OCTOBER, 194

of South Shields on the question of shifting the day that the working week

ends. At present the workers total time day is Tuesday and the management want to shift Sunday. They claim that this is in due to the

shortage of staff and it shifting the day, it will give two days more to prepare the wage sheets, ic.

This question is perconfined to Readhead's. It is a general move to operate this new system in all the Tyneside yards, although Readhead's is the only one which has gone on strike.

the only one which has gone on strike.

The shifting of the day means that the men on the first par day after the change-over will only take home five

days wages, due d pea total time day being two days so The Works Comb

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AS THE RESULTOF A SHORT, SWIFT AND SOLID STRIKE, 400 WORKERS AT AN I.C.I. PLANT IN LONDON TEFEATED THE REACTIONARY MANAGEMENT AND FORCED THE REINSTATEMENT F THE CONVENOR IN THE TOOL ROOM WHO HAD BEEN

The management this factory has refused to recognise the rights of shop stewards or the Shop Stewards Coming e, and had previously broken up a shop meeting with threats of action under the Defence Regulations.

For some months he workers had been dissatisfied with managerial inefficiency, which, they claimed held up prodiction. It was decided on Sunday, 13th September, to send a Deputation to the Ministry of Supply to lodge the complaints of the workers.

INDIANS RETALLATE

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THROUGH ITS CONTROL OF THE CENSORSHIP, THE CHURCHILL GOVERNMENT TRIES TO COVER UP THE REAL SITUATION IN INDIA; OR TO MOULD THE OPINION OF THE POPULATION BY DISTORTED AND CUNNINGLY ORGANISED PRESS PROPAGANDA. ON THE 24TH OF SEPTEMBER, THE NATIONAL PRESS SPLASHED THE "SENSATIONAL" NEWS ITEM WHICH INTENDED TO SHOW THE "VICIOUS AND BARBARIAN CHARACTER OF THE INDIAN MOBS ":-

"An Indian mob massacred the survivors of a crew of a military airplane which crashed west of Narayanpur in Bikar Province, India . . . The pilot had been killed in the crash . . . The remainder of the crew were killed by the mob."

But the following day an insignificant note tucked away in the corner of the Press gave the key to this and provided a background to the "violence" of the Indians. In a report to the Council of State in New Delhi by General Sir Alan Fleming Hartley, Deputy C. in C. in India, he said that "On five occasions mobs have been machine gunned from the air during the recent disturbances" and that "Nearly all the operations took place in the area of the Eastern Frontier where most of the disturbances occurred."

perialists are attempting to whip up the anger of the British masses by pretending that the workers and peasants of India are a bloodthirsty and callous "mob". But in actual fact tese acts are the inevitable reaction he atrockes and crimes of British Jughout India, and these ders have spread to the country-

The British im- I has been practised against the Indian people. From a Report of a Delegation from the India League sent to India in 1932, we read:

" DETENUES "-OR HOSTAGES.

"Under the Bengal Ordinances and century-old "regulations" men and women are kept in prison for sus-pensed complision. They are classed

Case 1.—"In June, 1931, Mr. K. P. Sen, special Magistrate (Dacca), was shot by terrorists. We were told



COMRADE ROY SPEAKING AT HYDE PARK

men, detained for six weeks and re-

Complaints of ill-treatment and iolence by jail officials in these internment camps were made to us in firing on detenues."

The anger and resentment of the masses at such treatment is rising

The management countered this | move of the workers by sacking Bro. Ingwood, the Tool Room Convener on the following evening at the commencement of the night shift.

In reply to this blatant provocation, the tool room workers (about 70 were involved) stopped work in protest and demanded the reinstatement of their leading shop steward. They immediately contacted other shops on the south side of the factory, where the workers expressed their willingness to come out in solidarity if the tool room requested them.

The management proposed, and the shop stewards agreed, to return to work until the question could be discussed the following day. When the meeting took place, the management admitted that Ingwood had been sacked for active participation in the proposed deputation to the Ministry of supply. Further, they refused, not only to reinstate Bro. Ingwood, but even to discuss the question.

The Stewards thereupon informed the Manager that responsibility for any further deterioration in the factory rested entirely on his shoulders.

On reporting back to the Tool Room, the workers downed tools and were followed by about 400 workers, mostly women in the Transport and General Workers' Union in three other shops. This movement of solidarity, which was spreading rapidly to the rest of the plant, was sufficient to convince the management that they had gone too far. They called in the Conciliation officer. The workers went back to work pending a decision on Bro. Ingwood.

The most significant aspect of this struggle, however, was still to come 50 girls in one of the sections refused to recommence work unless three scabs in their department were removed. The management removed two, but refused to shift the third. The girls remained adamant: "The scab must go." Thereupon the management gave them the ultimatum to "start work immediately or go home." This was at 11.30 at night.

In an area where there was no transport whatsoever at this time of the night, and when the girls would have to walk several miles in the blackout, the management no doubt thought that this utimatum would break their resistance. But it didn't the gir's

At a meeting the following day, the girls decided to give the manager three days to get rid of the scab. On

Friday, the day prior to the expiration

of the workers' ultimatum, Neville, the District Organiser of the T.G.W.U. called a meeting and tried to get the girls to capitulate. He said that the strike was illegal and the girls could be imprisoned for holding up production. He then attacked a "group of people who were fomenting strikes up and down the country and it is not the Communist Party." Challenged to name this group he stated it was the "Trotskyists—and there is a group in this factory." Most of the workers had never even heard of Trotsky; one worker stated that she had read the Trotskvist press and she liked it be cause it stood for the rights of the workers. It is significant that this right wing trade union local hack should adopt the same policy of lies as the Stalinists. It is an indication that the worst of the trade union bureaucrats will use the Stalinist methods and weapons. Neville played a vicious role in trying to split the workers. He attacked the tool room workers; said the girls were out in sympathy with the tool room, but the tool room workers would not stand by them if they needed help.

For this he was condemned and denounced as a splitter. The workers were proud of their new won unity.

Finding himself faced with a determined group of women and girls, he pleaded 10 days in which to get rid of the scab from the shop. The girls were adamant and in reply to his plea that the management would not see him, they said "If he doesn't see you. then he won't see us working." This got results. The scab was removed at 9 p.m. the same evening.

On all points the workers won a victory

Bro. Ingwood was reinstated and his pay made up for lost time. All the time lost in the tool room on the Monday night was paid for by the management.

But the tailpiece of this successful struggle was still to come. Claude Rerridge, Stalinist Organiser for the A.E.U. called a meeting for A.E.U members of the plant. Despite his protests, a number of girls turned up at the meeting and were allowed to be present against his wish. Stalinists from the plant proposed that in view of the favourable decision which had been arrived at in the dispute-the workers should work an extra half

nour to make up for lost time!

A young girl steward got up and pointed out that a "favourable decision" which was in fact a victory, had

Continued next column

The Basis of Morale in Stalingrad

BY ROSE CARSON

THE WORKERS ARE AWAIT ING WITH BATED BREATH ON THE OUTCOME OF THE BATTLE OF STALINGRAD.

The whole world is paying tribute wholeheartedly or grudgingly to the unprecedented heroism and self sacrifice of the Red Army.

Never in the annals of human history have there been battles of such magnitude or such a seemingly endless shambles Nor is there an army in the world other than the army of workers and peasants of the Soviet Union that could muster the moral strength and military ability to withstand such gigantic slaughter.

Lieutenant General Diethmar, th German military spokesman said over the Berlin radio: "No other enem can extend or postpone decisions as th Russians. Over and over again the succeed in balancing the scales by shee force of their masses."

The Russian workers and peasant are pouring out their blood unstin ingly in defence of their cities. Th same Nazi spokesman stated: "The Soviet soldier is far more strongly a tached than any soldier to the system in which he finds himself." This sy tem for which the Soviet masses a grimly giving their lives, is based upo the gains of the October Revolutio The tradition of the great Russia Revolution has given the Russia workers and peasants something wor fighting for-something so vital at so important that it must be defende at all costs. The socialised proper and the collective ownership of t means of production and distribution is what gives the heroic defenders Stalingrad the courage and tenaci which is amazing the world.

Whatever the outcome of this t rific battle may be, mankind has be

Continued page 4, column 3

been gained by militant action, a was no thanks to the Stalinists who policy was opposed to such actio There was a unanimous feeling of t other workers against the Stalin proposal and the question w dropped.

The women and girls at this pla showed a fine spirit of solidarity the course of the struggle. They aptured that spirit of early tr union militancy which was an spiration to the men, as well as a go omen of the role of women in the evitable industrial straggles of

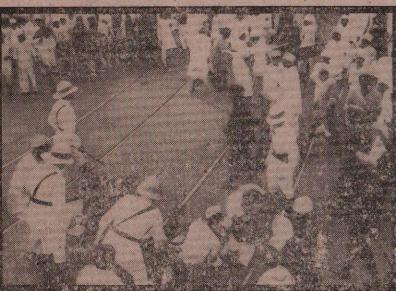
of India are a bloodthirsty and ous "mob". But in actual fact e acts are the inevitable reaction he atrockes and crimes of British ies throughout India, and these ders have spread to the country-The reply of the British governto legitimate and peaceful destrations demanding the release of Indian nationalist leaders and the ting of freedom to India, has been al lathi charges, the shooting down narmed men, women and children. s has been supplemented by the risonment of thousands of whips, fines, curfew and all the measthat the Nazis have resorted to occupied Europe on the approved

s long ago as 1931 the method nostages, which the British have gnantly denounced the Nazis for, "DETENUES "-OR HOSTAGES .

"Under the Bengal Ordinances and century-old "regulations" men and women are kept in prison for sus-nected chambles. They are closest

Case 1.—"In June, 1931, Mr. K. P. Sen, special Magistrate (Dacca), was shot by terrorists. We were told that Mr. Sen had become notorious for beating women Civil Disobednce prisoners. A terrorist, K. P. Mukerjee, confessed to the murder, which he said he alone had committed. The police arrested sixty people from different parts of Dacca District, and kept them in custody (without any charge or trial) for two months. All except K. P. Mukerjee were then released. (All the sixty, we were informed, were Congress workers or associates, unconnected with terrorism.)

Case 2 .- "In June, 1932, a traveller was robbed at Dologan station of a small amount of money. Seventy people were arrested, all Congress-



HOW BRITISH DEMOCRACY RULES INDIA

LABOUR TO POWER On A Socialist Programme

n end to the coalition with the es. Labour and Trade Union ers must break with the capitalist ernment and wage a campaign for er on the following programme:

Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.

Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.

Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.

Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through

Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumers commodities

under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.

- 6. Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a
- Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
- 8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
- 9. Establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
- 10. Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or Petainism.
- 11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the
- 12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe on the basis of this programme in Britain to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

AT SIVING PARK men, detained for six weeks and re-

Complaints of ill-treatment and violence by jail officials in these interment camps were made to us in Bengal. There have been to us in firing on detenues."

The anger and resentment of the masses at such treatment is rising throughout India. The embitterment against the horrors of imperialist exploitation and oppression of centuries is rising to the fore,

Sabotage, strikes, demonstrations, cutting of telephone lines, railway lines, the murder of tax collectors, policemen, money lenders and all the representatives of finance capital and imperialism which has been responsible for their degradation in the past . . All these are the stirrings of the masses against the crimes of imper-

Churchill has added insult to injury in his recent speech in which he reiterates the lie that Congress does not have the support of the Indian masses and reasserted his time worn policy of the mailed fist as a means of "uniting" India against her own peoples. This policy was calculated even during times of peace, to inflame and embitter the Indian masses. But Churchill is deliberately provoking the masses at a time when India is threatened by invasion by the Japanese. With the Japanese only at the gates of India, the masses are already showing their hatred for British imperialism, what will be the position when the Japanese invade?

