"Workers of All Lands Unite"



JANUARY, 1946.

U.S. LOAN AND BRITISH WORKE NO SOLUTION TO CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

BY TED GRANT

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE TERMS OF THE LOAN OF 3,759,000,000 DOLLARS FROM AMERICA, OF WHICH 650,000,000 DOLLARS WILL BE FULL AND FINAL SETTLEMENT OF LEND - LEASE, HAS BEEN MET WITH DISMAY BY THE RULING CLASS. AND THE LABOUR LEADERS WHO HAVE ACCEPTED THE MEASURE AND PUSHED IT THROUGH PARLIAMENT, HAVE SWALLOWED IT AS A DISAGREEABLE AND BITTER PILL.

The most important provisions tie British currency, in effect, to the dollar thus confirming the dominant financial role of Wall Street. By preventing Britain, through the Bretton Woods agreement, from devaluating her currency beyond certain specified limits, America hopes to curtail Britain's competitive powers in the export trade. Britain will be prevented from under-cutting by selling her goods cheaper through this device.

ried through by the direct represent-

atives of the capitalists, Lord Hallfax,

Lord Keynes, the permanent officials at the Treasury, etc. Thus the policy adopted was the policy suggested by

However, the agreement has gone through with groans and gnashing of teeth, and the ostentatious "absten-

tion" of one section of the Tories, while

the servants of Big Business.

Pollitt's Speech Insult to Communist Workers

TWOPENCE

BY D. JAMES

Pollitt's speech at the recent Communist Party Congress has now been printed in full in "World News and Views". It is even more revealing than the Press reports indicated. His tone was a mixture of pleading and defiance. He showed himself completely incapable of dealing with serious criticism. It is clear from the discussions taking place at Report-Back Meetings, that the more intelligent sections of the C.P. felt completely dissatisfied, even insulted, at his speech.

He dealt with four main subjects: the dissolution of the American C.P.; policy in the General Election; atti-tude to the Labour Government; and attitude to industrial disputes. Let us consider each of these in detail. Ex-tensive quotations will be necessary, because anyone who has not read the speech would not believe that even Pollitt could talk such rubbish. **BROWDER AND THE AMERICAN**

C.P.

"No one in this country knew anything about Foster's disagreement with Browder until the appearance of the Duclos article. That is a statement of fact. We expressed our disagreement with Browder's line, and in my opinion, correctly at that moment and in that situation. We refused to publish Browder's book in this country because we disagreed with its contents, and the American comrades were made aware of that."

'statement of fact'' may be taken for what it is worth; if true, it throws an interesting light on the internatonal relations of the Stalinist parties. However, the argument can only mean public making up its own mind.

But even that is not quite true. Has Mr. Pollitt forgotten his pamphlet "Pollitt Answers Questions on Communist Policy" so soon? Here, to refresh his memory, are a few quotations (the form of the pamphlet is a reply to critical member of Common Wealth)

"Then you go on to express your opposition to Earl Browder's speech in very forcible terms. You say 'it has knocked the wind out of you'. What sort of a fighter are you at 23 years of age? Why not try and understand what it is that Browder is trying to explain to the American people? . . . Why does Browder

suggest that the name of the Com-munist 'Party' be dropped, and that of a 'Political Association' be added; that the normal function of a 'Party -contesting elections(!!)—is not the practical issue for United States Communists? For the reasons enumerated above. Why not face the fact? As an Association driving in the two established parties and in the big Labour unions, convincing people of the need for peace and collaboration with the Soviet Union, getting allies everywhere (!), there (!!!). They face the sticky end of the great international fight for peace.''

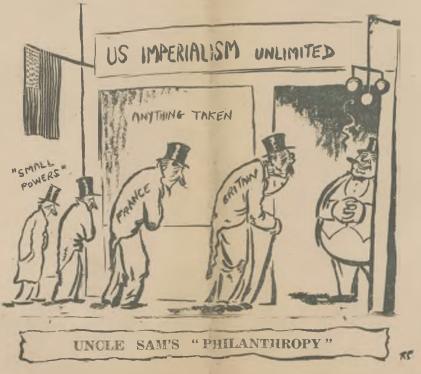
Sticky is the word. Ah, says Harry, but don't you see, this defence of Browder was only in public! Secretly we had our criticisms. And why didn't we publish them? "If you consider it is any part of

Communist leadership in the most difficult stages of winning the war Fascism, that we should against tip you all off about circumstances of that description, so far as I am concerned, you will have to think again.

again. Crossed of s policy was endoused in January, 1944. It was not critic-ised until 1945 (in April of that year) by Comrade Duclos of the French Communist Party. And it may well be that a Party with a million members will have its views listened to with more respect than a party of 50,000 members." From this we draw the interesting

onclusion that the British C.P. must always remain silent if parties with a bigger membership do not speak.

And then a parting shot: "And finally to those of you who are so worried about this problem, I must draw your attention to the fact that I have not seen any critic-ism of the Browder policy in any



the theoretical organs of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union-not an unimportant Party in the world!"

Very true! But rather a dangerou adopts C.P. adopts a completely reformist line and the C.P.S.U. doesn't even comment on it! It may lead C.P.ers to meditate on the bankruptcy, not only of the British and American but also of the Russian Stalinists.

The fact is, of course, that Browder-ism was the official Stalinist theory ever since the dissolution of the Comntern and the adoption of the "Teh diplomatic tension between the Soviet Union and the "democratic" imperial-ists led to a "recognition" that it was a "mistake". eran Perspective' Only renewed Another point for C.P.ers to medi-tate on: neither the British C.P., the

(Continued on Back Page.)



The National Joint Council of the building industry has decided to increase the skilled building workers wage by 4d. an hour, and the Labourers wage by $3\frac{1}{4}d$. an hour. It is understood that along with these wage proposals, the union leaders have entered into a secret agreement with the employers to speed up production and freeze wages for a long period. To these accusations, the mion leaders have remained silent.

If this is so, the leaders of the AUBTW are guilty of the most despic-able betrayal. As it is, they have igno-

It is noteworthy, however, that all another has voted against. By this means they wish to unload the responsibility for the agreement onto the shoulders of the Labour Government, though when challenged they could not offer any alternative policy. Churchill admitted that not to have accepted the terms, would have meant an instant fight to the finish, a trade war which British capitalism was not in a position to wage, and in which she would inevit-ably be worsted.

