

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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TWOPENCE

## SOLIDARITY OF WOMEN IN THE I.C.I. STRIKE

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

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

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

The management countered this move of the workers by sacking Bro. Ingwood, the Tool Room Convenor 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 black-out, the management no doubt thought that this ultimatum would break their "welded bond."

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 Trotskyist press and she liked it because it stood for the rights of the workers. It is significant that this right wing trade union local had 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 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 Berridge, 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 would 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

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## The Basis of Morale in Stalingrad

BY ROSE CARSON

THE WORKERS ARE AWAITING 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, the German military spokesman said over the Berlin radio: "No other enemy can extend or postpone decisions as the Russians. Over and over again they succeed in balancing the scales by sheer force of their masses."

The Russian workers and peasants are pouring out their blood unstintingly in defence of their cities. The same Nazi spokesman stated: "The Soviet soldier is far more strongly attached than any soldier to the system in which he finds himself." This system for which the Soviet masses are grimly giving their lives, is based upon the gains of the October Revolution. The tradition of the great Russian Revolution has given the Russian workers and peasants something worth fighting for—something so vital and so important that it must be defended at all costs. The socialised property and the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is what gives the heroic defenders of Stalingrad the courage and tenacity which is amazing the world.

Whatever the outcome of this terrific battle may be, mankind has been

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been gained by militant action, and was no thanks to the Stalinists whose policy was opposed to such action. There was a unanimous feeling of the other workers against the Stalinist proposal 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 re-estimated 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 future.

## INDIANS RETALIATE TO AIR GUNNING

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 BARBARIC CHARACTER OF THE INDIAN MOBS":—

"An Indian mob massacred the survivors of a crew of a military airplane which crashed west of Narayanpur in Bihar 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."

The British imperialists 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 these acts are the inevitable reaction to the atrocities and crimes of British imperialism in India. The last few weeks have seen "disorders" in all the big cities throughout India, and these disorders have spread to the countryside. The reply of the British government to legitimate and peaceful demonstrations demanding the release of the Indian nationalist leaders and the granting of freedom to India, has been brutal lathi charges, the shooting down of unarmed men, women and children. This has been supplemented by the imprisonment of thousands of whippings, fines, curfew and all the measures that the Nazis have resorted to in occupied Europe on the approved model.

As long ago as 1931 the method of hostages, which the British have indignantly denounced the Nazis for,

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

### "DETENUEES"—OR HOSTAGES

"Under the Bengal Ordinances and century-old 'regulations' men and women are kept in prisons for suspected complicity. They are classed as detenues."

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 Disobedience 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 Deogan station of a small amount of money. Seventy people were arrested, all Congress-



COMRADE ROY SPEAKING AT HYDE PARK

men, detained for six weeks and released.

Complaints of ill-treatment and violence by jail officials in these internment camps were made to us in Bengal. There have been cases of 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 imperialism.

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 "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 British in 1931. Everywhere the British soldiers 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 imperialism.

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

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## TYNESIDE PAY DAY STRIKE

A strike took place at Readhead's 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 it to Sunday. They claim that this is necessary due to the shortage of staff and by shifting the day, it will give two days more to prepare the wage sheets, etc.

This question is not confined 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 shifting of the day means that the men on the first pay day after the change-over will only take home five days' wages, due to the total time day being two days sooner.

The Works Committee discussed the question with the management and accepted the management's scheme without referring the matter back to the men. This was one of the reasons for the strike. The management offered to advance the two days' pay to the men, the men to take this back by weekly deductions from their wages. The men turned this down. The change-over was postponed for a week, and now it has been postponed until the end of September, pending discussions.

S. Kerrigan.

## CHORUS AGAINST MINERS

BY JOCK HASTON

The Coal Crisis grows deeper and 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 coal 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 production 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-

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 shoulders 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 counter-campaign, the leaders, or more precisely, the *mistake* 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 producing 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 increase. Unnecessary stoppages have occurred. There is a mentality

among some miners that reflects an unconcern for the danger with which the country is faced.

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, these trade union officials urge 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 tub!"

