



SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the
Revolutionary
Communist Party
BRITISH SECTION of the
4th INTERNATIONAL

No. 26.

MID JUNE, 1946.

Price 2d.

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE:

TRIUMPH FOR RIGHT WING

Labour Leaders Living in Fools Paradise

THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE THIS YEAR WAS A WALK-OVER FOR THE RIGHT WING. THE LABOUR LEADERS AND THE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAD IT ALL THEIR OWN WAY. THERE WAS NOT A SINGLE IMPORTANT ISSUE ON WHICH THEY WERE SERIOUSLY CHALLENGED. EVEN IN COMPARISON WITH CONFERENCES HELD DURING THE WAR YEARS, THIS ONE WAS SHARPLY TO THE RIGHT.

The agenda was conveniently laid out for the bureaucrats. So cluttered up was it with resolutions of a secondary nature, that the leaders were enabled to squeeze the hundreds of resolutions into about 30. Even this offered little enough opportunity for a real discussion.

But the fact is that the agenda did not contain any resolutions indicating a Left wing current. On the contrary, apart from a number vaguely left, they solidly supported the reformist conceptions of the Labour leadership.

The leaders who in the past had given an appearance of being to the "left", have swung almost in their entirety to the right. The "left" wing—among them Aneurin Bevan, Laski, Silverman, were conspicuous by their lack of criticism of the Government both at the Conference and in the country.

Present Policy To Continue

The outstanding feature of the Conference is that the Labour Party is to continue with its present policy unabated. At home: slow reforms, nationalisation with generous compensation and without workers' control of industry. A policy of state capitalism, which even if carried out in full, will leave four-fifths of industry in the hands of the capitalists at the end of five years. Abroad: the continuation of imperialism, but with a new varnish.

Foreign Policy

Bevin's speech on foreign policy confounded his pro-Stalinist opponents—Taking advantage of the fact that Stalin is playing the same game of power politics as the imperialists, he placed the responsibility for the holding up of "peace" and "reconstruction" onto the shoulders of the rulers of Russia.

He revealed the fact that Britain was only to enter to trade with the Soviet Union, that Cripps had offered to fly to Moscow to discuss a trade treaty, but had been rebuffed by Russia. No one challenged this, and it obviously had a profound effect on the conference. In this way, Bevin covered up the real issues: the basic antagonism between

BY TED GRANT

Bevin's policy which is merely a continuation of Churchill's, and the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The rightward mood of the conference was exemplified by the heavy defeat of the resolutions critical of foreign policy in Spain and Greece. Furthermore, such was the temper of the delegates, that most of the resolutions critical of Bevin's foreign policy were withdrawn.

India was not even discussed, and the delegates accepted the pretence of Britain's withdrawal from Egypt and India as genuine. The brutal imperialist intervention against the Indonesian people was not condemned.

Home Policy

On the home front the Labour leaders boasted that they were carrying out the programme "Let us face the future" on which they fought the General Election. They have nationalised the Bank of England, the mines are in the hands of the State. They have repealed the Trade Disputes Act, and introduced social reforms in National Health Insurance. In the lifetime of this Parliament they will nationalise steel and iron, gas and electricity.

Although the compensation terms to the shareholders of the Bank of England gives them a slightly bigger dividend than they reaped before, and the coalowners have been more than richly rewarded for a ruined industry, this looks to the members of the Labour

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"LET US FACE THE FUTURE"

Labour's Lords

The Labour leaders dodged an embarrassing issue at the Conference when they placed the resolution which demanded the abolition of the House of Lords at the end of the agenda. By means of this ruse they succeeded in eliminating discussion on the subject.

The Co-operative Congress went on record for the abolition of the House of Lords, and Transport House did not wish to take any risks. They feared to stir up a hornets nest.

The measure of the distance the Labour leaders have travelled from socialism can be judged by the fact that they not only tolerate this reactionary and outworn institution, they sink to the depths of participating in it. They are creating new "Labour" Lords. They are dishing out titles in the usual style to capitalists and the military bureaucracy who have not the remotest connection with the Labour and Socialist movement, rewarding them for their services to the capitalist class!

It was significant that Citrine, Shepherd and the others should become barons and knights whilst the Labour Conference sessions were proceeding. How we see the corruption which prevails, the atmosphere of servility and sycophancy which the Labour leaders have assimilated from the capitalist ruling class.

It indicates their lack of intention to destroy the old order based on class distinction and privilege and to create a new society based on the fraternity of Labour.

Workers! Demand an end to this hobnobbing with and aping of the capitalist Lords and Ladies. An end to the capitalist traditions! For a fighting policy based on a proud, militant proletarian stand!

Belgian and German Miners Unite

Charleroi, 15 May—

A recent mining catastrophe in the "Sacre Francois" pit in the Charleroi region caused the death of 16 miners, among whom were seven German prisoners.

Our Belgian paper *La Lutte Ouvriere* published a special report on this catastrophe, giving irrefutable proof that it was the coalowners' negligence which caused the death of these 16 miners.

At the burial of the victims an immense crowd of more than 10,000 people assembled. It became known that the German prisoners were to be buried apart from the Belgian miners. It was also learned that the Belgian gendarmes had threatened to shoot hostages taken from among the German prisoner-miners when they wanted that day to stop work as a protest against the capitalists' negligence and in mourning for the death of their comrades.

Immediately, delegates of the prisoners' battalions, succeeded by a trick in releasing a large number of prisoners, went with them to the edge of the graves of their German comrades. There they scattered on the graves bunches of flowers spontaneously brought by the Belgian miners, and across the open tomb about to swallow these new victims of the capitalist system, a delegate of the Belgian miners and a delegate of the German prisoners clasped hands, and jointly spoke to those gathered around.

The German comrade finished his brief speech thus: "Belgian comrades, never shall we forget when we go back home, your solidarity with us here."

44,915 VOTE FOR FRENCH TROTSKYISM

Paris—
The Parti Communiste Internationaliste French Section of the Fourth International, running in its first nation-wide campaign with candidates' lists in 11 electoral divisions, recorded 44,915 votes, with some 10,000 votes in the Paris area alone.

In the face of the tremendous difficulties and disadvantages this is a fine result and augurs well for the gains in the future. The campaign succeeded in its aim, namely, to put the P.C.I. on the map; to bring the Party to the wide attention of the masses as the revolutionary internationalist party of the working class. This great and successful propaganda effort can already be said to have borne fruit.

Its revolutionary internationalist appeal has reached four and a half million workers in huge attractive posters placarded throughout Paris and numerous industrial cities, in leaflets setting forth the Party programme sent out to each of the millions of voters in the areas where it ran candidates, and in over 300 public meetings where lively debates with opponent parties has sharpened for the masses the meaning of the Trotskyist policy.

As dramatic demonstration of what its programme stands for, the P.C.I. alone organised this year—in the midst of the election campaign—the traditional commemoration of the martyrs of the Paris Commune of 1871 at the Pere La Chaise Cemetery. Neither the S.F.I.O. nor the Stalinists held a demonstration this May, preferring to postpone it till after the elections so as not to lose votes among the petty bourgeoisie, among whom the revolutionary tradition of the Commune is still recalled with terror. In its call for the demonstration the P.C.I. declared: "The Parti Communiste Internationaliste does not renounce the example of the Commune. On the contrary. It is inspired by the Commune just as the Russian Bolsheviks were, and it is with the Red Flag of the Commune that the P.C.I. presents itself before the voters."

Over 2,000 workers responded to the appeal of the Party on May 26th, and gathered at the Mur des Federes to pay homage to the heroes of the first proletarian revolution and to cheer their Trotskyist continuators.

ATOM DIPLOMACY

The American imperialists have suggested through the Atom Commission of U.N.O. that the control and production of all atomic energy and material should be vested in the hands of an International Atomic Development Authority. This to be set up under the auspices of the "United Nations." All atomic technical knowledge should be vested in its hands, and should such a body be established, the United States will surrender its "atomic secrets" in the manufacture and construction of the atom bomb.

