LABOUR HATERS ATTACK OUR PARTY

VOL. 5. No. 21.

MID - APRIL, 1944.

Twopence

LIES—SLANDER—PERSECUTION Will Not Save the Boss Class

BY JOCK HASTON

DURING THE FIRST WEEK IN APRIL OUR PARTY AND ITS PRESS WAS THE OBJECT OF ONE OF THE MOST VICIOUS ANTI-RED SCARE CAMPAIGNS SINCE THE DAYS OF THE ZINOVIEV LETTER.

The capitalist press howled like dogs "hot on the scent of German gold"; the capitalist state machine and lackeys of the ruling class in the Labour and Trade Union leaderships were in the forefront fanning the flames.

SMASH BEVIN'S A LABOUR LAWS War Crisis Used to Attack Trade Union Rights

THE NEW REGULATIONS INTRODUCED BY BEVIN ARE THE GREATEST BLOW AGAINST THE ORGANISED WORKING CLASS MOVE-MENT FOR THE LAST 50 YEARS.

Extending as it does, the already infamous Trade Disputes Act, the new regulation is a direct blow against the trade union movement.

Ostensibly directed against our Party and its press the regulation ranty and its press the regulation is directed squarely against all militants of the working class. The Trade Disputes Act pales into insignificance as anti-labour legislation in face of this new regulation, the key

section of which reads as follows:

"No person shall declare, instigate or incite any other person to take part in, or shall otherwise act in furtherance of any strike among persons engaged in the performance of essential services or any lock-out of persons so engaged." Penal servitude and fines up to £500

or both can be imposed upon anyone found guilty under this new regula-

The capitalist press is jubilant. The new regulation will "put a stop to peaceful persuasion which was previously allowed", reports the Daily Telegraph's political correspondent.

He further remarks that: "Mr. Bevin has agreed that there shall be no police or M.C.S. 'spying at union meetings'." Bravo! Bevin.

What a generous concession to the You can talk your trade unions. heads off about strikes in the branches boys—the Gestapo won't be invited in! But open your trap in the works or

(Continued on page 5)



"A SPECTRE IS HAUNTING ..."

Whilst the London "Evening Standard" headlined "HIDDEN HAND AGITATORS MARKED", the "Evening News" scooped the press by the information that Scotland Yard special branch had raided our headquarters. It was all in the good old antiworking class tradition of "secret funds", "secret knocks", "mystery men" and "skilled agitators", who by some peculiar gift were bringing thousands of miners and shipbuilding apprentices out on strike.

Behind all the scare propaganda, however, there was a real crisis for the capitalist class. More so for the Trade Union leaders.

Union leaders.

capitalist class. More so for the Trade Union leaders.

The greatest strike wave for many years was sweeping the country. Shoulder to shoulder, men and boys were demanding a living wage. Simultaneously there was a growing demand for the nationalisation of the pits. Faced with the possibility of a general strike in the key industry of the country—coal, the Government had to find a scapegoat; the Trade Union leaders had to find an excuse for their inability to control their members; and the Trotskyists were at hand.

Of course, there was another side to the question: the "Socialist Appeal" was the only paper in the country which took up a fearless stand directly with the striking workers. Our party—the Revolutionary Communist Party—was the only workers' party which attempted to give the strikers a clear direction to their policy. In reporting the raid on our premises, the B.B.C. put the whole question objectively when it announced that the raid had been made because we supported the workers who were on strike. It was for this reason that we were singled out for attack.

FTRST CASE UNDER

FIRST CASE UNDER ANTI - LABOUR TRADE DISPUTES ACT

The arrest of three of our Party members has apparently satisfied the Government's lust for blood—for the moment. But it is a clear warning to our small organisation that because of the powerful nature of our ideas, it will be against our party that the forces of reaction will be launched in the inevitable future violence which the capitalists will practice on the workers.

The use of the infamous Trades Disputes Act of 1927 to charge our comrades is historic, for two reasons:

It is the first trial to take place

IMPRISONED



HEATON LEE

ROY TEARSE was in the Navy but was discharged after an attack of infantile paralysis. Worked as a tester in the gine shop of De Haviland's London He was on the Shop Stewards' Committee, member of the A.E.U. and President of No. 3 Edgware Branch of the A.E.U. until he resigned upon leaving the district.

After leaving De Havilland's he became the national secretary of the Militant Workers' Federation, a body set up with the object of co-ordinating militant trade union activity and fighting for the independence of the trade unions from the boss class.



ROY TEARSE

Came over to the Trotskyist movement from the I.L.P.

HEATON LEE was a mining engineer in South Africa where he atempted to organise the native miners into a trade union under illegal conditions. Joined the Trotskyist movement in 1937. Until his arrest he was employed at Wimpie's as a surveying engineer. Member of the A.Sc.W. Was an N.C.L.C. lecturer in the North East.

ANN KEEN was a member of the Paddington Labour Party before joining the Trotskyists. Until her arrest was the North East District Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party.



ANN KEEN

'DAILY MAIL' BACKED MOSLEY

When the Trotskyists were Fighting him on

under this vicious anti-Labour law;

and
It is a Trade Union official in the
National Coalition Government who is

Introduced following the defeat of the Great General Strike of 1926, the Trades Disputes Act has always been known in the Labour movement as the most reactionary anti-trade union and most reactionary anti-trade union and strike-breaking piece of legislation on the statute book. Directed against the mighty trade unions and the organised millions it has been a prize weapon in the hands of the ruling class. It has always been an immediate demand of the Labour and Trade Union movement that the Act be repealed.

It is one of the ironies of history that a regulation which one might say was originally passed for the purpose of jailing an Ernest Bevin, is used by the Ernest Bevin to jail revolutionary representatives of the working dark

representatives of the working class.

But it is not so much for a blow at our tiny party that Bevin took the plunge, it was in a vain effort to stifle our ideas.

stifle our ideas.

At first it appeared as if Bevin was going crazy in his denunciation of the strikers and the Trotskyists. "Hurling defiance" at the miners and apprentices from behind a well fortified table at the Dorchester Hotel, he told his "proletarian" luncheon companions of the dangers that come from fighting for a minimum standard of life. Possibly it was the well stocked wine glass we saw in the papers that gave him such a mild and rounded tone.

The new laws that Bevin is introducing make the Trades Disputes Act look like real democracy. But the organised working class will have the last word to say, long before the capitalists

word to say, long before the capitalists have squeezed their present Minister of Labour and tossed him out of office,

"DAILY MAIL'S" REGARD FOR BRO. BEVIN

The tender regard for the trade union leaders in general, and Bro. Bevin in particular, which was shown by the yellow press would have been most touching—were it not for the cold cynical hatred, which these very yellow rags have consistently shown for the organised trade union and Labour movement for the past two or three generations. To the defence of Bevin, sprang the knights of the "Daily Mail".