The reply has been given by the events of Burma, Malaya, Singapore. The population remained in great part completely apathetic and indifferent. But a big section went directly over actively to the side of Japanese imperialism. The British soldiers found that they were regarded as invaders, and not the Japanese. - Rangoon was taken in two days because of the uprising of the Burmese. This was a reply to the massacres by the Pritish in 1931. Everywhere the British solders found their communications cut, their lines of supply unsafe and precarious, their plans and dispositions known to the Japanese. They had to pay with suffering and with their lives for the crimes of British imperial-

But in India the massacre of unarmed civilians are fresh in the minds of the masses. The hatred for the British has never been more intense. So great is this hatred that the masses may even go over to the Japanese, as warned by Congress, as revenge for their suffering and treatment. Under these circumstances what will be the fate of the British soldiers, the workers in uniform, the sons, husbands and brothers of the British working class who do not desire to oppress the Indian people? They were sent, they were told, to fight Japanese imperialism, and instead will find that they will be used to bludgeon Indian workers and peasants into submission. If

Continued on back page

out referring the men. This was one the strike. The max dvance the two da he men to pay th was postponed for a has been postpone ntil the end of September, pending

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present against his wish. Stalinists from the plant proposed that in view of the favourable decision which had been arrived at in the dispute-the workers should work an extra half hour to make up for lost time!

A young girl steward got up and pointed out that a "favourable decision" which was in fact a victory, had

Continued next column

and the question was dropped.

The women and girls at this plant showed a fine spirit of solidarity in the course of the struggle. They recaptured that spirit of early trade union militancy which was an inspiration to the men, as well as a good omen of the role of women in the inevitable industrial struggles of the

GHORUS AGAINST WINERS

more pronounced. It is not just a propaganda stunt on the part of the Government but a fact which is being driven into the consciousness of every person in the country.

According to Major Lloyd George Minister of Fuel, 250,000 tons of coa per week, or 13,000,000 tons per year were being consumed in excess of production. At this rate of consumption it is quite clear that either industrial consumption will be restricted with the subsequent inevitable drop in industrial production, or the household fire of the domestic consumer—a primary need of the working man, must be restricted. In this case many a hearth will be without a fire in the coming winter.

That such a situation exist in Britain which has always been the main coal producing and exporting country in the world is condemnation of the private ownership of the coal industry. It is one of the most outstanding demonstrations that capitalism has outlived itself. The Coal Barons of Britain have endangered the health and the lives of Britain's masses through the policy of restriction which they pursued when the fall of France took place and they closed down hundreds of pits and threw over 100,000 miners out of work.

It is these same interests which have consistently blocked a system of ration



BOSS-"PRODUCE MORE COAL"

The Coal Crisis grows deeper and | ing so that they can divert the coal through those channels which show the greatest profit for themselves. On the present system they can divert all the supplies, without restrictions, to their subsidiary companies, and to concerns in which they have interests.

Meanwhile, they prepare to shift the onus for the present situation from themselves and place it on the should-

ers of the miners. A full scale propaganda drive has been launched to prove that the responsibility for the present situation and the key to more coal production lies on the shoulders of the miners in the pit.

TRADE UNION LEADERS BLAME THE MINERS!

Far from challenging the capitalists and conducting a countercampaign, the leaders, or more precisely, the misleaders, of the Miners' Federation stand solidly with the coal owners and the

Government against the workers. Insofar as they make any criticism of the owners at all it is of an insignificant and secondary character and is not at all part of a sustained and offensive struggle to defend the interests of the mineworkers. Meanwhile, they direct their blows against working miners.

In a recent circular issued to the branches and lodges throughout the country, the E.C. of the Miners' Federation, through its Secretary Ebby Edwards stated:

"If factories and work-yards pro-ducing ships, aeroplanes, tanks, guns and other munitions of war are held up by want of coal; if the working people are without the necessary supplies for the home fires this winter; well may the community look upon our industry as one that can be charged with criminal neglect in this hour of the country's peril.

Coal output is falling per man employed. Lack of regularity of attendance without reason is on the Unnecessary stoppages have occurred. There is a mentality among some miners that reflects an unconcern for the danger with which the country is faced.

BY JOCK HASTON

T.U. OFFICIAL:

WORK HARDER"

These and other deterring production factors perpetrated by the men reflect no credit on our organisation. As a responsible committee we desire to speak straight and plain. We are not satisfied that all of our members are doing all they can all of the time to produce all of the coal the nation now requires . . . "

In speeches and

letters in all the county organisations. trade union officials erge the miners to 'Work harder!" "Produce more coal!" "Cut out absenteeism!" In the whole course of the war they have never once directed their fire against the coal monopolies or tried to rouse the nation of the disastrous policy of allowing control to remain in their hands.

In the past it was the practice of the miners' unions to warn the men against the increased accident "ate with

the slogan "The last tub causes the majority of accidents!" Now one is confronted at the pithead by the official union poster "Produce that extra

At the recent miners' conference at Blackpool, these same officials were forced to reveal that deaths and accidents in the pits were on the increase that one out of every four boys of 14 to 16 who enters the pit is a casualty. But all their Blackpool holiday speech-making is blasted by their full scale campaign which can only result in a more rapid increase in the number of accidents and a terrifice death toll from the miners.

DANGERS CONFRONTING THE MINERS

The miners have always been the militant spearhead of the working class in Britain. In general, even if the workers have not given them all the support the miners needed, desired and deserved in their various disputes, there has always been a broad popular

sympathy in the course of such disputes. But the present situation holds great dangers of splitting that popular sympathy from the miners. And who could deny that the capitalist class, particularly the coal owners, would pay a great price to achieve this aim? All their propaganda is aimed in that direction. Statements such as we have just quoted by the trade union bureaucrats are eagerly seized upon by the capitalists and their lackeys and given a tremendous volume of publicity through press and public forum. Even from the pulpit, consciously or unconsciously, the preparation for the coming attack upon the miners is being prepared. Speaking at the Durham Cathedral on August 23rd, Canon Mayne gave a classic example when he said: "Recently there had been some disquieting disclosures made about coal production in this country. Few of us in this cathedral are in a position to have accurate knowledge about the facts, but the miners' leaders know what is going on and they have just told us that the coal output of the individual miner is less than it might be and that absence from work is in-

In County Durham we have often had good cause to be proud of our (continued on page 2)



"CUT OUT ABSENTEEISM"

C.P. APPLAUDS SHOCK BRIGADER FOR 130 HOUR WEEK

BY GERRY HEALY

Today, British industry is in a chaotic condition. The workers know full well that the owners, who are in control, are the responsible people. This is a natural result of the fact that they are not gearing up industry with the aim of defeating fascism, but in order to make a profit—to wage successfully the war of capitalist competition, secure good contracts, and safeguard if possible their post-war

These are their war aims, and that is why the drive against the workers, to lower conditions and keep down wages, is a more urgent concern to them than any "national interest". These are the real saboteurs of production, and they now have a very good ally in the Communist Party, with its parrot-cry to the workers to sacrifice everything "for production and the second front".

LONG HOURS REDUCE

Two years ago the "Daily Worker" was running articles explaining the dangers of long hours and speed-up. The following quotation, given in the "Daily Worker" on 24th May, 1940, from a Report of the Health of Munition Workers Committee, 1917, is most

appropriate today:
"Misguided efforts to stimulate workers to feverish activity in the supposed interests of output are as useless as would be the cheers of partisans encouraging a long-dist-ance runner to a futile sprint early

in the race."
Today, the Editorial Board of the "Daily Worker" has taken on the role of partisans to the capitalist class, and are writing up at length the stories of young workers who have broken production, rece ds. Special mention was given on 22nd September to Ron Ayres, an 18-year-old worker: "Two weeks ago he worked 109 hours. Tired, but by no means satisfied with his war effort, Ron worked 130 hours at full pelt last week". (Ron must have put in over 18½ hours a day for seven No attempt is made to bring the ideas behind this drive into line with the recent report of the L.C.C. Education Committee, quoted in the "D. W." on 10th September, which states that young people between 16 and 18 in London, who are working an average of 55 hours weekly, show signs of very great strain and that their condition is near slavery.

J. B. S. Haldane condemned this

whole drive in advance quite effectively when he dealt with the ill-effects of

long hours and speed-up, and said:
"It seems to me that politicians who enforce a seven-day week and trade union leaders who accept it are sabotaging the war effort as effectively as if they were overdriv-

30th May, 1940. In this article Haldane quoted the report by Dr. Vernon in 1920 to the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, giving data on a group of women turn-ing aluminium fuse bodies from 1915 to 1917; For the first 24 weeks they

worked 32 hours without stopping, workers who have increased their output by 300 per cent during the first week, etc. This drive is intended to get "shock brigades" organised everywhere, which will break all established conditions of work, by cynically exploiting the workers' desires to help

The attitude of the managements to this new "communism" is the best test of its character. The C.P. is being given every facility to carry on its campaign: "shock brigaders" are put up to speak at canteen meetings, and Harry Pollitt comes down in person to put the line in more militant factories. Everything about the campaign works in favour of the bosses, for they can be confident that on no account will C.P.ers countenance a stoppage of work or action to maintain working conditions. The Communist Party is completely at one on this question with the Government officials, the managements and the trade union bureaucrats, and it is only the bosses that stand to gain. The views of the director of one firm, quoted in the "Daily Worker" on 16th September, are typical: he said that the "shock brigades" should become a nation-wide

movement, adding "It would be a crime to let the opportunity slip."

The formation of "shock brigades" as initiated and organised by the Stal-inists, can succeed only in smashing the organised working-class movement in the factories. It will do incredible damage in the ranks of the workers, without producing any genuine in-

crease in production. Modern production, where skilled

work is concerned, is already speeded up to breaking point, so much so that many workers have to retire to hospital every few months through sheer exhaustion. In some factories it may be true that the workers could increase their productivity. But they are held back by fear of the results; first, a lowering of the bonus rate so that as the result of a super-human effort by some workers harder conditions and lower rates of pay are imposed on the shop: (There is the example of a Y.C.L.er in a North London factory, employed on capstan operating, who speeded up the machine so much betore the eyes of the rate-fixer, that this worthy promptly cut the rate for the job, to the intense indignation of the other worker.). Secondly, the pro-bability that labour will be redundant and the majority of the workers will be pushed out after the war. With these dangers always present as an integral part of the capitalist method of production, it is clearly impossible to gain the full potential production. Again, the very low basic rates generally paid are a direct cause of low productivity, because they force the workers to do long hours of overtime in-cluding Sunday work in order to make up their pay. These enforced extra hours are not productive, but the employers are glad to permit them and to pay the small extra rate because otherwise, if a shorter working week were enforced, they would have to pay a more reasonable basic wage.

ELECTRICIANS Impatient With Vies in Nazi T.U. Officials

BY BOB SHAW

On Tuesday, September 15, fifty-five electrical workers of Vickers Armstrongs Ltd. decided that, unless their Union, the E.T.U., took immediate action to obtain better wages and conditions, they would cease to pay any further subscriptions to the Union funds. This action is merely an indication of the discontent which is seething in this important shipbuilding yard, and it constitutes an open warn ing to the Union leaders that they must cease their unerding vacillations and negotiations and institute a determined drive for the workers' demands.