Powers will be possessed of international inspection and control, and penalties will be imposed on any nation which violates its provisions.

The right of veto possessed by the Five Great Powers will not operate on questions of atomic energy.

These proposals indicate that the American imperialists know that the Soviet Union either already possesses the "secrets" or will soon have them and be in a position to manufacture the bomb. The monopoly established by Anglo-American imperialism in any event, cannot be maintained for more than a few years. Thus the imperialists seek to establish what is taking place in the Soviet Union, as well as in the rest of the world, in the sphere of atomic development.

In U.N.O., the Anglo-American bloc have a safe majority, and thus without the veto, control in any emergency, could be safely in their hands as against the Soviet bureaucracy and its satellites.

These proposals reveal the impotence of capitalism-imperialism to control the monstrous genius of science which they have released from the bottle and cannot cork up again. As was revealed by the failure to control armaments after World War I in the defeated nations, a real regulation is impossible. Ways will always be found to evade all restrictions. Lord Cecil, an apostle of the old League of Nations has grimly commented that only the prevention of war can prevent the use of the atom bomb. But the "outlawing" of war did not prevent the slaughter of World War II.

The antagonism between the Great Powers, the struggle for spheres of influence and the continual diplomatic deadlock between the Big Three indicates that the possibility of war remains as great as after the first world war. The basic antagonism between the Soviet Union and world capitalism still remains.

History shows that so long as capitalism lasts the causes of war will remain, and the antagonism will inevitably end in a test of power by armed force; this will include the use of the atom bomb by the desperate combatants.

There is no safeguard in U.N.O. or any of its commissions. The only safeguard lies in the destruction of capitalism. Only by abolishing private ownership and the archaic system of national states can "One World" really be constructed, in which atomic energy will be used for construction in the interests of mankind, instead of its destruction.

Nagasaki Atom Bomb Victim



WORKERS PROTEST R.A.F. GAOLINGS

Council of Action Formed

BY JOHN SMITH

London—June 15th.

A demonstration of class solidarity with fellow workers and trade unionists in the forces was clearly shown at a London meeting called to demand the unconditional and immediate release of L.A.C. Attwood and other imprisoned militants in the R.A.F.

The meeting, held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Road, Friday, June 15th, was attended by 300 workers. Organised by the London Area Council of the Electrical Trades Union to initiate a national campaign on behalf of L.A.C. Attwood, who was a prominent and active member of the E.T.U. before he was called up into the R.A.F.

Speakers on the platform were representative of the E.T.U., A.E.T., National Council of Civil Liberties, the Labour M.P. for Dundee; also two close friends of Attwood, who were with him until he was arrested, and were in a position to give the facts on his victimisation, and Mr. Cymbalist, father of Morris Cymbalist, R.A.F. militant recently sentenced by court-martial to 10 years imprisonment (now after wide protests, cut to 5 years).

At the commencement of the meeting, the chairman read out a large number of letters and resolutions in support of Attwood from trade union Branches and other labour organisations.

Typical of the wide indignation felt on this issue were messages from two of the largest R.A.F. camps in England. One message stated: "... We airmen in this camp strongly support this meeting called on behalf of our comrade Attwood and the others, and solidarise ourselves with your demand for their immediate release." The second message also expressed strong

support and ended by saying: "All the boys in this camp are with you."

The secretary of the A.E.T. District Committee in his speech, stated that he had received dozens of resolutions and financial support from Branches in his area, demanding the release of the R.A.F. men. The District Committee had donated twenty pounds towards a fund for a campaign on behalf of Attwood. This was only a beginning.

Pinewood Studios Threaten Strike Action

It was reported from the floor, that the Works Committee at the Pinewood Studios, representing 400 workers, had called a meeting on the victimisations in the R.A.F., and sent a resolution to the T.U.C. demanding the immediate release of those imprisoned or awaiting court-martial on such charges. Further if this release was not speedily forthcoming the workers at the Studios would take strike action.

Speakers from the floor of the meeting, left no doubt that strike action, if necessary, would be seriously considered by the organised workers to enforce the release of their victimised fellow-workers in the R.A.F. This mood is indicative of the widespread indignation on this issue felt among the workers.

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Crisis in Greek C.P.

Since the beginning of May, a crisis in the C.P. has broken out publicly, the central organ of the C.P. of Greece, "Rizospastis", has been engaged in a violent campaign against an opposition which has arisen within the Party, both in the leadership as well as the rank and file. Special Control Commissions are functioning examining the case of each oppositionist and proceeding to numerous expulsions. Up to May 20th, 40 expulsions had been made public.

Among the expelled members is PETSOPoulos, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Greece, whose business activities established probably with the aid and under the control of the party, brought it great financial help.

ZACHARIADIS, Secretary of the C.P. of Greece, published in the *Rizospastis* of May 16th, 1946, a long article publicly opening fire on the opposition which criticises the policy followed by the present leadership as "opportunist and adventurist."

ZACHARIADIS mentions two captains of ELAS, CHRISTIS and ZACHARAS, who by their exploits during the war won supporters and epic fame, as being among the leaders of the opposition, and he adds:

"I mention these two captains because they are among the most representative leaders of ELAS who have gone over to the opposition. These two captains have made a name for themselves during the movement for national liberation. This 'name' now enables them to carry on with all the greater 'prestige' their campaign against the Party and against the E.A.M."

Further on, he prepares the party opinion for their expulsion in the immediate future.

PETSOPoulos, the already expelled leader, announces the coming appearance of a pamphlet containing the criticisms of the opposition which, according to him, comprise "the overwhelming majority of the members of the Party."

A letter from the same leader quoted by *Rizospastis*, states: "The present leadership of the Party is carrying on an opportunist and adventurist policy. If the masses accept this policy to the very end, then the Party must change its name, and those who remain Bolsheviks must create all over again the Communist Party."

The causes of this crisis, which has been ripening for a long time,

but which only now becomes public, are to be found in the contrast between the development of the situation in Greece during the last few years, especially since the "liberation" and the policy of the Greek Communist Party.

Before and during the December 1944 uprising the C.P. of Greece and the E.A.M. controlled, in fact, all Greece and had with them the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants.

Even when the E.A.M. and ELAS were beaten by the British at Athens at the end of December 1944, these two organisations still retained mastery of all the post of Greece and the E.A.M. controlled, in fact, all Greece and had with them the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants.

The situation has worsened, particularly since the elections of March 31st, 1946, and the coming to power of the pro-Monarchist Government of Tsaldaris.

In face of this rising flood of reaction, the Communist Party continues to defend the "Varkiza" policy and is opposed to the arming of the workers, and cannot decide on breaking with its "Popular Front" line and its repeated (and unanswered) appeals to the "democratic (?) forces" of the capitalist class.

In this situation, which has led the Party into an absolute blind alley, it is quite natural that there has ripened an internal crisis which today forces itself into the open.

The Greek Trotskyists will have the task of giving this oppositional tendency a clear political consciousness and to demonstrate to those fighters that "those who remain Bolsheviks" will find in the Fourth International the true Bolshevik Party of the workers of Greece and the world.

MEANS TEST TO STAY

BY JIM HINCHLIFFE

The notorious Means Test is to remain. The Government has rejected an amendment tabled by Labour M.P.s to remove Clause 12 from the National Insurance Bill. In doing this, it has thrown overboard one of the main planks of Labour policy—that of work or full maintenance, and of an uncompromising opposition to any form of Means Test.

Under this Bill, any worker who is unemployed for more than six months, has to re-claim for benefit by proving before a local tribunal that he is not a malingering, and is in fact, entitled to a further period of benefit. Small wonder that Mr.

Williams, Tory M.P., stated: "For years I have listened to members of the Socialist Party denouncing the means test. From everything we have heard tonight about this Clause, it would appear to impose something which, if it is not a means test in the usual sense, is so closely allied to it that I cannot see any difference."

Mr. Butler, another Tory M.P., also pointed out that the Government: "are in fact, continuing the present practice."

