

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
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TWOPENCE.

## INTERNATIONAL LABOUR DAY

"Our Strength lies in Unity,  
our Method is United, Stub-  
born Resistance against the  
Bosses."

—Lenin, May Day 1896.



May Day is the day of Labour. International Labour. Labour ranged up and conscious of its opposition to capital. May Day is a celebration of the independence of the working class. On this one day in the year it has been traditional for the workers in all parts of the world to down tools and demonstrate their own worldwide unity as against the capitalists. The aim of every true Socialist has been to see May Day celebrated by more and more workers in an ever increasing number of countries. To make this day a clarion call to the workers of the entire world. To strengthen and inspire the workers of each country by their contact with the workers of all the other countries; a contact brought about by their marching on the same day, under the same banner, and with the same slogans and aims.

But what is the position on May Day 1943? In one series of countries the workers have no organisations left by means of which to celebrate May Day. In another series of countries the official "leaders" of Labour have turned May Day into its very opposite; a celebration not of Labour's independence but of class-collaboration and so-called "national unity." The smashing blows of Fascism against German and European Labour should have called forth a more militant and more determined celebration of May Day in those countries where Labour is still organised—particularly in Britain.... British Labour should have used its opportunity to raise its voice not only on its own behalf but on behalf of its comrades writhing under the Fascist whiplash.

But instead, the British Labour leaders merely continue their corrupt and rotten coalition with the capitalists, and by that very fact turn their backs on the European workers. The war is used as a cover for a direct negation not only of May Day but of all

## NOTTS. MINERS 4 DAY STRIKE

From our Nottingham Correspondent—  
500 men were on strike at Cinderhill Pit, Nottingham, from Monday 12th to Friday 16th of April. The dispute arose over the introduction of a new price list, which the coal getters claimed, would adversely affect their earnings.

Dissatisfaction at this pit has extended over a period of more than two years, the workers claiming that there are no proper price lists and that they do not know from one week to another what they will earn. As the result of manipulating the price lists, the workers claim that for the same amount of work they are paid no more than in the pre-war years, despite the rise in the cost of living.

The coal company was quick to use the Essential Works Order against the strikers, and also threaten to issue summonses against the workers involved. Individual notices were sent to the men by George Bowman, North Midland Regional Investigation Officer, pointing out that certain charges had been made by the employers against the named person, and that the said person should present himself at the Cinderhill Pit on Monday 19th April, 1943, when the Regional Officer would be present to receive a report.

A form was enclosed which contained, amongst set questions, the following:

### ESSENTIAL WORK (COALMINING INDUSTRY) ORDERS

#### Part 1. Report by Employer.

I hereby report in accordance with the Essential Work (Coalmining Industry) Orders, that the undernoted Worker who is employed in the undertaking carried on by B.A. Collieries has persistently behaved in such a manner as to impede production.

#### Part 2. Grounds of Report.

Question 1.

#### Question 2.

In particular what evidence is there to show that the worker's behaviour has affected his output and/or the output of other workers.

Output has completely stopped from Cinderhill Main Bright Seam. Total loss is 900 Tons per day. Stop is continuing.

#### Question 3.

For how long has the worker's behaviour been considered unsatisfactory.

Since Monday April 12th, 1943.

#### Question 4.

What steps have been taken to secure an improvement in the worker's behaviour.

Repeated meetings between Workmen's representatives and the Management.

#### Question 5.

What explanation has the worker given for his alleged unsatisfactory behaviour.

None.

Signed by the B.A. Collieries, Ltd.  
13th April, 1943.

In answer to the threat by the Colliery Company to summons the miners, the men retorted: "Get on with it. If we are fined we shall refuse to pay, and if necessary we shall go to jail first!"

Van Coleman, the local union official exhorted the men to return to work. He stated that there could be no negotiations without the men returning to work. At the same time the Council of the Notts Miners Federated Union, which is controlled by the infamous Spencer, passed a resolution condemning the stoppage in general without any direct reference to the strike which was taking place at Cinderhill Pit.

The workers, who were entirely solid in the course of the strike, have returned to work pending negotiations, and there is a general feeling that it

# CLYDE SHOP STEWARD FLAYS C.P. SELL-OUT

## Beardmore Attacking Workers' Rights

DURING THE PAST FEW MONTHS, THE EMPLOYERS ON THE CLYDE SIDE HAVE BEEN ATTEMPTING TO LOWER THE CONDITIONS OF THE WORKERS. ONE FIRM IN PARTICULAR, BEARDMORE & CO., LTD., HAVE BEEN MAKING VICIOUS ATTACKS FOR SOME TIME. THEY ARE IN CONTROL OF FOUR FACTORIES — WHICH FOR "SECURITY" REASONS WE CANNOT NAME.

The first intimation of future trouble came on the morning of the 8th of January at a mass meeting of workers, which was held in the Canteen at the Government factory now "managed" by Beardmore. This meeting was attended among others, by the Lord Provost of Clydebank, Mr. Henderson, the General Manager of the factory, Bro. McLaren of the A.E.U., and of course, the Convener of Shop Stewards, Bro. H. McGrory. This meeting was called for a Production Drive to aid the 8th Army. At the meeting Mr. Henderson stated that the firm would enter whole heartedly into this Production Drive, but he would have to cut Piece-work prices at the same time. He received a great cheer from the workers for his speech. The only one to give any opposition to this was Bro. McGrory, who received absolutely no support either from his Shop Stewards or workers.

But after the meeting it began to dawn on the workers just what was going to happen. Mr. Henderson kept his promise. During the Production Drive on the Wednesday following the meeting, the "Heavy" Centre received a drastic cut in their piece-work prices. The reaction was instantaneous. A meeting was called by the men, which was attended by the workers of the "Medium" and "Light" Turneries, and finished with an angry mass of workers invading Mr. Henderson's office to let him know that now they understood just what kind of co-operation Beardmore & Co. were prepared to give and they were not prepared to stand for it.

The Production Week will not be forgotten in this plant for some time. However, after negotiation with the shop stewards, the Management climbed down, and the factory carried on in its normal way. But it was only the commencement of the fight. Various differences crept up, but were settled, until the Management posted a notice on the notice boards of the various centres under the caption of the "Masters' Federation," intimating that commencing on Sunday the 21st March the works would be closed and the workers would work from 7.30 a.m. to 7.30 p.m. Monday to Friday both days inclusive and Saturday from 7.30 until 11.35 a.m. Night shift from Monday night 7.30 p.m. until 7.0 a.m. finishing on Saturday 7.30 a.m.

Up until this time, Saturday had been the rest day, and had been very popular. No reason was given for the change of hours. The Shop Stewards immediately posted a notice telling the workers to ignore the Employers' notice. At this point it should be noted that 12 months ago, Saturday had been agreed to by the Management as a rest day after negotiations by the Shop Stewards. In the first instance it was given a month's trial. But as I have already stated, it was so successful and popular that it remained as the recognised rest day. Bro. McGrory, along with the Executive of the Shop Stewards interviewed the Management, who refused to move from their position. A mass meeting of the workers was then called for the Wednesday. Two days before the meeting the employers posted a notice containing two clauses of the Emergency Powers Act in regard to meetings, and brought in the police who roamed around the factory for two days before the meeting.

On the Wednesday morning the meeting was held in the Canteen, and had only been half an hour or so in

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## Trotsky Assassin Gets 20 Years

### G.P.U. AGENT SENTENCED

BY M. LEE

In Mid-April 1943 Frank Jackson was sentenced by the

properly established forms and limits, and the leading bodies themselves subject to formal recall or alteration. The membership of the party has the right to demand and expect the greatest responsibility from the leaders precisely because of the position they occupy in the movement. The selection of comrades to the positions of leadership means the conferring of an extraordinary responsibility. The warrant for this position must be proved, not once, but continuously by the leadership itself. It is under obligation to set the highest example of responsibility, devotion, sacrifice and complete identification with the party itself and its daily life and action. It must display the ability to defend its policies before the membership of the party, and to defend the line of the party as a whole before the working class in general.

Sustained party activity, not broken or disrupted by abrupt and disorienting

## RESPONSIBILITIES OF MEMBERSHIP

Like leadership, membership itself in the party implies certain definite rights. Party membership confers the fullest freedom of discussion, debate and criticism inside the ranks of the party, limited only by such decisions and provisions as are made by the party itself or by bodies to which it assigns this function. Affiliation to the party confers upon such member the right of being democratically represented at all policy making assemblies of the party (from branch to national and international convention), and the right of the final and decisive vote in determining the programme, policies and leadership of the party.

With party rights, the membership has also certain definite obligations. The theoretical and political character of the party is determined by its programme, which form the lines delimiting the revolutionary party

## A PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS

From the foregoing it follows that the party seeks to include in its ranks all the revolutionary, class conscious and militant workers who stand on its programme and are active in building the movement in a disciplined manner. The revolutionary Marxian party rejects not only the arbitrariness and bureaucratism of the Communist Party, but also spurious and deceptive "all inclusiveness" of the Independent Labour Party, which is a sham and a fraud. Experience has proved conclusively that this "all inclusiveness" paralyses the party in general and the revolutionary wing in particular, suppressing and bureaucratically hounding the latter while giving free reign to the right wing to commit the greatest crimes in the name of socialism and the party. The W.I.L. seeks to be inclusive only in this sense: that it accepts into its ranks those who accept its programme and denies admission to those who reject its programme.

The rights of each individual member, as set forth above, do not imply that the membership as a whole, namely the party itself, does not possess rights of its own. The party as a whole has the right to demand

the class struggle, that it throws up out of its ranks cadres of more or less able leading comrades, tests form their qualities of endurance and trustworthiness, and that it thus ensures a certain stability and continuity of leadership by such a cadre.

Continuity of leadership does not, however, signify the automatic self-preservation of leadership. Constant renewal of its ranks by means of additions and, when necessary, replacements, is the only assurance that the party has that its leadership will not succumb to the effects of dry rot, that it will not be burdened with deadwood, that it will avoid the corrosion of conservatism and dilettantism, that it will not be the object of conflict between the older elements and the younger, that the old and basic cadre will be refreshed by new blood, that the leadership as a whole will not become purely bureaucratic "committee men" with a life that is remote from the real life of the party and the activities of the rank and file.

from all other parties, groups and tendencies in the working class. The first obligation of party membership is acceptance of the programme of the party and regular affiliation to one of the basic units of the party. The party requires of every member the acceptance of its discipline and the carrying on of his activity in accordance with the programme of the party, with the decisions adopted by its conventions, and with the policies formulated and directed by the party leadership.

