

SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

STALIN AND POLAND

By Vic Simms

IT SEEMS CERTAIN NOW THAT THE HEROIC UPRISING OF THE WARSAW WORKERS HAS BEEN DROWNED IN BLOOD. THE NAZIS HAVE TAKEN THEIR USUAL VENGEANCE... ALL THESE HAPPENINGS WITH THE RED ARMY AT THE GATES OF WARSAW.

ALTHOUGH THE NEWS OF THE WARSAW UPRISING REACHED BOTH MOSCOW AND LONDON, NO MATERIAL AID WAS GIVEN. THE RED ARMY, INSTEAD OF MARCHING IN TO SUPPORT THE WARSAW WORKERS, WAS DIVERTED; THE NAZIS WHO WERE HASTILY PACKING THEIR BAGS, REMAINED TO SETTLE ACCOUNTS WITH THE MASSES.

VOL. 6. No. 5.

MID - AUGUST, 1944.

TWOPENCE

1A THREAT AGAINST SHOTTS MINERS

C.I.D. Visit District Committee

THAT REGULATION 1A(a) IS DIRECTED NOT AT "OUTSIDE AGITATORS" BUT AT THE MILITANT WORKING CLASS AND THE ENTIRE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IS REVEALED BY EVENTS IN A RECENT STRIKE IN SCOTLAND.

In the second week of May there was a strike in the Calderhead Colliery, Lanarkshire. On May 16th, sympathetic strikes broke out in the entire Shotts district. The extension of the strike was regarded by the police as the responsibility of the Shotts District Committee of the Lanarkshire Miners Union.

Immediately, the C.I.D. arrived on the scene, visited the office of the District Committee of the Miners' Union and made extensive enquiries throughout the district. Questions were asked as to the so-called "instigators" of the strike and its causes.

Finally, the Procurator Fiscal informed the District Committee that there was a breach of Regulation 1A(a) and the "instigation" to strike may result in a prosecution.

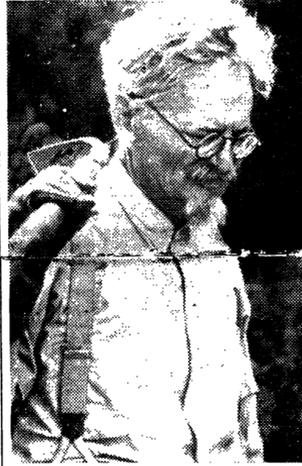
In this can be seen the far reaching interpretation that can be placed on Regulation 1A(a) by the ruling class and their police. In his explanation in the House of Commons, Bevin claimed that Shop Stewards would be regarded as outsiders and would be liable to prosecution. It seems now that a District Committee of a Trade Union has no authority either to call men out on strike in defence of their conditions!

In effect, this means that a sympathetic strike, even when it is confined to one industry in one district, is illegal. If such a strike is organised by a bona fide Trade Union District Committee, every one of its members can be prosecuted under 1A(a) and sentenced to five years' penal servitude.

Let it not be forgotten that the Trade Union leaders, elected to protect the interests of the workers, are responsible for this infamous anti-working class regulation. Bevin introduced it, and was supported by the majority of the T.U.C. General Council. The Trade Union movement has been built by the workers at tremendous sacrifices, as a weapon to defend the rights of the workers. Today, the misleaders at the top, in collaboration with the boss class, bring in regulations to cripple this movement.

The Government must be forced to withdraw this pernicious Act. Workers in their Trade Unions, Labour Parties, Trades Councils, Co-ops and Shop Stewards Committees must demand that the Trade Union leaders reverse their attitude on 1A(a) and conduct a campaign for its release. By the pressure of members of the A.E.U., Jack Tanner was forced to admit that he had "made a mistake". Other leaders can also be forced to do the same by pressure from the members. Pass resolutions for the repeal of 1A(a) and all other anti-working class legislation including the Trade Disputes Act.

For the Defence of Trade Union Rights!
Down with 1A(a) and the Trade Disputes Act!



LEON TROTSKY
Picture taken while Gardening in Mexico.

The tragedy of Warsaw can be examined against this background. The rapid advance of the Red Army swept up to the gates of Warsaw. The guns of the Red Army were audible in the city. The German armies were beating a retreat from the city. To the workers of Warsaw the moment must have appeared most opportune to rise and seize power. They must have expected the entry of the Red Army into the city almost immediately. From the stories of the 1939 invasion of Poland, they would have expected a quick sovietization in Poland. Without this element of spontaneity in the uprising, it would be difficult to explain the ferocity and determination of their struggle.

Such initiative passing into the hands of the masses was more than Stalin bargained for. He wanted the Liberation Committee to take charge of the territory cleared by the Red Army. This Committee consisting of fourteen members includes the usual puppet members of the Polish Communist Party, sprinkling of peasant leaders, a Zionist leader and a General. General Rola Zymierski, one of the star members of the Committee, puts the correct stamp on the nature of the Committee. He is the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish armed forces in Russia. He led the second Polish division in 1920 against the Soviet Union. He was a member of the Polish Officer Corps and in co-operation with Colonel Beck supported Franco in the Spanish Civil War. The Committee has issued a programme which promises a land reform but mentions no word of the type of regime to be set up in Poland. Every one of the members is pledged to a "free and independent Poland". Its territorial claims are to draw the western border of Poland along the Oder and to take in Breslau.

Such a monstrous claim, partitioning Germany and imposing vindictive terms on the German masses is put forward seriously! Stalin through the liberation Committee puts the stamp of approval on this reactionary proposal.

Stalin argues that the uprising in Warsaw was not co-ordinated with the Committee. Consequently the entry of the Red Army into Warsaw and the uprising could not synchronise. This quibble does not take into account the presence of the Red Army on the outskirts of Warsaw. It does not explain

why even if the Red Army could not advance, no material aid could be sent. Would it not be possible to separate the masses from the elements taking orders from London? To explain the need to clear the capitalists and landlords out and to take power into their own hands? The conclusion that irresistibly flows from it is that Stalin wanted to avoid a contact between the Red Army and the revolutionary masses. If victorious, the masses would sweep away the entire feudal land structure, clear the capitalists out and set up Soviets. That would be a blow at the National Liberation Committee. That would be the beginning of the end of the Stalin bureaucracy. On a verbal quibble, Stalin wants to excuse the criminal policy resulting in the massacre of heroic workers in Warsaw.

The criminals in London have been equally guilty. Apparently they expected the Nazis to flee from Warsaw. They did not want the city to fall into the hands of the Red Army. They knew the mettle of the workers and expected a spontaneous uprising. By assuming the leadership in the uprising they wanted to pave the way for the emigre Government in London. To begin with, they assumed the responsibility for the revolt and expected a cheap victory as a pawn in the negotiations. Later explanations that the responsibility rested with General Bor who was on the spot, is a clumsy afterthought. To present a fait accompli to Stalin, they gave the call to the masses who were without adequate weapons. When it became clear that there was an element of spontaneity and that the masses were taking an independent road, no arms reached them. The Allies in conjunction with the Polish Government in London deliberately withheld arms. Paying lip service

to the struggle they made no attempt to provide the equipment. When the British workers and public were beginning to raise questions why no supplies had been forthcoming for the heroic Polish workers, it was announced that some supplies had been dropped by the R.A.F. but this only took place in very limited quantities and a time when the Nazis had already gained the upper hand against the Polish workers. Thus this was only done to hide and cover up the deliberate failure to give genuine assistance to the Polish workers.

From this Warsaw tragedy the workers and peasants must draw the lessons. Both the Moscow Committee and the London Government speak of an independent Poland and promise an agrarian reform. Both of them contain the pre-1939, pro-fascist elements. The leadership of either of them will only result in a return to the miserable conditions of 1939. Both the Moscow Committee and the London Government cover common ground. The main difference is that one is a puppet of Stalin and the other is the agent of Anglo-American Imperialists. On one point both of them are in complete agreement—that there should be no Socialist Revolution in Europe.

The alternative clearly is to seek an independent road. Relying on their own strength and the strength of their organisations, the masses of Poland will be victorious. Over the heads of the Allied Governments and the heads of the Moscow Committee they should appeal to the workers of Britain, America, Russia and to the rank and file of the Red Army. Only by such independent means will they succeed and in solidarity with the rest of the European workers, establish a socialist Poland within the United Socialist States of Europe.

LEADING AIR-CRAFTSMAN VICTIMISED

"Services No Longer Required"

Leading Aircraftsman Frank Ward, after four and a half year's service in the Royal Air Force without an adverse entry on his Service Conduct sheet, has been discharged under King's Regulations and A.C.I.'s Para 62 (22), which merely states that he is discharged without any reason being given, beyond the meaningless comment that his "services are no longer required".