This continuation of reactionary Tory policy is, needless to say, eloquently justified by both the Minister of National Insurance, Mr. JAMES GRIFFITHS, and Mr. HERBERT MORRISON. The arguments they advance are ingenious, and these gentlemen provide us with an interesting lesson on the influence of a £5,000 a year Ministerial post. It would appear in fact, that the workers are mistaken on this question. Our representatives are now learning to view such issues with a greater degree of "impartiality", for it cannot be denied that when you have a salary of £96 a week, you are less biased than the worker who has to actually live on the miserable 26/- a week which is granted!

Means Test in Workers Interests!

Mr HERBERT MORRISON boldly stated in the House of Commons: "After all let it not be assumed that all the taxpayers come from the upper classes. I thought we all knew enough about that, in view of the pressure from the working classes to reduce taxation upon them." Thus, the Means Test is REALLY in the interests of the working class, for it will save them income tax! In addition, he stated that whilst he did not wish to return to the "cruder forms" of the Means Test, the demand for the abolishing of any form of Means Test was an "extreme slogan".

Pamphlets You Should Read

- REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST POLICY Conference Decisions 1945 ... 6d.
- TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL 6d.
- A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM 6d.
- WHITHER FRANCE! by Leon Trotsky (Part I) ... 6d.
- GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION by Leon Trotsky ... 6d.
- TRADE UNIONS by Leon Trotsky ... 1d.
- IN DEFENCE OF THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION by Ajit Roy ... 2d.
- I STAKE MY LIFE (Moscow Trials) by Leon Trotsky ... 6d.
- THE BURIAL OF THE 3rd INTERNATIONAL (Special issue of "Socialist Appeal") ... 2d.
- THE RISE AND FALL OF THE COMINTERN (Special issue of W.I.N.) ... 3d.
- SOME CRITICS OF TROTSKY by M. Loris 3d.
- FOURTH INTERNATIONAL JOURNALS Now available: LA VERITE — (French) SPARK — (India) 2d. NEUER SPARTAKUS (German) ... 2d.

Strike News English Electric

BY NORMAN PENTLAND

With the steep rise in the cost of living and the end of the E.W.O. in many industries, the employers are preparing to resist the militant struggles of the workers by victimising their ablest representatives. This has resulted in an increasing number of strikes.

Two engineering employers have greeted the end of the E.W.O. by returning to the days of asserting their "rights" of "Hiring and Firing."

The sugar coating to the bitter pill of the E.W.O. was the right of a dismissed worker to appeal against his dismissal.

The C.P. in its notorious role of strikebreaker during the war, used this clause with reasonable effect in preventing workers from taking action on behalf of a victimised shop steward or convenor. But now that right is no longer there, the C.P. has not a leg to stand on, and many factories have in the past few weeks been out on strike in defence of victimised convenors.

Outstanding of these disputes is at English Electric Combine, previously known as Napier, where the A.E.I. convenor, Bro Stacey of the Liverpool plant has been sacked.

After a six day strike at this factory, the stewards have correctly

decided to link up with the rest of the E.E.I. factories and are now waging a national struggle for re-instatement, involving over 20,000 workers.

The stewards are organising a deputation to Parliament. So great is the feeling that a one day sympathy strike is threatened on June 17th, which will involve 200,000 engineering and shipyard workers in Liverpool. This has since been postponed.

Action Wins Reinstatement

The workers of E.E.I. will have a practical example to benefit from. At two London factories in the last month, the "Adrema" of Acton, and the "Wilkinson Sward Co." the convenors were fired on flimsy pretences. But they were soon reinstated by the determined strike action of the workers in these two plants, who stayed out until their representatives had been reinstated. At the latter factory, the workers returned on far better terms and T.U. conditions than those for which they originally struck.

United Dairies

MILK BOTTLERS WIN VICTORY

With the quick rise in the cost of living over the past few months (clothes, furniture, foodstuffs and rail-fares), the workers are finding their already meagre pay packets far too thin to meet the rising prices of the profit hungry manufacturers. This has given rise to a series of small scale strikes and disputes in industries which up till now have been relatively quiet.

Amongst these was the spontaneous action of men at the Iford Milk Bottling Branch of the co-opus combine of the UNITED DAIRIES, which provides

2,000,000 of London's population with milk.

This action after nine months of negotiations, immediately spread to three other London Branches. The workers demanded a 12% increase on their already low wages of £4 14s. 0d. After a three day strike, the men returned giving their Transport and General Workers Union representatives a clear and determined mandate to secure the 12/- by the next Tuesday, or else they would be out again.

So emphatic was the threat of further action by these workers, who had been joined by the Acton Branch of the UNITED DAIRIES, that it was announced that 10/- out of the 12/- demanded, had been wrung from the management, to be made up as 7/- on the flat rate and 3/- per week bonus.

In view of the award recently given to the much more powerful A.E.I., the lesson to be learned here is that only by united action can the workers secure their just demands of wage increases in proportion to the rising cost of living.

Co.op. Laundry

WORKERS IN WAGE BATTLE

700 Laundry Workers, chiefly women of four Branches of the London Co-op Society at Romford, Leytonstone, Palmers Green and Oakthorpe Park, have, after 10 weeks of patient negotiation for an increase of 9/6 for men and 5/6 for women, been on strike for two weeks to press for their demand for a decent wage.

In an excellent leaflet issued by the Strike Committee exposing the hypocritical action of the management, these Laundry workers point out that before the income tax concessions of the recent budget, the men never received more than £4 per week! What a disgraceful wage even for private enterprise, let alone an organisation that claims to be democratically controlled by workers in the interests of the Labour movement!

In an attempt to put the workers off from pressing their claim, the

management reduced the weekly hours from 48 to 45. But as every worker knows, less hours, while acceptable, do not raise the standards of the workers.

Correctly throwing the whole blame for the strike on the shoulders of the General Manager, the leaflet points out that he refused negotiations by insisting on the claim going to arbitration. The experience of war-time arbitration has proved that the workers never get their full legitimate claims conceded, that is why the Laundry workers' Strike Committee are correct in refusing such a settlement despite the sell-out of the T. & G.W.U. officials who are refusing to recognise the strike as official.

It is creditable to note that the Strike Committee is composed chiefly of women, who have taken their part and place in the class struggle.

The solution for ending such conditions in the Co-operative movement is for the working class to attend their Co-op. meetings and to elect men and women from the factory floor onto the management so that the policy is changed in the best interests of the workers as was the original purpose for which it was founded. Co-operators should demand through their local Guilds that the legitimate and reasonable demands of these workers should be conceded.

FIGHTING FUND CALLING

As will be seen from the list, we got only about half our required sum for May. However, the prospects for reaching our June target are much brighter. A comrade demobilised from the R.A.F. sends us £50 and writes:

"I feel the enclosed will help. Anyway I know of no better use for a chunk of my gratuity."

This is a magnificent gesture. The kind of spirit which must be infused into all "Socialist Appeal" supporters.

From Glasgow we have received £3, the proceeds of a jumble sale organised by the wife of a sailor comrade.

Another comrade, Croyden, spends all her spare moments making toys to sell for the Fund. What are you doing? Any comrades requiring gifts for children can place an order, stating the price they are prepared to pay. We can guarantee they will be well satisfied.

With such a fine send-off, we ought to raise our £120 for the month of June and make up some of the deficit for May. But this depends on you, Comrade Reader.

Remember we have no £60,000 a year from Musso. Only the pennies of the workers to keep "Socialist Appeal" going. Everything depends on your efforts. Our demobilised airman comrade has set a fine example. Rally to the challenge! Build the Fighting Fund!

Send your donations, and send them immediately to:

Harold Atkinson, 256, Harrow Road, Paddington, W.2.

