

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Workers of the World Unite.

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

OCTOBER, 1941

Vol. 5 No. 1.

TWOPENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In an area where there was no transport whatsoever at this time of the night, and when the girls would have to walk several miles in the black-out, the management no doubt thought that this ultimatum would break their resistance. But it didn't—the girls refused to go home!

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

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

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

On all points the workers won a victory.

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

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

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

Continued next column

## The Basis of Morale in Stalingrad

BY ROSE CARSON

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

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

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

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

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

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

Continued page 4, column 3

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

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

## INDIANS RETALIATE TO AIR GUNNING

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

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

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

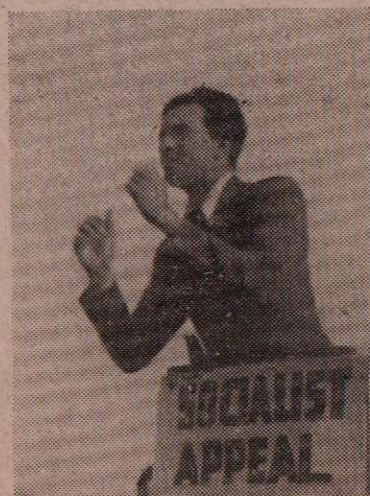
The British imperialists are attempting to whip up the anger of the British masses by pretending that the workers and peasants of India are a bloodthirsty and callous "mob". But in actual fact these acts are the inevitable reaction to the atrocities and crimes of British imperialism in India. The last few years have witnessed an air of bloodshed throughout India, and these disorders have spread to the countryside. The policy of the British govern-

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

"DETENUES"—OR HOSTAGES—

"Under the Bengal Ordinances and century-old "regulations" men and women are kept in prison for suspected activities. They are classed as detenus."

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



COMRADE ROY SPEAKING AT HYDE PARK

men, detained for six weeks and released.

Complaints of ill-treatment and violence by jail officials in these internment camps were made to us in Bengal. They were made to us in firing on detenus."

The anger and resentment of the masses at such treatment is rising throughout India. The embitterment

## TYNESIDE PAY DAY STRIKE

BY A. ROY

A strike took place at Readhead's of South Shields on the question of shifting the day that the working week ends. At present the workers total time day is Tuesday and the management want to shift it to Sunday. They claim that this is necessary due to the shortage of staff and by shifting the day, it will give two days more to prepare the wage sheets, etc.

This question is not confined to Readhead's. It is a general move to operate this new system in all the Tyneside yards, although Readhead's is the only one which has gone on strike. The shifting of the day means that the men on the first pay day after the change-over will only make home five days' wages, due to the total time day being two days less.

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

S. Kerrigan.

of India are a bloodthirsty and... But in actual fact... the acts are the inevitable reaction... the atrocities and crimes of British... The last few... disorders in all the... throughout India, and these... spread to the country... The reply of the British govern... to legitimate and peaceful de... demonstrations demanding the release of... Indian nationalist leaders and the... of freedom to India, has been... lathi charges, the shooting down... armed men, women and children... has been supplemented by the... of thousands of whips... fines, curfew and all the meas... that the Nazis have resorted to... occupied Europe on the approved... method... long ago as 1931 the method... hostages, which the British have... denounced the Nazis for,