Party membership implies the obligation of one hundred per cent. loyalty to the organisation, the rejection of all agents of other hostile groups in its ranks, and fulfillment of all the tasks which the party assigns to each member. Party membership implies the obligation upon every member to contribute materially to the support of the organisation in accordance with his means.

that its work be not disrupted and disorganised, and has the right to take all the measures which it finds necessary to assure its regular and normal functioning. The rights of any individual member are distinctly secondary to the rights of the party membership as a whole. Party democracy means not only the most scrupulous protection of the rights of a given minority, but also the protection of the rule of the majority. The party is therefore entitled to organise the discussion and to determine its forms and limits.

All inner-party discussion must be organised from the point of view that the party is not a discussion club, which debates interminably on any and all questions at any and all times, without arriving at a binding decision that enables the organisation to act, but from the point of view that we are a disciplined party of revolutionary action. The party in general not only has the right, therefore, to organise the discussion in accordance with the requirements of the situation, but the lower units in the party must be given the right, in the interests of the struggle against the disruption and dis-

Continued at foot of next column.

followed in the press, it was established before the working class and the whole of the people that the Communist Party had organised and executed this brutal assault against the exiled re-

## Pamphlets Every Worker Should Have

BY TROTSKY:

WAR AND WORLD REVOLUTION	2d.
TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL	6d.
TRADE UNIONS	1d.
I.L.P. AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL	2d.
DOES RUSSIA'S ENTRY ALTER BRITAIN'S WAR? By A. Scott	2d.
PREPARING FOR POWER (Thesis of British Trotskyists)	3d.
A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM Cannon's Testimony in U.S. Labour Trial	6d.
THE ROAD TO INDIA'S FREEDOM by A. Scott and E. Grant	3d.
THE C.P. AND THE WAR Look at their Record!	1d.

volutionary. These people who vilify the revolutionaries as being "agents" of foreign imperialist powers and terrorists, themselves conduct their campaigns by this foul anti-Marxist method against the most devoted members of the revolutionary movement.

Although their guilt was irrefutably established, these criminals went practically unpunished. Stalinist pressure and corruption succeeded in eliminating the charges of murder and attempted murder, use of firearms, usurpation of official functions (of police officers) and criminal association. In the end Siquieros faced only charges of housebreaking, unlawful use of uniforms, robbery of two cars, and damaging another's property (with machine guns!). With the tremendous apparatus controlled by Stalin, he is able to bloc the exposures connecting the G.P.U. through pressure on the governments of the respective countries. So it was when the Swiss police established that the G.P.U. murdered Ignace Reiss.

### WHO IS FRANK JACSON?

To this day the true identity of Jacson is unknown. His statements claiming to be a Belgian with connections with the Trotskyist movement in Paris, proved to be false from beginning to end. Walter Lorigan, charge

checked in January 1940 and again in May of the same year, just before the first assault on Trotsky, and withdrew the balance early in June. When arrested he had more than £133 in his pockets. When he travelled he used aeroplanes. In Mexico he lived expensively without holding any job whatsoever.

Sylvia Ageloff testified to the police that after she met Jacson in Paris he began working for the "Argus Press Service." He sold a number of her articles on child psychology to this service, but told her that it was impossible to find out where they were published, since she would then be able to deal directly with the magazine, thus cutting the Argus service out of its commission. He claimed that he wrote sports articles at a high salary. Sylvia never saw her own articles in print. The "Argus" service was another name for G.P.U.

That he was linked with the previous murders of Fourth Internationalists, became clear as the trial proceeded. Under mysterious circumstances, Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son died in hospital where he was undergoing a minor operation.

"What is your opinion about the death of Sedov," asked Judge Trujillo of Jacson, at the preliminary hearing. The assassin hesitated, fumbled for words and replied sullenly: "Only what is printed on the case."

"Was it the G.P.U.?"

"Yes. The G.P.U. killed Sedov."

Just before the world Conference of the Fourth International in September 1938, Rudolph Klement, secretary of the International, was kidnapped. A letter forged in his handwriting was mailed to Leon Trotsky from Perpignan, a small town in Southern France. Jacson showed great familiarity with this town. This letter was identical in terms to those in Jacson's "confession." Written on the same theme as the "confessions" of the Moscow Trials, it expressed Klement's "disillusionment" over his supposed discovery that Trotsky was negotiating a pact with "Hitler."

The Klement letter was shown to be a G.P.U. job by handwriting experts and by the fact that a few days later Klement's body was found floating in the Seine in Paris. The head, arms, and legs had been amputated by someone with a knowledge of anatomy.

Jacson was in the habit of showing off at a dinner table his general knowledge of anatomy. With a sharp knife a roast chicken seemed to fall apart almost by itself!

### THE ROLE OF THE G.P.U. IN THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

The G.P.U. was organised by the Bolsheviks to defend the gains of the revolution of 1917 against the attacks of the Russian capitalists. Under Stalin this weapon of the Russian workers, has been converted into the most terrible instrument against the whole Russian people and against the international working class. In Russia the G.P.U. is dreaded and feared. For 10 years Yagoda was its chief. It was he who "prepared" the Kamenev-Zinoviev Trial. But it was not a few

class movement. In every section of the Communist Party the agents of the G.P.U. operate. Usually they are kept in the background and are not prominent party members. It is they who act as the eyes, the ears and the voice of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Their job is to seek out the "vacillators" and the critics within the Communist parties and the opponents of Stalin outside the parties. Those who cannot be bribed are hounded, even murdered. That they have unlimited financial resources at their disposal cannot be denied, even by the Stalinists.

On December 26th 1917, a decree was issued in the name of Lenin and Trotsky for the Council of Peoples Commissars, pledging moral and financial assistance to all sections of the international revolutionary movement throughout the world, immediately granting the sum of 2,000,000 roubles for this purpose.

Unlike the betrayers such as Harry Pollitt & Co., the international under Lenin and Trotsky were proud to acknowledge material and moral assistance to the international movement. It would never have occurred to the revolutionaries of the Leninist school to deem it expedient to deny this obligation to the international revolution. But from the domination of the G.P.U. over the Comintern as Stalin consolidated himself in 1926 the financial resources, far from being utilised to render aid to revolutionary movements, was vested in the hands of the G.P.U. and used for bribery, corruption and assassination in the interests of preserving the Stalinist oligarchy.

After years of hounding, killing his family, burning his archives — this machine finally succeeded in penetrating the protective screen which the Fourth Internationalists had so zealously thrown round Comrade Trotsky. Jacson, the G.P.U. agent succeeded in enacting his foul and despicable piece. The greatest brain in the international labour movement was pierced by an ice pick from the hands of Stalin's thug. The Mexican court has sentenced him to 20 years for his premeditated murder. (There is no death sentence in Mexico). He may escape with the connivance of the G.P.U., as did his colleague Alfred Siquieros, to spend the rest of his life in a well paid job. It does not matter. Trotskyism has not been killed. Before they stilled his pen, Trotsky had already laid the basis for the cadres of the Fourth International in the spirit of Marx, Engels and of Lenin. His writings which constitute the basic works of Marxism, are on the bookshelves of revolutionary workers throughout the world.

In 1937 Trotsky wrote: "We possess neither state apparatus nor hired friends. Nevertheless we confidently challenge the Stalinist band in face of the whole world. We shall not fold our arms. Certain among us may still fall in the struggle. But the final outcome is already decided. Stalinism will be crushed, destroyed, and covered with shame. The way will be clear for the international working class."

organisation of the party's work, to call irresponsible individuals to order and, if need be, to eject them from the ranks.

The decisions of the national party convention are binding on all members without exception and they conclude the discussion on all those disputed questions upon which a decision has been taken. Any party mem-

ber violating the decisions of the convention, or attempting to revive discussion in regard to them without formal authorisation of the party, puts himself thereby in opposition to the party and forfeits his right to membership. All party organisations are authorised and instructed to take any measures necessary to enforce this rule.

# Break the Coalition

LABOUR TO POWER  
on the following  
Programme :

1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.
6. Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
7. Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
9. Establishment of military 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.

## MINERS SHOULD REMEMBER BEVERIDGE

On September 3rd, 1926, the Government appointed a Coal Commission to deal with the question of the attack on the miners' wages. History, and the miners know well the report that it made—a greater concentration of industry under the Baldwin and Aberconway groups—AND A VICIOUS SLASH ON THE MINERS' WAGES.

Such were the recommendations of this Committee of four men Sir Herbert Samuel, Hon. Sir Herbert Lawrence, Mr. Kenneth Lee—and Sir

# CLYDE SELL-OUT BY C.P.

Continued from page 1

progress, when the police broke in. Fortunately the Chairman was able to keep down any trouble and the workers went back in an orderly manner to their work. After the meeting a full Shop Stewards meeting was held and it was decided to get in touch with the other factories. This was done. Letters and telegrams were sent to David Kirkwood, M.P., Sir A. Duncan and various other people.

David Kirkwood came to Clydebank and interviewed the Management and Shop Stewards then went back to London to interview Sir A. Duncan, who postponed the Sunday closing until April 4th to allow time for discussions between the Management and Shop Stewards.

Now that the Beardmore group of Shop Stewards were organised as one body, the Stewards were determined to carry on the fight and called for a Government inquiry into the supervision of the factory, demanding its return to R.O.F. status. In the interval, Parkhead had held meetings which had also been "backed" by the police. At another of the factories 6 Shop Stewards had been charged with running an "illegal lottery" in the works. The "lottery" was a raffle, which was run by the Shop Stewards, half of which went to Mutual Aid Fund, the other half to the Shop Stewards' Fund. Four of the six Shop Stewards pleaded guilty, were fined and dismissed. The factory came out on strike for one day in protest. The other two Stewards pleaded not guilty, and their case comes up very shortly. They are the Convener and sub-Convener of Shop Stewards.

