closed the Burma Road at the instigation of the Japanese Government. In this way they materially assisted the Japanese in extending their conquest of China, and are therefore responsible for the consequent atrocities. If they raise the question now it is not because they opposed the atrocity measures as such, as they would have us believe, but only because they hope to arouse the natural anger among the

### BRITISH ATROCITY IN BURMA



16 Burmese patriots beheaded by the British in Tharrawaddy in 1931, and publicly exhibited to terrorise the rest of the population.

Is it surprising that in this district the Japanese are succeeding in gaining a large measure of aid from the population?

workers and use this hatred for their own reactionary ends.

Every imperialist government indulges in vile atrocities against the conquered peoples. The manuals of the British army, of the American army, of the German army, as well as of the Japanese army, contain special sections dealing with the problem of arousing the blood lust and hatred of the common troopers for the enemy. Most of the technical material on this question in the Japanese army manual has been compiled from German and British sources. Cultivated hatred, cultivated atrocities—these are the very outgrowths of modern imperialism!

**BREAK THE TRUCE**  
The recent by-election in Grantham and Sleaford Division resulted in the election of the Independent Candidate, W. D. Kendall, by a majority of 367. In the light of the support given to the Tory candidate, Sir Arthur Longmore, by both official Labour and Communist Parties, this result is of tremendous significance in estimating the mood of the workers at the present time.

The growing militancy of the workers, evidenced by the recent strikes of the Betteshanger and Durham miners, coupled with the obviously-increasing lack of confidence in the present ruling class, as British Imperialism staggers from one "strategic withdrawal" to another, has resulted in the first defeat inflicted on a Government candidate since the outbreak of the war.

Kendall is the managing-director of a large factory in Grantham. His consistent opposition to Trades Unionism his refusal to recognise the Shop Stewards Committee; his employment,

last January, of Home Guards to reinforce the factory police, for the purpose of breaking up a women's union meeting outside the works gates, give the lie to the specious pretence of admiration for the workers contained in his election address. ["My admiration for the magnificent work the workers are doing is unbounded."] Most of the workers employed by Kendall had been imported into Grantham since 1939, and were, consequently, without a vote.

The Labour Party could have obtained a majority in Grantham. This was the view of Moore, who would have been the Labour candidate had there been no "National Unity". At the Annual Meeting of the Divisional Labour Party, held in Grantham on March 14th, Moore said: "I really do think we should have scored an easy victory. It is hard lines, but I have got to stand back and do as I am told—we have to observe the truce. It is not a political truce, but an electoral one, and if I contested the seat now, I should have to stand as an independent". In the light of this avowed support of the truce—which IS a political truce—Moore's subsequent reaction was peculiar. He was the first proposer of Kendall on Nomination Day, and became the leader of a faction inside the Grantham Labour Party which supported Kendall in defiance of Transport House.

This activity of Moore was linked with the suggestion, cleverly implied in Kendall's propaganda, that he (Kendall) was a supporter of the Labour Party and its Programme. Many supporters of the Grantham Labour Party believed that Kendall was, in fact, a Party member. Actually, Kendall was not, and had never been, a member of the Labour Party. He and his wife had paid membership fees to the local Labour Club and Institute—a purely social organisation. That was the extent of his Labour Party connection!

Kendall's principal propaganda weapon was the demand for increased production. His slogan ["The RIGHT man WILL increase PRODUCTION"] was sheer demagoguery. As the "Socialist Appeal" constantly points out, it is not the inefficiency of a few individuals which is responsible

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But the workers must not allow their horror to be used in the interests of the very perpetrators of such crimes. To do this will merely assist the British imperialists to maintain that system of economic and military conditions which must perpetuate atrocities.

Lest any workers be swayed by the feigned "horror" of the British bosses, lest any workers believe that the British are incapable of doing these things, let us say right now that the worst atrocity committed by the Japanese is but a pale reflection of what British imperialism has carried out upon the

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# Workers' Aid For U.S.S.R.

By A. ROY

The storm is about to break. Within a matter of weeks will begin the most violent attack Hitler has ever launched against any country. Into the preparation for this attack against the Workers' State has gone the steel and skill of the whole of enslaved Europe.

The Soviet Union stands today in need of the fullest measure of assistance from the workers of the world. Not because, as ruling-class spokesmen tell us, the Red Army has kept the bombers out of London, but because the Soviet Union is a workers' state, despite all its weaknesses, its backwardness and bureaucratic degeneration.

As the spring offensive approaches a new hustle and activity begins to be felt in the headquarters of Anglo-American imperialism. Roosevelt has issued orders to his subordinates to speed up supplies to Russia. Russia is to be given the first priority among the allies in the supply of arms and other munitions of war. Nor can we doubt that the British ruling-class is similarly trying for the first time, to send as much war material to Russia as possible, for use this spring.

Has the ruling class undergone a change of heart? Has it really become interested in the defence of the Soviet Union? Not at all! There has been no change of heart; no fundamental change of policy. So long as the winter offensive of the Red Army was marching from victory to victory and showed signs of developing into a universal and victorious advance, no appreciable aid was permitted to find its way into the Soviet Union. But the winter offensive has failed to obtain decisive results. The retreat of the German Army has not been on a Napoleonic scale. On the contrary, despite the tremendous heroism, courage and initiative of the Russian workers and peasants, the German army has held out with the utmost stubbornness and retained many of the major springboards from which the offensive is to be launched. Under these conditions the British and American imperialists have been imbued with a certain confidence that there will be no decisive Soviet victory.

The main danger as they see it, is a decisive victory for Hitler this spring and the defeat of the Red Army. The occupation of the Caucasian oil fields by the German army within striking

# WHY BRITISH RULERS Will Not Get Support of Ceylon Masses

The leaflet reproduced below was issued by the Ceylon Socialist Party. It deserves the careful and serious attention of all thinking workers in this country. For not only does it paint a vivid portrait of the "democracy" for which the flower of the working youth of Britain are fighting and giving their lives in the Far East; it also holds the key to the understanding of the real causes for the successes of Japanese imperialism.

The Ceylon Socialist Party, a party composed of socialist students, workers in the factories and plantations, and peasants which has a wide support among the masses, has always championed the cause of freedom and progress, not only in Ceylon but in every country. They organised a great campaign in aid of the Spanish workers; and the Chinese masses found in them devoted allies. They have consistently fought against Hitlerism in every shape and form. It is not surprising therefore, that such a party has fallen under the ax of the great "democrat" and "anti-fascist" Churchill, and our ruling class. The leading members of the Party, including its two elected representatives in the Ceylon parliament, were imprisoned some months ago without any trial whatsoever. Sir Andrew Caldecott, the present governor, while describing Ceylon as a "bastion of freedom", simultaneously disbands Socialist and Lanka Sama Samajala (Ceylon All Equal) Party. A resolution in the Legislative Assembly proposing universal arming and conscription was rejected by the Government. There is only one reason for this: the Government which represents the interests of the tea and rubber plantation owners are more afraid of the Ceylonese masses than of their Japanese rivals. As in Britain, so in the colonies, they regard their own peoples as their main enemy.

Bevin, Morrison and other Labour and Trade Union leaders, as well as the leaders of the Communist Party never cease telling us that this is a workers' war; that the fate of the trade unions and working class organisations are at stake, but they close their eyes to the wave of repression which is sweeping through their own labour and trade union movement in India and the colonies. We find it impossible to believe that they are fighting in the interests of labour, when they show no hesitation in collaborating with our imperialist rulers in the use of Hitlerite methods over the colonial masses. It is the duty of every socialist and trade unionist to bring the matter immediately before his organisation and demand forthwith the release of the socialist prisoners in the colonies and to wage a nation-wide campaign for full freedom for all the colonies.

