



SOCIALIST APPEAL

No. 24.

MAY, 1946.

TWO PENCE.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Workers of all Lands, Unite on May Day!

MAY DAY IS THE DAY OF INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY. IT IS THE DAY ON WHICH THE WORKERS OF ALL LANDS GATHER TOGETHER AND DEMONSTRATE THE FACT THAT THEIR STRUGGLE IS ONE; THAT THEY ARE JOINED TOGETHER ACROSS FRONTIERS IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY—THE CAPITALIST CLASS OF ALL LANDS.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL HOLDS WORLD CONGRESS

During the first three days of April nearly two score delegates from national sections of the Fourth International met in International Conference in a Belgian city. Comrades from Holland, France, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, Britain, from Palestine, Ireland and Canada, from the Western Hemisphere and from the colonies came together under the most difficult conditions to deliberate and decide upon questions of policy and to re-elect and centralise the leadership of our international movement.

Several leading members of the Fourth International participated in this Conference, among them Comrade Jock Haston, General Secretary of the British Section, Comrade Pierre Frank, Comrades Bleibtaeu, Demaziere and Beaufriere, leading members of the French Section, etc. A large proportion of the delegates had been in Hitler's concentration camps. One Comrade Beaufriere—for publishing a German underground paper for German soldiers "Arbeiter und Soldat". Others had been in Allied prisons—like Comrade P. Frank who was interned in this country during the war.

If one thinks only in terms of numbers and not of ideas and historical perspective, this gathering was a small one. But it was the most significant historical international meeting of workers' representatives since the founding Conference in 1938.

What gives us the right to make this claim? Because only those parties which the delegates represented, and those unable to be present because of the impossibility of reaching the Conference for purely physical reasons—only those parties carry aloft the banner of International Socialism, and fight for the programme of World Socialist Revolution. In this Conference lived the true internationalism of Marx, of Lenin, and Trotsky. It is this fact which gives us the right to say that this was the most important assembly of workers' delegates since the outbreak of the third imperialist war.

The Conference lasted three days and discussed: a report of the activity of the European Secretariat of the Fourth International; a political report on the international situation and the tasks of the Fourth International. It elected a new International Executive Committee and a new International Secretariat. It addressed a Manifesto to the workers, to the exploited and colonial peoples of the entire world.

Revolutionary Call to the Workers of the World

In the Manifesto (published in full in the May issue of "Workers International News", extracts reproduced elsewhere in this issue of "Socialist Appeal") the Conference makes the balance sheet of the Second Imperialist war and demonstrates that the capitalist world has resolved none of its fundamental contradictions by the war and is now passing through a period of severe economic and political crisis, dominated by the fundamental antagonisms between the Soviet Union and Anglo-Saxon imperialism which must inevitably lead if capitalism continues to a Third World's massacre. The Conference lays it down that only the development of the revolutionary movement of the world working class can prevent a new blood-bath which can be fatal for the future of humanity.

The Manifesto appeals to the exploited masses of Europe and of the world to struggle under the banner of the Fourth International in order to realise the economic unification of the world in the United Socialist States of Europe and the World.

the traitors and lackeys of the ruling class, its stirring internationalist message will be looked upon with hatred. To the jaded and cynical fellow-travellers of the revolutionary movement who look for miracles and are disappointed with set-backs in the struggle of the working class, the Manifesto will arouse a wry smile. But to the oppressed workers of the European nations, to the oppressed masses of the colonial East, it will resound as clear as the early socialist clarion sounded to the pioneers of the Labour movement.

Only a few thousands will hear the message of the Fourth International today, but tomorrow it will ring in the ears of millions. When that day dawns will come the reckoning not only for the crimes of the capitalists, but also for their agents within the Labour movement who have betrayed the working class.

What Has Happened to the Other Internationals

During the First World War Lenin explained that the capitalists had at their service the International of Social Democracy—the International of Labour. In opposition to the MacDonalds and Hendersons and their blood brothers on the Continent of Europe, the Third International was organised to carry on the struggle for socialism. But in this war the capitalists had both "Internationals" at their disposal, the Stalinist Third International more shameless in its betrayal than the older harlot.

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That was the idea of May Day. That was the inspiration which animated the pioneers of the Labour movement. But today the purpose of May Day has been dishonoured. The official representatives of Labour, both Reformist and Stalinist, lead themselves to the poison of race hatred and jingoism.

War Was Fought In Vain

This is the first May Day since the terrible world slaughter ended. Instead of the honeyed promises of "freedom and liberation" for all, the victory of the Allies has brought in its train famine and desolation in Europe and Asia. As a result of the criminal war of capitalism, for which all the capitalist powers were jointly responsible, the world has been laid in ruins. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Europe are racked with the agonies of intensified toil on hunger rations. And the sacrifices exacted from the masses have been in vain.

The defeat of the criminal gangsters of German and Italian Fascism and Japanese militarism has not brought peace to the world. On the contrary, no sooner have they been routed, than the Anglo-American imperialists are already plotting and preparing

the next blood bath in the years that lie ahead.

The Will To Struggle is There

All attempts of capitalist reaction to drag on and enslave the masses, first on the part of the fascist powers, then on the part of the so-called "democracies", have failed to prevent a resurgence of the Labour movement in Europe and the world. Electoral victories of the Socialists and Communists in Europe, the election of the Labour Government in Britain are indications of the tremendous upsurge taking place within the world working class. The revolutionary struggle of the colonial people in Indo-China and Indonesia, in India, and in Africa, represents a desperate endeavour of the colonial masses to free themselves from the chains of their age-old slavery. The will to fight for their freedom is there. All that the workers need is a fighting socialist leader.

Yet in face of this mighty upsurge the Labour and Trade Union leaders, and to them we must add the Stalinists, have abandoned the perspective of a world Socialist Revolution. They have abandoned all the ideas of the founders of the socialist movement. Instead of issuing a call to struggle and reconstruct society on new socialist foundations, instead of coming to the assistance of the colonial and European people, struggling for their emancipation, they have assisted in their brutal suppression.

Produce For The Masses—Not For Profit

At home the Labour and Stalinist leaders point to the anarchy and chaos of capitalism, to the ruin and destruction, to the need for restoration of the productive forces; yet they refuse to take action against the criminals responsible: the capitalist class of this country and the world. Production, production, production they cry, echoing the appeals of the capitalist class. But their method of increasing production rests, not in the interests of the toiling masses, but of the class which brought about the chaos. A capitalist solution to the problems of production will not solve the contradictions of the system, but will only aggravate them. Intensified toil and strain under the present system will produce increased profits for the capitalists . . . and later . . . mass unemployment for the working class! Under the capitalist system, increased production will inevitably lead to a new slump.

There is no easy road for the working class. Only the expropriation of the capitalists and socialist planning with the control and initiative of the working class nationally and internationally can solve the problems of the workers of the world. The workers must demand that those who claim to speak in their name shall fight for an internationalist socialist programme.

Our Duties to the German Workers

It is the duty above all of the advanced workers in Britain to show their solidarity with the Italian, with the German, the . . . and with the colonial workers.

To fight against the national oppression and dismemberment of Germany, to fight against the separation of the Prisoners of war from their people at home. To fight against the use of prisoners of war as cheap labour in the interests of the capitalist class. The shameful betrayals of reformism and Stalinism in favour of repression and enslavement of German workers as prisoners is a crime against all the traditions of the internationalist working class.

A ruined Germany will be a favourable breeding ground for new Hitlers. Germany still remains the heart of Europe. A ruined . . .

(Continued on page 4.)

"OUR STRENGTH LIES IN UNITY; OUR METHOD IS UNITED, STUBBORN RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BOSSES."

LENIN,
FIRST MAY DAY 1895



HOW THE BUDGET AFFECTS THE WORKERS

BY AJIT ROY

The first post-war Budget of the Labour Government was awaited with intense interest and eagerness by the working class. The workers wanted to see if any real change would be initiated by the Labour Government. However, any illusions on this score were doomed to disappointment. Apart from a few paltry concessions to the workers, the main beneficiaries of the Budget remain, as under a Tory Budget, the capitalist class.

£500,000,000 On War Preparations

Estimated expenditure is £3,827 millions. The amount spent for "defence"—defence of India, Indonesia, Africa and the colonies in the interests of British imperialism will amount to £1,467 millions!

The "Socialist" Government proposes to spend on armaments and the forces, i.e. in preparation for the next war—£2,400,000,000 a year. Compare this to the 1938 figure of £348 millions, when rearmament was already in full swing.

This enormous and wasteful expenditure—£500,000,000 a year—is squandered in preparations for another world slaughter.

£80,000,000 To Occupy Germany

The occupation of Germany has cost Britain £80 millions. Instead of assisting the restoration of German economy, as a genuine socialist government would do, and thus lift the standard of life of the whole of Europe; instead of withdrawing the troops, the "socialist" budget allows "for millions of pounds to be spent out of the pockets of the working class to oppress the German workers. And Dalton remarks cynically that the British are paying "reparations to Germany!"