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 terrific 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



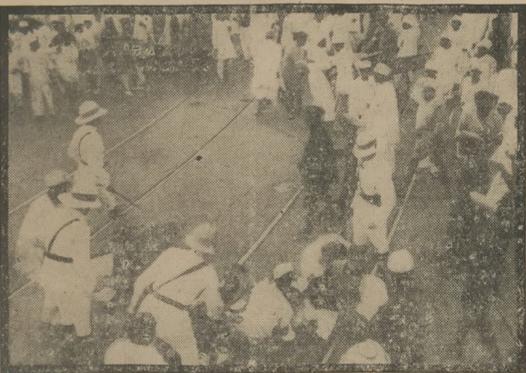
T.U. OFFICIAL: WORK HARDER"



BOSS—"PRODUCE MORE COAL!"



CHURCH: "CUT OUT ABSENTEEISM"



HOW BRITISH DEMOCRACY RULES INDIA

## LABOUR TO POWER On A Socialist Programme

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

1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.

6. Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
7. Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
9. Establishment of military 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 Colonies.
12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe on the basis of this programme in Britain to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

# 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 interests.

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-cries to the workers to sacrifice everything "for production and the second front".

## LONG HOURS REDUCE PRODUCTION

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 unwise as would be the cheers of patriots encouraging a long-distance runner to a futile sprint early in the race."

Today, the Editorial Board of the "Daily Worker" has taken on the role of patriots to the capitalist class, and are writing up at length the stories of young workers who have broken production records. Special mention was given on 22nd September to Ron Aves, 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 pace last week" (Ron must have put in over 154 hours a day for seven days). 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 15th 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 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 as effectively as they were overdriving a machine."—Daily Worker, 20th 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 turning aluminium in a shop from 1915 to 1917. For the first 24 weeks they were supposed to work 74 hours weekly; the hours were reduced in two stages, and finally they were working a 55 hour week, when it was found that their production was 69 per cent above the level of the 74 hour week. In other words, they actually produced 27 per cent more fuses during the 55 hours than in the 74 hour week!

Every scientific investigation has exposed the fact that long hours have a bad effect on production; the Industrial Health Research Board of the Medical Research Council stated in a report that during the last war, when a 12-hour day was being worked the accidents were 25 times as many as when the working day was reduced to ten hours. The Board stated explicitly in the preface that:

"One of the lessons learned in the last war was that excessive hours of 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 against the interests both of the workers and of war production. Nearly every issue of the "Daily Worker" since its reappearance has given publicity to youths such as the Y.C.T. who

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' desire to help Russia.

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 brigades" 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 15th September, are typical: he said that the "shock brigades" should become a nationwide movement, adding "It would be a crime to let the opportunity slip."

The formation of "shock brigades" as initiated and organised by the Stalinists, 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 increase 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 that the workers could increase their productivity. But they are held back by fear of the results: first, a decrease 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 whole shop; (there is the example of a factory in North London factory, employed on gas-pump operating, who exceeded the bonus rate so much that the eyes of the rate-fixer, that this worthy promptly cut the rate for the job, to the intense indignation of the other workers). Secondly, the probability that labour will be redundant and the majority of the workers will be pushed into the streets. 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 work, 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 State policy, and 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 by pushing the State policy in the form of the State policy, and 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 by pushing the State policy in the form of the State policy, and the factories.

## 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 factories and union branches will meet with swift defeat, because our slogan 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.

# ELECTRICIANS Impatient With 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 indicates an open warning to the Union leaders that they must cease their unending 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 rate-fixer, 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 1/4d to 1/7d. 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, and it is only by being 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 one is allowed 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 fact that the 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 action.

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 conditions and force their demands. The charge of sabotaging production was answered in advance by one militant worker who stated that the responsibility for sabotaging any strike must rest with the bosses who deliberately held down 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 shipyard for the purpose of obtaining continued below.

# Belgian Trotskyist Dies in Nazi Prison

News has just reached us that Leon Lesoil, one of the leading members of our Belgium section, has died at the hands of the Nazis in a Belgian prison.

Prominent member of the REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY OF BELGIUM, affiliate of the Fourth International, he participated in all the national meetings and Conferences of the Fourth International held on the Continent.

Comrade Lesoil's life is inseparable from the life of the Belgium working class in the Charleroi district in the past 39 years where he lived as a mining draughtsman. As a militant fighter he was driven from his work and victimised by the coalowners.