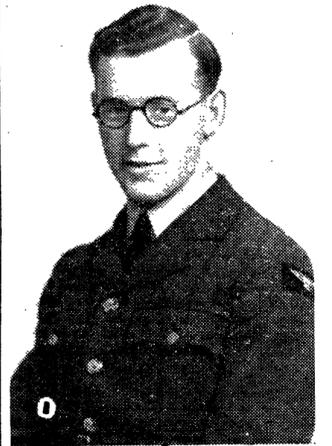
The hypocrisy of this "reason" can be seen in the fact that no complaints had been made as to his work and the fact that airmen are still required for his particular trade.

Aircraftsman Ward had always expressed Revolutionary Communist views and had been gaining a sympathetic hearing from his fellow airmen. It is for this that he has been discharged.

The desire of the majority of the workers in the armed services to also return to "civvy street" must be clouded the fact that actions such as this are directed against the Labour movement. This merely follows an accumulated series of actions that have been taken by the military authorities against the expression of socialist ideas, which are becoming increasingly prevalent throughout the services: the temporary banning of discussions on Beveridge, the court martial of Pte. Sam Gold for speaking on a public platform, the frame-ups of Private Stanton and Driver Williams (reported in previous issues of the Socialist Appeal), the suppression of the Cairo Forces' Parliament which had "elected" Labour to Power, and the victimisation of Aircraftsman Leo Abse for being a Labour "minister" in this Parliament.

The case of L/AC Ward followed closely along the lines of Cpl. Mick Bennet and L/Cpl. Ted Willis—leading Stalinists who were discharged from the Army during the anti-war period of the "Communist" Party and of Frank Maitland of the Independent Labour Party.

Some six months prior to his discharge L/AC Ward was "investigated". Under the pretext of an obviously unreal kit inspection (his service kit was ignored) all his personal



L.A.C. FRANK WARD

belongings, books, papers, etc. were examined and impounded for "investigation". On request all the books and papers—representative of every section of socialist opinion—were returned a month or two later. An interview with his Commanding Officer followed, in which the usual insinuating questions as to "unrest" etc. were asked.

Presumably these incidents were intended as a warning. L/AC Ward still continued to put forward the socialist case as was his legal right, to his comrades and at R.A.F. discussion groups. The authorities decided that democracy was being taken too literally. Early in August he was called before his Section C.O. and told that his services were no longer required by the R.A.F.

On his discharge sheet Cause of Discharge was given merely as "Services no longer required." General character during service and on discharge "Very good." While his Trade Qualifications and General Conduct... "This airman has been trained as a



JOCK HASTON

RELEASE IMPRISONED COMRADES

Having just returned from Durham, after visiting Comrades, Tearse, Lee and Haston in jail, our members and friends will be pleased to know that the three comrades are well and impatiently awaiting their release to resume their place in the party.

Comrades Tearse and Lee, have exercise together as well as their mid-day meal. They are both concentrating on a study of "Capital" in what little leisure time is left to them after their day's work as well as their "cell tasks." Comrade Lee is "hammering" mail bags and Comrade Tearse doing "slicing".

Comrade Haston, in a separate wing of the jail is concentrating on Engel's works on Dialectics. He spends his day sewing mail bags.

They are asking for special permission to see each other on the anniversary of Trotsky's death; and have sent out from the prison the following telegram to Comrade Natalia Trotsky:

"FROM DURHAM PRISON, WE GREET YOU AND OFFER OUR CONDOLENCES ON THIS, THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ASSASSINATION OF LEON TROTSKY STOP THE OLD MAN'S PROGRAMME AND PARTY LIVES STOP THIS IS THE EPOCH OF TROTSKYISM HASTON TEARSE LEE"

Their appeal will be heard in London on 23rd August. Mr. Berge, briefed by Messrs. Smithdale & Rutledge, will argue for their defence. A full report will be given in the next issue of Socialist Appeal. The Labour movement is watching with interest the outcome of this appeal.

The demand must go forward from all working class organisations for their immediate release. Only work-class pressure can gain their release.

Send donations and resolutions to:
W. G. COVE, Treasurer,
ANTI-LABOUR LAWS
VICTIMS' DEFENCE COMMITTEE,
318, Regents Park Road,
London, N.3.



HEATON LEE



ROY TEARSE

Leon Trotsky

FOUR YEARS AGO, ON AUGUST 20TH, 1940, A G.P.U. ASSASSIN, FRANK JASSON, IN THE PAY OF STALIN, BRUTALLY MURDERED LEON TROTSKY BY THRUSTING A PICK-AXE INTO HIS SKULL.

This act was a calculated blow at the leading brain of the Socialist Revolution and of the world working class.

Leon Trotsky has been more vilified and slandered by the hired pen men of Stalin than any man in the whole of history. But in spite of all the lies and perversions, in the long run the truth will make its way. The liars serve reactionary ends but those who died for the cause of the working class have always been restored to a position of honour in the memory of mankind.

In the endeavour to gain some plausibility into their scheme, the Stalinists have been compelled to revise the whole history of the Russian revolutionary movement. No less than 17 times has the history of the Russian Revolution been written to suit changes in Stalin's policy—and then the author Popov was "liquidated" himself as a "Trotskyist"! Now the thoroughly revised edition of the History of the C.P.S.U., under the personal supervision of Stalin himself, has been issued in hundreds of thousands of copies all over the world.

In this country, Page Arnot wrote two histories of the Russian Revolution, the one contradicting the other. Each "history" further attempts to distort the role of Trotsky and of the other companions of Lenin.

All these lies and falsifications can be swept aside by just one or two simple facts which have appeared in Lenin's Collected works. A succinct summary of Trotsky's political biography appeared as a note to the first edition of Lenin's Collected Works, in Volume XIV, Part 2, pages 481-82,

published by the State Publishing House in Moscow in 1921. Here in these few lines, edited under the sharp eye of Lenin himself, are the answers to all the lies and falsifications concocted in later years by the betrayers of the revolution:

"L. D. Trotsky, born 1881 (1879), active in the worker's circles in the City of Nikolayev; in 1898 exiled in Siberia; soon after escaped abroad and participated in the Iskra. Delegate from the Siberian League at the Second Congress of the Party. After the split in the Party adhered to the Mensheviks. Even prior to the revolution in 1905, he advanced his own and today particularly noteworthy theory of the permanent revolution, in which he asserted that the bourgeois revolution of 1905 must pass directly into the socialist revolution, being the first of the national revolutions; he defended his theory in the newspaper Nachalo, the central organ of the Menshevik faction published during November-December 1905 in Petersburg. After the arrest of Khristalov-Nussar, he was elected chairman of the First Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Arrested together with the Executive Committee on December 3, 1905, he was sent into life exile to Obdorsk, but escaped en route and emigrated abroad."

"Trotsky chose Vienna to live in, and there he issued a popular newspaper, Pravda, to be circulated in Russia. He broke with the Mensheviks and attempted to form a group outside of all factions; however, during

(Continued on back page)



T.U. MILITANT CALLED UP

Salford, 6. 18.7.44.
Dear Comrade Editor,
I was recently dismissed for Trade Union activity. The factory where I am engaged on war production, manufacturing oilskins and other finished textiles.

The conditions there are very bad. For example, in the shop where I was working the nature of the work demanded that all the windows and doors be closed, this causes the place to become extremely stuffy and hot, despite this there are no ventilation arrangements of any description. The floor of this same section is in some places two or three inches thick with solution, this has a ruinous effect on the workers' footwear. Boys of 14-16 here do the work of heavy labourers for 7 1/2d. an hour. Men who have been called up and want to enter the forces are deferred (by arrangement). Within a week of my being dismissed I received my travelling warrant for the Army.

From the Trade Union standpoint the workers were unorganised. Fourteen men joined the T.&G.W.U. and we decided to hold a meeting outside the works to draw some more in. Some of the men and I distributed leaflets telling time and date etc., on the day previous to the meeting. The following day about 2 a.m. the Director of the firm came to me with some of the leaflets and said: "We don't require a union here, furthermore you are sacked for serious misconduct."

I am appealing against this also the union is. I received a copy of the manager's "case" today. In it they say "He stated that it is his full intention to distribute leaflets round the works and to see that the whole factory came under the union. Naturally whether we become a union shop or not is left to us to decide. Being in full agreement with our employees. It so happens that we have been in existence since 1820 and have never needed a union."

Within two hours of my dismissal 24 workers signed application forms and many have joined since. My appeal is on July 31st. I have to join the forces on July 18th. This is typical of the way the capitalist class "arrange" things.