Capitalists Pleased

The real nature of the Budget can best be judged by the reactions

H. DALTON
LABOUR CHANCELLOR



PRODUCES A CAPITALIST BUDGET

of the City and the Stock Market. On April 15th, the *Financial Times* reported:

"The behaviour of the Stock Market last week left no doubt of the City's relief at the absence of any dividend limitation tax on the budget and reflected general satisfaction with the Chancellor's proposals, specially the repeal of the Excess Profits Tax."

By April 16th, the revival in Stock Exchange was carried a stage further with both prices and volume of business making new records.

So far as the working class was concerned there was little cause for jubilation. The crushing burden of taxation imposed on them during the war has been very little alleviated.

What The Workers Gain

The earned income allowance has been raised from 1/10th to 1/8th, and the additional allowance to married working women increased from £80 to £100.

The purchase tax has been abolished on a limited number of goods and reduced on some others. Entertainment tax on sport has been cut down and workers' contribution to national insurance exempted from income tax. These almost exhaust the limits of the

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CHILD MINERS EARN 6^D. A DAY

Revolting Conditions in Indian Mica Mines

Enormous profits are being reaped by Indian Mica Mine owners, exporters and dealers through the vicious exploitation of children and women working underground under horrible conditions.

Revolting facts about the industry are revealed in a report issued by an Investigating Committee set up by the Government of India, and reported in the "News Chronicle" on 23rd April by Norman Cliff.

"Eighty per cent. of the world's better quality mica comes from India, and the industry boasts probably the lowest wage level in the world.

4^d. a Day

This, despite the fact that Indian workers are so skilled that sheet mica is sent here from Brazil, the United States and Canada to be split.

Men's pay ranges from 4^d. to 2^s. 3^d. a day, rigged pay in the factories for women is 11^d. a day, and children 6^d. Work at home is done for an even more miserable pittance."

"Women and children from the age of five are employed underground as well as on the surface

in open defiance of a prohibiting law.

Disease Rampant

"The foulest conditions prevail with silicosis, tuberculous and venereal disease rampant among the illiterate, debt-ridden workers, who are too poor to be able to pay even pence to a trade union to defend them.

Miners climb up and down wooden ladders to ply heavy hammers in the fume-laden air by the dimlight of naked lamps or candles. If a candle blows out after dynamiting there is no escape.

No housing, water, sanitation, hospital, feeding, or welfare facilities are provided. On three days a week the shifts are 16 hours out of 24, with no extra pay for compulsory overtime."

"The conditions of the overwhelming majority of the workers and women are far below the minimum level. This is why the struggle for independence from British rule is assuming mass dimensions. British workers have the duty to support the colonial workers in their demand for British imperialism to get out of India.

Smithfield Workers' Victory

BY J. JOHNS

With a feeling of confidence and solidarity 500 Smithfield provision workers returned to work on Tuesday, 16th April. Their week-old strike ended in a clear victory because of the excellent spontaneous solidarity of 3,000 meat porters, butchers and market workers.

An assurance has been given that the demands of the provision workers for 2^s. a week increase and a special Negotiation Council, to be composed of rank and file delegates, will be considered immediately.

3/- Instead Of 5/-

The provision workers struck work on April 9th, because the Joint Industrial Council granted them 3^s. a week increase instead of the 5^s. granted in other areas. The workers considered that if the J.I.C. could get away with this, it would begin an attack upon wages, and reduce them to the lowest minimum.

Demand Rank And File Delegates

The market workers claim, quite correctly, that the J.I.C. which is composed of employers, Government officials and a union official, is not in a position to consider their claims, because such a body is nothing but a stooge outfit for the bosses. Quite correctly too, they claim that the officials of the T. & G.W.U. cannot represent and fight for the market workers, because of the complex nature of the trade. The provision workers want a return to the pre-1941 negotiation machinery, when they had two rank and file delegates upon the Conciliation Council. Only the men on the job, who know the conditions, can present wage claims successfully.

Troops Brought In

On Monday, April 15th, 800 troops were brought in to crush the striking workers. As the military lorries rolled in, without a word, 3,000 market workers stopped work immediately, and swore that they would remain out until the troops were withdrawn.

Within a few hours of this excellent demonstration an order was issued to withdraw the troops.

"All A Mistake"

Faced with the increasing indignation of the workers, the War Office, in an effort to pass the buck, is conducting an investigation to establish who ordered the troops into Smithfield market. The War . . .

(Continued on page 4.)

Thorez Echoes Clemenceau

They would have died in vain if we were not to make France definitely secure from a new aggression.

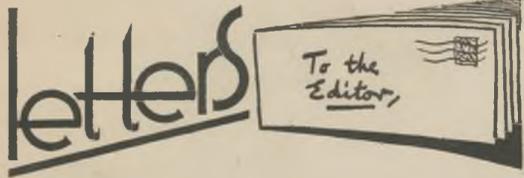
We cannot permit that France, thrice invaded in three-quarters of a century, should once again see her security threatened.

We must obtain reparations, and that will be no more than strict justice. Germany, who has looted our national riches, deported our man-power, taken away our cattle, must return what she has stolen. She must provide us with coal, wood, horses, give us the necessary man-power to restore the ruins she has multiplied upon our soil. . . . We have the right to demand the necessary guarantees on our Eastern frontier, so that the area of invasions be closed, once and for all. . . .

(Speech made at La Bracoune by MAURICE THOREZ, Minister of State, 12.1.36.)

"We demand an absolute guarantee for our Eastern frontier. We demand the legitimate reparations to which we are entitled. We have always distinguished between Hitler and German people. BUT THE GERMAN PEOPLE BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HIS ACTS. Germany must restore to us what she has stolen, she must contribute to the rehabilitation of our ruins, and provide us with man-power."

(Speech made at Nantes by M. THOREZ, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, 12.3.40.)



SONG OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Dear Comrade, S.E.A.C.

A Comrade and I were asked to attend a gathering of the Trade Union staff of the Singapore General Labourers' Union, which was celebrating in an extremely modest way the fruits of the Union's work since its inauguration a few months ago. They had something to be proud of as the Union is fresh and vigorous. Also it follows out quite a militant programme and the gains made by this Trade Union have been instrumental in helping the workers to fight for decent wages and conditions, with many victories chalked to their credit.

We, together with a third friend, were the only British soldiers there. I was asked to make a speech and needed no second urging. In my remarks I showed how the British Trade Union movement came under the control of bureaucratic leaders which had stifled all democratic expression within and utilises the movement to maintain capitalism in power. I stated that the Union must build up a strong socialist movement in this country, and aid, in the wide sense, to achieve International Socialism, the only hope for the working class. The speech was translated into Malayan and Chinese. The Indians and Indonesians present understood English or Malayan.

We were asked by a Union secretary—a C.P.er of many years standing but now having doubts about his political position—to sing a Fourth International song. A Chinese lad near at hand disappeared after muttering something. Our Secretary friend was told by us that our movement has not a separate song, from the "International" . . . And then our Chinese friend reappeared with type-written copies of the "International" headed with the title: "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL SONG". My comrade had written out the words for him and because of our general propaganda he correctly assumed that we are the only party that believes in internationalism. The whole meeting stood up and sang the song of the Fourth International!

Speeches were made by all nationalities and the words "British Imperialism" seemed to be contained in every sentence. This evening's event certainly strengthened our position and it heralds a great future for the movement in Malaya. It is ever so true to say that the Fourth International is showing the beacon light to the Labour movement. Trotsky has made a great contribution to the world's working class in policy and structure of our world-wide organisation.

Best wishes, XX
P.S.—We had a letter in S.E.A.C. on Trotsky and Nuremberg.

A. CALTABIANO Certification of Insanity

We print below a letter from A. Caltabiano, well-known Italian anti-Fascist who was detained in a mental asylum recently. The grounds for his detention make almost incredible reading. Whether one agrees or not with Caltabiano's opinions, it is monstrous that he could be certified insane on such grounds. On this basis tens of thousands of people who are opposed to the government and ruling class, could be certified. We demand that Caltabiano be released.

17, Warwick Avenue, Maida Vale, W.9, 15th April, 1946.

The Editor, Dear Sir, I have at last obtained a copy of the documents relating to my certification. Here are the grounds on which Ernest Weightman Dunkley, medical practitioner at St. Pancras Hospital, formed his conclusion that I was a "person of unsound mind."

"(a) He is excited in manner. He says that the British police are Fascists and that Fascism originated in Britain, not in Italy; because the police are Fascists they persecute him and put him in prison every Sunday. He also talks about 'a magistrate robbing Indians'. It is impossible to conduct a coherent sensible conversation with him.

"(b) Patrick McHugh, Superintendent Nurse, St. Pancras Hospital says that Adolfo Caltabiano is wildly excited at times. He is arguing for the injustice done to him, and that a full public apology be made by those responsible. The stigma of insanity must be openly withdrawn.