### C.P. DECIDED

In the factory where the main dispute occurred over Sunday work the majority of the Shop Stewards are members of the Communist Party, and let it be said that they have been really great fighters. During the latter discussions with the Management, they (the Stewards) could beat the Management in every point. But it was plain that Beardmore & Co., were determined to smash the Shop Stewards movement at all costs. The Shop Stewards were equally determined that they would not be smashed, and at the mass meeting on the 19th March the sub-Convener read out a very humorous comenentary as a sort of war communique. But alas. Just when everyone was getting ready for a struggle with the boss, and looking forward to it, something happened. There was treachery afoot. On Wednesday 31st March, the Shop Stewards who were members of the C.P. held a fraction meeting. The following morning at the full Shop Stewards meeting we got the result of this party-fraction meeting. Instead of their usual fighting spirit they made a complete somersault, and moved that

workers that they accept the firm's terms.

The following morning the mass meeting was called. By this time the news had leaked out that the Shop Stewards had betrayed the workers and it was quite a hectic meeting. All the usual rhetoric and sentimental bunk were used by the C.P. to get over their view, and this unfortunately, they succeeded in doing, in spite of the fact that Bro. Binnie warned the workers that they were being betrayed, told them about the fraction meetings of the Communist Party Shop Stewards and repudiated that it was the recommendation of the Shop Stewards to accept the employers' terms, and explained that this was the direction of the Communist Party to its members, who compose the majority of the Shop Stewards, an accusation the C.P.ers could not deny. He also pointed out that to accept the recommendation of the C.P. would be a stab in the back to their Convener, Bro. Hugh McGrory who was attending a Conference at Blackpool all week, and who knew nothing about this meeting being called. In spite of all that the treachery of the C.P. won out, although Bo. Binnie's accusations were simply evaded and never faced up to. In short, the workers at that meeting were completely confused and the majority of them were not too sure of what they were voting for. What finally decided most of them was the terrorist threat made by Geddes, the speaker of the C.P. that anyone who refused to work on Saturday could be charged under the E.P.A. and fined or imprisoned—a deliberate lie, a lie that only C.P. would stoop to.

On the Monday following the meeting, Bro. McGrory returned from Blackpool and when he learned about the Friday debacle, he was a very sick man. All that he had worked hard for months and was beginning to see progress being made, all the organisation that had been done, all the support that had been given, all that had been destroyed in an hour, sabotaged by the Communist Party who have lined up with the most reactionary bosses.

At the same time let it be noted that not all the C.P. stewards agreed with the betrayal of the workers and a number of them are included in the minority of 24. I dare say that by this time they will have resigned or been expelled from the C.P. But the minority are not satisfied with the result of the meeting. They knew that the workers were deluded and they will see to it that the workers are told the truth. The treachery of the C.P. must be exposed. They must be placed in their proper place. They will have to realise that shop stewards are answerable to those who elected them, namely the workers, and not to the C.P. Were the C.P. a Marxian Party they would realise that our economic condition determines our political outlook. They are attempting to turn that upside down and make their political outlook determine our economic conditions. But of course every one who can think at all knows that the C.P. is anti-Marxian. Let us hope that in the near future the minority will be able to reverse the tragic result of the mass meeting,



## NOTES FROM BELFAST

Belfast—9th April.

At Belfast Summons Court to-day, 135 painters were fined 40/- each for taking part in a strike connected with a trade dispute at a Northern Ireland industrial concern.

On March 11th, the painters were working at a ship which was almost finished. When the painters had gone off one of the foremen asked the red leaders to finish it. The red leaders worked overtime on painters' work.

When the painters came back the following morning they found the ship was finished and, as a protest against the infringement of trade union rights, they decided to go on strike. They resumed work on March 15th.

Prosecutions against other painters will be heard tomorrow.

In connection with the recent strike of carters and dockers, 94 carters were prosecuted at Belfast Summons Court on 12th April. The Strike Committee were fined £8 each and the remainder of the strikers £5 each.

On April 14th, 88 dockers and 3 checkers employed by the L.M.S. were prosecuted for stopping work on March 12th and 15th. This stoppage was as a result of the arrest of a docker on a charge of pilfering. 27 of the strikers were fined 40/-, 55 were fined £1, and A. Dickson, a 26 year old Shop Steward described at the ringleader, was sent to prison for 2 months.

The circumstances which led up to the strike were as follows:

On March 12th, James Kane, a docker, was arrested on a charge of

## Lads Victory at Holdsworth and Hanson

For some considerable time, a foreman of the bullying type has been leading the lads a dogs life at the above job, this treatment has been brought to a sudden close by the action of the boy's this morning.

As soon as the lads started work this morning, the foreman told one of them to go checking the loads off the waggons. He had been doing this job the previous week as relief while the proper checker was on holidays. On one particular day the boy went without his dinner at the request of the foreman and on receiving his wage packet on Friday, he discovered that he had not received payment for the time worked, and the foreman refused to sanction payment, so naturally when asked to do a similar job the boy refused; he there and then was told to go home for three days.

A driver then approached the other boys and told them that the only way to stop this kind of bullying and the continual loss of wages by suspension, was to force a show-down by following their fellow-worker out to the gate, and not to return until the matter had been satisfactorily concluded.

At breakfast time this driver met the lads and helped them to formulate a number of demands and on agreement they all marched up to the nearest

## Correspondence ENGINEERS' AWARD

That the impartiality of Bevin's Tribunals is but an illusion, has been amply demonstrated by the recent award made to the engineers. This insult, coming as it does, after several months of fruitless negotiations between the Engineering Joint Trades Movement—representing forty unions—and the Engineering Employers Association, has caused a great wave of discontent throughout the workshops and shipyards all over the country.

We demanded originally a flat rate increase of 11/- per week, a time rate of 33½ per cent to time workers, and the restoration of the pre-June 1931 conditions. We got 6/- on to the time workers bonus, 20/- transference to basic rate from national bonus, and revision of the bonus and piecework agreement from 25 per cent on the old basic rate of 46/- to 27½ per cent of the new basic rate of 66/-.

This means that only the unfortunate minority of engineering workers who were working for the very minimum, will benefit under the award. Labourers, shipyard workers, inspectors, maintenance men, setters and mark-off who are on their grade minimum, and those who were earning around 25 per cent on the old base rate will derive any advantage.

Great play has been made about the ambiguity of the award, about the lack of aptitude of the legal minded fraternity in framing the award, but even when translated into simple everyday language—the result is the same, the workers generally get nothing.

How should we face up to this position? Already there have been strikes, demonstrations and embargoes

to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for the Socialist United States of Europe.

## MINERS SHOULD REMEMBER BEVERIDGE

On September 3rd, 1926, the Government appointed a Coal Commission to deal with the question of the attack on the miners' wages. History, and the miners know well the report that it made—a greater concentration of industry under the Baldwin and Aberconway groups—AND A VICIOUS SLASH ON THE MINERS' WAGES.

Such were the recommendations of this Committee of four men, Sir Herbert Samuel, Hon. Sir Herbert Lawrence, Mr. Kenneth Lee—and Sir WILLIAM BEVERIDGE.

No, Sir William hasn't been won over to the worker's side. Now, as then, he is working in the interests of the boss class. Then he was carrying out their commission to justify their attack on the miserable wages of the miners. Now, his commission is how to prevent the workers from sweeping away the whole capitalist system.

## LABOUR DAY

Continued from page 1

want to give every assistance to the Soviet Union, and want to struggle for a better future for themselves. But the road of class-collaboration offers them no way of doing any of these things. On the contrary, it only offers universal enslavement.

But on the road of independence the British working class can play a role of gigantic world-wide importance. The German workers would raise their heads, seeing an ally in the struggle against Hitler, instead of as at present an enemy to be feared just as much as Hitler. The Russian masses would find themselves rid of an enemy in the guise of an "ally," and in possession of a genuine ally who would stand by their side waging the same struggle and enabling them to rid themselves of the Stalinist bureaucracy that prevents their struggle from taking its place as part of the world proletarian revolution.

The programme of Workers' International League is the only programme of independent class action which can truly solve the problems with which the workers are faced. Here is the alternative to the treacherous and reactionary programme of the coalition. Here is the opportunity to bring to life again and to put into action the true spirit of May Day. Let the Labour leaders break the coalition and struggle for power on this programme and they will rally the entire working class behind them. More than this, they will at the same time take the first steps in rallying the German and European working class, and thus prepare for a real settling of accounts with Hitlerism. The failure of the Labour leaders to do this brands them as agents of the capitalist class, and not at all as representatives of the workers.

Having no illusions that the present leaders of the British Labour movement will take the road of revolution, Workers' International League will continue the struggle to build a truly Socialist party in Britain which will give the mass of the workers a firm lead on their own path of independence. That is the road of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. The building of such a party will at the same time be part of the building of a new international organisation which will give a conscious lead to the entire world movement of the masses—the Fourth International.

In the factory where the main dispute occurred over Sunday work the majority of the Shop Stewards are members of the Communist Party, and let it be said that they have been really great fighters. During the latter discussions with the Management, they (the Stewards) could beat the Management in every point. But it was plain that Beardmore & Co., were determined to smash the Shop Stewards movement at all costs. The Shop Stewards were equally determined that they would not be smashed, and at the mass meeting on the 19th March the sub-Convener read out a very humorous commentary as a sort of war communique. But alas. Just when everyone was getting ready for a struggle with the boss, and looking forward to it, something happened. There was treachery afoot. On Wednesday 31st March, the Shop Stewards who were members of the C.P. held a fraction meeting. The following morning at the full Shop Stewards meeting we got the result of this party-fraction meeting. Instead of their usual fighting spirit they made a complete somersault, and moved that we accept the conditions laid down by the Management! Bro. Binnie, one of the Shop Stewards, accused the C.P. of selling out, and pointed out that to capitulate at this stage was nothing less than treachery to the workers, not only of the factories directly interested, but to the entire Clydeside. At the meeting the C.P.ers won by 31 votes to 24, to recommend to the

C.P. have lined up the most reactionary bosses.

