# Lessons of the Victory PARIS UPRISING

# New Labour Defence Organisation Needed

to incite an illegal strike. The pro-secution had persistently tried to hold the defendants up as people who went about the country causing strikes. This was the atmosphere in which the trial took place. Despite this, the Jury had thrown out all the charges of conspiracy and of incitement.

To emphasise his argument that the Judge had misdirected the Jury in Judge had misdirected the Jury in law, Mr. Burge quoted from a case in 1909 which came before the House of Lords on appeal. In this case, five judges, including the Lord Chancellor, had given a perfectly clear definition of the merits of the word "furthering" (from the Trade Disputes Act 1907) in civil law. This definition laid it down that acts committed in furtherit down that acts committed in furtherance of a dispute must be acts com-mitted when the dispute is already in existence. Any other interpretation of "furtherance" would not only be of furtherance would not only be contrary to that already given by the House of Lords, but would make the other words of the section superfluous. "Incite", "instigate" and "declares", would all be covered in Judge Cassels' definition of "furtherance".

Mr. Burge said it was admitted by the defence that Lee, Tearse and Haston had helped the apprentices. But it was denied that this aid constituted a criminal offence. In the case of Lee and Tearse, it was admit-ted—if the decision in law was against the defence that there might be a basis for a conviction. But in the case of Haston it was impossible, no matter how the imagination was stretched, to say that his propaganda aid and activ-

ities had "furthered" an illegal strike. Burge argued that within the framework of the Trade Disputes Act, organised labour had certain definite rights which must be clearly estab-lished, and defended; but these rights would be gravely endangered if the conception of "furthering" a strike can be broadened to include almost any type of propaganda activity which might precede a strke. It was necessary to clearly differentiate between "propaganda for a cause", and direct "incitement to strike" or "acts furthering a strike." Haston, for instance, had helped the apprentice Davy to draw up the outline of a propaganda organisation and policy campaign directed, against the Bevin Pit Ballot Scheme. The apprentices had a grievance. They believed that it was possible to put forward a coal scheme. sible to put forward a coal scheme which would get the necessary produc-tion of coal without the burden resting on their shoulders. They were quite entitled to this belief and to act accordingly in turning out propaganda

the allegation of a sinister conspiracy to incite an illegal strike. The prothe workers carry out propaganda when they want something, he said. Take the case of the Social Insurance Scheme put forward by the Government. The big insurance companies don't like itnor do a section of the doctors. They put forward all kinds of propaganda against it in the press and in public speeches; and by more sinister means. Under the laws of the country they are quite entitled to so propagandise their cause. So also the apprentices were entitled to put forward propaganda against the Bevin Ballot Scheme. They used the strike only as their ultimate weapon. He pointed out that if the definition of "furthering" a strike could be broadened to include such propaganda, any politician who went outside a factory, on his soapbox, where there was a grievance would be in danger of arrest and imprisonment if, some months later, a strike broke

out in the plant.
Such a decision would seriously endanger the democratic right to pro-

pagandise a cause.

The strike weapon was a fundamental and ultimate weapon of the working class, Burge argued. The workers had a right to use it and this

right must be protected.

It was the workers who were being prosecuted under the Trade Disputes Act today, said Burge. But tomorrow, when the conditions were not so favourable for other sections of the community the Government (he warned by implication a Labour Govern-ment!) might use the decision in this court against the employers, in the event that Cassels' definition of "fur-thering" is upheld by this court.

#### PROSECUTION'S CASE

Paley-Scott, for the prosecution, argued that acts in furtherance of a strike were not only acts committed after the outbreak of a strike, but also before a strike broke out-in preparation for one.

The judgment referred to by Burge was not adequate for the purpose of this prosecution. The wording of the Trade Disputes Act 1927 had qualified the words in the earlier act of It was the case of the proseeution that it was intended from the earliest days of January that an illegal strike should be launched. All the help and assistance, he alleged, given to the apprentices by the three defendants in the setting up of committees, and con-ducting propaganda was for the purpose of bringing about an illegal strike.

### CONVICTIONS QUASHED

But this was something entirely different from "furthering" a strike, far less an illegal strike. All the apprentices had stated from the witness box during the trial that they wanted to their judgment in writing later.