Skilled shipyard workers performing vital jobs receive a flat rate of 79/6. They can earn above this by means of a bonus system which pays them 1/per hour. In order to make this bonus the worker must complete a job in less than the time fixed by the ratefixer, after which he receives 50% of the excess time at the bonus rate, the other 50% being credited to the firm. Non-skilled workers and labourers receive even less favourable rates, which vary from $1/4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1/7. The workers are incensed by the comparison of the work they do and the money they receive. More often than not the work must be carried out under extremely bad conditions, especially on work in confined spaces. Skilled jobs must be done in cramped and crowded conditions at a piece-work pace, one man often having to stand aside to allow another to carry on. Fumes fill the air from welding, paint, oil, etc., and yet no serious attempt is made to provide adequate ventilation. On more than one occasion the workers have had to resort to strike action in order to obtain even the most elementary betterment of the working conditions. It is these wages and conditions, coupled with the knowledge that Vickers Armstrongs Ltd. are amassing huge profits out of their sweat and toil, that have driven the members of the E.T.U. along the road of militant

On August 20th an unofficial meeting was held, composed mainly of the workers from one electrical shop, and here the feeling of the workers for action was in evidence. This meeting, which marked a step forward in the drive for increased wages, was banned by the majority of the local officials, who were conspicuous by their absence. The official shop stewards also who in this district are elected at the branch meeting and not by the men in the shops, took no active part in the calling of the meeting. The general feeling of the workers was that something more than mere words was needed and that only by their own united actions in a struggle with the employers would they improve their The charge of sabotaging production was answered in advance by one mili-tant worker who stated that the responsibility for precipitating any strike must rest with the bosses who deriberately held nown wages and allowed appalling conditions to continue

The meeting finally drew up a list of demands and a committee was elected to contact other trades throughout the

Igian Trotsyist Prison

Leo, Lesoil, one of the leading meneers of our Belgium section, has ced at the hands of the Nazis in a elgium prison.

Proment member of the REDLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARY OF BELGIUM, affiliate of the Fourth International, he partipated in all the national meetigs and Conferences of the Fourt International held on the

Comade Lesoil's life is inseparale from the life of the Bergin orking class in the Charlen district in the past 30 years there he lived as a mining draugisman. As a militant fighter he was driven from his work and victimised by the coalo ers.

Aft rithe last war, he was one of thornadation members of the Belgiu Communist Party in which e played a leading role He wasdriven out at the time of the exprision of the "Left Oppositing" the Trotskyists from the Comitern.

He in nediately threw himself into th' work of the "Left Opposition, and was largely responsible for the systematic way in hich our Belgium comrades conducted their activities under discult circumstances.

Leon Leoil was loved, not only by our smrades, but by thousands of niners. When the great strike governments swept the Belgium coal fields, workers would wak miles to hear him address neetings in the pubic square in the balcony of the Town Iall. Social Democrats, Stalinists, Revolutionary Social ists, as well as Syndicalists recognised Lesoil as a leading

At the t'ne when the Stalinists slander the Trotskysists and try to link then to the Nazi's, Hitler has struck nother blow at the Belgi to the me s by the murder of Conit and Leon Lesoil. His death at th^{on} ands of the Nazi's gives the bar a to these foul Stalinist sla

We salus he memory of our Comrade in Lesoil, a front line fight anim or kers' aftles, a Internation who died a martyr in the soc st struggle against capitalist r

STEEL BOSSES Correspondence HINDER OUTPUT

BY W. MC. LEAN

For more than three weeks, a West of Scotland Steelworks has been pracically at a standstill, although only 28 boys are on strike. The manage ment has shown that far from being interested in increasing production, they are willing to hold up production to the greatest extent rather than grant a slight increase to their lowest paid employees.

28 boys, rivet-heaters and office boys struck work for a rise of 5/6 per week, making a total of less than 18/- per week. At the time of the apprentices' strike an agreement was drawn up on a national scale, which fixed the wages to be paid to these boys. The firm now maintains that they cannot grant an increase unless it is negotiated nationally. In attempting to force the boys to re-start, they have threatened to prosecute. They have asked the rivetters to form squads to do the boys' work, but the men have stood firm in their support of the boys' demands. The women doing odd jobs about the workshops were threatened with the E.W.O. but despite this only 2 agreed to heat rivets. However, the rivetters refused to work with any but their own boys, so yet another attempt came to naught.

In their efforts to black-leg, the Stalinists inside the factory (few in number) have brought forward the usual pleas: "We mustn't allow small disputes to hold up the war effort" etc. The seeds of this vile propaganda falls on stony ground, for the actions of the management have shown just what weight such arguments have with the boss class. For three weeks about 500 men have been practically idle. Since they are not on strike, their wages are still being paid. This means wages are still being paid. This increases that rather than grant increases amounting to a total of less than £8 per week, the firm will pay at least £2,000 per week to men doing practically nothing. About 75,000 man hours have been lost over this dispute (not including the usual overtime).

The men have repeatedly refused to bolt up any of the work which should normally be rivetted, and so far at least 28 have been sent home. Their union, the Constructional Engineering Union, may pay these men's wages.

This present dispute is only one of a series of fights the men have had to put up in defence of their funda-mental rights, and feeling is running high among them. They are demanding that an inquiry should be made into the management of the Company. The trade union maintains that those men suspended are not on strike, and that the firm have violated the Essential Works Order in suspending them, as the men were sent home for refusing to depart from the blue prints given

Whatever the outcome of this dispute, it is clear that the greatest obstacle in the fight for better conditions. or even to maintain existing standards, is the Esse vial Works Order, While the bosses can show blatantly their real attitude towards production, the men are kept in check by this reactionary legislation. Every militant worker

Miners' Views

BARNSLEY

The Editor, Socialist Appeal,

Dear Comrade,

Many criticisms of miners appear in the press along with appeals to produce more coal. Alas, the press is full of reports of miners being fined for absenteeism but no real steps are taken against the management who hold up production through incompetence and hostility to the miners.
Only this week, the men on one face

at the colliery where I am employed came off the face at 1 shift. This was because there was no timber to set Fancy, no props to set which would enable the men to get coal in safety. As a result 70 tons of ocal was lost. This is entirely due to mismanagement The boss should see that the props are got down the pit so that the miners

can work in safety.

1 know 70 tons is not much but if the boot was on the other foot and 70 tons was lost through the fault of the workers, all the local press would be screaming and the boss would be after sending someone to gaol for impeding

As it was his fault he was quite willing for the men to leave the coal!

But he'll get away with it.

DUMFERMLINE

SOCIALIST APPEAL. Dear Comrade,

A bitter mood prevails at Blairhall colliery as the result of the defeat inflicted on the miners. The workers are fully aware that the present defeat could easily be turned into a victory if their local leadership took a firm attitude in defence of their rights.

Especially bitter is the feeling with reference to the policy initiated by the local Stalinists of paying the fines. They propose that every worker give a donation from his wage packet each week for a month to pay the fines. This let it be noted in opposition to the attitude of the victimised miners who take the view that the fines should be quashed or the county should come out if the police try to collect.

This attitude of the miners is reflected by the statement of one of the victimised miners. He declared that he refused to contribute a penny from his wage packet to pay for the

The bitterness of the workers is further reflected by their action in boycotting a dance which was organised to collect money for the fines: 32
ed up at the dance—a few shillings
nad to be added to the collection to
pay for the band!

MOTHERWELL

SOCIALIST APPEAL.

The attitude of the miners to the 'Increase Production' campaign is

to stress that it is at this moorganised civvies should take u

"protest" days and deputations which wasted valuable time, he said. He was followed by Dollan, who

played the usual part of an ass. Lord Trapain and Mr. Pearson wanted 10% increase in production, said Dollan, but he-and he represented the genera public-wanted 15% increase!

One miner was heard to remark "Why the hell don't you get down the pit and get it."

FROM A WORKER-SOLDIER

Editor, SOCIALIST APPEAL

May I through the columns of you paper express my appreciation for th Appeal" publicising the scandalousl low wages paid to workers in uniforn and your exposure of this fraudulen document, the White Paper (White Lies) which was the attempt by th Government that the soldiers are, no as well off as "civvies," oh no, bu

There is not today a single paper of political body which is not just mouth ing sympathy with the services, but doing nothing about it. I believe that is why your article was warmly received down here and that is why got the support of the chaps her We feel in the services, that we wi be used still more against the organised Labour movement. And the example of the services being used already to lower standard of civilians by strike-breaking (Li coln, Glasgow, docks, etc.) and doir civvy jobs at army rates of pay, bear

Therefore just as it is in the inte ests of the organised factories in certain area to organise open shop because of the potential threat the are to union standards, so the organse workers must view the army, as huge open shop.

I would appeal to all shop steware and all readers of your paper to beg to discuss at branch meetings, in the factories, how they can help raise the level of worker-soldiers, the T.U. mov ment must begin to take up the d mand raised by you for "T.U. wag for the services." The right of soldie to belong AND TAKE PART in T. affairs."

To keep the standards of the orga ised workers and to raise those of t worker-soldiers, we want unity t tween worker and soldier.

If you in the T.U. movement fail this, if you do not recognise the menace we are to you, with the present scandalously low "wages then you leave us an open shop, th can be used to break conditions as standards that the Trade Union mov ment has fought for years to get. Ye make us unwilling strike-breakers.

I don't in this letter want the you stories of chaps being brok day after pay day a 1 doing jobs for a few readers know of this. War

"It seems to me that p who enforce a seven-day week and trade union leaders who accept it are sabotaging the war effort as effectively as if they were overdriv-

n this article Haldane quoted the eport by Dr. Vernon in 1920 to the ndustrial Fatigue Research Board, iving data on a group of women turno 1917; For the first 24 weeks they vere supposed to work $74\frac{1}{2}$ hours veekly; the hours were reduced in wo stages, and finally they were vorking a 55 hour week, when it was ound that their production was 69 per ent above the level of the 74½ hour reek. In other words, they actually produced 27 per cent more fuses during the 55 hours than in the 74 hour

Every scientific investigation has exposed the fact that long hours have bad effect on production; the Industrial Health Research Board of the Medical Research Council stated in a eport that during the last war, when 12-hour day was being worked the ccidents were 21 times as many as when the working day was reduced to en hours. The Board stated explicitly n the preface that:

"One of the lessons learned in the work do not ultimately pay-even when considered solely on the basis' of output and apart from the effect on the health of the workers."-"Daily Worker", 24th May, 1940.

C.P. SUPPORT FOR BOSS-CLASS SABOTAGE.

The C.P. has apparently, therefore, undertaken a campaign of sabotage ors and of war production. Nearly very issue of the "Daily Worker" ince its reappearance has given public-ty to youths such as the Y.C.Ler who ally paid are a direct cause of low productivity, because they force the workers to do long hours of overtime including Sunday work in order to make up their pay. These enforced extra hours are not productive, but the employers are glad to permit them and to pay the small extra rate because otherwise, if a shorter working week were enforced, they would have to pay a more reasonable basic wage. It is the ruling class itself which has to be removed in order to unleash

the forces of production in Britain. They have gained one more prop in the form of the Stalinist policy in the factories. Young Communist League members are being used as tools for the managements, to incite bitter strife between the workers, and to break down all accepted standards gained by collective bargaining in years of struggle. C.P. members who were formerly recognised as militants are becoming agents of the bosses, the saboteurs and disrupters inside the working-class itself. The drive for 'shock brigades' is blatant, unadulterated fifth-column work against the working-class, against production, and in the interests of capitalist reaction.

OUR POLICY FOR WORKERS' CONTROL OF PRODUCTION

The Communist Party cannot pursue this campaign without bringing their anti-working class position very sharply before the factory workers, many of whom have already become disgusted by this open treachery. The attempt to whip up a pogrom spirit against the Trotskyists and militants in the facories and union branches will meet with swift defeat, because slogans of nationalisation of industry without compensation and workers' control of production are proved with every fresh week of the war to be the only way out.