Apparently Caltabiano is now at long last "free to leave the country". Although he is anxious to return to Italy, he is determined not to leave this country until his case has been cleared once and for all. All class conscious workers will support him in this.

mentative and enters into long rambling disconnected statements. He accuses the magistrate of harming the Indians. He is completely lacking in insight. He resents being questioned and it is impossible to have any coherent conversation with him."

So, because a professional psychiatrist and a lady magistrate have not yet read "Guilty Men" by Michael Foot ("Cassius"), a British citizen and an M.P., and because they are satisfied with whatever system assures them their material well-being, they were unable to understand the natural reaction of an anti-Fascist who had suffered fifteen years of political persecution at the hands of Fascists of all countries. These two persons were, on the other hand, perfectly able to state without any hesitation that I was a "person of unsound mind".

And now, what are the chances of my exercising my profession of sea-captain?

Yours faithfully,
ADOLFO CALTABIANO

GLASGOW R.C.P. Every Wednesday Evening at

R.C.P. Rooms, 47, Oswald Street, Open during the day.

SHEFFIELD R.C.P. Wednesday Evenings at 7.30 p.m.

Burngreave Vestry, Burngreave Road, Sheffield.

Lively Discussion Classes.

What's on
EAST LONDON BRANCH R.C.P. Discussion Circles every Wednesday, at 7.30 p.m. Working Lads' Institute, 279, Whitechapel Road, Adjoining Whitechapel Station. All readers, invited—Special invitation to members of the C.P.

MAY DAY

LONDON OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN HYDE PARK

Wednesday, May 1st At 6.30 p.m.
Sunday, May 5th at 3 p.m. Leading Party Speakers.

HELP THE FIGHTING FUND SHEFFIELD MOULDERS Angry at Wage Award

An Appeal by the National Treasurer

Although we carried the last Fighting Fund over until the middle of April, we still did not reach the £250 target set for the end of March. This is a serious position.

Comrade reader! We must call your attention to the vital need of maintaining a regular Fighting Fund for our paper. With the restriction imposed upon the circulation by the paper control, each copy of *Socialist Appeal* costs considerably more to produce and distribute than the 2d. you are charged for it. In addition to revenue from sales, we must raise

£120 a month in donations to the *Fighting Fund*. We are confident that our readers appreciate the necessity for the continued existence of *Socialist Appeal* sufficiently to make the raising of this amount possible.

Unlike the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Worker* we are not subsidised by the capitalists to do propaganda for their goods and wares. (Lever Bros., Times Furnishing Co., Government Bonds, etc., etc.) *Socialist Appeal* concentrates the whole of its propaganda on the workers' struggles and the socialist revolution.



Harold Atkinson National Treasurer of the R.C.P.

Think hard about this, and resolve not to pay only two pence for your copy of *Socialist Appeal*. Become a regular subscriber to the *Fighting Fund*. Most of our readers can afford to pay more than 2d. for their copy of the paper. Are you one? Can you afford to pay three pence or sixpence, or one shilling, or even half a crown each time you receive the paper? We appeal to you to pay the maximum amount you can afford not only for the next issue, but regularly. All over the nominal twopence which you pay will be put to the *Fighting Fund*. If you receive the paper by post then please send regular donations to:

Harold Atkinson
at 256, Harrow Road, W.2.
WE MUST RAISE £120 A MONTH FOR THE FIGHTING FUND! HAVE YOU GIVEN A DONATION TO THE FIGHTING FUND?

BRANCH FIGURES

Branch	Paid in. £ s. d.	Target.
CENTRAL OFFICE	113 15 7	£50
FORCES	16 10 0	£3
GLASGOW	15 7 9	£9
HENDON	9 10 10	£10
HEATH	9 6 10	£3
EDINBURGH	9 0 0	£3
THAMES VALLEY	8 10 0	£4
WEST LONDON	7 1 4	£4
SOUTHALL	6 0 6	£5
SOUTH WEST LONDON	5 16 4	£3
SHEFFIELD	5 12 9	£5
BIRMINGHAM	4 14 0	£6
EAST LONDON	4 4 0	£3
COVENTRY	3 12 6	£3
CROYDON	3 0 0	£1
NOTTINGHAM	2 2 0	£4
NEWCASTLE	1 10 0	£10
GWAUN-CAE-GURWEN	1 8 0	£1
TREVEGAR	1 6 6	£1
ENFIELD	1 1 6	£1
OXFORD	1 1 5	£1
ILFORD	1 1 0	£2
SOUTH EAST LONDON	1 0 0	£2
MOTHERWELL	1 0 0	£6
LIVERPOOL	1 0 0	£6
CHELTENHAM	6 0	£3
CANNOCK	6 0	£3
DUNDEE	—	£2
LEEDS	—	£4
NEWARK	—	£2
NORWICH	—	£3

£235 4 10

G.C.G. MINERS STRIKE In Sympathy With Pit Boys Manager Sabotages Production, but Union Takes No Action.

On Tuesday, March 19th, 500 men in the East Pit (G.C.G.) were rendered idle by the refusal of the boy "shacklers" at the pit bottom to handle a "shackle" which had been increased in weight from 43 to 53 lbs. The ages of these boys vary between 15 and 17 years—and one of the lads himself only weighs 83 lbs. Three taken their case to the Committee stating that the work was too heavy and that they were afraid (quite rightly) of permanent injury or deformity.

The stoppage continued from Tuesday until on Sunday the G.C.G. Lodge General meeting decided that the East pit should resume work on Monday to allow the Pit Committee to negotiate with Reece the East pit manager. The negotiations were unsuccessful and the East pit men again stopped work.

Men Offer To Do Boys' Work

Anxious to avoid any hold up in production, the men's representatives offered to do the boy's work at boys' wages so as to allow negotiations to go on. The Manager refused this absolutely unprecedented offer.

The other two pits which comprised the G.C.G. Lodge—Steer and Mardy—now decided at pit bottom meetings to stop work in sympathy. A total of 1,700 men were now idle as a result of the Manager's attitude.

Officials Negotiate

Three N.U.M. officials attended the special Lodge meeting called to discuss the dispute on Tuesday. They were Will Arthur (S. Wales Production officer), Edgar Lewis (Miners' Agent), and Phillips (Executive member). Will Arthur said he considered the Manager had committed "a daft action", but when he was asked from the floor why steps were not taken to remove the manager from the colliery, he replied that this couldn't be done because of "one daft action". On the understanding that Will Arthur would endeavour to settle the matter the following morning the men, by a very narrow majority, decided to return to work.

The attempt at settlement failed. It is reported that Reece said he "didn't care if the whole combine came out." Now really angry at this sabotage by the management the men in all three pits stopped work again, but unfortunately no meeting was held that night and a good deal of confusion prevailed.

Stalinists Strikebreak

At the Steer head on Thursday a Stalinist Committee—Langdon—held a meeting in an endeavour to break the strike. About 200 men were present. There was violent criticism from some of the men present, for this was the first time in G.C.G.'s militant history that such strikebreaking tactics had been employed. Of course, Langdon used the constitutional argument of the previous Lodge decision to resume work. But everyone knew that over 1,500 men were now on the streets following the breakdown of negotiations. If the Committee had acted in accordance with the desires of most of the men they would have called a meeting as soon as the negotiations failed and the strike action could have been made "constitutional". Langdon's strikebreaking activities failed however, and the strike continued until Sunday, March 31st. No meetings were called until the General Meeting on that day.

Alf Davies—the Stalinist Vice-President of S. Wales N.U.M.—attended this meeting but did not advance the prestige of either himself or his party by his intervention. In the course of his speech he is reported to have said that the "Federation would crush all minorities without mercy." As one miner remarked after the meeting, Alf Davies should remember that the present minority may very soon be a MAJORITY. However, again, by a very narrow majority, the men accepted Davies's recommendation to resume work to allow an arbitrator to be called in on the case.

The three pits resumed work on April 1st—All Fool's Day. Boys Rejected Award The Arbitrator's Award was that boys over 18 are capable of doing the job of shackling. The boys rejected the award and stopped work again—being followed out by about half the men in the East pit.

A mass meeting was called on Wednesday, 3rd April. It supported the boys' demands and unanimously decided to give 14 days notice of stoppage unless the issue is settled in favour of the boys. An important rider was added to the effect that there must be no negotiations in this dispute and no damages. Militant Spirit in G.C.G. It is obvious from the events in this strike that there is a wonderful militant spirit in G.C.G. What is lacking is an equally militant leadership. Unless the Committee realises that its job is to keep the men informed and organised by regular meetings, there is a great danger that the unity of the Lodge will be broken. It is a serious warning that Langdon managed to

(Continued at foot of Col. 7.)

