

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

# 400 WELSH MINERS STRIKE

## Horner Supports Coalowners

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

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

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

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

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

When approached for such evidence, the management produced maps to show that there was a sufficient barrier of coal to prevent any inrush of water. Unfortunately for the management, however, these maps had been produced prior to the inrushes of 1922 and 1929—and found to be wrong! Quite correctly, therefore, the miners demanded that a boring test be conducted—10 yards forward and 10 yards up. This the management refused to do and, since their very lives depended on this test, they refused to do it.

On the 5th Inspectors of Mines who visited the colliery during the

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

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

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

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

Continued on page 4.

# T. U. C. HELPS GOEBBELS

## Labour and Stalinist Leaders Betray German Working Class

BY TED GRANT

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

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

"Daily Sketch."

On a card vote of 5,058,000 to 1,350,000 the position of the T.U.C. bureaucrats was carried. Anyone who has the slightest contact with the miners, the railwaymen, and other workers knows that this resolution is a travesty of the feelings of the organised working class and even of the more backward sections who are unorganised. But the T.U.C. claims to speak in their name although the workers in the unions were not consulted on this matter.

### CITRINE IN THE VAN OF THE PACK

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

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

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

Assuming they accepted that reasoning, how in the name of heaven could they affirm that the German people were innocent?

They would be punishing the innocent by compelling them—the people who, they thought ought to be absolved from blame—to make good the devastation and make some form of reparation.

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

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

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

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

"That is a contingency we shall have to prepare for."

"There is far too much mushy sentimentality about this question."

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

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

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

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

### KUZNETSOV SETS THE TONE

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

Continued on page 4.

### HYPOCRITE



SIR WALTER CITRINE

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

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

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

# 9 MINERS FINED

BY JOHN LAWRENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Continued on page 4.

# TYNE DOCKERS' LOCK-OUT

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

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

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

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

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

BY HEATON LEE

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

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

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

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

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

Continued on back page.

# NARAIN ON TRIAL FOR TREASON

## Defending Counsel Arrested in Court

BY M. NAIDU

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

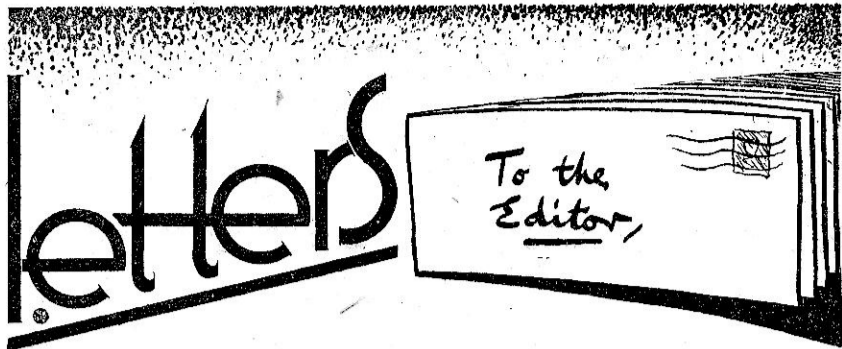
On the 13th November 1943, G. V. Deshmak, a Nationalist Member of the Central Legislative Assembly, moved an adjournment motion to discuss the arrest of Narain's lawyer in Lahore and his deportation to an unknown destination. The motion was again disallowed.

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

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

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

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



Detention Barracks

Glasgow, 20th October, 1944.

Socialist Appeal, Dear Comrade,

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

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

P.D.2 is the same with a small portion of gruel and a couple of dirty potatoes added at mid-day. And it must be remembered that this is imposed on men whose "normal diet" whilst under Detention is lacking badly in sugar content, vitamins C, D and B...

Also, I must report that although rare, physical brutality is not totally abolished. There was a case in my last week or two, of a soldier under sentence being thrown to the floor by a "screw" (guard) and his head banged on the ground till it was out open...

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

TANNER at the Stoll

South London, 19th October, 1944.

"Socialist Appeal," Dear Comrade Editor,

I am very surprised that the report of Tanner's speech at the Stoll Theatre contained in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal" under the title "Tanner Prepares New Sell-Out" by Ann Walker, contains a number of inaccuracies...

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

But he did not demand the expropriation of the bosses without compensation, without which state control would not only not benefit the workers...

At any rate, such revolutionary, or rather counter-revolutionary, measures, as the article suggests, is only possible through the democratic machinery of the union and would mean a change of Rules which could only be done by the Rules Revision Committee...

Lastly, the whole tone of Tanner's speech was for planning—that the richness of productive methods made employment and plenty for all possible—

...that only a Labour Government would guarantee fair working of the controls. Yours sincerely, R.A.F., C.M.F., 7.10.44.

I would say however, that most (not all) of the "screws" are not deliberately vindictive, but simply carry out to one extent or other, the orders that they are given "from above."

Many officers like to pose as being kind-hearted and solicitous of the men's interest, most pained to have to inflict their barbaric punishments.

Possibly some of them are—perhaps it does give them sorrow that such treatment of the men is "necessary" (!?) but that does not make the starvation and humiliations any the more bearable.