Britain is at war. Everywhere the British are retreating—strategically of course, from Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. The courage we have seen and heard them display against unarmed colonials of Ceylon, India, Palestine and Africa evaporates into thin air in the face of the armed foe.

The real war the British are fighting now is in Ceylon. For them the remaining theatre of war, with any chances of success, is in the plantations against unarmed plantation workers!

In the past two months the repressive apparatus of British imperialism has been let loose with an incredible lawlessness and maniacal fury on the plantation workers who have tried to form unions and improve their conditions and to combat the exactions and oppression of headmen.

In Rangbodde Estate a strike took place and was settled. Within a week of the settlement, by means of the combination of thugs of the planter



gang of armed thugs considerably reinforced with still more blood-thirsty butchers from the police force, descended like the Assyrians on the men, women and children of Wewellhina and Wewessa Estates. The most in-

# LESSONS OF BRISTOL

In the first round of their struggle against the management over a question of hours, workers of the Bristol Airplane Company have suffered a defeat. The management is using a change of working hours as a means of indirectly cutting wages; the workers have displayed great militancy and readiness to fight in defence of their working conditions, but their "leaders", the Stalinists and trade union bureaucrats, have displayed equally great treachery and cowardice, and for the time being have succeeded in selling the workers out. This is a model instance of how these gentlemen conduct their traitorous policies.

The issue at dispute is as follows: Last autumn an agreement was concluded between the Unions and the management, which provided for a working week of 54 hours, with one rest day per week, alternatively Saturday and Sunday on day shift. This was to be operated during the winter, and in the summer a new schedule of hours was to come in, which eliminated Sunday work, thus providing six rest days per month, and making up the time by working increased hours on week-days. Since December this has been opposed by the Shop Stewards, and repeated attempts have been made to get the management to keep to the winter schedule throughout the year. The management has refused, and announced that the Summer Schedule will be operated from March 9th, with resultant widespread opposition among the workers and shop stewards. Although the issue has been obscured by complicated talk about production, the essential point is that the new Schedule means longer working hours on weekdays, and the double time paid

# WORKERS' DEFEAT

By D. JAMES

for Sunday is lost. Thus indirectly the bosses are cutting wages, which is a very serious matter when income tax devours such a large slice of the wage packet.

Having failed to persuade the management to listen to the workers' views the shop stewards of Patchway (the largest B.A.C.) factory) held a conference with the Union organisers, at

# C.P. FOISTS PIECE-WORK AT CAMELL LAIRDS

Half the workers—if not more—employed at Cammell Lairds are not working full time.

The reason for this is not because the workers are lazy, as the boss class (and the Communist Party propaganda) implies, but because of the absolute chaos and mismanagement on the part of the management. Of the workers employed, a third only are fully absorbed due to the backward methods of production. The general conditions in the yard, canteen, transport facilities, sanitary conditions, are among the worst in the country.

The dissatisfaction of the workers, not only with the conditions in the yard, but with the Stalinist controlled committees was sharply expressed at a mass meeting of Electrical Trade Union members working in Lairds. The meeting was supposedly called to discuss a shop stewards report, but, as was later revealed, the object of the meeting which was called by the District Committee was to foist piece-work upon the members.

Frank Foulkes, the area organiser of the E.T.U. and other members of the District Committee took full control of the meeting in order, no doubt, to facilitate their job of foisting piece work. With the aid of the D.C. President, Foulkes gave the Stalinist case for "increasing production" and placed the responsibility for the low rate of production in Lairds on the shoulders of the workers. Throughout his whole speech he did not mention once the responsibility of the bosses and their agents, the management.

After discussion, which exposed the C.P. leaders as nothing but agents of the boss class, the following resolution was moved: **This meeting is disgusted at the chaos and inefficiency existing in Cammell Lairds, and the absolute**

which it was decided to send a deputation to see Beaverbrook and attempt to get him to intervene on behalf of the workers. At the same time a statement was circulated among the workers outlining the position, which concluded with the following words, evidently inspired by a fear that the rising militancy of the workers would overstep the limits of deputations and such like gestures: **"Now at this stage of proceedings we appeal to you not to take matters into your own hands but to put your trust in your Shop Stewards to come to a satisfactory conclusion."** It was hardly surprising that the deputation had no more success with the governmental representative than with the B.A.C. bosses themselves: they failed to see Beaverbrook and returned empty handed. The mood of the workers and shop stewards was one of determination to fight for the continuance of the Winter Schedule. It was decided to hold a mass meeting on Horfield Common and to advertise it in the press. On the morning of the day of this meeting, March 4th, a shop stewards meeting was called at which proposals for action were presented by the leaders. **These proposals consisted of three points, the gist of which was that there should be no militant action; that the new hours should be worked, but all workers should come to the factory on the first Sunday and demand to be allowed to work; and the trade union leaders should be asked to pursue negotiations through the "recognised channels."** The reason urged for this belly-crawling policy was that the workers were not strong enough to win an open battle! So they would have to temporise and mobilise the support of "public opinion", which would be alienated by any militant action!! Produced suddenly by their recognised leaders, with no time to think out clearly what it would lead to, the stewards accepted this proposal.

At the mass meeting in the evening this policy was put across. **The first sour element in this love-feast was provided by Bro. Hill, representing the workers of Rodney, another large B.A.C. factory, who said he was mandated to propose an amendment that the workers should ignore the new hours altogether and continue to work the old ones; it had been proved anyway, he said, that a 9 hour day gave more production than a 10-hour day for the same number of hours per week.**

The strikebreaking role of the Stalinists could not have been demonstrated more nakedly. The Stalinist leaders first paralysed the most "dangerous" (i.e. militant) element, the shop stewards, by the wretched tale that direct action would lead to de-

# Letter from a Yorkshire Miner

to form union and improve their conditions and to combat the exactions and oppression of headmen.

In Rangbode Estate a strike took place and was settled. Within a week of the settlement, by means of the combination of thugs of the planter and a special squad of 40 armed policemen, a reign of terror was let loose on the unsuspecting and unarmed workers. Fifty to sixty of the leaders were arrested on frame-ups and a systematic and brutal beating up of 300 to 400 men and women went on for three to four days. Dwellings were looted of the miserably small savings of rice and the foulest atrocities were committed in the presence of A. S. P. Leombruggen and Inspector Vernon Schokman. In such a situation of systematic terrorism by the authorities, when the hired thugs raped three young girl workers on the estate, there was nobody to whom the workers could even complain. On the third and fourth days of this reign of terror the entire labour force fled to N'Eliya town, a distance of 14 miles. After semi-starvation in the town for 20 days they were allowed to return.

## PRESS HIDES THE FACTS

But even this rule of naked violence as yet only in the plantations, is founded on the social support the imperialist government still receives from sections of the population who have not yet felt the direct impact of its violence. The press, cowed down by the censorship or trying to curry imperialist favour, hides these facts from the public.

That the shameless breed of Ehelapolas is not yet extinct was shown a few days ago in the support found in Francis de Zoysa, K.C., and others in the Home Committee for the Governor's Planters Law to arrest and detain without trial any citizen likely to influence or support workers struggling for elementary human rights. The public must now demand a full inquiry in these atrocities.

The governor does not publish the commission's report on the Mooloya Estate shooting. Why? Neither the Labour Department nor the Agent of the imperial government of India moves a finger. Because imperialist officers are not interested in justice, fair play or even industrial peace when the bludgeon of violence which they are too yellow to wield in Europe can fall without reprisals on the unarmed, unclothed and unfed men, women and children who have the misfortune to people this concentration camp of British imperialism.