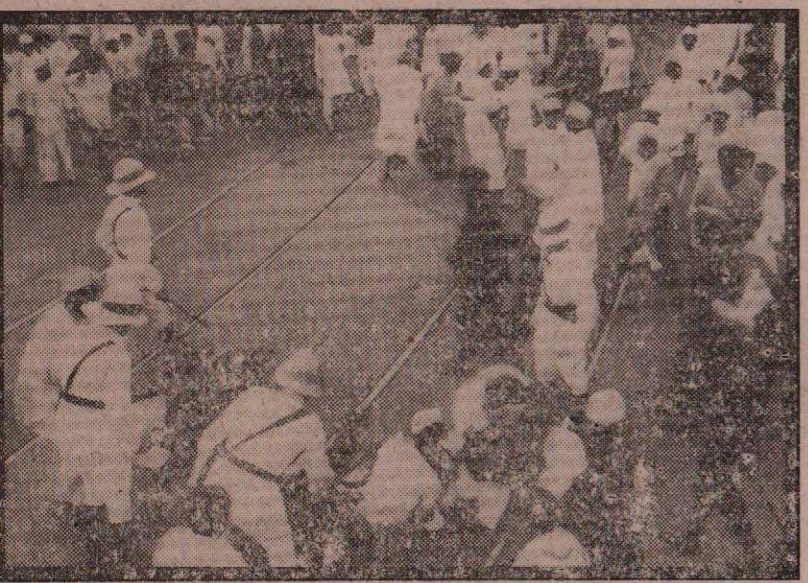
**"DETENUES"—OR HOSTAGES?**  
 "Under the Bengal Ordinances and century-old 'regulations' men and women are kept in prison for suspected... They are classed as detenues."  
 Case 1.—"In June, 1931, Mr. K. P. Sen, special Magistrate (Dacca), was shot by terrorists. We were told that Mr. Sen had become notorious for beating women Civil Disobedience prisoners. A terrorist, K. P. Mukerjee, confessed to the murder, which he said he alone had committed. The police arrested sixty people from different parts of Dacca District, and kept them in custody (without any charge or trial) for two months. All except K. P. Mukerjee were then released. (All the sixty, we were informed, were Congress workers or associates, unconnected with terrorism.)"  
 Case 2.—"In June, 1932, a traveller was robbed at Dologan station of a small amount of money. Seventy people were arrested, all Congress-

men, detained for six weeks and released. Complaints of ill-treatment and violence by jail officials in these internment camps were made to us in Bengal. There have been cases of firing on detenues."  
 The anger and resentment of the masses at such treatment is rising throughout India. The embitterment against the horrors of imperialist exploitation and oppression of centuries is rising to the fore.  
 Sabotage, strikes, demonstrations, cutting of telephone lines, railway lines, the murder of tax collectors, policemen, money lenders and all the representatives of finance capital and imperialism which has been responsible for their degradation in the past... All these are the stirrings of the masses against the crimes of imperialism.  
 Churchill has added insult to injury in his recent speech in which he reiterates the lie that Congress does not have the support of the Indian masses and reasserted his time worn policy of the mailed fist as a means of "uniting" India against her own peoples. This policy was calculated even during times of peace, to inflame and embitter the Indian masses. But Churchill is deliberately provoking the masses at a time when India is threatened by invasion by the Japanese. With the Japanese only at the gates of India, the masses are already showing their hatred for British imperialism, what will be the position when the Japanese invade?  
 The reply has been given by the events of Burma, Malaya, Singapore. The population remained in great part completely apathetic and indifferent. But a big section went directly over actively to the side of Japanese imperialism. The British soldiers found that they were regarded as invaders, and not the Japanese. Rangoon was taken in two days because of the uprising of the Burmese. This was a reply to the massacres by the British in 1931. Everywhere the British soldiers found their communications cut, their lines of supply unsafe and precarious, their plans and dispositions known to the Japanese. They had to pay with suffering and with their lives for the crimes of British imperialism.  
 But in India the massacre of unarmed civilians are fresh in the minds of the masses. The hatred for the British has never been more intense. So great is this hatred that the masses may even go over to the Japanese, as warned by Congress, as revenge for their suffering and treatment. Under these circumstances what will be the fate of the British soldiers, the workers in uniform, the sons, husbands and brothers of the British working class who do not desire to oppress the Indian people? They were sent, they were told, to fight Japanese imperialism, and instead will find that they will be used to bludgeon Indian workers and peasants into submission. If

cepted the manager... to the... This was one... to the men... by weekly... The men... change-over... and now it... until the end of... pending... S. Kerrigan.