A mass meeting of Sheffield Foundry workers, called by the Shop Stewards Committee of the Sheffield Branch of the N.U.F.W., was held in the Coliseum Cinema on Sunday, 17th March. Some 800 workers attended to air their grievances against their Union Executive.

A Shop Stewards' meeting held earlier in the week had unanimously decided to reject the miserable differential wage increase of 3/- which has been accepted by their Union leaders.

The workers contended that the leaders had been instructed to negotiate for a 10/- increase (so far as it applied to Sheffield rates), and it was strongly felt that the Union leaders should have referred the bosses' offer back to the Branches before accepting so miserable an increase.

The general feeling of the Shop Stewards' Committee was that they should instruct the Executive to reopen negotiations with the employers for the full 12/- differential rate; and that failing agreement, the Executive should give national notice of an embargo on all piece-work and overtime.

Wallace Justifies E.C.

At the mass meeting Mr. Wallace, who had signed the agreement of the employers on behalf of the Union attempted to justify the Executive's acceptance of the employers' offer, he said, they would have to refer the case to arbitration and that would have

held up any increase for months. He claimed that the Scottish workers were only 1/6th below the 12/- demand as a result of the agreement. He laboured this point so excessively that it was obvious that he was attempting to cover up the position of the rest of the country. In Sheffield, for example, the new agreement only gives the workers 5/- differential rate.

Militant Amendment

An amendment, condemning the Executive for their acceptance of the miserable increase, and calling on them to immediately reopen negotiations for the full demands; and that failing satisfaction a national embargo be placed on overtime and piece-work, was moved by a militant from the floor on behalf of the Firth-Vickers workers.

He advocated the adoption by the Union of a rule making all officials subject to recall at any time. This, he said, was the only guarantee that they would not have a repetition of the present sell-out on a bigger scale.

Alderman Womersley gave a rousing speech in support of the amendment which, he said, contained some of the spirit of the finest traditions of the Sheffield foundry workers.

The chairman desperately attempted to avoid putting the amendment, and then attempted to put it without reading it, but this too failed. On being put, the amendment was defeated by approximately 60% to 40% of those who voted. Large numbers abstained. The motion that they accept the agreement was carried with a large opposing vote.

ENGINEERS! DEMAND YOUR 20s.

BY J. KELLY

Eight months ago the National Committee of the A.E.U. decided to present to the Engineering Employers National Federation demands for 20/- a week on the base rate of all adult workers, 40-hour week, holiday with pay, and the guaranteed week. Now the Employers have granted a 6/- per week rise on the War Bonus, payment of Bank Holiday and a guaranteed payment of 34 hours per week. Despite the mandate of the A.E.U. National Committee and the overwhelming support of the rank and file as witnessed in the London demonstration, the Executive Council has accepted this niggardly concession.

This claim on the part of the Engineering Unions has a decisive significance for the future of the workers in the industry. It was the first peace-time claim to be made, when in the words of Mr. Tanner, the President, "Bonus payments have been halted in some places, and in others, in all parts of the country, where war contracts have been replaced by commercial work, basic and bonus time have been revised with the result that cuts of varying amounts up to 10/- have been suffered."

For this reason the 1,500,000 workers affected by the claim anxiously awaited the outcome, in the hope that Tanner would persist in his demand for "a satisfactory settlement."

Engineers Dissatisfied

These hopes have been dashed. Not a single engineer can feel satisfied with the results; the base rate still remains the same, with the 6/- on the War Bonus liable to be dropped at the most convenient time for the employers. Pay for the six Bank Holidays means in reality just pay for three

extra days, since in the past time-and-a-half has been allowed for the day following Bank Holidays. The guaranteed payment of 34 hours per week means very little above what a married man with children can obtain from the dole.

However, it is not simply a question of the meagreness of the results. No worker expects the employers to concede any substantial wage increases without a fight. During the war Tanner and his supporters replied to criticism on previous awards along the lines that we must accept what we can get, and avoid striking in the interests of the "war effort" and the "front against fascism". But now the war is over and Tanner, Scott and Co. still pursue the old line. They make a lot of noise about the need for a "satisfactory settlement", and then proceed cap in hand to accept a settlement which no member of the Executive Council could defend as satisfactory before any meeting of rank and file engineers.

Wage Increase Will Aid Labour Government

What is the meaning of this? Executive Council may claim that its aim is not to embarrass the Labour Government; but this Government was elected ostensibly to provide a decent standard of life for the work people. At least, that was the text of the circulars which the Executive Council sent around the branches during the General Election. If that is the case, then far from embarrassing the Labour Government it should follow that full help would be forthcoming to see that the very reasonable demand adopted by last year's National Committee would be granted. Instead an award is accepted which leaves the engineers' wages lagging far behind the real cost of living.

It must be clear to every serious member of the A.E.U. that if the Executive Council continues its war-time policy of shameful collaboration, things will go from bad to worse. A contrast with the fate of previous awards demonstrates clearly that the policy of accommodating the employers acts in all cases against the interests of the workers.

(Continued from Col. 5.)

get about 100 men to agree to go back to work, when there were 1,500 men on the streets.

Sabotage

One final comment is necessary. The manager of the East pit acted in a way that can only be described as SABOTAGE. If the Minister of Mines had acted like a Socialist he would have sent this individual to jail. Why this timidity? No such kid glove tactics were displayed towards the hundreds of miners who were jailed and fined during the war.

History of Wage Negotiations

Here we have a table covering six years of wage negotiations. The workers have had to wait 54 months for wage increases calculated to keep pace with the cost of living. Each wage demand took an average of 5 months to be settled, and an average of 33 per cent. of the original demand was awarded! Here is seen clearly the role and purpose of the National Arbitration Tribunal.

Date of National Committee.	Demand.	Date submitted to Federation.	Federation Reply.	Date and Amount of Settlement.
May 1940	3d. per hour	28/3/40	5/11/40	20/1/41. 3/6 Bonus.
June 1941	Restoration of pre-1931 conditions*	27/8/41	29/10/41	10/12/41 5/- Bonus.
June 1942	4d. per hour	5/11/41	5/1/43	20/3/43. 20/- Transfer from Bonus to Base Rate.
June 1943	11/- increase	3/1/44	5/4/44	2 1/2% increase in piece work guarantee.
June 1944	Pre-1931 conditions, 33% to time-workers.	18 1/4/45	21/3/45	6/- increase to new piece workers' bonus.
June/July 1945	10/- increase †	2/3/46	3/4/46	11/5/44. 4/- increase.
	10/- increase			24/4/45. 4/6 increase.
	40-hour week, 12 days holiday. †			
	20/- increase			
	40-hour week, 12 days holiday and payment for statutory holidays.			

* Pre-1931 conditions: This means mainly: 33% guarantee on piece work instead of 25%; time and one-third for nightwork instead of time and one-fifth.
† These are the demands finally approved by the Joint Trades Movement, and are not exactly the same as those passed by the A.E.U. National Committee.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party,
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Phone: CUN 2526.
EDITOR: E. GRANT.
BUSINESS MANAGER: A. MAXEY.

APPEAL TO NUREMBERG JUDGE

Issued by Leading American Intellectuals and Public Figures

A large number of American intellectuals and public figures have signed a statement addressed to the Chief Justice at the Nuremberg Trial, Sir Geoffrey Lawrence, calling attention to the indictments in the Moscow Trials against Leon Trotsky and his son Sedov.

The Statement says:—

Stalinist Allegations Against Trotsky

"It is with this in mind that we place before you, as we consider to be our bounden duty in the interests of historic truth and justice, the names of two men who are now dead but who stand accused of plotting for war with those alive and in the dock today. Were these two men alive, we feel that they would have made every effort to bring their case before your Tribunal in order to establish the truth. These two men are Leon Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov. They were tried and convicted in their absence during the Moscow Trials of 1936, 1937 and 1938. The official indictment presented by the State Prosecutor of the Government of the Soviet Union in the trial of March, 1938, speaks specifically of 'the material in the possession of the investigating authorities in the present case' which allegedly established 'the connections between the enemy of the people Trotsky and Hess, Niedermeyer and Professor Hanshofen'. On the basis of these allegations, Leon Trotsky

and his son were convicted of 'anti-Soviet espionage, diverse and terrorist activities for the purpose of undermining the military power of the U.S.S.R., accelerating an armed attack on the U.S.S.R., assisting foreign aggressors to seize territory of the U.S.S.R. and to dismember it...'

In 1937, an internationally representative Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials conducted the most thorough investigation it could of the charges against Leon Trotsky, including the grave charge of conspiring with leaders of Nazi Germany to precipitate a war against the Soviet Union and to dismember it. The Commission of Inquiry, on the basis of all the evidence before it, reached the formal conclusion that the defendant, Leon Trotsky was not guilty." New York, March 26, 1946.

In face of the growing public support for an investigation into the allegations made during the Moscow Trials against Trotsky as having worked with the Nazis, the Stalinists throughout the world are becoming increasingly embarrassed, but their silence cannot be broken, because there is no evidence.