At the same time let it be noted that not all the C.P. stewards agreed with the betrayal of the workers and a number of them are included in the minority of 24. I dare say that by this time they will have resigned or been expelled from the C.P. But the minority are not satisfied with the result of the meeting. They knew that the workers were deluded and they will see to it that the workers are told the truth. The treachery of the C.P. must be exposed. They must be placed in their proper place. They will have to realise that shop stewards are answerable to those who elected them, namely the workers, and not to the C.P. Were the C.P. a Marxian Party they would realise that our economic condition determines our political outlook. They are attempting to turn that upside down and make their political outlook determine our economic conditions. But of course every one who can think at all knows that the C.P. is anti-Marxian. Let us hope that in the near future the minority will be able to reverse the tragic result of the mass meeting, and go forward once again in our struggle for decent working conditions in spite of the Communist Party.

## SENT FROM EGYPT

From a Soldier Correspondent—

Twenty-two workers, charged with striking, were sentenced by the Alexandria Military Courts on Wednesday to periods of imprisonment varying from nineteen days to six months.

Answering the plea put forward by the defending counsel that the conditions under which these men worked were unjust, the Chief Judge, Mre Husni Khirallah, declared that the question of justification lay outside the jurisdiction of the Court.

### JUDGE ON LAW

"The law", he declared, "judges the crime in relation to the harm it does to the stability of the community, and strikes are a contagious disease that should be eradicated.

Adding that the employers' responsibility is a serious one, he concluded by pointing out that though Egyptians are not easily induced to strike, owing to the prevailing religious conception that considers the "risks" of work as directly decided by God's will, yet he urged employers to show more consideration and patience.

"Egyptian Mail", 13 Nov., 1942.

## VOTE ON WAGE AWARD

An emergency meeting of 250 Clydeside engineering shop stewards was held in the Woodside Halls, Glasgow, yesterday, to consider the recent national arbitration award on engineers' wages.

A proposal to give 21 days' notice of intention to withdraw labour failing revision of the award was made in the course of the discussion. This proposal received 113 votes and there were 136 against. It was decided ultimately that the local Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union should consider the situation and discuss further action.

of one of the foremen asked the red leaders to finish it. The red leaders worked overtime on painters' work.

When the painters came back the following morning they found the ship was finished and, as a protest against the infringement of trade union rights, they decided to go on strike. They resumed work on March 15th.

Prosecutions against other painters will be heard tomorrow.

In connection with the recent strike of carters and dockers, 94 carters were prosecuted at Belfast Summons Court on 12th April. The Strike Committee were fined £8 each and the remainder of the strikers £5 each.

On April 14th, 88 dockers and 3 checkers employed by the L.M.S. were prosecuted for stopping work on March 12th and 15th. This stoppage was as a result of the arrest of a docker on a charge of pilfering. 27 of the strikers were fined 40/-. 55 were fined £1, and A. Dickson, a 26 year old Shop Steward described at the ringleader, was sent to prison for 2 months.

The circumstances which led up to the strike were as follows:

On March 12th, James Kane, a docker, was arrested on a charge of pilfering from one of the boats. He was released on bail. About 3 p.m. that day, Kane, accompanied by Dickson, went to the L.M.S. police office to make enquiries regarding the charge. An Inspector declined to discuss the matter and Dickson said the men intended to come out on strike. The men did strike at 3.20 p.m.

On the following day, 90 dockers stopped work when the detective responsible for Kane's arrest entered the shed where they were working. They did not resume work until he had left.

On March 15th there was a further strike in support of the demand that the men who had gone to Court to give evidence on Kane's behalf should be paid full wages for the time they had spent in Court. This strike was successful; the men were paid for this time.

On March 20th, three further strikes were caused by the presence in the sheds of the detective responsible for the arrest of Kane.

The men insist that Kane, who was convicted on the pilfering charge, is innocent, and that the Company was merely trying to find a scapegoat. Meantime, Kane has appealed against the conviction and is still employed in the sheds.

R. Armstrong.

As soon as the lads started work this morning, the foreman told one of them to go checking the loads off the waggons. He had been doing this job the previous week as relief while the proper checker was on holidays. On one particular day the boy went without his dinner at the request of the foreman and on receiving his wage packet on Friday, he discovered that he had not received payment for the time worked, and the foreman refused to sanction payment, so naturally when asked to do a similar job the boy refused; he there and then was told to go home for three days.

A driver then approached the other boys and told them that the only way to stop this kind of bullying and the continual loss of wages by suspension, was to force a show-down by following their fellow-worker out to the gate, and not to return until the matter had been satisfactorily concluded.

At breakfast time this driver met the lads and helped them to formulate a number of demands and on agreement they all marched up to the nearest District Office of the T.&G.W.U. and joined up. Asking the District Officer to take their case up, the Officer stated that they should not have walked out of the job but at the same time he was glad they did. Later the boys gathered outside the gate and after a time they were told to come in and return to work, but they refused and stated that their T.U. representative was upstairs with the manager. On hearing this the foreman showed his surprise and returned inside with his tail between his legs.

After a conference lasting nearly two and a half hours, the T.U. representative came to the lads and announced a complete victory for the young strikers. The importance of this victory cannot be under-estimated, because the boys have suffered long enough for the foreman's pleasure. He has been handing out suspension orders for a long time, in the same way as he would hand out sweets if they were not rationed. The loss in wages for those suspended and the increased work for those who remained was indeed considerable. The job is a very hard one for boys whose ages average 16 to 17 years, the unloading of 15 ton waggons and then going out to pick up a 15 ton load, returning and assisting to load up the remainder of the waggons

Continued at foot of next column

## Weavers Strike In Hebrides

West of Scotland Correspondent—

A strike of weavers has been in progress on the island of Lewis for the last 7 weeks.

General dissatisfaction with the wage conditions and with the failure of the T.G.W.U. to achieve an improvement, forced the workers to cease work in what has been a stubborn struggle.

These wages had been previously fixed by an agreement between the T.G.W.U. and the Hebridean Spinners' Association. The dissatisfaction of the workers led in the initial stages to the setting up of a new union—the Harris Tweed Weavers Union.

This breakaway had progressive repercussions. As the result of the militancy of the weavers, the T.G.W.U. were forced to agree to the setting up of a Harris Tweed branch of the T.G.W.U. This branch would have the right to elect their own branch officials

and branch committee, who would be responsible for the direction of their own proposed revision of the existing agreement with the Masters Association—the Hebridean Spinners Association. The branch would also have the right to send representatives to attend, along with area officials from the office, any meeting with the employers. No agreement could be reached between the Union and the bosses without the consent of the branch.

Having gained these elementary but important democratic concessions from the union bureaucrats, the workers dissolved their Harris Tweed Weavers Union.

At the time of writing the strike is still in progress, but there can be no doubt that with the spirit displayed by the workers and the gains already won inside the union, it will result in gains in the wage revision.

and shipyard all over the country.

We demanded originally a flat rate increase of 11/- per week, a time rate of 33 1/2 per cent to time workers, and the restoration of the pre-June 1931 conditions. We got 6/- on to the time workers bonus, 20/- transference to basic rate from national-bonus, and revision of the bonus and piecework agreement from 25 per cent on the old basic rate of 46/- to 27 1/2 per cent of the new basic rate of 66/-.

This means that only the unfortunate minority of engineering workers who were working for the very minimum, will benefit under the award. Labourers, shipyard workers, inspectors, maintenance men, setters and mark off who are on their grade minimum, and those who were earning around 25 per cent on the old base rate will derive any advantage.

Great play has been made about the ambiguity of the award, about the lack of aptitude of the legal minded fraternity in framing the award, but even when translated into simple everyday language—the result is the same, the workers generally get nothing.

How should we face up to this position? Already there have been strikes, demonstrations and embargoes on overtime, as means of protest against the cynical disregard of the engineers' claim. Workers in several factories in West Riding downed tools and were granted the six bob. The Tyneside has decided on an embargo on overtime. The engineers in the Barrow district left their work and marched in demonstration to a meeting place where they were addressed by the A.E.U. Divisional Organiser. They decided to adopt a ca'canny policy on the job, making 25 per cent their limit, send a telegram of protest to Bevin, and pledged their support to the E.C. of the A.E.U. in any action they might take, including strike action. Barrow district has also contacted other districts, suggesting co-ordinated action. The Mid-Lanark and the Glasgow District Committees of the A.E.U. have decided to call special meetings of shop stewards to discuss the whole position arising out of the "award" and factory meetings have been held.

We think the fundamental task is to bring home to the workers that the failure to use their organised strength in defence of their living conditions is a crime. The continued acceptance of the boss class and the boss class state means the self destruction of the Labour movement. Now is our opportunity! The engineering workers can play a great role; decisive action can force concessions from the employers, it can raise the morale of the working class to something like the '26 spirit and lead the way forward to new working class victories on all fronts. Fight for our rights or passively accept Churchillian Totalitarianism—those are our only alternatives. Let us fight!

J. Menzies.

The writer wishes it to be stated that he does not agree politically with the "Socialist Appeal".

for the North. Their hours of work were on average 56 to 60 per week.

But this first challenge to the bosses is but a first step. The victorious boy strikers must now close their ranks, appeal to the drivers to polish up their organisation and lastly to appeal to the women workers to learn the lesson from the boys' action, and thereby remove some of the causes of discontent which exist at the present time. Only by United Action by the lads—the women and the drivers can any easement of the harsh working conditions be obtained.

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

EDITOR: E. Grant. BUSINESS MANAGER: M. Lee  
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### EDITORIAL

## Churchill and Russia

Churchill's policy toward the Soviet Union must rank as by far the most cynical, brutal and bitter deception in history. Never have so many fine words and promises been used to camouflage such a grim and relentless class policy. Never have such clouds of cant and piety been used to conceal such a calculated and cold-blooded design.

For two solid years this open enemy of Communism has been promising to hasten to the aid of the Soviet Union. But during those two years he has sat back and enjoyed the spectacle of two of his enemies spilling each other's blood. Who can doubt that during these two years the policy so carelessly mouthed by Moore-Brabazon has been operated by British imperialism?

From the purely military point of view there have been occasions when the situation simply cried out for an invasion of the Continent by British forces. That is, of course, on the assumption that Russia and Britain were genuine allies. During the long, desperate weeks of Stalingrad battles; during the great Russian advances in the winter; these are two of the most recent. An invasion of the Continent would have drawn off scores of German Divisions and enabled the Red Army to make truly spectacular advances. But the invasion was never undertaken. And is the reason so difficult to seek? Simply that the British calculations were not and could not be made from the purely military point of view. The decision has been political.