transport whatsoever at this time of the night, and when the girls would have to walk several miles in the black-out, the management no doubt thought that this ultimatum would break their resistance. But it didn't—the girls walked home!  
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proposal and the question was dropped. The women and girls at this plant showed a fine spirit of solidarity in the course of the struggle. They recaptured that spirit of early trade union militancy which was an inspiration to the men, as well as a good omen of the role of women in the inevitable industrial struggles of the future.  
 Continued next column



HOW BRITISH DEMOCRACY RULES INDIA

# LABOUR TO POWER On A Socialist Programme

an end to the coalition with the... Labour and Trade Union... must break with the capitalist... and wage a campaign for... on the following programme:  
 Immediate despatch of arms and... material to the Soviet Union under... the control of the Trade Unions... and factory committees.  
 Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.  
 Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.  
 Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.  
 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.

- Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
- Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
- Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
- Establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
- Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or Petainism.
- Freedom for Ireland, India and the Colonies.
- 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.

Continued on back page

# CHORUS AGAINST MINERS

BY JOCK HASTON

The Coal Crisis grows deeper and more pronounced. It is not just a propoganda stunt on the part of the Government but a fact which is being driven into the consciousness of every person in the country.  
 According to Major Lloyd George, Minister of Fuel, 250,000 tons of coal per week, or 13,000,000 tons per year were being consumed in excess of production. At this rate of consumption it is quite clear that either industrial consumption will be restricted with the subsequent inevitable drop in industrial production, or the household fire of the domestic consumer—a primary need of the working man, must be restricted. In this case many a hearth will be without a fire in the coming winter.

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

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

ing so that they can divert the coal through those channels which show the greatest profit for themselves. On the present system they can divert all the supplies, without restrictions, to their subsidiary companies, and to concerns in which they have interests.  
 Meanwhile, they prepare to shift the onus for the present situation from themselves and place it on the shoulders of the miners. A full scale propoganda drive has been launched to prove that the responsibility for the present situation and the key to more coal production lies on the shoulders of the miners in the pit.

**TRADE UNION LEADERS BLAME THE MINERS!**  
 Far from challenging the capitalists and conducting a counter-campaign, the leaders, or more precisely, the misleaders, of the Miners' Federation stand solidly with the coal owners and the Government against the workers. Insofar as they make any criticism of the owners at all it is of an insignificant and secondary character and is not at all part of a sustained and offensive struggle to defend the interests of the mineworkers. Meanwhile, they direct their blows against working miners.  
 In a recent circular issued to the branches and lodges throughout the country, the E.C. of the Miners' Federation, through its Secretary Ebby Edwards stated:  
 "If factories and work-yards producing ships, aeroplanes, tanks, guns and other munitions of war are held up by want of coal; if the working people are without the necessary supplies for the home fires this winter; well may the community look upon our industry as one that can be charged with criminal neglect in this hour of the country's peril.  
 Coal output is falling per man employed. Lack of regularity of attendance without reason is on the increase. Unnecessary stoppages have occurred. There is a mentality

among some miners that reflects an unconcern for the danger with which the country is faced.  
 These and other deterring production factors perpetrated by the men reflect no credit on our organisation. As a responsible committee we desire to speak straight and plain. We are not satisfied that all of our members are doing all they can all of the time to produce all of the coal the nation now requires..."

In speeches and letters in all the county organisations, these trade union officials urge the miners to "Work harder!" "Produce more coal!" "Cut out absenteeism!" In the whole course of the war they have never once directed their fire against the coal monopolies or tried to rouse the nation of the disastrous policy of allowing control to remain in their hands.  
 In the past it was the practice of the miners' unions to warn the men against the increased accident rate with

the slogan "The last tub causes the majority of accidents!" Now one is confronted at the pithead by the official union poster "Produce that extra tub!"  
 At the recent miners' conference at Blackpool, these same officials were forced to reveal that deaths and accidents in the pits were on the increase—that one out of every four boys of 14 to 16 who enters the pit is a casualty. But all their Blackpool holiday speech-making is blasted by their full scale campaign which can only result in a more rapid increase in the number of accidents and a terrific death toll from the miners.