> The American Imperialists have made a hard bargain. All the appeals and supplications of British Imperialism to their "Allies in the common fight", have had the same effect as the appeals to British Imperialism in the days of her might. America has emerged vic torious from the war as the greatest Power on earth and is dealing with Power on earth and is dealing with British capitalism, in the words of one Tory M.P., as "a defeated nation". The real aims of the war are revealed in the post-war struggle between the Powers. Having used British capital-ism to help defeat her most powerful and greatest right Cormony. America and greatest rival, Germany, America wishes to drive British Imperialism to its knees, to become a satellite of the U.S., living on the rations doled out by America and completely dependent ipon her

> During the course of the war, the American Imperialists have taken advantage to strip Britain of the accumu-lated loot and plunder of the exploit-ation of the world, which has been ation of the world, which has been piled up for generations. Before Lend-Lease was introduced, the reserves in dollars and gold of British Imperialism dropped in 1941 to only £3,000,000. Lend-lease was not an Act of generos-ity, as Churchill pretended, but the fruits of cold calculation. The Amer-ican Imperialists saw that it was to their advantage to subsidied Britain in heir advantage to subsidise Britain in the struggle, just as Britain, when she was the world's banker, financed other ountries to fight wars in her interest in the past.

> And during the course of the war America has become economically stronger; Britain economically weaker. While America's wealth increased tre-mendously, Britain's wealth has de-creased by the staggering figure of 25 per cent. Britain has in the past had to innort more then the americal but to import more than she exported, but the adverse balance was made up out of the income from investments abroad shipping, insurance and banking. Now these sources of income, whereby British capitalism extorted tribute, especi-ally from the colonial peoples have in great measure been lost. As the 'Economist'' expresses the position:

> "All of these credit items have been affected during the war. The export trade was deliberately abandoned so that manpower, production and materials could be mobilised to the fullest

extent, with the result that It shrank to less than one-third of its pre-war volume, and is expected in 1946 to cover not more than half the country's essential expenditure on a minimum volume of imports and on other necessary payments overseas . .

As a result of losses, shipping ton-nage, after allowance has been made for new building in the war, is less than three-quarters of the pre-war figure.

Owing to the extensive liquidation of foreign securities, the repatriation of loans by overseas debtors and the in-creased interest payments to holders of sterling debts caused by the United Kingdom's heavy war expenditure over-seas, the net income from overseas investments in 1945 will be less than half the 1938 figure.'

Thus on the basis of capitalism, Britain found herself in a desperate pos-ition. She lacks necessary food and raw materials, her industry requires modernising and re-equipping to stand even a chance of competing in the mar-kets of the world. She could not possibly make up her deficit of imports over exports without a loan from America unless the standard of living was reduced immediately to coolie level. But this would have provoked **immedi-ately**, a fight to the finish battle for export markets with America, which Britain is not in a position to wage successfully at this stage and the danger of social crisis and revolution in Britain. Clearly the masses would not tolerate such an outcome of the sacrifices of the war. It is their hope-less position, their helplessness, which has forced British Imperialism to go cap in hand, humbly to the Wall St. Bankers.

The "Economist" estimates optimis-tically: "It is hoped that work on export orders will have attained the prewar level by the second half of 1946, but the period of production and the time lag in payment mean that cash receipts will not correspond until after the end of the year. Moreover, reconversion so rapid as this must be regarded as optimistic.

Any estimate of the 1946 balance of payments would be so precarious in view of the large uncertainties affecting many of the factors involved that detailed estimates are not provided. But, on the assumption that the price level of exports and imports will be about double the pre-war lever in terms of sterling, the deficit is estimated at something like £750 million. A further deficit of £500 million is likely for 1947 and 1948 taken together, and there is likely to be a small deficit in 1949 and 1950 before stable equilibrium is achieved.

The cumulative deficit is thus likely to be $\pounds1,250$ million or more—though it should be emphasised again that these estimates are precarious-and to meet it, and to release some part of the sterling balances, the United Kingdom will have to rely on its own reserves and, in the main, further external credits."

(Continued on page 4.)

Japanese P.O.W's

S.E.A.C.

BY A BRITISH TOMMY

I am writing to you from a place outside Singapore. Our job at present is searching Japanese prisoners and sending them off to an island to await transit home, whenever that

may be.

Well, to say this place and the Japs surprised me would be putting it mild-ly. We expected to see all the white women had been raped and all the children undernourished. Imagine our surprise when we saw lovely young girls about 19 years, laughing and look-ing very well indeed. The young child-What a difference from the children in India, who were "protected", by Brit-ain from the "horrible Jap".

I was speaking to some of the natives and asked them about atrocities. They only laughed and said: "Such things do not exist

I heard there were a few atrocities committed and the victims were lying in the local hospital. Nothing daunted, we decided to see for ourselves, we visited the hospital. We went i and did see a lot of bad cases—a women. We asked if any of them coul speak English. One of the sisters said "Yes, I speak English." We aske about her patients and whether th Japs did this. She looked astonishe and said: "No, these are our patients This one (pointing to one of the patients) ients) has a fever." And all the resis had something similar. Not one of them had been touched by a Jap. I was talking to some of the Jap prisoners through an interpreter. They walk didn't know what the war war

really didn't know what the war wa all about. All they were concerne with was getting home to their wives and families. I asked them if any one of them had thought of committing "Hari-Kari". They all laughed and thought it a great joke. After they had finished laughing they told me not to be oilly as that was a lot of nonto be silly, as that was a lot of non-sense. They said: "Only a few generals did that and it is the same in any country which is defeated; always a few generals commit suicide."

When we searched the Japs, we exof the biggest customers.

> MESSAGE TO THE "SOCIALIST APPEAL" FROM A JAPANESE WORKER - PRISONER

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to left:

"SUPPORT FOURTH INTER-NATIONAL. WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE. YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS AND A WORLD TO GAIN. DOWN WITH CAPITALISM."

We expected to find the Jap a small pected to find all kinds of loot. Imag- dirty individual; he was anything but, ine our surprise when nearly every- He was of average height, very sturdy thing we found on them was nade and the cleanest soldier 1 have ever Japan. The only thing the army could seen. They do not get much chance say was loot were some watches that of a real bath, but when the rain comes that Swiss watches are sold all over one bath. They were marched down to a

very small river and told to get in. I was there and timed them: they were given exactly one and a half minutes;

some of them hardly got wet. We have a large camp here for sus-pected war criminals. They are all fenced in, give no trouble at all and are very quict. There is also a Lt. Colonel and a Major who are suspected of being war criminals. They are kept away from the others and allowed a bath every day—sometimes that is denied every day-sometimes that is denied the ordinary rank and file.

When we first came here, all the lads were saying what they were going to do to the "filthy Japs." At first they carried out their threats and treated them pretty roughly. Then we began to piece things together and found out how we had been kidded. Now most mintained secrecy throughout the of the lads treat the prisoners like whole period of negotiation, and in line ordinary men and slip them food and with this, reach a backstage agreement cigs. Even the most hardened cases I have seen doing this.

