



## Our Programme For Power

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

1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.
6. Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
7. Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
8. Clear out the reactionary fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
9. Establishment of military academies by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
10. Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or Petainism.
11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the Colonies.
12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe on the basis of this programme in Britain to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

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# EGYPT:

RUMPTAKS FOR BRITISH RULERS

2d. PER DAY FOR EGYPTIAN FAMILIES

BY LESLIE KING

# LABOUR LEFTS REHEARSED DEBATE WITH TORIES!

## Right Wing Tories Want Military Dictatorship

By TED GRANT

COMING AFTER THREE YEARS OF UNINTERRUPTED DEFEATS, THE EVENTS IN LIBYA AND EGYPT HAVE AROUSED A PROFOUND DISQUIET WITHIN THE BRITISH PEOPLE. THE DEBATE ON THIS LATEST CRISIS IS A WARNING AND A PORTENT TO THE WORKING CLASS.

The workers are becoming critical and disgusted at the continued incompetence of their rulers, in the military and industrial spheres. After three years of war industry is still not producing the type of equipment to match that of the Germans, and the officer caste reveals itself to be utterly stupid and incompetent.

Nothing but anarchy and chaos faces the workers everywhere. The feeling in the workshops and in the army is one of exasperation and frustration.

It is this which has compelled the ruling class to stage a debate, as a lightning conductor to the anger of the masses.

One section of the ruling class is already beginning to think of desperate measures to be used against the working class, whose eyes are being opened to the necessity for a change. This was demonstrated by the censure motion of Sir John Wauchope Milne and the extreme right wing of the Tory Party. This right wing Tory utilised the obvious inefficiency of the generals to make a "brilliant" suggestion of changes in the military leadership. He proposed that the situation could be retrieved by appointing as Commander in Chief... the Duke of Gloucester! Even in the House of Commons this was greeted with loud groans. No matter the qualities of the noble Duke, it is obvious that as a military leader he would be a joke. But the sinister implication of this proposal is all too clear. The last reserve of the ruling class, the Royal family was to be brought forward as a cover for a military dictatorship to keep the masses down by force.

Sir Roger Keyes reflected this tendency when he contemptuously attacked the Labour leaders—Bevin, Morrison and Alexander, suggesting that their services in the government were no longer required. He clearly indicated that they could not hold the masses in check. They could not prevent strikes or other manifestations of unrest, and were therefore no longer of any use to the ruling class. They see too, that the Churchill myth is dying. They are of course, the immediate section of the ruling class. Such a programme is not needed as yet. But the fact that, at the first signs of disgust on the part of the workers, already such a tendency has been mani-

culation of what will happen among the basic section when a real movement begins among the masses.

In as guarded and veiled a way as possible, Churchill in self defence, indicated what the right wing Tories were after:

"The mover of the vote of censure has proposed that I be stripped of my responsibilities for defence in order that some military figure or unnamed personage should assume the general conduct of the war, that he should have under him a royal duke as commander in chief of the army... This is a system very different from the parliamentary system under which we have lived. It might easily amount to, or be converted into, a dictatorship."

This section of the ruling class could quite easily don the robes of Petain. And Churchill's protestations that he would not participate in such a regime are worth no more and no less than the protestations of Renaud and Daladier in France. They too held their hands to their black hearts and proclaimed undying devotion to "democracy". But in the hour of crisis they handed over to the Petains and Laval who sold out to Hitler.

The writing is on the wall. If the workers do not realise the danger, they could find themselves under a British "Vichy". There are already candidates for this post! For the time being they lurk and plot in the background, but in times of crisis they will thrust themselves forward. Already they are cautiously airing their programme in parliament. What are they saying and preparing behind the scenes? And what alternative has Churchill to offer? The not very consoling prospect of a long and bloody war.

"I have never shared the view..."

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Formerly "Youth for Socialism"

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# YORKSHIRE OWNERS PROVOKE PIT STRIKE

IN SMART MILITARY FORMATION, 500 YOUNG MEN AND LADS SWUNG INTO BARNSELY ON WEDNESDAY JUNE 1st, AND MARCHED TO THE WEST RIDING COURT HOUSE.

THEY WERE MARCHING FOR DEMOCRACY, THESE YOUNG MINERS, BUT THERE WERE NO BANDS TO MEET THEM; THEY WERE FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY BUT THE MAYOR DID NOT MEET THEM WITH A "COMMITTEE OF WELCOME!" ON THE CONTRARY, THEY WERE SHUNNED BY OFFICIALDOM EVERYWHERE. EVEN THE OFFICIALS OF THEIR OWN UNION TOOK PART IN THE BOYCOTT.

These young marchers were the haulage hands at Houghton Main Colliery in Yorkshire, who had been summoned by the colliery company for breach of contract. On June 17th, the haulage hands came out on strike as a protest against the stoppage of 6d. per week "dust money" by about 20 of their fellow workers. This money was paid to the lads who load the trucks at the end of the mechanical coal conveying belt where the coal drops several feet and throws up dense clouds of dust. At times the coal dust is so thick that it is impossible to see two feet in front of one, and accidents are a common feature. At the same time the job is sufficiently injurious to the health of the lads that they have to be constantly shifted to other work.

When the management stopped the normal pay of "dust money" (it has been paid for the past eight years) to some of the lads, this naturally aroused their indignation, and they demanded that it be rectified through the normal trade union channels. But after several weeks of fruitless negotiations and when the management refused to meet the union officials to discuss the question, the lads came out on strike as a protest. The strike commenced on June 17th and lasted till the 20th, when it was decided to go back pending further negotiations.

The reply of the management was in the nature of a provocation, no sooner were the workers in the pit, when 1388 summonses were handed to the workers claiming from each worker £5

By JOCK HASTON

whether they had been advised to go back to work by everyone in official positions, Kay replied: Yes, but they would only go back if the summonses were with-drawn and the 6d. for dust money was put back on. Concluding

## Soldiers' Wives Under-nourished

Wives and families of the common servicemen are receiving insufficient money to keep themselves on an adequate diet to maintain their standards of health.

The Glasgow Branch of the Children's Nutrition Council, whose President is Sir John Orr, the scientist and Britain's acknowledged expert on the question of nutrition, give some illuminating facts concerning the conditions of families of soldiers. After experienced investigators of the Council had made a test examination of 220 families of serving men, their report revealed that only:

- 35% of these families of serving men received sufficient money for an adequate diet.
- 28.2% received sufficient money if they exercised extreme economy;
- 36.4% received insufficient money to buy an adequate diet!

Further negotiations. The reply of the management, the nature of a provocation, no sooner were the workers in the pit, when 1388 summonses were handed to the workers claiming from each worker £5 damages arising from breach of contract!

Later all but 509 were withdrawn. If the Manager, Mr. Taylor, had schemed to deliberately engineer a strike and hold up coal production, it would have been difficult to think up a more likely method whereby it could be done, than by the issuance of these summonses. As a result of the provocation all hands downed tools and refused to work until the summonses were withdrawn.

The summonsed strikers converged on Stairfoot from Wombwell and Darfield, and with well formed ranks, they marched into Barnsley and proceeded to the court house. Here the lads of under 17 were informed by the police that they could not be present in court. They were tried in their absence, found guilty and ordered to pay £5 along with the others!

In a packed courthouse, the chairman of the bench refused to hear the reasons for the "breach of contract," claiming that all that had to be established was that "breach of contract" had taken place. By this means, in conjunction with Mr. Furniss, the lawyer for the coalowners, he cut across any attempt on the part of the young workers to demonstrate provocation on the part of the manager.

### DESERTED BY T.U OFFICIALS—YOUTHS DEFEND THEMSELVES

The lads were not represented legally, their union officials deserting them and refusing in any way to be a party to their defence. A deputation approached a local lawyer and asked him to take the case. But he stated that he would only do so on condition that they immediately returned to work; which made it plain to the lads where he stood. . . . They considered they could do better without his services! At the same time, not one of the six Labour or Trade Union J.P.s on the Barnsley Bench were present at the proceedings to see that the lads got justice and were not hoodwinked by the cunning lawyer, who is employed by the coalowners to persecute the workers.

Without legal aid, all the lads could do was to express their solidarity with each other, which they certainly did in no uncertain terms. Not a lad rattled under the pressure of the lawyer and the bench.

### "NOBODY IS WITH US"

Called into the box and questioned by Mr. Furniss, Harry Chase denied breach of contract. Pointing out that he himself did not work at the loader, he stated: "I can only say I have stood out with the other boys." When asked who was his first witness, he turned to the lads in the crowded court and asked: "Who wants to come?" Ronald Kay stepped into the box to say "I am with the lads. The only thing I know is that he (Chase) broke his contract in sympathy with the loader lads. . . The Management did wrong." Asked by Mr. Furniss

### By JOCK HASTON

whether they had been advised to go back to work by everyone in official positions, Kay replied: Yes, but they would only go back if the summonses were withdrawn and the 6d. for dust money was put back on. Concluding the evidence for the defence, Harold Fisher said: "We are alone in the wilderness and we have no chance, so you might as well bring the case to an end. Nobody is with us."

### ONE LAW FOR THE RICH . . . .

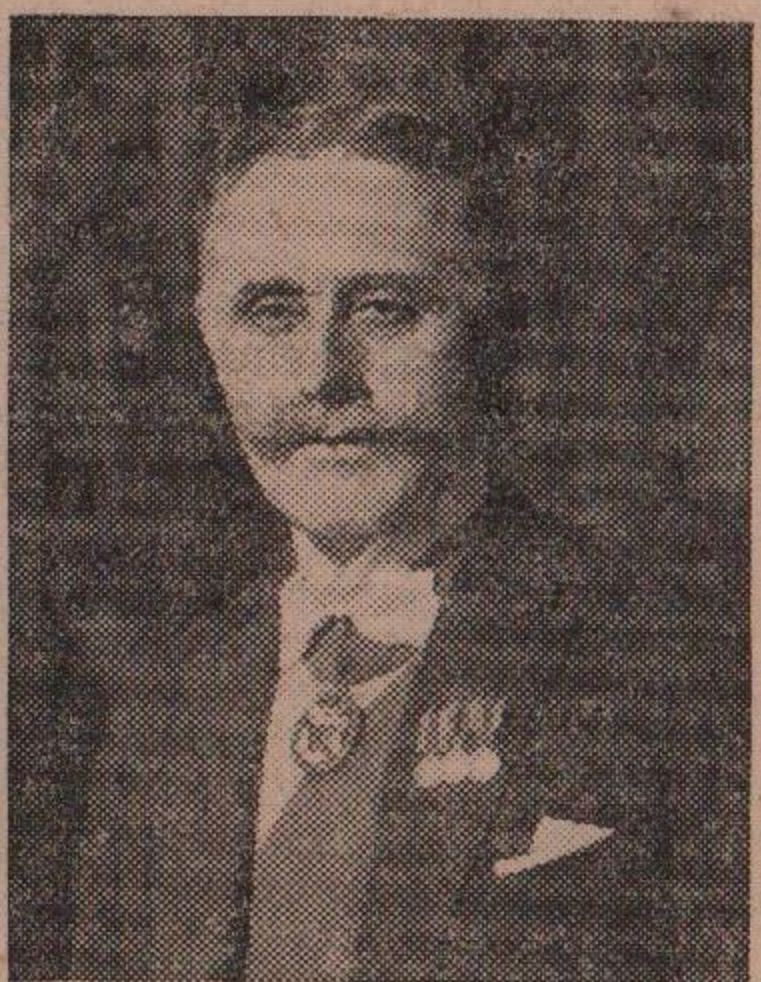
Mr. J. H. Norton, the Chairman of the bench ordered £5 damages against each of the 509 haulage hands. The defendants were ordered to pay the money at the rate of £1 per week for over sixteens, and 10/- per week for under sixteens.