After the last war, he was one of the foundation members of the Belgium Communist Party in which he played a leading role. He was driven out at the time of the expulsion of the "Left Opposition," the Trotskyists from the Comintern.

He immediately threw himself into the work of the "Left Opposition" and was largely responsible for the systematic way in which our Belgium comrades conducted their activities under difficult circumstances.

Leon Lesoil was loved, not only by our comrades, but by thousands of miners. When the great strike movements swept the Belgian coal fields, workers would walk miles to hear him address meetings in the public square or from the balcony of the Town Hall. Social Democrats, Stalinists, Revolutionary Socialists, as well as Syndicalists recognised Lesoil as a leading militant in battle.

At the time when the Stalinists slander the Trotskyists and try to link them to the Nazi, Hitler has struck another blow at the Belgium workers by the murder of Comrade Leon Lesoil. His death at the hands of the Nazi's gives the lie to these foul Stalinist slanders.

We salute the memory of our Comrade Leon Lesoil, a front line fighter in the workers' battles, a gallant soldier of the Fourth International who died a martyr in the socialist struggle against capitalist reaction.

# STEEL BOSSES HINDER OUTPUT

BY W. MC. LEAN

Glasgow.

For more than three weeks, a West of Scotland Steelworks has been practically at a standstill, although only 28 boys are on strike. The management 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 riveters to form squads to do the boys' work, but the men have stood firm in their support of the boys' demand for the firm doing odd jobs about the workshops were threatened with the E.W.O. but despite this only 2 agreed to heat rivets. However, the riveters 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 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 fundamental 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 to them.

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 Essential 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 must fight for the repeal of the E.W.O. and all other anti-working class laws.

# Correspondence

## Miners' Views

BARNESLEY

The Editor, Socialist Appeal, 22/9/1942.

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 4 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. 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.

I know 70 tons is not much but if the boot was on the other foot and 70 tons of coal were being done by the workers, all the local press would be screaming and the boss would be after sending someone to gaol for impeding production.

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, 20/9/1942

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 police 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 fines.

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 turned up at the dance—a few shillings had to be added to the collection to pay for the band!

J.R.H.

## MOTHERWELL

The Editor, Socialist Appeal, 25/9/42

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 Burnsides, 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 Traprain, 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 time."

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

He was followed by Lord Traprain 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 workers.

But he put the boss class case a little more bluntly than Pearson. 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' organisations.

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 RESPONSIBLE TO THE RANK AND FILE.

"protest" days and deputations which wasted valuable time, he said.

He was followed by Dollan, who played the usual part of an ass. Lord Traprain and Mr. Pearson wanted 16% increase in production, said Dollan, but he—and he represented the general public—wanted 15% increase! "One miner was heard to remark, 'Why the hell don't you get down the pit and get it!'" A.W.

## FROM A WORKER-SOLDIER

Editor, SOCIALIST APPEAL

May I through the columns of your paper express my appreciation for the article in last month's "Socialist Appeal" publicising the scandalously low wages paid to workers in uniform, and your exposure of this fraudulent document, the White Paper (White Lies) which was the attempt by the Government that the soldiers are, not as well off as "civvies" oh no, but better off!

There is not today a single paper or political body which is not just mouthing sympathy with the services, but is doing nothing about it. I believe that it is why your article was warmly received down here and that is why it got the support of the camps here. We feel in the services, that we will be used still more against the organised Labour movement. And the example of the services being used already to lower standards of civilians by strike-breaking (Lincoln, Glasgow, docks, etc.) and doing civvy jobs at army rates of pay, bears this out.

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

I would appeal to all shop stewards and all readers of your paper to begin to discuss at branch meetings, in the factories, how they can help raise the level of worker-soldiers, the T.U. movement must begin to take up the demand raised by you for "T.U. wages standards for the services." The right of soldiers to belong AND TAKE PART in T.U. affairs.

To keep the standards of the organised workers and to raise those of the worker-soldiers, we want unity between worker and soldier.

If you in the T.U. movement fail in 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, that can be used to break conditions and standards that the Trade Union movement has fought for years to get. You make us unwilling strike-breakers.

I don't in this letter want to give you stories of chaps being broke one day after pay day and doing private jobs for a few shillings. I know your readers know of this. I want, if I can, to stress that it is at this moment the organised civvies should take up our fight.