Seven questions are suggested to be put directly to all the defendants, in particular to Hess. These are:—

7 Questions to Chief Justice

1. Did the defendants ever meet with Trotsky or with his son?
2. If so, when and where and what was the occasion?
3. Did the defendants ever meet with anyone purporting to represent Trotsky? If so, with whom, when and where and what was the occasion?
4. To the defendants' knowledge, did Trotsky or his son ever have any relations with the Nazi Gestapo or with the Nazi military intelligence service?
5. Did Trotsky or his son ever receive any money from the Gestapo or from the German military intelligence service, either directly or through any intermediary?
6. Did the other defendant at the Moscow Trial, G. Pyatakov, ever receive a passport from the Gestapo or from any official German source in order to fly to Norway to meet Trotsky?
7. To the defendants' knowledge, were there ever any documents bearing on any of these questions or on their relations with any of the other Old Bolsheviks for anti-Russian purposes? If so, what were they and what has become of them?

Signatories to the statement include the following:—

Signatories to the Statement

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Norman Thomas | Prof. Selig Perlman | Humbert L. Guaitieri |
| Matthew Wolf | Prof. Albert Sheppard | Albert W. Hamilton |
| Oswald Garrison Villard | Prof. Meyer Schapiro | Philip Heller |
| Dorothy Thompson | Prof. Carlton F. Wells | Isidor B. Hoffman |
| James T. Farrell | Prof. Clarence Senior | Walter L. Kirchenbaum |
| Concinnian Louis P. Goldberg | Harry L. Laidler | Layle Lane |
| George N. Shuster | Abba P. Lerner | George E. Leighton |
| Harry D. Gidson | Horace M. Kallen | Aaron Levenstein |
| Powers Haggood | Harry Aronson | Albert L. Livezey |
| John Sloan | Gyrus Lehigh Baldrige | Albert Margolies |
| Louis Nelson | Angelica Balabanoff | Anne Martin |
| Israel Feinberg | William Becker | John Macdonald |
| A. Philip Randolph | Daniel Bell | Morris Milgram |
| Mgr. L. G. Ligatti | William Rose Benet | George L. K. Morris |
| Rev. John Paul Jones | Deborah E. Bennett | Gorham Munson |
| Rev. Donald Harrington | Shelton Hale Bishop | Liston Oak |
| Rev. A. J. Muste | Louise Hogan | William Phillips |
| Rev. Jesse B. Calseer | Carl Carmer | Arthur Pincus |
| George S. Schuyler | SPS-S. Henry Eisenstein | Philip Rahv |
| Edmund Wilson | Doris T. Clark | Meta Riesenman |
| Ferdinand Lundberg | Travers Clement | Richard H. Revere |
| Frank R. Crossworth | David J. Dolin | Demora Schwartz |
| Rose Pesotta | Margaret De Silver | Max Shachtman |
| Prof. James Burnham | Dorothy Defzer | Herman Singer |
| Prof. Paul F. Brissenden | Thomas W. Davis | Frank N. Trager |
| Prof. Fred Eastman | Babette Deutsch | Anna Strunsky Walling |
| Prof. Oscar Jaszi | K. W. Duppe | Jack Weber |
| Prof. Abram L. Harris | Milford C. Doraitge | Kurt H. Wolff |
| Prof. William B. Hesseltine | Max Eastman | Bertram D. Wolfe |
| Prof. Samuel L. Hamilton | Justus Ebert | Robert Penn Warren |
| Prof. Sidney Hook | Harry Fischmann | Noah C. A. Walter |
| Prof. Clarence A. Manning | Samuel H. Friedman | Winifred Woodmannsee |
| Prof. David Saville Murray | Joseph Fox | George E. Landquist |
| Prof. M. C. Otto | Clement Greenberg | Merrill F. Clarke |

CP. AFFILIATION to the LABOUR PARTY

The campaign of the "Communist" Party for affiliation to the Labour Party raises many vital questions for the working-class—particularly the C.P. rank and file. With all the power at their disposal the "Communist" Party has conducted its most vigorous affiliation campaign. At one stage, because of support from sections of the union bureaucracy, it appeared that the majority of votes would be cast in favour of affiliation. Now, however, the panic-stricken bureaucracy has managed to array the big general labour unions against the proposal—it succeeded in this, only with a tremendous anti-affiliation campaign in which no energies were spared. It seems likely that the proposal will be defeated by not too large a margin of votes.

The fantastic lengths to which the C.P. is prepared to go in its affiliation propaganda are shown in the recent pamphlet *Achieve it Together*, produced by the London District Committee of the "Communist" Party. The following promises are made under the heading: "When We Are United," "Permanent Peace will be sure"; "The Building of Homes will be Speeded"; "Closer Ties with India"; "The Fight for More Wages, Food and Clothing will be sharper."

Why Do The Labour Leaders Oppose Affiliation?

Despite this abandonment of all Communist pretensions; despite this unprincipled political capitulation to the reactionary Labour bureaucracy, the L.P. Executive has refused their application for affiliation. Whereas in 1943 the Labour leaders were able, through their puppet "Left-wing" to attack the reactionary policy of the C.P., today these same gentlemen attack the C.P. as "Communists" and as a Party striving for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the creation of the dictatorship of the working-class!

Harold Laski, chairman of the Labour Party, is given the task of leading the anti-affiliation campaign. This same Laski, who today mouths the case for Transport House, yesterday supported the affiliation proposal. In 1936 he argued strongly in favour of C.P. affiliation. In 1943 he voted along with Shinwell, Sam Watson and Barbara Ayrton Gould in favour of discussions with the C.P.

The Labour Party leaders, no more than the leaders of the C.P., believe that the policy of the "Communist" Party has anything in common with the programme and policy of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. They conjure up this outworn picture only in order to hide the real issues which are at stake. The Labour leaders know that the "Communist" Party would be enormously strengthened by affiliation to the Labour Party. In the

C.P. Campaigns

In 1943 the central theme of the C.P. Affiliation campaign was: *For national unity behind Churchill*. The C.P. offered to do the dirty work for the Labour leaders; to smash the growing movement against the coalition between Labour and Capital, and to sabotage the strikes of the engineers and miners. At that period the Labour Party executive was able to utilise the fact that thousands of advanced workers were repelled by the Right-wing, conservative, anti-strike policy of the C.P. The Labour "Lefts", feeling the mass pressure of the workers, were brought into collision with the reactionary policy of the C.P. leadership. Thus, the reactionary policy of the C.P. aided the bureaucrats in Transport House to reject the affiliation proposal.

Today, with the growing class antagonisms at home, and the conflicts between Stalin and Anglo-American imperialism, there has been a shift to the Left in C.P. policy. This enables Pollitt and Company to exploit the organic desire of the working-class for unity. The workers see no need at all for two separate organisations, both of which are essentially based upon reformist programmes.

Campbell Admits...

The policy of the C.P. on affiliation has disgusted many workers, both inside and outside its own ranks. Its whole campaign has consisted of sheer unprincipled opportunism, and has nothing in common with the affiliation campaign of a truly revolutionary party. Throughout the General and Council elections the policy of the C.P. was determined by the desire to belly-crawl before Transport House. As much has been admitted by J. R. Campbell. Writing in the first issue of *Communist Review* (published after a lapse of 15 years) Campbell has this to say about the General election policy of the C.P.:



POLLITT

"This economic programme is not a specific Labour Party one. A very similar programme was put forward at the election by the Communist Party and by some left-wing Liberals. It should be noted, however, that the Communist Party did not regard such a programme as the first steps in the transition to a Socialist order of Society, but as a broad, democratic programme, which would rally the British people against the monopolists and their representatives the Tory Party, and which would provide a basis for the renewal of British economy, and the carrying out of the major social reforms to which the progressive forces were committed. Such a programme was described by the Communist Party as State capitalism."

Pollitt Offers To Do Dirty Work

Stripped of its trappings this is a damning admission! It was this policy which met with the increasing criticism and condemnation of the militant rank and file. The whole of the recent writings of Pollitt and the leading Stalinist writers could be quoted as choice examples of this degeneration and opportunism. Again the "Communist" Party offers to do the dirty work for the Labour leaders. HARRY POLLITT in replying to Herbert Morrison has this to say of the C.P. policy:

"If Shinwell had not seen the importance of sitting with Arthur Horner, the coal crisis would have been more profound than it is. If Cripps had not sought the assistance of Communists in the difficult job he faced as president of the Board of Trade, his job would have been proved even more difficult."

(Daily Worker, 13 April, 1946)

Not only is this a clear definition of the recent role of the "Communist" Party, but it is also a definition of its future role and policy—a miserable policy of social-reformism; a policy of support for the treacherous labour bureaucracy.