In the history of Pritial in the light of the "Daily Mail".

Bevin, sprang the knights of the "Daily Mail".

In the history of British journalism it is doubtful if there has been a more venomous, anti-trade union, anti-labour, anti-socialist, anti-communist, lying rag as the "Daily Mail", and its Sunday edition the "Sunday Despatch". If the Editors of some of the other Fleet Street sheets didn't exactly report our interviews with reporters, gave a false twist to what we had to say, and left out any statement of our positive policy, the Editor of the "Daily Mail" set out to fake a hairy-scarey story at the expense of the most elementary truth.

One thing only the "Daily Mail" was truthful about: that we were revolutionary communists. And the "Daily Mail" has always fought communism with a barrage of lies.

with a barrage of lies.

For the dupes who regularly read this Northcliffe rag because they approve its policy, who read a hairraising story to help down their breakfast, we have only pity. The organised workers know the "Daily Mail" and there was sportnesses. and there was spontaneous sympathy for us, its much slandered victims.

for us, its much slandered v Sufficient to say that one, Proctor, a new recruit to its staff had to demonstrate a capacity to slander and lie greater than his fellows who and lie greater than his fellows who had been trained in anti-labour journalism by years on the Northcliffe staff.

In the "Daily Mail" for Thursday, April 6, he wrote:

"An hour or two before the raid is spoke to the man called Jock Haston.... and put to him the greatier.

I spoke to the man called Jock Haston . . . and put to him the question:
'Where does your money come from?'
Haston was talking from the new
offices of the British Section of the
Fourth International which very
shortly the police were to raid.
. . . I put to him this question:

the Streets

'Your money either comes in half-penny subscriptions from a few malcontents, amounting to nothing, or else you are financed by some other and secret source. Will you tell me which it is? Is it a half-penny a week or is it a secret '

Haston replied: 'The source of our revenue is a secret!' ''

This was in complete conformity with the whole campaign developed in the "Daily Mail". The only thing wrong with this story is that it is false and lying—from beginning to end! Proctor did not speak to Jock Haston an hour or two before the raid. He spoke to Detective Inspector Whitehead during the raid who did not want the press to know the raid was on.

head during the raid who did not want the press to know the raid was on, answered the phone, and jokingly made the statement which Proctor attributed to Haston. Nor did Proctor put this statement in the press without knowing who had made it. For when he interviewed Haston 'later in the day' he called Haston's attention to the statement he was supposed to have made over the phone. 'Haston explained that it was not he who had been speaking but an inspector of Scotland Yard.

Proctor was present when Haston

Proctor was present when Haston made a statement to about a dozen journalists: that the finances of our Party did not amount to very much and came from the pockets of our members and semantic control of the pockets of the pockets of our members and semantic control of the pockets bers and sympathisers.

Proctor was specifically asked to withdraw this statement in the following issue of the "Mail" but instead chose to slander Haston in stating he had used "obscene" language.

had used "obscene" language.

The source of funds to keep the "Daily Mail" going is certainly no secret: nor are the people unknown who direct the policy of the "Daily Mail" and its sister rags. These gentlemen who now drape themselves in the flag of "democracy" and pat Bevin and Stalin on the back were notorious for their pro-fascist policy in the past. Here are some samples of pickled democracy dished out by Rothermere:

On October 22nd, 1933, Colonel T. C. R. Moore, M.P., wrote in the "Sunday Dispatch":

Germany welcomed her saviour, and largely owing to the obviously sincere and single-mindedness of his policy he is today the adored leader of certainly 90 per cent of the German population . .

Eight months ago Herr Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich. Today, and now I speak of experience barely a week old, the whole atmosphere of Germany has changed. Sobriety has replaced licence, patriotism has usurped Communism, virtue has vice. virtue has vice.

The servants of the Law have crushed the master of the gun. Women and children are safe; animals are mercifully treated, social services

"The Blackshirts have faced and overcome the Socialist bullies of the razor, the knife and the bottle by standing together and fighting in the ordered ranks which the Blackshirt makes possible. England already has to thank them for breaking the Red Terror of the streets, although greater ordeals may yet await them.

Thus we wear the Blackshirt for that combination of ideal and prac-tical reasons which is so character-istic of the faith of fascism."

The "Daily Mail" shouted in its editorial columns "Hurrah for the Black-shirts."

So it was with Laval. With the Mikado. With every gangster who has soaked himself in the blood of the working class: the "Daily Mail", the "Sunday Despatch"—the Rothermere-Northcliffe press has loved them all.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST APPRENTICES

Britain's foremost cartoonist "Low" joined in the "nasty man" campaign. He drew a picture of the sinister Trotskyist pied piper leading a bunch of blindfolded youngsters labled "strike suckers". But Low conveniently forgot that whilst he was telling the world that these lads telling the world that these lads didn't know what they were on strike for, and were being led up the garden path, they were intelligent enough to do most highly skilled jobs in the shipbuilding industry; they were cap-able of flying the kites in the "Battle for Britian"; of sailing the ships that won the "Battle of the Atlantic"; of learning how to die in hundreds of thousands in the coming Second Front, and of being forced down the mine to dig coal to keep the wheels

Yes Low, they are suckers all right. Suckers to dig, to sweat, to fight, to die so that your employers might profit, and you can throw mud at them; for which you get wait. them; for which you get paid a little bit more than the lads who will dig coal in the mine.

Part of the campaign attempted to picture the Trotskyists as anti-trade unionists. But in the Daily Express Trevor Evans gave the following

T. E.: Why don't you consult your trade unions?

They all sneer, and one says, "To hell with trade unions" And another adds, "And with these Bevin regulations."

Candidly it is impossible to believe Evans' story. We also interviewed these same boys and found them 100% trade unionists. But they opposed the idea that the trade unions should be servile tools of the State. They stated that the trade unions were the basic organisations of the working class and they were all members of their trade union and stood for the closed

are mercifully treated, social services have received a new impetus if I may judge from my personal knowledge of Herr Hitler, peace and justice are the key word of his policy and given time, the support of his people, and the good will of his colleagues he will carry that policy to success."

This rag wrote of Mesley on January 28th, 1934:

"He quests for a better, healthier, happier England like a King Arthur Knight for the Holy Grail."

And in a signed article by the British Feuhrer himself on January 21st, 1934:

E. BEVIN

"Hurling defance" at the miners and apprentices from behind a well fortified table at the Dorchester Hotel, he told his "proletarian" luncheon com-panions of the dangers that comfrom fighting for a minimum standard

THEY FEAR OUR POLICY

All the press reported that we said we support workers who were forced we support workers who were forced to take strike action to redress a grievance. "We are anti-Churchill, anti-Bevin, anti-Stalin, anti-war" the Dailies screamed in chorus. Some ofthe more honest, also reported that we said we were anti-Hitler! But none of them reported our simple remedy for the ending of the strikes

None of them reported our policy for the destruction of Hitler.