Hable to two years imprisonment,

and Bevin have promised that many

of the war-time arbitration methods

are here to stay. Workers who strike

against arbitration decisions which are

against the interests of trade union

conditions are liable to be prosecuted

under this vicious Act. Any demand

placed upon the Government by

striking workers can place them out-

side the Law and inside jail for a

It can be seen from such a cursory

examination as is given above, that

the Trade Disputes Act is much more

dangerous to Labour than is generally

Unionist is duty bound to raise a tre-

Since it was first introduced to ham-string Labour, after the defeat of the

forefront of Labour's battle against

the Trade Disputes Act. Quislings Pollitt. Dutt and Gallacher demanded

its repeal until the war was launched

against the Soviet Union. Since that time however, they have been open agents and cynical lickspittles of Churchill and his Tory coalition: Tory

finger-men in the ranks of Labour.

Had it been left to these gentlemen the organised working class would

have suffered a defeat instead of win-

When the rolling class launched their open front against the work-ing class, it was Bevin and Mor-

rison who fired the big guns. It was Pollitt and his miserable fellow hacks who gave moral and practical support;

who did their best to ensure that the ruling class were successful in using

These latter gentlemen have also

given, be it noted, verbal opposition

the infamous Act against Labour.

ning a magnificent victory.

Every serious Trade

couple of years.

believed.

consequence thereof."

# Forward for the Repeal of 1A(a)

labour in a capitalist court of law. It will be quoted for years—as long as capitalist "democracy" lasts—until declared illegal under the Trade Dis-Labour rights are swept away by putes Act! The Government has the right to draft workers from one induced and strengthened by a workers' dustry into another at lower rates and

But only a small number of the acknowledged leaders of the working class can claim to have participated in this victory. The overwhelming majority were silent or in the camp of reaction when the test came.

For many years the organised working class has believed the Trade Disputes Act to be a reserve weapon of the ruling class only in the case of a General Strike. This naive belief has been rudely shattered as the result of the attempted frame-up of our comrades. It is of the utmost significance that serious workers study this case. For it contains plenty of evidence to show the dangers to Labour of this vicious anti-Lebour Law.

It is laid down in the Trade Disputes Act Section I, (1) that:

"It is hereby declared-

(a) that any strike is illegal if it-(i) has any object other than or in addition to the furtherence of trade dispute within a trade or industry in which the strikers are caraged; and

(ii) is a strike designed or calculated to corree the Government either directly or by inflicting hardship on the community. . . .

This section is qualified or modified later in the Act where in Section 8, (2), the following is to be found:

(c) a strike or lock-out shall not he doesned to be calculated to corree the Government unless such coercion

For Articles by TROTSKY Buy Back Numbers of



REGULATION 1A(a) Apart from making any strike in

"essential work" illegal and increasing the imprisonment penalties to 5 years and £500 fine, the wording of 1A(a) is the same as in the Trade Disputes Act. It 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."

The judgment given in the case of

The name of Comrade Ann Keen was inadvertently om'tted from the Application to Appeal at the Court of Criminal Appeal. Comrade Keen was found guilty of furthering an illegal strike at the Newcastle trial and was sentenced to 13 days' imprisonment after having spent 5 weeks in Durham Prison on remand.

Spe lal application is being made to the Home Secretary to have the conviction against her quashed.

the Trotskyists will therefore apply to all cases under the Trade Disputes Act as well as under Regulation IA(a).

When 1A(a) was pushed through Parliament, Bevin specifically stated that it was aimed at "outside agitators' specifically pointing to the Trotskyists, who he alleged were strike agitators'. He falsely argued that the wave of strikes arose because of premeditated acts on the part of these "outsiders". The whole basis of his plea was that he needed powers to break up a "conspiracy" to disrupt British industry on the eve of the Second Front, and even hinted that this "conspiracy" might be part of the Nazi machinations. The trial at Newcastle Assizes shattered this falsehood once and for all. At least it shattered it for every honest representative of the working class. Despite the bias displayed by Judge Cassels, the jury threw out all charges of con-spiracy and incitement. It is now lear that this Regulation was aimed not at the Trotskyists, but at the whole organised working class, and in particular against the Shop Stewards' movend militant worker must take up the challenge and throw it back into the Every Executive of the trade unions must be forced to demand its im-