Within two or three days of their leaving Rangbode Estate this picked

gang of armed thugs considerably reinforced with still more blood-thirsty butchers from the police force, descended like the Assyrians on the men, women and children of Wewellhina and Wewessa Estates. The most incredible scenes of thuggery and violence began to be enacted and still continue. With the aid of the Hd. Kanganies workers' lines are systematically surrounded with military precision by police carrying bayoneted rifles and the inmates taken out and tortured.

Women have been raped, scores of workers' limbs have been broken deliberately and in cold blood. Men have fled from the estate and the remaining women are herded together and whipped until they begin working. The maniacal fury of the savagery practiced by the government forces, permanent officers and hired thugs suffers neither let nor hindrance from the magistrates or the government agent of Uva.

The British have sanctimoniously tried to humbug the public that they are fighting a war to establish civil liberty as against Nazi tyranny and concentration camps. Conditions of workers under Hitler have never been painted by friend or foe to approximate to the barbaric brutality and lawlessness now practiced by the British imperialist forces on that vast concentration camp where the cry of the human heart for liberty is drowned in the blood and tears of 70,000 souls.

The leprous conduct of the highest officers of the government minions of the police and the hired thugs is not merely to save the pence money for the head men. The British with characteristic cowardice would rather fight the unarmed colonial workers than the armed foe. They have today kicked aside the flimsiest veils of decency that cloaked their depredations and exploitation. Today British imperialism stands in Ceylon on the naked violence and ferocious barbarism on which she first reared herself. This rule of naked violence aims at wringing the last cent of profit stained red with the blood of the toilers who produce it.

The people must take warning of the stage that imperialist rule has now arrived at. The people must realize that the imperialists have not gone to defend their own homeland but remained to hold Ceylon. The people must get ready to defend their country, their homes, their civilization, their civil liberties, their right to work and live in peace—against the British imperialist.

1. Down with cowardly imperialist atrocities.

2. Down with imperialism.

Ceylon Socialist Party.

Republished from the American "Labour Action"

# Letter from a Yorkshire Miner

Socialist Appeal

Dear Comrade,

The following notes give an outline of the conditions prevailing in the pits in this district which may give fellow workers an idea of what the position is in Yorkshire.

## BLACK BED SEAM

Contractors complaining that they must draw out back timber, to set again for their own safety. The company are supposed to pay for all work done outside the contract. The contractors are not getting paid for timber drawing, nor for sawing props down to correct length. They also complain of scarcity of timber but say that the day the workmen's inspectors came, timber was abundant.

If they do not get paid for this work, they will down tools and if victimised, will demand a complete stoppage.

An important point which was recently raised at the trade union branch was that the ponies were overworked, and when standing for a minute or two fell asleep. In many cases they were too tired to eat their corn. One driver reported that on two occasions ponies had collapsed and laid down for over an hour, dead beat, and kept the miners waiting for tubs.

## CROWN COAL SEAM

The miners were not satisfied with the way the Company are treating an old miner. This veteran miner said he was capable with his experience, of keeping up with the younger men, but if not, he would only expect payment for actual tonnage produced. Despite his willing and able efforts, he is not receiving the minimum wage. The Company say he is not keeping up with the younger men, but on inquiry it was discovered that the conditions where he was working were not as good as theirs. Further inquiries are to be made and the man will appeal to the minimum wage board. He has seen the National Service Officer and told him he wanted to leave the pit as he was not receiving the minimum wage. He was told that the management was forced to pay the minimum.

He is now on three weeks trial. But the miners think he will be given a good spot to work in and receive full rate, and afterwards be sent back to find himself where he started from.

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responsibility of the bosses and their agents, the management.

After discussion, which exposed the C.P. leaders as nothing but agents of the boss class, the following resolution was moved: **This meeting is disgusted at the chaos and inefficiency existing in Cammell Lairds, and the absolute inability of the management to increase production. Realising that this position is due to the fact that the bosses and management are concerned only with profits and nothing else, this meeting instructs the Cammell Lairds Shop Stewards Committee (E.T.U.) to wage an immediate campaign amongst all workers for workers' control of production, since it believes that only in this way will production really be increased and workers trade union conditions safeguarded.**

The Stalinists were incapable of putting forward any serious arguments against the motion; instead they moved "that this meeting accept piece-work as the best method of increasing production." This was blown to hell in the discussion that followed. The only means by which they could prevent the resolution calling for workers' control from winning the vote was for Foulkes to demagogically deceive the workers by telling them that if they accepted this resolution they would be sued for libel! However, despite this, the resolution for Workers' Control received 20 votes against 50, with 50 abstentions. The resolution for piece-work, moved by the Stalinists, only got by with a very narrow margin—42 vote for and 35 against, with 40 to 50 abstentions.

This marks a big step forward for Cammell Lairds workers, since this meeting was a reflection of the general feelings in the yard. The workers will learn in the course of the next few months how they have been fooled by their local union leaders. For piece-work in this yard under the present conditions can only impose additional burdens on the shoulders of the workers. The Stalinists have already been weakened; after the workers have had experience they will be smashed.

The newly elected Shop Stewards Committees must make demands along these lines, the canteen must be taken out of the hands of the private firm and placed under workers control. A militant struggle must be waged by the Shop Stewards Committee to better the conditions and transport.

**FOR WORKERS CONTROL OF THE CANTEEN!**

**OUT WITH THE BOSSES' AGENTS —FOR A MILITANT SHOP STEWARDS COMMITTEE!**

**FOR WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION!**

If this occurs the men say they will stop work.

Shower baths: Three shower baths were provided for the firewatchers. Now the shower apartment is locked, and is only used by officials of the mine who change their clothes and tidy up before they go. This leaves the firewatchers no facilities for even a wash.

Yorkshire Mineworker.

The strikebreaking role of the Stalinists could not have been demonstrated more nakedly. The Stalinist leaders first paralysed the most "dangerous" (i.e. militant) element, the shop stewards, by the wretched tale that direct action would lead to defeat. Having done this, they presented their belly-crawling policy to the workers. Shrouded in a mist of talk about production, and by means of distortion, clever emotional appeals and rushing of the business, managed to get it accepted. The militancy among the workers, even in the face of the sellout of their recognised leaders, showed the lie that direct action could not be successful. The Stalinist leaders put this across to the shop stewards in order that they should not give a militant lead, for this would have received overwhelming support and led to the defeat of the management and the Stalinist leaders themselves.

No better was the role of the union bureaucrats and officials. Their whole aim in the matter is to restrain the workers from militant action at any cost.

The result of this treachery has already become plain. The march to the works on Sunday was called off, under the pretext that it would prejudice negotiations with the management—although it was known at the time of the mass meeting that these negotiations were proceeding! The deputation has been called off for the same reason. After it had been decided to call off the march on Sunday, before the decision was published, the bosses announced that anyone wishing to work on Sunday could do so. Thus they showed that they were not at all worried at the prospect of the workers working 10 hours a day plus Sunday, realising that under the existing leadership the workers would be precluded from taking any militant action to alter the hours, and they will soon get fed up with 65 hours per week. They showed up by this the complete ineffectiveness of the policy adopted at the mass meeting.

The B.A.C. is one of the worst paid engineering factories in the country. The real issue is one of increasing wages to meet the burdens of income tax and high prices; even the much boasted 5/- rise went, not on the basic rate, but on the war bonus. The real solution is the sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living. But it is necessary first to win this preliminary battle against the new hours before greater gains can be made. And in order to do this, the old rotten leadership must be rejected; it can promise nothing but further betrayals and defeats. It is now reported that negotiations with the management have broken down. Now it is the time to pose the issues clearly, to enlist the sympathy of other workers by struggling against the reactionary, profiteering management for a living wage. Rodney has shown the way: now is the time to fight for a new decision, for a fighting stand.