When 90,000 Yorks miners strike as 100,000 Welsh miners are returning to work it is obvious that a serious grievance exists. When 700,000 miners example of the serious grievance exists. ance exists. When 700,000 miners express dissatisfaction with their conditions it is clear that drastic steps must be taken to solve the problem. The conflict is basically a struggle between the coal-barons and the working miners. A democratic government bent on solving the crisis which developed would have put the interests of 700,000 miners before the interests of a few would have put the interests of 700,000 miners before the interests of a few miserable coalowners. It would have nationalised the pits at once, and operated them under democratic committees of miners and technicians. But the present government is not a democratic Covernment Government.

Pledged to defend capitalism; the private ownership of the mines, it chose to defend the interests of a few aristocratic exploiters, to prolong the crisis and to "endanger the existence of the nation."

None of the "Dailies" which were eager for that news dared to print our answer to this situation.

"Let Labour break the Coalitien

and take Power on a Socialist Programme" we told the reporters. "That is the Government which can quickly put an end to Fascism."

But they didn't print it. For this is the demand which is daily growing in power and in volume among the work-

Instead of the Labour and trade union leaders listening to this progressive and healthy call from the rank and file, they choose to ignore it.

(Continued on back page, column 4)

THE WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE TASKS OF THE BRITISH WORKERS READ THE ABC OF TROTSKYISM - 6d.

Return in Fighting Mood

BETTY HAMILTON

The Yorkshire Coal Strike is over, the Yorkshire miners have returned to work in a bitter and resentful mood.

The strike which arose spontaneously in the whole Yorkshire mining field from the anomalies of the Porter Award, was in reality the expression of the accumulated irritation caused by the endless provocations and failures of the Joint Negotiations

The Porter Award was a direct provocation, in that, in giving with one hand an agreed minimum wage, it took away away with the other the traditional Home Coal allowance. The withdrawal of 3s. 6d. for Home Coal, which amounted to a large sum where miners had three sons working in the pits, was a direct challenge to the patience of the Yorkshire Miners, topping as it did the continual filching on items of their agreements by the employers,

However, on being assured on the Sunday by Joe Hall that the matter would be settled and no deductions made, the miners went back to work on the Monday. But when they read the statements in the Press on the Tuesday, that the men's deductions were only reduced to 2/-, the miners were incensed; they were provoked to come out in protest and the strike spread throughout Yorkshire.

The responsibility of Joe Hall for the strike cannot be over-emphasised. His action in getting the miners back to work with lies, was the last straw. The Yorkshire Miners have lost any illusions they might have had about the present leadership of the Y.M.A. They demonstrated this by chalking on walls "Joe Hall is frauding you and other like alogans.

Joe Hall has lost all authority among them. The statement he made on the activities of Trotskyists linked him up with the slanderous Press cam-paign against the "hidden hand", "agitators fomenting strikes" etc. The miners regarded the campaign as added insult, in the sense that it accused those who were fighting real and long-drawn grievances, as 100,000 irresponsible children, being led by a hidden hand for an imaginary purpose.

The reaction of the Miners to the campaign and to the raids on the Headquarters of the Revolutionary Communist Party, as well as the arrests of the three members, including the Secretary of the Militant Workers Federation, was immediately shown by expressions of solidarity with the members of R.C.P. selling the Socialist Appeal. A sharp rise in the sales of the Socialist Appeal and pamphlets was noticeable and discussions with the sellers developed into improvised street corner meetings. At Wombell, a meeting addressed by Ted Grant, the Editor of the Socialist Appeal, which had scarcely been advertised, overflowed into the street.

The Yorks miners know that the Revolutionary Communist Party is the only party capable of supporting and giving a lead to their struggles. The Socialist Appeal is now well established in the minds of the vast which has supported their

Although the Yorkshire Miners Strike did not throw up organised strike Committees, the miners ended the strike in a fighting mood, conscious of the necessity of organising themselves on a militant basis. The need for co-ordinating militant miners' groups was widely discussed in parts of Yorkshire and the Press Campaign against the Militant Workers' Federation spurred on the miners' half-formulated ideas towards

Yorks. Miners PRIVATE STANTON COURT Bold Revolutionary Defence

While the national press running a nation wide campaign of intimidation against striking miners and apprentices, last week in a North of England town a frame-up trial was being held, with a revolutionary communist the victim.

At the same time as our comrades Heaton Lee and Ann Keen were charged with incitement to strike under the Trades Dispute Act, Private Stanton, who also holds their views, was being tried at a Field General Court Martial with "action prejudicial to good order and military discipline" under Section 40 of the Army Acts. The attacks of the bosses against the revolutionists run parallel in industry and in the army.

CLASS JUSTICE IN FANCY DRESS

Any worker present at the Court Marcial would have been filled with contempt to see the trappings of ceremony with which these courts dress themselves up. Officers in full dress, with kilts, sporrans and brightly. shining belts, ceremonial saluting to the court—and although civilians and officers were present, there was not a single soldier present from the regi-ment itself. Perhaps these pampered officers were afraid of their own men hearing the evidence of a revolutionary Communist on trial?

The court itself, i.e. the judges who were to pass sentence, consisted of a major and two lieutenants, and right through the proceedings it was obvious that while there was a semblance of impartiality constantly maintained, the accusers were reactionary officers, and the accused was a revolutionary

FRAME-UP EVIDENCE

Revolutionaries are used to the fact that the bosses use all sorts of trumped up evidence when attacking us. It appears that in the beginning of March two soldiers were called before the C.O. and asked about Stanton. As a result of this interview these two soldiers testified that on December BY BOB ALLEN

29th 1943 they heard Private Stanton say that: "if the soldiers laid down their arms there would be no more war." Under cross examination the witnesses (who at the trial numbered three) were at variance on every other point. They could not even agree on the number of the hut in which they had lived for weeks. But they were positive on only one point, and that was the alleged statement. Two months after the statement was made, these soldiers testified to having heard it after having seen the C.O. in

Pte. STANTON'S DEFENCE

Pte. Stanton's defence was that he was a Marxian Socialist, and as such he had strong views on the war. He had been a Marxian socialist for more than nine years, and although he had ceased to be a member of the British Section of the Fourth International since he joined the army, he still held those views. In discussions with soldiers he put his views forward on all occasions. He believed that a workers' government alone could end the present imperialist war. He sought to win over a majority of soldiers to his viewpoint, and consistently warned against isolated adventures by small minorities. As a Marxian socialist he was opposed to pacifism which calls on the soldiers simply to lay down their arms. France and Italy the soldiers had laid down their arms, but they were not out of the war. It was necessary for the soldiers, together with the workers to overthrow the capitalist class and the present Government in order to end imperialism which alone causes war, and which caused this war in the struggle for markets.