But what worker with his eyes open expected any more from Churchill and Roosevelt and their class? A thousand times worse is the crime of those who have tried to persuade the workers to have faith in the value of the Anglo-American capitalists as allies of the Soviet Union. The leaders of the British Communist Party have devoted themselves whole-heartedly to this task for the past two years. And in the course of these two years their main effort has been bent on overcoming the natural hostility and suspicion of the workers (their own members included) for the capitalists. In spite of all their lies and falsifications they have failed to do this, for events have worked against them. Their arguments have been shattered against the hard rock of the capitalist refusal to open a second front.

How superior they were at first. Stalin, they said, was a realist. He chose allies who were powerful. Great allies like the British and American governments. Not gangs of workers who didn't even have a gun to their name—let alone State power. Stalin was "practical." He fought with weapons, not with words. And at the same time they tried to make out that the Trotskyist alternative was to lay down arms and merely make appeals in words to the German soldiers. They dared not admit to their members that the Trotskyist plan was to buttress and back up and dynamise the military struggle with revolutionary appeals to the German and European soldiers and workers. Lenin and Trotsky knew how to fuse revolutionary arms with revolutionary words and policies. One without the other would have been like a gun without a shell. The fusion of the two was irresistible 25 years ago. And it would be equally irresistible today.

Instead of the revolutionary way the Stalinists have chosen the way of appealing and praying and crawling on their bellies to

# SHEFFIELD STRIKE LEADER ASSAULTED

On Easter Sunday, all the employees of Sheffield Corporation Transport Department came out on strike. Except for one or two special services, run for a limited period under orders of the strikers, to and from nearby hospitals and munition works, neither buses nor trams were on the streets.

The conditions of transport workers in Sheffield have been festering for a long time and the basic cause of the strike was a wage demand—1st class drivers have a rate 2s. 8d. per hour which means, after tricky calculation, that he draws about £4 for a 48 hour week after deductions. Lower grade drivers and conductresses get a correspondingly lower rate. The only way to make up a decent wage is to work extra duties or do Sunday duties:—it is obvious that not everyone can work extra duties so that the basic cause of the strike was—for a decent living wage.

Added to this were several other complaints. "Split" duties of 14 hours or more; unequal allocation of relief duties; inadequate cloakroom facilities for the conductresses; and finally general discontent with Bro. Scott, the union secretary, for not only failing but also, apparently not even trying, to obtain better conditions.

It was these circumstances that led to the local union branch pressing for better wages and conditions. Union members were promised the result of the arbitration by Wednesday, April 28th. On Friday and Saturday the 23rd and 24th, the rumour went round that the demand had been turned down flat. On Saturday night a section of the workers, many of whom were formerly union members with lapsed cards due to their disgust at the reactionary attitude of the union committee, decided to go on strike. The elected committee of the workers then organised pickets for all the transport depots. On Sunday with the exceptions noted above, no public transport stirred in the town. By afternoon the

tram rails already beginning to rust in the rain and sun, was the sign of the strikers power.

The most heartening thing about the strike was its 100 per cent solidarity—the so-called differences between tram and bus workers, between union and non-union, vanished on Easter Sunday.

At a mass meeting on Sunday evening, chairman and secretary of the strike committee were empowered by the workers to demand the publication

BY RON BLAKE

of the findings of the tribunal that most people thought were concluded.

Monday saw a small minority back at work, and it was here that the contradiction arose.

Some of the workers who worked Monday were keen unionists who took the attitude of sympathy, but refused to violate union procedure. One man who worked was in favour, if the demands were rejected by the arbitration court, of demanding that the T.G.W.U. call a general strike throughout England to obtain their demands.

In the meantime attacks of every type were being levelled at the strikers. Forced to admit that no essential work was held up, the Sheffield "Star" took the viciously anti-labour attitude that no strike is justified now under any circumstances.

The "Telegraph" tried to suggest that military units were standing-to, ready to take over the transport, but in a telephone conversation with one member of the Strike Committee, the Regional Commissioner, Major Eastwood gave a personal assurance that no troops were contemplated being used.

In addition to such attempts to scare the strikers, the method of slander was used. One young conductress, with a husband in the army, and a child, was hotly attacking the charge that she was "helping Hitler". She

was on strike for three reasons—"For decent wages and conditions for the men in the Forces to come home to . . . To obtain something nearer a living wage, to keep her child . . . and to show her solid support for the demands of her fellow-workers."

Not only such attacks were widespread, but also attempts of a more dangerous nature. As Bro. Wasden told the mass meeting later—after being threatened with being "kicked to death", he was escorted quite close to his home by his mates, but almost on his doorstep he was beaten into unconsciousness, by a blow from behind. Whatever element was responsible for this attack must understand that organised labour will not be terrorised. At the slightest sign of such attacks in future, the working class will take steps to deal immediately with such fascist elements—and in no unclear fashion.

To put the finishing touch to the widespread unpopularity, Bro. Scott made his contribution to the attacks on the strikers, declaring to the Sheffield "Star" that he thought the strike of the transport workers would "fizzle out". This inflamed the already provoked workers and it was decided to add the demand that the National Executive Council of the Transport and General Workers' Union dismiss Bro. Scott, and that a new committee be elected.

In the meantime, delegates and messages came in from the workers of seven of the biggest bus companies in the West Riding, asking if they could come out and support the Sheffield transport workers: a fitting support to their solid militant attitude.

A second mass meeting of the strikers was arranged by the committee for 9 o'clock on Monday evening. But Scott wanted to put a spoke in that wheel, and called a union meeting for 7 o'clock. But there was no messing about here. Presented with a strong opposition, Bro. Scott gave his resignation to Bro. Fitzgerald of Leeds, the Area Secretary and it now has to be accepted by the N.E.C. Unofficially, Bro. Webb told the mass meeting at 10 o'clock that if the wage increases were granted, they would mean something like 15/- a week increase for most of them.

The meeting expressed its intention to stand by the strike committee and ensure that they would not be victimised.

The conditions that caused the strike have been mounting up for a long time, but the spark that caused the strike was the suggestion that the arbitration had failed. And the responsibility for this must be laid at the door of the union committee in their failure to inform the mass of the workers of the condition of negotiations. The strikers showed their appreciation of this in expressing their determination to remove both Scott and his committee.

A new possibility now opens up for the T.G.W.U. in the West Riding. Following on from this strike and the solidarity of neighbouring branches, a drive for 100 per cent Trade Unionism must be launched not only in Sheffield but throughout the West Riding so that the companies cannot play off non-union men against the union men.

At the same time the new militant spirit must force the N.E.C. to formulate rules for the yearly re-election of branch committees. Only in that way can a militant leadership, responsible

## Post-War Britain

Continued from Page 1.

discipline. Some troubles of this nature are being encountered today, but in war-time the overriding appeal of patriotism keeps them within bounds. In peace-time, with full employment, the worker would have no counterweight against feeling that he is employed merely to make profits for the firm, and that he is under no moral obligation to refrain from using his new found freedom from fear to snatch every advantage that he can."

In the "Economist," T. Bologh discusses the same question:

"Economists have not yet retained the full scope of the problems to which a policy of full employment would give rise. Before the war, labour mobility and labour efficiency as well as monetary equilibrium were entirely provided by the threat of destitution through unemployment (even if the unemployed received some dole). As soon as employment began to be anywhere "full," the bargaining power of trade unions increased and discipline in the shops relaxed. This state of affairs was, to say the least, unwelcome to most employers, and this undoubtedly resulted in their disinclination to embark on further investments which automatically brought the cumulative upward movement to an end."

In other words, there are few things that terrify the capitalists more than the thought of "Full Employment." But on the other hand they are afraid of the consequences of another period of mass unemployment. They know that on the scale on which it is likely to appear after the war, it will have revolutionary implications. How do they propose to solve their dilemma? The "Economist" pamphlet presents the dilemma in this fashion:

"This process must lead either to the establishment of a Fascist regime where the bargaining power of the workers is eliminated by terror or to such gradual encroachment of the state on private enterprise as would limit the scope of private initiative even in fields where it could be well maintained."

The "Times" puts the alternative like this:

"Two solutions of the dilemma presented by full employment are offered to the modern world. Under Fascism the Trade unions are broken; direct terror, supplemented by a mystical propaganda appeal, is substituted as a means of discipline for the fear of unemployment, mainly directed to building armaments, is thus made possible. Socialism presupposes the opposite solution. The long and bitter antagonism between capital and labour is to be brought to an end when capital becomes the property of the community as a whole."

It is scarcely necessary to comment on this. There is no third way. Both the "Times" and the class for which it

## BOLIVIA IN WAR

BY ROSE CARSON

The Bolivian Government has declared war and ordered general mobilisation. From recent reports on the internal situation it cannot be accepted that the Bolivian people were consulted. The Bolivian Government is supposed to be a recruit to the war to "defend democracy". Let us see what this "democratic" state is really like.

Since November 1942, there has been a continual series of class struggles in the South American Republic of Bolivia. The standard of life and the general labour conditions are abject in the extreme. Poverty, bad housing, and ill-health, together with a soaring cost of living and a feudal system of wage payments has resulted in half the population living in peonage. The

burden on an already over-taxed mining industry." But later he divulged the real reason: "it would create a precedent in his own group."

But the Catavi miners were not to be deflected. They scheduled a strike for December 14th, 1942. A day before the strike was due to begin, a Conference of Labour leaders and officials was called, presumably to arrive at a compromise, but Colonel Cuenca, the military commander of the Oruro area assumed control and immediately proceeded to arrest the miners' leaders present at the Conference.

The clashes which followed this provocative action caused the death of one miner and the wounding of several others. On December 14th, 100,000 miners came out on strike. This

two years. And in the course of these two years the main effort has been bent on overcoming the natural hostility and suspicion of the workers (their own members included) for the capitalists. In spite of all their lies and falsifications they have failed to do this, for events have worked against them. Their arguments have been shattered against the hard rock of the capitalist refusal to open a second front.