**NO RELIANCE ON APPEALS TO CAPITALIST MINISTERS!  
SOLIDARITY WITH THE RODNEY WORKERS!  
FOR MILITANT ACTION AGAINST THE NEW HOURS SCHEDULE!**

## U.S.A. BOSSES Doing Alright Too . . . .

Shocking revelations of corruption, graft and profiteering fill the report of the Truman Special Senate Committee for investigating the United States National Defence Programme, which was published in the middle of January and which has not hitherto been mentioned in the press of this country.

Labour disputes and strikes were among the principle reasons given by the War Department to the Truman committee for the lag in plane production, but the Truman committee was forced to conclude in its report: "It now appears obvious that the above reasons are not reasons for the failure of production but are excuses."

The report reveals that the real reason is that "19 favoured manufacturers of military aircraft" secured a monopoly on all war contracts. Co-operating with the big monopoly companies, the Army and Navy procurement services froze out over 60 smaller companies able to "produce a minimum of 2,000 planes a month."

It appears, the report continues, that "our services have merely purchased what the manufacturers had to offer"—including obsolete models totalling 75% of warplane production from the "favoured" companies who made "staggering profits".

James E. Barnes, Washington representative of the Todd Shipbuilding Corporation, told the committee that the Navy "gave us a profit of 1 dollar 80 cents (about 9/-) a day on every man we had, and I think we had about 35,000." He went on to assert that "If it hadn't been for taxes, we couldn't have handled our profits with a steam shovel."

### HITLER BANS TROTSKY'S BOOKS IN FRANCE

"The Germans arrived with a long list giving the titles of all proscribed books. Very few authors were banned *in toto*. De Gaulle was one, TROTSKY another . . ."

"Tribune" Review of *Reports on France* by Thomas Keran (20th March, 1942).

Thirteen private shipbuilding com-

# AN OPEN LETTER to the I.L.P. National Conference

## Statement by the Executive Committee Workers' International League

COMRADES,

The annual conference of the I.L.P. meets at a time when revolutionary possibilities are already opening up. The confidence of the British working class in the leadership of the ruling class is daily being shaken by the heavy blow of events. In industry, in the Army and in the government of the country, the ruling class is being increasingly exposed in its utter incompetence to offer the workers any solution to their problems. The increasing votes cast for I.L.P. candidates, the result of the Grantham bye-election, the strikes in the mines, all point to one thing: the working class in Britain is in the process of breaking with the capitalist class, all it needs is an alternative lead and an alternative policy.

The members of the I.L.P. are looking up to the leadership for a policy and a programme which would enable the party to mobilise this growing radical tendency in the working class for a decisive struggle against capitalism and for workers' power.

### For a Workers' Military Policy.

The campaign for a "Socialist Britain Now" and the programme associated with it, is the answer to this demand. But look at the programme from whichever aspect you like, it offers no solution to any one of the fateful issues which history has placed before the workers.

The programme could well have been formulated in the years of peace for all the account it takes of the war; surely it is not a programme for 1942! If the working class is to fight for power in war as well as in peace, then it must have a programme for war. We cannot merely denounce the war as an imperialist war and say, as the pacifists do, that we shall have nothing to do with this foul thing. The workers do not want a foreign conqueror, least of all a fascist one. They want to see fascism destroyed, and they know that all the issues in our epoch will be settled by military means. That is why they continue to support the war, not from enthusiasm but for lack of an alternative. Only a working class policy for war which would separate the workers from the capitalists and at the same time guarantee success against all foreign capitalist aggression could mobilise the masses for the struggle for power.

Instead of regarding the war and the universal militarisation of the masses with tragic contemplation, the I.L.P. leadership should have faced up to these facts. But even yet they cannot break with pacifism; even yet they cannot tell their members that conscientious objection is no answer to imperialist wars. The need for a class programme for workers in uniform is not even realised. The demand for the universal arming of the working class under the control of trade unions and shop committees, trade union schools for providing military training for workers, the ejection of the pro-fascist officer class from the armed forces and the election of officers by the soldiers are not even mentioned. And yet without such an independent military policy it is impossible for the

### Left Wing Attacked— Right Wing Tolerated

This refusal to undertake the task of exposing the Labour leaders in the eyes of the workers arises at the bottom from the absence of all revolutionary perspectives and their desire to remain on the friendliest terms with the reformist leaders. Tom Colyer said at a recent meeting in London that he did not believe that the Labour leadership had deliberately betrayed the socialist cause; they have made a grievous blunder. The truth is that the I.L.P. leaders are thinking in terms of Parliamentary alliances and combinations and socialism through bye-elections. This opportunistic tendency expresses itself not only in the programme but also on questions of organisation and Party discipline. Extreme toleration and friendliness continues to be shown towards C.A. Smith and Jennie Lee whose policies and utterances stand in open contradiction to the official party policy. But the process of ferreting out and isolating Trotskyist sympathisers is never allowed to flag. The Centrists have always fought the revolutionaries within their own ranks with far more vigour and consistency than the reactionaries. Of late this hatred of Trotskyism on the part of Brockway, Padley, and the other leaders has reached such a stage that no amendments were allowed to be put at Socialist Britain conferences, thus reducing them to a farce.

### The Need to Combat Stalinism

Equally typical of this Centrism is your leadership's failure to offer intransigent opposition to the criminal policies of Stalin. Their refusal to face up to the implications of the campaign of intimidation which accompanies the present Stalinist line flows logically from their refusal to offer political opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy—its abandonment of internationalism, its persecution of the revolutionaries inside Russia as well as outside. The belated article "They Disgrace the Name of Communism" hastily published in the pre-Conference "New-Leader" in an attempt to anticipate this criticism, will not deceive the revolutionaries in the I.L.P.

Brockway states (8.12.41) that he does not believe it necessary to hold "special" meetings to combat the Stalinist campaign; that such meetings would assist rather than deter the Stalinists in their provocations. At the same time he refers to the tactics they used against the I.L.P.'s brother party—the P.O.U.M.—in Spain. But it was precisely because the P.O.U.M. carried out the same ostrich policy as is now being carried out by the I.L.P. that facilitated the attacks against it, culminating in the murder of its leaders by the Stalinists.

Already the campaign has reached the stage of physical assault, not only of Trotskyists but of members of the I.L.P. As the war proceeds and the workers turn towards the left, the Stalinists will in desperation turn to more violent methods. Under these circumstances it is an elementary precaution of self-preservation that a vigorous campaign of exposure be waged against these degrading methods of organised hooliganism. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has issued instructions that the names and addresses of all Trotskyists should be secured. This undoubtedly applies to members of the I.L.P. as well. In Spain and in France



## Our Programme For Power

An end to the coalition with the bosses. Labour and Trade Union leaders must break with the capitalist Government and wage a campaign for power on the following programme:

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 consumers 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 pro-fascist 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 France on the

Gaulle was one, TROTSKY another . . ."  
"Tribune" Review of Reports on France by Thomas Keran (20th March, 1942).

Thirteen private shipbuilding companies had contracts in 1941 from which they would receive guaranteed profits greater than the worth of their entire properties in 1939. One company is now making 800 times more profits than it averaged between 1936 and 1940. Private firms had orders for 70% of the Navy's new tonnage yet it costs from 8,000,000 (£2,000,000) to 10,000,000 (£2,500,000) dollars more to build a battleship in a private yard than in a Government yard. Despite this the Government funds were being expended on the expansion of private yards and not those belonging to the State.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation, which holds 1,368,000,000 dollars worth (£342,000,000) of war orders refused to pay for its own plant expansion. Instead it demanded that the Government build a 55,000,000 dollar (£13,750,000) plant on terms which would have made the proposed plant a virtual gift to the company.