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

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



CHURCH: "CUT OUT ABSENTEEISM"



BOSS—"PRODUCE MORE COAL"

(continued on page 2)



who enforce a seven-day week and trade union leaders who accept it are sabotaging the war effort as effectively as if they were overdriving a machine."—*"Daily Worker"*, 30th May, 1940.

In this article Haldane quoted the report by Dr. Vernon in 1920 to the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, giving data on a group of women turning aluminium fuse bodies from 1915 to 1917; For the first 24 weeks they were supposed to work 74½ hours weekly; the hours were reduced in two stages, and finally they were working a 55 hour week, when it was found that their production was 69 per cent above the level of the 74½ hour week. In other words, they actually produced 27 per cent more fuses during the 55 hours than in the 74 hour week!

Every scientific investigation has exposed the fact that long hours have had effect on production; the Industrial Health Research Board of the Medical Research Council stated in a report that during the last war, when a 12-hour day was being worked the accidents were 2½ times as many as when the working day was reduced to ten hours. The Board stated explicitly in the preface that:

"One of the lessons learned in the last war was that excessive hours of work do not ultimately pay—even when considered solely on the basis of output and apart from the effect on the health of the workers."—*"Daily Worker"*, 24th May, 1940.

**C.P. SUPPORT FOR BOSS-CLASS SABOTAGE.**

The C.P. has apparently, therefore, undertaken a campaign of sabotage against the interests both of the workers and of war production. Nearly every issue of the *"Daily Worker"* since its reappearance has given publicity to youths such as the Y.C.T. who

Again, the very low basic rates generally paid are a direct cause of low productivity, because they force the workers to do long hours of overtime including Sunday work in order to make up their pay. These enforced extra hours are not productive, but the employers are glad to permit them and to pay the small extra rate because otherwise, if a shorter working week were enforced, they would have to pay a more reasonable basic wage.

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

**OUR POLICY FOR WORKERS' CONTROL OF PRODUCTION**

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



THESE PAMPHLETS ARE OBTAINABLE FROM ANY "APPEAL" SALESMAN

- AN A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM. The Testimony of J. P. Cannon in the U.S.A. Trial ... 1/-
- THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ... 6d.
- HAS BRITAIN'S ENTRY ALTERED RUSSIA'S WAR? by Andrew Scott ... 2d.
- PREPARING FOR POWER—Tasks and Perspectives for the British Workers ... 3d.
- THE ROAD TO INDIA'S FREEDOM by E. Grant and A. Scott with the
- THESES OF THE INDIAN FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ... 3d.

employers would they improve their conditions and force their demands. The charge of sabotaging production was answered in advance by one militant worker who stated that the responsibility for precipitating any strike must rest with the bosses who deliberately held down wages and allowed appalling conditions to continue. The meeting finally drew up a list of demands and a committee was elected to contact other trades throughout the shipyard for the purpose of obtaining continued below.

gives the ... a maximum produc...  
Stalinist sl...  
We salu...  
Comrade...  
fighters...  
8  
gallant soldier of the Fourth  
International who died a martyr  
in the socialist struggle against  
capitalist reaction.

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

# Shameful Statements of Parliamentary Wing

Editor, 25/9/42

SOCIALIST APPEAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**BREAK THE UNIONS FROM THE STATE MACHINE AND MAKE THE OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE TO THE RANK AND FILE.**

readers know of this... was... to stress that it is at this... organised civvies should take... fight.

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

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

## "T.U. WITHOUT PAID OFFICIALS"

The Editor, Bristol. Dear Comrade,

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

What man is there who will stand 7 nights per week of 13½ per night or 94½ per week for £4 5s.

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

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

Yours sincerely,  
Wm. E. K. GRIFFIN.