How superior they were at first. Stalin, they said, was a realist. He chose allies who were powerful. Great allies like the British and American governments. Not gangs of workers who didn't even have a gun to their name—let alone State power. Stalin was "practical." He fought with weapons, not with words. And at the same time they tried to make out that the Trotskyist alternative was to lay down arms and merely make appeals in words to the German soldiers. They dared not admit to their members that the Trotskyist plan was to buttress and back up and dynamise the military struggle with revolutionary appeals to the German and European soldiers and workers. Lenin and Trotsky knew how to fuse revolutionary arms with revolutionary words and policies. One without the other would have been like a gun without a shell. The fusion of the two was irresistible 25 years ago. And it would be equally irresistible today.

Instead of the revolutionary way the Stalinists have chosen the way of appealing and praying and crawling on their bellies to Churchill and Roosevelt to open a second front.

And now, after two years of this, they are thrown onto the defensive. The rank and file of the Communist Party are beginning to realise that the capitalists are simply pursuing their own course. That Churchill, like some modern Nero, is prepared to go on orating for some considerable time while Russia burns and bleeds.

They see another campaigning season fast approaching with Hitler making every preparation for a further frenzied assault on the heart of Russia, while Churchill talks of 1944 and 1945. The leadership of the C.P. is forced to ask desperately if the decision at Casablanca was "NOT TO OPEN THE SECOND FRONT SO LONG AS IT MIGHT HELP THE RED ARMY, BUT TO OPEN IT ONLY WHEN AND IF THE RED ARMY WEAKENS THE GERMANS TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT THE ENTIRE NAZI SYSTEM COLLAPSES?" Well said, Labour Monthly! But it is precisely what the "Socialist Appeal" has been saying ever since Russia was attacked. This is "Trotskyism!"

The "Socialist Appeal" has been correct in analysis. It is equally correct in prognosis. For both our analysis and our prognosis are based on a Marxist interpretation of events. The only force in Britain that has a genuine interest in giving full assistance to the Soviet Union is the working class. Churchill and Roosevelt will invade Europe. But only when they are sure it will not help the Soviet Union by doing so; and their purpose will be to place the Continent under a new enslavement.

It is for this reason that we do not demand or plead for a Second Front from Churchill and his class. And we would not support one if it were made. The only Second Front that can offer anything to the Russian, British or European workers is one made by the British workers with the State and military power in their hands.

That power cannot be won in a day. It has to be fought for. But the struggle for it will of itself aim heavy blows against Hitlerism and render assistance to the Soviet Union. Let the paid hacks of Stalin scream as they will, the class struggle goes on, and whoever fights against it aids the forces of reaction and weakens those of progress. Whoever supports the class struggle of the workers and gives it a conscious direction toward power, helps not only the British workers but the masses of the Soviet Union and the whole of Europe. Their interests are completely indivisible. It is upon that that the policies of the "Socialist Appeal" are based.

## Workers International News

THEORETICAL ORGAN OF WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE (FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)

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# BOLIVIA IN WAR

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Since November 1942, there has been a continual series of class struggles in the South American Republic of Bolivia. The standard of life and the general labour conditions are abject in the extreme. Poverty, bad housing, and ill-health, together with a soaring cost of living and a feudal system of wage payments has resulted in half the population living in peonage. The common working period is 12 hours a day and 7 days a week. This has driven the workers, particularly the miners, into open class struggle.

The Allied loss of Malaya and the Dutch East Indies has created an unprecedented demand for the rich and valuable deposits of tin, tungsten, antimony and rubber in Bolivia. The United States has given contracts for the total potential output of these commodities. As the result of this "prosperity" the workers have demanded improvements in their social and economic conditions. Until recently there was no deal safeguards to which the workers could turn as a means of improving conditions and increasing their wages. Only by direct action could the workers gain concessions of the most elementary character. Following on this a new Labour Code was drawn up and submitted to the Government for acceptance. Its main demands were:

**"Collective bargaining, regular payments of wages every 15 days, minimum rates, and compulsory arbitration."**

But even these extremely modest demands were too much for the reactionary Bolivian Government which is completely under the thumb of American finance-capital, and a compromise code was agreed upon.

### OPEN CLASHES WITH THE MILITARY

The first struggles occurred in the Potosi area, where the miners demanded the abolition of the Company's stores. These stores purported to place certain essential goods and necessities into the hands of the miners at below cost price. This was actually used by the bosses for keeping wages at starvation level. The workers demanded wage increases to meet the soaring cost of living. An Arbitration Committee was set up composed of mine-owners and the Bolivian Confederation of Labour. This Committee took four months to come to a decision, which was, of course, endorsement of the Company's refusal to close the stores and increase wages. A strike was averted by the "promulgation of the Bush Labour Code and the efforts of the Labour leaders in Potosi."

Similarly in the Patine group of mines and in the Catavi area, the miners demanded wage increases. In these areas the Arbitration Committee appeared to be nearing agreement when a leading mine-owner intervened. He stated that "the obligations of the new Labour code, together with wage increases, would impose too heavy a

burden on an already over-taxed mining industry." But later he divulged the real reason: "it would create a precedent in his own group."

But the Catavi miners were not to be deflected. They scheduled a strike for December 14th, 1942. A day before the strike was due to begin, a Conference of Labour leaders and officials was called, presumably to arrive at a compromise, but Colonel Cuenca, the military commander of the Oruro area assumed control and immediately proceeded to arrest the miners' leaders present at the Conference.

The clashes which followed this provocative action caused the death of one miner and the wounding of several others. On December 14th, ten thousand miners came out on strike. This involved 50 per cent of the tin miners in Bolivia. Martial law was declared in the whole of the surrounding districts, which involved La Paz, Oruro, Potosi and Chuquisaca. The Bolivian Labour headquarters offered to intervene, but this was promptly refused by the Government, who under pressure from Washington would not make any concessions.

The workers attempted to free their leaders, and in the struggle many more miners were killed.

### TROTSKYISTS PERSECUTED

Amongst the leaders of the 10 unions were several members and officials of the "Left" Revolutionary Party (P.I.R.). This Fourth Internationalist organisation immediately became the object of persecution by the military. Colonel Cuenca ordered instant search of the homes of the P.I.R. officials and reported the findings of a document which he claimed was the policy of the P.I.R. This document was stated to have "fostered the strike" so as to "promote Social revolution." Following this, further leaders, including members of the P.I.R. were arrested and charged with subversive activity.

A hue and cry was set up by all the most reactionary elements in Bolivian society. From the pro-Axis journal "La Calle" came the demand to outlaw the P.I.R. From the Stalinists came the accusations of "Nazi Agents", Lombardo Toledano, the infamous Stalinist stooge from Mexico, issued a statement calling on "Bolivian Labour to give wholehearted support (by stopping striking) to the Allied war effort" and for Bolivia to enter the war. In answer to these direct and inferred attacks, the Bolivian Labour Centre adopted the following resolution:

"Our Statute's declaration of principles and Congress resolutions bear witness that the organised workers of Bolivia are the mortal enemies of Nazi fascism, Falangism and their fifth column."

According to the latest press reports the strike ended on December 24th, and as a direct result of the vicious reprisals against militant miners, a wholesale exodus has begun from the Catavi area. Forty per cent of the Labour leaders remain in prison on a charge of sabotage—a charge which has since been acknowledged as a frame-up. The "Unified Socialists", one of the biggest parties in the Chamber of Deputies, has protested to the Minister of the Interior against the killing of the Catavi miners and the

imprisonment of their leaders, but no reply has been forthcoming.

### THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

The self-styled "defenders of democracy", and co-authors of the Atlantic Charter, have not hesitated to interfere in the domestic affairs of Bolivia, and to interfere viciously on the side of reaction.

The chief of the Labour Information Division of the Pan-American Union, Ernest Galanza, in a letter to the American paper "The Nation"—for which he was subsequently removed from his post—disclosed how the American Ambassador in Bolivia on instructions from Mr. Cordell Hull, U.S. Secretary of State, intervened against the miner's demands. In the words of his code cable to Washington, the Ambassador, Mr. Pierre Boal intervened because the code would,

"impose disagreeable administrative expenses on the mining companies (American owned—Ed.) . . . that it was not desirable to pay the workers earned wages on time, as the old system (of Neo-peonage—Ed.) compelled the workers to remain on the job . . . and that collective bargaining would be a deterrent to production"

Cordell Hull immediately ordered pressure to be brought to bear through the President of Bolivia. His instructions were published by Galanza. After a threatening interview, the suppression of the clauses most objectionable to Dollar Imperialism was agreed upon.

Marx characterised America as "the land of the democratic swindle". This remains true to-day. Here we have a true criterion of what the American capitalists mean by democracy, the instant and bloody suppression of even the most modest protest of the workers against intolerable conditions. Only the independent action of the workers can put a stop to such black reaction; only the class struggle can prevent the blocking of the aspirations of the working-class to a decent standard of life. Bolivian workers will not lightly abandon struggle against the slavery under which they have suffered for so long.

"This process must lead either to the establishment of a Fascist regime where the bargaining power of the workers is eliminated by terror or to such gradual encroachment of the state on private enterprise as would limit the scope of private initiative even in fields where it could be well maintained."

The "Times" puts the alternative like this:

"Two solutions of the dilemma presented by full employment are offered to the modern world. Under Fascism the Trade unions are broken; direct terror, supplemented by a mystical propaganda appeal, is substituted as a means of discipline for the fear of unemployment, mainly directed to building armaments, is thus made possible. Socialism presupposes the opposite solution. The long and bitter antagonism between capital and labour is to be brought to an end when capital becomes the property of the community as a whole."

It is scarcely necessary to comment on this. There is no third way. Both the "Times" and the class for which it speaks, will inevitably have to take the Fascist road in order to resolve their dilemma. Partly, the discussions in the "Times" and the "Economist" have been for the purpose of finding if some third road is possible. But nothing of the sort has emerged. Only the shivering terror before the thought of "Full Employment" in association with an organised working class, and a beginning of a realisation that some alternative to penury as a disciplinary measure will have to be sought in the regimentation that only Fascism can offer.

Let the workers take the warning! The capitalists are thoroughly conscious. They discuss their problems seriously and hammer out policies that are weapons to be used against the organised working class. The open discussions in their newspapers are only a tiny fraction of what goes on in private. They are carefully preparing for the tremendous period of stress and strain that will follow the war. Preparing to fight an enemy whom they take a thousand times more seriously than Hitler.

If the workers are not to be taken unawares and land up in the "Full Employment" of slave labour camps, they must hammer out their ideas, clarify their minds, and organise, with even greater determination and resolve than the capitalists.