General Motors, Ford and Chrysler garnered over 430,000,000 (£107,500,000) dollars in profits in the first nine months of 1941 as compared with 408,000,000 (£102,000,000) in 1940 and 296,000,000 (£74,000,000) in 1939. In an attempt to force the Government to provide them with gifts of new plants the heads of these monopolies deliberately lied, making announcements "to the effect that automobile plants could not produce tanks and airplanes, and that it was advisable and necessary to build new plants for that purpose." This swindling is characterised by the Truman committee as furnishing information which "was quite inaccurate"!

These highlights from the Truman report reveal the side of the picture of American war production which is deliberately concealed by the capitalist press of Britain.

The appointment of Donald Nelson will no more solve the United States production problems than the ministerial changes solved the problem here. The fault lies in the fact that industry is owned and controlled by the capitalist class who are concerned only with producing profits and safeguarding their interests. The solution is to be found in the programme of the Socialist Workers' Party, the only political party in the United States which advances the slogan: *Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.* H. Atkinson.

for a class programme for workers under the demand for the universal arming of the working class under the control of trade unions and shop committees, trade union schools for providing military training for workers, the ejection of the pro-fascist officer class from the armed forces and the election of officers by the soldiers are not even mentioned. And yet without such an independent military policy it is impossible for the workers to fight fascism whether from within or without. Maxton, Brockway and the rest of the leadership have demonstrated that the only break they have made with pacifism is in phrases. The demand for peace with Hitler may have been dropped, but pacifism still remains the dominant note.

## Need to Expose Labour Leaders

Most members of the I.L.P. will concede that the campaign for a Socialist Britain has remained on the level of pious generalities. And this is no accident, for it lacks the one essential element of a real socialist campaign for power, viz, a concrete programme for action. There is no hint as to what we are to do now and in the immediate future to bring about socialism in Britain. There is the necessity for going to the meetings and taking friends along to hear Maxton. There is the duty of voting for Party candidates. But beyond that, what else? Nobody knows the answer. Without any concrete programme for action, the campaign hangs in the air. It remains a campaign of leaders without any real relationship with the masses.

The mass of the organised workers, unfortunate though it is, accept the leadership of the Labour and the Trade Union bureaucracy in the belief that they are waging a real war in defence of their rights against fascism and for the defence of the soviet Union. Without conducting a campaign to expose the Labour bureaucracy, it is impossible to convince the masses of the need for a new and revolutionary leadership. The tie-up of the organised working-class movement, through its official leadership with the ruling class is mainly responsible for the present inertia and immobility in the movement. To mobilise the rank and file of the trade unionists against this coalition in a nation-wide agitation round the demand that the Labour and T.U. leaders should take power on a socialist programme and wage a genuine war against fascism is the immediate task. Smash the coalition. Labour to Power on a socialist programme; these are the only slogans which could rouse the working class to immediate action, including that immense mass which is only beginning to attain political consciousness.

Brockway may argue that to demand that the Labour Leaders take power is to deceive the workers into the belief that Morrison, Bevin and their associates can defend the interests of the workers. This is a dull and pedantic argument. How could anyone imagine that a campaign under present circumstances, demanding that the Labour Leaders break with the capitalists and fight for power on a socialist programme, can be anything but the most effective method of educating the workers as to the bankruptcy of the Labour leaders and into an understanding of the need for a revolutionary party? When Lenin was demanding a break on the part of the Socialists Ministers from the capitalists in the Provisional Government, was he deceiving the Russian masses as to Kerensky and his friends? Only thus could the Bolsheviks prove to the Russian masses the necessity for the Soviets to take full power.

But the real reason why Brockway and the leaders of the I.L.P. refuse to raise this concrete slogan and are content to leave the Socialist Britain on the level of pious generalities, is because they themselves are not convinced of the need for a complete break with the Labour leaders but in reality they are still their allies. Brockway scoffs at the Labour leaders and yet refuses to put up candidates in bye-elections against Labour nominees. His excuse at a recent conference that the Party cannot afford the money, is contradicted by the fact that the Party has raised the money to put up two candidates simultaneously—in Cardiff and Cathcart, against Tories.

in desperation turn to more violent methods. Under these circumstances it is an elementary precaution of self-preservation that a vigorous campaign of exposure be waged against these degrading methods of organised hooliganism. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has issued instructions that the names and addresses of all Trotskyists should be secured. This undoubtedly applies to members of the I.L.P. as well. In Spain and in France this action was a prelude to Stalinist assistance to police reaction. In the Nazi occupied countries the names and address of revolutionaries opposed to C.P. policy were handed over to the Gestapo. This is not a question of a merely incidental character. It concerns the very existence of workers' organisations which operate a policy opposed to Churchill and the Communist Party. If the I.L.P. refuses to carry the struggle against the Stalinist pogroms, how will they face up to the far stronger blows of the capitalists when they really start to suppress the left wing? Particularly since they will have the active assistance of the Stalinists.

We appeal to the members of the I.L.P. to force its leadership to reverse its present disastrously negative policy and to conduct a vigorous united front campaign with other working class bodies which will expose the Stalinists before the whole Labour movement, as well as protect our organisations from their gangster assaults.

In this conference, a great responsibility rests on the shoulders of the revolutionary elements in the I.L.P. It is time to wage a relentless struggle against the unreal opportunist pacifist policy of the leadership. If they genuinely believe that the I.L.P. can be transformed into a revolutionary party, they must fight for a revolutionary policy. In this task they will have the full support of the Workers' International League and the revolutionary workers gathered under the banner of the Fourth International, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

## No Amendments at Socialist Britain Conferences

The sectarian character of the I.L.P. campaign for a "Socialist Britain Now" was made manifest at the London area conference on March 7th.

The ambiguous Five Point Resolution was carried with 13 dissentient votes. That was a triumph, not of the correctness of the I.L.P. policy, but of the crude bureaucratic manoeuvring on the part of the leadership.

The Standing Orders Committee ruled all amendments out of order! After protests from the floor, the chairman was forced to put the question to the vote, which was done in a manner which would have made the Stalinists envious. The "explanation" given to the meeting was that the represented organisations had not had the opportunity to discuss the amendments.

The normal method of running a conference is to circulate the agenda, and set a certain period for amendments to be forwarded to the conference organisers so that they may be circulated for discussion. Failing this amendments are in order from the floor. In their failure to do this, the so-called "Conference" was turned into a meeting of the I.L.P.

Needless to say, we await the next

Conference to be called with interest. We take it for granted that the I.L.P. will allow all amendments to be circulated for discussion among organisations invited to the Conference. If their desire is for a genuine democratic discussion on the best means of achieving a Socialist Britain, they will take this course.

It must be pointed out that not a few trade union branches represented recorded their disapproval at the refusal to accept amendments at the Conference. At one trade union meeting, an I.L.P. member, Comrade Jack Edmundson explained to his branch in all sincerity, that he had been under the impression that amendments would be accepted. When however, he raised the matter in his party, he "was told with a smile—that all amendments would be steam-rollered in the Communist Party manner"!

To the disgrace of the I.L.P. leadership, this is precisely what happened. We hope that the rank and file workers of the I.L.P. will realise that such tactics can only retard the struggle for socialism, and will act now to prevent the growth of these Stalinist methods in their party.

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.

## T.U. Militant Assaulted by Stalinists

To the Editor "Socialist Appeal"  
Dear Comrade,

Quite a number of members of the Battersea No. 1 branch of the A.E.U. are regular readers of the "Socialist Appeal", many of those who buy it are not in complete agreement with everything it says, but nevertheless are interested in hearing the point of view of the Trotskyist movement.