	£	s.	d.		
Birmingham	-	-	-	South East London	2 6 0
Cannock	-	-	-	Southall	1 7 4
Coventry	1	15	0	Enfield	2 9 0
Dundee	-	-	-	Ilford	-
Edinburgh	4	0	0	South West London	12 0
G.C.G.	-	-	-	North West London	1 13 6
Glasgow	6	12	0	West London	12 18 9
Liverpool	1	0	0	North London	1 7 10
Leeds	-	-	-	Thames Valley	7 9 0
Motherwell	-	-	-	East London	11 0
Neath	-	-	-	Central Office	36 0 9
Newark	-	-	-	Demobbed Airman	50 0 0
Newcastle	2	12	9	Forces	13 4 0
Norwich	-	-	-	Croydon	10 11 10
Nottingham	2	9		Eastbourne	1 19 5
Oxford	2	0	0	Palestine	10 0 0
Sheffield	2	10	3	Total amount from May 1, to June 14	£173 4 5
Tredegar	2	9			

Birmingham Carriage and Wagon Strike

BY BILL HUNTER

2,500 men of Birmingham Carriage and Wagon Works, Smethwick, came out on strike on the 30th May after the flagrant violation of agreements by the Management.

Four months ago, the management informed the Stewards that if the firm was to compete successfully, now that war contracts were finishing, then the workers must accept a reduction in the guaranteed minimum bonus. This bonus for craftsmen was 137%. The management declared their intention to reduce this figure to 100% of the pre-consolidated basic rate.

The Stewards, after a conference with the management on January 30th, registered failure to agree. They further pointed out that in accordance with procedure, until the matter was settled, the conditions applying at the time must continue to operate. At that stage, they succeeded in forcing the management to pay full rates to five men they had taken on at 100% bonus.

However, as in this case, procedure could not be utilised in the management's favour, they did not hesitate to break it. The works manager engaged a further seven men and paid them 100% bonus. The men were thus working at 15% a week below their mates.

The Stewards met the manager who declared, that if the men didn't like the position then "the gates were wide open." In face of the manager's refusal to give way and his determination to enforce a cut at all costs, the crane men stopped work on May 29th. The following day at a mass meeting all the workers in the factory decided to cease work until the seven craftsmen were paid full wages.

Despite the fact that the managers are flagrantly violating procedure the Trade Union officials refuse to recognise the strike and have been busily engaged urging and demanding that the men return to work. Yet these officials admit that the official machinery is powerless to force the immediate payment of the seven men despite the evident justness of the case.

On June 5th, the T. & G.W.U. organised a new tack in an attempt to get the men to return. He suggested they return for two days before and after Whitsun so that they could qualify for payment for V-Day and Whitsun statutory holiday. He had carefully calculated that this would lose the management £3,000 and he sagged his suggested line of action with a "militant" speech declaiming the necessity to hit the management where it hurt most—in their pocket. However, it was

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From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

trial construction is being the most vigorously pursued—are still living, as during the war, in little more than holes in the ground, while Gromyko has 40 rooms for his summer residence.

Our contention that Russia is not a socialist, but a bureaucratic and degenerated workers' state is supported by a comparison between the Stalinist and the Leninist approach to this question. In *State and Revolution* Lenin writes: "In this connection the measures adopted by the (Paris) Commune and emphasised by Marx are particularly noteworthy, viz. the abolition of all representation allowances, and of all monetary privileges in the case of officials, the reduction of the remuneration of all servants of the state to the level of 'workmen's wages'." This shows more clearly than anything else the turn from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy, from the democracy of the oppressed classes, from the state as a "special force" for the suppression of a given class to the suppression of the oppressors by the "general force" of the workers and the peasants. And it is precisely on this striking point, perhaps the most important as far as the problem of the state is concerned, that the teachings of Marx have been most completely forgotten!

We have nothing to add to this.

The Stalinist contends that there is socialism in the U.S.S.R. have the floor!

THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS!

On Whit Sunday, Reynolds' News carried an article on the Victory celebrations contributed by the Dean of Canterbury. Under a paragraph heading *When Britain Stood Alone* we read: "Men marched. Women worked. Machines never ceased to revolve when men went to war. As men shouldered rifles, women seized handles of lathes. All either fought or worked: it was a people's war."

At the time in question the Communist Party was opposing the war which it correctly characterised as imperialist. It was busy organising an anti-war movement known as the "People's Convention" which called for a people's government and a people's peace. All the Stalinist hacks including Pritt, Haldane and the Dean of Canterbury supported it. The Rev. Hewlett Johnson made no mention then of it being a "people's war".

In his memory had or his morals? It would appear that the Dean has become so corrupted by his long contact with Stalinism that he has no more respect for his Christian commandments than his mentors have for their professed socialist ideals.



AJIT ROY

LABOUR'S FIRST YEAR

The Leninist Attitude to the Labour Government

CONWAY HALL, (Near Holborn Tube Station)

MONDAY, JULY 8th, at 7.30 p.m.

Speakers: JOCK HASTON AJIT ROY

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION.

ADMISSION 6d.



JOCK HASTON

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party,
256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.
Phone: CUN 2526.
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Editorial

Compromise in India

BY H. ATKINSON

The final stages of acceptance of the British Cabinet proposals for India are being reached. The stage is being set for the formation of an Indian interim Government.

The old die-hard representatives of British imperialism are heart broken. This is a tremendous retreat on the part of the erstwhile "master race", the British ruling class. The late Lord Brentford, one-time Viceroy, used to boast: "We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we shall hold it." Churchill, who, after the turn in the war fortunes of British imperialism, announced to the world that he had not become the King's first Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, has had to make way for one who will. The sword of British imperialism has rusted in its sheath. There are none who can draw it.

Churchill, the arch-imperialist pirate, has to content himself with lamentations about the "casting away" of "our heritage". But the source of these lamentations must be borne in mind when assessing the true worth of the proposals of the Labour Cabinet Ministers. For no Socialist can accept this new orientation of British imperialism as an application of the democratic and Socialist principle of the right of self-determination for the colonial peoples. It is a change in the methods of British imperialism which has been forced upon the ruling class by the development of events.

A genuine Socialist government would not have haggled; would not have bargained for conditions. It would have made a simple declaration announcing the independence of India and the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of all the armed forces. Instead, something very different is taking place.

The British ruling class can no longer maintain its hold over India by the old method of brutal occupation. World events, political and economic developments, have dictated the necessity for a new approach. Agreement is being sought with the rising Indian bourgeoisie in order that they may jointly exploit the Indian masses more effectively.

The general radicalisation of the British workers, including the workers in uniform, has ruled out the possibility of using troops against any large scale nationalist struggle of the Indian peoples. Among other things, the R.A.F. strikes have demonstrated the "unreliability" of the British forces in India. In addition, the Indian forces, for the most part have undergone a rapid political evolution. The "New Statesman and Nation" estimates that at least fifty per cent. are supporting the nationalist movement. This is expressed in their open support for the leaders of Bose's National Army which has compelled the British ruling class to abandon the I.N.A. trials. The deep discontent which pervades the Indian forces found expression in the Indian Naval mutiny. In short, Whitehall can no longer rely on armed bodies of men to enforce its rule.

An overriding consideration is the dominant position which the U.S.S.R. occupies in Asia and the fears held in London of Moscow's designs on India as a sphere of Stalinist influence. In the nineteenth century the dreams of British statesmen were haunted by the "menace from the East" as they regarded the expansion of Tsarist Russia into the domain of British imperialism. Now a new "threat from the East" sends cold shivers down the spines of His Majesty's Socialist "statesmen".

A great change has also been wrought by the war in the economic relationships between the British and the Indian bourgeoisie. Britain is now a debtor country to India to the tune of over a thousand million pounds. British capital is being ousted from India. A great part of the economic control is being gathered into the hands of the Indian capitalists. Even such an august institution of British imperialism's rule as the "Times of India" has now been acquired by Indian capital. Little wonder then that "goodwill" is now the order of the day!