## Labour Defence Organisation **Needed Immediately**

In the coming days the Law Courts are going to be used extensively by the ruling class to try and intimidate militant Labour. Already victimisation of militant shop stewards is taking place in one part of the country after another. Threatened arrests and prosecutions under Regulation I A(a) have already been made against miners in the Lanarkshire district, who were recently on strike. Prosecutions, for "absenteeism", for minor strikes, and a hundred and one questions associated with so-called national service are taking place. Worker-soldiers are being rail-roaded to the Glasshouse for fighting in the forces for better conditions, demanding democratic right, or taking part in ties, the Stalinist stooge organisation political activity!

workers could still be locked-up in n ed for such a committee is underprison and the frame-up passed off as stood by the best workers. on strike against these dictates are of the organised trade union masses. Regulation I A(a).

a defeat for the Trade Union and Labour movement. They took up the struggle at the call of the Revolution-ary Communist Party and raised the necessary campaign for funds to carry

Whatever criticisms we have of the political programme of the different groups who participated in this Defence Committee the A.L L V.D.C.) and we have many on the ssue of fighting for organised Labour's rights these comrades showed that they were fighters. The limited unity won on labour victory. It this issue won a labour victory. It raises the question of maintaining that unity at least in the defence of lab-The National Council of Civil Liber-

which evaded the fight on this issue, The attack against the Trotskyists has long been a fake, whose real role was designed to cut off the spearhead was the support of the Tory coalition. of class conscious labour and strike Experience has shown that the workers fear into the hearts of the working can't use this outfit in the defence of class. Had it succeeded, many more civil liberties or democratic rights. workers would have been quickly rail- A new Labour Defence Committee roaded to jail and victimised by class is necessary for the protection of hard justice. But the Tyne Strike prose- won democratic rights. In the cution was like the alleged flying A.L.L.V.D.C.-the nucleus exists for bomb that returned to its base. It such a committee, although it is still hasn't made the Government happy only partly formed. But the response

Locally and nationally this should be Had it not been for a few honest one of Labour's immediate tasks.

Had it not been for a few honest one of Labour's immediate tasks.

Repeal all anti-Labour Legisation masses see the real programme of Decrease staling stands on the masses see the real programme of the beautiful tasks.

Form Labour Defence Committees

the appeal.

and it has caused no little consterna-tion at Scotland Yard. But this stewards' committees to the defence of victory for Lebour could very easily the victims of the Trade Disputes Act have had different results. Innocent was a clear demonstration that the

worse conditions. But workers who go and the support of widespread sections inc'uding the Trade Disputes A t and

The capitalists, through Churchill Disputes Act would have resulted in to protect the militants of our class.

the F.F.I. will be largely defeated."

obviously ridiculous to suggest that the fascists, especially the German troops, could enter the F.F.I. How many German soldiers can speak French sufficiently well to pretend to the French sufficiently well to the Gaulle and others. That the sufficient is the sufficient of the sufficient s be Frenchmen? They would give themselves away immediately. In addition to which, according to the reports of the correspondents. the only German troops in Paris are prisoners. Their captors would have to be very obliging to allow them to change into civilian clothes and enter the Maquis. So far as the fascists are concerned, those of Darnand's militia who have not been dealt with or arrested by the armed workers would be only too glad to skulk into some corner where they would not be recognised.

That the ostensible reason for disarming the French workers is false, is shown by an article in the Manchester Guardian of 31st August by their Military Correspondent, headed:

#### DEMOBILISING THE GUERIL

LAS". In this the anxiety of the ruling class at the possibility of an armed people in Europe is revealed frankly

"It would be dangerous sentiment to feel that because a man has been a hero in battle he can be excused if he shows signs of anti-social behaviour when the battle is over." It is control of the arms for their

own ends that the capitalists are after They are deadly afraid of the armed workers, who have especially bitter memories of the collaboration of the French bankers and trust magnates with their Nazi colleagues in the exploitation and repression of the French masses. They have many scores to settle with the capitalists who made agreements with Hitler. But apart from a handful of capitalists who they will have to sacrifice as scapegoats, the de Gaullists represent precisely the in-terests of the big capitalists, despite their demagogic programme. As in Italy, so in France, the Allies will protect them.