Lenin's Method

The campaign of the C.P., and the opposing campaign of the L.P., has served to disguise and abuse the meaning and significance of affiliation and unity. Every worker is for unity of the working-class. The question is: *Unity for what purpose and upon what programme?* Fire and water cannot be united; similarly, a revolutionary programme cannot be united with a reformist programme. Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky the Communist Inter-

(Continued on page 4.)

Communism Lives Among German Prisoners of War

We reproduce two letters from a number received from German P.O.W.s. They indicate the intensive political life taking place among them. The German workers groping for a Leninist Internationalist Policy. They will find it only in the Fourth International.

Dear Comrade,
From the enclosed extract we see that Hoffman (a leader of the German C.P.—Tr) speaks of the collective guilt of the German people for the war. We are indignant at this and cannot explain why the C.P. makes such a judgment.

Hopes in Labour Government Dashed

We put great hope also in the Labour Government, but we were very mistaken. Also the thought never came into my head, as you perhaps supposed, to condemn the British working class because of its attitude to us Prisoners of War. On our way through France we were slandered and threatened in the same way, and without exception by the poorest section of the population. All these things can unfortunately be traced back to the lack of understanding of the masses. Recently I have had the opportunity of talking with English workers and also some soldiers through our interpreter. I have confirmed that you are right with your statement that the English people is a good people, and that the masses are only incited against us. Many fellow prisoners also confirm this. The masses everywhere are unfortunately unenlightened and mentally inert. But nothing must hold us back from the fight against world capitalism, the victory of the proletarian revolution will be certain for us. The day will come when no-one will dare any more to proclaim propaganda for race hatred. As regards the fraternisation of the Allied troops with the German population, we are informed that this took place in spite of the severest regulations. I am firmly

convinced that both the British and the American soldiers who return home will be the best propagandists against the hostility to Germany.

We see from the enclosed extract that every Dynamo football player has received 40,000 Reichsmarks (£1,000). We are having great discussions about this in the Camp. I would bring a few more important points to your notice:

Why German Labour Movement Failed

The collapse of the German Labour movement was a result, on the one hand, of an under-estimation of the Fascist danger, and the lack of illegal preparations within the C.P.G. on the other. *Not lack of resistance on the part of the Communists, but wrongly directed activity reacted upon us.* It would have been better to study the methods of struggle of the Russian comrades under Tsarism and to apply them against Fascism. Unfortunately the enemy was too well informed, (1) because of the much too open means of struggle of the Party; and (2) because of the treason of many comrades.

What did we know, on the other hand, about the enemy? We could not look into his inner Party apparatus at all. I mean here not only that of the Nazis, but of all the reactionary parties. As a result of the fact that he was excellently informed, the enemy succeeded in 1933 in seizing many workers who were dangerous to him. For the remainder, unco-ordinated, isolated struggle, which became ever more difficult, alone remained.

"Democracies" Helped Fascism

We were done for, when States, which call themselves the protectors of democracy and freedom, recognised Fascism, and, even worse, supplied raw materials for the German war industry.

In addition to this there came later the pact with Russia, although this was a political manoeuvre to gain time on both sides, whereas the former were money transactions. . . .

Hitler would never have been able to accomplish the sending of so much human material to the fronts, if he had not had the mass of foreign workers. These, whether under compulsion or voluntarily, performed valuable work and were even rewarded. The Russian workers (men and women) were allowed to remove their badge (East) from their breast, and to wear it on their left arm for good work. An enormous number could be seen who particularly distinguished themselves with this. At turning lathes, planing, boring and threshing machines, in warehouses and poor law boards; in fact everywhere one found all foreign countries represented and working to Hitler's contentment. In the occupied countries (occupied by Germany) it was the same; people worked hard without much sabotage being carried out. Today the German people are the guilty ones.

A German P.O.W.

To the Editor, "Socialist Appeal" Dear Comrade, With great pleasure we, soldiers behind the wire, betrayed workers, have been able to come into connection with you. We workers misled into ruin by a "Socialism" decorated with national colours accepted many wounds and chains. The totality of our people is now charged with the accusation of having followed such a mendacious ideology of the so-called National "Socialist Worker" Party without any resistance! In fact, it was

Trotskyists Active in Bulgaria

A letter from Bulgaria dated February, brings news of the revival of the Trotskyist movement in that country. Organised into the international Communist Party, the letter says the Bulgarian revolutionaries stand fully on the programme of the Fourth International. The party, of course, is formed to function illegally and has not been able to organise a legal press.

Several of the leading members of the I.C.P. have been arrested and imprisoned, and have been threatened with death sentences. The "Fatherland Front" government, led by the ex-Fascist

Georgiev supported by the Stalinists, has conducted particularly vicious persecutions against the Bulgarian Trotskyists. At the same time, Fascist organisations are permitted to function openly and legally.

The Bulgarian I.C.P. has a record of militant struggle against Fascism and against the Nazi oppressor. While the Bulgarian Trotskyists were carrying on the fight against the Hitlerite invader, the Stalinists received the Wehrmacht with flowers in welcoming demonstrations at the time of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. Today, the Stalinists attempt to cover up their tracks with the usual calumnies against the revolutionaries as "Hitlerites", etc.

The Bulgarian Trotskyists appeal to comrades and friends everywhere to protest to the Bulgarian Government against the persecutions, and to demand the legalisation of the Internationalist Communist Party.

Raffin-Dugens Dies Participant in Kienthal Conference

Paris, March 26.—Joseph Raffin-Dugens, Trotskyist militant and participant at Kienthal Conference of revolutionary internationalists headed by Lenin in 1916, died in Grenoble today at the age of 85.



RAFFIN-DUGENS

He entered the French socialist party in 1908. Elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1910, and serving there until 1919, he remained a consistent socialist internationalist throughout the world war of 1914-18 despite the wave of chauvinism which swept throughout the world at that time. In 1916, he participated in the Kienthal Conference with Lenin as the representative of the French socialists who remained true to internationalism. Carrying out its decisions, he voted with two others constantly against the war credits and prepared the ground for the organisation of the new International in France.

Foundation Member of C.P.

In December 1920, at the Tours Congress of the Socialist Party, he was one of the leaders of the majority which voted to join the Third International and then organised the Communist Party of France.

militant was expelled by the Stalinist leadership.

Joined Fourth International

Early in 1945, together with his Grenoble comrades Charles Martel and Horace Martin, he joined the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the Fourth International. In their public declaration upon joining the P.C.I., the three old fighters said:

"We have reason to hope, in face of the capitulation of the C.P., of which we were honoured to be among the founders, the P.C.I., French section of the Fourth International, takes up the tradition of internationalism and of class struggle of Lenin, and grows every day in influence among the masses. . . . It is today the only revolutionary party, the only party fighting for the proletarian dictatorship by means of the rule of Soviets."

"With Burning Hearts"

With believing and burning hearts we are looking at you, Comrades, and taking an oath: We know the international clique which is guilty of all misery of the world, of everything! We are already now shaking your hands, as we'll never have again a national capitalist socialism. There will come the day—and we are convinced of that—when we shall tear off their Christian or their pretended socialist mask. United we are strong enough to break their napes! We don't fear any danger, for, Comrades we can only win!

What Did German Workers Gain From Nazis?

What expectations for a World War II of the Nazis should the toiling masses have had? Only higher taxes, far harder enforced labour and less wages, the doubtful "honour" to put the heads into bullets for such empty slogans as "Liberty", for "Justice" and "Defence of the Fatherland", to make a family fatherless perhaps or to become a cripple for life-time, living a life of a beggar. Nevertheless, the investigators were enjoying their profits. The war is finished long ago. The victorious allied capitalist competitors are falling upon the smashed German capitalist thief like hyenas. The German proletarians lose their last possession not yet taken away by the war itself. For a loaf he gives away his beloved pocket-watch only to keep himself alive!

From the East the Stalinist monster is knocking to the heart robbing our last still undamaged factory; from the West, the exploiting Anglo-American capitalists are oppressing the standard of life of our families deeper and deeper on purpose. Nobody of the victors has any honest interest of rebuilding a working Socialist Germany within a sane and united Europe.

Long live the coming Socialist World Revolution!

Long live the Fourth International!

German P.O.W. in England.



EDITORIAL NOTES: World Congress of the Fourth International. MANIFESTO OF THE WORLD CONGRESS. NATIONALISATION—Words and Reality. By Ajit Roy. A CRITICISM AND ALTERNATIVE TO THE PROGRAMME OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY. APRIL-MAY, 1946.

4th International Holds World Congress

(Continued from page 1.)

Look, Fellow Workers, look at the world Labour movement as it is today. True, millions have joined the reformist Social Democratic Labour Parties and Stalinist Parties; true, funds are pouring into these organisations as never before. The leaders of these parties are in Governments; they even control, with overwhelming support of the masses, the Governments of several countries, as in the case of Britain. But what of their programme; what of their policy? What of the international socialist message? What has happened to the slogan "Workers of the World Unite" raised by Karl Marx nearly a hundred years ago? All these have been thrown overboard by the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties.