The British calculate that the coming industrialisation of India will open up tremendous possibilities for capital investment. The I.C.I. and Nuffield organisations are already taking the lead in this connection. But the present instrument of control, domination by force of arms can no longer protect the interests of British investors in the political setting which has now developed. They need a better relationship with the Indian capitalists. A share in the control of Indian affairs is being conceded to the Indian entrepreneurs. This fraud, the nationalist leaders are foisting on to the Indian masses in the guise of "independence".

It takes two sides to make a bargain, and here we see the true worth of the "patriotic nationalism" of Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah. The Indian nationalist leaders are not demanding, as a condition, the withdrawal of all British armed forces, but that complete control of the armed forces be in the hands of Indians. In an article entitled "Let Us Pray", in "Harijan" on April 4, Gandhi writes: "There is little doubt that India is about to reach the cherished goal of political independence. . . . Let us then pray and find out what we have meant by non-violence and we shall retain the freedom gained by its use. If our non-violence is of the weak, it follows also

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NUREMBERG AND YOU

A Reply to Ivor Montague

THE EVIDENCE OF DOENITZ, RIBBENTROP, ROSENBERG, STREICHER, JODL, AND OTHERS HAS BEEN GIVEN AT THE NUREMBERG TRIAL. YET THERE IS STILL NO WORD OF THE SO-CALLED ALLIANCE BETWEEN TROTSKY AND THE OLD BOLSHEVIKS AND THE NAZIS, DESPITE THE REPRESENTATIONS MADE TO THE COURT AND THE PROSECUTION TO INVESTIGATE THE ALLEGATIONS MADE AT THE MOSCOW TRIALS.

The evidence of Doenitz, Ribbentrop, Rosenberg, Streicher, Jodl, and others has been given at the Nuremberg Trial.

The correspondence and diplomatic files between the Ambassadors in the different countries and private individuals, the files of the Nazi Party, secret memoranda and diaries, the German state archives—all have been produced to show in detail the preparations of the Nazis for war.

In particular, meticulous attention has been paid to the details, however small, of the Nazi preparations to invade all the countries that they attacked. The plans and blueprints of attacks on Russia, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, have been produced.

The Daily Worker and the Stalinist press generally, have featured the Nuremberg Trial prominently for many months since the commencement of the Trial. They have shown the complicity of British and American Big Business, the preparations of the German capitalists to hand power to Hitler, and their complicity in all Hitler's crimes.

In the Labour Monthly, May, 1946, organ of the British Communist Party, Ivor Montague writes an article entitled "Nuremberg and You" in which he says:

"It is natural that some people should be unhappy at what is coming to light in this great Trial and that these should include press lords (two were sought by Ribbentrop to testify to the genuineness of his efforts for Anglo-German friendship)."

Commenting on the need for an exhaustive analysis of the facts, and bringing out of every detail, Ivor Montague continues:

"But nothing is too long unless it is wasting time. Nuremberg has already lasted five months and will last more. . . ."

"Every moment has been packed with fascinating drama and the stuff of history, vital to generations. With the percentage of waste surprisingly little."

"Nuremberg's vital significance has two aspects. First, the dis-

covery and establishment of the facts of the past. . . . There are two categories: those bearing on the origins of the war and the methods and details of the aggressions, and those establishing atrocious deeds.

"It is impossible to over-estimate the interest and instruction to be derived from the evidence on these matters filed by the prosecution and elicited from the defendants in cross-examination."

"... we have here, available already, with the authority lent by its official endorsement as evidence in the four-power prosecution, the authentic story of these terrible years, that so many would like to hide, in diaries, inter-office memos, transcripts of secret conferences and telephone calls, the living voices of this arch-villainy."

It is as though the naked truth were suddenly stripped undeniable.

Is it a melancholy, or a rewarding thought to a communist that the picture thus revealed contains for him few surprises, the confirmation of much that he had analysed and predicted?

But Mr. Montague, no surprises? Confirmation of much that was expected and predicted? What about the 'evidence' in the Moscow Trials? Have you forgotten, that you were writing articles justifying the Moscow Trials, which alleged that there was evidence to prove that Old Bolsheviks were conspirators with Hitler? Why are you and the Communist Party silent?

For a conscientious "communist" Nuremberg would be the means of establishing all the facts—all the

preparations and all the details of the conspiracy.

You have challenged the Russian Prosecution, and the Communist Party, to produce the evidence on which Trotsky was condemned, and the cream of the Old Bolsheviks murdered for being agents of Hitler. But the silence demonstrates that there is no evidence.

You justified the shooting of Tukachevsky and the other leading Red Army Generals after a secret trial (if it was ever held). You have exposed the connections between Franco, Horthy, Mannerheim, and the fascist generals of other countries. Where is the evidence of connections between the Red Army generals and the Nazi General Staff?

Where are the preparations for war, which you and the other hack journalists of the Communist Party screamed about in your journals?

You say that Nuremberg's vital significance is to discover the facts. But there are no facts!

You speak of the physical examination of tons of documents, of hundreds of miles of film, of the painstaking cross examination of the defendants—among whom were Hess, Rosenberg and others who were supposed to have had direct connection with Trotsky and the Old Bolsheviks. Yet the Stalinist prosecution did not ask a single question on their alleged connections and conspiracies with Trotsky and the Old Guard.

Is this one of the "few surprises"? That the "naked truth, suddenly stripped, undeniable," reveals nothing, absolutely nothing of this enormous conspiracy with all its ramifications and connections which allegedly involved tons of thou-

sands! That the Russian prosecution must needs carefully avoid all possible reference to the question?

To the hardened cynics and bureaucrats in the leadership of the Stalinist Parties, who put across the "line" of Trotsky's complicity with the Nazis, the fact that no evidence is available, is of course no surprise, and of little import. They knew that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups from the start, but considered the falsifications and frame-ups were a "clever" method of discrediting revolutionary opponents.

But to the rank and file of the Communist Party it has been one of the big surprises of the Nuremberg Trial. It has been the cause of dismay and disturbance that their leaders have remained silent.

Out of their own mouths, Stalinism is condemned. Montague ends his article on an high moral note:

"We have to appreciate that, like all the facts of life, itself, the experience of politics, of industry, of all that is human, Nuremberg—an unique in history. Four-Power authorisation authentication of such facts—provides a mine of gold for enriching the world with knowledge. But that knowledge, those lessons, the enlightenment and hardening of purpose based upon them, do not come automatically as result of the labour of others. It has to be spread, popularised, fought for. It is a battle we are all fighting."

The Nuremberg Trial will indeed be unique in history and a mine of gold for the world working class in exposing the monstrous Moscow Trials for what they were—a frame-up from beginning to end, a conspiracy against communism, against the Soviet Union and against the world working class.

OPERATION VANDAL

A sickening spectacle was presented to those who visited the cinema during the first week of June: the dynamiting of the Blohm and Voss shipyards at Hamburg.

We weep no tears for the shareholders of Blohm and Voss. During the war they have reaped rich profits from the blood and suffering of the masses, they deserve the fate which befalls them. The issue for us is the tragedy for socialism behind the destruction of German productive equipment.

It is always tragic to see the product of human creative genius destroyed, whether by accident or design. But more is involved than the steel and concrete devastated by sappers' explosives. The destruction of German industry means misery, hunger and suffering for the German workers and for Europe's toiling millions. For Germany is the heart of the European economy, the productive centre without which Europe cannot exist except at sub-human levels.

This is a policy allegedly designed to prevent war. But Capitalism is the cause of war. To attempt to prevent it by such means is like cutting off the other ear to cure deafness. In any case, it is not possible to draw a line of demarcation between "war" industry and the general productive forces. It is clear that what is happening is the destruction of German competitive industrial capacity at the hands of the British ruling class. The consequences of this for the German and European peoples in the period ahead are hellish.

It is reported that the German Socialist Democratic Party in the British zone has appealed to British occupying authorities to desist from such activities. The demolitions are being vigorously opposed by the Kiel Ship Stewards who have warned the British authorities that they will not be responsible for the consequences of these destructions. Their resolution reads:

"The working population of Kiel agrees that a radical end must be put to the armament industry once and for all. But this can be done without depriving our town of all chances of economic survival."