Milling round outside the courtyard at the conclusion of the case, the lads all expressed the conclusion that they had been victimised and that there was one law for the rich, the coal-

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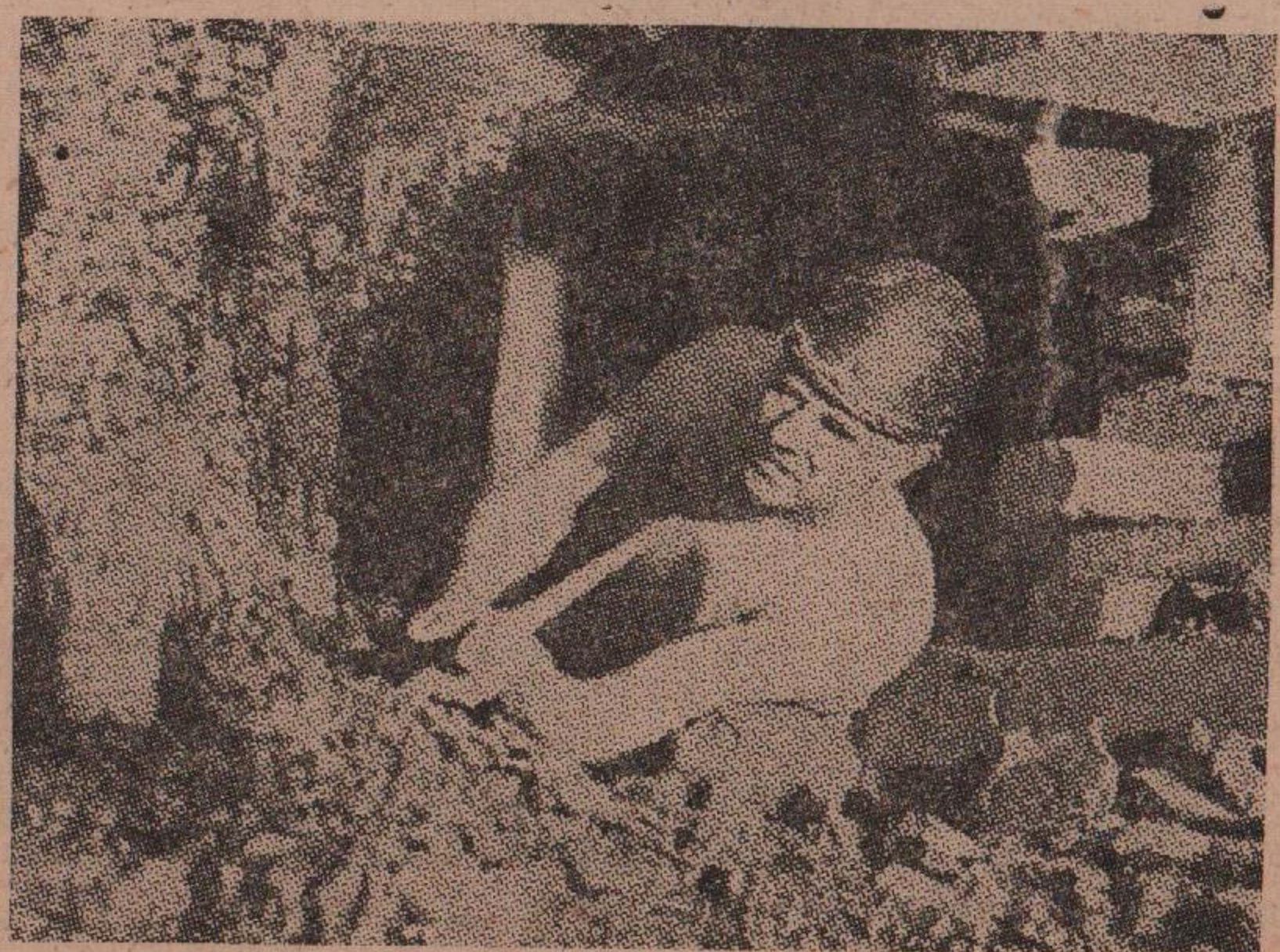
### HE OWNS THE LAND—

£109,000 a year in Royalties Alone!



LORD BUTE

HE HEWS THE COAL—£4. 3s. 0d. a week!



revealed that only: 35% of these families of serving men received sufficient money for an adequate diet; 28.2% received sufficient money if they exercised extreme economy; 36.4% received insufficient money to buy an adequate diet! Of expectant mothers only five out of six are receiving enough money to buy a diet consistent with good health!

After three years of war this state of affairs still exists. Thousands of British workers have given their lives and liberties in defending the possessions of British imperialism, and in return: their families receive insufficient money for an adequate diet—or, in less diplomatic language—their families starve! Meanwhile, the capitalists continue to pile up greater fortunes and live and eat on the same standards as they did before the war.

It is intolerable that the trade union and Labour movement should allow this fantastic situation to continue. At the recent Annual Conference, the Labour Party passed a resolution demanding "industry wages" for the serving men. The organised workers must not allow this resolution to remain a pious expression of good will. It must become a central question on the agenda of every factory and trade union meeting.

The reactionaries are conducting a systematic propaganda campaign directed at the soldiers which exaggerates the wages paid to the industrial workers. Their aim is to harness the discontent against their fellow workers and to reduce the standards of the industrial workers to the starvation level of the servicemen.

By fighting for an industrial wage which raises the level of the worker in uniform to that of his fellow worker in overalls, the organised Labour movement will build an indissoluble unity between all sections of the working people and smash every attempt on the part of the capitalists to use the discontent of the soldiers for reactionary and fascist ends.

were therefore no longer any use to the ruling class. They see too, that the Churchill myth's ending. The of course, the same ground, but in times of crisis they will thrust themselves forward. Already they are cautiously airing their programme in parliament. What are they saying and preparing behind the scenes? And what alternative has Churchill to offer? The not very consoling prospect of a long and bloody war.

"I have never shared the view," he assured us in his reply, "that this

## EDITORIAL.

# The Anglo-Russian Pact

With a great fanfare of trumpets the pact of eternal friendship between Great Britain and the Soviet Union has been signed. It has been enthusiastically hailed in the capitalist press as a means of preserving peace and prosperity after the war. But no less fulsomely has the pact been hailed by Stalin and the Communist International throughout the world.

It is fitting to remember that it is not so long ago that a previous pact of eternal friendship was signed by the Soviet Union—the pact with Hitler Germany. That pact did not last for very long and was ended by the savage assault of the Nazis upon the U.S.S.R. It too, in its time was hailed by Stalin and the Nazis as a means of "preserving peace." Molotov even declared that the pact was "sealed with blood," and that "a strong Germany was essential to the peace of Europe." The results of this treaty cannot be any rosier than the pact with Hitler.

Why is it that the ruling class of Britain and the ruling clique in the Kremlin should have made this agreement at the present time?

The ruling class is not interested in the defeat of "Hitlerism" as such. They are concerned only, once and for all, with destroying the power of their German rival and obtaining the domination of Europe and as much of the world as they can hold. The defeat of Hitler opens out the prospect of revolution in Germany and in the whole of Europe—a revolution which could not fail to spread to the British Isles. The ruling class has collaborated with the Soviet Union only because of the way in which Russia has fought the war as a "national" war and not as part of the international struggle of the working class.

It was because of this that the imperialists of Britain and America could even afford themselves the luxury of giving the Soviet Union a certain amount of aid. But they now desire further guarantees that after the war their position of domination will be firmly entrenched throughout the world—i.e. that the revolutions which are inevitable in Europe should be crushed. That is the meaning of the treaty between the Soviet Union and British Imperialism. It is primarily a conspiracy against the German and European working class.

The pact covers a period of twenty years. And in those years the signatories agree "to take all the measures in their power to render impossible a repetition of aggression and violation of the peace by Germany or any of the states associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe." . . . All the clauses imply the disarming and the holding down of the force of the Axis powers in Europe. It implies a new version of the vicious and plundering treaty of Versailles which led to the victory of the Nazis and the present war in Europe; and can lead to even more fatal consequences for the workers in Britain and Europe, and for the Soviet Union, than did the Hitler-Stalin pact. With the assurance of the support of the Soviet bureaucracy for the maintenance of capitalism in Europe the ruling class will probably make the second front for which

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RUMPSTEAKS FOR BRITISH RULERS

2d. PER DAY FOR EGYPTIAN FAMILIES

BY LESLIE KING

Rommel has crossed the Egyptian frontier and is on the threshold of the Suez Canal.

Churchill tells us that he is confident that Egypt will not fall, and, let there be no mistake about it, SACRIFICE OF LIVES WILL NOT BE CONSIDERED in the defence of this gateway to the East.



ANTI BRITISH STRIKE IN CAIRO—JANUARY 1936.

Picture shows a student speaker in the court-yard of Ghizeh University. Many students were killed

## London R.O.F. Strike

### DAY RATE WORKERS DEMAND INCREASE

Some months ago a Charter of Demands from the workers at the Lock Royal Ordnance Factory, was presented to the Ministry of Supply. Resulting from this, substantial increases of pay were granted to the piece-workers, who constitute a majority in the factory.

The granting of the increases resulted in an increase in production, bearing out the claim implied in the Charter, that if the economic stress of the workers is released, the output will accordingly be increased as well.

However, the Ministry of Supply refused to grant any increase of pay to the day rate workers, who, as all workers know are just as essential to production as piece workers. The grounds for refusal at the time was that

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The primary interest of the British ruling class is the defence of the Suez Canal, and it has been a permanent consideration of their policy to prevent any hostile control of the shores of the Canal and the Red Sea. Though financial and supply considerations are undoubtedly important in the eyes of the British capitalists—their investments in Egypt amount to £200,000,000—the main factor is the strategic importance of the domination of this direct link with the oilfields of Persia and Iraq, with India—the "Jewel of the Empire", the Indian Ocean, Australasia, and the Pacific.

Although Egypt is an "independent" state—nominally—the Sudan is in effect a British Colony, although its administration is formally supposed to be shared by England and Egypt. And since all the Nile's sources are in the Sudan, Britain controls the whole of Egypt's economic life so long as she holds this section of the country. The whole of the country has been in the occupation of British troops and its foreign policy is controlled by Britain.

Before World War I a movement for independence began, which was suppressed—in the case of the peasantry by means of mass hangings and floggings of a brutality second to none; Britain then, in 1914, whilst not annexing Egypt outright, placed the country under martial law, declaring it a British Protectorate. The Suez Canal then became a base for British plans of conquest of the Near East.

At the conclusion of hostilities Britain flatly refused to renounce the Protectorate or evacuate the country. Upon this action of the British Government there developed throughout Egypt an agitation supporting the demand for Egyptian independence, which was led by the Wafd, the capitalist nationalist party.

The deepening of the crisis forced the Wafd to adopt a stand of "opposition" to the British imperialists, who answered in their traditional manner—with armoured cars and machine guns. Passports were refused to the Egyptian Independence Mission to Europe and Zaghul Pasha (leader of the Wafd) and his co-delegates were exiled to Malta. Nevertheless, under the influence of the deep character of the movement on the part of the Egyptians, a minimum of concessions were made to the Egyptian nationalists.

However, the beginning of 1931 saw a rise in the Egyptian working class movement and a great strike took

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# EGYPT — 2,000 ARRESTED

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place in the railway workshops in Cairo as well as of transport workers. This was broken by the use of troops and police. Following this, on August 26, 1936, the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty was signed, by which Egypt, after 54 years of British military occupation, was supposed to obtain her 'independence'. The Treaty provided for the maintenance of a British Force in the Canal Zone, and troops to occupy their present stations at Alexandria, Cairo and Ismalia until a certain amount of road and railway building, agreed to by the Egyptian Government, was completed. Moreover, the limitations of the force to be maintained does not apply in war, and now that Rommel and the German Afrika Corps are literally within sight of Suez, the British are rushing as many men and as much equipment as possible to Egypt. But a great part of this British force is kept in the cities, presumably to prevent the Egyptian masses from showing their respect for British imperialism with knives and stones. The poor Egyptian peasant, the Fellaheen, whose position is indeed a desperate one, cannot see any real difference between salaaming the British overlord and Heiling Hitler.

## "WORLD'S GAYEST CITY"

As the "Times" of 8/11/41 pointed out: "The supply position has also had effect upon the political sentiment of the country. Many Egyptians have not yet realised that this is their war as well as ours and accordingly see no need for sacrifices". Sacrifices indeed!

If the mass of Egyptian people were to make any further sacrifices they would starve to death. The "Daily Mail" of 24.3.41 reports that "millions of Egyptian families still live on an income of 2½d. per day"! and now the cost of living has risen, according to the latest published figure, by over 60% above the pre-war level!

Contrast this picture of abject poverty under which the Egyptian peasant exists with the sumptuous lives led by his British overlord. The "Daily Mail" (24.3.41) ran a headline on life in Cairo during the war, "World's Gayest City"—Cars, Night-clubs, and Rump steak twice a day! Describing the good things which awaited British officers on their return from the front, it went on: "baths, good food, wine, music and plenty of feminine society are in abundance". And the "Times" wonders why "many Egyptians have not yet realised that this war is theirs as well as ours"!

But the Egyptian masses are not content to accept this slavery in silence. The "Times" again reports that "a

(17.9.41) reporting a strike in Cairo stated, "The Egyptian Government last night threatened drastic action against Cairo bus and tram workers who went on strike for higher wages. The strike was in contravention of a military order forbidding such action." The Government advised the workers to resume work and warned them that "it will not show any leniency in carrying out the provision of the military order."

The nationalist movement gathers strength and already in the past few days 2,000 Egyptians have been arrested.