THESE PAMPHLETS ARE OBTAINABLE FROM ANY

1/-
6d.
2d.
3d.
3d:

shipyard for the purpose of obtaining continued below.

The charge of sabotaging production was answered in advance by one militant worker who stated that the responsibility for precipitating any strike must rest with the bosses who deliberately held nown wages and at lowed appalling conditions to continue.
The meeting finally drew up a list of demands and a committee was elected to contact other trades throughout the

united action. The basic demands

which were unanimously accepted were

Abolition of bonus on acceptance

Time and two-thirds for overtime,

Better working conditions.
Payment of adequate allowances for work in tanks, confined spaces,

Payment of lodging allowances to all men away from home.

These demands constitute a basis for

campaign has not, however, been

a vigorous campaign as a prelude to a struggle with the employers. Such

carried out. A month has passed now

since the demands were accepted and

vet no concrete action has been insti-

tuted to place the demands before the

firm. The response from other sections

of the workers has been poor, it is

true, but this should not deter the

electricians from leading the way along

the road of independent struggle. The

action of the fifty-five workers in re-

lation to the E.T.U. is at best a gesture of despair which plays into the hands both of the employers and the

T.U. leaders. It is not sufficient to

express disgust at the inept and treacherous leadership of the trade

unions. The workers must train their own leadership and fight inside the trade unions for the operation of their

The trade unions are the mass

organisations of the workers themselves, however corrupt and dishonest

the leadership may be. In taking the

step of refusing to pay subscriptions.

the electricians would merely separate

themselves from 'he majority of the

union membership. This step would

allow the coalition of employers and

trade union bureaucrats to smash the

move towards militant action, and

The basic tasks for the electrical workers of Vickers Armstrongs, as in

fact for all workers in the shipyard,

lie first in the organisation of a mili-tant shop stewards' committee elected

by the men in the shops, a committee which is prepared to fight; secondly, in a campaign of support for a charter based on the demands drawn up on August 20th.

eventually the unions altogether.

own demands.

50% increase in wages.

of above.

except Sunday.

Stalinist s We salu Comrade 1 Internation capitalist r

Shameful Statements of Parliamentary Wing

the bosses can show blatantly their real attitude towards production, the men are kept in check by this reactionary legislation. Every militant worker must fight for the repeal of the E.W.O. and all other anti-working class laws.

SOCIALIST APPEAL.

The attitude of the miners to the "Increase Production' campaign is indicated by the number of meetings called by the Unholy Alliances of Government', bosses, and Labour Trade Union and Stalinist fakers which have to be called off for lack of an audience.

The most recent of these abandoned meetings was at Motherwell in Lanarkshire, when Mr. Charles Reid, the Director of Production, Mr. A. Sloan, M.P. for South Ayrshire, and Robert-Burnside, President of the Mid and East Lothian Miners Union, turned up at an empty Hall and, after twiddling their thumbs and wondering at their lack of popularity called it a day.

At other meetings held in Ayr and Prestwick, Lord Trapain, Fuel Controller for Scotland, Sir Patrick Dollan, leading labour faker in Glasgow, and William Pearson, Stalinist Chairman of the Scottish Mine Workers Union, were greeted by almost empty halls. Quite a number of those present were not miners at all.

Nevertheless, they did not let the opportunity slip to kick the miners Pearson said, "the lack of attendance at these meetings showed a dangerous tendency to complacency in the miners' ranks."

"Some miners asked the question 'Why come to the miners? Why not go to the coal owners?' said Pearson
"I think that the miners will agree that until we have solved the problems affecting our own ranks we would be approaching the owners with a considerable weakness at the present

The essence of his speech was to blame the miners for the lack of coal production.

He was followed by Lord Trepain who dished out the usual pie in the sky stuff-how much he wanted this organisation to go into the post war years-"to give miners a decent standard(!) of living; security from the menace of unemployment; decent living conditions and pit-head amenities and bring back into the industry a feeling of pride in their fellow

But he put the boss class case a little more bluntly than Peason. The workers would have to cut out idle

capitalist class, they must force their union officials to fight in their interests or get out of the miners' organis-

Some union branches, notably Deal branch in Kent and the Ryhope Lodge in Durham have already taken steps to end the system of well paid life jobs for the officials and to make them responsible to the rank and file. They have demanded the re-election of paid officials every two years, and this has received support in their districts. It must be taken up by the miners in other parts of the country.

BREAK THE UNIONS FROM THE STATE MACHINE AND MAKE THE OFFICIALS RESPON-SIBLE TO THE RANK AND FILE.

to stress that it is at this n organised civvies should take

So let me thank you once agai-your exposure of this fraudalent Paper and good luck to you in efforts to get soldiers decent rate pay etc .- and by this you defend Trade Union movement and the con-

ditions they've fought for and won. From an ex A.E.U. Shop Steward in

"T.U. WITHOUT PAID OFFICIALS"

The Editor. Dear Comrade.

I have lately been reading your paper and I agree with you that unthe workers take over control they are going to be in a hell of a fix after the war is over. Here is a

sample of T.U. treach ry.
What man is there who will stand 7 nights per week of 131 per night or 94½ per week for £4 5s.

I asked my T.U. organiser to take it up and his reply is "There is no case for complaint"!

I think its time we had a Union without paid officials. I would certainly drop the T. & G.W.U and

> Yours sincerely, Wm. E. K. GRIFFIN.

OUR REPLY

From a perfectly justifiable criticism of the present policy of the T.U. offi-cials, our correspondent draws incorrect conclusions which are becoming widespread among sections of the organised workers.

The rise of modern mass political and industrial organisations demands specialisation for efficiency. This specialisation cannot be carried out by amateur, spare time workers and hence the need for paid full time profession-als becomes an elementary necessity to successful working class organis-

It is not the system of paid officials which is wrong with the present system of payment, but that these officials are no longer responsible directly to the workers who elect them; (the workers do not control the unions). Hence they do not fear the consequences of their capitulation to the capitalists and betrayal of the workers' interests. The workers have allowed a wide wage differentiation between the wages paid to the men who control their unions and the wages paid to the workers engaged on the job itself. In this way their economic interests no longer directly coincide with the interests of the workers whom they claim

to represent.

The way to change the present role and activities of the T.U. bureaucracy is to fight for the re-establishment of direct control by the workers themselves. All paid officials must come up for re-election by ballot every year or two years at most. The wages of the T.U. officials must be pegged to the average wages of the workers them. selves; to rise when the wages of the workers they represent rise and to fall when these wages fall.

Such a policy can only be introduced as the result of a hard and bitter struggle but serious workers will carry out this struggle and not turn their backs on the mass organisations .- Ed-

Miners Made Scapegoats

should brieft the community's confidence by neurring a charge of criminal neglect in this hour of their country's peril . .. If disaster is to be forestalled they met not delay in putting an end to this saste of time."

LDIERS

NOTICE of MEETING

SPEAKERS: ALAN CHRISTIANSON — TED GRANT AND OTHERS

HOLBORN HALL

Sunday, November 9th, at 6.30 p.m.

Auspices WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

25th ANNIVERSARY of the

who died a martyr

st struggle against

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In the whole of his speech which was based in the reactionary appeals and proclarations of the trade union leaders, at! which was eagerly seized on by the reactionary press in Northern England there is not one sentence of condemation of the coal owners, not one senence exposing the direct sabotage of production by them. Only a full blat against the miners who must be placed on the pillory at all costs.

Therank and file miners must not underetimate this campaign and its effect in the rest of the population. Statements directed against the miners by goernment officials and known representatives of capitalist reaction carry ttle weight with the rest of the workers: But statements by the leaders of the miners unions, Lawther, Edwards, Hall, Pearson, Moffatt and Horier-these carry weight. Particulaly, when they are magnified a thouandfold and reported from every convivable source by the lackeys of the

If the event of a serious crisis develding which impairs the production of ms, or which results in a cold wirer for millions of homes, the boss

miners and the worst thing that could a scapegoat of the miners. Here and there, sections of the miners are beginning to see the dangers which are inherent in this campaign. But no real attempt is made to formulate a campaign in the unions and elsewhere which would offset the offensive now under preparation of the capitalist

This is a serious and important

issue confronting the miners which must be raised immediately in the miners' lodges and branches all over the country. Special resolutions on the question must be formulated and discussions organised on a national scale. The trade union officials must be made to toe the line. They must be condemned and attacked every time they make a public speech on these lines and forced to conduct a counter campaign to throw the responsibility for the coal crisis where it belongsat the feet of the mineowners and the

The war has shown a complete lack of loyalty to the miners on the part of their officials. Many of them, like Ernest Jones of Yorkshire have directly deserted the miners organisation for 'more responsible" and incidentally, better paid posts in the capitalist state machine. If the miners are to save their unions from being crushed altogether, if they are to maintain that unity with the rest of the workers in Britain and defeat the plans of the

continued at foot of next col.

ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BUSINESS MANAGER: M. Lee EDITOR: E. Grant

61, Northdown Street, London, N.W.1.

EDITORIAL

Masses Seeking Communist Solution

The most striking feature in present day British life, is the rapid pace at which an awakening and radicalist ation is sweeping the working masses.

The workers are steadily breaking from Labour reformist politics. They are seeking a more "revolutionary," a "communist" solution to post-war problems.

The capitalists frantically seek a "plan," a "New Post-War Order," with which to bluff the working people and thus maintain the continued rule of capitalist exploitation.

But there is no widespread faith in these promises of the ruling class of a new social order. Only bitter scepticism.

The epic defence of the Red Army in Stalingrad and the asso-

ciation in the minds of the workers of that defence with the October Communist Revolution, has resulted in a turn by the workers to that horrible caricature of communism in Britain, the Communist Party.

It is no accident that the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party issued a squeaky warning against the Stalinists to its supporters when the "Daily Worker" recommenced publication. The Scottish Labour Party announced a decrease of over 3,000 individual members in the past twelve months. This is a reflection of the deadly disease which is gripping the heart of the British Labour Party

Meanwhile, despite the exaggerations and boastings of the

Stalinists, there is no doubt that they are growing at a rapid tempo and extending their influence in every part of the country. This is a distored reflection of the growing radicalisation of the masses.

The progressive leftward trend is being canalised behind the capitalists by the Communist Party. The more elemental questions have been temporarily pushed into the background while the present tension lasts. But underneath the molicular process of revolutionary regroupment proceeds apace.

The more advanced workers have lifted the mask off Stalinism and glimpsed at its treacherous face. They begin to see that Stalinism is not Communism and to turn to the genuine continuators of the Bolshevik tradition in Britain, the Trotskyists.

A wonderful period is opening up for the revolutionary socialists the Fourth Internationalists in Britain. Every worker who desires to play a role in the coming struggle for a Socialist Britain must seize this opportunity which history places before them to join the Workers' International League.

"Our Party takes each one of us wholly," said Comrade Trotsky, But in return it gives to every one of us the right satisfaction; consciousness that one participates in the building of a better

THE I.L.PA-A SHIP WITHOUT A COMPASS

GERMAN LABOUR-WILL RISE AGAIN

claim the military victory of the armies of American and British imperialism as the only method of crushing fascism and bringing the German workers to "see reason", give a wonderful weapon to Hitler's propagandists.

These people have lost faith in the working class movement of the world, and see no hope in the German workers. It would be well for them to look back over the history of the workers' movement, for in the German working class was the greatest and most powerfully organised in the world. Indeed, so powerful was this movement that all the outstanding Marxists at the beginning of the century, believed that the victorious revolution would take place in Germany before all other countries.