The children in this area, now that they have been "liberated" are starv-ing. To feed themselves they come ing. round our dining hall for the scraps It reads down and starts from right that we leave. One soldier, with kids of his own, gave them his scraps. He was immediately detained, his name

and number taken, and given the nice award of 7 days C.B. by a Christian gentleman, who preaches the Gospel on Sundays and forgets some of it, which, I think, says: give water to the thirsty and food to the hungry.

which were for 3_i - an hour for skilled vorkers, and $2/6_2$ an hour for labour-These demands were made in very union branch throughout the ountry more than a year ago.

The Daily Worker, (Dec. 12th) in an indeavour to prove the efficacy of nego-tiating machinery, quoted Mr. W. H. Forsdike, chairman of the N.J.C., as ollows: "This was an example of a major industry settling its problems by use of long established machinery.

What hypocrisy! For nine months the mion leaders, ignoring the demands of the rank and file, have been negoti-ating for a wage increase. Until the publication of leaflets in Glasgow and ondon exposing the criminal policy of the officials; until the tremendous de-construction of 90,000 building workers London, the union leaders had done recisely nothing about the wage de-

It was the determined and militant

spite this (and because of this) reated with contempt by the union eaders. When **Bryce**, militant chair-

man of the Committee, tried to obtain information from the head of the AUBTW he was told to consult the capitalist press! Later a bosses' repre-sentative came out of the negotiating room and he gave the information! What a situation! The union leaders multiplated secrecy throughout the with the bosses to impose anti-union conditions upon the workers.

Thanks to the "Communist" Party, mands of the men, or there would be suike action. These 8 militants will become the centre of the future mili-

IHE T.U. LEADERS RAY DOC BEI

THE REACTION OF THE DOCK WORKERS TO THE 19/ A DAY PROPOSED BY THE EVERSHED COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY INTO DOCK WAGES, HAS BEEN ONE OF BITTERNESS AND DISGUST.

The immediate reaction of the London Central Strike Committee was to condemn and reject the proposals of this committee, which are 6/- below the demands of the dockers, and to call upon the Union leadership to give 21 days' strike notice.

As we go to press, the National Strike Committee, meeting in Liverpool, has decided to accept the Evershed proposals. But this is not the end of the struggle. Within a short time the dockers will be on the move again in their fight for a decent wage.

The role of the Donovans, the Deakns and the Labour Government in the wage negotiations will serve to teach the dockers and the working class as a whole that they have acted in the in-terest of the capitalist class. Following the age-old method of killing the work-are' diving the Communication ers' claims, the Government appointed the Evershed Committee of enquiry 6 days before the termination of the 30 days truce. This was done to avert another national stoppage which most Thanks to the "Communist" Party, the Central Campaign Committee ac-cepted by 32 votes to 8 the offer of the N.J.C. The eight militants, led by Sign Milligan and McLeary voted for the committee was composed of 1.C. The eight multiants, led by partial committee was composed or cos. Milligan and McLeary, voted for 21 days ultimatum to the union aders to fight for the **original de-**brike action. These 8 militants will the methods of class-collaboration and so f the methods of class-collaboration and so f the contract of the future milit -an ex-president of the AEU. The tant struggle of the building workers. For a militant workers policy-down with class collaboration! ist law. From such a committee, composed of the representatives of capitalno one, least of all the militant dockers, expected much more than is offered.

The Labour Government had every opportunity and possibility to obtain the 25/- a day demanded by the dockers. Instead of a Commission com-posed of capitalist agents it could and if a real workers' government representing the interest of the workers, would have appointed a commission composed of representatives of the dockers. Thus the workers would have been assured of proposals in their interest and not, as now, in the interest of the employers.

UNION LEADERS BETRAY RANK AND FILE

The leadership of the dockers' unions has earned the bitter opposition and hatred of the rank and file. When the employers made their offer of 18/-, Donovan and Deakin were compelled to recommend to a national delegate con-ference the rejection of this offer. The fact that they have now accepted 19/-only indicates that they have been engaged in backstage collaboration with the employers and the Government in reaching a suitable compromise. **Bert Aylwood**, organiser of the London Cen-tral Strike Committee speaking church tral Strike Committee, speaking almost a week before the end of the 30 days truce, nailed the policy of the union leaders:

"We gave 30 days notice when we resumed work to give the employers (Continued on Back Page.)

SOCIALIST APPEAL

JANUARY, 1946.



Ceylon.

Seamen in Colombo Colombo.

The Editor, Dear Comrade.

For the past few years, we and millions of others all over the world have been engaged in the task of the military destruction of German and Japanese Fascism. This task uprooted us from our homes and places of work and took-us to the farthest corners of the earth. Now at last when we have successfully finished the job and liberated the peoples that for five long years lived under Fascist oppression we began to look with expectation towards our statesmen to help put into practice the declaration of the Atlantic Charter, of Teheran and Crimea, etc.

Especially did we look with hope to our recently elected Labour Govern-ment to work enthusiastically for the carrying out of these declarations particularly in the field of Foreign Policy, keeping in mind that one of their declared aims was that every nation liberated from Fascism must have the right to choose its own form of Government. Also that it was the task of the United Nations to bring these countries together into a "world family of democratic nations".

begin to doubt if after all, these declarations were sincere, and

peoples, we are now being used to put back the same old gang of back-Imperialists who made such fine pick-ings in this part of the world before for a family. When I think of the excuses given for instance put back the same old gang of Dutch close.

mis-rule, these are nothing new. each station crowds come round Exactly the same lies were told in begging for loot, the press, etc., and exactly the same At Sholapur, a woman was exhibit. every genuine peoples movement for biscuits. throughout history, the Paris Com-mune of 1871, the Bolsheviks in 1917. parentless ch wearing a bit thin at this late date.

hasn't the remotest connection with so-called law and order.

We also demand that working class organisations at home in Britain clearly expose the policy of Foreign Minister Bevin and force a change to a policy really representing the interests of the people. In conclusion we would draw atten-

tion to the magnificent example set by Thurs., Nov. 8th. the Australian dockyard workers in refusing to load ships being sent to upon all working class and Socialist organisations worthy of the name to

follow this example of international solidarity. Hands off Indonesia. Withdraw British Troops and Ships from Java !

Self-Government for the peoples of Asia !

Yours Fraternally, (Sgd.) 2 Seamen Telegraphists.

P.S.-A copy of this letter has also been forwarded to the "Daily Worker" and "Reynolds News."

Soldier Looks at India Madras.

November 26th, 1945.