So let me thank you once again for your exposure of this fraudulent White Paper and good luck to you in your efforts to get soldiers decent rates of pay etc.—and by this you defend the Trade Union movement and the conditions they've fought for and won.

From an ex A.E.U. Shop Steward in the Infantry.

## "T.U. WITHOUT PAID OFFICIALS"

The Editor, Bristol.

Dear Comrade,

I have lately been reading your paper and I agree with you that the 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. treachery.

What man is there who will stand 7 nights per week of 13 1/2 per night or 9 1/2 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 it's time we had a Union without paid officials. I would certainly drop the T. & G.W.U. and join it.

Yours sincerely, Wm. E. K. GRIFFIN.

## OUR REPLY

From a perfectly justifiable criticism of the present policy of the T.U. officials, 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 professionals becomes an elementary necessity to successful working class organisation.

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 the "cavalry of the workers' interests." The workers have allowed a wide wage differentiation between their wages paid to the men who control the 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 themselves; any 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.

## NOTICE of MEETING

# 25th ANNIVERSARY of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

SPEAKERS: ALAN CHRISTIANSON — TED GRANT AND OTHERS

HOLBORN HALL

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

Auspices WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# Miners Made Scapegoats

Continued from page 1

miners and the worst thing that could happen to them would be that they should forfeit the community's confidence by incurring a charge of criminal neglect in this hour of their country's peril. If disaster is to be forestalled they must not delay in putting an end to this waste of time.

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

The rank and file miners must not underestimate this campaign and its effect on the rest of the population. Statements directed against the miners by government officials and known representatives of capitalist reaction carry little weight with the rest of the workers. But statements by the leaders of the miners unions, Lawther, Edwards, Hall, Pearson, Moffatt and Horner—these carry weight. Particularly, when they are magnified a thousandfold and reported from every conceivable source by the lackeys of the capitalists.

In the event of a serious crisis developing which impairs the production of arms, or which results in a cold winter for millions of homes, the boss

class have prepared the way to make 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 class.

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 belongs—at the feet of the mineowners and the government.

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 respect" 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.

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**SOCIALIST APPEAL**  
 ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
 FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

EDITOR: E. Grant BUSINESS MANAGER: M. Lee  
 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 radicalisation 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 association 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 distorted 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 molar 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; the consciousness that one participates in the building of a better future."

**TORY EDUCATION PLAN**  
By **ANDREW SCOTT**

A serious warning to the 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 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 Russian original but lacking the

historical roots which give to contemporary Russian materialism an almost spiritual force." The Tories fear the rise 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 14 and 18 who are unemployed 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 absorbed into industry again; they know that the most militant section of the workers in the coming struggles will be the youth.

**THE I.L.P.—A SHIP WITHOUT A COMPASS**

**GERMAN LABOUR WILL RISE AGAIN**

BY M. LEE.

The renegades to socialism who proclaim 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 favour of either communism or socialism 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 take power—our turn will come next. On April 1st, a few days after Hitler's seizure of power, the journal of the

metal workers—the counterpart of the A.E.U. here—announced that now something would be done! And when May Day came, the trade union bureaucrats, the *Cirines*, the *Bevins* and the *Wolstencrofts* of Germany called on the workers to take part in Hitler's May Day march under the swastika!

The measure of repression which Hitler was forced to take against the German workers testified to their hatred of fascism. Within a few weeks of the infamous Reichstag Fire Trial, a repression and terror was instituted which was unprecedented in the history of capitalism. No less than 60,000 trade union and working class functionaries were arrested, 2,000 trade union and political militant were murdered, and 100,000 workers were put into concentration camps.

Instead of looking to the German working class as their allies, the reactionaries in the British Labour movement close their eyes to this tremendous historical background of socialist struggle which cannot be wiped out in a few years, and identify the German workers with the Hitler regime.

**VANSITTARTISM AND STALINISM**

The vicious anti-German propaganda emanating from the reactionaries and echoed by such traitors within the labour movement as the President of the T.U.C., cannot be regarded with anything but horror and dismay by all socialist thinking workers. From these quarters the advanced workers have learned to expect nothing different. But it is from the statements from the Kremlin, about which many militant workers still harbour illusions, that the most avid and blood-thirsty exhortations against the German workers and peasants come today.