Against this background of national and class oppression, stark poverty, glaring inequality and hatred of British Imperialism, it is small wonder that Churchill and his class dare not arm and organise the Egyptian masses. They are well aware that they would not stop at a struggle against Hitler but would overthrow British tyranny as well. Not only will they not arm the Egyptian masses—they are doubtful even of the loyalty of the existing Egyptian army! This army, despite the fact that the fate of 20 million Egyptians is at stake in the Battle of Egypt, have not yet entered the battle!

Furthermore a statement issued by the Egyptian Ministry of National Defence (10.7.40) demonstrated that British Imperialism is actually *disarming* the Egyptian Army! The statement read: "It was rumoured that the British Government proposed to disarm the Egyptian army and hand over its material to the British Forces". It denied the truth of this rumour but continued: "the British Government desires to take back some material which they had lent to Egypt and this transaction will effect only part of the Egyptian army". Which part? No doubt Britain will leave the swords of the Palace Guards untouched—they are no use against Rommels tanks anyway . . . and, (magnificent consolation) "meanwhile the Allied Forces which are fighting on the frontier will benefit therefrom."

This further underlines the fact that British Imperialism is prepared to sacrifice millions of British workers-soldiers rather than take the risk of arming the entire population. Their real war aims stand clearly exposed. Not "a war for the liberation of oppressed peoples" but a war for the preservation of their profits and privileges. A war which naturally includes the further enslavement of the colonial masses.

But for the British workers and Egyptian masses it is a different question. The British workers have no desire to maintain a tyrannical rule

# R.O.F. STRIKE FOR HIGHER WAGES

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a scheme was being prepared to cover all day rate workers throughout the Royal Ordnance Factories. The day rate workers were not satisfied with this position, of course, but as workers always do, they showed extreme patience, and took no action against their exclusion from pay increases. They merely requested the Shop Stewards' Committee to pursue the claim on their behalf.

This, of course, the shop stewards did and reported back continually to the workers at a series of Works Meetings. But in spite of continued requests from the stewards to the Ministry of Supply for a satisfactory reply to the workers' demands, the Ministry persisted in evading the issue. As a result of a resolution from a Works Meeting threatening action, the stewards wrote to the Minister of Supply himself, who replied to the effect that a meeting of the Joint Industrial Council was to consider a claim of 25% increase on basic rates for all day rate workers in the R.O.F.'s, and that he could not, under these circumstances, consider a claim for a particular factory.

The workers' patience was, by this time, becoming exhausted. But they agreed to await the findings of the Joint Industrial Council which was to meet on June 26th. No satisfactory information, however, was received by July 2nd, when the workers on one of the examination branches ceased work. They returned the same afternoon on the basis of a discussion with a section of the management. But there was no offer forthcoming from the factory superintendent, and on Friday, July 3rd, the workers again struck.

This time the stoppage rapidly spread to include all day rate workers, male and female. On Friday night, the night shift experienced difficulty in working owing to the maintenance workers being on strike. But the night work piece workers were in full accord with the day rate workers, those who were not able to work, knocking off.

The stoppage of the day rate workers proved their importance to production, and consequently the fairness of their claim, and the strike looked like spreading to the whole of the factory.

On Friday evening the District Secretary of the A.E.U. informed the Shop Stewards that the Divisional Organiser had been instructed by the E.C. to intervene. They both attended on the Saturday and met the Shop Stewards. The stewards requested them that they use their good offices

from the meeting under great protest however, from the District Secretary and the Divisional Organiser.

The District Organiser insisted that he be allowed contact the Ministry of Supply, which he did by telephone and the Ministry of Supply Official refused to discuss, on the grounds that the 4 days' notice of strike required under the E.W.O. had not been complied with.

In the meantime the workers had commenced to assemble in the canteen

Present at the meeting were at least 1,000 workers who were addressed by the A.E.U. Divisional Organiser and District Secretary and an official from the T.&G.W.U. Each of the trade union officials agreed that the workers had been extremely patient, and that the shop stewards had done all possible to avert the stoppage. At the same time they all exhorted the workers to return to work, and that negotiations would take place on that basis. The workers finally decided that they would return to work provided negotiations take place immediately and a favourable reply was received within three days.

An arrangement was made between the trade union officials present and the Shop Stewards that a deputation of the officials present, plus one steward from the A.E.U. and one from the T.&G.W.U. should interview the Ministry of Supply that afternoon. On attending at Shell House the Ministry of Supply Officials refused to allow the Stewards to attend the conference, again under great protest from the trade union officials.

There is no report from that conference to date, but one will be made to a mass meeting of the workers on Tuesday, 7th July, who are in no mood for trifling and who in general, recognise the efforts of the Ministry of Supply to split their ranks. Particularly do they resent the attempt of the Ministry to discredit their Shop Stewards who have represented them so loyally in the past.

## What to Read . .

### PAMPHLETS BY TROTSKY

WAR AND WORLD	
REVOLUTION	2d
TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME	
OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL	6d
TRADE UNIONS	1s
STALINISM (BOLSHEVISM)	2d
I.L.P. & THE 4th	
INTERNATIONAL	2d
ONCE AGAIN THE I.L.P.	2d

# THE I.L.P. AND THE LABOUR PARTY

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What does Ridley mean when he characterises the Labour Party as a "fast putrefying corpse"? Does he mean that the workers are rapidly abandoning this party, to come, for example, to the I.L.P.? Unfortunately, this is not so. Ridley himself recognises this fact; in the April 4th "New Leader" he writes: "The British masses are only in the earliest stages of mental emancipation from the mists of reformist illusions." Only in the earliest stages of mental emancipation, not even yet of **organisational** emancipation! Then what is meant by the "fast putrefying corpse"?

In the same article Ridley explains that "the official Labour and Trade Union Movement must surely be a proletarian 'Bourbon'" for it can learn nothing from experience. And he concludes:

**"In view of this, we notice with astonishment that the ('Trotskyist') 'Socialist Appeal' is still appealing for a third Labour Government. It will appeal in vain. If anything could drive the disillusioned masses into apathy and/or Fascism it would be a third Labour Government fiasco. We fear that the demand is merely another instance of 'revolutionary conservatism': what Lenin said in 1920 under quite other historical circumstances."**

There are so many errors and falsifications in these few lines that we must examine them carefully. Firstly, the comrades of the 'Socialist Appeal' have never spoken of a "third Labour Government." Instead, they have explicitly rejected this formula to better show that a Labour Government must not be permitted to be a repetition of the unfortunate experiences of the past, but must be a stage in the development of the English revolution. This cheap falsification shows that Ridley is not conducting an honest discussion.

Ridley then affirms that those appealing for a Labour Government "will appeal in vain." Naturally the course of the English revolution is still unknown. But if one can be sure of anything, it is that this course will pass through a Labourite stage and that this stage will be marked by an enormous enrichment of the political experience of the masses and will prepare them to undertake higher tasks. Without doubt, Labourite leaders are "Bourbons." But can the English workers learn nothing from experience? To answer in the negative is to abandon all perspective of revolution. And isn't the first task of a revolutionary party to facilitate the experience of the masses in order then to lead them farther? The present internal situation of the Labour Party only confirms the correctness of the policy of our English comrades. At the recent convention of the Labour Party, an attempt to halt the political truce with other parties was defeated by the very close vote of 1,275,000 to 1,209,000. One can easily imagine what pressure there was from the leadership in favour of maintaining the truce, and one can affirm with assurance that the great majority of the rank and file workers are clearly for the end of that truce.

Ridley scoffs at our English comrades for their "revolutionary conservatism." However, his irony is very much out of place. He acknowledges himself that the policy of our comrades was that of Lenin in 1920, but he rejects this policy for we are now, it seems, "under quite other historical circumstances." Lenin's 1920 policy had three fundamental premises: first, the English bourgeoisie find itself in a difficult situation and is becoming more and more incapable of governing as in the past; second, the majority of the working class is organised in the Labour Party; third, the revolutionary vanguard is still a very weak minority. Naturally, we are no longer in 1920, but **which** of the three premises has changed? Precisely **why** would the Leninist policy not be valid today? **What** are the "quite other historical circumstances"? Ridley doesn't even try to answer these fundamental questions.

For years one of the I.L.P.'s most frequent objections to the Comintern was its "sectarianism." In fact, it complained even more bitterly of the "sectarianism" than of the opportunism. But the I.L.P.'s present attitude towards the Labour Party shows that it understood nothing of the

"sectarian" errors of the Comintern. Towards the Labour Party the I.L.P. takes an ultimatum attitude which resembles that of the Comintern towards the German Social-Democracy. As everyone now knows, that policy was the principal reason for Hitler's success. Does Ridley hope to win the English workers to the revolution by repeating the ill-famed words of Thaelmann and Reminelle?

Under the grand ultimatum phrases, however, the deep-seated opportunism of these people becomes evident. The clearest example is the electoral policy of the I.L.P. There is a Liberal-Labour-Tory electoral truce in the by-elections. The I.L.P. has put up some candidates against Tories and made important successes (from 15 to 29 per cent of the votes). But the I.L.P. does not oppose Labour candidates. Why? Since Labour candidates run without Tory or Liberal opposition, no one can argue that an I.L.P. candidate would help reaction. Therefore a Marxist party could, in general, oppose its candidates to the Labourite candidates in these by-elections. Naturally, the rule is not obligatory in all cases and often such a party could answer yes or no to the question, according to local circumstances. But for the I.L.P. it should be logically necessary to run candidates.

It proclaims that the Labour Party is a "fast putrefying corpse" and that it is reactionary to call on this party to take power. Hence for the I.L.P. it would be obligatory to have everywhere and always its own candidate against the Labourite candidate. But here the opportunist appears under the sectarian mask. The recent national conference of the I.L.P. discussed the electoral problem. Under the pressure of the leadership "a resolution expressing the view that the time was now opportune for the I.L.P. to make a stand against the Labour Party at by-elections was rejected." Listen to the arguments of the leadership: "Maxton declared the Party should only fight by-elections in which there was a chance of a vote which would impress the public that the I.L.P. was a serious political party." The Labour Party is a "fast putrefying corpse," but the I.L.P. leadership refuses to oppose it in the elections in order not to risk its reputation as a "serious" party . . . Reality has cruel revenges.

In spite of Ridley's twaddle on the "quite other historical circumstances," the majority of the rank and file of the I.L.P. is in favour of the Leninist policy toward the Labour Party. "Conference accepted a resolution . . . (declaring that) the I.L.P. should call upon the Labour, Trade Union and Communist leaders to break their anti-working-class alliance with the National Government, and to wage a campaign for power on the basis of nationalisation and workers' control of production." Naturally, the I.L.P. leadership was opposed to this resolution, **which was adopted in spite of this opposition.** (Unfortunately, the report does not give the number of votes for and against.) But to the lack of comprehension of revolutionary tasks the leaders of the I.L.P. add hypocrisy: the spokesman for the leadership "said the leadership opposed because the resolution was redundant and all its points were already covered in official policy."

This vote against the leadership now explains Ridley's articles against the Trotskyists . . . In actual fact his articles were directed against the fraction of the I.L.P. which supports the Leninist policy and which obtained a majority vote on this question at the conference. The I.L.P. leadership knew very well of the existence of this opposition to its policy. What would have been the duty of an honest leadership? To open a discussion on this important question, above all since it was the eve of the national conference. What did the I.L.P. leadership do? It had Ridley attack the opposition by attacking a Trotskyist group outside the party. Instead of a serious discussion, the result was some journalistic notes, superficial and rather venomous, clarifying nothing. We have already seen that the I.L.P. policy is not without resemblance to that of the Comintern some years ago. Does the I.L.P. leadership also wish to imitate the Stalinists in its internal methods?

## THE I.L.P ATTITUDE TOWARDS STALINISM

In England as elsewhere the Stalinists are jingoes. In the by-elections they mobilised all their forces to support the Tory candidates against the I.L.P. At Cardiff, in the by-elections in which the I.L.P. put up Brockway against a Tory, the slogan of the Stalinists was: "A vote for Brockway is a vote for Hitler!" On many occasions the distributors of the "New Leaders" have been attacked by Stalinist hoodlums. Yet the I.L.P. still lacks a clear position on Stalinism. The national conference rejected, at the request of the leadership, a resolution which gave

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their return from the front, it went on: "baths, good food, wine, music and plenty of feminine society are in abundance". Anr the "Times" wonders why "many Egyptians have not yet realised that this war is theirs as well as ours"!

But the Egyptian masses are not content to accept this slavery in silence. The "Times" again reports that "a widespread ultra-nationalist movement is now taking advantage of war conditions to push on with excessive speed." In the vanguard of this movement are the organised workers of Cairo and Alexandria where militant strikes have already occurred in an attempt to step up the pitiful wage-rates to meet the increasing cost-of-living.

And the "democratic" overlords and their puppet Egyptian Government are prepared to use every repressive measure against any possible "trouble" from the masses. The "Daily Herald"

pressed peoples" but a war for the preservation of their profits and privileges. A war which naturally includes the further enslavement of the colonial masses.