If this has not materialised, the blame rests entirely with the so-called leaders of the German workers, who, when the decisive period came, betrayed the workers and capitulated to Hitler. And if that great German working class movement could be so easily destroyed, let it serve as a lesson and a warning to the British workers and the workers everywhere, a warning that in the final analysis, everything depends upon the policy and the programme of the workers, and not merely on the numerical strength of its organisations.

Prior to Hitler's seizure of power, the Communist Party of Germany had a membership of 300,000 and recorded a vote of 6,000,000. It had thirty-five daily papers! Yet in spite of all this due to its false policy, it was unable to lead the workers to a victory over fascism, but instead, along with the Social Democrats, led them to the greatest defeat in history. At the same time the Social Democrats recorded a vote of over 8,000,000. This means that over 14,000,000 votes, and these were practically the entire vote of the industrial working class, went in fav-

The renegades to socialism who pro- | metal workers—the count-part of the A.E.U. here—announced that now something would be don! And when May Day came, the trac union bureaucrats, the Citrines, the Bevins and the Wolstencrofts of Genany called on the workers to take ps in Hitler's May Day march under the swastika!

The measure of repression which Hitler was forced to tal against the German workers testific to their hatred of fascism. Within a few weeks of the infamous Reichster Fire Trial, a repression and terror vas instituted which was unprecedent in the history of capitalism. lo less than 60,000 trade union and working class functionaries were rested. 2,000 trade union and politica militant were murdered, and 100,000 workers were put into concentration cmps.

Instead of looking the German working class as their allies, the reactionaries in the Britis abour movement close their eyes t this tremendous historical background of socialist struggle which cannot be wiped out in a few years, and identity the German workers with the Hitle regime.

VANSITTARTIM AND

The vicious anti-Cerman propaganda emanating from the reaction-aries and echoed by such traitors within the labour invement as the President of the T.U. cannot be regarded with anything but horror and dismay by all socialist thinking workers. From these quarters the advanced workers have learned b expect nothing different. But it is from the state-ments from the Krenlin, about which many militant workers still harbour illusions, that the mos avid and bloodthirsty exhortations igainst the German workers and peaants come today

If there existed no other evidence of the abandonment internationalism by Stalin and the oviet bureaucracy, the hysteria of th Army, "Red Star" organ of the Red lone would testify to the departure f n the methods of

> s a terrible curse: nakes one spring

By TED GRANT The "Socialist Britain Now" cam- triumphantly that the L.P. has now de- I

paign which was launched with such a ballyhoo by the leadership of the ILP has fizzled out. No more than passing references to it appear on rare occasions in the pages of the "New Leader". In place of this has come an attempt at horse deals and manoeuvres with the "Left-wing" of the Labour Party and an attempt to gain support on the basis of the so-called Manifesto against Race Hatred which has been publicised in the pages of the "New

It is necessary for the serious members of the I.L.P. to draw a balance sheet of the results of the campaign and the policies of the I.L.P. on the principal issues during the last few months. The leadership of the I.L.P. has refused and is indeed incapable of doing so. This we will endeavour to

cayed into an "open agent of imperilism," But when Lenin put forward the slogan of Labour to Power in 1920 the Labour leaders were just as open agents of imperialism, as they are today. Why then did Lenin in a situation which could have easily become revolutionary and we are in a "pre-revolutionary" situation today, put forward the siogan of Labour To Power? Because although the advance guard may understand the role of the Labour leaders that is certainly not true of the rank and file in the trade unions and Labour Party. Otherwise quite obviously they would have ceased to support the Labour Party and come over to the side of the revolution. But this is precisely the fundamental task of the revolution in Britain: To win over the masses who support the Labour Party. How to do it? mere denunciation of the Labour Party leaders cannot achieve this. It can only be done by demonstrating to the masses by their own experience Ridley attempts feebly to "reply" to that their leaders are incapable of rethe criticism of Loris by pointing out presenting their interests. A proposal

to the leaders addressed to the ra and file, demanding a break w capitalism and taking power on a pr gramme such as that set out in t Socialist Appeal cannot but awak a response among the Labour worke

The masses are dissatisfied with t present government as the by elections have clearly shown. B they must be given a practical, co crete alternative. To suggest t I.L.P. or ourselves at the present sta is obviously out of the question. Apa from anything else the masses ha not yet realised the necessity for t Socialist Revolution. But they a looking for an alternative "Socialis Government to the present coaliti with the bourgeoisie. The first ste of the awakening of the masses activity would be in the direction forcing a break with the prese Coalition with the tories by the Labo and Trade Union leadership. The are carefully watching the masses a already their "left" wing are prepari as the workers surge forward, to st out into open "opposition" in parl ment to the present government.

I.L.P. Forced to Modify its Attitude on Labour Leaders

But alas, while contemptuously dismissing the Labour Party, at the critical moment the I.L.P. leaders say precisely the opposite of what they have been advocating.

The "New Leader" of July 11th, reporting John McGovern's speech

"The Government is living in a fool's paradise . . . The Government would not last a week but for the fact that Labour and Trade Union members are in it. They are the people who are protecting the Government from being overthrown. They are the same people who, when British Forces suffered the comparatively small reverse in Norway, overthrew the Chamberlain adminis-tration. I am amazed to find the complacent attitude they have adopted, and the way in which they are maintaining secrecy in what is regarded as the nation's great peril."

This is of course true. Lenin pointed out that the British bourgeoisie could not continue to rule for 24 hours without the support of the Labour and Trade Union bureaucracy. This pos-ition has been further accentuated by the development of the war. But there is nothing "amazing" in this. As Trotsky pointed out on a similar statement of Brockway's; the super-

ment in India, the National Council of the I.L.P. issued a manifesto. Now, the conduct of the first two Labour Governments should have been a sufficient indication of the policy which the Labour Ministers would pursue, yet this is what the Manifesto says:

"We call on all liberty loving people in Britain and on all sections of the In Britain and on all sections of the Labour movement to protest immediately and with the greatest strength. It will be the eternal shame of Labour Ministers that they should share the responsibility for this crime, and the I.L.P. HOPES THAT MEMBERS OF THE LABOUR PARTY WILL CALL FOR THE REPUDIATION OF WHAT HAS BEEN DONE AND THE WITH-DRAWAL OF THE LABOUR MINISTERS FROM THE GOVERNMENT." TERS FROM THE GOVERNMENT."

TERS FROM THE GOVERNMENT."

-"New Leader", August 15th, 1942.

Thus we see that at a moment of crisis the I.L.P. leadership is compelled to repudiate the fundamentally incorrect and sectarian policy they themselves put forward. As if to accentuate this we find Walter Padley, a member of the N.A.C. and a delegate to the T.U.C. writing in the "New Leader" of September 5th, as the final conclusion of his article "Will T.U.C. Face the Real Issue" the following paragraph, "At this Congress it is imparagraph, "At this Congress it is imperative that the demand be raised in

isations to place the (by compariso insignificant I.L.P. in power. Wh then does it mean? That the T leaders should take power as rep sentatives of the dictatorship of t proletariat? If so, the idea fantastic. Not even Padley wou suggest at the present stage that t workers are ripe for this-or th these leaders were capable carrying it out. It is as usu that the LL.P. leaders thre around slogans quite airily without bothering to think out the meani of these slogans or ideas. It is cle that if the demand to end the cos tion is seriously to be addressed to t Labour and Trade Union leaders a gain support among the masses it c only do so if coupled with the slog Labour to Power. Otherwise the mand is either ultra-left or oppo tunist. If the slogan of ending t coalition and setting up a worke government is not meaningless, it c only be meant as a Labour Gover ment. But Padley does not mean the or that would have been the formu used. To be exact Padley hasn't t faintest idea of what in the devil

delegates of the mighty mas orga

consciousness that one participates in the building of a better industrial working class, went in fav- Lenin.

EDUCATION ANDREW SCOTT

youth of Britain of what capitalism holds in store for the future is contained in the report by the sub-committee on education set up by the Conservative Party. The Tory programme for youth is a totalitarian programme. It envisages two distinct educational systems: one for the masters and one for the slaves. There is to be a State system, but "Public and preparatory schools must maintain their independence and must not become part of the State system." Eton and Harrow will continue to turn out the leaders; the State system will churn out the "led" in the manner of a 14 and 18 who are unemployed sausage machine.

And the nature of the "State system"? It is to be based partly on schools and partly on special camps where the youth, particularly those between 14 and 18 will be segregated from society. In both schools and camps education will be "primarily directed to the development of a strong sense of national obligation, to the encouragement of an ardent understanding of the State's needs, and to fitting youth to meet these needs." In other words, at a time when the whole development of events urges on mankind the necessity to smash down national frontiers and prejudices the Tories plan to dope youth with even more powerful doses of the poison of nationalism than in the past.

Nationalism will be instilled in order to keep youth ever ready to throw itself enthusiastically into the wars which the continuance of capitalism would make inevitable. And backing up this nationalism will go the religion which has served in this capacity

so well in the past.

Religion will have another purpose, too. It will, the Tories hope, leave no room in the mind of youth for Marxism. Religion, they say, must be "deliberately encouraged and fostered to eliminate the danger of emptiness in men's minds being filled with a sort of emotional materialism, copied from the the workers in the coming and utopian. For the one thing and in which no one sha Russian original but lacking the struggles will be the youth. they leave out of their calcula- hungry: a Socialist World.

A serious warning to the | historical roots which give to contemporary Russian materialism an almost spiritual force." The Tories fear the rse of Marxist materialism among the youth. They hope to dope them

on religion by compulsion.

This reactionary programme has been admirably enlarged on and supplemented by A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol. The principal aim of this reactionary is to assure that when youth finds itself facing mass unemployment in the beautiful post-war world it will be prevented from doing anything about it by a proper system of camp schools. Those between will be retained in these camps and given "pre-citizenship training" and "military training." And their teachers will be "those many young men who in the Army have learnt to teach and to lead."

Here, then, is what youth is, promised. Unemployment, slave-education, militarisation, regimentation. And the Tories hand out this programme at a time when they are urging youth to make greater sacrifices in the war they claim to be "against Fascism." But this programme has not been conceived in all its reactionary implications merely through evil-intention. On the contrary, the Tories would like to hold out a more tempting offer, but their position is such that they cannot do so. Their programme flows naturally and inevitably from the concept of a post-war Britain that is still under the domination of the capitalist class. During its rise, capitalism kept making education more progressive. In its period of decline it can only do the opposite and offer youth a drill ground for the training of obedient slaves.

The Tories know and have admitted that the country will have a lower standard of living after the war; they know that millions can never be obsorbed into industry again; they know that the most militant section of

and against Hitlerism.

Before Hitler seized power the scenes in the streets of bitter fighting between socialists and communists against the fascists were common place. In January of 1933, in reply to a Nazi provocation, the Communist Party was able to rally a demonstration of workers numbering almost a million strong. The workers were prepared to fight to the last. All that they waited for, was the call to action from their leaders. But no call was made Hitler came to power without a shot being fired or a window pane being broken. The German Stalinists were already saying: Let Hitler

the word German's From now on it is a word that a terrible curse; to arms. Indigna makes one spring n is not enough; wasted. No-eyes than a Gern ht for Russian eyes than a Gern count by days or the number of G ed. Kill Germans mother begs you. your child begs you. Your country begs you. Kill Germans, Kill Germans,

rgan of the Red

ne would testify

the methods of

So proclaims a recer editorial, not of a paper run by Vantatart, but of the official organ of the dussian Army and addressed to the Russian soldiers.

And again, the "Dail Worker" of inists were already saying: Let Hitler take power—our turn will come next. On April 1st, a few days after Hitler's scizure of power, the journal of the "Stand and Kill Star" under the title "Stand and Kill Star" under Continued on bac page.