#### SWING TO THE LEFT

Already the masses have begun revolutionary seizures. The Paris press, which functioned as an instrument of Nazi propaganda has been seized by the armed legions of the underground than the rest of the press put to-gether! "L'Humanite" Communist Party organ, has a circulation of 200,000. "Populaire" organ of the Socialist Party has a circulation of 160,000, and twelve capitalist papers together, only 120,000! These figures indicate the revolutionary movement of the French masses, which the Stalinists and reformists will not hold back for long. Before the war in all France the circulation of "Populaire" was only 60,000! The tremendous increase in its circulation in the Paris area alone, where formerly the Stalinists were completely dominant, shows the swing to the left of the masses. Socialist Party policy has been more "Left" than that of the Stalinists, so the workers have swing towards them. This position in the first hours of liberation, indicates the beginning of the revolutionary wave which can only the revolutionary wave which wave wave which can only the revolutionary wave which was a superior with the the real programm Gaulle and Anglo-American Imperialism in action. Workers, peasants and middle class will all be driven on the road of social revolution. The demonstrating crowds are demonstrating for socialism and freedom—even if this is not clearly expressed. That the capit-alists realise this is shown by the haste with which they are raising the problem of disarming the workers.

### THEY REMEMBER THE

COMMUNE It is the memory of French history too, which they fear. Paris is a city of revolution. In 1789, 1830, 1848 and of revolution. In 1789, 1830, 1848 and in 1871 the Parisians rose in insur-rection. For the first time in history the Paris workers seized power in 1871 and organised the glorious Paris Commune. The capitalists have not for-gotten that this took place after the lefeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war when the Paris workers organised the armed National Guard— at a time when the Prussian army was at the gates of Paris and when the corruption and degeneracy of French capitalists was manifest to the workers. But they should remember too, that what caused the complete overthrow of the capitalist Government in Paris was the attempt of Thiers to disarm the Paris workers.

Then, as now, in order to retain control, the capitalists had to destroy any independent armed organisation of the masses. This fear of the revenge of the people is also shown by the attempts to divert the anger of the French masses from the real criminals

this is seen by the treatment of women who have had relations with German soldiers. Hooligans have been photographed shaving off the hair of their heads in public, and women have been forced to march through the streets unclothed.

That this will not be successful is indicated by the report of one correspondent who reports the disapproval of this practice by a small woman shop-keeper. He reports that she sug-

in civilian uniform to infiltrate into ated with the Nazis. What she no doubt expressed was that the real This is so much balderdash. It is trusts and combines who notoriously

> masses are overjoyed at the defeat of the Nazi oppressor after four years of occupation, is clear enough. That because of the foul propaganda of the Communist Party and Socialist Party, the workers do not clearly differentiate between the Nazis and the German workers, is probably to a great extent true. But how long will this last?

> Anglo-American imperialism will hold France and all Europe in slavery to their financial dictatorship. The awakening after the first joy of liberation will be rapid and profound.
>
> The ruling class will tremble for the

coming period. Paris has spoken! In the coming days the full meaning of the uprising of the Paris workers will become clear. They threw out the Maz's; they can just as easily throw

out the French capitalists too.

Paris and France will yet present their reckoning for the crimes of French imperialism. Red Paris has spoken, but it has not yet said its final word. The French Trotskyists will play their part in the coming days. Events will show the Paris workers oon enough who are their real enemies and who are their real friends. They will spurn the treacherous class collaborationist policy of the Stalinists and reformists. After Rome and Warsaw comes Paris. These are just the beginnings of the revolutionary movement which will sweep all Europe. Paris workers will remain true to socialism and internationalism!

The workers of France will fight for a Soviet France together with a Socialist United States of Europe!