But for the British workers and Egyptian masses it is a different question. The British workers have no desire to maintain a tyrannical rule over the Egyptians or any other colonial people, and to the Egyptian workers and peasants the paramount question is their independence from foreign domination, from whichever group of imperialists it may be.

If the British workers desire to wage a genuine war against Fascism they must secure the support of the Egyptian workers and peasants—and this support can only be obtained by taking power out of the hands of the Imperialists and granting freedom and independence to the Egyptian masses and all other oppressed peoples.

On Friday evening the District Secretary of the A.E.U. informed the Shop Stewards that the Divisional Organiser had been instructed by the E.C. to intervene. They both attended on the Saturday and met the Shop Stewards. The stewards requested them that they use their good offices to obtain an interview between the Ministry of Supply and the stewards. Whilst discussing with the stewards, the officials were sent for by the Assistant General Director of Ordnance Factories. *The stewards were excluded*

WAR AND WORLD	
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I.L.P. & THE 4th INTERNATIONAL	2d
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## Anglo-Russian Pact

Continued from page 1

the Soviet Union has been asking. But such a front will be for the purpose of establishing Anglo-American troops as an army of occupation in Europe.

Meanwhile, what are to be the effects of this pact on the Soviet Union? In the past period the Soviet Union has been in great measure ruined by the attack of Hitler's army. She has been compelled to bear the brunt of the Nazi attack and in defending herself has experienced unprecedented losses in economic and human resources... A great measure of the achievements of the five year plan have been destroyed. The Soviet Union will be even further exhausted under the impact of the battles which lie ahead this year. Under these conditions a defeat of the revolution in Europe would lead Russia to be completely dependent on British and American imperialism. This is the calculation of these vultures. They will utilize the Soviet Union, as they are doing in the war today, deceiving the masses into believing in the justice of their cause, in order to destroy the revolution in Europe and then use the weakened position of the Soviet Union in the world to exert pressure for the restoration of capitalism in Russia. That this is so is shown already by the ominous references to the necessity of destroying the "trade barriers" between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. The ending of the monopoly of foreign trade would mean the beginning of the end of collective ownership of the means of production. And without the aid of the world working class the Soviet Union could not resist the encroachments of her erstwhile "allies."

The reason why the bureaucracy adopts this apparently incomprehensible policy, which, if carried to its logical conclusion, can only end in the destruction of the Soviet Union and of the bureaucracy itself, is the contradictory position of the Stalinist clique. Russia remains a workers' state because the land, mines, railways, banks and factories are owned collectively. That is the reason why in spite of the counter-revolutionary policy of Stalin and the bureaucracy it is the duty of the working class throughout the world to support the Soviet Union; but all the more necessary is it to expose the role of the bureaucratic usurpers. But the control of these means of production in Russia has been taken out of the hands of the working class. It has been usurped by the reactionary officialdom. A victory of the socialist revolution in Europe would lead inevitably to a movement for the restoration of workers' democracy in the Soviet Union and the overthrow of the bureaucracy. That is the reason why Stalin no more than Churchill or Roosevelt desires to see the victory of the Socialist revolution in Europe.

In spite of all the efforts of the imperialists and their Labour lackeys, however, in spite of the efforts of Stalin and his hirelings in the Communist International, the revolution is stronger than Stalin. Having defeated the Nazis they would soon turn upon the usurpers in the Kremlin. Just as precarious is the situation of them. A victorious Red Army can step over the bounds set by British imperialism; the British soldiers will not tolerate the horrors of a new Versailles and the conditions which will be imposed in Britain. The flame of revolt will spread and light up the British Isles.

The ruling class can make their terrible plans for the enslavement of the world, but no more than the insane plans of Hitler will they be realized. The workers will fight, not for a new Versailles, but for a Socialist United States of Europe and of the World.

## HOW LABOUR "LEFTS" FOOL THE WORKERS

Continued from page 1

masses in order to retain some support. It was only yesterday that Aneurin Bevan and the other "left" leaders were fawning on Churchill and pleading with this arch representative of the capitalist class to introduce socialism in the interests of the war. But no more realistic and not one whit better than this, is their present policy.

### DEBATE WAS STAGED

Aneurin Bevan launched a slashing attack on Churchill and the ruling class. But all this fiery speechifying, as well as the other Labour "lefts", was so much hot air! The whole thing was staged from beginning to end for the purpose of fooling the workers. Alfred Edwards, Labour M.P. for Middlesbrough East has blown the gaff! *Speeches by Labour M.P.s attacking Cabinet Ministers were rehearsed and agreed to beforehand by the Ministers themselves! Mr. Alfred Edwards, described it as "This shadow boxing which will bring us and Parliament into contempt."* Thus reported the "News Chronicle" on July 7th.

What could more clearly demonstrate the shameful hypocrisy and cynicism of the Bevans and Shinwells. Their sham statements are meant to act as a safety valve for the accumulated anger and discontent of the working class. In this sense, they play an even more despicable and contemptible role than the Labour leaders themselves. Their phrases are not meant as a means of organising and giving a fighting lead to the working class. But they are given for the purpose of preventing the exasperation getting an organised outlet.

They did not even differentiate themselves from the Tory right wing gang of reactionaries, going to the length of signing the motion of censure together with them. They offered no alternative whatsoever. Although Bevan and the left were compelled to castigate the reactionary officer caste and the inefficiency in production, they did not demand a break with these evils. They did not offer the only practicable alternative in the interests of the working class—an end to the disastrous coalition. The reason of this is that they have no desire to break from their capitalist masters and in this, are no different to the rest of the Labour leaders.

### END THE TRUCE!

All these staged debates cannot hold the working class in check for long. The British workers are moving left and what they are seeking is a fighting lead on the road of independence from their exploiters—the road of class struggle.

Workers! Exert pressure on the Labour leaders to break the coalition and take power on the programme of the "Socialist Appeal". This fighting policy of socialism is the only answer to all problems confronting the workers—the Defence of the Soviet Union—the defeat of Fascism abroad as well as at home—to a future of world of peace run by the workers for the workers.

By fighting side by side with the workers on this programme, we can convince them by their own experience that the Labour leaders do not represent their interests and that only the Fourth International can lead to the victory of the working class against the sinister forces which the ruling class is preparing, to crush the workers of this and other lands.

In England as elsewhere the Stalinists are jingoes. In the by-elections they mobilised all their forces to support the Tory candidates against the I.L.P. At Cardiff, in the by-elections in which the I.L.P. put up Brockway against a Tory, the slogan of the Stalinists was: "A vote for Brockway is a vote for Hitler!" On many occasions the distributors of the "New Leaders" have been attacked by Stalinist hoodlums. Yet the I.L.P. still lacks a clear position on Stalinism. The national conference rejected, at the request of the leadership, a resolution which gave a precise analysis of Stalinism and which concluded: "The Soviet regime and workers' democracy can only be restored by the overthrow of the bureaucratic clique in the Kremlin." What then does the leadership of the I.L.P. offer the Soviet workers? Nothing.

Instead the I.L.P. leaders still find the occasion to praise Stalin. In his February 23rd Order of the Day, Stalin declared: "It would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German state. The experience of history shows that Hitlers come and go whereas the German people and the German state remain." The declaration does not contain a drop of internationalism. Translated into clear terms it simply signifies that Hitler can be eliminated without social upheaval. The "German state," that is the capitalist state will still exist. The English and American imperialists, as well as the German bourgeoisie, are not to fear proletarian revolution; Stalin will look after that, if need be. That is the meaning of Stalin's declaration. Nevertheless, James Maxton availed himself of that despicable declaration to exclaim to Parliament some days later: "The speech made by Premier Stalin is an infinitely more statesman-like utterance than anything that has come from the Government of this country." That reveals the I.L.P.'s profound opportunism not only towards Stalin, but also towards the British government. What criterion has Maxton for judging "statesmanship"? Is he reproaching Churchill for inadequately defending English imperialism, or for inadequately preparing the proletarian revolution? How can a revolutionist reproach Churchill for his lack of "statesmanship"? A criticism of this type implies common interest, the defence of the Empire. As for Stalin, he must be delighted with Maxton's compliment: he knows now that he speaks better than Vansittart!

On March 2 the "New Leader" informs its readers that a plaque on the house in Holford Square where Lenin lived forty years ago "was unveiled by Mrs. Maisky." The editors added no commentary. On the 25th April the paper described a new ceremony:

"A memorial bust of Lenin in Holford Square was unveiled by the Soviet Ambassador Mr. Maisky... The bust is a cast of the official bust at the Soviet Embassy. Natural light is directed on it, with a crimson background which casts a permanent red glow. A few broken links of chain are set into the base of the memorial to represent 'the workers have nothing to lose but their chains'... John McNair, General Secretary, represented the I.L.P. at the ceremony."

The Stalino-chauvinists, personified by the ex-Menshevik Maisky, try to conceal their betrayal behind a bust of Lenin. The "New Leader" hasn't a word of criticism on this disgusting ceremony; instead the I.L.P. is represented at this obscene act by its general secretary.

At the I.L.P. national conference an amendment was presented asking for "the advocacy of the production and transport of war materials to the Soviet Union under workers' control." The idea of tying the defence of the Soviet Union to the class struggle of the English workers is excellent. The slogan has an offensive character, as much against the English bourgeoisie as against its agents, the Labourite and Stalinist leaders. But the leadership of the I.L.P. hastened to oppose this proposition. The arguments of its spokesmen were, taken as a whole, that "the proposals are impracticable." Thus, the I.L.P. leaders reveal once more their total incomprehension of the dynamics of revolutionary action. How render "practicable" tomorrow that which is "impracticable" today? They have no idea. They find it very "practicable" to praise the "statesmanship" of Stalin, to insult Lenin by attending fraudulent ceremonies; but to call on the English workers to demand an accounting from the capitalists on the aid to the Soviet Union, that is "impracticable"! How can a worker take seriously the internationalist phrases of the I.L.P. leaders when they at the same time hold such a capitulatory attitude towards Stalino-chauvinism?

## THE TASK OF THE VANGUARD

The... I.L.P.'s present position remains entirely in line with its former policy. And this policy, for years and years, has been the policy of **equivocation**. The I.L.P. remains, in the full sense of the word, a **centrist** party. To give precise answers to the problems of the revolution is beyond the powers of the party leadership. Incapable of dispelling the confusion, the leadership tries to cover it by radical phrases—which lead it to new errors, for example its attitude towards the Labour Party. Trotsky's remark that a sectarian is only an opportunist frightened by his own opportunism has never been more true than for the I.L.P.

Doesn't the party's campaign for "a Socialist Britain now" represent a step to the left? Let us examine this question a little. The I.L.P. is the only traditional party in England which recognises the imperialist character of the war and proclaims the necessity of socialism. Of course in the mouths of the I.L.P. leaders that recognition retains an abstract character. But against the background of complete betrayal by the Labourite and Stalinist leaders, the party acquires a revolutionary glitter. The I.L.P. leaders remain where they were before, but the war has, for the present, lengthened the distance which separates them from the social-patriots.

This fact, although not sufficient to give a revolutionary temper to the I.L.P. leaders, has provoked important changes inside the party. Even for an observer who writes at a distance, it is clear that the party has recruited new elements which take seriously the revolutionary talk of the leadership. The last national conference clearly showed this. The preceding conference, a little more than a year ago, had been a debate between the present leadership and the social-patriotic wing (C. A. Smith). The April 1942 conference revealed a new situation. The leadership proposed a confused revolutionary programme and the whole conference consisted of the efforts of the members to

elucidate and to correct the policy of the leaders. In all the debates a notable minority (29 per cent against! 71) held a much more revolutionary position than the leadership. On several extremely important questions (workers' councils, the attitude towards the Labour Party) this minority was able to rally a majority of the members against the leadership. The picture is clear: the rank and file members are trying to "lead" the leaders. The conference revealed two important facts: the party is moving to the left, but in this movement the base is inevitably coming into collision with the inertia of the leadership.

The left wing of the party, we are sure, will follow up the work of clarification undertaken at the national conference. To dispel the confusion, to denounce the inconsistencies, to patiently explain the Leninist policy—such are the tasks of the hour. But all these tasks merge into a single one: to expose to all the incapacity of the leadership. The present leaders are not political novices. For many years they have shown their inability to assimilate the Leninist policy. To expect them to change is to hope for a miracle. The members of the I.L.P. must always remember the tragic example of the P.O.U.M. in Spain. That was, like the I.L.P., a centrist party but incontestably very much more to the left. As a proletarian leader, Nin was a hundred times superior to Maxton. But when the difficult hours of the revolution came, the P.O.U.M. knew only how to float on the surface of events, incapable of directing them. For this task it is necessary to have a party which has broken all ties with the dominant class and its appendages, a party which knows how to inculcate the oppressed with a fierce hatred of bourgeois society, at the same time a party which does not become befuddled by phrases but which is imbued with a profound revolutionary realism. It is such a party that the English workers must have for the severe ordeals which are coming. New York, May 31, 1942.