## OUR REPLY

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

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

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

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

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

**NOTICE of MEETING**

**25th ANNIVERSARY of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

**SPEAKERS: ALAN CHRISTIANSON — TED GRANT AND OTHERS**

**HOLBORN HALL**

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

**Auspices WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

united action. The basic demands which were unanimously accepted were as follows:

1. 50% increase in wages.
2. Abolition of bonus on acceptance of above.
3. Time and two-thirds for overtime, except Sunday.
4. Better working conditions.
5. Payment of adequate allowances for work in tanks, confined spaces, etc.
6. Payment of lodging allowances to all men away from home.

These demands constitute a basis for a vigorous campaign as a prelude to a struggle with the employers. Such a campaign has not, however, been carried out. A month has passed now since the demands were accepted and yet no concrete action has been instituted to place the demands before the firm. The response from other sections of the workers has been poor, it is true, but this should not deter the electricians from leading the way along the road of independent struggle. The action of the fifty-five workers in relation to the E.T.U. is at best a gesture of despair which plays into the hands both of the employers and the T.U. leaders. It is not sufficient to express disgust at the inept and treacherous leadership of the trade unions. The workers must train their own leadership and fight, inside the trade unions for the operation of their own demands.

The trade unions are the mass organisations of the workers themselves, however corrupt and dishonest the leadership may be. In taking the step of refusing to pay subscriptions, the electricians would merely separate themselves from the majority of the union membership. This step would allow the coalition of employers and trade union bureaucrats to smash the move towards militant action, and eventually the unions altogether.

The basic tasks for the electrical workers of Vickers Armstrongs, as in fact for all workers in the shipyard, lie first in the organisation of a militant shop stewards' committee elected by the men in the shops, a committee which is prepared to fight; secondly, in a campaign of support for a charter based on the demands drawn up on August 20th.

# Miners Made Scapegoats

Continued from page 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

continued at foot of next col.

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**  
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**EDITORIAL.**

## Masses Seeking Communist Solution

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

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

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

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

The epic defence of the Red Army in Stalingrad and the association in the minds of the workers of that defence with the October Communist Revolution, has resulted in a turn by the workers to that horrible caricature of communism in Britain, the Communist Party.

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

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

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

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

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

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

# THE I.L.P.—A SHIP WITHOUT A COMPASS

## GERMAN LABOUR WILL RISE AGAIN

BY M. LEE.

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

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

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

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

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

The measure of repression which Hitler was forced to take against the German workers testified to their hatred of fascism. Within a few weeks of the infamous Reichstag Fire Trial, a repression and terror was instituted which was unprecedented in the history of capitalism. In less than 60,000 trade union and working class functionaries were arrested, 2,000 trade union and political militant were murdered, and 100,000 workers were put into concentration camps.

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

### VANSITTARTISM AND STALINISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

to the leaders addressed to the rank and file, demanding a break with capitalism and taking power on a programme such as that set out in the Socialist Appeal cannot but awaken a response among the Labour workers.

The masses are dissatisfied with the present government as the by-elections have clearly shown. But they must be given a practical, concrete alternative. To suggest that I.L.P. or ourselves at the present stage is obviously out of the question. Apart from anything else the masses have not yet realised the necessity for the Socialist Revolution. But they are looking for an alternative "Socialist Government to the present coalition with the bourgeoisie. The first step of the awakening of the masses activity would be in the direction of forcing a break with the present Coalition with the Tories by the Labour and Trade Union leadership. They are carefully watching the masses already their "left" wing are preparing as the workers surge forward, to step out into open "opposition" in parliament to the present government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"New Leader", August 15th, 1942.

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

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

# TORY EDUCATION PLAN

By  
**ANDREW SCOTT**

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

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

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

Religion will have another purpose, too. It will, the Tories hope, leave no room in the mind of youth for Marxism. Religion, they say, must be "deliberately encouraged and fostered to eliminate the danger of emptiness in men's minds being filled with a sort of emotional materialism, copied from the Russian original but lacking the

historical roots which give to contemporary Russian materialism an almost spiritual force." The Tories fear the rise of Marxist materialism among the youth. They hope to dope them on religion by compulsion.