Recently Bro. Driscoll, who besides being a member of the branch is also a prominent member of the C.P., delivered a scurrilous attack on the "Socialist Appeal". He said it was a fascist paper and should be kept out of the branch and that the seller should be kicked out as well. I strongly protested at this and it was agreed by the branch that I should have the chance to reply at the next branch meeting.

Arriving at the branch on the 22nd March, I found a ballot taking place, and I was asked by the branch Secretary to take charge of same (to which I agreed). After the ordinary business of the branch was concluded, the chairman, Bro. Symes, gave me permission to speak. Immediately Bro. Vines who is the local district Committeeman, being also a member of the C.P., protested saying that I was a fascist who advocated a programme which was disruptive to the war effort. He was supported by Driscoll, who finally losing his temper, assaulted me physically. I was not allowed to reply, due of course, to the rules governing branch meetings. The C.P.ers made it quite plain that under no circumstances would they allow me to speak, and after further discussion, during which I was supported by Bro. Brown, the branch Secretary, the chairman asked the branch whether they wanted me to speak or not. The voting was 6 for, 7 against.

This anti-working class conduct of the Stalinists makes it clear that they fear more than anything else the programme of the "Socialist Appeal". Actions such as this cannot but harm the working class movement and arouse disgust amongst their own rank and file members. It is only in the spirit of comradely discussion that differences of opinion can be thrashed out, and the struggle against our common enemy strengthened.

Jim Dicks.

# Victory at Blackhall

(Continued from front page)

Order. THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR DID NOT EVEN REPLY.

At the conclusion of the 21 days, the miners then gave 14 days notice to the management that unless the dispute was settled, they intended to withdraw their labour. The management refused to budge and still the Ministry of Labour took no notice.

No sooner had the workers downed tools, however, than the local Government officials intervened and pleaded with the workers to get back to work and promising to open up negotiations. Tired of the procrastination and manoeuvring of the management and Government alike, the miners Committee nevertheless sought a reasonable solution. *The men agreed to go back to work if controlled weighing was introduced pending negotiations.* But the coalowners refused to even discuss the question; they demanded instead that the miners return to work on the old basis—before they would even negotiate at all! This dictatorial attitude of the coal-owners was rightfully rejected by the miners.

## PRESS CONDUCT REACTIONARY CAMPAIGN

It can be seen from the above that the management were wholly responsible for the stoppage; that they were responsible for holding up vital coal production; and that the demands of the men were reasonable and could easily have been accommodated. Nevertheless the local press which is controlled by the coal-owners, and the national capitalist press opened up a virulent yellow campaign against the miners.

The "Daily Telegraph" was probably the most violent and venal of the press as a whole. In an editorial is stated that:

"the strikers were acting in wilful defiance of the Emergency Powers Act which makes any strike illegal unless 21 days notice of dispute has been given to the Minister."

It added to this falsehood the demand for direct intervention by the state machine to break the strike, claiming that:

"the government owe it to the great mass of patriotic workers and to the nation's emergency to enforce the law against the strikers as rigorously as it enforced it against other saboteurs."

Demanding immediate action by the Government, the reactionary Rothermere "Daily Mail" said that the Gov-

ernment pictured the men as disunited, claimed that 600 "malcontents" were holding up 1,400 "patriotic" workers who wanted to work, and generally gave the picture of a disunited village. But this ancient gag which would have worked probably 20 years ago had not the slightest effect on the miners who were solid as a rock in their stand. In several discussions with the women-folk of the village, it was seen that even the wives of the surface-men who were not directly concerned in the dispute but who had been locked out by the management, were solid in backing the demands of the men on the coal face.

## UNION OFFICIALS HELP BOSS OLASS

The Trade Union officials played their traditional role. Swan, Watson and Moore, agents for the Durham Miners Association addressed mass meetings of the lodge and pleaded with the miners to remain at the pit. Faithful to his rôle of janitor to the Ministry of Mines, Will Lawther, whose name already stinks in the nostrils of every honest Durham miner, presented himself at a mass meeting. In a tirade against the strikers and their local lodge officials and leaders, he condemned the strike as "the most unfortunate and misguided in the history of the industry." He argued that the demands of the workers were unacceptable and proposed that they go back to work. Not a single voice was raised in his defence but many were the bitter comments on his theme. The miners showed their unanimous contempt for this reactionary lackey by refusing to even vote on his strike-breaking proposal. Throughout the colliery, among the womenfolk as well, there is bitterness and chagrin that such an individual should occupy the impregnable legal position of life president of the union. The miners were freely comparing him with Ramsay MacDonald.

## STALINISTS SEND STRIKE-BREAKERS TO BLACKHALL

But the bitterest pill for the more advanced and class conscious workers was yet to come. Not content with the progress of the strikebreaking on the part of the boss class, nor with their lackeys in leading positions in the Union, the Communist Party sent two professional strike breakers down to the colliery in the attempt to break the solidarity of the miners and drive them back to work. The "North East

were playing Hitler's game and they should go back to work immediately. Under no circumstances would the Communist Party support strike action in the present period; the men must conduct their campaign only through sending delegations to Whitehall and by getting the sympathy of public opinion!

Miners in the crowd pointed out that they had been negotiating for years; they did not like being on strike but it was the only weapon they had left to redress their grievance. Nevertheless the more advanced and revolutionary thinking workers were confused by the unusual spectacle of so-called "communists" acting as strike-breakers. The Stalinists tried to make them feel that they were letting the Russian workers down!

In a period when the workers in the district have started on the road of sound militant opposition to boss class rule in the village, the Stalinists tried to drive them once again under the wing of colliery manager, Mr. Chicken. Explaining the change that was taking place one of the strikers stated that until the last 5 or 6 years the village was a company town. Everyone bowed and scraped to Mr. Chicken, who acted as a local Hitler. But the workers were now in the process of "wringing Mr. Chicken's neck"; they have recently tossed him out of the local council in favour of their own representative, George Pritchard, the secretary of their Lodge and one of the leaders of the strike.

## SOLIDARITY BRINGS VICTORY

The men agreed to go back to work on the 31st March on condition that the question was settled the following day. Explaining what had taken place in the course of the negotiations on the following day, the Committee stated that they had been locked in for about five hours without anything to eat or drink until the proceedings were finished.

At first the management tried to fob a decision off for several days in the hope that now the men had returned to work they would strike a compromise. Later, in face of the determination of the Lodge negotiators, and of the apparent sympathy of Professor Jacks, the arbitrator, for the claims of the men they asked that some other umpire should be called in to make the decision. Anything to get the day over without a decision! But the six miners local representatives—Bros. Pritchard, Kelly, Gorman, Pendergast

# Lessons of Grantham Break With The Capitalists

(Continued from front page)

for the production chaos, but the decay of the whole system of private ownership, in which the sanctity of private profit is a first principle, and efficient production a secondary consideration. Nevertheless, Kendall's demand for the acceleration of production, together with his pretence of Labour sympathies, was the prime factor in his electoral success. This is an important indication of the extent to which the inability of the bosses to solve their production problems has acquired burning significance in the eyes of the workers.

The defeat of the reactionary Government candidate, in spite of the victory of the equally reactionary Kendall, provides a striking reply to those who attempt to gloss over the real issues at stake by prating of "National Unity". In this connection, the Stalinists played their customary contemptible rôle. Writing in the Stalinist published election-sheet, the "Grantham Special", a leading Grantham Stalinist, A. G. Jenkins, said: "We have to be increasingly vigilant of any attempts to split the growing National Unity". The "growing" National Unity! But "National Unity" is being broken every day by the bosses in their attacks on working-class standards, victimisation of militant workers and shop-stewards, etc., thus compelling the workers, in self-defence, to adopt measures which have the effect of still further exposing this fraudulent "Unity". The Betteshanger and Durham strikes; the anti-Government vote at recent by-elections—what are these but a growing realisation among the workers that "National Unity" means profits for the boss, sacrifice for the worker?