> ANTI-FASCIST GERMAN WORKES BEFORE HITLER SEIZED POWS



Here is the basis of their "camp" proposals. They also know that Germany and Europe will have to be occupied if Communism is not to come there, and they want to train British youth as reliable troops of occupation. This is the real basis of their appeal for an acceptance of the "responsibilities of a colonising and missionary world Power." Training in "toughness" and the development of a "strong sense of national obligation" are the necessary preludes to raising bodies of men who can be relied on to be obedient instruments of suppression against the British, the European and the Colonial

But these schemes of the capitalists are fantastic, unreal and utopian. For the one thing and in which no one shall

tions is—youth. Their sc mes still remain to be accept by youth, together with the rt of the workers. And the eat mass of British youth chot and will not accept su programme.

The whole mood of Brsh youth at the present time is moving in the direction nof the Right but of the Left of of increased repression but widening freedom; not towas reaction but in the direction revolution. The educat youth wants is not for a wo of permanent unemployme incessant wars, and everlasis starvation, but a world in wi work and a decent livelihood guaranteed to ever body, which war has been banish

This is of course true. Lenin pointed out that the British bourgeoisic could not continue to rule for 24 hours without the support of the Labour and Trade Union bureaucracy. This position has been further a ntuated by the development of the war. But there is nothing "amazing" in this. As Trotsky pointed out on a similar statement of Brockway's; the supertority of the Marxist consists in his forety of the Marxist consists in his foresight and not being "amazed" at obvious things. But for McGovern and the I.L.P. leadership the matter rests there. Tomorrow they could quite easily come to some sort of cleateral arrangement with the Labour electoral arrangement with the Labour leaders. Only yesterday they were accusing the Trotskyists of attempting "to revive the fast putrefying corpse", because we demanded that the Labour

the nation's great peril."

leaders take power. Not many months ago, we read in the "New Leader":
"In fact everything indicates that this war will mark the end of the Labour Party just as the last one did that the libral predecesor despite the of its Liberal predecessor, despite the valiant efforts of the Trotskyists to revive the fast putrefying corpse. The spirit died in it long ago. After all, even Christ gave up the dead as hopeless after three days."

And here today we find that without the aid of the "corpse" the British Government would not rule for a week! Thus the I.L.P. is compelled to repudiate its position.

At the first outburst of indignation at repressions of the British Govern-

erisis the I.L.P. leadership is comcrisis the I.L.P. leadership is compelled to repudiate the fundamentally incorrect and sectarian policy they themselves put 'forward. As if to accentuate this we find Walter Padley, a member of the N.A.C. and a delegate to the T.U.C. writing in the 'New Leader' of September 5th, as the final conclusion of his article 'Will T.U.C. Face the Real Issue' the following paragraph, 'At this Congress it is imperative that the demand be raised in the sharpest way for the ending of the coalition, for the establishment of a coalition, for the establishment of a Workers' Government. For only along that road can the British workers solve their own problems, help Soviet Russia, and hasten the end of the war by a workers' peace."

At first one rubs one's eyes in dis-belief. There it is in black and white, an annihilating condemnation of the I.L.P.'s policy in the pages of the "New Leader" penned by the leaders of the I.L.P. themselves. We hope Ridley will hasten to the rescue in condemnation of this stealthy flirting with "Trotskyist" ideas. The I.L.P. leadership is "hoping" that the labour rank and file will demand the "withdrawal of the Labour Ministers from the Government". the Government". Padley goes one step further and is urging the delegates to the T.U.C. to end the coalition and move towards the setting up of a "Workers". Government". 'Workers' Government'

What is meant by this? An I.L.P. Government? Obviously not or Padley would have said so. In any case it is patently ludicrous if this is the meaning of the proposal to demand of the

ly do so if coupled with the slo Labour to Power. Otherwise the mand is either ultra-left or op tunist. If the slogan of ending coalition and setting up a work government is not meaningless, it only be meant as a Labour Gove ment. But Padley does not mean or that would have been the form used. To be exact Padley hasn't faintest idea of what in the devil

His article is perfectly in tune we the policy of the I.L.P. leaders. T combine opportuni with ull leftism and anything but precise, cl and unambiguous policies and idea

Where is the "Socialist Britain No Campaign in all this? The disdain and hopeless attitude to the Lab Party is apparently abandoned.

support of a small section of the wo
ers for the "Socialist Britain No campaign has led to nothing. A the I.L.P. leaders are compelled in distorted way to reflect the blind alon which they find themselves, and attempt convulsively to find a solution BUT AS ALWAYS, IN A CENTRI MANNER. If, instead of the isolated Socialist Britain Now Campaign, I.L.P. leadership had adopted the Socialist Britain Now Campaign, t.L.P. leadership had adopted the creet policy of systematically appealing to the rank and file of the Labo Party and the Trade Unions, demaning the breaking of the coalition with Tories and a fight for power or coalists programme. socialist programme; even one so vag and ambiguous as the programme p forward by the I.L.P., then the position would have been consideral strengthened.

Brockway Looks to Labour Lefts and Common Wealth

As Comrade Trotsky reiterated again and again, Sectarianism always ends in opportunism. When his sectarian schemes are dashed to pieces by the class struggle, Fenner Brockway, (who is the theoretical leader of the I.L.P.) makes haste to throw his principles overboard. Says Brockway in the "New Leader" of Aug. 15th:

"The OBJECTIVE conditions for Soclalist revolution are developing. We must prepare the SUBJECTIVE conditions. How?

The first step is to secure a Socialist Alliance. Not one Party, but an alliance leaving liberty to its sections outside the terms of the alliance.

The alliance should not be exclusively anti-war. Before the end of the war, pro-war and anti-war views in the past will not be the dividing line, but pro-socialist action and anti-socialist action. The alliance should be based on four points:

- 1. Anti-Vansittartism.
- Challenging the political truce with the object of securing a Socialist Government.
- A Socialist and anti-Imperialist example by the Government.
- An offer of a Socialist Peace and aid to the Socialist Revolution in

Where are the allies for this programme to be found? There is little to hope from the present Government, but there is a small group of socialists and a few Pacifists accepting the class struggle, who are reliable. There is also a nucleus of Labour M.P.s of sound working class instincts who will increasingly come out.

There is the "Commonwealth Group". They are middle class, reject the class struggle, and eschew the word socialism, but, nevertheless, they are significant and from them will come the necessary elements in the Middle

SO, THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ANTI-WAR AND PRO-WAR ARE REVEALED APPARENTLY AS A MERE DIFFERENCE OF OPIN-The remarks on the Common Wealth Group are even more revealing. Elsewhere the "New Leader" in warmly welcoming the work of this group, had occasion to remark in a leading article, "It wants to see the war prosecuted more efficiently and temporarily at least accepts the pattemporarily at least, accepts the national leadership of Mr. Churchill .

It is sympathetic to the Labour Party, wants it to remain in the Government,

Centrism and

I.L.P. and the Fourth International, 1934

TROTSKY

the I.L.P.

Read

Once Again: The I.L.P.

Sectarianism, Centrism and the Foruth International 2d. cach.

but at the same time is against the political truce." And with this hotel potch of confusion Fenner Brockwa attempts to palm off an alliance with these avowed supporters of Churchi as an alliance with the Middle class To that "nucleus of Labour M.P.s why not immediately demand a campaign for Labour to Power even on the four point programme outlined?"

four point programme outlined?
On August 8th, the editorial in the "New Leader" laments, "The disturbing feature of the British political situation of the British political situation." ation is that so far there is no rea alternative to the Churchill Govern ment". So that here is an admission that the I.L.P. is incapable of giving any alternative lead. It is this in capacity which makes the I.L.P. lead ers clutch eagerly at the tail of al "left" movement in the parliamentars "left" movement in the parliamentary wing of the L.P. It responds uncrit ically and is incapable of giving the movement an impetus from below, preferring secret negotiations with the opportunist elements at the head of the movement at the top. On July 18th, the "New Leader" hopefully comments on developments within the L.P. "We hope that before long a united front may be achieved of all those who make this their first loyalty". ("Socialist Britain").

On August 8th, in a front page article headlined: "Labour Revolt Stuns Leaders" continues. "Last week's re-

Leaders" continues, "Last week's revolt of 49 Labour M.P.s stunned the leadership. The Labour Ministers are demanding loyalty to the National Government and the leaders of the Parliamentary wing are incisting on displace. mentary wing are insisting on discip-line. A number of Labour Members have made it clear, however, that their first loyalty is to the workers (!?) and

That the Appeal Boards set up under the Essential Works Order operate in the interests of the capitalist bosses and to the detriment of the workers was clearly illustrated recently in Barrow, Lanes.

The Appeal Boards are composed of a representative of the employers, a representative of the workers (who is usually a T.U. bureaucrat), and an "independent" chairman (usually a solicitor, councillor, etc.). In order to safeguard the bosses' interests completely, however, these Boards are given only advisory capacities. They have only the power to recommend a decision to the National Service Officer, who has the final say in all matters; the employers can cynically disregard such "democratic" machinery as this, and continue to victimise militant and left-wing workers without fear of any

On a framed charge of misconduct, Vickers Armstrongs of Barrow, Lancs., recently sacked a worker, a member of the E.T.U., giving the excuse that he had disobeyed the instructions of the foreman by absenting himself from work to attend to urgent personal

business. In actual fact, however, the worker was sacked, not for misconduct, but for being a T.U. militant and a left-wing socialist associated with the "Socialist Appeal". The worker placed his dismissal before the Appeal Board, where both he and the firm's representative put their case. When he appeared before the Board the worker pointed out that Vickers had admitted that the case was unusual, and it was not their practice to sack a man for such a trivial offence. In fact all the circumstances pointed to one conclusion, that he had been victimised. This was proved to be true when the firm's representative accidentally revealed among the documents connected with the case a copy of the "Socialist Appeal" which contained an article Appeal" which contained an article Appeal" which contained an article signed by the victimised worker. On being challenged to produce this "evidence", the firm's representative for the government, as were demands for the government to take action against the steel magnates for their against the steel magnates for the steel mag it had been sent to him.

The worker received notification some days later that his case had been considered and that the National Service Officer had decided to take no

INDIANS SEEK FREEDOM

Continued from page 1

the Indians go over to the Japanese because of the policy of British imperialism, the British army will find themselves isolated and deprived of all support, caught between the advance of the Japanese and the rising of the Indian masses for freedom.

The ruling class is completely indifferent to the fate of the workers and soldiers. They have revealed the hollow mockery of the war for "freedom" by their actions in India. They are fighting for loot, and the right to enslave the colonial peoples. The imperialists claim that this is a war for freedom and national independence, but if this were really so, the first thing that would have been done would have been the granting of freedom to India. This would mean that instead of having to send hundreds of thousands of British troops to defend India against the Indians even more than the Japanese, tens of millions of Indians could have been armed and organised to defend a free India.

Under such conditions it would not be necessary to send a single soldier to India. But now the lives of the British soldiers are in jeopardy, not only from the Japanese, but even more so from the Indians. The Indians look on the Tommy as the representative of the hated imperialist enslaver.

They have replied to the shootings by the British soldiers by murders and terrorism. The British press has been filled with applause for the murder of quired" and "supplies are still inade-German soldiers in occupied Europe cause produces the same results in India. Yet the British imperialists are just as responsible for these acts of terror in India as are the Nazis in

Workers! Our interests are the same as those of the Indian workers and peasants. Yet the Labour leaders who speak in our name, and sit in the Government as our representatives the present position. have approved this policy of Churchill and the nuling class. Demand that they leave the Government and oppose, the criminal policy of British imperialism which can only injure the interests of the workers and soldiers of Britain and the workers and peasants of India. Demand that the Labour leaders fight for Freedom in deeds and

Workers demand freedom for India on the basis of a Constitutent Assembly and universal suffrage.