If there existed no other evidence of the abandonment of internationalism by Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy, the hysteria of the organ of the Red Army, "Red Star" alone would testify to the departure from the methods of Lenin.

"We understand that Germans are not human beings. From now on the word German is a terrible curse; it is a word that makes one spring to arms. Indignation is not enough; you must kill. Every day you don't kill Germans is a day wasted. Nothing is a greater sight for Russian eyes than a German corpse. Don't count by days or by miles; count by the number of Germans you've killed. Kill Germans—that's what your mother begs you. Kill Germans, your child begs you. Kill Germans, your country begs you."

So proclaims a recent editorial, not of a paper run by Vansittart, but of the official organ of the Russian Army and addressed to the Russian soldiers. And again, the "Daily Worker" of Sept 24th proudly reproduces a similar article from the "Red Star" under the title "Stand and Kill the German."

Continued on back page

**ANTI-FASCIST GERMAN WORKERS BEFORE HITLER SEIZED POWER**



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 prelude to raising bodies of men who can be relied on to be obedient instruments of suppression against the British, the European and the Colonial peoples.

But these schemes of the capitalists are fantastic, unreal and utopian. For the one thing they leave out of their calculations is—youth. Their schemes still remain to be accepted by youth, together with the rest of the workers. And the great mass of British youth cannot and will not accept such a programme. The whole mood of British youth at the present time is moving in the direction not of the Right but of the Left; not of increased repression but of a widening freedom; not towards reaction but in the direction of revolution. The education youth wants is not for a world of permanent unemployment, incessant wars, and everlasting starvation, but a world in which work and a decent livelihood are guaranteed to everybody, in which war has been banished and in which no one shall go hungry; a Socialist World.

The "Socialist Britain Now" campaign which was launched with such a ballyhoo by the leadership of the I.L.P. 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 published in the pages of the "New Leader".

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. in 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 do. Ridley attempts feebly to "reply" to the criticism of Loris by pointing out

triumphantly that the L.P. has now decayed into an "open agent of imperialism." 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 slogan 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 that their leaders are incapable of representing their interests. A proposal

to the leaders addressed to the rank and file, demanding a break with capitalism and taking power on a programme such as that set out in the Socialist Appeal cannot but awaken a response among the Labour workers. The masses are dissatisfied with the present government as the by-elections have clearly shown. But they must be given a practical, concrete alternative. To suggest the I.L.P. or ourselves at the present stage is obviously out of the question. Apart from anything else the masses have not yet realised the necessity for the Socialist Revolution. But they are looking for an alternative "Socialist" Government to the present coalition with the bourgeoisie. The first steps of the awakening of the masses to activity would be in the direction of forcing a break with the present Coalition with the Tories by the Labour and Trade Union leadership. These are carefully watching the masses and already their "left" wing are preparing as the workers urge forward, to step out into open "opposition" in parliament 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, stated:

"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 administration. 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 position 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 superiority 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 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 leaders take power. Not many months ago we were 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 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-

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 "New Leader" says: "We call on all liberty loving people 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 WITHDRAWAL OF THE LABOUR MINISTERS 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 imperative that the demand be raised in the sharpest way for the ending of the 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 disbelief. 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 firing 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." 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."

What is meant by this? An I.L.P. Government? Obviously not or Padley is patently ludicrous if this is the meaning of the proposal to demand of the

delegates of the mighty mass organisations to place the (by comparison) insignificant I.L.P. in power. What then does it mean? That the T.U. leaders should take power as representatives of the dictatorship of the proletariat? If so, the idea is fantastic. Not even Padley would suggest at the present stage that the workers are ripe for this—or that these leaders were capable of carrying it out. It is as usual that the I.L.P. leaders throw around slogans quite airily without bothering to think out the meaning of these slogans or ideas. It is clear that if the demand to end the coalition is seriously to be addressed to the Labour and Trade Union leaders and gain support among the masses it can only do so if coupled with the slogan Labour to Power. Otherwise the demand is either ultra-left or opportunist. If the slogan of ending the coalition and setting up a workers' government is not meaningless, it can only be meant as a Labour Government. But Padley does not mean this or that would have been the formula used. To be exact Padley hasn't the faintest idea of what in the devil he does mean.