The events in the local Labour Party and the result of the by-election show clearly the stirring of the workers for an alternative lead to that of the government of bankers and capitalists. But the local Labour supporters, in their opposition to the capitalists and the Tory party through the so-called political truce, have allowed themselves to be led astray. The support for one capitalist candidate against another does not lead the

working-class a single step forward. The Longmores and Kendalls represent the interests of the capitalist class. What is necessary above all is to re-establish the independence of the working-class. The argument of the Labour leaders that they could not get the support of the masses if they broke away from the profiteering ruling-class is proved to be completely untrue by the result of this election. If the Labour leaders had to break from the Tories and wage a campaign for the taking of power on the programme of the *Socialist Appeal*, they could sweep the country. Workers who wish to see an alternative must fight in the unions and Labour movement to demand that the leadership wage a struggle on these lines.

Labour workers! Just think, a dubious candidate without a Socialist programme, by pretending an association with the Labour Party, secured a majority. This in the teeth of the opposition of the whole national press, of the Labour leaders and the Communist leaders! It is obvious that in the country as a whole if the Labour leaders were genuinely desirous of securing power a campaign waged by the entire Labour and Trade Union movement would result in an overwhelming victory. The Labour leaders have admitted that a general election during the war could take place "in circumstances of grave crisis". But they are quite satisfied with the present position! Why must the workers wait for an election precipitated and chosen by the bosses under conditions chosen and selected by them? This is the position of the Labour leaders; they prefer to cooperate with the bosses till they will not be needed any more, and having served their purpose by demoralising and confusing the workers as to the real aims and intentions of the ruling-class, can be sure of being in a safe minority. The Labour leaders claim to represent the interests of the workers: Then let them break now with the capitalists and prepare for a general election in order to get "a genuine mandate from the people"! End the Coalition! For a General Election! Labour must take Power! That is the message of the workers of Grantham!

# REMEMBER Hong Kong—and this . . .

(Continued from front page)

- Indians, Burmese and Chinese as well as all the other colonial slaves for the past 100 years and more. Here are but a few snippets from the press to show British culture in action in India.
- 1921 Prince of Wales landed in Bombay. Workers demonstrate against him—53 Indians killed—298 wounded.
  - After the Moplah rising hundreds of prisoners were packed in goods vans—80 died of suffocation.
  - 1922 Chauri Chaura rising—228 peasants were subsequently sentenced to death, and 19 were hanged.
  - 1929 Disturbances through use of Blacklegs in Bombay—116 killed, 700 injured.
  - 1930 Calcutta, April 1st, 5 killed, 50 injured. Peshawar, April 23rd, 65 killed, 150 wounded (Garhwal Riflemen refused to shoot down unarmed workers). Sholapur, May 8th, 25 killed, 100 wounded.
  - 1931 Cawnpore, March 24th, 141 killed 388 wounded.
  - 1935 Karachi, March 19th, 47 killed, 134 wounded. Ajra, 7 peasants shot down.

Remember, these massacres, no different from the bayonetting of imprisoned soldiers, were committed by the British government, by British soldiers under the command of "cultured British gentlemen." They were massacres of unarmed Indian workers and peasants who dared to protest against British oppression.

Most workers will remember the recent shooting of General Dwyer by an Indian student in London. Dwyer was known in India and the East as the "Butcher of Amritsar." His actions there are characteristic of British rule in India.

In April 1919, a delegation of the town's inhabitants came to the government buildings to ask for the release of two Indian doctors who had been arrested for propagating national freedom for India. Instead of receiving them, machine guns were turned on them by the British government representative and twenty were killed and many wounded. The outraged people then stormed the government buildings and one British official was killed. The Commander, General Dwyer, ordered his troops to surround the town park where about 20,000 people including many women and

## BOSSSES PREPARE

## ANTH LABOUR DRIVE

law against the strikers as rigorously as it enforced it against other saboteurs."

Demanding immediate action by the Government, the reactionary Rothermere "Daily Mail" said that the Government must disillusion the minds of the miners from the idea which had arisen since the victorious strike at Betteshanger, that they could hold the country up by ransom.

Meanwhile the press as a whole

their lackeys in leading positions in the Union, the Communist Party sent two professional strike breakers down to the colliery in the attempt to break the solidarity of the miners and drive them back to work. The "North East Organiser of the Communist Party", McEwan, and a local organiser, Joe Waters, held public meetings to put forward all the arguments that they could muster to get the miners back to work. They argued that the men

Jacks, the arbitrator, for the claims of the men they asked that some other umpire should be called in to make the decision. Anything to get the day over without a decision! But the six miners local representatives—Bros. Pritchard, Kelly, Connor, Pendergast, Belton and Evans—informed those present that they could not keep the men at work unless a favourable decision was arrived at that day.

Indeed, when the day wore on without the return of their delegates, the miners became anxious and began discussing what action they should take. Many of the night shift workers were even questioning whether they should go into work until their leaders returned.

In the course of discussions with more than 100 of the men who were on strike—the conditions under which the miners lived revealed an astonishing picture. One of the workers showed a whole bundle of pay notes. For working a full week's work, most of the time in water over the tops of their boots, the average wage for the lads at the coal-face was about £3. 10. 0! When one remembers that this pit belongs to "The Horden Collieries, Ltd." who paid 7½% interest last year to their coupon clippers, one wonders that these workers have stood for the situation at the Colliery for so long.

#### MINERS DRAWING LESSONS OF STRUGGLE

Despite their feeling of isolation from other sections of the organised workers, the solidarity of the Blackhall miners had again demonstrated the wonderful fighting spirit of the working class, and its strength in the present period. Their solidarity has shown that, in the final analysis, the traditional weapon of the working class—their power to withdraw labour—is the most economical and effective against managerial procrastination as well as a powerful lever against boss class reaction.

Already the more advanced among the miners are drawing lessons from the victorious struggle. They see that the overwhelming majority of the upper crust of the union officials have gone over to the coal owners and their government; they see that it is necessary to break the line-up between their union apparatus and the Government; that it is necessary to kick out the careerists from their organisations and build the unions up as independent fighting organs of the working class. And last but not least, having been faced with the full weight of the state machine: they are starting to see that their unions must inevitably become organs for transferring state power from the hands of the capitalists into the control of the toilers.

allowed themselves to be misled by the support for one capitalist candidate against another does not lead the

Coalition for a General Election! Labour must take Power! That is the message of the workers of Grantham!

## BOSSSES PREPARE ANTI-LABOUR DRIVE

(Continued from front page)

ance or fixed income, and that if he does not work he must go without essentials.

**BASIS FOR ANTI-LABOUR LAWS**  
No one has scientifically examined the number of hours lost through sickness or through deliberate absenteeism from work. But recently in America the Congress of Industrial Organisations undertook to conduct such an investigation in order to reveal the hypocrisy of the U.S. employers who were attacking the workers for "holding back production" and attempting to introduce anti-strike laws on this pretext. The following figures graphically reveal the loss in man days to production:

Strikes ...	21,460,000 days
Accidents ...	230,000,000 days
Illness ...	450,000,000 days
Unemployment	1,570,000,000 days

"Economic Outlook," December, 1941.

A comparison of the time lost through absenteeism, with idle labour, disorganisation and inefficiency of the British employers would show a far more glaring contrast than the above figures. Yet absenteeism is the main basis for the present campaign of the bosses against the workers.