Fraternally,

N.B. We held this letter up to wait on the result of the Appeal. We received a further letter dated August 7th. in which this comrade says: "I received a letter from Transport House

today telling me I had lost my Appeal also that they had got 70 more members and the Management have recognised the Union."

WELSH MINER BREAKS WITH STALINISM

Gorseion, nr. Swansea. 12.7.44.

Dear Comrade,
I have given a number of my workmates a shock by my becoming a supporter of the policy of the Fourth International, as I have been for a number of years a member of the Third International and have been responsible for recruiting some of them to that Party, also gaining support for the "Daily Worker".

However, they knew that I did not agree with the line the Stalinists put forward regarding support for the Churchill Government and that I was not prepared to "Go to It" under bad working conditions in order to increase or maintain output to defeat "Fascism" (as the Stalinists put it). The Stalinists rank and file know nothing about the policy of the Fourth International other than the lie that the Trotskyists are pro-fascist and have contact with the Nazis. They never dreamt that I would become a convert to Trotskyism, however, after much argument I have sold them the "Socialist Appeal" and that ought to begin to clarify them on what our policy really is. If I am not mistaken a few of them will come over to our point of view in a short time, but as I am alone here now it will take some persuading.

I have had a talk with one of the leading members of the Stalinist Party but found him irrational in his arguments and I have come to the conclusion that it is easier to win other workers to our policy by pointing out the inconsistency of the policy of the "Communist Party" today with the theory of the class struggle as outlined by Marx and Lenin.

I shall be glad to meet other members of the Party and discuss the task before us all, of building the Revolutionary Party. I also feel that I should and am prepared to, join the Party. Such a decision on my part has not come over night but after a long period of dissatisfaction with the policy of the Stalinist Party. I am convinced that the only Party which carries forward the Marx-Lenin line

and the setting up of a system of ownership and control by the working-class, is the Fourth International. Yours fraternally, Edgar Thomas.

30 Plessey Workers Victimised

Under the guise of "redundancy", the reactionary Plessey management have recently victimised the leading elements of the Shop Stewards' Committee. These brothers have in the past done a great deal in building the Trade Union movement at this stronghold of reaction, and have been able to wrest a fair number of gains and concession from the management, the most notable being that of T.U. recognition.

Early in May, the management announced that one whole toolroom would be made redundant, which meant that 30 skilled men would be discharged. Among these thirty, were the above mentioned brothers, who held positions of Convenor, T.U. Committee secretary, Branch secretary and a Shop

the brothers mentioned. Arising from this, these workers were sent as far apart as Dagenham and Boreham Wood, some places interviewed were being sub-sub contracted from Plesseys. During all these negotiations and procedures, which were being strictly adhered to by the Stalinists, the well known Stalinist A.E.U. organiser, Berridge, gave them no real assistance or help, but only agreed there was possibly a redundancy. When the Committee, as a last effort to retain these men, called on the E.C. of the A.E.U. to raise the matter with Bevin, Berridge completely washed his hands of the case and instead of advising these thirty men to fight this victimisation to the end by appealing on bloc against these directions to other plants,



"THIS IS YOUR QUOTA"

Steward. The management claimed that as they had recently failed to secure an M.A.P. contract, they would not be further required. The Committee realised that this was a blatant attempt to split the Shop Stewards' movement, as this had been done before to another toolroom in the firm.

where an artificial redundancy was purposely created, skilled men were sent the length and breadth of the country in order to split the workers' ranks who were at that time returning blow for blow with the management. A few weeks after the firm were advertising for toolmakers!

At a special conference convened to discuss this latest redundancy, it was proved conclusively by the Committee to the M.A.P. officials, that Plessey's were sub-contracting to five other firms, work of the same character that was being performed in this now redundant toolroom. But, as was expected, the M.A.P. turned a deaf ear to the Shop Stewards' evidence, and came out openly on the side of the management, saying, that they were satisfied that there were reasons for redundancy on that section.

Following this, the Committee compiled a list of thirty composed of a few volunteers and the rest non-T.U. members from all of the toolrooms on the plant and handed it to the resident N.S.O. (who as usual is hand in glove with the management). The Committee said that if they were interested in 30 men going, here were their names. But the refusal to accept this list brought out clearer the fact that this was just a bold attack on the T.U. Committee, and a few days later a list went up headed by the names of

he advised them not to as they did not stand much chance of winning their case!

The result of all this is that three weeks after some of these men are still on the streets, jobless.

In the light of these facts no honest person could say this was a victory for the Plessey workers. But not so the Stalinists. For having had a long experience in consciously deceiving the working class the Stalinist rag, "New Propellor" heads an article on Plesseys in the July issue "Toolmakers Win" and goes on to say that the management had agreed to draw redundant workers from the whole of the plant. This is completely untrue, but, nevertheless, it constituted a victory in the eyes of the Stalinists. Such is the help the C.P. gave to the movement at that plant.

The lessons of this victimisation, which is taking place on a national scale, points to the utmost necessity for the rank and file to demand through their T.U. branches that their E.C. break the industrial truce and wage a campaign of struggle on behalf of the membership against the continuous attacks that the employing class are making on the workers today.

WORKERS! Demand that your E.C. break the industrial truce and campaign through the T.U.C. for the preservation of the rights you have won through decades of bitter struggle.

WORKERS! Demand that your E.C. consolidate, strengthen and extend the T.U. movement now as the only guarantee to safeguard the conditions of the working class for now and after the war.

HAMILTON MINERS FRAMED

By Sarita Cooper

22 miners of the Fortissat Colliery, Snotts, have recently been on trial on a charge of ca-caning in one of the most heinous frame-ups of the war. This is part of the attempt by the mine-owners and their Government to blame the miners for the chaos into which their mis-management and profit lust have led the industry.

The case for the prosecution rested on the fact that coal output had fallen in the period from the 8th November, 1943 to the 24th March, 1944 by over 900 tons as compared with the period 1st November, 1943 to the 31st October, 1943. The miners held that this drop was fully justified by the bad conditions under which the men worked during the latter period. That then defence was fully proved is obvious from the facts given below, yet of the 22 charged, 19 were found guilty and were fined 25 with the option of thirty days.

The primary issue was that of the increase in the amount of dirt handled by the men during the two periods under review. The "Militant Miner" in a full report of the case gives the amount of dirt handled during the first (earlier) period as 9 1/2 hutchers for 37 suits, which in the second period rose to 68 hutchers for 77 suits—that is the percentage of dirt handled by the men rose from 28 to 88 per cent. Yet Howden, the manager, in the face of these figures had the audacity to insist that the periods were sufficiently similar to make the comparison a fair one. Added to this the output of the accused during the second period at no time fell below that required to make up the minimum wage.

In the evidence of the Manager, the oversman and the day-shift fireman there were very obvious contradictions. The Manager insisted that the top dirt never rose above 2 in. while of the other two witnesses, one declared he had seen it at 18 in. and the other at 21 in. The fireman also stated that he had passed on complaints regarding the excessive dirt and abnormal conditions to the manager who had, however, already denied receiving such complaints.

The witnesses for the defence so fully corroborated each other with regard to the bad conditions that the prosecution were forced to abandon their argument that conditions were normal, and tried to prove that, in fact, conditions were so bad that production could only be maintained if the miners worked at top pitch. The already sweated miners are asked to maintain production level under conditions which make it impossible.

In summing up, Robertson for the defence, proved from figures taken from the company's books that there were only 8 tons 7 cwt. of coal available where the prosecution claimed it should have been possible to produce over 10 tons. You cannot draw blood from stone, neither can you dig coal from a seam that is almost exhausted. This is yet another example in proof of the charge that the owners are exploiting low productive seams at a time when they can make a profit on them, and saving the more easily worked seams for after the war when the market for coal drops. It is the owners who sabotage the war effort by using such methods and not the miners, who have been given no credit for the good job they have done under war conditions.

Despite the weight of evidence, 10 of the men were found guilty. The Sheriff, in his highly prejudiced summing up, stated that he would take Howden's word on the question of whether he had received complaints against the word of the fireman, one of the accused. In doing this he violated legal practice in assuming guilt before it had been proved and in taking the word of a man who had already been proved a liar in the earlier evidence against another without additional proof. Not only this, but Howden was virtually the prosecutor in that it was his complaint which led the Ministry of Fuel and Power to take up the charge. He had plenty of reason for seeing the case stick.