His article is perfectly in tune with the policy of the I.L.P. leaders. They combine opportunism with ultra-leftism and anything but precise, clear and unambiguous policies and ideas. Where is the "Socialist Britain Now" Campaign in all this? The disdainful and hopeless attitude to the Labour Party is apparently abandoned. The support of a small section of the workers for the "Socialist Britain Now" campaign has led to nothing. And the I.L.P. leaders are compelled in a distorted way to reflect the blind alley in which they find themselves and to attempt convulsively to find a solution. BUT AS ALWAYS, IN A CENTRIST MANNER. If, instead of the isolated Socialist Britain Now Campaign, the I.L.P. leadership had adopted the correct policy of systematically appealing to the rank and file of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions, demanding the breaking of the coalition with the Tories and a fight for power on a socialist programme even one so vague and ambiguous as the programme put forward by the I.L.P., then their position would have been considerably strengthened.

**Brockway Looks to Labour Lefts and Common Wealth**

SO, THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ANTI-WAR AND PRO-WAR ARE REVEALED APPARENTLY AS A MERELY DIFFERENCE OF OPINION! 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 national leadership of Mr. Churchill. It is sympathetic to the Labour Party, wants it to remain in the Government,

but at the same time is against the political truce." And with this hotch-potch of confusion Fenner Brockway attempts to palm off an alliance with these avowed supporters of Churchill 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?

On August 8th, the editorial in the "New Leader" laments, "The disturbing feature of the British political situation is that so far there is no real alternative to the Churchill Government." So that here is an admission that the I.L.P. is incapable of giving any alternative lead. It is this incapacity which makes the I.L.P. leaders clutch eagerly at the tail of all "left" movement in the parliamentary wing of the I.L.P. It responds unerringly 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" has some comments on developments within the I.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 15th, in a front page article headlined, "Labour Revs Stuns 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 insisting on discipline. A number of Labour Members have made it clear, however, that their first loyalty is to the workers (!?) and that they will not hesitate to vote against the Government on social issues when the workers are betrayed (!) . . . Strong speeches against the Government were delivered by Labour M.P.s . . ."

(continued on back page)

Read **TROTSKY on Centrism and the I.L.P.**

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

**Once Again: The I.L.P.**

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2d. each.

# Tribunals Are Bosses' Tools

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, Lancs.

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 retribution.

On a framed charge of misconduct, Vickers Armstrongs of Barrow, Lancs., recently sacked a worker, a member of the E.P.T., 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 signed by the victimised worker. On being challenged to produce this "evidence", the firm's representative appeared confused but refused to submit the paper as evidence, saying that 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 action in the matter.

# 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 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 German soldiers in occupied Europe by the enraged peoples who associate the German uniforms with the crimes of Hitler. But their indignation knows no bounds when the same 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 Europe.

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 have approved this policy of Churchill and the ruling 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 not in words.

Workers demand freedom for India on the basis of a Constituent 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 Freedom!

# MONOPOLIES TIGHTEN GRIP

BY G. READ

In reply to criticism of its policy of 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 post-war profit considerations, were not by complete silence on the part of the government, as were demands for the government to take action against the steel magnates for their refusal to allow costs investigation.

The report of the Controller General admitted that the Steel Federation—the virtual controller—was allowed free rein 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 1936.

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, "demand is ahead of production", "ever increasing quantities are required" and "supplies are still inadequate".

The same position holds good for all the major industries. The monopolists are in complete control, able to fix their own prices and to refuse costs investigation and to restrict output as they see fit in the interests of post war profits.

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 penalties are imposed for the destruction of old rubber trees and rubber hot water bottles, etc. Yet no penalties are being imposed upon the rubber monopolists who are responsible for the present position.

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 frustrated by the monopolists and as a result waste rubber was being shipped to the United States where it is manufactured and then shipped back to this country.