## COVENTRY: INDIA MEETING

HEAR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONALIST POLICY  
SUPPORT THE DEMAND FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

PLACE: Wine Lodge, Corporation St.  
TIME: 6.30 p.m. July 19th 1942.

SPEAKERS: V. SASTRY, Sec. Indian Workers' Assn. TED GRANT, Editor of "Socialist Appeal" J. WILLIAMS, T.G.W.U

# A.E.U. Conference Demands Wage Increase

BY JOHN MOORE

The Annual Conference of the A.E.U. which met at Blackpool last month reflected in its decisions, the growing anger and dissatisfaction felt by the workers at the greed and incompetence of the ruling class. There was a definite change in the mood of engineering workers as the result of the widespread indignation which exists at the glaring inequality which provides the background to the war.

Churchill's promise of "blood, toil, tears and sweat" is being amply fulfilled as far as the workers are concerned. Hours of work have increased to such an extent that 62-70 hours is now a normal working week, and to work the accepted trade union week of 48 hours, is to invite certain prosecution for "absenteeism". Cost of living has steadily increased whilst real wages have actually decreased by over 15%. Even the measure of so-called "stabilisation of prices" achieved through rationing and price-control has been paid for by the workers with tremendous increases in income tax. And all this to the accompaniment of more and more anti-working class legislation in the factories.

Against this record of working class sacrifices, the bosses have nothing to present except vastly increased profits, despite their inefficiency, waste and corruption in the management of production. On every question—whether it is "aid for the Soviet Union", "production for the war effort", or "equipping the army in Egypt"—it has been fully demonstrated that the first, second and only consideration of the employing class is the preservation of their profits and privileges at the expense of the working class.

## TANNER'S SPEECH REFLECTED MOOD OF ENGINEERS

Sensitive, like all bureaucrats, to the rank and file discontent, Jack Tanner, President of the A.E.U., was forced to make wordy exposures of boss-class corruption in his opening speech to the Conference. He kicked off his speech in fine style by stating that "an overwhelming case has been made out for the public control of essential industries. The actual facts show the appalling failure of private ownership to square up to the national needs." He continued to wax indignant: "When we read in the Auditor General's report that 'it frequently occurred that contractors were not prepared to accept orders unless they have some guarantee against rises in wages', and that a company specially formed to manufacture a certain type of gun 'refused to make deliveries unless these terms were accepted, or to afford facilities for cost investigation', we can see that profit-making interest are still able to hold up the country to ransom and that blackmail is still part of their business methods." He concluded his outburst by equally denouncing the Government. "We know, too," he said, "that those companies who are exploiting the national needs for private gain, deliberately withholding necessary war production unless they get their price are being shielded by the Government."

But what was the purpose of all this eloquence from Bro. Tanner? Was it for the purpose of drawing the correct and logical conclusions from these irrefutable facts: That the workers

our union into the employers' stooge", he was echoing the sentiments of thousands of engineers who have actually experienced these Production Committee rackets up and down the country. Tanner & Co. and the bosses have not yet heard the workers' last word on the production issue.

## UNANIMOUS DEMAND FOR WAGE INCREASE

The biggest and sharpest issue of the Conference was the demand for a substantial wage increase—11/- on the basic rate and 33 1/4% increase on the earnings of all plain time workers.

It is indicative of the present mood of the engineering workers, that, despite all the frantic appeals of the E.C. for a "modification of policy", the delegates remained firm and the resolution was carried unanimously. If anything was needed to expose the hollowiness of Mr. Tanner's previous windy "denunciations" of the employers it was provided by his miserable capitulation to these same employers on the question of wages increases. Appealing to the delegates to reduce the amount of increases demanded, he declared: "We are concerned about the increase in production and all you are prepared to do is to ask for this plateful (!). We will ask for it in the strongest possible (!) terms, but the chances of getting it are very small indeed." In other words, Tanner announced in advance to the Conference, and to the bosses, that he, the elected representative of the workers, did not intend to press for their legitimate wage demand!

If the engineering workers leave their demand for an increase in the hands of such people, their chances, will be "very small indeed."

And what is this tremendous increase, about which Tanner and the bosses are so perturbed? In a fruitless attempt to frighten the delegates with the "enormity" of their demand, the E.C. declared that "this wage increase would cost the industry (?) £100,000,000. Assuming this figure to be correct, cannot then 'the industry (i.e. the capitalists) afford to pay?' According to the Government White Paper issued in connection with the 1941 budget, the capitalist class increased its share of the national income from 1939 to 1941 by £400,000,000! Its net income in 1941 being £1,746,000,000! The share in the loot accruing to the arms manufacturers can be seen from the recently published figures of profits and dividends. In 1940 the profits for Rolls Royce amounted to £503,000; De Havilland £231,000, Bristol Aircraft £766,000. And these are only the published profits, which only a simpleton would believe are an accurate accounting.

The bosses can well afford to pay, and the engineering workers have ample proof of the justice of their claim. Today, they are in a strong

# Textile Strike Victory

On Thursday night, June 25th the willyers and fettlers at Peter Laycocks Mill, Leeds, came out on strike for an increase in wages. Also Mathers, D. Dixon, M. Dixon and Johnson's came out.

These workers had given the bosses more than a week's notice of the impending strike, and therefore plenty of time to settle it. The reply of the management at Laycocks was that they could not afford it.

This caused many of the workers to make unprintable remarks. Everyone in the locality knows that the bosses have recently had the mill painted from top to bottom; many of the walls have been pebble dashed, and repairs and replacements have been undertaken which would not have been thought possible in the past. On top of this the boss has just returned from a month's holiday! He has been sailing his own yacht in the Lake district, while the government says to the workers "Stay at home and dig for victory." They have to stay at home on their wages. And again: the staff was given £10 for a Christmas gift, while the workers did not get a penny. They will not forget this.

The men strikers get 1/4 1/2 an hour and no bonus. They have to work 60 to 70 hours a week to get a living wage, and they have had just about enough. Negotiations have been going on for some time for a 10% increase and even the Masters Federation was practically unanimously in favour of paying it, which shows whether they can afford it or not.

This is indeed a very humble request and far too modest. The workers have shown remarkable patience to stand for these rates so long.

Several other firms in Leeds and district are due to strike on July 2nd, having given notice to the management.

The job of willing and fettling is semi-skilled and plays a very important part in the mill work. Therefore the mills have had to shut down, with the result that some hundreds of girls and women are idle. Next week it may be thousands. There are only a small number of these workers in each mill and their request is so small, that given an increase, it would be like a drop in the ocean to most mills—and yet the bosses won't pay. Who is holding up production now?

There is a meeting at the mills concerned on July 1st, when the union officials will speak. But whatever they say the men are determined to get their demands and will not go back otherwise. The last time they struck, the union organiser signed an agreement behind their backs and they only got a part of their demands. Once bitten, twice shy, say the men at Laycocks.

Philip Jones.

# Yorks. Pit Lads REFUSE to Pay

Continued from page 1

owners, and for the poor, the miners.

They then assembled their ranks and marched deep to the recruiting office where they demanded to be taken into the Army forces. But of course, they were refused.

At a mass meeting on Monday July 5th, which was addressed by Mr. Paling, Labour M.P. for the Wentworth Division, the lads decided to return to work on a condition that the damages were not taken off their wages until this question and that of "dust money" have been the subject of negotiation.

## GENERAL ATTACK BY OWNERS

The Colliery owners in this district have been rapidly conducting an offensive against the young workers in the pits through the issuance of summonses.

At Manver Main and at Darfield Main, they have summonsed a section of the haulage hands, with the result that Darfield Main workers have struck work for the fourth time in the past few weeks. The miners decided not to return to work until the summonses are withdrawn and the claim for damages dropped.

Instead of taking the offensive along with the young workers, the officials of the Yorkshire Miners Association have stood with the bosses and urged capitulation. Even if we were to accept the argument that the lads are taking "unconstitutional and illegal"

measures, it is nevertheless the task of the paid officials of the miners' union, to stand with the workers against the bosses, while pointing out that their position would have been stronger had the lads given the necessary notice.

In the dramatic and despairing sentence of the youth in the court room "Nobody is with us," is summed up the depth of the betrayal of the Yorkshire Miners' Association. Even if the lads had not given the full legal notice, it was nevertheless, the duty of the officials to give the workers, who maintain them in their jobs, solidarity and legal assistance against the vicious attacks of the coalowners.

In the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal," we characterised the strike-breaking policy of the union leadership as a betrayal. At the same time, we pointed out to the workers, that it would be impossible to conduct a victorious struggle while their unions remained under the control of men like Hall and Jones. That our accusations struck home and that the bureaucrats fear a fighting alternative policy on the part of the workers, was demonstrated by the violent attitude of Jones, when he threatened assault to comrades who were selling the "Socialist Appeal" outside the Conway Hall, London, at the Miners' Federation meeting some weeks ago. At the same time the workers are arriving at the correct conclusion as the result of their experiences, and have decided to get down to the task of training a new leadership in the district who will once again turn their union into a fighting organisation of the working class.

# ELECTRICIANS WIN STRIKE AT VICKERS

BY BOB SHAW

Described by a trade union branch official as the first show of unity by electrical workers in Vickers Armstrong during 20 years, 120 workers of the electrical department in this shipbuilding yard defeated the management in a strike lasting one hour.

The electrical workers in this monopoly firm are subject to a vicious bonus piece-work system, whereby a bonus is offered in excess of the basic rate. In order to make this bonus, the workers must complete a job in less than the time fixed by the rate-fixer, after which he receives 50% of the excess time, the firm claiming the remaining 50%. In addition to this flagrant thievery, the workers are paid for the extra time, not at the ordinary rate of approximately 1/8 per hour, but at less than 1/- per hour. The workers are thus doubly robbed by a system which enables the firm to hold off demands for higher wages and to operate the work under speed-up conditions.

That the workers are dissatisfied with this bonus system and would willingly see it abolished and a basic increase instituted, was illustrated by their actions and comments during the dispute which arose.

The strike action was precipitated by the attempt of the foreman to cut the time-rates given for certain operations. Under the disguise of increased production, the rate-fixers had been instructed to re-rate certain jobs, with the result that the bonus on the workers' cards would have showed a decrease of one third. The first the workers knew of this instruction, was when the cards were returned rated in the new manner. On being informed, the Shop Stewards endeavoured to interview the underforeman on the matter (the foreman being absent), but he refused to have anything to do with it.

The workers were then instructed by the stewards to cease work at 5 p.m. that day (instead of 7 as usual) and that on the following day they were to clock on in the normal way, but not to commence work. This proposal was carried out to a man, and the following day 120 electricians held a sit-down strike in the shop.

The management were jolted into

action, and within half an hour a delegation had been asked for with a view to the opening of negotiations. The men elected their delegation and agreed to restart work on conditions that the negotiations should be completed by 12 noon, and also that the previous time rates be adhered to for that period. This was agreed to in full.

At 11.45 a.m. a meeting was held and the delegation made known the results of its meeting with the management. The under-manager had disclaimed all responsibility for the instruction regarding the alteration of bonus rates and had agreed to countermand the instruction of the foreman. In addition the men were to be paid for the time during which they had been on strike and all jobs were to be rated on the old basis. This constituted a victory for the men's claim and there was a general feeling among them that the foreman should be removed and that action should be taken to abolish the bonus system completely.

The electrical workers of Vickers Armstrong again demonstrated the power which lies in the hands of the working class when they take the road of independent class action. By speaking to the representatives of the capitalists in the only language which they understand, they were successful in preventing an attempt to cut their wages. It is necessary, however, that the electrical workers on shipbuilding work learn the lessons of this clash and carry the struggle a step further. The system of piece-work is always a tool in the hands of the ruling class. It can only serve as an instrument for the cutting of wages, the creation of shoddy work and the fomenting of disunity amongst the workers. Whereas the capitalists with their Labour and Stalinist lackeys claim that by these methods production can be increased, the workers must learn to distrust all such systems and to pose their own alternative.

The electrical workers in the shipyards must go forward for the complete abolition of the bonus system and the institution of an equal wage rate based on the real rise in the cost of living. In this way the possibility of further attempts to cut their wages will be eliminated, and all the accompanying evils of the bonus system removed.



# MINERS BETRAYED AGAIN

All sections of the ruling class connected with Finance, Steel

Government White Paper Attacks

Indeed, far from taking any meas-

the national needs for private gain, deliberately withholding necessary war production unless they get their price are being shielded by the Government."