This case stands as one of the test cases for the miners. The fact that the Ministry of Fuel and Power was responsible for the case coming into court means that the result will be used over a wider area than just the Fortissat Colliery. It is an attempt on the part of the Ministry to regulate the output of the miners irrespective of the conditions under which they work. This marks a return to industrial serfdom in the mines—unless the rank and file force the unions to fight the case. The Fortissat branch is circulating other branches for support. The Union leadership, whose task it is to safeguard the interests of the miners against such vicious attacks has ignored the case. This is a betrayal of the rank and file in whose interests they are supposed to fight. They have signed a four year truce with the employers. Instead of signing such pledges of peace, the leaders must be preparing for a struggle to meet the attacks of the coal owners. Learning from the lessons of Hamilton Trial, the miners must fight within the Unions for a leadership capable and willing to defend their members.

LABOUR IN CORNWALL

By D. Johnstone

The cost of living in Cornwall, as in the rest of the country, has increased rapidly. In spite of this, the average wage of the Tin miner is £3 15s. 0d., the bakery vanmen get the miserly wage of £2 15s. to £3 10s. weekly.

Strong signs of discontent were shown by workers drafted from other parts of the country to work on Public works in Cornwall. While previously getting 1/8 per hour their wage was reduced to 1/5 1/2 per hour. As an excuse for this malicious cut in wages, the trade union agents, howl that "The cost of living in Cornwall is much cheaper than other parts of the country," this fails to cover the fact that workers are working at reduced rates.

Things were looking threatening at one public works, and the trade union representatives, forced by pressure of the workers, advised the previous rates to be restored. This was done. That incident was a good demonstration to these workers that their standards could only be maintained by organisation.

Traces of the ancient feudal society still exist here. A fresh sign of this is that farm labourers striving to

obtain different employment in better jobs that are vacant, are rejected and forced to return to the land. The more militant of these workers are trying to organise themselves by joining a trade union. To counter these moves and with the object of blacklisting these militants, YOUNG FARMERS' CLUBS have been established by sons of the landowners and small farmers.

This is such a backward county that these things remain unexposed. In support of these clubs prominent Tory and Liberal M.P.s such as Alec Beecham and Captain Pilkington have spoken.

The last General Election showed a fresh political awakening on the part of the masses. Formerly the Tories held a greater majority, but in 1935 their majority was much smaller in face of growing labour and liberal opposition. With the falling out of the picture of Liberalism, the Labour Party has a much greater chance of victory in the future. But in spite of this, apart from the flourishing St. Ives Division, the Labour Party remains backward and inactive. As a sign of this backwardness, a speaker at a meeting of the Camborne Labour Party (now almost non-existent) said: "There is too much talk of this ere Socialism here."

The Stalinists, with their support waning in the advanced parts of the country, are now turning to the backward areas in an attempt to recruit fresh forces. But through lack of training, their supporters remain a confused body, bewildered by the several changes of the "Party line", they hold a mixed and distorted view, some even holding anti-Semitic and pro-Vansittartist views.

The I.L.P. are on the whole inactive in Cornwall, their strongest branch at Camborne is in the hands of pacifists, their leading members being also members of the P.P.U. While the R.C.P. is the weakest numerically, its voice is heard in Cornwall louder than that of any other party, and is destined in the future to play a prominent part in the struggles of Cornish Labour.

A.M.G.O.T. JUSTICE

On July the 22nd, Allied judges applying Italian law, by "British procedure", sentenced Rosario Bentivegna, prominent "Communist" partisan to 18 months imprisonment for killing Lieutenant Giorgio Barbarisi on June 5th.

This case aroused tremendous interest in Rome since the court decided that Bentivegna was guilty of "culpable excess" in exercise of legitimate defence. In more simple non-legal language this can only mean that Bentivegna was sentenced for being too vigorous in defence of his life against an AMGOT Italian policeman.

The facts as reported in Reynolds News reveal that Bentivegna—an Italian police officer working for AMGOT—and no doubt retained from Mussolini's regime, after an "altercation" which arose when Barbarisi tore down "Communist" placards from the walls near the offices of the newspaper *Unita*, organ of the Italian Communist Party. Apparently, Barbarisi "threateningly whipped out his revolver" and Bentivegna, quicker on the draw, shot first.

This vicious sentence can only be interpreted as a public gesture of defence for fascist collaborators of AMGOT. This exhibition of "justice" will undoubtedly be understood by the revolutionary Italian masses. They will also draw the inescapable con-

clusion that the Allied imperialists cannot and will not liberate Italy and the Italian masses. Only the Italian workers and peasants taking power and establishing an Italian Socialist Republic can achieve this.

R.C.

Advertisement for 'The case for socialist revolution' by the A.C.C. of Trotskyism. It features a graphic of a book and a price tag of 6d.

COAL

J. Deane

With 100,000 more miners, British mines produce 300,000,000 tons of coal less than the American mines!

The tremendous anarchy and chaos in the mining industry is revealed in the "Statistical Digest" published by the Ministry of Fuel and Power. The coal owners lust for profit rules above all other "interests", including that of the miners' lives.

By no means can this so-called "comprehensive survey" be considered the truthful position. The figures on wages and profits for example, are in the main, based upon company figures given in wage ascertainsments. The real figures are kept a closely guarded secret by the coal-owners. However, despite obvious great deficiencies from the miners viewpoint, the White Paper speaks volumes. It reveals how vitally necessary and practicable it is that the mines should be taken out of the hands of the greedy coal owners, nationalised and placed under the control of the workers who win the coal.

The output of saleable coal has fallen from 231 million tons in 1939, to 194 million tons in 1943 i.e., a drop of 37 million tons or 16 per cent. As the figures demonstrate, this is a progressive decline in output. The output per man shift worked by all workers engaged in coal production has steadily fallen from 1.13 tons in 1939, to 1.02 tons in the first quarter of 1944. The output of saleable coal per man shift worked at the coal face—the most clear illustration of the productivity of labour—has fallen from 2.97 tons in 1939, to 2.78 tons in the first quarter of 1944.

How is this tremendous drop in production to be explained? How is it, that despite conscription, forced labour, threats and buy-offs, production still declines? The capitalist press—assisted by their lackeys, the union leaders tell us that absenteeism and strikes are the main cause. Certainly these contribute in a small way. But absenteeism and strikes are precisely due to the coalowners' sweated labour and the attacks on the miners' hard won conditions. Thus the coalowners are responsible.

Absenteeism accounted for 6.4 per cent of possible shifts in 1938. In 1943 absenteeism from all causes accounted for 12.4 per cent. Voluntary absenteeism in 1943 accounted for 6.1 per cent; involuntary absenteeism (illness, etc.) 9 per cent. This according to the "Economist" (July 15th) is only slightly higher than the figures for other industries.

In Table 6 of the White Paper very interesting figures are given of the loss of manshifts and quantity of saleable coal lost from causes other than absenteeism. This table shows clearly that strikes cannot be held responsible for the progressive reduction of output. In 1943, for example, less than 10 per cent of total tonnage lost, which

was 10.7 million tons, was due to disputes.

The White Paper clearly illustrates the fundamental causes for the tremendous decline in production. It shows that this is due to inefficiency, lack of machinery, "wastage" of labour and steadily worsening conditions under which the miners have to work. All these factors are caused and developed by the Coal-owners' blind lust for profit. But even this does not tell the whole story. The White Paper does not state how many seams have been closed because they clash against the boundaries of other coal or landowners; it doesn't show how many good seams have been saved for the post war market-grab.

The Tory Reform Committee, in a pamphlet issued for private circulation, states that America with 600,000 miners produces 500,000,000 tons of coal per annum; in this country 700,000 miners produce 200,000,000 tons of coal! With 100,000 more miners in Britain 300,000,000 tons of coal less are produced! From these astounding figures the Tory Reform Committee recommends more mechanisation.

Despite the intensified demand for coal as a result of the war, the coal-owners—whose party it is that demands more mechanisation—have actually caused a steady decline in the productive use of machine cut cutters. In 1939 142 million tons of machine-cut coal were produced. In 1943 only 131 million tons of machine-cut coal were produced. In the Lancashire and Cheshire coalfield, for example, there were 80 pits using 761 coal cutting machines in 1938. This has steadily declined until in 1943 there were only 13 pits using 88 coal cutters! This is partly due to conditions laid down in the Coal Mines Act regarding gas, etc., but from the writers own limited experience and discussions with colliers it is known that in the main it is due to inefficiency. What coal-cutters are in use almost daily break-down; if they don't then the conveyors do. On top of this the bad conditions of roadways, antiquated haulage methods, lack of machine maintenance etc., all reduce the productivity of labour and at the same time increase the amount of sweat extracted by the coal-owners from the colliers and general underground workers.