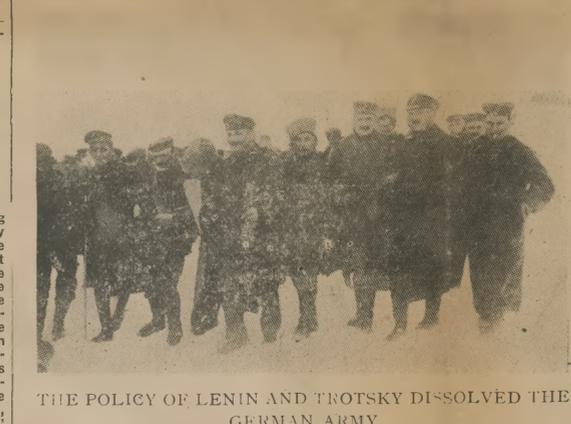
In shipbuilding, transport and the mining industries the same situation exists. In every sphere the domination of the big business financiers and the imposition of their rule over industry is impeding 100% output. While no action was taken against the mine-owners who closed productive pits to assure their post war profits a new E.W.O. has been passed which is intended to discipline the miners and prevent them from taking militant action in defence of their conditions and standards. This is the reaction of the pro-boss government to the scandalous coal situation. In every sphere action is being taken to squeeze greater sacrifices and efforts from the workers whilst the bosses are given free rein. The growing discontent of the workers at these manifestations of government policy is being countered by ever more vicious attacks through the machinery of the E.W.O.'s. As the industrial set up in Britain assumes a form more and more closely resembling the Nazi Labour Front, "Equality of Sacrifice" is supplanted in industry by the suppression of labour's rights and living standard while super profits and complete freedom of action is granted to the bosses.

The so-called restrictions of the Excess Profits Tax have been proved a miserable farce. As Mr. J. S. Austen, Chairman of the British Electric Traction Co., revealed, "I think that what you most particularly want to know is what the position of the company will be when we have to pay 100% E.P.T. I can tell you that in one word by saying that we should be in a position to pay 45 per cent."

The coalition government, the government of the monopolies, has demonstrated how it intends to attempt to solve the problem of production. By the imposition of new measures which are aimed against the interests of the working class. The labour and trade union leaders must be forced to break the anti-working class coalition into which they have thrust the workers' organisations. 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 of monopoly capitalism.

Simultaneously with the struggle to break the coalition and organise Labour to Power, the workers must seek to take the real measures of control which can only be exercised through committees of workers, elected from the factories and districts, who will guarantee the conditions of the workers and organise a maximum production.

# RUSSIAN AND GERMAN SOLDIERS FRATERNISING IN 1912



THE POLICY OF LENIN AND TROTSKY DISSOLVED THE GERMAN ARMY

# RUSSIA NEEDS LENIN'S WEAPON

Winterton, *New Chronicle* correspondent in Moscow, describes how the Muscovites 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' State.

They appeal to Anglo-American capitalism for planes, guns, tanks and troops. This they say will deprive Hitler of his technical and military superiority.

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 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 Stalin's "realist policy" of diplomatic combinations has brought the Soviet Union to the verge of disaster.

Continued from page 1

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

While the Bolshevik and Nazi armies are locked in colossal struggle, British and American imperialism sit 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 content 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 plights of the Soviet Union

The hopes and needs of British imperialism is being realised. The Soviet Union has been laid waste. Before the final outcome of this colossal struggle its industrial capacity has been reduced by more than half. It has lost 100 million tons of coal, 70% of its aluminium, one third of its manganese and to million tons of pig iron, the wheat fields of the Ukraine, Kuban and the Don have been destroyed. Paul As Lenin put it:

# ILLUSTRATIONS

## A Manifesto Without Principles

On August 22nd, as a climax to 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 military issue.

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

So that the bankruptcy of the Socialist Britain Now Campaign has not led the I.L.P. leadership to a Marxist 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 war is seen as a mere radical gesture, and not as a principle. "The 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 force! 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

on the role of the present British Government. And do not the I.L.P. leaders 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 . . .

Here is where we get the difference between the policy and tactics of the I.L.P. leaders and of a genuine Leninist Party. To take advantage of the disagreements between the Left wing and the official Labour leaders, which is now opening out under the pressure of the masses, is a correct thing to do. But a Bolshevik organisation would use this to achieve two things. The first to get the disoriented masses mobilised and on the move against capitalism. The second as a means of demonstrating to the masses the fact that the Labour leaders are not interested in the struggle for Socialism but have betrayed the workers by going over to the side of the Bourgeoisie. The test of the sincerity of these signatories would be to demand that they immediately begin, with the I.L.P., a campaign for the ending of the coalition, and for Labour to take Power. The present campaign cannot have any more fortunate consequences than that of the Socialist Britain Now. If it did gain any large following the consequences would be even more pernicious. The combination of contradictory slogans and ideas of pacifists, second fronters, exploiters of the middle class discontent such as the Priestley-Acland group, would all move in different directions under the impact of events.