But what was the purpose of all this eloquence from Bro. Tanner? Was it for the purpose of drawing the correct and logical conclusions from these irrefutable facts: That the workers should organise themselves independently of the bosses to struggle for the nationalisation of the war industries and their operation under workers' control. No! Instead he proposes co-operation with those saboteurs "who are deliberately withholding necessary war production unless they get their price"! The fighting spirit of the engineers was canalised by Tanner, into support for Joint Production Committees which serve only to extract more sacrifices from the workers, while leaving the culprits free. This he succeeded in doing, thanks to the support of the Communist Party whose delegates one after the other confused the issue by supporting this policy.

Unfortunately, the resolution on Joint Production Committees was accepted by Conference. But the miserable capitulation of the leadership is in direct contrast to the fighting mood of the great mass of 650,000 engineering workers. This mood was voiced by two or three delegates, when they called for the "complete nationalisation of the industry and its operation under workers' control." And when one delegate stated that "Joint Production Committees are a method of turning

1940 the profits for Rolls Royce amounted to £503,000; De Havilland £231,000, Bristol Aircraft £766,000. And these are only the published profits, which only a simpleton would believe are an accurate accounting.

The bosses can well afford to pay, and the engineering workers have ample proof of the justice of their claim. Today, they are in a strong position to gain their legitimate demands. **And precisely at this juncture Tanner and Co. sell out in advance!**

They raise the bogey of strikes in wartime. Yet every worker knows that the responsibility for strikes rests entirely on the bosses. They can easily avoid them by granting the workers demands which they can well afford.

The June Conference of the A.E.U. has shown that the "leaders" of the Union are acting as agents of the bosses in the ranks of the workers. Keeping abreast of the rising tide of militancy, by skilful anti-capitalist gestures, they seek to divert the movement into harmless channels of class collaboration. The rank and file must see to it that their demand for an increase in wages be implemented or else a new leadership be forged. A new leadership will be thrust forward in the coming struggle against the non-fighting Tanners and Openshaws which will rally the support of the workshops and factories around fighting slogans.

Implement the Conference Wage Demand!

Make the bosses sacrifice their swollen profits!

# MINERS BETRAYED AGAIN

All sections of the ruling class connected with Finance, Steel and Coal are delighted with the Government's proposed and accepted "solution" for the coal crisis. The introduction of a "limited form of state control" which fools the miners and leaves real control in the hands of the coalowners, satisfies their greedy hearts.

The agreement to maintain the present *minimum* profits of the shareholders and even increase them, while passing the buck onto the shoulders of the consumer to pay the price of the miserable wage concessions granted to the miners, is right up their alley. Industrial consumers of coal will pass the increased cost back onto the Government in costs and prices. The mass of domestic consumers and tax payers will be responsible for the full burden of the new plan.

Deep in the cushions of the Carlton and other "gentlemen's" clubs, the fluttering hearts of Britain's Big Business; of the doughty champions of the 1922 Committee, recommence a steady beat. Their agents in the Government as well as their lackeys in the ranks of the working class, have done a good job of work. They have managed to swing a fast one over on the masses for the moment; they have managed to evade the possibility of a political crisis into which the coalowners were prepared to plunge the country rather than grant the slightest concession to the miners in relation to the minimum control by the workers of the pits.

## PROFITS AS USUAL

The whole class of coal-owning parasites are to be maintained on the present level as a *minimum*. In actual fact their profits will, in all probability increase. This, in essence, is what the Government solution amounts to. Far from solving the crisis in coal production, the present patch-work lays the basis for an even greater crisis on the morrow.

The Report of the Sankey Commission set up in 1919 revealed that private enterprise was strangling the coal industry. "The total of profits and royalties of the coal mining industry (not including the total profits from coke-owners and by-product works) in the five years 1914-1918 amounted to £160,000,000—which is £25,000,000 more than the total pre-war capital of the industry (£135,000,000)". (Facts from the Coal Commission published by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain 1919.)

Instead of crying Halt! You have bled the miners enough! the government proposes that this robbery should continue. The tender regard of the Government of Big Business for its Patron is glaring. The Coal Royalty owners are to be "bought out" for the

## Government White Paper Attacks Workers and Strengthens Owners

BY J. HASTON

sum of £66,450,000. These parasites—and they are undoubtedly the worst of the species—have been bleeding the miners to the tune of 6d. for every ton of coal raised to the surface in royalties alone. The sum they are being paid is equivalent to the amount which would be paid out in Royalties on the basis of a high level production for the next 15 years!

Meanwhile the miners are granted the miserable wage concession of 83/- as a minimum for underground workers from 18 years and over, while adult surface workers are guaranteed 78/- as a minimum wage. Enough to keep a miner and his family a shade above the Means Test level upon which he has spent no little part of his life. The conditions of the younger workers, both above and below the surface is altered almost imperceptibly.

It is necessary to speak out loud and say: that, in accepting the Government's "Plan" and taking the responsibility for swinging it on the miners, the leaders of the mineworkers have done the miners a dis-service and struck a great and savage blow at the working people. Far from weakening the coal-owners, they have strengthened them; covering them up at their weakest moment by a bureaucratic facade of "joint control". Even their own miserable plan of "fifty-fifty" committees was too radical for the coalowners and government and has been rejected! At the same time, the responsibility for the present crisis has not been fixed on the door where it really belongs. Indeed, although here and there one sees reference to managerial inefficiency, one is left to gather from the press, that the miners, because of laziness which led to chronic absenteeism, were responsible for the present crisis.

Meanwhile, far from the Government stepping in and stopping the rot, it sought to assist the coalowners in their difficulties and tried to formulate a method of subsidising them, and to maintain the maximum profits for the industry. No action was taken against the coalowners as saboteurs of coal production! No single coal owner or manager who closed down the pit is on record as being fined or sent to jail. By their actions, the Government and the coal owners as a class were responsible for disrupting the output of coal which overshadows the whole of industry.

## SICK MINERS TO BE FORCED TO WORK

The White Paper of January 3rd outlining the Government scheme is but a continuation of its former policy. Despite its vague and deliberately wordy phrasing, it vividly demonstrates the reactionary characteristics of the proposed solution to the crisis. Paragraph 8, for example, states: "Although there is nothing that can be done to reduce the numbers (of miners) leaving the industry through death, disablement and normal retirement, it should be possible to reduce the numbers of those leaving with medical certificates on account of sickness of a not very serious character".

And to ensure that the minimum of miners leave the industry through this channel: "the Government therefore

ernment took emergency measures "to encourage (a nice way of putting it) the enlistment in the Armed Forces of the younger men" stated *Iron and Coal Trades Review* (21.3.41) when it tried to shift the responsibility from the shoulders of the coalowners onto those of the Government.

From April 8th, 1940 till April 8th, 1941, 62,000 young miners from underground and surface entered the armed forces in preference to living on the dole. By the time the impending crisis in coal had penetrated even the thickest skulls in Whitehall's cellars, the rest of the unemployed miners had been absorbed in expanding industries connected with the war as an alternative method of getting a livelihood.

It can be seen from the above that the coalowners showed a complete disregard for the interests of the "nation". Stocks of coal which were accumulated during the production peak were eaten up. An artificial shortage was introduced to force the selling price of coal up to the maximum. The coalowners sought to maintain the same dividends for the shareholders on the basis of a lower output.

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And to ensure that the minimum of miners leave the industry through this channel: "the Government therefore

proposes to establish a Medical Consultative Service for the Mines."

In other words: the proposed medical board will take steps to keep even sick miners working at the pits wherever possible. Except in the most exceptional cases, miners will be passed O.K. to continue work at the pits. By these means compulsion will be further introduced and hardened against the miners.

## MINERS WORKING HARDER THAN EVER BEFORE

The number of miners killed has increased to nearly 1,000 a year since the commencement of the war. The present rate of casualties which are mounting daily, are the highest to be recorded for years. But the Government dismisses this in these few words: "nothing can be done". In other words:

The Government of Big Business cannot and does not intend to take steps to reduce the rising toll of death and disability among the miners.

In another part of the White Paper, the Government is forced to admit (indirectly) that the press has been conducting a false and lying campaign against the miners on the question of absenteeism: "While the absenteeism percentage (! our emphasis) has risen substantially during the war, there has also been a steady rise in the number of shifts worked per wage earner; and in the last week for which statistics are available, the number of shifts worked was 5.66, the highest on record". Despite the fact that the younger and healthier miners have been driven out of the industry and the average age of miners down the pit has been appreciably raised, the miners are working harder than ever before in recorded history. Slap into the face of the reactionaries, the lie of absenteeism is thrown back.

But in spite of all this, further measures are to be taken to squeeze more effort, more work out of the miners as a body. Pit Production Committees are to "be relieved of all responsibility for all individual cases of absenteeism . . ."

"The Government propose that, in mining, as in other industries, absenteeism and persistent lateness should be made offences for which a man can be prosecuted without the prior issue of 'directions'!"

The miners are to be fined and imprisoned for taking time off, which in the main is unavoidable, in this most arduous of all jobs in industry. But no provisions are made whatsoever in the White Paper for taking similar measures against the boss or manager who may hold up and even deliberately sabotage production.

Indeed, far from taking any measures against the bosses—even in the event of downright sabotage—the widest possible field of manoeuvrability is left free to the coalowners and their representatives. Explaining the way in which the proposed Regional Machinery will work, the White Paper goes on to say: "The Controller . . . with the advice of the Regional Coal Board (which will consist exclusively of capitalists and their lackeys) will have, and exercise, full and undivided responsibility for the policy and general conduct of mining operations in his Region."

But in order to ensure the *minimum* interference with the capitalist class: "It is undesirable that the Controllers should be burdened with the details of the day-to-day management of the pits. This will be left, as it is today in the hands of the managers, who will continue to be the servants of the owners . . ." But lest this seem too raw to the workers, the "Minister" is entitled to remove any manager whom it is thought is not doing his work properly and appoint another manager who will, to all appearances, be a servant of the government.

To defend itself against the worst misuses of managerial sabotage and inefficiency, and in order to offset any scandal (because of public agitation) the Government leaves itself free (formally) to take steps against the owners. But even in that event no real measures such as are taken against the miners will be undertaken to imprison bosses or managers. The Government will work the pit and pay the owners their normal profits out of the proceeds.

Point after point in the "plan" is a further attack against the workers and a further strengthening of the owners.

## ONLY SOLUTION—

## NATIONALISE THE MINES UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL

But these measures will not touch the basic issues which continue to keep the production of coal at a dangerous level. Only bold measures of complete and unconditional nationalisation without compensation to the present owners and the operation of the mines under the control of workers and technicians can ensure that the crisis will be overcome. This is the programme around which it is necessary to mobilise the miners for the struggle. The Government of Big Business is incapable of taking these necessary elementary measures. That is why the miners and workers as a whole must struggle to break the present coalition of the Labour and Trade Union leaders with the capitalists and wage a campaign for power.

## SCOTTISH BAKERS TAKE A LEAD

Break the coalition with the Capitalists! Labour to Power on a Socialist Programme! That was the message of Bro. D. McGregor in his presidential address to the Scottish Union of Bakers, Confectioners and Bakery Workers at St. Andrews on June 9th.

Criticising the Labour leaders for maintaining the coalition at the expense of the workers, he pointed out that the coalition was responsible for strangling and killing the local Labour Parties. He would demand the withdrawal of the Labour Ministers from the Government and force them to conduct a real struggle in the interests of the working people. He concluded this section of his address by pointing out that "Locally we would have to keep the local machine prepared at all times to go forward for a planned Socialist democracy."

This forceful address, the most progressive to be made for many years by a president of any national union, is to be hailed by socialist thinking workers everywhere.

It was immediately attacked by the delegate from Dundee, Brown, who protested against the section of the address demanding the withdrawal of the Labour and Trade Union members from the Government; and by Carmichael of Glasgow, who appealed to the President to withdraw that part of his address. Replying to the attack of the coalitionists, Bro. McGregor pointed out that as the President he was giving his own political opinions as he was entitled to do, and under no circumstances would he withdraw it: "My address stands as it is. You can either accept it or reject it," he concluded.

So strong was the feeling of the delegates in favour of the viewpoint expressed by the President, that the Stalinist and right wing delegates who had opposed the address did not dare

to press a resolution demanding its rejection by conference.

Conference also passed a resolution condemning the Executive Council's action in invoking the Essential Works Order without consulting the rank and file. A heated discussion took place on this question and the motion was carried by 64 votes to 31.

The discussions at Conference revealed an extremely high standard of political consciousness on the part of the delegates present. This is emphasised by the fact that the Scottish Bakers, Confectioners and Bakery Workers Union has the highest percentage of political members of any union in the country.