The miners curse machinery because it makes them the slave of the machine. Machinery displaces labour, and creates dangerous working conditions because it is introduced and is under the control of the capitalists. The accident rate is increasing. Roof-falls, explosions, and fires go hand in hand with the use of machinery under the control of the coalowners. Their concern is to reduce labour costs, extract more sweat from the miners, and

Continued on page 4.

Advertisement for 'SOCIAL LONDON ANTI-LABOUR LAWS DEFENCE COMMITTEE' with details of a meeting on Saturday, 26th August, 7.30 p.m. at 31 Broadhurst Gardens.

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

EDITORIAL

TROTSKY and the Fourth International

Four years ago, Stalin's hired assassin murdered Trotsky. This was the climax to the series of murders perpetrated by the blood-stained hands of Stalin. There was jubilation in the camps of exploiters all over the world. "Trotsky is dead," they said, "and with him perishes the ideas of World Revolution."

To-day the spectre of Trotskyism strikes terror in the hearts of Imperialists all over the world. In the shipyards, mines and factories of Britain, in the struggles of the workers in the occupied countries of Europe, in America and in the Colonies Trotsky's ideas inspire the vanguard of the workers to end the barbarous regime of Capital.

Everywhere in the world the Trotskyists are hounded and persecuted. In addition to the thousands murdered by Stalin, in many occupied countries of Europe leading Trotskyists have been shot. In America the leading members of the Socialist Workers Party are in prison. In Ceylon there are many in concentration camps. In Britain three comrades are in Durham prison.

In spite of these attacks the capitalists are afraid. This mad frenzy of violence against the ideas of Trotsky is a symptom of their fear. Coulonde, the French Ambassador in Berlin, is reported to have said to Hitler in his last interview, "I also have a fear that at the end of the war there will be only one real victor, M. Trotsky."

Trotsky was murdered but his ideas will dominate future history, shape the course of coming struggles leading to the emancipation of the oppressed all over the world.

The hand that murdered Trotsky also killed the Third International. But Trotsky's ideas and teachings find concrete organisational and programmatic expression in the World Party of the Fourth International. The appropriate homage that can be paid to the memory of Trotsky is to rally the workers under the banner of the Fourth International, to face the final struggle against Capitalism and for the establishment of a Socialist Society.

TROTSKY'S ASSASSIN PREPARING ESCAPE

On August 20, 1940, Frank Jacson, alias Jacques Monard, drove a pickaxe into the brain of Leon Trotsky, while the latter's back was turned. On his person, Jacson carried a "confession" which crudely attempted, in typical "Moscow Trial" fashion, to explain his murder because Jacson had suddenly "discovered" that Trotsky was in league with "foreign powers." The "confession" was proved to be a tissue of lies, and in itself conclusive proof that Jacson was a hired GPU assassin who had murdered Trotsky at the instructions of Stalin.

On August 29, Cardenas, the President of Mexico, issued a statement wherein he placed the responsibility for the assassination of Leon Trotsky on the Stalinists.

On April 16, 1943, nearly two years and eight months after commission of his crime, Frank Jacson was finally sentenced for the murder of Leon Trot-

sky, to 20 years imprisonment. (There is no death penalty in Mexico.)

Immediately following the sentence, Jacson's lawyers announced that they would appeal the decision. Throughout the almost two years of court hearings and the interminable legal subterfuges that Jacson's lawyers have undertaken, Jacson has obviously been well supplied with money for a battery of legal counsel. In addition, throughout all this time, Jacson has enjoyed in prison all the comforts and services that money can buy. Stories of celebrations held in his cell in which officials of the prison participated have been widely reported in the Mexican press. Newspaper reporters who interviewed him in prison all reported of the exceptional comforts in his cell, a library, special foods etc. The source of Jacson's funds is obvious: Stalin's GPU.

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FRANK JACSON

MYSTERIOUS INTERVIEWS

One of these, according to our informant, is that well-known radical (Stalinist) who held mysterious interviews with Monard and various warden. Simultaneously, Jacson is already abandoning his intractable attitude, and has become very friendly with the guards and his walks in the penitentiary have become prolonged up to very suspicious places, such as the main doors—perhaps with the object of being trusted by the guards, by having them look at him frequently, so that at the given moment, his presence will not cause them to become suspicious.

As a significant detail and one which strengthens the hypothesis that the escape of Monard is almost certain, is cited the fact that a Mexico City periodical has posted, permanently, outside the penitentiary gates, several photographers, with the evident view of getting a "scoop" when Jacson escapes.

It is said, moreover, that inside the penitentiary the atmosphere is one of unusual tension. The prisoners know that something "big" is going to happen soon—"something" in which one of them—another prisoner: Monard?—will be the principal character.

C.P. POLICY IN IRELAND

By Bob Armstrong

"... The Communist Party proposes that the Labour Movement makes clear where it stands on the question of partition by declaring that its policy is to recognise the present constitutional position and to establish a Labour Government in Northern Ireland that will fight to maintain and vastly improve the present social services." Statement by C.P. Secretary published in "Unity", organ of the Irish Communist Party, June 29th.

In the autumn of 1941 the southern section of the Irish Communist Party dissolved. It had lost confidence in itself. Its campaign to end neutrality and drag Eire in the wake of Britain's war machine had met with such ill success among the workers, that the disheartened C.P. members had soon abandoned even the pretence of carrying on party activity.

In Ulster the Stalinists made headway only among a section of Protestant workers who, while ready for a social change, could still be deceived for a time into accepting the "tactic" of collaborating with the Brooke and Churchill Governments. Among the nationalist workers anger and contempt was evoked by the C.P.'s servile cringing before Imperialism and Orange reaction. As these workers form an important section of the working class the Stalinist Party was loath to forfeit all influence over them. From time to time, therefore, they dropped hints and half-hints designed to fool the nationalists. "Wait until the war is over, until after Russia's victory?" they boasted, "and then you will see it is we who are the true revolutionaries." Meanwhile, they scoldingly appealed to the Imperialists to undergo a change of heart and act like true democrats. They condemned the name "Imperialism", all the while continuing to serve the system under the guise of furthering the democratic war effort.

Recent diplomatic events, however, have forced the Stalinists to desist from even this poor and unconvincing show of shadow-boxing at Imperialism, and to emerge demonstratively into the open as the avowed upholders of the British occupation. On July 23rd the new pro-partition policy was officially sanctioned by the Party. The Stalinist leaders have set themselves the goal of immediately winning 250 new members. How many existing members they will lose they do not predict.

WHO BENEFITS BY PARTITION?
 Partition operates exclusively in the interests of reaction. In the first

place, it is the most convenient method whereby British Imperialism can maintain a bridgehead in Ireland. Secondly, partition is necessary for the Ulster employers who thrive on British subsidies and Imperial orders; and it brings a further financial gain and political advantage through the division it creates among the workers. Even the Catholic Church derives a measure of benefit from the partitioned condition of the country, although it must perforce make a show of passively opposing partition in order to avoid running counter to the nationalist aspirations of its members; for every weakness and division among the workers strengthens the authority and influence of the Church. To a degree also partition brings advantage to the De Valera regime which, while genuinely fearing the bridgehead in the North, knows how skillfully to utilise the British danger to divert the attention of the workers away from the domestic class struggle.

To the workers, partition is an unmitigated evil. To the Northern nationalist workers it has always meant, pogroms, police repression and job victimisation. Without the existence of a nationalist minority, with its alleged threat to Protestant interests, the Tory Unionists could not have maintained their long monopoly of power. Toryism, therefore, deliberately foments acts of violence and fosters the spirit of republican rebellion through its system of persecution and discrimination in order to keep at bay a still more formidable opponent—a united working class which before long would thrust them from the citadels of power.

The gains derived from partition by the Protestant workers are of a purely illusory nature. It is true that social services are maintained at approximately the British standard and that the level of Ulster employment depends largely upon the orders placed by the Imperial State. Against these gains, however, must be set the enervating working-class split which ensures the dominance of an employers' Government at Stormont. The Protestant workers feel they would starve in a capitalist Ireland divorced from the British connection. But it is absolutely false to pose the question to the workers as though their only choice lies between Imperialist Westminster and De Valera's Dail. Mass pauperisation is inevitable under any and every form of capitalist rule. International socialism alone can ensure a fresh upswing of the productive forces.

A "PROGRESSIVE" LABOUR GOVERNMENT

It is among the Protestant workers that the Stalinists hope to win favour for their new partition policy. But they are reckoning without their host. True enough, the erstwhile leader of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, Midgeley, was able to gain a victory over his Tory opponent in the Protestant constituency of Willowfield in 1942 by combining pro-Partition speeches with reformist demagoguery. However, the political psychology of the workers is not something fixed for all time. A few years hence 1942 will seem like a century ago. The colossal post-war unemployment will set the task of completely reconstructing society urgently upon the order of the day. Only the most radical solutions will satisfy the workers who are not prepared to starve on the pittance doled out to a partitioned province by an impoverished Imperialist exploiter.