No illusions must be entertained as to the possibility of "Full Employment" or "Social Security", or anything else on the basis of the continued existence of capitalism. All that it can ultimately offer is Fascism. The days of "democracy" are swiftly passing by. In the period after the war, capitalist democracy will melt away as surely and inexorably as an iceberg in the sun.

Full employment, with a rising standard of living and political freedom will only be possible when the capitalists have been expropriated and the workers have taken the means of production into their own hands. To organise for that, to guard every position already in our hands, to advance to new positions at every opportunity, to achieve an even greater clarity of ideas and class purpose than the capitalists—these are the prerequisites for success in the coming struggle. With the weapon of Marxism in their hands, with a Party based on Marxism at their head the workers can achieve that success.

# ORGANISATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF OUR PARTY

Workers' International League is a revolutionary Marxian organisation based on a definite programme, whose aim is the organisation of the working class in the struggle for power and the transformation of the existing social order. All of its activities, its methods and its internal regime are subordinated to this aim and are designed to serve it.

Only a self-acting and critical minded membership is capable of forging and consolidating such a party and of solving its problems by collective thought, discussion and experience. From this follows the need of assuring the widest party democracy in the ranks of the organisation.

The struggle for power organised and led by the revolutionary party is the most ruthless and irreconcilable struggle in all history. A loosely knit, heterogeneous, undisciplined, untrained organisation is utterly incapable of accomplishing such world historical tasks as the proletariat and the revolutionary party are confronted with in the present era. This is all the more emphatically true in the light of the extraordinary persecution to which it is subject. From this follows the party's unconditional demand upon all its members for complete discipline in all the public activities and actions of the organization.

Leadership and centralised direction are indispensable prerequisites for any sustained

## THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERSHIP

The leadership of the party must be under the control of the membership, its policies must always be open to criticism, discussion and rectification by the rank and file within properly established forms and limits, and the leading bodies themselves subject to formal recall or alteration. The membership of the party has the right to demand and expect the greatest responsibility from the leaders precisely because of the position they occupy in the movement. The selection of comrades to the positions of leadership means the conferring of an extraordinary responsibility. The warrant for this position must be proved, not once, but continuously by the leadership itself. It is under obligation to set the highest example of responsibility, devotion, sacrifice and complete identification with the party itself and its daily life and action. It must display the ability to defend its policies before the membership of the party, and to defend the line of the party as a whole before the working class in general.

Sustained party activity, not broken or disrupted by abrupt and disorienting

and disciplined action, especially in the party that sets itself the aim of leading the collective efforts of the proletariat in its struggle against capitalism. Without a strong and firm central committee, having the power to act promptly and effectively in the name of the party and to supervise, co-ordinate and direct all its activities without exception, the very idea of a revolutionary party is a meaningless jest.

It is from these considerations, based upon the whole of the experience of working class struggle throughout the world in the last century, that we derive the Leninist principle of organisation, namely, democratic centralism. The same experience has demonstrated that there are no absolute guarantees for the preservation of the principle of democratic centralism, and no rigid formula that can be set down in advance, a priori, for the application of it under any and all circumstances. Proceeding from certain fundamental conceptions, the problem of applying the principle of democratic centralism differently under different conditions and stages of development of the struggle, can be solved only in relation to the concrete situation, in the course of the tests and experience through which the movement passes, and on the basis of the most fruitful and healthy inter-relationship of the leading bodies of the party and its rank and file.

changes, presupposes not only a continuity of leadership. It is an important sign of a serious and firmly constituted party, of a party really engaged in productive work in the class struggle, that it throws up out of its ranks cadres of more or less able leading comrades, tests form their qualities of endurance and trustworthiness, and that it thus ensures a certain stability and continuity of leadership by such a cadre.

Continuity of leadership does not, however, signify the automatic self-preservation of leadership. Constant renewal of its ranks by means of additions and, when necessary, replacements, is the only assurance that the party has that its leadership will not succumb to the effects of dry rot, that it will not be burdened with deadwood, that it will avoid the corrosion of conservatism and dilettantism, that it will not be the object of conflict between the older elements and the younger, that the old and basic cadre will be refreshed by new blood, that the leadership as a whole will not become purely bureaucratic "committee men" with a life that is remote from the real life of the party and the activities of the rank and file.

## RESPONSIBILITIES OF MEMBERSHIP

# G.P.U. AGENT SENTENCED

Continued from page 1.

were soon to be established. On June 18th, Mexico City police announced that through the arrest of 27 members of the Communist Party of Mexico, the case had been solved. The leader of the attack was named David Alfaro Siqueros, prominent Stalinist, who later confessed to this role. Luis Arenal well-known contributor to the Stalinist publications "New Masses" and "Futuro," and Leopoldo Arenal, brothers, were named as the two who shot Harte. Felix Guerrero Mejia and Nestor Sanches Hernandez authors of an article attacking Trotsky and contributors to Stalinist Toledano's paper "Futuro," all members of the C.P. were implicated.

The police established that David Serano, member of the Political Bureau of the Mexican Communist Party had been responsible for organising a net work of spies surrounding Trotsky's home, among whom were his former wife and another woman member of the Communist Party, who had attempted to obtain information from the police guarding the house. The police further established that it was the Central Committee member Serano, who had obtained the police uniforms which the assailants wore. On August 28th, "El Nacional" organ of the Government, stated that a high official of the Mexico City police identifies the assassin Jacson as one of the participants in the May 24th attempt. "Jacson is the same man who led the assault on the house of Trotsky on May 24th which was carried out by Alfaro Siqueros (a painter greatly eulogised in the Stalinist press) and his associates, and he also tortured and assassinated Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's secretary" . . . "Alfaro Siqueros took his orders from Jacson as did other individuals with whom he met in one of the apartments of the Ernita building, in Tacubya, where Siqueros and Gomez Lorenzo (another Stalinist) lived, and where Jacson asked Sylvia Ageloff to address her mail."—"El Nacional.

In Mexico where the case was closely followed in the press, it was established before the working class and the whole of the people that the Communist Party had organised and executed this brutal assault against the exiled re-

d' affairs of the Belgian Legation in Mexico made a statement to the press in which he refuted the claims of Jacson that, he was not of Belgian nationality and that his statements in this connection were false. He was not able to back up one of his claims about his family, their work, his education, his connections. Likewise his claims to have obtained a passport "from a member of the Bureau of the Fourth International" who suggested that he visit Trotsky was also proved a barrage of lies.

The passport on which Frank Jacson entered the United States was issued in March 1937 to Tony Babich, born at Lovinac, Yugoslavia, June 13th, 1905, a member of the Communist Party resident of Canada and a naturalised British subject. Tony Babich used this passport when he went to Spain to fight in the loyalist army. On May 12th, the Spanish Government issued a death certificate for Tony Babich.

How then did Tony Babich's passport get into Frank Jacson's hands? It is well known that a large number of foreigners who enlisted in the Loyalist army were robbed of their passports by the G.P.U. Walter Krivitsky former head of the Soviet Intelligence Service Western Europe, reported that the diplomatic bags sent to the Soviet Union from Spain during the civil war contained bundles of these passports in every mail. Krivitsky was murdered by the G.P.U. in the United States for his exposures.

Jacson was well supplied with money. He claimed that during the last days of August, his "mother" (whose whereabouts cannot be traced) gave him £1,000 in addition to the £50 given him by the alleged member of the Bureau of the Fourth International. In New York City he entrusted £600 to his wife (who has since denounced him as a "dirty G.P.U. agent"). Later, in October 1939, he established a letter of credit with the American Express Agency in New York City for approximately £500. On this letter of credit he cashed heavy checks in January 1940 and again in May of the same year, just before the first assault on Trotsky, and withdrew the balance early in June. When arrested he had more than £133 in his pockets. When he travelled he used aeroplanes. In Mexico he lived expensively without holding any job whatsoever.

Sylvia Ageloff testified to the police that after she met Jacson in Paris he began working for the "Argus Press Service." He sold a number of her articles on child psychology to this service, but told her that it was impossible to find out where they were published, since she would then be able to deal directly with the magazine, thus cutting the Argus service out of its commission. He claimed that he wrote sports articles at a high salary. Sylvia never saw her own articles in print. The "Argus" service was another name for G.P.U.

That he was linked with the previous murders of Fourth Internationalists, became clear as the trial proceeded. Under mysterious circumstances, Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son died in hospital where he was undergoing a minor operation.

"What is your opinion about the

months before he himself was the victim of the G.P.U. machine "confessing" to having been in the Pay of foreign agents, committing acts of terror, treason, espionage, and wrecking and embezzlement. For this he was sentenced to be shot. This man sent hundreds and thousands of the flower of the Russian revolutionaries to their death and to exile. Let Stalin and his henchmen make an accounting for all these lives whose fate was decided according to them, by a "Trotsky-fascist agent"!

Yeshov, who followed Yagoda as chief of the G.P.U. was also bumped off as an agent of Hitler. So also the man who followed in his footsteps into the job. What a madhouse!

But the Moscow Trials were but a prelude on Russian soil to the initiation of a world-wide conspiracy. On April 1st 1937, there met in Paris an extraordinary Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern which was attended by the most trusted representatives of 17 sections. The discussions and deliberations were held in secret. But it was given out in the press that the main discussions centred around the international struggle against Trotskyism. Trotsky warned then that this was nothing less than the preparation of a world-wide campaign of calumny, frame-up and murder in the fashion of the Moscow Trials. Events which followed confirmed this. In Spain, France, Switzerland, Cuba, Mexico, the United States of America—in the Far East, everywhere the political opponents of Stalin whose beliefs ranged from Anarchism to Social Democracy were murdered by the G.P.U. All who questioned the policy of Stalin were purged and hounded. Any agent of the G.P.U. who became disillusioned with the terrible apparatus and broke from Stalin, by so doing, signed their own death warrant. Reiss was murdered; Krivitsky was murdered; these are but two examples.

The G.P.U. machine is a cancer eating into the heart of the working class movement. In every section of the Communist Party the agents of the G.P.U. operate. Usually they are kept in the background and are not prominent party members. It is they who act as the eyes, the ears and the voice of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Their job is to seek out the "vacillators" and the critics within the Communist parties and the opponents of Stalin outside the parties. Those who cannot be bribed are hounded, even murdered. That they have unlimited financial resources at their disposal cannot be denied, even by the Stalinists.