Dear Comrade, As you can see I am now at Madras awaiting transport. Madras is quite a nice place if you've got the money to spend The only way it differs from Recent events however have made us Bombay is that the Indians call you begin to doubt if after all, these de- "Master"; in Bombay it was "sahib" we (Sir).

seriously wonder if we haven't been purposely misled. I refer of course to the events taking place in the Indonesian Islands and in Indo-China. It seems to us here on the spot, that the peasants. It is impossible for me after helping to remove Jap Imperial-ism from off the backs of the native they have to be seen to be believed. At one place on the journey I saw a hole that had been dug in the ground,

for the Bengal famine, for instance We are all very familiar with the the excuse that the starving populace accusations levelled against the armed refused to eat army rations, it makes forces of the native people fighting me laugh! All you have to do is to for their independence from Buropean travel on any train in India and at

accusations have been hurled against ing her body to the troops in exchange

There always seem to be innumerable parentless children running round, and the Spanish Republicans in 1936 and I should thnk there are more people the Resistance movements in Greece physically deformed in India than any and Belgium. These sort of yarns put where else in the world. It's like out by the B.B.C. and others are travelling through one big "Belsen". Whilst on guard at Madras Docks, But the fact remains, that we who one of the lads saw the body of an were called up to fight against Fascism Indian floating in the water. It had are now being used in a war which evidently been in there some days, and when he informed an officer of this,

that fight. Things have even reached it was dismissed with a shrug and he the stage where we are co-operating was told there was nothing to worry with Jap troops in order to maintain | about; it was quite a regular occurrence.

Those of us who have been out here in the East and in the Pacific long enough to get a clear idea of the miserable existence that is the lot of

FOR OVER THE TOP! The Finance Campaign is going well. As we write there are The final result of the Campaign

still two weeks to go and the total is nearly reached. While this is written in the middle of December, due to tremendous pressure on the printers and further difficulties created by the Christmas holidays, we are compelled to skip the Mid-December supplement, and present this report in the present issue.

the fund.

There should be no slacking of effort | although not reaching their total, the because the total is so closely within reach. Every Branch should endeaour to exceed its total, taking the Central Office and Edinburgh Branch as in example.

A particularly inspiring item, which we acknowledge this time is the donation from Palestane. This is a fine internationalist gesture on the part crush the native peoples, and we call of our Palestinian comrades, for which many thanks.

Most of the comrades have goné to

| rk | with a will. For example, | l grea | at success. | | | |
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| | OYFORD | ••• | £30 | 12 0 0 | 40% | - |
| | RIRMINCULAN | ••• | £5 | 1 10 0 | 30% | |
| | CLASCOW & MODUEDWELL | ••• | £20 | 4 17 0 | 241% | - |
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MORRIS BOSSES' CUT WAGES Workmen

the Morris Motor Works, Felinfoel, near Llanelly, are dissatisfied with the rates of wages paid at these works. Comparison between the rates paid to the workmen in the dipping section at the above factory and those paid to workers doing similar work at the Morris Works at Oxford show an enormous difference. Here are the comparative rates as supplied to the "Socialist Appeal"

HOURLY FLAT RATE

 $2/3\frac{1}{2}$ plus dipping 2/- per hour NO

allowance of $2\frac{1}{2}d$. allowance of any

WHEN NOT ABLE TO EARN

PIECE WORK

AVERAGE MONEY EARNED

ON PIECE RATE

Oxford

per hour, plus E.W. 5½d. per

hour.

3/- per hour.

5/- and more

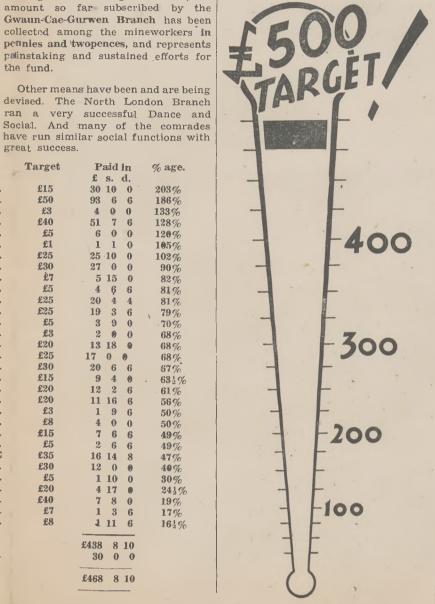
MANAGEMENT HOSTILE TO UNION ORGANISATION. The Morris Works in South Wales

were opened about two years ago. From the commencement, the workers allege, the management have been bitterly anti-Trade Union in their outlook. Even today the Secretary of the T.& G. W.U. (in which union most of the workers are organised) is not allowed W.U to enter the

will be announced in the Mid-January supplement. All Comrades are urged to send in the monies collected at the earliest possible date and in any case by January 4th, at the latest.

All out for a last effort. Let the final slogan be: OVER THE TOP! G. Healy, Campaign Organiser.

H. Atkinson, National Treasurer.



BY JOHN LAWRENCE

and a glance at the comparative rates of pay in Felinfoei and extord shows why. Morris Motors want to turn the Weish factory into a Cheap Labour plant which they can use to reduce wages throughout the whole of the great Morris combine. Already, so the workers allege, machines are being transferred from Oxford to Felinfoel! The threat of unemployment will next be used in an attempt to compel the Oxford workers to accept the disgraceful rates of pay which exist at Felinfoel

Revolutionary Communist Programme

- 1. Nationalisation, of the Bank of England, the Big Five Banks and land, the mines, transport and all big industry without compensa-tion; 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.
- Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers' goods in short supply under the control of elected from the committees co-ops, distributive trades, fachousewives and small tories, shop-keepers.
- 4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants' committees; a state financed 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. 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 im-mediate repeal of the Trade Disputes Act and all other strike breaking and anti-labour laws.
- 7. Clear out the reactionary antilabour officer caste from the armed forces; for the election of officers from the ranks.
- 8. Abolish conscription; for the dis-solution of the standing army and 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. Unconditional defence of the
- 9. Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; full economic cooperation, 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' troops⁴ from all colonial countries.
 - 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.
 - 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

the huge population of Asia, know heartedly.

We therefore strongly protest against British troops and British esian Republic and the Resistance there is not the least sign of enthusiasm for such a policy.

These dockers work extremely hard that their fight for self-government is and their pay is one rupee (1s. 6d.) a a just one, and we support it whole- day, of which 2 annas (21d.) has to be paid to an individual who gets them their jobs.

There is widespread feeling among ships being used to crush the Indon- the masses against the Indian National Army trials. In Calcutta, it seems, movements in Indo-China. We would that the people and especially the like to make it quite clear, that among students are coming out against the the rank and file of the lower deck Congress leaders. With fraternal communist greetings,

Did He Die for His Country ?