When asked by the President of the Court what would be the attitude of his Party to the war after the seizure of power by the workers and soldiers, Pte. Stanton said we would not lay down our arms, but would defend the workers' state from all attacks from

inside and out. But the workers' state would issue appeals to the German workers to overthrow their own capitalists and we in Britain would help them. In view of these views which he held, Pte. Stanton said that he could hardly have uttered the words attributed to him.

But in a boss class court, as this was, such a defence would hardly help Pte. Stanton. But his defence was made in order to demonstrate to the soldiers and the world that a revolutionary holds to his principles in face of any attacks. It would have been easy for Comrade Stanton to have pleaded guilty, and to have said that he had been carried away in the heat of the argument. He could have asked for leniency in view of his admittedly good army record. By conducting his defence in this way, there is no doubt Stanton would have got off with a light sentence. But Stanton's duty was to expose the officer class and the capitalists in spite of the danger in which he thus placed himself.

FOUND GUILTY

Stanton was found guilty and sentenced to 6 months in the glass-house. In effect this means that the Court held that merely to express an opinion was violating the Army Act. It means that C.O.s are given the green light to frame socialists and revolutionaries on anything that they have said in the past.

The prosecuting officer said: "The prosecution will make no attempt to prove any special meaning or intent. It is unnecessary for the court to consider whether the use of similar words by a civilian would constitute an offence."

Our reply to their attempts to gag the soldiers is: Full democratic and political rights for the men and women in the army.

We demand the clearing out of the pro-fascist, antilabour officer caste and the election of officers by the ranks.

MILITARY POLICY of the Revolutionary Communist Party

Adopted at the Fusion Conference, March, 1944

Resolution on Military Policy

1. The Second World War into which capitalism has plunged mankind in the course of a generation, and which has been raging for more than four years is the inevitable outcome of the crisis of capitalist methods of production, long predicted by the revolutionary Marxists, and is a sign of the impasse out of which capitalism can-

not lead the mass of humanity.

2. The war of the British ruling class is not an ideological war fought in the interests of democracy against fascism. This has been demonstrated clearly by their support of Hitler against the German working class; their acquiescence to the seizure of established in the minds of the vast Austria and Czechoslovakia; by their majority of the miners as the only cynical policy of non-intervention in Spain which enabled Franco to massacre hundreds of thousands of Spanish anti-fascist proletarians; and by their support of Darlan in North Africa and Badoglio and Victor Emmanual in Italy. The British ruling class is waging the war to maintain its colon-ial plunder, its sources of raw material and cheap labour, its spheres of influence and markets, and to extend wherever possible, its domination over wherever possible, its domination over wider territories. It is the duty of revolutionary socialists to patiently explain the imperialistic policy of the ruling class and expose its false and lying slogans of the "War against" the Communist Party, with their sat lite organisations, have betrayed historic interests of the working class and the interests of the colonial mas oppressed by British imperialism.

victory for Anglo-American imperialism. Such a victory would perpetuate and intensify the imperialist contradictions which gave rise to fascism and

the present world war and will inevitably lead to new fascist and reactionary regimes and a Third World War.

4. The British working class, therefore, cannot support the war conducted by the ruling class without at the same time opposing its cwn class interests on a national and international scale.

Our party is opposed to the war and Our party is opposed to the war and calls upon the working class to oppose it. Only by overthrowing the capitalit. Only by overthrowing the capitalist state and taking power into its own hands under the leadership of the Fourth International, can the British working class wage 'a truly revolutionary war and aid the German and European working class to destroy fascism and capitalist reaction.

5. By their support of the war the Trade Unions, the Labour Party and the Communist Party, with their satellite organisations, have betrayed the historic interests of the working class and the interests of the colonial masses are proposed by British imperialism. It

Fascism' and the "War for Demo-cracy."

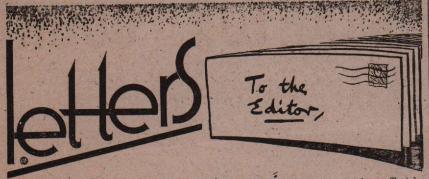
3. The victory of German fascism and Japanese militarism would be a disaster for the working class of the world and for the colonial peoples. But no less disastrous would be a victory for Anglo American, imperial.

Fourth International.
6. The outbreak of the war created a new objective situation in which the a new objective situation in which the revolutionaries had to conduct their political activity. Millions of workers—men and women—the most youtliful and virile section of the population, are conscripted into the armed forces. The war not only changed the way in which millions of workers are forced to live, but also their level of political consciousness. War and militarism has penetrated every phase of, and become the basis of their lives.

7. It would be a mistake on the

7. It would be a mistake on the part of the revolutionary socialists to lump the defencist feeling of the broad mass of the workers together with the chauvinism of the Labour and Stalinist leadership. This defencism of the masses stems largely from entirely progressive motives of preserving their progressive motives of preserving their own class organisations and democratic rights from destruction at the hands of fascism and from a foreign invader. The mass chauvinistic enthusiasm of the last war is entirely absent in the present period. Only a deep-seated

Continued on back page.



From an Ex-C.P. Militant

Dear Comrades,

I have been active in the Communist movement since I was 15 years of age. I originally joined the Young Communist League and was in the Stepney Branch. When I joined I did so in the belief that it was the one movement that would lead the workers of Britain towards the goal of Socialism. I didn't know at that time, what Marxism meant or what Lenin stood for, except perhaps that he had something to do with the Russian Revolution.

As time went on I began to learn a bit of how things stood in this world of ours. Capitalism and the class struggle began to mean more to me than mere phrases. I became fired with youthful enthusiasm when I read and was told of how the Social Revolution had changed the conditions of the Russian toiling masses. This socialism was something for which it was worth fighting! Everyday issues that came up for discussion from time to time at branch meetings, never seemed so important to me as the main issue, the actual struggle that was fast approaching for the supremacy of the working class, as a prelude to the socialist revolt.

I always believed that too much attention was being paid to the issues of, whether

I always believed that too much attention was being paid to the issues of, whether one councillor or another was the right man to represent a particular area of Stepney, or, what was happening in the Labour League of Youth movement. Education for socialism seemed to me to be more important than whether we should hold our regular Sunday night dance in one hall or another. Needless to say, I wasn't very popular because I was considered to be too left Wing.

At that time I had never read any Trotskyist writings or even seen the Trotskyist
press. I then made up my mind that I
must find out all about this Trotskyism.
If the Trotskyists' opinions were exactly the
same as mine, then my place was inside
the ranks of this movement.