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Belgian Trotskyists Attacked

BRUSSELS—Belgium has just passed through a wave of strikes. In the metalworks of the Centre region, in the mines, in the power stations, in the glass works. They spread to Liege, to Antwerp and to Ghent. The movement for wage increases threatened to become a general strike. It was averted only when the trade union bureaucrats called an extraordinary Congress of the P.T.G.B. (the Belgian equivalent of the T.U.C.) to decide the attitude to be adopted on the wage question.

Reluctantly, the workers of the Centre region decided to return to work but they are carrying on an opposition inside the unions against the capitulationist policies of the reformist and Stalinist leaders.

Belgium's "Socialist" Prime Minister, seeking a scapegoat to cover his own treachery to the workers, is laying the blame for the strike wave on the Trotskyists.

In a sensational declaration broadcast over the radio, VAN ACKER accused the Trotskyists of having fomented the strikes. The Parti Communiste Internationaliste, Belgian Section of the Fourth International, replied immediately by means of a leaflet, castigating the reactionary and anti-labour policy of the Government, exposing the ridiculous fraud of the charge that the strikes are "fomented" and setting forth the genuine causes of the discontent of the masses, as well as indicating the road of class action as the only road to follow. The P.C.I. has been the only Party which unreservedly supported the workers' struggles and is proud of it, the leaflet concluded.

This is the second recent government attack on our Belgian comrades. Towards the end of April they were subjected to a series of "house searches" by the Judiciary police. The alleged object was to find out if the P.C.I. had "arsenals" at its disposal. One inspector named Deloux boasted that he had had experience in setting against the Trotskyists. He had searched the house of martyred Leon Leseol, the Belgian leader of the Fourth International, before he was seized by the Gestapo on June 22nd, 1941, and later tortured to death at Neuengamme concentration camp. The Van Acker regime boasts of its democracy, yet for police they employ the same scum that worked hand in glove with the Gestapo.



NO V-DAY FOR HIM

He did not celebrate V-Day. He is one of the victims of imperialism. Millions of negroes in the Reserves in South Africa live on hunger rations permanently. Now they face actual starvation. The result of hunger and poverty is seen in this child photographed in the Transkei Reserve.

Drought in Africa

JOHANNESBURG—

The worst drought in 15 years still goes on. Cattle are dying in their hundreds every day. Whole agricultural areas of South Africa are nothing but waste deserts. A report from the Msinga reserve area, for example, says "6,555 cattle died in the Msinga district of Natal in November as a result of the drought. Some natives lost all their cattle." ("Eastern Province Herald" 22.12.45). Since cattle are the African peasant's main means of exchange this means utter starvation with no means of recovery for the bulk of the population.

Drought affects all the farming population. It is no respecter of colour. But the European farmers can take their cattle to different grazing grounds, and are subsidised by the government. All that the African peasant can do is to die of hunger.

The starvation and misery of the peasantry in the reserves goes beyond all human endurance. Even in a 'good' year the Transkei area, for example, has never produced more than half the maize

crop it needs to feed its own people.

Today, "the virtual failure of the maize crop estimated unofficially some time ago, at less than half that of a good though not bumper year, affects three-quarters of the human population." (EPH 28.12.45). This means that the bulk of the non-European people are living in Bechenwald slave camp conditions.

Why Starvation?

The boss papers are blaming the terrible conditions on God and the disorganised state of world markets. But even if maize were imported, it would be too dear for the African peasant. They have nothing with which to buy food.

These conditions are not due to nature either. They are directly made by the capitalist class of this country. The bosses want African cheap labour in the mines, and on the farms. They are not prepared to give the African peasant land irrigation or subsidies as they do to the European farmer. It is all a product of the vicious segregation system.

Manifesto of Italian Trotskyists

THE PROVOCATIONS OF THE NEO-FASCIST REACTION

The elections draw near. The electoral speeches multiply. The main theme of the propaganda which emanates from the parties of the Left announce that June 2nd will see a radical change. The King has fled, Harrah for the Republic, the Republican Constituent Assembly!

Certainly the Republic is something new in respect of 1922. Then there was no talk of doing away with the King; then the leaders of the Socialist Party turned to him for protection against Mussolini's Action Squads. Today however, the King no longer serves this purpose, but the leaders of the S.P. and C.P. want the workers to believe that the Republic will be their guarantee against the renewed offensive of the Fascist dictatorship.

Today they hail the Constituent Assembly, the triumph of democracy!

Triumph of Democracy—but Black Guards drill on the Church estates; but the Fascists in Rome make an attempt to occupy a Radio Station!

Triumph of Democracy—but the terrorist acts against the premises of workers' organisations increase; the Fascists march through the streets of Rome singing "Giovinezza"!

Triumph of Democracy—but the old and new Fascists plot fresh against the working class, under the very noses of the complacent police; the epurated and the non-epurated sense the arrival of a grand day of revival!

The workers must have no illusions. These are not the gestures of a handful of irresponsible elements. As in 1921 and 22 the Fascist gangsters are not isolated or exceptional individuals.

Today, as yesterday, the various political and trade union bosses preach calm!

Strange advice to the Italian workers, the German workers, the

Austrian workers, who have not forgotten. . . .

The Workers Will Not Repeat The Same Mistakes!

A tragic experience—twenty years of the dictatorship—that was the price of the politics and the tactics of the past. Today the Italian workers must understand that neither the Republic nor the Constituent Assembly can halt the return of the monarchist-Fascist reaction. Togliatti and Nenni have pledged themselves to respect the result of the Referendum, but the Monarchists and Fascists will not respect it!

In the final battle the workers will have no allies. Clericals and Republicans of all shades will discreetly withdraw into the background or aid their enemies. This is already happening!

ITALIAN WORKERS, vote for the Republic because the monarchy is today, more than ever, the cover for bourgeois reaction!

ITALIAN WORKERS, vote for the workers' parties—as a challenge to the reaction, to assert your demand that these parties take on the responsibilities which they seek to shirk.

BUT NEVER FORGET THAT ONLY BY ORGANISING WORKERS! MILITANT, ONLY BY INITIATING IN SOLIDARITY FOR THE DEFENCE OF YOUR ORGANISATIONS AND YOUR TRADE UNIONS, ONLY BY CONDUCTING YOUR STRUGGLE ON CLASS LINES, WILL YOU PREVENT THE FASCIST BOURGEOISIE FROM REALISING THEIR AIMS—TO ENSLAVE YOU FOR ANOTHER TWENTY YEARS OR MORE!

THE WORKERS MUST REPLY BY FORMING THEIR OWN MILITIAS. P.O.C. ITALIAN SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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ITALIAN ELECTIONS

BY CARLO BIVANCHO

Not many days after his father sailed from Italy's shores for his Egyptian exile, Umberto II prepared to follow suit. By their votes in the referendum on June 4th, the Italian people put an end to the sixty four year old rule of the House of Savoy.

The victory for the Republic is a resounding blow at all the forces of reaction, which sought shelter behind the throne, waiting for the moment when they could take the offensive once more. The most interesting factor which emerges from the referendum is the narrow majority by which the Republic triumphed over the Monarchy. All the lack writers of the Right wing press have tried to draw solace from this. In actual fact a careful analysis of the votes cast reveals that they have not so much cause for comfort as they believe. All over Italy, the industrial workers—that is, the most advanced and competent section of the population voted solidly for the Republic. In the industrial areas of the North, the votes were 3 to 1 against the monarchy. This in itself is a splendid augury for the future. It indicates that the Italian working class, despite betrayal and temporary setbacks has lost none of that fighting spirit which enabled it to sweep Mussolini from his perch in the summer of 1943.