BY JOHNNY JONES (CROWN)

Thomas G. Evans of Cannon Street. medical grade was B.2, and he was drafted to the Pioneer Corps. In 1941, causes ". his discharge from the hospital he served with exemplary conduct in his unit until October 1943. Then because of the report on the Death Certificate. of a blood-poisoned finger, he again also from an ulcerated stomach

the British Legion, to their credit, among many. Thus British Imperialallowed him f1 per week and appealed ism callously thrusts on the scrapfour times to the appropriate authority heap those who do the dirty work of for a pension. But all to no avail.

Brynammon. His coffin was ruling class.

draped closely with a Union Jackbut it was not a military funeral. The flag and military ceremonies Brynammon, entered His Majesty's being provided by the British Legion. Forces on September 30th, 1939. H's According to the Death Certificate. According to the Death Certificate Thomas G. Evans died of "natural His relatives approached after extensive training, he was D. J. Williams, M.P. for the Neath admitted to a military Hospital suffering from "foot trouble". After claiming a pension. And it is reported After claiming a pension. And it is reported that Williams's guidance was "It is useless to fight for a pension because No case for a pension because of the entered hospital where, after treat- Death Certificate. But what of the ment, he was found to be suffering years of military service? What of the fact that this worker had no Unable to cure him of this painful ulcerated stomach when he entered the disease the Army discharged Tom Evans in December 1943—after 3 years and 8 months service. 1944 and 1945 his allotment? Do not these constiwere bleak years for this ex-soldier. tute a case for a pension? As sure Although suffering terrible pain from as if he had been hit by a mortar an ulcerated stomach, he had no Dis-ability Pension! The local Branch of country." And his case is but one upholding its right to loot and ex-

On August 16th. 1945. Tom Evans ploit the peoples of the world. They was buried in the little Ebenezer are mere cannon fodder and material Churchyard which overlooks his home for exploitation in the eyes of the

per hour. The highest ever earned was $2/11\frac{1}{2}$ per hour. AVERAGE MONEY EARNED ON CAR WORK 3/6d. per hour. 2/3d. per hour.

Felinfoel

kind.

2/3d. per hour---

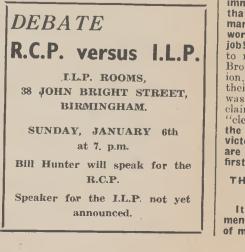
after fight on

each case,

 $2/7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour.

So impossible are the piece rates at Felinfoel that workers have received as much as £3 16s. 11d. to make up the minimum wage of £5 5s. 7d.!

It will be seen that the Welsh workers are earning about half the money of the Oxford workmen on aircraft work, and about two thirds on car work. Moreover, the work is getting continually heavier, while the wage packet remains as light as over.



on Union busi

Redundancy has provided a readymade excuse to the management to fire out of the plant all the militants associated with the fight for Trade Union rates and conditions.

First. Stan Morris, one of the oldest and, according to his workmates, one of the most capable workers on the job was fired. The workers fought his case and he was reinstated by the N.S.O. Later, however, he was suspended for three days and when he returned to work again declared redundant. His case is still being fought at the time of going to press.

Shortly after this case of discrimination against a union militant, the Shop Steward, Stan Jones, was declar-ed redundant. Jones is a fine union fighter. His workmates again fought the case and were again successful in getting the N.S.O. to reinstate him. But, although reinstated, the manage-ment would give him no work to do and he simply walked around the shop doing nothing for about a fortnight. But his workmates had had enough of this petty tyranny and went on strike for his complete reinstatement at his old job. The strike was successful, and Jones was back at his old job—until November 5th when he was again placed on the redundancy list! And this time he received an official notifi-cation from the N.S.O. that he was to cease work as and from November 13th.

The men in the Dipping Shop took immediate strike action. They knew that this was victimisation because the management had been asking them to work overtime on Jones's particular job! The N.S.O. appealed to the men to return to work until the result of Bro. Jones's appeal against the decision, but the strikers remained firm in their decision and the next day Jones was back at work-the N.S.O. lamely claiming that his dismissal had been a "clerical error". The militant action of the Dipping Section has resulted in victory-but all the workers concerned are fully aware that this is only the first round in the struggle.

THE REAL ISSUE IS POST-WAR WAGES POLICY

It is quite obvious that the management are anxious to prevent the growth of militant Trade Unionism in Felinfoel

But by fighting to bring their rates of pay and working conditions up to the level of those at Oxford, the Felinfoel workers are upsetting all the cheap labour plans of the employers. That is the reason why these Welsh militants are being subjected to such unceasing persecution. Their fight is of tremendous importance-not only to the Oxford workers, who are directly affected-but to the whole of the workers employed in the motor manufacturing industry.

The struggle is of special importance to South Wales. There are definite indications that the so-called plans for the "industrial rehabilitation" of this great area of heavy industry will depend on whether or not the Welsh workers are willing to accept CHEAP LABOUR conditions of work! It reported to us that a Ministry of Labour official in South Wales recently stated that Wales cannot expect employers to bring industry into the district if the workers are going to squabble so much over rates of pay!

The fight of these Felinfoel militants is of NATIONAL importance and yet, so far, they have received precious little help either from their Union or precious from the organised Labour movement. It is reported that the workers at Morris's Oxford plant are also engaged in a struggle against sweated labour. It is clearly time that militant cooperation between ALL the Morris Motor Works was instituted. On this co-operation will depend the future outcome of the struggle against the wage-cutting policies of the Motor Monopolies.

NON PARTY ADVERT

MARXIAN ECONOMIC CLASS New Session every THURS-DAY, from 15th NOVEMBER, at 7.30 p.m., in CENTRAL HALLS 25 Bath Street. Intending pupils can enrol at Class, or write Secy., Jack Travers, 67 Blythswood Street, Glasgow.

Socialism.

12.

READERS PLEASE NOTE

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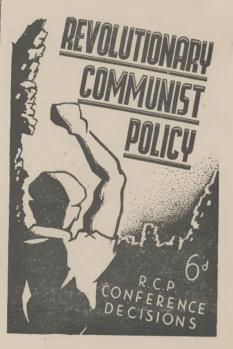
GLASGOW R.C.P.,

47 Oswald Street, Glasgow, C.1

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE R.C.P. 27 Ridley Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1.

NEATH R.C.P.,

- 17 Alfred Street, Neath, Glam.
- LONDON R.C.P.,
 - 256 Harrow Road, London W.2



JANUARY, 1946.



Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International. 256 HARROW BOAD, LONDON, W.2 Phone: CUN 2526. EDITOR: E. Grant. BUSINESS MANAGER: Ann Keen.

Editorial

REMEMBER LIDICE

A full scale war of colonial repression is being waged in Indonesia and Indo-China. Hints that a savage and protracted campaign is necessary to stamp out the "rebellion" are beginning to creep into the British capitalist press. And as always in such campaigns to re-impose slavery on peoples struggling for freedom. the time-honoured and bloody methods of imperialism are being resorted to in a desperate effort to terrorise the population into submission.

According to the "News Chronicle" of December 14th, describing the "strafing" of a native position in Indo-China: "After warning leaflets had been dropped, Spitfires shot up the emplacement." The "Chronicle" comments, "One does not need to read very carefully between the lines to discern that it must have been a pretty nasty business." This for Indo-China.

In Java, the "Chronicle" reports : "Following the murder of the British major and the Red Cross girl worker near Padang, in Sumatra, FURTHER REPRISALS have now been taken in addition to the arrest of several Indonesians and the shooting of others kept out. who attempted to escape." "TABANG VILLAGE, WHERE THE BODIES WERE FOUND, HAS BEEN BURNED DOWN." And again "Yet another Java village has been wiped out. Our troops using petrol, systematically destroyed every one of the 1,000 was their misfortune, for those who timber houses.

Everything is there, from the time worn formula made famous by the Nazis "shot while attempting to escape", and the razing of villages as a reprisal.

Where are the illusions sown by the Stalinists and Labour leaders that once German fascism was destroyed the face of the world would change under the benign guidance of the "great began a mass chant: "WE DON'T democracies": that we would have a world of poole freedom and democracies "; that we would have a world of peace, freedom and plenty, a world of fraternal co-operation between the peoples? With machine guns and tanks, with planes and cannon, the Dutch desperate appeals for "free speech" (!) British and French imperialists are waging a war against the by demands as to how n colonial peoples of "Dutch" East Indies and "French" Indo-China allowed their opponents. with the same methods as those of the Nazis in Europe.

The full shame of the situation lies in the face that a British LABOUR GOVERNMENT is responsible for this bloody war of intervention, and the Dutch and French Socialists and Stalinists are supporting the actions of their imperialist masters against the colonial peoples.

How these hypocrites wept at the crimes of the Nazis in form, but it proved impossible to hold Lidice ! The Trade Union leaders organised a fund in memory of Lidice. But they are silent about the British Lidices.

The workers in the Labour movement must call a halt to this "continuity of imperialist aggression and repression of colonial peoples." It is not enough to pass resolutions of protest and leave matters here. The Trade Union Branches, local Labour Parties in spite of the large and active C.P. and Co-ops must organise a "Hands Off Java" campaign to force the Government to end this shameful war of oppression.

The colonial peoples must be allowed to decide their own fate heads. without interference from without. For the right of full self- but it must not be over-estimated. determination, independence and freedom for the enslaved peoples of Asia ! An end to the policy of reprisals and murder. There's plenty for the workers to do at home-Bring the boys back to help solve our problems in Britain ! Our enemies are not the colonial peoples struggling for independence, but the British imperialists seeking to exploit them as well as ourselves. Freedom for the peoples of Asia ! Withdraw the troops from Java and Indonesia !

SOCIALIST APPEAL

FASCIST MEETING SMASHED AUSTRIAN **R.C.P. and C.P. IN UNITED FRONT**

On December 6th, a Meeting was held in the Holborn Hall, organised by the "Peoples Party". The Speakers were The Duke of Bedford and John Beckett, a former Leader of the B.U.F. This represented the first attempt of the Fascists since their suppression to embark on open propaganda activity, and as such was a challenge to the Labour Movement. The challenge did not go unanswered.

meeting, of whom about 300 were in ing capitalism. opposition the majority of the rest that the working class fails to provide transform the system completely, were fascists. Lines of cars and taxis an alternative road by fighting for disgorged well-dressed people, who socialism, will despairing elements of demagogy. Particularly as young men greated each other and the fascist the middle class turn in masses to the are returning to miserable conditions literature sellers as old friends, who Fascists. Thus, in the long run, Fascism at last appeared in the open after a can only be defeated by building a war in the methods of violence. Such revolutionary party which can lead organisations as the "League of Ex-

The meeting opened with a typically demagogic speech by Edward Godfrey. Announcing the subject of the meet-ing "Is it Victory ?" he dwelt on the economic plight of Britain, denounced surrender to American economic domination, and urged a nationalist policy and a struggle to break the power of "alien financiers." The Duke, who followed, took up the same theme, but was so weak and feeble that despite increasing tension among the audience, the meeting remained quiet.

Trouble began when a scuffle at the doors showed that people were being Angry interjections demanded that they be let in. These became so numerous and loud, that in the hope of saving their meeting, the stewards opened the doors. That entered were all anti-Fascists, includ. ing a number of Revolutionary Communist Party members.

From this moment the anger of the anti-Fascist section of the meeting urst out. Interruptions multiplied. The opposition, consisting almost en-tirely of C.P. and R.C.P. comrades drowned all attempts of the platform to continue. The fascists made and "fair play", which were countered by demands as to how much they had

Finally, after Beckett had unsuccess fully tried to make himself heard, the Chairman announced that the meeting would be abandoned. This was greeted with a great cheer, and the speakers left the platform while the opposition sang the "International". C.P. and R.C.P. comrades occupied the platan orderly counter-meeting, so after a time the hall emptied.

As the audience passed through the vestibule, they saw many comrades elling "Socialist App al " and sist ing anti-fascist slogans-the only opposition literature and slogans there fraction.

Thus the fascists took a thorough beating the first time they raised their This was a great achievement, Both its positive and negative sides have many lessons to teach all of us

the masses to the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Fascism cannot get a mass basis un-less the working class suffers serious defeats. Nevertheless, a number of reactionary middle-class elements who are hit by the crisis of capitalism, and blame the Labour movement as the cause of the trouble, will be attracted by their propaganda. With British capitalism heading for a sharp

U.S. Fascists

Stop Jewish Barbarism!

Protest against Kosher Slaughter

Why should the "Great American Civilized

Democracy" stand for Jewish atrocities?

PIONEER NEWS SERVICE

The above leaflet was distributed

Thousands of defense

less animals are being daily tortured to death by JEWISH Ritualistic

KOSHER Butchers

Hoisted by a hind leg, its throat slashed, the klcking, gasping and sobbing creature is sub-

Busy Again 🖟

About 1,000 people attended the Fascism thrives on the soil of decay- | economic crisis, unless the Labour Only on condition Government takes radical action to there will be a fruitful field for Fascist after having been educated during the Service Men and Women ", which has published a pamphlet "exposing" the bankruptcy of the "old gang"—the Tory, Labour and Communist parties -and making apparently radical attacks on "alien financiers", will

tend to grow. The extent of their growth will depend on how the working class movement reacts to the danger they represent. At present, these organisations are weak and are proceeding very cautiously.