The most advanced sections of the workers are rapidly awakening to the reactionary influence which the capitulation of their leadership to the boss class has exercised on their organisations; they see the damage to the independent organisations of the working class which is resulting from the coalition; in reply, they are striving to formulate their own programme and ideas of Labour to Power.

The Socialist Appeal hails this manifestation of rising socialist consciousness on the part of the Scottish bakery workers and considers that the progressive opinions expressed at Conference must become the axis of the struggle in the coming period, not only for the Scottish bakery workers, but of the organised workers everywhere. **Break the coalition of Labour with the Bosses! Labour Must Take Power on a Socialist Programme!**

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## TRADE UNIONS MUST DEMAND SCHOOLS TO TRAIN WORKER OFFICERS

The amazing advances which the German armies are making in Libya and Egypt have stupified the workers and soldiers of Britain and the whole world.

At a time when the Russians are performing almost unbelievable deeds of valour in the defence of the workers' state against the Nazis, the defeats stand out in a particularly glaring light. When nine tenths and more of the German army is being used in Russia and to hold down Europe, the fact that the British cannot put up an adequate resistance in the Middle East, indicates that there is something rotten in the British army—and it is not the British soldiers who comprise some of the best fighting material in the world.

The entire blame for the defeats must be laid at the door of the ruling class and their Colonel Blimp officer caste, which is responsible for the blood and sacrifices which the soldiers are making. The people in control—the whole of the officer caste in Libya and Egypt comes from the bone-heads of the old school-tie. Not concerned with the welfare of the soldiers, these people are more preoccupied with "keeping the soldier in his place." Spit and polish, saluting and "yes siring" are the narrow horizon beyond which they cannot see. They regard their own soldiers with more hostility, as being from a class fundamentally opposed to their own, than they regard the officers of the enemy.

This situation could no better be illustrated than in the words of an N.C.O. correspondent to Hannen Swaffer:

"About two days before Tobruk fell," he writes, "our commanding officer issued a special order—on saluting."

It appears that the men had not been saluting officers riding in cars flying a small flag and that this omission of military duty was the cause of great dismay among the higher command.

period Rommel launched his attack. The reason for his success was that, although under normal circumstances tanks cannot operate in such weather due to the unbearable heat—the Germans made use of air conditioned tanks.

In the "Daily Herald" of June 30th, Hannen Swaffer points out:

"It may, or may not, surprise the War Office to know that a private serving in a tank battalion conceived the idea of a refrigerator tank in 1939! He met only with ridicule.

And the desert was our, not German, terrain."

### EXPERT INSULTED

Then, while serving in India, a lance-corporal hit upon a plan to remove rapidly from heavy vehicles tyres very stubborn to move.

His commanding officer, much impressed, had the drawing carried out, and then, when its success was proved, sent to Ordnance.

There some Colonel Blimp ordered him "not to tinker around, but to carry out maintenance operations for wheeled vehicles as orders lay down."

### INVENTIVENESS A SIN

The same inventive corporal, just before the general was killed, submitted at his request an idea for disabling tanks on roads.

Alas, it never reached him—but the wicked inventor was hailed before a junior officer and ordered not to write to the War Office about the invention.

He had thought of something—and so he was a naughty boy!

These reports give an annihilating indictment of the whole rotten incompetent officer caste of the ruling class. The inventiveness and initiative of the rank and file soldiers is stifled. Soldiers of inventive genius like the one described above, who are obviously far superior, mentally and in their knowledge of mechanical warfare are far in advance of their so-called "superiors". In addition to that, they are the ones who are concerned with a genuine war against fascism.

The Labour and Trade Union leaders claim that this war is against fasc-

## OUR FRENCH PARTY IS GROWING DESPITE GESTAPO TERROR



## FRENCH TROTSKYIST PAPER

The above is a reproduction of the first page of an issue of "La Verite" (The Truth), French Trotskyist paper. Put out under the most difficult conditions, with the Gestapo and the French police searching everywhere to catch its publishers, the paper testifies to the continued activity and growth of the Fourth International in France. One of the few anti-fascist organs printed in France, this issue was recently smuggled out.

Political life in France is much more intense in the occupied zone than in the zone called "Free". There are many causes, the principal one being the direct collision with the invader.

Like the political life in general, the Trotskyists are more active in the Occupied Zone.

In the Paris region is found the largest number of the Trotskyist cells. The organisation has groups in most of the large towns, but the reader will excuse us for not giving more details on this subject. The great majority of the members are extremely young.

The whole party is organised on a conspirative basis, for the slightest imprudence may cost dearly at the hands of the Gestapo. Regular liaisons are established between the two zones as well as with other European countries.

### DESPITE THE GESTAPO

For one and a half years, since a little after the arrival of the Nazis, the organisation has been publishing a paper, "La Verite". At first reproduced in divers ways, the paper has now been printed since September, 1941. It appears as regularly as the illegal conditions permit, about once every 15 days. Its run is about 3,000 copies, limited because of the difficulties in securing paper. Pamphlets are also frequently published.

The organisation held its national convention last September with the representatives of the two zones participating. Many resolutions were adopted on the political problems, and

fact that the largest part of the terrorist acts are committed at the initiative of the Stalinists. The party itself advocates individual terror in its publications. As for its political ideology, it is absolute nationalism without a trace of socialism.

### THE TROTSKYIST POLICY

The International Workers Party (POI), on the other hand, subscribes to the Marxist criticism of the political adventurism of the Stalinists, constantly opposing to individual terrorism the organisation of the masses. It shows the emptiness of all the adventurist methods which, in the long run, don't do much damage to the oppressors, but cost the lives of a large number of militant revolutionists.

The P.O.I. supports all forms of sabotage of a mass character, for example slow-downs in the factories, but opposes all merely individual acts as sterile products of impatience.

The adventurist methods of Stalinism have produced inside the Com-

### TO BE HELD:

# Trotsky Memorial Meeting

# I.L.P.—Words and Reality

By M. LORIS, U.S.A.

## An Analysis of I.L.P. Policy by a Member of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International

The English bourgeoisie must now defend itself on several fronts: against German and Japanese imperialism, against American imperialism, against the colonial peoples of the Empire, and finally, against the English proletariat. Whatever the outcome of the war, British imperialism can only continue to decline. Its problem is not to gain something from the war, but to lose as little as possible. Inevitably the disintegration of the Empire leads to a revolutionary crisis in England.

The discontent of the masses of Britain is growing. The workers, the women and adolescents are chained to exhausting labour for wages which are lessened every day by the rising cost of living. The soldiers receive absurdly low pay. The capitalists are amassing greater profits than on the eve of the war. The Black Market rages. The leaders of the Labour Party and the Stalinists are intoxicated with chauvinism. But in the depths of the masses the war and its miseries are ripening a revolt against the regime.

Under these conditions, the Independent Labour Party last November began "A Socialist Britain Now" campaign. The programme of this campaign, remodeled several times, now has five points: (1) Social Equality, (2) Social Ownership, (3) Liberate the Empire, (4) Help Soviet Russia, (5) Socialist Peace Offensive. These five points are not unattractive, especially compared to the betrayals of the Labourite and Stalinist leaders. However, the best programme is worth only the worth of the party which is trying to achieve it. That is why we must engage in a close examination of the present policy of the I.L.P.

When we read the I.L.P. press and the speeches of its leaders, we soon see that they are permitting a great number of variations on the five points of the programme. Thus the first two points are often replaced by the formula "end injustice", which is merely an empty phrase of pre-Marxist socialism. The third point, on the liberation of the Empire, is sometimes used in a revolutionary sense, but it is also sometimes transformed into the reformist formula "Democracy in the Empire" ("New Leader", February 14, 1942). Finally, the party permits equivocal expressions on

the war itself. Thus, Brockway contrasts the I.L.P.'s programme to "the purely military method" and presents it as "a political contribution to the end of the war" ("New Leader", April 18, 1942). The irreducible opposition of two aims, that of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat is obliterated and becomes a choice between two methods for a common aim, the end of the war. The same defect is present in the speech of Campbell Stephen, representing the I.L.P. in Parliament, on April 15th. Here is his conclusion:

"If in framing his budget the Chancellor had shown vision and imagination and had sought to bring the economy of this country in line with the economy of Soviet Russia, he would have given hope to the working people who have been called to make all the sacrifices, as well as to the workers in the various parts of the Empire. He would have struck a tremendous blow at the tyranny of Hitlerism in Germany."

What confusion! Stephen asks from the Chancellor "vision and imagination" in the conduct of the war. It is an appeal to the reason of the exploiters, not a call to revolt of the oppressed.

All the I.L.P.'s propaganda is permeated with an incurable confusion which manifests itself in all question, large and small. Each page of their paper contains several examples. We take another one at random. On March 7th the "New Leader" published an article on Sir Stafford Cripps in the form of an open letter. This letter to the colleague of Churchill begins "Dear Comrade" and ends "Fraternally yours." Without irony! As for the contents of the article, one sentence suffices: "You delivered a trenchant speech (in 1935) on which I beg you to reflect."

The fundamental fault of the I.L.P.'s propaganda is that one finds everything in it: from the revolt of the colonies to "dear comrade" Cripps. In this jumble the opportunist declarations dominate, the revolutionary formulas lose all real content and are transformed into empty phrases. In all its propaganda and activity, the I.L.P. is incapable of distinguishing between reform and revolution.

## HOW ACHIEVE "A SOCIALIST BRITAIN NOW"?

The I.L.P. leaders insist that their programme should be achieved in the very near future. On all occasions they underline the word "Now." Ridley writes on February 21st: "The time for a Socialist Britain now and the accession to power of a revolutionary party may be nearer than even the most optimistic imagine." On April 11th the "New Leader" even give a precise date in writing: "Socialist Victory in 1942 is the correct slogan." The real meaning behind these quixotic phrases can be seen from the rest of the same statement of Ridley: he speaks of the "accession to power of a revolutionary party" without daring to name the party, knowing too well how far the words are from reality.

The I.L.P. is still a small party. Naturally, no one would blame it for that. But every worker attracted by the slogan "A Socialist Britain Now" and by the promises of the I.L.P. has the right to ask the question: How fulfill such a programme in such a short time? Unfortunately the I.L.P. leaders, eloquent in praising socialism as against capitalism, have no breath left with which to enunciate concrete ways of reaching the aim.

When its campaign was opened last November, the inaugural appeal of the party defined the campaign thus:

"The object of the campaign will be the mobilisation of all the elements in Britain which are in favour of the creation of a Socialist Government." In order to accomplish this "mobilisation" the party announced: "Regional conferences will be held throughout the country, to which delegates from all sections of the Labour movement and left organisations will be invited." Four or five of these conferences took place in different towns last March, the most important in London at which a resolution was presented by Brockway.

Co-operative Party, the Labour Party, and National Council of Labour Colleges, are participating in the campaign, of course, in their individual capacity, and not as representatives." We have here the return of the ill-famed Stalinist masquerades.

Since March, the I.L.P. apparently has abandoned the "conference" method. What then are the I.L.P.'s other methods for attaining "a Socialist Britain now"? After having read and reread the I.L.P. press, the question remains without an answer. Certainly, there is no lack of grand phrases: "Our task is to carry on the struggle against the Vansittarts and the other enemies of Socialism in Britain, to press on with the building of a Movement here which will be capable of making Britain socialist." Writing "Movement" with a capital letter does not, however, bring us an inch nearer the solution of the problem. "We must inspire the people." "We launch our Spring offensive, an offensive which will not die with the Spring, but gather momentum as it rolls forward to the new dawn of international Socialism." Strange as it seems, these are the least vague phrases we find on the question of how to realize a Socialist Britain now. And don't forget that "Socialist victory in 1942 is the correct slogan!"

This confusion in methods only reflects the uncertainty of the goal to be attained. At the initiative of the rank and file and against the opposition of the leadership, the recent I.L.P. national conference undertook to examine the character of "Socialist Britain." "Conference carried by a large majority an amendment which declared that Socialists should co-operate in the creation of a Socialist Britain in which the working class will achieve power through its own organisations, industrial unions and workers' councils which

"About two days before Tobruk fell," he writes, "our commanding officer issued a special order—on saluting."

It appears that the men had not been saluting officers riding in cars flying a small flag and that this omission of military duty was the cause of great dismay among the higher command.

"Failure to salute" ran this long screed, "shows a lack of efficiency, a lack of spirit and a lack of discipline. A soldier who fails to salute an officer is either ill-trained, insolent or idle."

The document then argued that "all this lack of discipline leads to wars being lost."

Obviously, the loss of Tobruk is due to bad saluting!

#### HAT-TIPPING

The old "squire" mentality is still predominant among officers, who think that a servant who doesn't tip his hat is a discontented fellow—probably a trade unionist.

"Why should we peer into every passing car travelling at about from 40 to 50 miles per hour and salute a uniform, which in five cases out of ten, contains only an A.T.S. driver or an officer's batman?"