### RUMANIA Changes Sides

(Continued from page 1)

in Rumania, i.e. with the control o Nazi propaganda has been the armed legions of the underground movement. This act alone, which violates the sacred rights of private property, must have sent shivers of fear down the spines of the capitalists. The "Daily Worker" reports that the circulation of the workers' papers now circula minus a few figureheads, which made war on Russia as Hitler's puppet. What the Stalinist bureaucracy desire is not a socialist Rumania. It is the preservation of capitalism and feudal landlordism so as not to arouse the antagonism of Anglo- American imper--but a Rumania as satellite of the Kremlin instead of Germany. On this condition all the crimes of the Rumanian rulers will be forgotten.

The Stalinists, mortally afraid of the revolution in Europe, participate in the deadly game of power politics. While compelled to defend the borders of the Soviet Union and thus playing a relatively progressive role, at the same time the methods of Stalinist diplomacy inevitably place in jeopardy the last conquests of the October Re-

volution.

The Imperialists are temporarily same side of the barricades so far as the rest of the world is concerned as they do themselves. succeeding in their efforts all these gentlemen are miscalculating. No more than in the rest of Europe will they decide the future of the Balkans. In their schemes they are dividing up the small powers to be satellites of one great power or the other. But the Balkan peoples who have endured the horrors of landlordism and capitalism in a particularly barbarous and burdensome form for generations, will inevitably be affected by developments in Western and Central Europe. Revol-ution in the West will lead to revolt in the East of Europe as well. The fate and rights of small nations as well as big for that matter will be decided by the world working class, not by the secret diplomatic deals of the capitalist giants, or even the



(Continued from page 1)

ander Ramsay's own figures which he gave to the Employers' Federation. Negotiations dragged on for weeks with no sign of any settlement. Ac-cordingly, on Friday August 11th, the

union branch for its immediate repeal. Since it was first introduced to have make up its mind, failing which a Mass Meeting of the whole works was con-General Strike of 1926, the masses of vened for August 30th. As events organised workers have fought for the turned out, the strike began on the repeal of this vicious anti-Labour day before the projected mass meeting, legisla ion. Outstanding bureaucrats which was held as scheduled. As a service for its repeal. In its time the Stalinist party—now His Majesty's Loyal "Communists"—were in the mand was placed as one of the objec-

### WATCH REGULATION 1A(a)

The Albion workers have been warned to expect a hard struggle. But the spirit of both workers and Committee are very high. This strike, however, is taking place under the shadow of Regulation 1A(a). That fact gives added significance to the action of the Glasgow District Committee in officially supporting the strike. It is clear that this courageous step of the D.C. will have deep repercussions on the progress of the struggle. For the first time since the Barrow strike, the official local machinery of the A.E.U. has lined up in support of a strike. A.E.U. members remember that in September 1943 the reactionary and Stalinist leaders of the A.E.U. spent their time fighting the Barrow D.C. instead of fighting Vickers' management.

In the event of similar action on the Clyde by the E.C., it is the clear duty of militants nationally to resist and to against the repressive regulation of militants nationally to resist and to take a stand with the Glasgow D.C. the sincerity of their words by their Through the branches and official

machinery of the A.E.U. the demands of the members must be heard.

ALBION STRIKE SHOWS RISING SPIRIT IN INDUSTRY

The set-back in the tempo of the British workers' struggle shows signs of ending. The forces are gathering which will break out of the straightjacket which Regulation 1A(a) and the Trade Union bosses have tried to im-

The Glasgow D.C. now handling the Albion strike is a different D.C. in personnel and ideas from the one of only a few months ago. By its action, a blow has been struck against the moods of disillusionment which have d ve bied on the Clyde.

When the workers see the official machinery used on their behalf instead of against them, these moods of apathy ceed inside the Union as well as in the Shop Committees. Full use of the Branches and official machinery of the Union can protect the Glasgow milltants from victimisation by the bosses and the trade union bureaucrats.

The Albion strike is a test case for militants and will be carefully watched by all workers irrespective of trade or union.

STOP PRESS: The man about whom the dispute originally arose, has now been withdrawn by the National Service Officer. But at a mass meeting

gested instead, the punishment of

Published by E. Grant, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2 and printed by C. A. Brock & Co. Ltd., (T.U.), 79 Southern Row, Kensal Road, London, W.10.