The unfolding social revolution in Europe which will sweep away all State frontiers will give them encouragement and a programme for international socialist co-operation. It is towards this glorious end that the thoughts and activities of the genuine communists, the Trotskyists, are directed.

The Stalinists, on the other hand, are preparing to assist in the ghastly work of maintaining the decrepit capitalist system. But like the reformist Labour bureaucrats they are compelled to cover up the counter-revolutionary nature of this work under the guise of doing things by stages of not leaping too far ahead and alienating the backward workers and the middle class. Right now the Stalinists unwaveringly support the sectarian Brooke Government. After the peace, however, they promise to return to the arena of the class struggle by working to secure the victory of a progressive Labour Government. If the Labourites make it clear that they are against going into a united Ireland, say the Stalinists, the Protestants will have no cause to vote Tory. This tactic of beating the Tories at their own game by posing as ardent defenders of the Ulster border is worthless even from the narrow and unprincipled standpoint of vote-catching. The most backward section among the Protestants will still vote Unionist; the moderately advanced sections among the Catholics will abstain; while the really advanced workers of both sides of the community

(Continued on page 4.)

INDIAN FAMINE

(During the famine of 1943, the distress and death roll from Calcutta could not be kept from the world press. Forcibly starving people were ejected from the city and forced back into villages. The city was once again presentable to the reporters of the world press. But the continued misery in villages escaped attention. The following is reprinted from the Hindustan Standard, describing the conditions in villages! Latest reports indicate that a second famine, more devastating than the previous one is imminent. Editor.)

Death from starvation has become a matter of almost daily occurrence at Nilphamari, in Rangpur district. On the 26th, three dead bodies of destitute persons were found lying by the roadside while three deaths occurred on the 27th.

Out of 153 children admitted into the destitute children's hospital up to date 24 have died.

The distress of the people is daily growing more acute. Many of the cultivators have been compelled to sell their cattle to procure food and lands are fast changing hands. Large crowds gather every day before the offices of Sub-registrars at Nilphamari. Damar and Jaldhaka to have their sale-deeds registered. In the Sub-registrar's office at Nilphamari, during the first nine months of this year, 11,915 deeds were registered as against 4,368 during the corresponding period in 1942.

In Dulai Union in the village of Rai Simul there have been nine deaths from starvation. Several places in the aforesaid Union are affected with a virulent epidemic of cholera, which has been taking a heavy toll of human lives, reports "United Press". At Bera (Pabna), there were 3 more deaths from starvation.

A pathetic scene was noticed in the market when a Muchi (cobbler) woman lay dead while her infant boy remained still suckling on her breast. Cholera and small-pox are still raging furiously. During the last week there were 8 deaths out of 17 attacks and small-pox accounted for 7 deaths out of 14 attacks. Due to want of medicines no large scale preventive measures could be adopted.

It is apprehended that unless clothes and shelter are provided to the poor and the destitute who have been so long wandering about like nomads, the death-rate will increase in the near future.

BARISAL REPORTS

On the 22nd October, 8 starvation cases, on the 23rd, 26 cases, and on the 25th, 7 cases were admitted into the District Hospital. On the 22nd, one starvation case and on the 24th, two starvation cases proved fatal there. There are 88 cases of starvation.

The number of starvation cases in the 'destitute ward' is daily increasing. At first accommodation was made



A.R.P. TRUCKS COLLECT THE DEAD FROM CALCUTTA STREETS

there for 50 patients, but for the present the average number of starvation cases existing there is about 80 a day. To find out ways and means a meeting of the medical Sub-committee of the 'Jiban Raksha Samiti' was held recently at Dr. Delip Banerjee's Chamber with Capt. B. B. Hajra, Civil Surgeon, as chairman. It was resolved that a letter would be sent to Jiban Raksha Samiti requesting it to arrange accommodation for at least 100 sick destitutes outside the Hospital compound. By another resolution the Jiban Raksha Samiti has been requested to find a suitable house for starting a "Convalescent Home."

It is learnt that 6 persons have died of malnutrition in the village Kirtipasha, under P. S. Jhalakati within these few days of October. Of the number there were three old persons and two boys.

The dead body of a famished Muslim girl was found on the 27th morning in the Amanatganj quarter of the town.

Under most tragic circumstances a famished destitute girl, aged about 5 years, met her end on the 26th morning. While the girl was crossing the road near the Rindan Samiti, a motor car belonging to an official ran over her. The girl was immediately brought to the Sadar Hospital in the car and first aid was rendered but to no effect. She died within a short time. She is survived by her destitute mother.

Five starvation cases proved fatal on the 25th in the District Hospital. Nine cases were admitted and 12 discharged. The number of starvation cases in the Hospital was 80.

The dead body of a famished Hindu adult male was found on the 26th at the 'Hatkola'. Reports of two deaths from starvation, of two adult females, in the

bazaar of Torkey, under P. S. Gour-nadi, have now been received.

Some days ago the dead body of a famished person was seen being eaten by vultures and jackals on the river-side in the village Ramjanpur under P. S. Kalkini in the Faridpur District. The village is situated near the border of this district.

EXTENT OF DEATHS IN VILLAGES

From reports to hand, it is learned that 9 persons died of starvation in the course of about a month and a half in a group of villages, comprising Teraddarun, Sankarpur, Danarpara and Guthia, under P. S. Wazirpur and extending over not more than 2 square miles. The distress is extremely acute in the locality and a very large number of people are badly suffering from malnutrition, several of them being already in a very precarious condition.

Reports from the villages, especially in North Bakeergunj and in Bhola Sub-Division, indicate that distress is growing intensively and death-roll is mounting every day. There is great influx of village people in the town and this indicates the condition in the surrounding villages.

IN TANGAIL STREETS

Last week 15 persons died of starvation in the streets of Tangail town in Mymensingh district. The dead body of an old woman was even lying in the Criminal Court compound. Cholera has broken out again in the town.

In the Sub-Division of Lalbagh in Murshidabad district, every day people are dying of starvation. During the period from October 10 to October 19, six deaths occurred at Azimganj due to starvation. The dead body of a woman was found lying at Azimganj-Tamul-

(Continued on page 4.)

BREAK THE COALITION!

Labour to Power

on the following Programme

AN END TO THE COALITION WITH THE BOSSES. LABOUR AND TRADE UNION LEADERS MUST BREAK WITH THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT AND WAGE A CAMPAIGN FOR POWER ON THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMME:—

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

Democratic Demands

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

Military Policy

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

International Policy

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

THE WORLD REVOLUTION
 and the tasks of the British Working Class
 6d

COAL

(Continued from page 1).

thus increase profits at the expense of the lives of the miners.

The so-called "natural wastage" in the 6 months ended September 1942 was 16,741 miners. Of these 1,594 were deaths and 10,446 compensation cases. The "natural wastage" in the 6 months ending 25th March 1944 was 19,915 miners of which 1,798 were due to death and 12,055 compensation cases.

The total number of killed and injured, underground and surface, was 135,716 in 1939. This rose to 169,945 in 1943. One in four miners are killed or injured every year; amongst the younger miners—this under 18—the rate is even greater, one in three! Trevor Evans in the "Daily Express" on 13th July 1944, states that "the chances of being injured in a pit are greater than in any branch of our fighting forces".

In an attempt to offset this "wastage" the Government introduced the Bevin Pit Ballot scheme and released men from the services. The effect of this compulsion is well known. Apprentices up and down the country protested against this forced labour. In the Tyneside, Huddersfield and on the Clyde, apprentices showed their hostility by strike action. In the mining villages the miners sons have gone to jail rather than work underground. They know only too well how their fathers have suffered in the pits. The Bevin Pit Ballot scheme according to press reports is in actual fact a complete failure. Originally it was designed that at least 30,000 boys would enter the pits under Bevin's scheme. Actually only 8,000 have so far entered. Despite the fact that the alternatives were (a) R.A.F.—Operational, (b) Navy—Submarine Service, the youth of today would rather chance the possible short spell of life offered in these most dangerous services than working underground. On top of this there has been a drop of 11,600 boys under 16 in the pits since 1940. Added to this it is computed that 75,000 miners will leave the pits within the next two years. Far from this situation being improved it will increasingly become worse so long as the mines remain in the hands of the coalowners.