The latest defeats have been contributed in large part by the blunders and stupidities of the officer caste, by their stifling of the initiative and resourcefulness of the rank and file soldier. One of the reasons for Rommel's victories was the fact that in the terrible heat of the African desert at the hottest period of the year, the British generals concluded that an offensive was impossible . . . and just at this

described above, who are obviously far superior, mentally and in their knowledge of mechanical warfare are far in advance of their so-called "superiors". In addition to that, they are the ones who are concerned with a genuine war against fascism.

The Labour and Trade Union leaders claim that this war is against fascism in the interests of democracy—then let them set up schools under the control of the trade unions to train the most intelligent and able of the workers to become officers.

This would mean that the worker soldiers would not be at the mercy of this squire mentality—a mentality which is closer to the fascists than to the trade unionist. Above all the training of workers to become officers would be a guarantee against any attempt of a sell-out to Hitler or of using the army against the working class. That this could take place is shown by the uses to which the army has already been put to break strikes of dockers in Liverpool and Newcastle and of busmen in Glasgow. Tomorrow when the struggle of the British workers with the ruling class becomes more intense—as it must—Churchill and his class will not hesitate to use this reactionary officer caste against the workers.

Today the urgent problem for both soldiers and workers is the need to set up special schools under the control of the unions for the training of worker officers at the expense of the government.

illegal connections permit, about once every 15 days. Its run is about 3,000 copies, limited because of the difficulties in securing paper. Pamphlets are also frequently published.

The organisation held its national convention last September with the representatives of the two zones participating. Many resolutions were adopted on the political problems, and the party permanently took the name *Partie Ouvrier Internationalist* (*Internationalist Workers Party*). Fourth International.

#### OLD PARTIES DISAPPEAR

The military defeats and the occupation of the country profoundly altered the political physiognomy of France. The traditional bourgeois parties have vanished. The Radical-Socialist Party, biggest bourgeois party, disappeared in 24 hours. In the camp of the bourgeoisie, nothing organised remains except the fascist cliques and, illegally, some new organisations, groups of resistance without direct connections with the old parties.

Of the once enormous Socialist Party, not a great deal remains. It is only now, nearly two years after the debacle, that one can perceive signs of a renewal of activity in the socialist groups. But it is still very small.

#### THE STALINISTS

Of the unions, there is a little more left. But it is undoubtedly the Stalinist party which represents, by far, the principal organised force of resistance. One can consider it an established

## TO BE HELD: Trotsky Memorial Meeting

SECOND ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE ASSASSINATION  
HEAR  
A RECORDED SPEECH  
BY TROTSKY  
ON THE FOUNDING  
OF THE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

HOLBORN HALL  
Sunday, Aug. 23rd,  
at 6.30 p.m.

Communist Party a muffled and confused opposition, but one that is already very extended. Resentful of the absurd and criminal policies as yet has failed to raise a political criticism of Stalinism, but is tending inevitably to such criticism.

That is why the French Trotskyists have been trying to help the development of this opposition. One of their ways is to make united fronts with the Stalinist organisations. They have already obtained some success. They have been able to publish an illegal journal in common with a whole section of the Stalinist party in one area. Joint meetings have taken place in different towns. In Paris the Trotskyists can easily approach and discuss with young Communists. All this is a sign of profound changes.

We do not forget that these successes could not have been possible had the Trotskyists not been firmly united for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The internal political life of the Trotskyists is extremely intense. Discussion bulletins are frequently published. All the complex questions of the present period are discussed. One can say that the whole organisation is really politically united.

Difficulties are not lacking. Our French comrades have much to learn. Their leadership must acquire experience. But the present situation teaches quickly. In the midst of the greatest persecution, ever-growing numbers are united on the basis of Marxism and carry high the banner of the Fourth International. The future will show what a formidable force it concentrated in them.

When its campaign was opened last November, the inaugural appeal of the party defined the campaign thus: "The object of the campaign will be the mobilisation of all the elements in Britain which are in favour of the creation of a Socialist Government." In order to accomplish this "mobilisation" the party announced: "Regional conferences will be held throughout the country, to which delegates from all sections of the Labour movement and left organisations will be invited." Four or five of these conferences took place in different towns last March, the most important in London at which a resolution was presented by Brockway, according to which "there was a growing realisation that the present system was doomed and that a better one must be born. The change would have to come from below and the Socialist Britain Campaign gave a lead in the organisation of the workers for the task." Will Morris, who seconded, "said it was clear that the Labour Party had lost faith in Socialism as a practicable possibility, and the broad movement aimed at by the campaign had become an absolute necessity." These few sentences suffice to recall to us other "movements" and "mobilisations" of the same type: the "congresses" and the "fronts" of the Comintern several years ago. The analogy can be pursued on the organisational plane. At these conferences "delegates from all working-class, Socialist and kindred organisations are invited." At the London conference, the most successful, 154 "delegates" "represented" 80 organisations: unions, co-operatives, various clubs, and I.L.P. branches. But the public demonstration which followed gathered 800 people, that is, an average of ten persons per organisation. As for the character of the "representation" and of the "delegates," a small note in the "New Leader" informs us: that "speakers who are cited as members of Trade Unions, the

## TWO ENLIGHTENING EPISODES

Richard Acland is a liberal who "in middle age has come forward as an apostle of Socialism" and has undertaken to preach it in a "more genteel way." This is what the "New Leader" announces to us under the heading "Richard Acland Marches On." The editors go so far in their admiration that they give him nearly an entire page of their paper to present his views to the workers. We note in passing that the "New Leader" complains bitterly of the lack of paper because of rationing. And here are the revelations of Sir Richard Acland:

"Now I do not believe a people, particularly the British people, would ever make a revolution except in a mood of desperation . . . They might be driven to such a mood by adversity in war; but in such circumstances, I cannot see how the revolution could be other than Hitler's opportunity. And Britain is too small to afford a 'Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.'" Therefore, apart from my sincere belief that a revolution would set in motion many forces which would lead to undesirable ends, apart from my perhaps purely bourgeois dislike of revolutions as such, I do not believe a revolution is a practicable possibility. If this is correct we have to think in terms of majorities in the House of Commons."

And Sir Richard concludes his article by calling for complete support of the war.

Fenner Brockway answered Acland. The first part of his reply was a eulogy of Sir Richard's discoveries. He begins:

"I welcome the article by Richard Acland. He is doing a service for Socialism which we must not underestimate." And he continues: "The socialist movement needs an intensification of its moral fervour . . . Richard Acland has brought a simple freshness . . . the inspiration of a moral crusade."

In the second part of the article Brockway undertakes to point out to Sir Richard that Parliament cannot be converted to socialism. However, he concludes: "We have no doubt on which side Richard Acland will be when the crisis comes" and he ends by speaking of "our common hope."

A liberal feels the need of expressing his dislike of revolution, of treating revolutionists as agents of the enemy, of

## THE PROBLEM OF THE LABOUR PARTY

The Labourite leaders cynically collaborate with the Tories in order to bring the imperialist war to a successful conclusion. The English workers feel more and more ill at ease, but are still organised in the Labour Party. How get out of this impasse? How take a step forward?

To this fundamental question, point of departure of all the problems of the English revolution, the leaders of the I.L.P. bring no answer. By this they betray the purely abstract character of their propaganda. How would a Leninist leadership approach this task? It would address itself to the members of the Labour Party saying: "End the political truce! Break with the representatives of Capitalism! Labour to power! Here is the programme we propose for a Labour government." And the revolutionary

of international Socialism. Strange as it seems, these are the least vague phrases we find on the question of how to realize a Socialist Britain now. And don't forget that "Socialist victory in 1942 is the correct slogan"! This confusion in methods only reflects the uncertainty of the goal to be attained. At the initiative of the rank and file and against the opposition of the leadership, the recent I.L.P. national conference undertook to examine the character of "Socialist Britain." "Conference carried by a large majority an amendment which declared that Socialists 'should co-operate in the creation of a Socialist Britain in which the working class will achieve power through its own organisations, industrial unions and workers' councils which will organise at one and the same time the economic and political might of the working class.' This was designed to expand a statement in the original resolution that Socialists should 'combine in an effort for the establishment of a Socialist government.'" It is clear: the leadership proposed an extremely vague resolution and the rank and file members felt the necessity of giving it indispensable preciseness. Then what happened? Two members of the leadership "strongly opposed the amendment on the ground that it put undue importance on industrial organisation and, by implication, played down the importance of Parliamentary work." This opposition shows how far these "leaders" are from revolutionary methods: "the importance of Parliamentary work" is opposed to the soviet form of socialist power! But listen to the end: "James Maxton wound up the debate on behalf of the National Committee and declared that the point at issue was not important." "Socialist Victory in 1942 is the correct slogan," but a fundamental problem of the revolution is deemed by the leadership to be "not important"! Underneath their grand radical phrases the I.L.P. leaders have no serious perspective of revolution.

slandering the Russian revolution. All that is most normal. But why open to him the columns of the organ of a party which calls itself revolutionary? Why welcome his "contributions" and his "services" to socialism? What does this nonsense teach the workers? The elementary duty of an honest revolutionist is to teach workmen to have contempt for such a gentleman. After the "New Leader's" indecent acclaim of Acland, won't a worker have the right to say to himself: I am sure that Acland will never be in the camp of the revolution. He says to himself: Now, Brockway announces that they will both find themselves in the same camp "when the crisis comes." Brockway "has no doubt" about that. Would I be wrong in concluding that Brockway will not be in the camp of the revolution?

At the national conference of the party in April a resolution was presented for free education from nursery schools to universities and for other democratic demands in that field. The conference included in the resolution an amendment demanding that education should be secular.

Whereupon James Maxton took the floor and declared that the amendment "made the resolution thoroughly impracticable and that an attempt on the part of the Government to satisfy the demand would arouse the bitterest controversy; the Government, therefore, would not even consider the proposals." Who is speaking? Mr. Churchill or the leader of a party which wants a "Socialist Britain now"? For Maxton the thing that counts is the present parliamentary mechanism and he must carefully restrict his demands to that which it can give. After Maxton's intervention, the conference voted down the resolution together with the amendment. Then what to think of the programme "a Socialist Britain now"? According to Maxton's criteria it is highly "impracticable," for, no doubt, it "would arouse the bitterest controversy"! Marceau Pivert recently called the I.L.P. the "Social-revolutionary vanguard not only of the British working class, but of all the other countries" ("Analysis", February-March 1942). How does this free-thinker (is he still a Free Mason?) explain the refusal of the I.L.P. leadership to fight for secular education because "the government would not even consider the proposals"?

leadership would present a series of fundamental demands. That is the policy which our English comrades propose. The leaders of the I.L.P. lost no time attacking them. In the February 21st "New Leader", F. A. Ridley writes:

"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!"

What supercilious conceit! And at the same time, what lack of comprehension of revolutionary tasks!

*Continued on page 4*

## Bolivian Trotskyist Leaders Arrested

Nine members of the Bolivian section of the Fourth International have been arrested by the Bolivian Security Police on the charge of "planning to overthrow the government," and others are being hunted, according to Bolivian and Argentine newspapers received here.

The newspaper *El Diario* of La Paz, the Bolivian capital, carries an eight-column headline, in its February 22 issue: "Fourth International was planning to overthrow the government." It reports that Trotskyists "cells" were operating in Potosi, Oruro, Cochabamba, Pulacayo and other mining towns, as well as in La Paz where the arrests took place.

The Assistant Chief of the Security Police, David Mollinedo, in an interview with *El Diario*, names among those arrested Humberto Perez Rocha and Oscar Alandia Pantoja, the latter identified as head of the La Paz "cell". A third named is an Argentine citizen, Carlos Ibarra Grasso. The names of the others arrested are not given.

According to the police the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Workers Revolutionary Party) was established in Bolivia as a section of the Fourth International on January 14, 1941, with Miguel Alandia Pantoja as General Secretary; Oscar del Villar as Secretary; and

with Guillermo Lora, Humberto Perez Rocha, Oscar Alandia Pantoja and others as its National Committee. Apparently the General Secretary and the Secretary have not yet been seized by the police, who say that the central leadership of the party was established in the mining centre of Cochabamba.

#### SAY LITERATURE CAME FROM OTHER LANDS

In the police statements to the press, much was made of the claim that pamphlets and letters were received by the POR from New York, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and other South American countries.

Leaflets and slogans pasted on the city walls during the past year by the party had led the police to a systematic hunt for the La Paz "cell".

According to the March 1 *La Nacion* of Buenos Aires, an attempt of those arrested to secure their release through habeas corpus proceedings because their detention was unconstitutional failed when the court of La Paz ruled that the proceeding is under the jurisdiction of the criminal code.

The State's Attorney has signed an indictment providing that a criminal proceeding begin against Oscar Alandia Pantojo and the eight other workers arrested.