The monarchists drew the bulk of their votes from the South, where feudal conditions largely prevail. Here 43% of the population are illiterate and in the rural areas the domination of the large landlords (latifundi) is almost complete. Hundreds of thousands of monks, priests and monks abandoned the isolation of their cells to cast their votes for the Monarchy and reaction. The Vatican's threat to excommunicate all who voted "left" also undoubtedly had a semi-superstitious peasantry. Italy has promise of a good harvest in the Autumn; the wrath of God and the Church must not be risked for fear the promise is not fulfilled.

Another important factor in the large vote for the Monarchy was the vast bureaucracy which Mussolini built up during the two decades of the Fascist regime. Impoverished and defeated Italy can no longer afford this heavy drain on its economy. The thousands of petty civil servants, their standard of living already fallen to below that of the industrial workers faced the certainty of retrenchment in the event of a Republican success. Their votes went solidly to the Monarchy.

But when all these factors are taken into account, there is still no adequate explanation for the large Monarchist vote. For this we must look to the role of the workers' parties—the Socialists and Communists.

In those stirring days of 1943, when the industrial workers of the North rose up in open revolt

against the war and the fascist dictatorship, the whole working population of the country from the toe of Italy to the Lombardy plains, were solidly behind them. By the rudimentary soviet which they created in the heat of the struggle, the workers showed an instinctive knowledge that to end the rule of Mussolini was not enough. The fate of capitalism itself hung in the balance. Victor Emmanuel and his family had to seek the protection of the Allied forces which had just landed in the South. There was hardly a thinking person in Italy who was not convinced that the days of the Monarchy were numbered. A decisive lead from the workers' parties would have put an end to the whole reactionary set-up. The workers associated the Monarchy with Fascism and were in no mood to tolerate it.

Urged on by this mood of the masses, the Socialist and Communist Parties came out openly for the Republic. Huge demonstrations all over Italy left the issue in no doubt. It is a well-known fact that even the Allied High Command became convinced that the Monarchy could not be saved. They were prepared to throw it overboard as being of no further use.

Then, Togliatti (known also as Ercoli) returned from his Moscow exile. Even before he landed on Italian soil in an interview with a journalist in North Africa, he informed the world that the Italian Communist Party was prepared to collaborate with the Monarchy. This, of course, without consulting his Party. The dictate had come from the Kremlin and that was enough. Reaction breathed a sigh of relief. Thanks to the Stalinists they had been granted a temporary reprieve.

They made good use of the renewed lease of life granted to them to rally their forces. Terrorist gangs, reminiscent of the early Fascist Action Squads began to roam the streets of the cities and the quiet lanes of the countryside. Working class premises were subjected to terrorist attacks; workers leaders were assaulted and beaten up. All the propaganda methods perfected by Fascism were turned on full strength in a final desperate effort to save the Monarchy.

Finally, Stalin's foreign policy played its part in strengthening the reaction. His demand for reparations from an Italy devastated and impoverished by war; his support for Yugoslav claims on Trieste revived latent chauvinistic sentiments. Not even Togliatti's open attack on this policy could still the aroused fears. The Monarchist

and reactionary forces made full use of this handy weapon presented them by the Kremlin. Despite these acts of treachery, the reactionaries, the Monarchy has been defeated. This, undoubtedly, marks a big step forward for the Italian working class. It will gain new confidence from its success at the polls and be better prepared for the next stage of the struggle. The Italian Republic which emerged from the referendum is a capitalist Republic. About this the workers will have no illusions. But it will be harder for the forces of reaction to conceal their activities now that the protective cover of the throne has been removed. From now on, the workers, who put the King out of business will demand an accounting for every act of the Republic. They will come up ever more sharply against the class nature of the State and the treacherous role of the Socialist and Communist Parties who pretend to speak in their name.

It is already evident that the Monarchist and neo-Fascist forces are not going to take the defeat lying down. They did not spend months training their terrorist bands because they had the intention of abiding by the referendum result. Votes may be good enough for the Left. The Right has no illusions about democracy. Machine guns can always be relied upon to "rectify" the results of the polls.

Along with all the political parties and tendencies, the Italian Trotskyists, the Communist Workers' Party warned the workers and peasants that the question of the Republic was the beginning and not the end of the struggle. The votes cast against the Monarchy were only the first shots in the battle. In their Manifesto, published elsewhere in this issue, in the hundreds of meetings they organised and addressed, the Trotskyists urged the workers to have no illusions in the capitalist Republic, and to rely on their own strength. To vote for the Republic, but to keep the powder dry. To reply to the Fascist provocation by forging working class militias; to return blow for blow and shot for shot, and to prepare themselves for taking the offensive against all the forces of reaction.

Looking for new leadership, the Italian workers will find it in the only programme which can lead them out of the abyss and to the victory of Socialism—to the Communist Workers' Party, Italian Section of the Fourth International. Under its banner, the struggle against capitalism and its Republic will be relentlessly pursued till Socialism in Italy arises to take its place as one of the Socialist States of Europe.

VICTORY FOR L.P. RIGHT WING

(Continued from page 1.)

Party like an impressive programme of legislation.

While it is true that some reforms have been introduced, these are largely cancelled out by rising prices and the fact that the burdens are being shouldered by the working class.

Will Lawther demagogically said that the miners did not favour nationalisation merely to continue under the same conditions of life as under private enterprise. He said that the miners wanted the Charter under a nationalised industry and implied that the Labour Government was reluctant to give it.

Shinwell's reply puts the real position of nationalised industry under capitalism, far better than any amount of Marxist agitation. "The miners were not entitled to expect to receive from the Government, which is only on the eve of legislative experiment, what they did not get from private industry."

Executive Defeated on Secondary Issues

On the issue of agriculture the Executive was defeated and a resolution carried demanding the improvement of the conditions of this most exploited strata of the British workers.

The only other issues on which the Executive was defeated were on the withdrawal of a pamphlet on education issued by the Coalition Government and which took its stand on different types of schools for the workers, and the middle and upper classes; and on the question of payment of wages lost and travelling expenses of local councillors.

But these issues are not fundamental and their defeat represented only a mild rebuff for the Executive.

C.P. Affiliation Defeat

The tenor of the Conference was shown by the overwhelming defeat of the proposed affiliation of the Communist Party. It is true, that large sections of the rank and file are hostile to Stalinism for progressive reasons—to its manoeuvres and turns, its anti-working class outlook and methods. But the great majority, unfortunately opposed affiliation, because Morrison and the Labour leaders had raised the scare that the Stalinists were really "Communists" and stood for "Revolution as against parliamentary reform."

Of the 468,000 votes received for Communist affiliation, 400,000 were bloc votes of the A.E.U. and N.C.R. One or two smaller unions also voted for affiliation, so that a mere handful of actual Labour Parties voted for affiliation.

So bitter and hostile were the delegates to the Communist Party that the resolution allowing the Labour Party's Constitution to prevent the affiliation of any other political Party was carried without a discussion. This, in spite of the fact that it means a fundamental change in the structure of the Labour Party.

But those who think the victory over the Communist Party is a definitive one will have a rude awakening in the coming struggles when the crisis descends upon Britain, and the Stalinists move left.

Conference Rejected Passivity

The Conference reflected the tendency to political passivity on the part of the workers at the present time. From the point of view of the Labour leaders they have come to power at a very fortunate period. The destruction of the war, the world famine of goods, the need to reconstruct industry, to meet the apparently inexhaustible market on a world scale. Thus, there is for the time being, no great unemployment. With the prospect of a loan from America, and the increases in production to make up the shortages at home and abroad, there

Council Of Action Formed

From the meeting a broad Council of Action was nominated. The purpose of the Council of Action is to commence a national campaign in the British Labour movement on behalf of the victimised men in the R.A.F. 587 was collected as a start.

Every worker must raise this question as one of paramount concern to the organised working-class and must demand that action in support of this campaign be taken by the trade union and labour organisations. This issue is a CLASS issue. We cannot tolerate the position that workers in the forces who demand better conditions should be treated as criminals as worse than criminals. The Labour Government stands committed on this question. It is cowardly refusal to effect the release of worker-militants who were carrying out the traditions of their class in the armed forces.