If the Labour Government carried out real measures against capitalism and in the interests of the masses including the middle class, the basis for fascism would be completely destroyed. The rats would have to creep back into their holes. They would be impotent to gain any following from the ranks of the middle class and backward workers. But if the Labour leaders compromise the idea of Socialism and nationalisation, by small reforms and only tinkering with the problems, the middle class will be used by the capitalists to destroy the Labour movement. The capitalists will finance the fascists, who will blame the Labour movement and the Jews for the crimes of capitalism itself.

If the Labour movement is blind to the danger, it will discover that the fascists can develop into a menacing threat. The lessons of Italy and Germany are there to be learnt. The working class organisations must conduct a united struggle to stamp on the fascists while they are still weak

At this London meeting there was excellent co-operation in practice between the C.P. rank and file workers and members of the R.C.P. But there was no real organisation of the opposition. Although rank and file C.P.ers participated, the C.P. issued no public call to demonstrate and the "Daily Worker" did not even mention that the meeting was taking place

In future, any fascist activities must be met with organised and united opposition—picketing by all working class parties and Trade Unions. Only by such a solid united front, can the morale of the fascists be broken. The task of every class conscious worker is to rouse the Labour movement to the necessity of fighting the fascists, no matter how few they may be today, so that we are not taken unawares.

ELECT

The Austrian General Election has resulted in a resounding defeat for the Communist Party. The results of the polling were:

3

PEOPLES (Catholic) Party 84 seats SOCIALISTS 77 ... COMMUNISTS 4

Thus, Austria is one of the few countries in Europe in which the workers' parties have not gained a majority although because of the collapse of the Nazi regime, and the conditions of the masses, the swing to the left should have been more pronounced.

The catastrophic defeat of the Stalinsts is even more significant. After the nopeless failure of the policy of Social Democracy, which led to the defeat of the workers in the February 1934 upising, the Communist Party of Austria which had only been a tiny sect, became a mass party. According to their own reports, it was as strong, if not stronger than the Social Democratic party. The most militant, active, and self-sacrificing fighters, especially in the Schutzbund (Austrian Workers' Defence Force), came over to Commun-

With the "liberation" of Austria, which was proclaimed with the victory of the Red Army, it could have been anticipated that the overwhelming majority would have come over to communhad the Red Army been pursuing a Leninist policy.

The Catholic workers and peasants had seen how the Catholic bishops and capitalists had betrayed them into the hands of the Fascists-Dolfuss and Schussnigg. They had seen how these catholic bishops and capitalists had come to terms with Hitler. The sections of the middle class who had supported Hitler, had had time to sober up, and realise that the Fascists represented not the middle classes, but finance capital. All sections had suffered intense misery as a result of the Nazi regime. All were seeking a way out. Why then did they not turn towards Communism?

The "Tribune", gives the following terrible picture of what Stalinism means in Austria.

"The Russians have between 600,000 and 800,000 troops in Aus-tria. They live on the land in more senses than that they requisition food and cattle. In the zones they have occupied, they have left behind them a trail of economic and moral devastation. Life is insecure, rations have never yet reached a fraction of the nominal allowance, and looting is rampant.

In Vienna, the number of officially recorded cases of rape within the Russian-controlled zones exceeds Few women venture out 100.000 alone after dark in this area. In Lower Austria, the number recently infected cases of venereal disease officially reported to the medical officer is above 50,000, and almost entirely confined to women; one adult woman in five is presumed to be thus aff-ected. In Eastern Styria, which was first occupied by the Russians and then by the British, and where British doctors have supervised the inquiry, it has been established that 20,000 women were raped (about 80 per cent, of the total number of adult women) and between 25-40 per cent. have been reported as V.D. cases. This mass assault on women was accompanied by a similar one on property; and this was no mere looting; it frequently took the form of sheer

at the first Christian Front meeting held in New York since the beginning of the war. The Christian Front is an American fascist organisation modelled on the lines of the Nazi party. Homer Maertz, head of the "Pioneer News Service" of Chicago, is violently anti-somilie. The was a delegate at the América First national convention, August 29th, 1944, where he pre. sented a resolution calling for the sterilisation of all "Jews" in America. In 1941 he served a sixmonths jail sentence for smashing

windows of Jewish owned stores.

Recently he toured the country

into action groups."

organising sluggers and hoodlums



Nuremberg and the Moscow Trials

In the years 1936-38 almost the entire | all these leaders of the Revolution and Russian Revolution, were wiped out by Stalin. Some committed suicide, some just disappeared, but most of the best known figures were brought into the Soviet courtrooms and played the role of "confessors" in the most publicised international trials of all time. These trials were the subject of world conwere so fantastic. troversy, they D. N. Pritt and other faithful retainers be present, assured the world that

committee of eminent American liberals headed by the philosopher and educator, Dr. John Dewey, held an investigation into the charges against Leon Trotsky and pronounced the Moscow Trials frame-ups from beginning to end.

made against Lenin's co-workers who led the Russian Revolution to victory. Leon Trotsky was alleged to have been Staff since 1921! Of the nine members of the Political Bureau of the Bolshevik Party during the days of Lenin, only Stalin, the executioner, has not been put on trial as a foreign agent ! In 1937 it was calculated from Soviet press reports that there were at least 2,776 victims of the purge. all the colleagues of Lenin. Tukhachev-sky and eight leading Generals of the Red Army suffered a similar fate. According to the Stalinists and their attorneys, D. N. Pritt and Co., it was "proved" in the Moscow Trials that

Bolshevik "Old Guard" who led the of the Red Army had been "foreign agents" since the time of the revolution. Leon Trotsky allegedly stood at the head of the whole conspiracy. Through Hess he arranged to cede large areas of Ukrainian and Russian territory to Germany in exchange for his return to power at the end of a victorious war of the Nazis against the Soviet Union.