A study of the wages, royalties and profits, contained in Table 33 of the White Paper, will demonstrate why the coalowners and the landowners oppose the very suggestion of nationalization. In 1939, £5,030,315 was paid in royalties; £16,944,483 was paid in profits; £115,592,555 in wages. In 1941, £4,545,714 were paid in royalties; £16,150,140 in profits and £138,261,949 in wages. According to the White Paper these figures are based partly upon wages ascertained and returns supplied by individual colliery owners. In other words, as previously pointed out, they are not based upon actual figures but upon special figures fabricated by the various colliery owners for public consumption. Examples could be given of this but for the fact that the figures cannot be published. No wonder they reject nationalization "as unsound and irrelevant".

Compare the miserable wages paid to miners and the tremendous published profit figures of the coalowners. The "Evening Standard" of 21/4/44 stated that though cost of coal is higher than 1939 "wages in this industry are extremely low." The average earnings of all wage earners employed in mining was £3/8/8 in 1940, £4/13/2 in 1942, and £5/0/0 in 1943. There is an increase according to the White Paper in the average earnings of 1943 of £2/5/0 over 1938 rates. However, this table does not take into account the hours worked. In 1938 it is obvious that average wage figures would be reduced by the fact that less shifts were being worked. Today, far more shifts are being worked than ever before. Neither does this take into account the increased deductions and the tremendous increase in income tax. For example, here is a typical wage ticket of a single adult underground worker: 6 shifts £5/0/0, 16/0 income tax deduction and 3/11d. insurance, baths and funds deduction; leaving the princely sum of £4/0/0. However, compare the figures given by the White Paper with the average earnings in other industries. This shows that despite the more exacting and dangerous character of mining they are the lowest paid in the basic industries.

Quarry (Iron, stone, etc.)	109/5d.
Brick, Pottery, Glass	104/3d.
Chemical, Paints, Oils	118/3d.
Metal, Engineering, Ship-building	138/3d.
Government Industrial Establishments	132/3d.
Mining	100/0d.

The miners fought bitterly for a minimum rate. The Porter Award gave them a minimum for underground workers of £5. But this figure according to the standard of living costs, estimates made by Sir John Orr—one of the greatest authorities on this question—is 41 shillings below the amount required to sustain the average family. On top of this although the miner works harder and undergoes an incomparably greater strain he gets the same rations as any other worker—which barely maintains him fit for work—and stands much less chance of obtaining canteen meals, etc.

The history of the decline of production, of chaos, and backwardness—in short of the capitalists' coal industry—is also the history of tremendous suffering on the part of miners—in order to earn their wages and in order to maintain them.

How is the problem to be solved? The Tory Reform Committee in its pamphlet on national coal policy, pro-

LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

the factional struggle abroad he made a bloc with the Mensheviks and the Vypperd group against the bloc between Lenin and Plekhanov who fought the liquidators. From the very beginning of the imperialist war he took a clear-cut internationalist position, participated in the publication of *Nashe Slovo*, in Paris, and adhered to Zimmerwald.

"Deported from France, he went to the United States. On his return from there after the February Revolution, he was arrested by the Government of Kerensky and indicted for 'leading the insurrection' but was shortly freed through pressure from the Petersburg proletariat. After the Petersburg Soviet went over to the Bolsheviks, he was elected Chairman and in this capacity he organised and led the insurrection of October 25. Standing member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1917; a member of the Council of Peoples Commissars; Commissar of Foreign Affairs up to the signing of the Brest Treaty, then Peoples Commissar of War."

The whole world stands in admiration of the Red Army at the present time. It is showing what can be accomplished even under a degenerate leadership like that of Stalin, by the Army of a Workers' state. But without the foundations laid by Trotsky these achievements would have been impossible. From Lenin himself we have the testimony as to the role which Trotsky played in the building and shaping of the Red Army:

"show me another man who would be able in a year to organise a model army, yes, and win the esteem of the military specialists".

Today, Stalin and his henchmen pretend that it was Stalin who organised the October Insurrection. Without even a smile these hypocrites from "practical work" will say that all the "practical work" was accomplished by them, fighting all the while against the machinations of Trotsky! But the book published by the Communist Party in Britain "October Revolution" by Stalin, shows that in telling so many lies they have lost track. On one page Stalin says:

"All the work of practical organisation of the insurrection (of October 1917) was conducted under the immediate leadership of the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the bold execution of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and above all to Comrade Trotsky."

But a few pages later he says: "Comrade Trotsky played no particular role either in the Party of the October insurrection, and could not do so, being a man comparatively new to our party in the October period."

The achievements mentioned above would be sufficient to enroll Trotsky forever as one of the greatest of the revolutionary leaders of the working class. But the honour and devotion with which the workers in future generations will regard him will not be based mainly upon these: it will be upon his work in fighting against the Stalinist reaction and preparing the way for the new revolutions of the working class throughout the world. Lenin educated the cadres of Bolshevism on an analysis of the defeated Russian revolution of 1905 and on the

teachings of Marx on the reasons for the collapse of the Paris Commune of 1871. It was in this school that the victorious revolution of 1917 was prepared. Trotsky's struggle against the Stalinist traitors began with an analysis of the reasons for the defeat of the German revolution of 1923. A defeat for which Stalin shared complete responsibility with Zinoviev and others. Not alone Germany of 1923, but the Chinese revolution, the British General Strike, the danger of Hitler's coming to power in Germany, the Spanish revolution, the revolution in France, the nature and meaning of fascism, the nature of the Soviet State and the Stalinist bureaucracy, all these questions well in advance of events, were analysed and their content elucidated. Not for nothing did Lenin say that without a revolutionary theory there could be no revolutionary movement. While Stalinism has staggered on from one betrayal to another the living essence of Marxism has been preserved in the writings of Trotsky since the death of Lenin. Without a study of these writings anyone who pretends to understand Socialist theory must remain politically ignorant and illiterate. Even a study of the other great teachers by itself is not sufficient but would leave a one-sided view of the tendencies and meaning of world politics in modern times.

The victory of Hitler marked a decisive turning point in the fate of the Comintern. Trotsky fought hard and desperately to change the policy compounded of folly and treachery whereby the Communist Party split and paralysed the German workers thus handing them over bound hand and foot into the clutches of the Nazi executioners. His books and articles on Germany constitute an imperishable guide to the tactic of the United front and an indictment of the responsibility of Stalinism for the disastrous victories of fascism in Europe.

"Once Hitler comes to power, and proceeds to crush the vanguard of the German workers, the Fascist government alone will be the only government capable of waging war against the U.S.S.R. . . . In case of victory in Germany, Hitler will become the Super-Wrangler of the world bourgeoisie." (Trotsky's "Germany, The Key to the International Situation," 1931).

"In the struggle against Fascism the factory councils occupy a tremendously important position. Here a particularly precise programme of action is necessary. Every factory must become an anti-Fascist bulwark, with its own commandants and its own battalions. It is necessary to have a map of the Fascist barracks and all other Fascist strongholds, in every city and in every district. The Fascists are attempting to encircle the revolutionary strongholds. On this basis, an agreement with the social democratic and trade union organisations is not only permissible, but a duty. To reject this for reasons of 'principle' (in reality because of bureaucratic stupidity, or what is still worse, because of cowardice) is to give direct and immediate aid to Fascism."

A practical programme of agreements with the social democratic workers was proposed by us as far back as September 1930. What has the leadership undertaken in this direction? Next to nothing. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has taken up everything except that which constitutes its direct task. How much valuable, irreplaceable time is left. The programme of action must be strictly practical, strictly objective, to the point, without any of those artificial

"claims", without any reservations, so that every average social democratic worker can say to himself: What the Communists propose is completely indispensable for the struggle against Fascism. On this basis, we must pull the social democratic workers along with us by our example, and criticise their leaders who will inevitably serve as a check and a brake. Only in this way is victory possible."

The criminal refusal to form a united front and the failure to learn the lessons of the defeat led inevitably to the passing over of the Comintern to the side of the capitalist counter-revolution. It was then that Trotsky came out for the formation of the Fourth International unsullied by the infamous sell-outs of the Internationals which had outlived themselves.

The road was hard and tiring. The Trotskyists remained a tiny minority within the ranks of the world working class. They endured persecution and hatred not alone from the capitalists but from the agents of the Stalinist reaction. But Trotsky's profound understanding of the process of history led him to show the further development of events surely and accurately. The task then was to train the vanguard though it remain temporarily a small minority. And in all the important countries of the world that precious heaven lives and works.