Demand the Release of Attwood and the other Militants!

Every worker must raise this question as one of paramount concern to the organised working-class and must demand that action in support of this campaign be taken by the trade union and labour organisations. This issue is a CLASS issue. We cannot tolerate the position that workers in the forces who demand better conditions should be treated as criminals as worse than criminals. The Labour Government stands committed on this question. It is cowardly refusal to effect the release of worker-militants who were carrying out the traditions of their class in the armed forces.

BLOW AT L.O.Y.

The League of Youth received a blow at the hands of the bureaucrats. The youth have always been the spearhead of socialist advance, and have thus come into collision with the Labour bureaucrats. In the past when the age limit was 16 to 25 and there was a national link-up of the League of Youth, an opposition was crystallised against Transport House. The Executive insisted on limiting the age from 16 to 21, and depriving the League of Youth of a national link-up, limiting them to a regional basis. Thus, the bureaucrats prepare to forestall any left wing crystallisation within the Labour Party.

The details of the P.C.I. Votes are as follows:—

Paris 1st Sector	4,677	(1.5 per cent.)
" 3rd "	6,639	(1.5 " ")
" 5th "	4,589	(1.25 " ")
Finistre	4,168	(1.02 " ")
Gironde	7,698	(2 " ")
Iser	3,751	(1.25 " ")
Marne	3,690	(1 " ")
Puy de Dome	2,891	(1 " ")
Rhone (1st circ.)	4,949	(1.75 " ")
Lot et Gironde	978	(0.9 " ")
Savoie	1,493	(1.40 " ")
Total	44,915	(Average 1.37 per cent.)

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, households 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
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 races 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.

Birmingham Carriage and Wagon Strike

(Continued from Front Page.)

...evident that he hoped once the men were back at work, he could keep them back.

Both the Convenor of the T. & G.W.F., Bro. Cairns, and the Chairman of the Shop Stewards Committee, Bro. Stokes, effectively exposed his suggestion for the red herring it was. Finally the men rejected it overwhelmingly.

The workers have organised collections and contacted other factories in the area. On Wednesday, June 5th, a mass meeting was held of the workers from two other carriage works in Birmingham. Bro. Stokes outlined the strikers' case. A resolution for immediate sympathetic strike action was moved. One of the Stewards, however, moved an amendment to give financial support to the strikers and then consider further action after fourteen days.

The strikers are resisting an attempt by the employers to load

the burden of competitive struggle for markets on the shoulders of the workers. Every militant will be solidly behind them, knowing that what they are resisting today, the whole working class of Britain will be resisting tomorrow.

Operation Vandal

(Continued from Front Page.)

The shop stewards of the Kiel metal industry protest against the senseless destruction of workshops that can serve as the basis for our peaceful work and for the rebuilding of our town.

The German socialist leader and Shop Stewards will learn that the humanitarian and socialist professions of the British Labour Government are subordinated to the capitalist interests of the ruling class whom they serve. Only by waging a vigorous struggle against military occupation and all forms of capitalist exploitation is there any hope for the future of the German workers. In such a struggle we pledge our solidarity.

India Mission

(Continued from page 3.)

that we shall not for some length of time, at any rate, be able to defend ourselves by force of arms if only because we have neither them nor the knowledge of their use. We have not even the requisite discipline. The result is that we shall have to rely upon another nation's help not as equals but as pupils upon their teachers, if the word 'inferiors' jars upon our ears."

Far from being prepared to wage a revolutionary struggle against British imperialism, the Indian capitalist leaders are prepared to do a deal with it against the Indian masses.

The interim government proposed by the Cabinet Mission is designed to undermine the creation of a strong central administration. The method of grouping the provinces and states ensures the necessity for reliance on British imperialism with its armies to effect the "orderly transfer of power". British imperialism manoeuvres the provincial set-up in order to prop up the old landowning aristocracy which Jimmah's Moslem League represents. The Indian princely states are to be incorporated without change in their monstrous feudal structure. In this way they hope to play off one section against the other through their direct puppets the Moslem League and the princes.

The latest proposals of the Cabinet Mission puts forward the reactionary demand that Congress should accept parity with their direct stooges, the Muslim League, together with some representatives of other "minorities", thus placing the Congress in a minority in the so-called "interim government." The Congress represents the overwhelming majority of Indians, both Hindu and Moslem—and no-one knows this better than the British Labour Ministers.

It is the duty of the British Labour movement to demand that the Labour Government withdraw all troops from India and allow the Indian people to determine their own fate without interference.

Attwood Protest Meeting

(Continued from page 1.)

Bad Conditions Revealed

The first ex-R.A.F. comrade of Attwood's, told of the bad conditions existing at their particular station, conditions that further aggravated the men in the camp who were already in a "blow-off" state over the demobilisation delays. Day after day the men were forced to "kick their heels" doing useless, time-wasting tasks, unnecessary parades with the "bull" laddered on thick. Food and welfare facilities were equally bad and this, months after the war had actually finished. What applied to the situation in this camp was also true of most of the R.A.F. camps in India.

These men were stationed 7,000 miles away from home, under intolerable conditions. It was fortunate for the Government that they only had an orderly and disciplined demonstration on the part of the men. There was every excuse for more radical action.

Seapegoats Sought

Shortly after the demonstrations and meetings, there appeared at the camp, agents from the Special Investigation Bureau of the R.A.F. These snappers began a systematic inquiry among the men on the station, with the purpose of finding out trade union and Left wing militants. The object of this "witch-hunting" was to find seapegoats from among the R.A.F. men in order to frighten off the others from demanding better conditions. It was actually months after these events that L.A.C. Attwood was arrested.

He was charged in April with "incitement to mutiny", but the fact is, that it was due to Attwood's advice that the demonstrations were carried out in an orderly and disciplined manner, in order not to give the officers in command an excuse to refuse the men a hearing. The A.O.C. of this particular station, faced with this orderly but determined demonstration by men with justified grievances, promised to do what he could to remedy local conditions, and to get in touch with higher authority about the "demob" issue. Also, as was admitted by the prosecution at the court-martial, the action of the men was condoned by the A.O.C.

Nazis Granted More Facilities

While awaiting trial, every sort of hindrance was put in the way

of Attwood getting in touch with his comrades at the station. His letters were delayed and interfered with, he was locked up in a detention camp under two armed guards and never allowed to mix with or talk to any of the other prisoners. This sort of isolation, of course, prevented Attwood from being able to prepare his defence adequately. It was not possible, under these conditions to get in touch with his witnesses.

The worst Nazi criminals in the dock at Nuremberg have received every sort of lenient and over-lenient, treatment in their cells. And received every facility to prepare their defence. But of course, Attwood is a working-class militant whereas the Nazi thugs agents of capitalism, that is the difference in the eyes of the reactionary military caste. To their mind a worker-militant is the worst possible criminal.

S.I.B. Methods

Experiences at the hands of the snooping agents of the S.I.B. and their gestapo-like methods, were recounted to the meeting by Cpl. . . the second comrade of L.A.C. Attwood. This comrade was also arrested and interrogated by a Sergeant and Warrant Officer of the S.I.B. who tried to make him give information about his fellow servicemen at the station by threatening him with jail. They claimed that they had evidence, that would put him in jail for years, and asked him if his wife had a private income (as though workers or their wives have private incomes). When he naturally replied "no", they asked what she would do when he was in prison. They also insinuated that as he was 7,000 miles away from home he could easily "disappear" without anyone being the wiser!

Finding that these threats availed nothing they then tried the old capitalist trick of bribery by suggesting that if he "kept his cards open to inform on malcontents" they would see that "he was looked after". As a trade unionist trained in the traditions of loyalty to his class, he resisted these "offers" with the contempt they deserved. Cpl. . . told of one young air force lad who was reduced to a state of nervous illness after these snappers had interrogated him during the course of which they threatened him with jail, and asked him what his widowed mother would do for money. This had not been near any of the meetings!

These same despicable methods were used by the S.I.B. in all the