The way to win the middle class is leadership of the Common Wealth which "reject the class struggle and aschew the word socialism" and will inevitably end in the camp of reaction, even very possibly Fascism. The way to win the middle class is precisely by waging the class struggle, putting forward a programme which will include the interests of the middle class and showing them that their interests can be served only by linking their fate with that of the workers.

# Shameful Statements of Parliamentary Wing

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 hollow-ness 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

either do the right thing, or be compelled to surrender to an Empire 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 re-arrangement in the world and that our nation's possessions will not come under review . . ."

"I would like to see a United States of Africa, for instance, run and controlled 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 take part in it. . . I believe that America could teach up (1?) 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 statements of our claiming to be a revolution! As if the American imperialist gangsters are one whit better than their British "allies". The masses in Cuba, Philippines etc. can testify to the "civilising" mission of Yankee imperialism. America can teach even Hitler something about racial discrimination of subject peoples. The treatment of Negroes in the Southern States of America can testify to this. Already we see in Britain an importation by the American army of the Jim Crow policy against American Negro troops. It does not matter whether the colonial slaves whether their masters fly the Union Jack or the Stars and Stripes as the symbol of their enslavement. And to piously "hope" that the slavemasters who are denouncing all the continents, by blood, precisely for the right to exploit the colonial slaves and to defend their colonial loot, will consent to a "re-arrangement" at home, is the measure of the "revolutionism" 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 himself, with the consequences of their failure to see reason which will create a situation 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 shameful appeals to the imperialists at home and his pointing up of the American imperialists abroad, his appeals that "we" (and by this he associates himself 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 abominable or even learning from them and not at all one of overthrowing them.

McGovern has capped this with a speech for which any party denouncing itself would have demanded instant repudiation on pain of expulsion from its ranks. Yet it too naturally finds its way into the pages of the "New Leader" of July 11th, 1942. He was attempting to justify the shameful role of the parliamentary clique had played at Munich crisis when they

"We (I) are suffering from a considerable number of reverses and would not have to see more reverses in which our men are decimated. To me the dangers seem tremendous.

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 Communist 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 time in which to prepare if we wished to do so."

Here we see his so-called opposition towards war as that of a "loyal opposition" by waging the class struggle, on a class basis but on a basis of the military needs of the bourgeoisie. This is further reflected in the attitude adopted towards the Second Front:

"The demand for a Second Front may compel the Government; it may be blackmailed and driven into a Second Front before adequate preparations have been made. . . In fact . . . I have been prepared to see military defeats because a large number of the commandos and men were not trained in the art of this special type of warfare . . ."

And so on, he argues his case, not from the political point of view, but from the military aspect as any social-pacifist would do. McGovern goes on: "At the time the Prime Minister (Chamberlain) was unsated, my blood boiled at the four 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 states 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.

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 authoritative 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 infected with the disease of Centristism.

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 opportunistic 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.

# German Workers Are Our Allies

Continued from page 3

After nine years of ruthless repression and terror, the German working class is still resisting and attempting to rise once again to fight fascism; to assist the Soviet Union, and to seek the road of Socialist Revolution. In the last few months almost daily reports have reached us of the growing resistance of the German workers. The "New Leader" of September 12th contained 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 revolt."

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

In the Information Service for leaders of the S.S., following passage was recently published:

"A new wave of criticism has recently come about, caused by restrictions 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 report of the slow-down method within German factories. A German metal worker who is working in a ship yard and visited some friends in Switzerland on his holiday told the following:

"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

he needed. It was in the morning 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 slow-down slogan. There 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 woman were executed for attempting to revive a "Communist cell." Almost daily such reports are received.

These few items culled from the daily press, give the lie to the Stalinist propaganda. For every action reported in the press by a German worker, hundreds 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 only of Russia and Germany, but of 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 revolutionaries.

The revolutionary socialists, on the other hand, give assistance and encouragement to our German class brothers by fighting to break the coalition of the labour movement with the capitalist class by demanding that labour take power on a socialist programme as the first step towards a Socialist Britain and a Socialist United States of Europe. This is the only guarantee that there will be no repetition of the Versailles Treaty.