This reactionary programme has been admirably enlarged on and supplemented by A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol. The principal aim of this reactionary is to assure that when youth finds itself facing mass unemployment in the beautiful post-war world it will be prevented from doing anything about it by a proper system of camp schools. Those between 14 and 18 who are unemployed will be retained in these camps and given "pre-citizenship training" and "military training." And their teachers will be "those many young men who in the Army have learnt to teach and to lead."

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

The Tories know and have admitted that the country will have a lower standard of living after the war; they know that millions can never be absorbed into industry again; they know that the most militant section of the workers in the coming struggles will be the youth.

and against Hitlerism.

Before Hitler seized power the scenes in the streets of bitter fighting between socialists and communists against the fascists were common place. In January of 1933, in reply to a Nazi provocation, the Communist Party was able to rally a demonstration of workers numbering almost a million strong. The workers were prepared to fight to the last. All that they waited for, was the call to action from their leaders. But no call was made . . . Hitler came to power without a shot being fired or a window pane being broken. The German Stalinists were already saying: Let Hitler take power—our turn will come next. On April 1st, a few days after Hitler's seizure of power, the journal of the

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

So proclaims a recent editorial, not the official organ of the Russian Army and addressed to the Russian soldiers. And again, the "Daily Worker" of Sept& 24th proudly reproduces a similar article from the "Red Star" under the title "Stand and Kill the German." *Continued on back page*

## ANTI-FASCIST GERMAN WORKERS BEFORE HITLER SEIZED POWER



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

But these schemes of the capitalists are fantastic, unreal and utopian. For the one thing they leave out of their calcula-

tions is—youth. Their schemes still remain to be accepted by youth, together with the rest of the workers. And the great mass of British youth cannot and will not accept such a programme.

The whole mood of British youth at the present time is moving in the direction not of the Right but of the Left, of increased repression but of widening freedom; not towards reaction but in the direction of revolution. The educational youth wants is not for a world of permanent unemployment, incessant wars, and everlasting starvation, but a world in which work and a decent livelihood are guaranteed to everybody, which war has been banished and in which no one shall be hungry: a Socialist World.

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

"In fact everything indicates that this war will mark the end of the Labour Party just as the last one did that of its Liberal predecessor, despite the valiant efforts of the Trotskyists to revive the fast putrefying corpse. The spirit died in it long ago. After all, even Christ gave up the dead as hopeless after three days."

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

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

## Brockway Looks to Labour Lefts and Common Wealth

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**I.L.P. and the Fourth  
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Labour to Power. Otherwise the demand is either ultra-left or opportunist. If the slogan of ending coalition and setting up a world government is not meaningless, it only be meant as a Labour Government. But Padley does not mean or that would have been the form used. To be exact Padley hasn't faintest idea of what in the devil does mean.

His article is perfectly in tune with the policy of the I.L.P. leaders. They combine opportunism with ultra-leftism and anything but precise, clear and unambiguous policies and ideas.

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

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

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

On August 8th, in a front page article headlined: "Labour Revolt Stuns Leaders" continues, "Last week's revolt of 49 Labour M.P.s stunned the leadership. The Labour Ministers are demanding loyalty to the National Government and the leaders of the Parliamentary wing are insisting on discipline. A number of Labour Members have made it clear, however, that their first loyalty is to the workers (!?) and that they will not hesitate to vote against the Government on social issues when the workers are betrayed (!) . . . Strong speeches against the Government were delivered by Labour M.P.s . . ."

(continued on back page)



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

# German Workers Are Our Allies

Continued from page 3

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

"Reports reach us from Sweden (conveyed there from Germany by seamen) of serious riots in Hamburg, Cologne and Bremen. It is stated that 400 persons were killed. Details are lacking from Cologne, but the seamen say that at Hamburg and Bremen the police refused to fire on the workers and that S.S. men had to be called in to quell the revolt."