Arms for the Indian masses to defend a free India.

Not one British soldier for India-Let a free India defend India's Free-

handing control of industry over to the vested interests concerned, the government has appointed Sir J. M. Duncanson, Controller for Steel and Iron in place of Sir Charles Wright who has resigned owing to ill health. Sir J. M. Duncanson, a member of the Iron and steel industry, is a director of the Steel Company of Scotland, a subsidiary of Colvilles, the large Scottish iron and steel concern.

If any industry is in the grip of monopolistic big business it is the Iron and steel industry. Accusations in Parliament that the Steel Federation was impeding 100% output by refusing to build fresh plant owing to

The report of the Comptroller General admitted that the Steel Federation-the virtual controller-was alowed free reign to fix its own prices. Whilst strict secrecy is maintained by the Federation about the price of steel, its general level is admitted to have risen by over 40% since 1930, and by 80% since 1930.

The complacency of the present control is seen in the fact that output of steel last year was lower than it has been for four years. In a review of the industry the steel control stated in the "Times", Aug. 7th, 1941 that, "The country is now in the gratifying position of being able to meet all demands for raw steel." Yet in "Iron and Steel" March 1942, we read, Yet in "Iron 'demand is ahead of production'

The same position holds good for all by the enraged peoples who associate the major industries. The monopolists are in complete control, able to fix of Hitler. But their indignation their own prices and to refuse costs knows no bounds when the same investigation and to restrict output as

In rubber, the vested interests of the plantation owners has effectively blocked the construction of reclamation plants. Widespread appeals are now being made for scrap rubber and penaltics are imposed for the destruction of old rubber soles and rubber hot water bottles, etc. Yet no penalties are being imposed upon the rubber nonopolists who are responsible for

At the beginning of the year there were only five reclaiming firms in this country. Four of them united to form the Rubber Reclaimers Association. Two plants were blitzed and no longer work to full capacity because Rubber Control will not give its sanction to build new plant. According to representations of the reclaiming firm, the grounds given were, that existing plant was adequate for post war needs.

As recently as the beginning of the

year attempts to reclaim rubber were frustrat by the monopolists and as a resultvaste rubber was being shipped to be Enited States where it is a mulagred and then shipped back to this untry.

In shbuilding, transport and the

mining dustries the same situation h every sphere the domination of big business financiers and the impition of their rule over in-dustry impeding 100% output. While no actio was taken against the mine-owners to closed productive pits to assure vir post war profits a new E.W.O. is been passed which is intended t discipline the miners and prevent hem from taking militant action indefence of their conditions and standards. This is the reaction of the jo-boss government to the scandalor to situation. In every sphere acon is being taken to squeeze greater strifices and efforts from the workers pilst the bosses are given free rein The growing discontent of the works at these manifestations of governme, policy is being countered by ever bre vicious attacks through the machery of the E.W.O.'s. As the industal set up in Britain assumes a km more and more closely resemble the Nazi Labour Front, "Equality of Sacrifice" is supplanted in industry by the suppression of labourest and are the suppression of the suppre labours rihts and living standard

while superprofits and complete free-dom of actin is granted to the bosses. The so-lled restrictions of the Excess Prets Tax have been proved a miserable farce. As Mr. J. S. a miserabl farce. As Mr. J. S. Austen, Chirman of the British Elec-

tric Tractin Co., revealed, "I think that what ou most particularly want to know I what the position of the company w be when we have to pay 100% E.P., I can tell you that in one word b saying that we should be in a nosition to the control of the in a positio to pay 45 per cent." the bosses ave no need to fear the provisions of the E.W.O.

The coahon government, the government of he monopolies, has demonstrated how it intends to attempt to solve the publish of production. the impositin of new measures which are aimed against the interests of the working clas. The labour and trade union leader rust be forced to break the anti-woring class coalition into which they are thrust the workers' organisation. They must be forced to follow the road of solving the crisis in production by taking power into the hands of the organised labour movement itself and shattering the stranglehold if monopoly capitalism. Simultaneously with the struggle to

break the codition and organise Lab-our to Power the workers must seek to take the cal measures of control which can on be exercised through committees of workers, elected from the factories and districts, who will guarantee the conditions of the workers and organic a maximum production

RUSSIAN AND GERMAN SOLDIERS

FRATERNISING IN 198

Tribunals Are MONOPOLIES ILP. FLIRTATIONS To actual fact, because the MONOPOLIES III. L.P. FLIRTATIONS

A Manifesto Without Principles

On August 22nd, as a climax to this on the role of the present British Government. And do not the I.L.P. process comes a new attempt at a fake 'unity" with the Manifesto against race hatred. In the editorial of this date we read: "Thus it comes about that members of the Labour Party, Trade Unionists, Co-operators, Shop Stewards, Intellectuals and Artists, members of the I.L.P. and of the Common Wealth, Second Fronters and Pacifists, are all associated in a common declaration.

The broad scope of those supporting the Manifesto has led to criticism. We certainly differ. We differ on the War. But, even so, it is desirable immediately that all who reject Vansittartism and stand by socialism should say so together, whilst in the long run we believe that the unity now indicated may prove more important than past or present differences on the war. The issue between capitalism, Imperialism, and Socialism may yet prove to be more crucial than the mili-

"If, as we believe will be the case, the support is wide, the Manifesto may become the beginning of a unifying movement which will be of great significance in the future."

So that the bankruptey of the Socialist Britain Now Campaign has not led the I.L.P. leadership to a Marxian policy but to a caricature of the parades which the Stalinists conducted at the time of their ultra-left line, i.e. the so-called Amsterdam Congress
Against War. The fate of this new
set-up cannot be any different from that of these fake organisations.

The signatures to this Manifesto commits the Signatories to nothing. So vague is it, that people who support the war, together with people who oppose it can all join in signing it. Where then are the principles of the I.L.P.? Their opposition towards the I.I.P.? Then opposed the war is seen as a mere radical gesthe war is seen as a principle. "The ture, and not as a principle. issue between capitalism, Imperialism and Socialism may yet prove to be more crucial than the military issue . " So apparently the I.L.P. regard it merely as a question of a friendly political difference. As if the military could be separated from the political issues! As if war had ceased to be the "continuation of politics by forcible means"! Here we see how the I.L.P. passes swiftly from sectarianism to opportunism and vice versa.

This Manifesto, while condemning Vansittartism has not a word to say

fleaders know that Vansittart is merely an open spokesman for the policy of Churchill and the ruling class? Why then do they not demand that those who are opposed to an imperialist peace should prove this in deeds and not in empty words? No! to support the military adventure of the ruling class is to support, and to prop up, Vansittartism. It is true that the Manifesto speaks of the necessity to make Britain Socialist. But this remains a pious phrase and a gesture to lull that section of the workers who are becoming more critical of the position of the ruling class today. They can prate of the vested interests . . and then to continue blithely to support the government of Big Business par excellence. And Brockway and the I.L.P. leadership can cover up this reppulsive hypocrisy and go into ext repulsive hypocrisy and go into ecstasies over a document which "deplores" Vansittartism and talks of the necessity of a "socialist Peace" without indicating how this most desirable result will be achieved. Perhaps by appealing to the better nature of Churchill and the Government, or to the cannibals of Big Business who are busily showing what their idea of the New World should be in India? Remember, the signatories, while all for a Socialist Peace, are supporting an imperialist war with Churchill at its head, who stands for a Super-Ver-

But Brockway and the LL.P. leaders only ask the signature of a platonic declaration which commits these Lefts to nothing. The Labour leaders would have no objection to this. Morrison has occasionally given an Anti-Vansittart speech.

This does not mean to say that a united front could not be made on certain issues with elements in the Labour Party which support the war or even with such an organisation as the Common Wealth Group. But such a united front could only be on specific, limited issues, such as defence of the workers' press or democratic rights which these organisations claim to uphold. But to adopt a common programme with elements such as these, indicates the complete lack of a Marxian principled position even on the question of the war by the leaders of the LL.P. To palm off the agreement with par-

sons, artists, even the four Labour M.P.s and the Common Wealth Group as a step towards winning the masses is futile and stupid. These signatories

themselves. The only serious me ment which could be represented a step in the direction of a "Socia Peace" and against Vansittart could come as a movement to o throw the present Government. else is a base deception and a sov of illusions among the advanced st of the working class, Any p which claims to represent the world must demand deeds and not pr words from its collaborators. If t elements are sincere in their desir fight against the imperialist plan British capitalism, their first step I obviously be to break with the Br capitalists and their Governm This is the acid test of their since

Here is where we get the differ between the policy and tactics of I.L.P. leaders and of a ger Leninist Party. To take advantage the disagreements between the wing and the official Labour lea which is now opening out under pressure of the masses, is a co thing to do. But a Bolshevik o isation would use this to achieve things. The first to get the di tented masses mobilised and or move against capitalism. The se as a means of demonstrating t masses the fact hat the Labour le are not interested in the strugg Socialism but have betrayed workers by going over to the s the Bourgeoisie. The test of th cerity of these signatories would demand that they immediately with the I.L.P., a campaign for ending of the coalition, and for L to take Power. The present can cannot have any more fortunat sequences than that of the So Britain Now. If it did gain any following the consequences wor even more pernicious. The con tion of contradictory slogans and of pacifists, second fronters, exp of the middle class discontent s the Priestley-Acland group, wo move in different directions und impact of events.

The way to win the middle of leadership of the Common which "reject the class strugg aschew the word socialism" as inevitably end in the camp of re even very possibly Fascism.

The way to win the middle precisely by waging the class st putting forward a programme will include the interests of the class and showing them tha interests can be served only by their fate with that of the w

Shameful Statements of Parliamentary Wing

their failure even to maintain a prin-

The failure of the I.L.P. to do this, either do the right thing, or be compelled later to surrender to an uprising of force which will create a situation which intelligent people do not wish which our men are derimated

"We (!) are suffering from

anised to defend a free India Under such conditions it would not necessary to send a single soldier India. But now the lives of the tish soldiers are in jeopardy, not y from the Japanese, but even more from the Indians. The Indians k on the Tommy as the representve of the hated imperialist enslaver.

leaders fight for Freedom in deeds and

Workers demand freedom for India on the basis of a Constitutent Assembly and universal suffrage. Arms for the Indian masses to de-

fend a free India. Not one British soldier for India-Let a free India defend India's Free-

German Workers Are Our Allies

Continued from page 3

After nine years of ruthless repressand terror, the German working ss is still resisting and attempting rise once again to fight fascism; to ist the Soviet Union, and to seek e road of Socialist Revolution. In e last few months almost daily rerts have reached us of the growing sistance of the German workers. ne "New Leader" of September 12th ntained the following item:

"Reports reach us from Sweden (conveyed there from Germany by seamen) of serious riots in Hamburg, Cologne and Bremen. It is stated that 400 persons were killed.

Details are lacking from Cologne, but the seamen say that at Hamburg and Bremen the police refused to fire on the workers and that S.S. men had to be called in to quell the

In the same report, the seamen told the revival of the Spartacus Bund, e revolutionary organisation of Rosa exemburg and Karl Liebknecht in e last war.

In the Information Service for leads of the S.S., following passage was

cently published: "A new wave of criticism has recently come about, caused by re-strictions on food and travel, and the mobilisation of youth. The opinions of elderly people with the experiences of 1917 and 1918 come to the fore, as against arguments of National Socialists and the younger generation which are hopeful and optimistic. Criticism against the government and party seeks to prove that they have not lived up to their promises. We see certain signs of a lower morale, like in 1917. Recently certain indications of a revival of socialist propaganda have been noticed. For this reason district political leaders should order the arrest of socialist elements in all those parts of the Reich where the majority of the population consists

of industrial workers." **Bulletin of International Transport** Workers Federation (I.F.T.U.)