On December 26th 1917, a decree was issued in the name of Lenin and Trotsky for the Council of Peoples Commissars, pledging moral and financial assistance to all sections of the international revolutionary movement throughout the world, immediately granting the sum of 2,000,000 roubles for this purpose.

Unlike the betrayers such as Harry Pollitt & Co., the international under Lenin and Trotsky were proud to acknowledge material and moral assistance to the international movement. It would never have occurred to the revolutionaries of the Leninist

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DOES RUSSIA'S ENTRY  
ALTER INTERNATIONAL  
POLICY?

properly established forms and limits, and the leading bodies themselves subject to formal recall or alteration. The membership of the party has the right to demand and expect the greatest responsibility from the leaders precisely because of the position they occupy in the movement. The selection of comrades to the positions of leadership means the conferring of an extraordinary responsibility. The warrant for this position must be proved, not once, but continuously by the leadership itself. It is under obligation to set the highest example of responsibility, devotion, sacrifice and complete identification with the party itself and its daily life and action. It must display the ability to defend its policies before the membership of the party, and to defend the line of the party as a whole before the working class in general.

Sustained party activity, not broken or disrupted by abrupt and disorienting

## RESPONSIBILITIES OF MEMBERSHIP

Like leadership, membership itself in the party implies certain definite rights. Party membership confers the fullest freedom of discussion, debate and criticism inside the ranks of the party, limited only by such decisions and provisions as are made by the party itself or by bodies to which it assigns this function. Affiliation to the party confers upon such member the right of being democratically represented at all policy making assemblies of the party (from branch to national and international convention), and the right of the final and decisive vote in determining the programme, policies and leadership of the party.

With party rights, the membership has also certain definite obligations. The theoretical and political character of the party is determined by its programme, which form the lines delimiting the revolutionary party

## A PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS

From the foregoing it follows that the party seeks to include in its ranks all the revolutionary, class conscious and militant workers who stand on its programme and are active in building the movement in a disciplined manner. The revolutionary Marxian party rejects not only the arbitrariness and bureaucratism of the Communist Party, but also spurious and deceptive "all inclusiveness" of the Independent Labour Party, which is a sham and a fraud. Experience has proved conclusively that this "all inclusiveness" paralyses the party in general and the revolutionary wing in particular, suppressing and bureaucratically hounding the latter while giving free reign to the right wing to commit the greatest crimes in the name of socialism and the party. The W.I.L. seeks to be inclusive only in this sense: that it accepts into its ranks those who accept its programme and denies admission to those who reject its programme.

The rights of each individual member, as set forth above, do not imply that the membership as a whole, namely the party itself, does not possess rights of its own. The party as a whole has the right to demand

the class struggle, that it throws up out of its ranks cadres of more or less able leading comrades, tests form their qualities of endurance and trustworthiness, and that it thus ensures a certain stability and continuity of leadership by such a cadre.

Continuity of leadership does not, however, signify the automatic self-preservation of leadership. Constant renewal of its ranks by means of additions and, when necessary, replacements, is the only assurance that the party has that its leadership will not succumb to the effects of dry rot, that it will not be burdened with deadwood, that it will avoid the corrosion of conservatism and dilettantism, that it will not be the object of conflict between the older elements and the younger, that the old and basic cadre will be refreshed by new blood, that the leadership as a whole will not become purely bureaucratic "committee men" with a life that is remote from the real life of the party and the activities of the rank and file.

from all other parties, groups and tendencies in the working class. The first obligation of party membership is acceptance of the programme of the party and regular affiliation to one of the basic units of the party. The party requires of every member the acceptance of its discipline and the carrying on of his activity in accordance with the programme of the party, with the decisions adopted by its conventions, and with the policies formulated and directed by the party leadership.

Party membership implies the obligation of one hundred per cent. loyalty to the organisation, the rejection of all agents of other hostile groups in its ranks, and fulfillment of all the tasks which the party assigns to each member. Party membership implies the obligation upon every member to contribute materially to the support of the organisation in accordance with his means.

that its work be not disrupted and disorganised, and has the right to take all the measures which it finds necessary to assure its regular and normal functioning. The rights of any individual member are distinctly secondary to the rights of the party membership as a whole. Party democracy means not only the most scrupulous protection of the rights of a given minority, but also the protection of the rule of the majority. The party is therefore entitled to organise the discussion and to determine its forms and limits.

All inner-party discussion must be organised from the point of view that the party is not a discussion club, which debates interminably on any and all questions at any and all times, without arriving at a binding decision that enables the organisation to act, but from the point of view that we are a disciplined party of revolutionary action. The party in general not only has the right, therefore, to organise the discussion in accordance with the requirements of the situation, but the lower units in the party must be given the right in the interests of the struggle against the disruption and dis-

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volutionary. These people who vilify the revolutionaries as being "agents" of foreign imperialist powers and terrorists, themselves conduct their campaigns by this foul anti-Marxist method against the most devoted members of the revolutionary movement.

Although their guilt was irrefutably established, these criminals went practically unpunished. Stalinist pressure and corruption succeeded in eliminating the charges of murder and attempted murder, use of firearms, usurpation of official functions (of police officers) and criminal association. In the end Siquieros faced only charges of housebreaking, unlawful use of uniforms, robbery of two cars, and damaging another's property (with machine guns!). With the tremendous apparatus controlled by Stalin, he is able to bloc the exposures connecting the G.P.U. through pressure on the governments of the respective countries. So it was when the Swiss police established that the G.P.U. murdered Ignace Reiss.

### WHO IS FRANK JACSON?

To this day the true identity of Jacson is unknown. His statements claiming to be a Belgian with connections with the Trotskyist movement in Paris, proved to be false from beginning to end. Walter Lorigan, charge

May the same day, just before the first assault on Trotsky, and withdrew the balance early in June. When arrested he had more than £133 in his pockets. When he travelled he used aeroplanes. In Mexico he lived expensively without holding any job whatsoever.

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That he was linked with the previous murders of Fourth Internationalists, became clear as the trial proceeded. Under mysterious circumstances, Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son died in hospital where he was undergoing a minor operation.

"What is your opinion about the death of Sedov," asked Judge Trujillo of Jacson, at the preliminary hearing. The assassin hesitated, fumbled for words and replied sullenly: "Only what is printed on the case."

"Was it the G.P.U.?"

"Yes. The G.P.U. killed Sedov."

Just before the world Conference of the Fourth International in September 1938, Rudolph Klement, secretary of the International, was kidnapped. A letter forged in his handwriting was mailed to Leon Trotsky from Perpignan, a small town in Southern France. Jacson showed great familiarity with this town. This letter was identical in terms to those in Jacson's "confession." Written on the same theme as the "confessions" of the Moscow Trials, it expressed Klement's "disillusionment" over his supposed discovery that Trotsky was negotiating a pact with "Hitler."

The Klement letter was shown to be a G.P.U. job by handwriting experts and by the fact that a few days later Klement's body was found floating in the Seine in Paris. The head, arms, and legs had been amputated by someone with a knowledge of anatomy.

Jacson was in the habit of showing off at a dinner table his general knowledge of anatomy. With a sharp knife a roast chicken seemed to fall apart almost by itself!

### THE ROLE OF THE G.P.U. IN THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

The G.P.U. was organised by the Bolsheviks to defend the gains of the revolution of 1917 against the attacks of the Russian capitalists. Under Stalin this weapon of the Russian workers, has been converted into the most terrible instrument against the whole Russian people and against the international working class. In Russia the G.P.U. is dreaded and feared. For 10 years Yagoda was its chief. It was he who "prepared" the Kamenev-Zinoviev Trial. But it was not a few

the Communist Party the agents of the G.P.U. operate. Usually they are kept in the background and are not prominent party members. It is they who act as the eyes, the ears and the voice of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Their job is to seek out the "vacillators" and the critics within the Communist parties and the opponents of Stalin outside the parties. Those who cannot be bribed are hounded, even murdered. That they have unlimited financial resources at their disposal cannot be denied, even by the Stalinists.

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Unlike the betrayers such as Harry Pollitt & Co., the international under Lenin and Trotsky were proud to acknowledge material and moral assistance to the international movement. It would never have occurred to the revolutionaries of the Leninist school to deem it expedient to deny this obligation to the international revolution. But from the domination of the G.P.U. over the Comintern as Stalin consolidated himself in 1926 the financial resources, far from being utilised to render aid to revolutionary movements, was vested in the hands of the G.P.U. and used for bribery, corruption and assassination in the interests of preserving the Stalinist oligarchy.

After years of hounding, killing his family, burning his archives — this machine finally succeeded in penetrating the protective screen which the Fourth Internationalists had so zealously thrown round Comrade Trotsky. Jacson, the G.P.U. agent succeeded in enacting his foul and despicable piece. The greatest brain in the international labour movement was pierced by an ice pick from the hands of Stalin's thug. The Mexican court has sentenced him to 20 years for his premeditated murder. (There is no death sentence in Mexico). He may escape with the connivance of the G.P.U., as did his colleague Alfred Siquieros, to spend the rest of his life in a well paid job. It does not matter. Trotskyism has not been killed. Before they stilled his pen, Trotsky had already laid the basis for the cadres of the Fourth International in the spirit of Marx, Engels and of Lenin. His writings which constitute the basic works of Marxism, are on the bookshelves of revolutionary workers throughout the world.

In 1937 Trotsky wrote: "We possess neither state apparatus nor hired friends. Nevertheless we confidently challenge the Stalinist band in face of the whole world. We shall not fold our arms. Certain among us may still fall in the struggle. But the final outcome is already decided. Stalinism will be crushed, destroyed, and covered with shame. The way will be clear for the international working class."

organisation of the party's work, to call irresponsible individuals to order and, if need be, to eject them from the ranks.

The decisions of the national party convention are binding on all members without exception and they conclude the discussion on all those disputed questions upon which a decision has been taken. Any party mem-

ber violating the decisions of the convention, or attempting to revive discussion in regard to them without formal authorisation of the party, puts himself thereby in opposition to the party and forfeits his right to membership. All party organisations are authorised and instructed to take any measures necessary to enforce this rule.