In place of internationalism, race hatred and chauvinism have been inscribed on the banners of the mass organisations. In place of the call for unity of the workers of all lands in class struggle against their own rulers, they have inscribed the demand for co-operation and "national unity" with the "democratic" capitalists against the capitalists and the workers of the defeated nations. Their voices are raised in unison with those of capitalist reaction, howling for their mouthful from the carcase of mortally wounded Germany.

Stalinism Bartered the Comintern

In response to the needs of the working class and in reply to the treachery of the Social Reformists, the Third International rose out of the ashes of a ruined Europe. Based upon the victory of the Russian Revolution and the ideas of World Communist Revolution, the International of Lenin and Trotsky carried the message of communism into the most backward areas of the world—the colonial East.

But the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy led to the distortion of the Communist International and to its disbandment by Stalin in 1943. From being an instrument of class struggle for the overthrow of world capitalism, the Comintern became an instrument of Stalin's foreign policy. National sections of the Comintern were bartered with sections of the international capitalist class in return for a war alliance or other agreement.

The despicable role of the Third International in the course of the Second World War is well known to readers of the "Socialist Appeal". But even after the end of the war we can still see the situation where the French Communist Party—a Government Party—participates in the brutal suppression of the Indo-Chinese Republicans; where the leader of that Party can call for increased reparations from defeated Germany and for increased exploitation of the miners of the Ruhr to dig coal for French capitalist economy.

4th International alone Stood the Test

Both these internationals were at the service of Allied imperialism during the Second World War. The International of "Squeezed Lemons"—composed of the I.L.P. and its brother organisations was shattered by the war, the national sections splitting in a dozen different directions, the majority of its adherents in Europe going over to the imperialists and supporting the Allied war aims.

War is the test for the programmes and parties that claim to stand for socialism and internationalism. It separates the internationalists from the capitulators as nothing else. Only the small Parties of the Fourth International survived the test of the Second World War. Only our Party—the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution, remained true to the programme of international communism.

Persecuted by the Nazi gangsters and by the Allied imperialists alike, their leaderships massacred by the Nazis—not once but many times—our comrades in Europe reorganised themselves anew to carry on the struggle for communism.

The capitalists failed to solve a single important problem by the Second World War. On the contrary, they have piled up even greater contradictions. Openly, blatantly, the publicists of the ruling class are already talking about the preparations for the Third World War. If capitalism remains, this is the perspective that it holds out for the workers.

In these conditions the struggle for world communism and for the unity of the workers of all countries into an International Party of socialism must become part of the moral fibre of every worker who believes in the emancipation of the working class through the Socialist Revolution. That is the message of our International Conference. All who fight for Socialism will rally to the banner of the Fourth International.

C.P. AFFILIATION

(Continued from Front Page.)

national laid down some very clear conditions in relation to the question of affiliation of the British Communist Party to the Labour Party. For Lenin there could be no question of political compromise; to compromise the programme of Communism would be to betray the workers. The task of a revolutionary communist Party would be to maintain irreconcilable opposition to the policies of the reactionary Labour Party leadership; to win the mass of the workers away from these traitors to the banner of Marxism, i.e., for the struggle to overthrow capitalism. In order to carry out such tasks it would be necessary for a revolutionary communist party to bridge the gap between itself and the mass of the workers in the official organisations. It was these considerations which dictated the tactics of affiliation and united front. The policy and motives of

the C.P. today have nothing in common with the methods and policies of Lenin and Trotsky.

Why We Support Affiliation

The programme of the so-called Communist Party is essentially the same as that of the Labour Party. There is, therefore, no political reason why a separate organisation should be maintained. The affiliation of the C.P. to the L.P. would soon expose them as first cousins to the L.P. bureaucracy. In practice the workers would see through their use of revolutionary phrases; they would see the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism. Affiliation would clarify the political field in Britain; it would aid the workers to see the need for a Revolutionary Communist Party based upon the programme of Marxism—the programme of the Fourth International—Leninism.

MAY DAY

(Continued from page 1.)

Germany spells ruin for all Europe. A Socialist Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe would mean the fraternal co-operation and work of the German and European people to build a new society.

Instead of crippling and destroying German industry in the worst vandalism in history, use the productive resources of Germany for the benefit of the German masses and the peoples of all Europe. This should be one of the rallying cries of May Day 1946.

For A World Revolution Against Capitalism

For a militant internationalist socialist programme at home and abroad. That is the only programme capable of serving the interests of the working class. The continuation of capitalism offers an unending nightmare of atom war, fascism, unemployment, starvation and insecurity. The overthrow of capitalism offers a future of abundance and unending leisure and plenty for the masses. Only private ownership and the outworn national states stand in the way.

Lenin and Trotsky blazed the path in leading the Russian workers to a victorious revolution in 1917. Had Stalin pursued the internationalist policy of Lenin and Trotsky of appealing to the German and European workers to take control into their own hands, we would have a Socialist Europe and a Socialist Asia. The Soviet Union has achieved great successes, but these are not enough to solve its problems. Only the extension of the October Revolution to the rest of Europe and the world can prevent a fresh attack on the Soviet Union. The fate of the Soviet workers and peasants is bound up with the fate of the world working class.

The Revolutionary Communist Party and the Fourth International base themselves on the principles of Marxist internationalism. The R.C.P. brings the message of international solidarity on May Day.

Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain! For the international solidarity of the workers of all countries! Down with capitalism-imperialism! Long live the Fourth International!

"SOCIALIST APPEAL" is on sale at Weightman's, Newsagent, Station Road, Wallsend, Tyne. (opposite Station)

and also at 7, High Street East, Wallsend, Tyne.

Enthusiastic Meeting On Nuremberg

Under the heading: "Leon Trotsky—NOT GUILTY! Nuremberg Trials—Moscow frame-ups!" the London District held one of its most successful Public Meetings on April 10th. Comrades Grant and Haston spoke in the Conway Hall to a packed and interested audience, and both of the speakers dealt most effectively with the history and meaning of the infamous Moscow Trials and their significance for the present time in relation to Nuremberg.

Quite a few rank and file C.P.ers were present, and some interesting questions were asked, which revealed the extent to which our campaign is affecting the thinking elements within the C.P. The excellent response was also due in part to our London-wide bill-posting and chalking, which was carried out on an extensive scale.

The Egyptian Government's announcement, according to the *London Worker*, came as a result of its fear of pressure from Moscow. The Stalinist M.P., Piratin had protested in the House of Commons against the arrests. The announcement was made to appease and reassure these circles. Sablier further comments:

T.U. RESOLUTIONS ON NUREMBERG

The campaign on the Nuremberg Trial in relation to the exposure of the Moscow Trials is proceeding successfully.

The statement "Nuremberg and the Moscow Trials" which is being widely distributed, and the general campaign is provoking widespread discussions in the working class movement. Many Trade Union Branches have passed resolutions, of which a few are printed below.

Camberwell National Society of Painters

"This Camberwell Branch of the N.S.P. after giving careful consideration to the enclosed leaflet, NUREMBERG AND THE MOSCOW TRIALS is of the opinion that a wonderful opportunity presents itself for clearing up the mystery surrounding the Moscow Trials 1936/37.

We therefore support the leaflet and demand that clauses 1, 2 and 3 at end of Column 4 of leaflet be pursued."

Bridgeton 3rd Branch of the A.E.U.

"The Bridgeton 3rd Branch of the A.E.U. is of the opinion

STALIN REVERTS TO "MINISTER"

"That is Repulsive"—Lenin

"A lighter touch was introduced into the session by the decision of the Supreme Soviet to abolish the title of Peoples' Commissar and to transform the commissariats and Councils of the Peoples' Commissars into "bourgeois" ministries. The title of Peoples' Commissar was associated with the early days of the Revolution and Civil war, and with the atmosphere of 'revolutionary folly' which the ruling group, now accustomed to the sweets of absolute power, have come to forget, and perhaps even to despise. In none of the countries of Eastern Europe have recent revolutions resulted in proclamations of Soviet power or in the rejection of the revolutionary spectacle of 1917. Land reforms and nationalisation of industry have been carried out by bodies bearing respectable names of Ministries and not by Commissariats. The time has come to endow the original Soviet Government with the paraphernalia of ministerial respectability.

This comment of the *Economist* reveals the delight with which the capitalists regard the transformation taking place in the Soviet Union. Even in the smaller things, step by step, Stalin is destroying the heritage of the Russian Revolution. This change is symptomatic of the changed outlook of the

ruling Stalinist bureaucracy, which more and more models itself on the ruling class of the West, and seeks to obliterate the last traces of the revolutionary origin of the Russian regime. Lenin's attitude towards the title of "Minister" is given in Trotsky's book "Lenin" as follows:

"That is Repulsive"

"The power in Petersburg was won. Therefore it was a question of forming the Government.