Most of the men "inside" have been abroad fighting, they were told, for freedom, decency and democracy—well Detention Barracks helps them to understand a little more clearly...

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

A Soldier on Bulgaria

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

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

You have heard of the recent formation of soldiers' soviets in the Bulgarian army, with the use of the Red Flag and the clenched fist salute. On September 21st, Major-General Velchev (Minister of War) issued an order to the Bulgarian Army in which he forbade the use of the Red Flag and clenched fist salute...

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

Apparently the coldness of the Russians towards the recent revolutionaries, and of stations has disillusioned the rank and file. According to first counts, red flags and clenches were less in evidence in Sofia, where the Russians ignored them, than in Plovdiv, where there were no Russian troops.

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

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

BY SID BIDWELL

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

In the case of the former item discussions in the Branches, District Councils and National Grade Conferences have been reaching fever heat. The Union's Annual Conference held in July last, threw out the E.C.'s programme as being inadequate to meet the desires of half a million rail workers.

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

The document's proposals concerning wage rates seek to compress all adults within the orbit of a £4 10s. minimum and a £6 maximum. The major criticisms made so far, are that the rates mentioned are based upon pre-war prices and cannot be considered adequate in the present period.

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

PROPOSED INCREASE IN CONTRIBUTIONS

By no means of less importance is the E.C.'s proposal to increase members' contributions. They are proposing two scales i.e. 8jd. and 1/-.

It is pointed out that the existing scale of contributions is the lowest of all Trade Unions, but, it must be borne in mind, so are the wage rates of the workers in the industry.

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

34/6 A DAY FOR OFFICIALS

As we have stated hitherto, the volume of antagonism on the part of the rank and file members to the headquarters squandering which goes on, is tremendous. The fat salaries of the officials as compared with the shocking wage rates on the railways, is a subject for discussion in every signal box, and mess-room.

To crown it all, at the September meeting of the E.C. a decision was carried increasing the officials' payment by 5s. per day, making the present rate 34/6d. per day.

It is well known that a representative whose home is in the vicinity of the meeting makes a handsome profit on this flat rate system of payment.

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

The end of the article dealing with unity, etc., was correct. The publication of this criticism, which is in the democratic tradition of the working class movement and the best demonstration of the democracy enjoyed by our organisation and its members.

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

Yours fraternally, Jim Piper.

FOR A MILITANT FIGHTING FUND

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

Whether the reckoning with the leadership results in wholesale tearing up of cards—and we have had symptoms of this already—or whether the Bensteads and Watsons will be ousted to make room for a leadership fresh from the industry, depends upon the co-ordination of militant activity.

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

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

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

The British trade unionists will sooner or later come to recognise the union bureaucrats for what they are, and will come up against the burning task of replacing them.

On the Sunday following the breaking up of the meetings, McCullough, C.P. Secretary, announced at the Hippodrome that "the Communist Party is the only party which is not against religion."

The Young Christian Workers is the offspring of the Catholic Church—the arm with which it hopes to smite its way towards Communism. It has international connections in many countries in Europe, being founded in Belgium in 1914.

Advertisement for 'the case for socialist revolution' featuring the text 'An A.B.C. of Trotskyism' and 'INDICENT 6d' with a graphic of a newspaper.

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

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

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

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

The main problem in Ulster is to achieve the unity of the "Orange" workers with the "Catholic" workers against their common enemy—British and Irish capitalism.

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

They can hope for no better success among the Catholic workers than the

WHAT ARE WE TO DO?

Question to Trade Unionists

BY JOCK MILLIGAN

Many workers in Trade Unions are tearing up their cards. Attendance at some Branch meetings is smaller than ever before. Many militants with a devotion to the economic struggle of their class which has earned them the respect of their fellow workers and the enmity of the boss are becoming disillusioned.

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

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workers will be sold out by the agents of the boss class in high places in the unions.

Most union militants and revolutionary shop stewards appreciate the necessity of the task. Those who toy with the ideas of ignoring the union machinery or turning away from it into purely shop or ad hoc organisations must be convinced of the need to make their voices heard in the Union.

Examine the role of Bevin since he became Minister of Labour especially the reasons he gave for introducing that vicious and pernicious Regulation 1A(a), also that other piece of anti-working class legislation dealing with those young lads (commonly known as the Bevin boys) who are condemned for life to go down the pits; whether they like it or not.

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

"What can we do?" The leaders won't stand for strikes at any cost, no matter what the provocation from the employers and the justice of the workers' case. Although they know that the workers only strike as a last resort when there is no other remedy.

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

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

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

Just as the development of large scale enterprises has transformed the scores of trades and crafts into one gigantic enterprise and gave production a social character, so must the industrial workers' organisations correspond to this development.

The Trade Union bureaucrats, in line with their general conduct, will resist the creation of these committees as they resist every bold step along the road of mobilising the masses. However, as the movement sweeps on, their resistance will be partly broken.

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

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

Belfast "Young Christian Workers"

BY J. HANNA

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

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

The Young Christian Workers is the offspring of the Catholic Church—the arm with which it hopes to smite its way towards Communism. It has international connections in many countries in Europe, being founded in Belgium in 1914.

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

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