On reading the newspaper of the Trotskyists, the "Socialist Appeal", I realised that
the views and ideals that I hold and stand
for, are in sympathy with the Trotskyist
movement and that my place has always
been in the party of Trotsky and should
never have been, in the Communist Party.
I have but one criticism to make of the
R.C.P. and its press. It concentrates too
much of its time, energy and space to
attacks on the C.P. For example, in
"World Revolution and the Tasks of the
British Workers", in the paragraph headed: "The Future of Stalinism", this passage appears:

"Although the C.P. appeals to the
vilest and most jingoistic sentiments of
the most backward sections of the working
class, some of the best elements within
the party (with misgivings perhaps) still
support Stalinism, in the fervid hope that
the policy will change."

I am sure it is realised by the R.C.P.
that before the social revolution can be
achieved the mass of the workers inside
the ranks of the C.P. must be won over to
our side. The continuous attacks that are
appearing from time to time in our press
will most certainly not achieve that end.
The majority of the members of the C.P.
(and I am speaking with experience now)
only carry out their orders from King
Street and hence from Moscow, because
they think (and hope!) that to do so is
in the best interests of the working class.
To say that the vilest and most jingoistic
sections of the working class are the members of the C.P., is to grossly misrepresent
the position and will only lead to a situation where the members of the C.P. cling
still closer to the trousers of the Stalinist
leadership. These attacks must cease, and
in their place must appear sensible articles
by writers who are not biased against the
C. and than whether we should hold curregular Sunday hight dance I want't very copular because I was considered to be to Left Wing.

One important issue after another arose in which I was a local branch of the working of the control of affiliation was a local branch of the control of affiliation was a local branch of the sale of a second of affiliation was a local branch of the sale of a second of affiliation was a local branch of the sale of a second of affiliation was a local branch of the sale of a second of affiliation was a local branch of the sale of a second of the sale o

NOW ON SALE

NEWS FROM

yard and aircraft fitters for an increase in their rate has developed into a major political crisis as a result of the jailing

of five of the aircraft shop stewards.
On April 3rd, during the sixth week
of the strike five A.E.U. shop stewards
Morrow, Telford, McBinn, McAteer
and Baxter were sentenced to three
months imprisonment with hard labour
(without the option of a fine) the and Baxter were sentenced to three months imprisonment with hard labour (without the option of a fine), the Resident Magistrate stating that they had broken the law "deliberately, callously and calculatedly." The five shop stewards made a good stand in Court, contending that they had merely carried out the instructions of the overwhelming majority of their men to cease work. They refused to avail themselves of the right to appeal and at present are serving their sentences in Crumlin Road prison. Two of the five, McBinn and McAteer, have been admitted to the prison hospital. Although Luney, District Secretary of the A.E.U., in giving evidence made it clear that the shop stewards were the official representatives of the Union in the workshops, it was obvious from some of the prosecutor's remarks that the Crown thought they were dealing with an unofficial, breakaway movement with no T.U. status.

Hundreds of workers packed the Court during the hearing and hundreds more waited in the streets outside. The sentence unleashed a storm of indignation throughout the city, not only among the rank and file workers but also in official T.U. circles. Lowden, the Secretary of the E.T.U. made the following statement:

"The members of the E.T.U. are taking exception to the discrimination whereby five people who were conwhereby five people who were considered as shop stewards were prosecuted for taking strike action. The E.T.U. is constituted as a democratic body, and the members of that union believe in abiding by any decision of the majority or otherwise arrived at by their mambers. their members.

"Consequently if a meeting is arranged and strike action decided upon the shop stewards are bound to recognise that decision, because if they refused and remained at work their position as shop stewards would become untenable. The E.T.U. believe in keeping in close contact with their shop stewards and will not permit any discrimination in so far as the prosecution of shop stewards is concerned. The shop stewards are the link or the cution of shop stewards is concerned. The shop stewards are the link or the liaison between the workpeople and the union officially and we contend it is unfair that leaders of the men who may be justly endeavouring to retain the men at the bench should be singled out for presenting. out for prosecution.

"The members of the E.T.U. are taking a grave view in regard to the present case. The members of the E.T.U. and the trade union movement in general in Northern Ireland are not prepared to allow five of their men to lie in prison, as we believe that martyrs are no good to any cause."

On 4th April, the following telegram was sent by the Secretary of the ship-yard shop stewards to the Minister of Home Affairs, Lowry:

"Men in shipyard demand release of shop stewards sentenced yesterday.
Men in shipyard cease work at 5.30
p.m. Tuesday if this request not
granted. Await your reply."

Lowry replied by telegram as

"Demand contained in your telegram is refused."

On the morning of 5th April, 20,000 shipyard men. in addition to those already on strike, ceased work. That



afternoon at a mass outdoor meeting (the largest working-class meeting ever seen in Belfast) it was resolved to stand out firmly for the release of the five shop stewards and also for the legitimate demands of the workers for an increase in the basic rate.

an increase in the basic rate.

At an earlier meeting certain officials of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Trades advised the men to return to work. The Stalinists are well represented in the Confederation leadership. Malachy Gray, a Stalinist and a member of the Confederation District Committee said that the workers had made their protest in the workers had made their protest in an organised manner, but that it would be in the best interests of their colbe in the best interests of their colleagues in prison if there was a return to work. Wm. Boyd, vice-chairman of the Confederation, also a Stalinist, alleged that whilst he was at the prison on a deputation that morning, the 5 shop-stewards expressed the desire that the men should return to work. With regard to this latter statement the Strike Committee have issued the following repudiation:

"The men in jail did not influence the workers to cease work. The workers ceased work in accordance with a vote taken in aggregate. Therefore the

vote taken in aggregate. Therefore the men in jail feel they have no authority to influence them now. Any statement to the contrary is false."

This recent wave of strikes, coming

on top of a whole series of mass strikes on top or a whole series of mass surface, in Belfast, shows a tremendous movement against the "stormont junta" in Northern Ireland. Certainly this is the most critical situation for Tory Unionism since the setting up of the Northern Ireland parliament. On 2nd Northern Ireland parliament. On 2nd April, the evening before the jailing of the shop stewards, at a mass meeting called by the Strike Committee over 2,500 workers unanimously passed a vote of no confidence in the Stormont Government. Whatever the immediate outcome of the present crisis, one thing is certain—that the back of Foryism is broken in Belfast.



Hurrah! We've made it. For the first time our Fighting Fund is over the £100 in a month.

This is the answer of our comrades and supporters to the "Daily Mail" and the other capitalist rags which talk about "secret funds".

Keep at it comrades! Collect for the Fighting Fund! Keep the voice of militant industrial unionism and revolutionary socialism hurling its defiance at the enemies of the working

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Total £103 2 11

Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International. 256 HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2 BUSINESS MANAGER: D. Grey. EDITOR: E Grant.