#### PROFITS AND CHAOS

Meanwhile, contrary to Sir Waldron Smithers' and other misinformative outbursts in Parliament, complaints of "silent sabotage" by the mineowners came from two great coalfields recently. At a conference of the Lancashire and Cheshire Regional Council of Labour, Mr. L. Plover said that the miners were fed up with the chaos and inefficiency that masqueraded as production. Coal production was being deliberately hindered by the employers to maintain profits and keep pits sound for after the war. We see directors' sons foisted on collieries," he went on, "arriving with their old school ties in high powered cars and being dumped in soft jobs to avoid war service." At a Tyneside production conference delegates were told that the coalowners preferred to work seams where coal was hardest to get. The productive seams being left for peacetime working.

The real root of the trouble is the stranglehold of monopoly ownership over industry, inefficient management, and domination of the state machinery by big business. The workers have been regimented but there has been no regimentation of capital. To take only a very minor item; the pooling of technical knowledge—even such a person as Sir Walter Citrine had to complain that such is the lust of these people for profit that not even the pooling of their technical knowledge has taken place after nearly three years of war. In almost all big factories extensive alterations are being undertaken and additional structures being built at the expense of a tremendous amount of labour and raw material simply in order to secure new

factories at government expense.

There are two ways of organising production, one on the basis of totalitarian blows on the working class and the other, a democratic working class method. The bosses' plans are well advanced for the implementing of the first method. But to the labour leaders and the stalinists who have joined hands with the bosses we can say beforehand that the workers will not tolerate this. Already the miners are demanding nationalisation and the dockyard workers are beginning to express the demand for workers' control.

#### WORKERS MUST COUNTER-ATTACK

An immediate working class counter offensive against the reactionary plans of the capitalists and their allies in the labour movement, is the most urgent and vital task facing militant workers to-day to sweep from power the potential Hitlerites at home as well as abroad.

Such a struggle can only be effected by a national rank and file campaign around the demands put forward by the Socialist Appeal for workers' control of industry. It may be said that such a policy may split the country, create division and help Hitler. Those who talk like that fail completely to see what is taking place in the factories and the workshops; the country is split; a division does exist—the bosses against the workers!

#### FOR WORKERS' CONTROL—NOW!

If the Labour leaders and the Stalinists were to give a lead for such a policy, workers' control of industry could be accomplished in a fortnight. Ninety-nine per cent. of the workers would be behind this struggle. It is these people who by tolerating the rule of monopoly capitalism are helping Hitler. Their policy could only end either in the victory of Hitlerism or a Nazi Labour front under the British boss-class.

There is no power other than the united independent action of the working class that is capable of removing the paralysing hold of this parasitical growth upon British industry. Only by strengthening in every possible way the independence, solidarity and confidence of the workers in their own organisations can the necessary mobilisation of forces take place to combat the present undisputed rule of monopoly capital. The Shop Stewards Movement and the Factory Committees must form the spearhead of this drive. Its rank must be purged of the advocates of half measures. Collaboration with profit seeking and inefficient managements must cease and be replaced by independent working class action. A new strata of militant shop stewards ready and able to combat the growing offensive of the boss-class is the most urgent need of the hour. End collaboration with capital. For increased production through workers' control of industry; the confiscation of war profits and the nationalisation of industry.

and many wounded. The outraged people then stormed the government buildings and one British official was killed. The Commander, General Dwyer, ordered his troops to surround the town park where about 20,000 people, including many women and children were gathered at a protest meeting. He ordered his men to fire 1,650 consecutive rounds. The resulting slaughter of unarmed men, women and children was appalling. Over 1,200 were killed and 3,600 were wounded. By order of General Dwyer the wounded were left in heaps on the ground and crying for help. The survivors were driven to the central square at Amritsar like wild animals, and there they were publicly flogged. Afterwards they were forced to crawl on all fours along the road travelled by the delegation.

And the "gallant" General Dwyer was presented with 26,000 pounds sterling for his "Heroic Deed" by the British officer corps in India!

But 1919 is a long time ago, and lest any worker thinks that British imperialism has softened its reign of terror and atrocity against the oppressed colonial people we publish a photograph here of the heads of 16 Burmese patriots, who were beheaded and publicly exhibited in the most barbarous manner to terrorise the rest of the population. A photograph of this outrage was printed in a letter sent by U. Saw, now imprisoned by the British, who was then the member for Tharrawaddy South of the Legislative Council of Burma, to the Secretary of State for India, entitled "The Burmese Situation, 1930-31." This was as late as 1931! Look at these pictures! The method is the same. The Japanese commit the most foul acts of atrocity. British imperialism does the same! And dozens of similar examples of the barbarous culture of British imperialism could be produced, but space will not permit.

The cynical and hypocritical "horror" of Anthony Eden and his class can only arouse the workers to disgust. Their empire is based on foundations of atrocities such as these.

But for the working people it is a different question. We really want to see an end to these vile and inhuman actions. By taking the reigns of government into our own hands, and freeing the colonial people from the slavery of British oppression, by ending British imperialism—only then can we ensure that we have contributed something to the wiping out of atrocities; only then can we wipe out the hatred from the minds of the colonial peoples, upon whom the British imperialists have perpetrated such vile acts. That is how to strike at the Japanese imperialists; that is the way to remember Hong Kong!

## THE BASIS of MORALE

(Continued from front page)

called democratic; drawn almost in its entirety from a different section of society than the rank and file, and fighting for entirely different aims. Not only this, but it fights with different methods.

And who dare talk of "democracy" and "equality of sacrifice" in the factories when the government's measure which was supposed to make "everybody and everything" subject to conscription has been used ruthlessly against "everybody" while leaving "everything" in the shape of war industries, mines, land, factories and banks, completely untouched.

To workers in factories this is no academic question, for they see with their own eyes how much more efficiently the factories could be run if they were "conscripted" by the nation and operated under workers' control.

More and more—especially since the lessons of Russian resistance—the British workers have seen the limits their leaders set to what they will do in the interests of the "war for democracy." No scorched earth in Malaya. No conscription of wealth. No genuine freedom for India. No real arming of the British workers. No over-riding of vested interests in the factories. Truly, a strange "total" war.

Viewed from the angle of a genuine war against fascism the attitude and the actions of the British ruling classes simply cannot be fitted into such a picture. Viewed as part of a war for the defence of an empire and the profits extorted by sweating its workers, their actions fit in with a precision that leaves no room for doubt.

What is the war being fought for? The events speak for themselves so far as Britain is concerned. It is being fought to prevent German and Japanese imperialism from taking over those rich areas of the earth from which the British imperialists draw their wealth. If the workers allow it to continue on that path it can only lead to the victory of fascism either of the German or Anglo-American variety.

If it is to be transformed into a genuine war to smash Hitler's fascism and to render any attempt at British fascism completely impossible then the lessons of Soviet Russia must be learned. The workers must take complete power into their own hands. Then they will be able to wage a real war for democracy, which in the circumstances of to-day can only be a war for the extension of workers' power throughout Europe and the world. For that very reason they will be able to win to their side the German workers who are only standing behind Hitler just now because of their fear of the victory of Churchill and the imposition of another vengeful Versailles.

Here is the real answer to the question of morale and enthusiasm, Morale does not spring from professorial lectures, admonitions from Harry Pollitt, or the holding up of the example of the Red Army and the Soviet people. Morale springs from a knowledge of fighting in a great and progressive cause. The people of the Soviet Union have that knowledge to-day. The people of Britain have not. If the two are to be brought into line there is only one road that can be taken. The road of independent working-class action toward the taking of power.