From the same source we have the port of the slow-down method thin German factories. A German etal worker who is working in a ip yard and visited some friends in vitzerland on his holiday told the lowing

"Our yard completed five U-boats since April. But we could have built ten. This is because there is a slogan among all of us: work as slowly as possible. When he started to work in this yard he walked into a machine shop to ask for a part which

and he asked that the part be ready for him around eleven o'clock. The answer of the toolmaker was: 'Don't be in such a hurry. You might come back around four, not a minute earlier.' The foreign workers are even more eager to follow the slowdown slogan. They are always able to claim difficulties with unknown machinery and difficulties in understanding the language. Relations between German and foreign workers are extremely good. Sabotage often takes the form of 'accidents', damaging machinery and material.'

The Swiss newspapers contain a growing number of accounts of the opposition to Hitler within the Reich as well as throughout Europe. In the official German reports there is talk of "Communist" activity, in some of the strongest Nazi centres. At Frankfurt seven men were executed for high treason for trying "to undermine the power of resistance of the German people."

In Karlsruhe 14 persons, including a vomen were executed for attempting to revive a "Communist cell." Almost dally such reports are received.

These few items culled from the daily press, give the lie to the Stalinist propaganda. For every action reported dreds take place which have given rise to countless nameless martyrs. They give the lie to the statement of the "Red Star" that the German worker is not a human being. Reactionary statements of this character are the greatest menace to the workers, not the entire world.

The German workers fear above all else, a new Versailles and they know full well, that this is what they will gain from the victory of Churchill and Roosevelt.

By supporting the capitalists and proclaiming their faith in a capitalist victory the Labour leaders and Stalinists undermine and betray the struggle of these valiant German revolution-

The revolutionary socialists, on the other hand, give assistance and encouragement to our German class brothers by fighting to break the

RUSSIAN AND GERMAN SOLDIERS FRATERNISING IN 198

THE POLICY OF LENIN AND TROTSRY DISSOLVED THE GERMAN ARMY

Shameful Statements of Parliamentary Wing

either do the right thing, or be com-

The failure of the I.L.P. to do this, their failure even to maintain a principled stand against those supporting Churchill and the imperialist war, such as the Common Wealth' Group, does not arise accidentally. Its sharpest expression is seen in the antics of the parliamentary wing of the I.L.P. which dominates its leadership. The last few months have provided dozens and dozens of examples of the hollowness of their claim that they represent the forces of the Socialist Revolution in Britain. Their position on India and the colonial peoples which will be dealt with in subsequent issues of the "Socialist Appeal" provides another acid test. On July 4th, Maxton had this to say on the position of the colonial peoples:

"I associate myself with Mr. Creech Jones in the view that this House can

of force which will create a situation which intelligent people do not wish to see . . . I hope the Government will not assume that when peace comes there will not be a whole lot of rearrangement in the world and that every nation's possessions will not come under review . . . "I would like to see a United States

of Africa, for instance, run and con-trolled by Africans, the natives of the soil; but if the white races are to have a say as to how the wealth of that great continent is to be developed, I would like to see the United States of America have a part in it. I believe that America could teach up (!?) some things about the handling of colonial people, and I am more certain still that the Soviet Union and China could teach both of us things . . . ' What degrading and servile state-

ments for one claiming to be a revolu-

tionary. As if the American Imperial-

of Maxton and Company. Instead of

boldly appealing to the workers and standing on the side of the colonial

peoples in their just struggle against

imperialism, Maxton attempts to

frighten the imperialists, and hinself,

with the consequences of their failure

to see reason which will create a situ-

ation which intelligent people do not wish to see!" Perhaps the present

bloody chaos which imperialism has

created in the colonial areas and in

Europe is a position acceptable to 'intelligent people!' Yet his shameless appeals to the imperialists at home

and his painting up of the American imperialists abroad, his appeals that

self with the imperialist gangsters)—have a lot to learn from American

capitalism appear in the central organ of the I.L.P.! To Maxton it is a

question of "teaching" the imperialists the "evil" of their abominations or

even learning from them and not at

all one of overthrowing them.

McGovern has capped this with a

speech for which any party deeming itself Leninist would have demanded

instant repudiation on pain of expul-sion from its ranks. Yet it too natur-

ally finds its way into the pages of the "New Leader" of July 11th, 1942.

He was attempting to justify the

shameful role the parliamentary clique had played at Munich crisis when they

had supported Chamberlain . .

(and by this he associates him-

a class basis but on a basis of the military needs of the bourgeoisie. This ist gangsters are one whit better than their British "allies". The masses in is further reflected in the attitude Cuba, Phillipines etc. can testify to the adopted towards the Second Front: 'civilising' mission of Yankee imperialism. America can teach even Hitler "The demand for a Second Front something about racial discrimination may compel the Government; it may against subject peoples. The treatment of Negroes in the Southern States of be blackmailed and driven into a Second Front before adequate preparations America can testify to this. Already have been made . . . in Libya . . . I have been prepared to see military dewe see in Britain an importation by the American army of the Jim Crow feats because a large number of the policy against American Negro troops. It does not matter to the colonial slaves whether their masters fly the commandos and men were not trained in the art of this special type of war-Union Jack or the Stars and Stripes as the symbol of their enslavement.
And to piously "hope" that the slave-And so on, he argues his case, not from the political point of view, but masters who are drenching all the continents in blood, precisely for the right to exploit the colonial slaves and to defend their colonial loot, will con-sent to a "re-arrangement" at home, is the measure of the "revolutionism"

the military aspect as any social-patriot would do. McGovern goes on: "At the time the late Prime Minister (Chamberlain) was unseated ,my blood boiled at the foul things that were hurled at him". As if it is the job of revolutionaries to sympathise with one side or the other, when the capitalist snakes fall out with the capitalist crocodiles. Rather it would have been his duty to take advantage of the situation to show the masses the real aims of both.

We (!) are suffering from siderable number of reverses

the dangers seem tremendous.

do not want to see more revers s in which our men are decimated. To me

I believe, and said it at the time,

that Members went too lightly into the

war, believing it would be an easy

task. I have been accused time and time again, especially by my Commun-ist friends, of backing the then Prime

Minister at the time of Munich. Apart

from the fact that I have opposed war at every stage, I say it was a godsend to this country that the Prime Minister

did not put us into war then. Bad

as things are today, then there would

have been sudden and swift disaster

for this country. We had a year's breathing space in which to prepare if we wished to do so."

Here we see his so-called opposition towards war as that of a "loyal op-

positionist", concerned about the pre-parations of the bourgeoisie. Not on

Within the I.L.P. opposition to the parliamentary clique and their policy is usually smoothed over by arguments that after all they do not constitute the whole of the I.L.P. As though they were naughty children and not in one of the most important and authoratitive positions as spokesmen for the party, apart from the fact that they are in the leadership of the I.L.P.

Lenin in demanding a meticulous and uncompromising adherence to the principles of Marxism once remarked that a spoonful of tar would spoil a barrel of honey. With the I.L.P. it is a case not of a spoonful of opportunism but of a party leadership organically in-fected with the disease of Centrism.

Those members of the I.L.P. in the Left wing seriously desirous of transforming the I.L.P. into a genuine revolutionary party can only do so by a struggle against the sectarian and opportunist course of the leadership especially of the parliamentary wing. In fighting for a correct policy they will find that this is provided only by the method and policy of the Fourth International.

RUSSIA NEEDS LENIN's WEAPON

Continued from page 1.

As recently as the beginning of the tion.

shown an earnest of the power and strength of the working class when it has something to fight for.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM WAIT

While the Bolshevik and Nazi armies are locked in colossal struggle, British and American imperialism sit in the press by a German worker, hun- like vultures watching their prey bleed to death. Commenting on the failure to open the Second Front the Frankfurter Zeitung of September 24th, states: "British interests are best served if as many Germans and Bolsheviks as possible mutually kill each other." Britain and America are cononly of Russia and Germany, but of tent to watch both their "enemy" and their "ally" destroy each other. When the destruction has sufficiently weakened both Germany and Russia they hope to step in and take control.

The Second Front is primarily a political question for the Allies. And as soon as Britain and America believe they are capable of dealing politically with the Continent of Europe, the Second Front will be launched regardless of equipment or loss.

THE PLIGHT OF THE SOVIET UNION

The hopes and needs of British imperialism is being realised. The Soviet Union has been laid waste. Before the coalition of the labour movement with | final outcome of this colossal struggle the capitalist class by demanding that its industrial capacity has been reduced labour take power on a socialist pro- by more than half. It has lost too gramme as the first step towards a million tons of coal, 70% of its alumin-Socialist Britain and a Socialist United ium, one third of its manganese and States of Europe. This is the only 10 million tons of pig iron, the wheat guarantee that there will be no repetition of the Versailles Treaty.

fields of the Ukraine, Kuban and the Don have been destroyed. Paul

Winterton, News Chronicle correspondent in Moscow, describes how the Muscoviles have been forced to collect | wood and stack it in the squares to keep the factories going!

With the terrible privations facing the mass of the Soviet people, it is becoming clear that to continue the war as a nationalist war instead of a revolutionary war can spell only complete disaster.

The Salinists claim there is a better, more practical way than Lenin's to avoid the collapse of the first Workers'

They appeal to Anglo-American capitalism for planes, guns, tanks and troops This they say will deprive In the 15 months of war what have

the "allies" contributed? In point of fact any help from British and American capitalism would only serve to increase the fears of the German masses, the "New Versailles" would loom as terrible a prospect before them and Hitler and Goebbels have constantly made use of this. And when the Anglo-American capitalists do open a Second Front it will not be with the aim of assisting Soviet. Russia, but in order to impose the will of the "democracies" on Germany and the whole of Europe. The result of Stann's "realist policy" of diplomatic combinations has brought the Soviet Union to the verge of disaster.

Lenin's "Utopianism" his reliance on the workers and peasants of the opposing countries saved the Soviet Union. Stalin's reliance on the powercapitalists of Britain and America. formal pact with them has led nothing in the way of assistance. nin did not have a formal pact with international workers but received fullest measure of help. As Lenin put it:

ance. This alliance has nowhere been registered, has never been formulated; from the point of view of 'public law' it means nothing, but actually it means everything in the disintegrating capitalist world. Every month that we were winning positions, or were merely maintaining ourselves against an incredibly powerful enemy, proved to the world that we were right, and brought us millions of new supporters."

Lenin's weapon was not nationalism, but internationalism. It was not on the shades of Suvorov and Kutusov that Lenin called, but to Marx and the revolutionary tradition:

"We declared from the very beginning of the revolution that we were a party of the international proletariat, and that, no matter how great the difficulties of the revolution were, a time would come when at the most critical moment the sympathy and the solidarity of the workers op-pressed by International imperialism would make themselves felt. For this we were accused of utopianism."

The Soviet Union is in dire peril. It can only be saved with the methods and policy of Lenin, with the methods and police of the class struggle. The road of reliance on democratic imperialism can only lead in the long run to the destruction of the Soviet Union and the defeat of the working class throughout Europe and the world. The only defence of the Soviet Union, the only guarantee of the defeat of fascism is the fight for a Socialist Britain as part of the Socialist United States of Europe.

Not by relying on Churchill and the ruling class but by fighting for workers' power and socialism will victory for the workers be achieved.

Published by E. Grant, 61 Northdown Street, N.1 Printed by C. A. Brock & Co., Ltd., (T.U.), 79 Southern Row, W.19