Trotsky showed that the failure of the old organisations of the workers to solve the problem of our time: the contradiction between the development of the means of production and the fetters of private ownership and the national state led inevitably to a new imperialist war. Equally inevitable would be the betrayal of the Stalinists and the Second International in their support for the Imperialist war. Trotsky ridiculed the fantastic illusion of Stalin that in such a world conflagration Russia would be able to keep out. But at the same time stressed to the world proletariat the necessity for the defence of the Soviet Union despite the treachery of Stalin.

All the forces of the old society were responsible for the war he showed. The war would bring in its train the death agony of fascism, imperialism and Social-Democracy and Stalinism. The imperialists can make the war; they will not make the peace. In the war and its aftermath the imperialists would be called to account for their crimes. A new era of revolutions would begin which would revise all the decisions reached on the battlefield.

An understanding of the developments in the war and its aftermath is given us by the use of the weapons forged in the arsenal of Trotsky using of course the method of Marx and Lenin. But it is an historical irony that the pieces that remain of the "thinking classes" of the great revolutionary international founded by Lenin and Trotsky should be one of the main obstacles in the path of the emancipation of the working class. Their preparation for the revolution at the present time consists in the propagation of the vilest form of incitement to chauvinism and race hatred which out-Hitlers Hitler's racial insanity. But all this nationalist poison was foreseen in advance. Violation of the principles of Marxism inevitably leads to opportunist crimes in practice. The germ of this disease was lodged in the theory of "Socialism in one Country" which has come to mean "No Socialism anywhere at all".

The cleansing wave of revolution will put all tendencies to a new and ruthless test. The ideas of Bolshevism, of Trotsky will become the idea of the International working class. The revolutionary essence of Trotsky's teaching lies in the necessity for a revolutionary party with a revolutionary leadership trained and educated in the ideas of Marxism enriched by the lessons of the events of the past century and thus provided with a thorough and through revolutionary policy.

The whole of Trotsky's life was dominated by this single aim. He showed how, time and again, the masses had been driven on to the revolutionary road by the crimes of capitalism. The masses had revealed the heroism and self-sacrifice necessary to achieve victory many times in Spain, China, Germany, Italy and other countries. Only once in the Russian Revolution of 1917 were they victorious. And they were victorious because of the existence and policy of the Bolshevik Party and a Bolshevik leadership, basing itself on Marxian theory.

Trotsky's greatest contribution lies not in the years of the successes of the International working class in which he played a great and heroic role, but in the years of the greatest defeats and disasters of the workers, his hardest and most persecuted years.

In these years Stalin conducted a personal vendetta seldom equalled in history in which he murdered not only Lenin's and Trotsky's co-workers many of Trotsky's secretaries, many leaders of the Fourth International but even Trotsky's children. One he drove to suicide and the rest he assassinated. And after nearly a score of attempts he finally succeeded in killing Trotsky. This was undoubtedly a terrible blow against Socialism and against the world working class. But it was not a decisive one. It will not save capitalism or even the Stalinist bureaucracy itself. Trotsky was murdered. But it is impossible to murder his ideas and his methods. These live on in the work of the Fourth International. Even in the hour of his death the "Old Man" (as his disciples called him) indicated the confidence he had in the success of his life work. He gave a message to inspire those left behind to carry on his work "Go Forward! I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International!"

Pass resolutions along these lines and demand that Labour really fights to implement them.

The ruling class in civvies or in uniform is desperately afraid of left wing ideas taking a firm grip on the rank and file of the masses in uniform. But what is a cause for dismay amongst the ruling class, must be welcomed with enthusiasm and aid from the whole working class.

FIGHT THE VICTIMISATION OF SOLDIER SOCIALISTS. DEMAND FULL POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR THE FORCES. TED GRANT

C.P. IN IRELAND

(Continued from page 3)

if they can be persuaded to vote at all with us so grinding their teeth.

This Stalinist demand for a progressive Labour government has nothing in common with the Trotskyist slogan of Labour to Power which is designed to win the advanced workers away from the Labour bureaucracy by exposing its refusal to carry through a genuine socialist programme. It is a contradiction in terms to speak of a progressive Labour Government which will uphold partition, for partition aims only the reaction. A Labour Government elected on a pledge to maintain the present constitutional position of Ulster will be forced to employ the same ruthless measures as its Tory predecessors. Those who expect it to once and those who uphold it through grants and financial subsidies will miss upon time. Nor will a Labour regime at Westminster alter things. Stalin, a semi-fascist, has recently sworn to defend Britain's right to the spoils of Empire against all comers. A Stalinist type of Government will surely insist upon the maintenance of law and order on the Ulster bridgehead.

THE REAL REASON FOR NEW TURN

Decades and even centuries of peaceful cohabitation, and collaboration between imperialism and the Soviet Union are envisaged by the leading Stalinist spokesmen such as Earl Browder. A lasting post-war partnership between Stalin and British imperialism is anticipated. It is here, in the diplomatic strategy of the Russian Government, that the true key to the new turn in Stalinist policy in Ireland is to be found. In brief, the pro-partition policy is not a clever scheme thought out in the fertile brain of some Ulster Stalinist "tactician", planning to cage the Tory vote by means of a trick, but presents itself logically as the Ulster C.P.'s contribution to this prospective Anglo-Russian alliance.

Workers! Fight in the ranks of the Fourth International for a United Workers' Ireland and a Socialist United States of Europe!

INDIAN FAMINE

(Continued from page 3)

On October 24, the dead body was partly devoured by jackals and dogs.

RAVAGES OF CHOLERA

Then come reports of ravages of cholera in some of the districts. Cholera due to starvation, taking of uneatable things and malnutrition broke out in many places of Faridpur district. The death-roll at the modest calculation will perhaps be no fewer than 100 per week.

The fishermen, the landless labourers and also the lower middle class have been the victims of death and starvation. In many cases people are selling their moveable and immovable properties for morsels of food.

The District Magistrate has issued appeals for funds for destitute children's homes and camp hospitals.

A gentleman of Faridpur town described how he came across a dead body half devoured by jackals in Kaniapur village. Another dead body devoured by vultures and jackals at day time in a village about a mile off Janchuria Ry. Station, was seen by another gentleman.

Chittagong.—Scarcity of rice throughout the district is continuing. Atta also is not available. Many people have to fall back upon millet 'Bajra' whenever available, but people are not yet used to taking this stuff.

Patuakhali.—No rice is available at Patuakhali. Small quantities of rice are being imported from the village hawkers and sold at 12 to 14 'chataks' a rupee. The situation is not improving owing to want of rice, atta or gaur. These things have been totally absent from the market for the last two months. It is reported that the black market price of rice, atta, flour and sugar is very high. Only the rich can buy. Most of the inhabitants of the locality are reported to be starving. The streets of Patuakhali are overcrowded by the starving population, mostly women and children mostly are half-naked, deserted by their husbands and fathers.

Atta which might be substituted for rice is not procurable for want of supply for the last one month. As a result, the distress and suffering of the people has reached the climax. Unless sufficient quantities of rice and atta are supplied or imported here within a week and impartial rationing is introduced, many middle class 'Bhadralog' families will be wiped out.

News from villages come that many, unable to bear starvation are coming to Patuakhali town in the hope of getting food.

We draw the attention of the Food Minister and other humanitarian associations of Calcutta to the conditions in Patuakhali Sub-division. They may help by sending rice or atta or both and can save the lives of many, especially the middle class 'Bhadralog' families. They are in want of food and cloth.

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L.A.C. WARD VICTIMISED

(Continued from page 1)

... proving himself a capable and conscientious worker. His services do not contain any adverse entry.

The following copy of the complaint made by L/A.C. Ward sums up the nature of this victimisation:

To Section Commanding Officer, A.E.R.S., Dear Sir,

I should be very glad if you would forward to the authority concerned with my discharge from the R.A.F., my very strong complaint at being treated in this fashion.

Since no complaint has been made as to my work or in respect to my carrying out of all orders to the best of my ability, I can only presume that my discharge is on other grounds.

The phrase "Services no longer required" can have no meaning in regard to my trade as since men are still being required for this trade, I can only presume that I am being discharged because of my political views which I have expressed as is my legal right under the Annual Air Force Act duly passed by the House of Commons. In any case should it be alleged that I have infringed any of the regulations, I demand that I should have the right to answer these allegations in the normal service manner.

I think that I have the right to complain that the authority concerned has misused its authority given to it for the furtherance of the war effort, to the advantage of its own personal prejudices and the victimisation of the socialist views which I am proud to possess.

I should be glad if you would forward this protest to the correct quarter."

LESSON FOR LABOUR

The military bureaucracy aims to separate and isolate the workers in



I stake my life!
BY LEON TROTSKY
DEWEY REPORT on the Moscow Trials