"What name shall we use? Lenin considered aloud. 'Not Minister—that is a repulsive, worn-out designation.'

"We might say Commissars," I suggested, "but there are too many commissars now. Perhaps Chief Commissar... No, 'chief' sounds bad. What about Peoples' Commissars? 'Peoples' Commissars? As for me, I like it. And the Government is a whole?'"

"Council of Peoples' Commissars," Lenin repeated, "That is splendid. That smells of revolution!"

Stalin's adoption of the title "Ministers" for the members of his government is a perfect symbol of the gulf which separates Leninism from the hideous caricature Stalinism. It is a symbol of the rejection of "what smells of revolution" for capitalist respectability.

Activities of Egyptian Trotskyists

Paris, March 21.—According to a feature article by E. Sablier in to-day's "Monde", the Egyptian Government has announced that those involved in mass arrests at the beginning of the year for "communist propaganda" were Trotskyists. Furthermore, the announcement declares the government had discovered a secret printshop of the latter in which the two illegal revolutionary communist newspapers "Truth" and "Revolutionary Opinion" were published.

The author of the article reveals that, in line with the great strides towards industrialization made by Egypt during the year, a full fledged native workers movement is in the process of rapid development. Early in January the first great strike in the history of the country took place. It was a two weeks' strike of 15,000 textile workers which completely shut down 25 mills in the Cairo area. Mass arrests among the strike leaders forced the workers to return to their jobs, but a new outbreak of the strike movement is expected.

Among those arrested in recent raids are Youssef el Mandarek and his fellow delegates to the world trade union conference last year as well as the well-known socialist leader Salama Mousa. All are held incommunicado and without formal charges being lodged against them.

The Egyptian Government's announcement, according to the *London Worker*, came as a result of its fear of pressure from Moscow. The Stalinist M.P., Piratin had protested in the House of Commons against the arrests. The announcement was made to appease and reassure these circles. Sablier further comments:

"In a new country like Egypt progressive ideas are still the prerogative of small groups of intellectuals. Those among them who devote themselves without prejudice to the study of Marxism find the opportunism of the official communists today hardly intelligible. Thus they are drawn for the most part towards the undiluted Leninism which is incarnated by the Trotskyists. Moreover, while the solicitude evidenced by Soviet Russia for the Arab peoples is widely inspired by its own strategic or diplomatic interests, Trotskyist propaganda is based on the interests of defending the proletariat. Furthermore, Trotsky and his revolutionary doctrine are feared as much if not more, by the official communists as by the reactionary circles. Thus, by applying the label Trotskyist to the people arrested for the Egyptian government is seeking, no doubt, to avoid Soviet remonstrances of the type which Ankara recently experienced during the anti-communist demonstrations."

Workers' Victory at Smithfield

(Continued from page 1.)

Office claims that it was "all a mistake"!!

Workers Indignant

The market workers are indignant at the role which the Labour Government played. For a whole week the Government refused to intervene, but in one day they intervened with troops! The hypocrisy of their mouthings, and the slanderous nature of their allegations that the Smithfield workers were holding up urgently required foodstuffs are revealed by this fact: The government could have prevented the strike had it given the workers the 2s. a week they demanded. Had the Government seriously been concerned with the demands of the workers; and the distribution of food, which was being sabotaged by the employers' refusal to grant the men's demands, it would have intervened on the side of the strikers and not on the side of the employers—as it did.

The experience of the Smithfield workers demonstrates what can be done if the workers are solidly united and well organised. Well done Smithfield!

The Budget

(Continued from page 1.)

concessions made to the working class.

In the course of his speech Dr. Dalton boasted that after these concessions, a single worker earning less than 48/- per week would no longer be liable for income tax, nor would a married couple earning less than 79/- a week. Is this something to boast about? With prices as they are how can any worker live even moderately well on such wages even without income tax, especially when he is paying indirectly all the time whenever he buys a packet of cigarettes or a glass of beer?

Injustice Of Indirect Taxes

The main burden of indirect taxes falls primarily on the working class. In his book "Public Finance" written years ago, when the prospect of office seemed far away, Dalton had stressed heavily the social injustice of indirect taxes. And yet today, when he has the power to remedy this injustice, the burden of indirect taxation remains as heavy as ever. Gleavil Hall, replying to the debate, admitted cynically that it was against the "canons of our Labour forefathers" to do this.

£150,000,000 Yearly For Boses

The modest concessions to the workers are matched by lavish concessions to Big Business and Finance. Having reduced the E.P.T. to 60% in his interim budget in October, the Chancellor has now gone a step forward and abolished the Excess Profits Tax altogether. This amounts to a gift of £150 millions, in one year, which is more than the estimated increases of the Social Services which is only £145 millions.

At a period when the earnings of the workers are being systematically reduced by the employers, when the demand for higher wages figures on the agenda of almost every union in the country, this gift of £150 millions to the capitalists is a slap in the face for the working class. There is nothing to justify it. It has been said that industry needs "incentive", and that E.P.T. was a drag on incentive. But an examination of the profits and dividend distribution of capitalist enterprises, shows that what the capitalists are demanding is not "incentive" but "super incentive".

On April 10th, the *Financial Times* published a list of 19 firms paying E.P.T. Of these, only one has paid less than 6% dividend in the previous year, while some were paying as high as 30% to 50%. On an average, these 19 firms were paying more than 20% in the way of dividends.

Warning To The Workers

If the capitalists can extract such great favours out of the Labour Government in a period when they have an almost limitless market at their disposal, when there is a shortage of goods every-

where, how much more will they wring out of the Government, when this temporary boom begins to exhaust itself, and the inevitable slump sets in? Both the Labour and the Tory spokesmen spoke bluntly of an economic decline as something which must be taken for granted—although the press did not push this aspect to the fore. No-one in the Government challenged this.

All the small reforms initiated by the Labour Government in this period of "prosperity" will be swallowed up in the crisis by retrenchment and economy.

The deficit on the budget this year will be £694 millions. If the adverse balance of trade, which is expected to amount to £750 millions is added to the internal deficit, Britain's position can be seen in all its dismal perspective. British capitalism is heading towards catastrophe and bankruptcy. By acting on the theory that it is necessary to provide "incentive" to the capitalist class in the interest of production, Dalton is following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Phillip Snowden, who also knew no other method of keeping the wheels of industry turning, except by reducing the social services and thus increasing the profits of the capitalist class.

What A Socialist Budget Would Do.

This budget is a capitalist budget. It will solve none of the major problems facing the working class. It can only help the capitalists and prepare a disaster for the Labour movement. The way to increase production is not to give the capitalists "incentive" by increasing their profits, that is the classic policy of a capitalist government—but by expropriating them, and by planning production under the control of the working class. That is the policy which would enormously increase the standard of living of the common people and at the same time guarantee increased production. It would abolish the prospect of slump, unemployment and depression.

A budget which was designed in the interests of the working class would run along entirely different lines. It would not hesitate to abolish all indirect taxes on goods consumed by the workers. It would raise the rates on all luxury goods. Incomes below £300 would be exempt from income tax liabilities, with extra allowances for married couples and children. All incomes above £1,000 per annum would be deducted at the rate of 100%. All war profits would be confiscated, and steep tax on profits introduced to finance an extended scheme of social services, and a planned investment policy for reconstruction.

It is along these lines that the Labour movement has to exert itself and bring the utmost pressure on the Labour Government to introduce a financial policy in the interests of the working class. An end to the policy of pandering to the capitalists.

Revolutionary Communist Programme

1. Nationalisation, of the Bank of England, the Big Five Banks and land, the mines, transport and all big industry without compensation; and the operation of these enterprises under the control of workers' committees.
2. Confiscation of all war profits; all company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers' committees to counter the financial and economic sabotage of Big Business.
3. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers' goods in short supply under the control of committees elected from the co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shop-keepers.
4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants' committees; a state financial national house-

building plan directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees

5. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum and full maintenance for the unemployed; turnover of Government and other war plants to the production of consumers' goods; a sliding scale of hours to absorb the unemployed without wage reductions.

6. Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords; full electoral rights from the age of 18 years; and full political rights for men and women in the forces; the immediate repeal of the Trade Disputes Act and all other strike breaking and anti-labour laws.

7. Clear out the reactionary anti-labour officer caste from the armed forces, for the election of officers from the ranks.

8. Abolish conscription; for the dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia organised under control of workers' committees; for the establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker officers.

9. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; full economic co-operation, credit grants and other aid for the reconstruction of Soviet economy.

10. Full and immediate freedom for India and the other colonies to choose their own form of government; the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.

11. Against secret diplomacy and a peace of vengeance and plunder; against race hatred—anti-semitism, Vansittartism and the colour bar; for the withdrawal of British troops from Europe and Asia and for a peace based upon the self-determination of the peoples of Europe, Asia and the World.

12. Full support and active co-operation with the European workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the United Socialist States of Europe; unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for World Socialism.

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