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

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

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

Bulletin of International Transport Workers Federation (I.F.T.U.)

From the same source we have the report of the slow-down method in German factories. A German metal worker who is working in a ship yard and visited some friends in Switzerland on his holiday told the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## RUSSIAN AND GERMAN SOLDIERS FRATERNISING IN 1918



THE POLICY OF LENIN AND TROTSKY DISSOLVED THE GERMAN ARMY

# RUSSIA NEEDS LENIN'S WEAPON

Continued from page 1

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

### BRITISH AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM WAIT

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

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

### THE PLIGHT OF THE SOVIET UNION

The hopes and needs of British imperialism is being realised. The Soviet Union has been laid waste. Before the final outcome of this colossal struggle its industrial capacity has been reduced by more than half. It has lost 100 million tons of coal, 70% of its aluminium, one third of its manganese and 10 million tons of pig iron, the wheat fields of the Ukraine, Kuban and the Don have been destroyed. Paul

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

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

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

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

In the 15 months of war what have the "allies" contributed? In point of fact any help from British and American capitalism would only serve to increase the fears of the German masses, the "New Versailles" would loom as terrible a prospect before them and Hitler and Goebbels have constantly made use of this. And when the Anglo-American capitalists do open a Second Front it will not be with the aim of assisting Soviet Russia, but in order to impose the will of the "democracies" on Germany and the whole of Europe. The result of Stalin's "realist policy" of diplomatic combinations has brought the Soviet Union to the verge of disaster.

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

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

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

# Shameful Statements of Parliamentary Wing

either do the right thing, or be compelled later to surrender to an uprising of force which will create a situation which intelligent people do not wish to see . . . I hope the Government will not assume that when peace comes there will not be a whole lot of re-arrangement in the world and that every nation's possessions will not come under review . . .

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

What degrading and servile statements for one claiming to be a revolutionary. As if the American Imperialist gangsters are one whit better than their British "allies". The masses in Cuba, Philippines etc. can testify to the "civilising" mission of Yankee imperialism. America can teach even Hitler something about racial discrimination against subject peoples. The treatment of Negroes in the Southern States of America can testify to this. Already we see in Britain an importation by the American army of the Jim Crow policy against American Negro troops. It does not matter to the colonial slaves whether their masters fly the Union Jack or the Stars and Stripes as the symbol of their enslavement. And to piously "hope" that the slave-masters who are drenching all the continents in blood, precisely for the right to exploit the colonial slaves and to defend their colonial loot, will consent to a "re-arrangement" at home, is the measure of the "revolutionism" of Maxton and Company. Instead of boldly appealing to the workers and standing on the side of the colonial peoples in their just struggle against imperialism, Maxton attempts to frighten the imperialists, and himself, with the consequences of their failure to see reason which will create a situation which intelligent people do not wish to see!"

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

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

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

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

I believe, and said it at the time, that Members went too lightly into the war, believing it would be an easy task. I have been accused time and time again, especially by my Communist friends, of backing the then Prime Minister at the time of Munich. Apart from the fact that I have opposed war at every stage, I say it was a godsend to this country that the Prime Minister did not put us into war then. Bad as things are today, then there would have been sudden and swift disaster for this country. We had a year's breathing space in which to prepare if we wished to do so."

Here we see his so-called opposition towards war as that of a "loyal oppositionist", concerned about the preparations of the bourgeoisie. Not on a class basis but on a basis of the military needs of the bourgeoisie. This is further reflected in the attitude adopted towards the Second Front:

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

And so on, he argues his case, not from the political point of view, but the military aspect as any social-patriot would do. McGovern goes on: "At the time the late Prime Minister (Chamberlain) was unseated, my blood boiled at the foul things that were hurled at him". As if it is the job of revolutionaries to sympathise with one side or the other, when the capitalist snakes fall out with the capitalist crocodiles. Rather it would have been his duty to take advantage of the situation to show the masses the real aims of both.

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

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

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