The Revolutionary Communist Party

The formation of the united Revolutionary Communist Party will perhaps be considered by future historians as one of the most im-portant events of World War II. Almost at birth it has come under the furious attack of the class enemy, Scotland Yard, the Press, wireless, etc.—all co-operating in the attack on

What is significant is the taking for granted by the enemies of the Labour Movement that we alone uphold the banner of revolutionary communism, and thus merit the attention and persecution of all the enemies of the struggle for workers' emancipation, In this is the tacit acknowledgement that the so-called "Communist" Parties in various countries have gone the way of the Social-Democracy, and having been "nobbled" by the ruling class, now, serve the interests of

capitalism and reaction.

The Stalinist "Communist" Party has been placed in a position of discomfiture and exposure as they realise that the workers are beginning to see that they no longer represent the methods and ideas of Bolshevism. In a frenzy, the erstwhile revolutionaries are acting as stool-pigeons and agentprovocateurs, calling for the suppression of the revolutionary communists, and their press, denouncing members and militants to the employers in public leaflets, calling upon manage-ments to victimise them. Thus they drag the name of communism to a new low level.

But within the rank and file of the C.P., many members genuinely be-lieving in communism, have been troubled, and secretly solidarising themselves with those undergoing per-secution by the capitalist state.

The ordinary workers and soldiers, particularly those in the unions and labour movement of Britain, have immediately, throughout the country understood the meaning of the name and the attacks upon us. They have immediately grasped the distinction between revolutionary communism and its Stalinist caricature. The traitors and usurpers who masquerade under the name of communism have difficulty now in explaining the difference between themselves and the genuine Bolshevik tendency. Their lies and slanders do not have a con-vincing sound to the advanced

This is as it should be. We continue the tradition of the great teachers, of Marx and Engels, of Lenin and Trotsky. International Communism for which they fought all their lives is our doctrine. The workers are beginning to realise that this is so. Already they are beginning to discern the difference between the nationalist, imperialist "Communist" the real Revolutionary Communist Party.
The traitors to Marxism-Leninism

will suffer new blows as the class struggle deepens, and assumes a more canteen and you're slap bang up steward, union delegate or factory militant is safe from victimisation if close, the prospect of stormy class battles, nationally and internationally, open up. These will put to the test, in the fire of the class-struggle, all tendencies claiming to represent the interests of the workers. Communism-Revolutionary communism will reveal itself as the only way out for the world working class. The Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International, is part of the World Party of Socialist Revolution. Its name is the programme for the new epoch. No counterfeit will avail. Under the banner of Marx and Denin

Conference

The I.L.P. Conference this year was marked by the steady move to the right on the part of the leadership.

As usual with I.L.P. Conferences, there was no real attempt by the leadership to sharpen out and clarify the political perspectives and tasks of the working class at home and abroad. It was marked also, by confusion and lack of clarity on political issues involved by even the advanced elements among the rank and file.

The burning urgency of the fact that Britain is entering a period of class struggle and class battles unexampled in British history, of which the recent wave of strikes are but the first skirmishes, should have been the keynote to the discussions.

As a self-styled Revolutionary socialist party, it should have been the duty of the I.L.P. leadership to raise this problem before the membership in the sharpest possible manner in order to prepare them for the task of giving leadership to the elementary movement of the masses. But apart from anything else, it was apparent that the

The Death Agony of Capitalism AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS by Leon-Trotsky THE PROGRAPHIE OF THE POURTH INTERNATIONA

centrist leadership of the I.L.P. was incapable of understanding the nature of the process taking place and of the stern and stormy period ahead with all

BY TED GRANT

cularly was this so of the revolutionary left wing of the I.L.P. who demonleft wing of the I.L.P. who demonstrated courage and resolution on this question. Such comrades as Alec Auld of Newcastle and Ted Fletcher of Birmingham, Bill Loughlin of Armest mingham, Bill Loughlin of Armley showed that they were not in the least afraid of standing shoulder to shoulder with the Trotskyists in the face of capitalist attack. The leadership seemed to be terrified at the prospect of being associated with, or labelled as "Trotskyists" and while prepared to offer assistance and support to the arrested comrades as individuals (which is a very progressive step, of course), they were not prepared to solidarise themselves with the comrades as the representatives of a political tendency.

One of the Leeds delegates exposed One of the Leeds delegates exposed the manoeuvring of the Standing Orders Committee in excluding mention of the political tendency affected in the protest resolution on the attack on the young comrades arrested in Newcastle. Of all the I.L.P. leaders, John McGovern alone had the courage to openly solidarise himself with the Trotskyists.

But he too refrained from giving mention to the Revolutionary Communist Party, as if by pre-arranged agreement with the N.A.C.

From the discussions it could be seen that the leadership is preparing to return to the Labour Party at the earliest convenient opportunity when under pressure of the masses, the political truce is broken.

truce is broken.

This was emphasised by the attitude towards the attack of the capitalist Government on the Trotskyists and trade union militants. Virtually the whole of the I.L.P. rank and file instinctively recognised that such an attack was directed against the rights and liberties of the working class and particularly of those making a stand for revolutionary socialism. They were heartily in favour of associating themselves with the Trotskyists. Parti-

wing were there to carry out this task and win them to the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism. Unfortunately, the left wing is divided on this question, one section being unable to understand the dialectic of the process. The pacifist elements however, have lost a great deal of the support they had in the past. But meanwhile, an openly clear-cut reformist wing has hardened itself out, Jimmie Maxton, Tom Taylor and Carmichael being among its leading exponents.

This was graphically demonstrated

among its leading exponents.

This was graphically demonstrated when Taylor and others openly came out for support of U.N.R.R.A. They argued that this organisation set up by Anglo-American imperialism had been organised purely for humanitarian considerations to feed the starving people of Europe! As if the imperialists cared for anything but their own interests and as if this organisation was not set up as a weapon of blackmail to starve the revolutionary workmail to starve the revolutionary workers, just as America and the Allies starved the Hungarian Soviet Republic and blockaded the Soviet Union after the last war.

The left wing scored a decided victory on the issue of Common Wealth. The resolution from North Birmingham and North East Division of the I.L.P., declaring

"This Conference expresses its

"This Conference expresses its profound dissatisfaction with, and opposition to, the policy of the N.A.C. in concluding an electoral agreement with the petit bourgeols pro-war Common Wealth Party."

The main feature of the Conference and one which should give most concern to that tendency in the I.L.P. which is moving towards a new revolutionary socialist policy, is that not only is the I.L.P. heterogeneous in policy and composition, but that the left wing is also not homogeneous, firmly knit and clear as to its aims and policy. Here lies the real weakness of the left wing. In great part this left wing reflects the new industrial members of the I.L.P., those attracted to the I.L.P. by its anti-war stand, and those old elements of the I.L.P. pushed towards the Left by the events of the last years. They represent a healthy tendency within the party.

But the danger persists that unless

But the danger persists that unless this nucleus hardens itself theoreti-cally and prepares to struggle con-sistently against the open reformist and veiled centrist currents it will dis-integrate and become derivativity integrate and become demoralised thus striking a blow against the revolutionary movement as a whole. This tendency, in the long run, can only serve the movement by struggling for a clear revolutionary policy in the I.L.P. and thus prepare the way for a fusion of all the genuine revolutionary elements in Britain into one revolutionary party. The struggle for theoretical clarity in its own ranks and the effort to teach the best elements in the I.L.P., especially its industrial militants, the perspectives and tasks of the revolutionary current in Britain, must be the main task of the Left wing in the I.L.P. in the next period. integrate and become demoralised thus

LONDON BUS STRIKE

"But for the intervention of a reputed Trotskyist attached to the Hanwell Garage, the strikers at Mortlake would have decided to return to work this morning.

At a meeting of the strikers last night, after speeches by the men's representatives and a member of the Executive of the Transport and General Workers' Union, the workers were inclined toward a decision to return.

At this stage the reputed Trotskyist intervened, and, although from another garage, demanded to be heard.

He neglected to tell the Mortlake strikers that his branch, Hanweil, had decided-not to strike-but to tender 21 days' notice." BEN FRANCIS, "Daily Worker," April 20, 1944.

Bevin's Anti-Labour

The Press cynically reports that the new regulation strengthens the hands of the Union leaders against unofficial

Such are the fruits of the industrial truce: State regulations to protect the bureaucracy from the union rank and file. The "fight against fascism" abroad has led to totalitarian laws at

Who can blame a member of the T.G.W.U. if he starts to talk about Dr. Bevin?

This new anti-labour law is aimed to strike at the very heart of militant action for industrial militants!

he is really prepared to fight for, and lead the workers.

The employers must be sucking the sweetness of this new law, that puts pep in their punch against factory militants.

The workers must fight for its immediate repeal and the dismissal of the T.U. officials who agreed to it in the secret discussions with Bevin.

Down with the leaders who endorse anti-labour laws.

End the Trade Disputes Act and the No Strike Regulations!

Fight for complete



MINERS' LEADERS DEFY

At a special Conference of the M.F.G.B. which met in London on April 12th and 13th, the Executive Council demanded, and received, full power te accept the Government's recent 'peace in the industry 'proposals. The leadership, in daring to make such a demand, and the delegates, in failing to reject it, have deliberately and consciously violated the democratically expressed wishes of rank and file miners; for it is no secret that when the delegates gave Lawther and Cothis over-riding mandate they were fully aware that the majority of Britain's 700,000 miners had already ex-

this over-riding mandate they were fully aware that the majority of Britain's 700,000 miners had already expressed themselves solidly against the government's proposals.

These same proposals had previously been referred by the M.F.G.B. to the miners' unions within the Federation in order that a vote could be taken for or against acceptance of the agreement. This is the normal proceedure of the M.F.G.B. Although somewhat cumbersome, it does nevertheless provide a reasonable check on the activities of the Federation leadership. Naturally, Lawther, Horner, Hall and Co. issued a very strong recommendation that the Government proposals should be accepted and no doubt, had the vote in the counties actually gone in their favour, we should have heard plenty from these people on the 'democratic' nature of such a decision. But the miners' leaders badly underestimated the intelligence of their membership. The voting in South Wales, Lancashire, and Northumberland was solidly against the M.F.G.B. recommendation and it was certain that the final result would show a clear majority against acceptance of the Government plan.

A statement was issued to the effect Government plan.

Government plan.

A statement was issued to the effect that the strike in Yorkshire prevented a vote being taken in that area and, since the matter was urgent, the procedure of a vote throughout the coalfields which they themselves had initiated had to be dropped in favour of a special delegate conference capable of granting the Executive Council full of granting the Executive Council full of granting the Executive Council full power to sign an agreement which the rank and file had already rejected. At least they might have found some more plausible excuse to cover up their intention to trample underfoot the democratic decision of the rank and file. For, as every worker knows, the calling of meetings is the simplest task precisely in areas which are on strike.

leaders have obtained formal, certainly not the moral, authority to sign an agreement which, whilst it grants increases to certain sections of piece-workers, satisfies none of the miners' basic demands. In the first place, the agreement stabilises the first place, the agreement stabilises wages for 4 years on the I resent level of the Porter Award, but the recent strikes were caused essentially by the legitimate desire of the miners to secure substantial wage increases from the mine-owners who have so cruelly exploited them in the depression days. exploited them in the depression days. A £5 minimum wage cannot be expected to satisfy any underground worker who is aware of the huge profits at present being made out of his inhuman labour by the gang of incompetent coal barons. In the second place, the agreement says nothing specific about working conditions but, by implication, it sets out to worsen them. The declared object of the proposals is to secure greater production on the basis of private ownership of on the basis of private ownership of the mining industry and this can only be done by means of an even greater intensification and speed up of labour. It is because the miners know this that

-----REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY

PROTEST MEETING Against Arrest of Roy Tearse, Heaton Lee and Ann Keen, First Victims of Trade

Disputes Act.

CONWAY HALL,

Thursday, April 27th. 7 p.m.

the demand for the Nationalisation of the Mining Industry receives such widespread support throughout the coalfields. Finally, the agreement contains a clause obviously inserted with the deliberate intention of disrupting the Union. The miners leaders are asked to "pledge themselves to use their full authority to ensure observance of this agreement by their memance of this agreement by their memance of this agreement by their members, and to ensure that no support, financial or otherwise is given by the parties hereto, or by any of their constituent associations, to any member acting in breach of this agreement." Any demand of the rank and file can, in the next four years, be construed as 'a breach of the agreement' and the minars' leaders are pledged in advance miners' leaders are pledged in advance to oppose such demands. In this way the Government obviously hopes that

the Government obviously nopes that future struggles of the miners will immediately split the union.

The four year wage agreement will not bring 'peace in the mining industry', not because the miners do not want peace but because, unlike their leadership, they are not prepared to accept peace at any price. The way in this the expression will be a signed will want peace but because, unlike their leadership, they are not prepared to accept peace at any price. The way in which the agreement was signed will only add to the already widespread disgust with the leadership. But precisely here lies a danger to the whole structure of Trade Unionism in the mining industry; for it is almost inevitable that among a considerable section of miners this feeling of disgust with the leadership will be extended to the union as such. If the present rotten leadership which in no way represents the desires of the miners, and which by all sorts of trickery avoids carrying out those desires, is allowed to remain in control it can only result in an "anti-union" spirit developing among the less advanced of the rank and file, particularly among the youth. A tremendous responsibility therefore rests on the shoulders of militant miners. Their chief task in the present period is to rouse the whole coaffields to the serious danger to the unions miners. Their chief task in the present period is to rouse the whole coalfields to the serious danger to the unions represented by the present leadership which by its whole activities discredits and demoralises the miners' organs of struggle.

ATTACKS ON

The sensational raids by Scotland Yard, not only on our Party Head-quarters but on the homes of several comrades, is not new to the revolution-ary movement. The Communist Party ary movement. The Communist Party used to be raided often when it was a communist party. But now that Pollitt flunkeys Churchill and his class, the Stalinists are usually in the van of the Special Branch: naming the Trot-skyists, the revolutionists, the mili-tants; calling upon the Government to suppress the left: inciting the managements to victimise the militants from the factories. Stool pigeons such as the Economic League used to pay big money to buy such services, before the

Even in the old days when the workers were more backward and Pollitt and Campbell were the victims, the capitalists could never find agents in the ranks of the working class move-ment so vile as the present leadership of His Majesty's Communist Party.

In one issue which devoted three items to our party, the "Daily Worker" legal correspondent, no doubt a staunch pillar of the National Council of Civil Liberties, explained to the Government that it was not necessary Government that it was not necessary to introduce new laws to snuff the Trotskyists out. Use 2D and 2C to gag their press, said the Worker, and 18B to put them inside. (There is no truth in the rumour that Pollitt has given official sanction to a new C.P. slogan Mosley out Tearse and Grant in.) And if that is not sufficient to do these Trotskyists in the eye then its easy enough to put 'em inside under the existing strike laws.

The best story in the "Worker" was told by the officer, home on leave whose. Tory relatives thought that the Stalinists were . . . supporting strikes! After he had explained that Pollitt's party was not a revolutionary party he probably persuaded his erring relatives to join the Stalinists under Pollitt and carry on the old Tory fight against Revolutionary Communism.

The name of our Party somehow-seemed to worry the Editor of the "Daily Worker".

But if the clowns of King Street are incapable of understanding that the attack against the Revolutionary Com-munist Party will pave the way for attacks on themselves at a later date— if the boss class are successful the if the boss class are successful, the organised workers, and the best rank and file members of the British Communist Party felt instinctively that the munist Party felt instinctively that the Trotskyists were under fire precisely because we stood for the interests of the working class. We didn't stand alone when the boss class attacked us, for these militants turned to aid us and showed that solidarity which has made the working class movement such a wonderful field in which to spend one's life. one's life.

Workers! Trade Unionists! Socialists! "Communists"! Beware. The leadership of the mass organisations are acting exactly as their fellow fakers did in Germany just before Hitler came to power. They gave the democratic (Weimar) Government democratic (Weimar) Government legal weapons against the militants and the revolutionists. They also conducted lying witch hunts against those who stood for a Revolutionary Communist Policy. But when the Fascist axe fell most of them had their passports ready for abroad and got out of it. But the workers had to remain of it. But the workers had to remain under the bloody yoke of Hitler. We must not let the same thing happen here. Strike whilst the iron is hot, and the class enemy is weak. Break the Coalition which strangles Labour and take Power into the hands of the working class on a Socialist pro-

In the coming days we believe that millions of workers will seek the solution to the social problems along the road we have outlined above. Despite the sensational raids and arrests; in face of the slanders and lies, our Party: the Revolutionary Communist Party, will keep the Banner of International Socialism aloft. We are confident the masses will refer that Penner. will rally to that Banner.

Policy Military

Continued from page 3.

suspicion of the aims and slogans of the ruling class is evident. To separ-ate the workers from the capitalists and their lackeys, is the principal task of the revolutionary party.

8. The policy of our party must be based upon the objective conditions in which we live, including the level of consciousness of the masses, and must help the masses in the process of their daily struggles along the road to the seizure of power.

9. In the present period all great social changes will be made by military means. Our party takes the capitalist militarisation of the millions not merely as the basis for the restatement of our fundamental principles and aims, but for the purpose of propagating positive political ideas and policies in the ranks of the working class as an alternative to the class programs of the base programs of the base programs. to the class programme of the bour-geoisie. This necessitates the supple-menting of our transitional programme with a policy adapted to the needs of the working class in a period of mili-tarisation and war. Our attitude to-wards war is not based merely on the rejection of the defence of the capitalist fatherland but on the conquest of power by the working class and the defence of the proletarian fatherland. From this conception flows the prole-tarian military policy of the Fourth International:

10. In the last war socialist paci-fism and conscientious objection were progressive and even revolutionary in opposition to the policy of national unity and support for capitalist mili-

tarism which was advocated by the chauvinists. But thirty years of class struggle have clearly and decisively demonstrated that such policies act as a brake on the socialist revolution and serve only to separate the conscious revolutionaries from the mass of the working class caught up in the military machine. To this negative policy must be counterposed a positive policy which separates the workers from their exploiters in the military organisations.

11. The working class and the revolutionary socialists are compelled to participate in the military organisations controlled by the capitalist state. But to the capitalist militarism for capitalist ends, the revolutionary socialists must counterpose the necessity of proletarian militarism for proletarian ends. Our military policy defends the rights and interests of the working class against its class enemy; at every point we place our class programme against the class programme at every point we place our class programme against the class progr

gramme against the class programme of the bourgeoisie.

12. The Labour Party, the Communist Party, the I.L.P. and the sectarians have also policies for the workers in arms. But these policies are reformist, based upon the perspective of the continued control of the state in the hands of the bourgeoisie. These policies contain only a series of minor democratic and financial reforms which do not lead to the overthrow of the do not lead to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the conquest of power

by the working class.

13. Our party is for the arming of the working class under the control of workers' organisations, the trade unions, workers' committees and pol-

We are against the special schools controlled by the capitalists for the training of their sons and agents for the highest posts of command and technicians of the military arts.

We are for state-financed schools, controlled by the trade unions and workers' organisations for the purpose of training worker-officers, who will know how to defend the interests of the working class. the working class.

We are against the selection of the officers in the armed forces, including the Home Guard, by the bourgeoisie and its state machine. This selection takes place on the basis of class loyalty to the capitalists and hatred of the to the capitalists and hatred of the working class. We are for the election of officers in the armed forces by the men in the ranks.

These are the positive steps which our party advocates in its proletarian military policy, and which supplements our general transitional programme in the struggle for power. Such a policy not only caters for the needs of the workers in uniform in their day to day struggle against the reactionary officer workers in uniform in their day to day struggle against the reactionary officer caste, but by its thoroughly anti-pacifist character, prepares the work-ing class for the inevitable military attacks which will be launched against it by the exploiters at home, and for the defence of the proletarian father-land against reactionary wars of interland against reactionary wars of intervention from abroad.

Published by E. Grant, 256 Harrow Road, W.2.

Printed by C. A. Brock & Co., Ltd., (T.U.), 79 Southern Row, Kensal Road, W.10.