Not long ago Warner Brothers made of the Kremlin, who "happened" to a film ', Mission to Moscow", allegedly the story of the trip to Moscow of j^ustice was done. Few impartial the American emmissary, Joseph observers believed it. The Austrian Davies. This film also gave credence Socialist. Alder. characterised these to the frame-up Trials, purporting to judicial comedies as "Witchcraft" show how the Stalinists got rid of trials-an excellent description. A Hitler's "fifth column" in the U.S.S.R.

the Stalinists a splendid opportunity to vindicate the Moscow Trials. They have their representatives on the prosecuting council. The most amazingly confidential documents abound to prove the guilt of the Nazis as war criminals. Stalinists could produce in the court- by the imperialists during the war. He The most fantastic charges were Hundreds of tons of documentary nade against Lenin's co-workers who material has been unearthed by the infamous Moscow Trials? material has been unearthed by the infamous Moscow Trials? investigators. Diarles, telegrams, stenographic records of confidential evidence exists! The Moscow Trials withdrawn, and his re-arrest on the military and State documents-all end ! secution in abundance. They have eyes of the whole world. One his-completely reconstructed the history torical function of value at least has of the Nazi regime, and the prepara- been performed in the trial of the tions for the war, in the Nuremburg Nazi gangsters. Nuremburg has be-

Among these were included practically Counsel, including the Soviet repre- all exposed as the most disgraceful meeting of Ceylonese workers for the sentative, that anything has been judicial fraud in history. And the British dockers during their great concealed.

(Continued in next Column.)

FRANCE

From Bordeaux a comrade writes Now in France we are meeting in terest among the workers, middle-class and students.[•] Last week I spoke in a small meeting organised by the big Socialist Party; only fifty students and socialist militants came to hear member of the Bordeaux Municipal Council. This night there were no adhesions to the Socialist Party, but two to the P.C.I. (French Trotskyists) Every day we go short of our news-paper" La Verite", so much is it in demand by the workers.

The most extraordinary story, showing the explosive force of our ideas, was told by a comrade working with German prisoners of war. One of them spoke French. Our friend asked him without any ceremony if he knew the Fourth International. "Yes"

(Continued from Column 2) politicians of the historic drama-have had their records paraded before the INDIA public eve. The role of Stalin in Hitler's plans of conquest and dominpurged" as agents of Germany. !

Court. At least no complaint has come the burlal ground of a myth. been made by any of the participating The Moscow Trials are once and for sible for collecting £5 from a mass Pritts's and the Davis's and Warner national strike. At a mass meeting

Mussolini, Franco, Chamberlain, Daladier—all the living and the dead be unprincipled scoundrels and demonstration of international solidfalsifiers of history.



FOURTH INTERNATIONA

answered the prisoner. The most astonished was our comrade. He asked him again how he knew the Fourth. "I have read "ARBEITER **UND SOLDAT**"," said the other. New astonishment. "And what do you think about it?" our comrade asked. Very good", " And where have you read it?" "In Italy", replied the German prisoner.

* Arbeiter und Soldat " (Worker and too soon. Soldier) was produced illegally by German Trotskyists in France 30 German soldiers were executed by the Gestapo for being associated with this paper.

According to the "Times of India", ation is clearly revealed. But there 26.11 45, Comrade Leslie Gunawardene. has not been a word about the alleged member of the Indian Trotskyist

 Hitler's "fifth column" in the U.S.S.R.
 complicity of Leon Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninist Party, and well.

 The Nuremberg Trials have afforded
 Bolshevik "Old Guard" whom Stalin known leader of the Ceylonese working

class movement, has been released on How is this explained? How does bail after having been arrested at his t come about that in all the tons of house at Panadura on a charge of in documentary material there is not a citing an illegal strike. Comrade single shred of evidence which the Leslie Gunawardene was imprisoned

in the pay of the German General discussions, films, thousands of letters, were a frame-up from beginning to charge of inciting to illegal strike took We always branded them as place following his dramatic appearthese have been produced by the pro- such. Now it is proved before the ance at a public meeting, where he

.

Our Ceylon comrades were respon-

unprincipled scoundrels and demonstration of international solid-published in the next issue of 'arity.

SOUTH AFRICA

From Johannesburg, our comrades write: "Our 'HANDS OFF THE COLONIES' Campaign got a good response and apparently the bourgeois saw red'. At the same time our headquarters was set on fire in an obvious case of political sabotage. Whether it was Nationalist or Communist Party inspired, we don't know, equipment.

If these political reactionaries think they can stop our work by incendiarism, they will learn their mistake only

Our work has not been affected by the fire. Our main attention is given during the Nazi occupation. The to building and strengthening party editor was killed by the Nazis and cadres and Trade Union work.

BELGIUM

The Fifth National Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Belgian section of the Fourth International, met in Brussels on November 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1945.

At this Congress, the first since 1943, the Party examined the fine record of its activities during the period of Nazi occupation, took important decisions or organisational matters which should open up a period of expansion and concretise the Party's already wide-spread influence among the masses. It drew up a "Programme of Action", and adopted several resolutions dealing with the situation in Belgium and the immediate tasks of the Party, as well as the international perspective of a proletarian revolution, and the situation in the U.S.S.R. and in the countries occupied by the Red Army. The Congress also issued a Manifesto

drawing the balance sheet of the "liberation", warning of the dangers

for the working class latent in the counter_offensive of the bourgeoisie, and pointing out the methods of struggle capable of guiding the work. ing class towards its genuine emancipation.

A full report of this Congress will be "Workers International News".

wanton damage to clothing, furniture and houses."

It is significant that neither the "Daily Worker" nor the Soviet Em-bassy has issued a denial of this hor-rible indictment. It is clear that the facts are too well known and are unanswerable.

It is not that the Russian soldiers are naturally crininals (mainly back-ward peasants, were responsible for these crimes and not industrial work-ers). But the Nazis, especially the S.S. thugs committed similar and worse crimes in Occupied Russia. The Stal-inist hurcements, the Ehrenburge and inist bureaucrats-the Ehrenburgs and others-incited the Red Army, not against the German capitalists, but against the whole German people. The racial outpourings of Ilya Ehrenburg and others of his ilk were as bad as those of Goebbels.

Instead of the internationalist policy of Lenin and Trotsky, nationalist filth was preached at high pressure. This has a logic of its own. The seeds of hatred were sown, instead of the seeds of class solidarity being planted in Austria and in Germany.

This it is, which has enabled the catholic bishops and capitalists once again to restore their hold over the peasants, and especially the women. This it is which has enabled the discredited Social Democrats to once again reinforce their hold over the over-whelming majority of the Austrian working class

As a result of Stalinism, the name of the Red Army stinks. But the victory of the reformists and Catholics rests on very shaky foundations The masses want a way out. A left wing is bound to develop in the Aust-rian Socialist Party. The masses will come to understand that Stalinism is not communism-but is a betrayal of communism.

Together with the rest of Europe, section of the Fourth International will rise on the principles of Marx and Lenin, of fraternity and solidarity of workers of all lands. Through the efforts of the workers of Austria and Europe, abolishing capitalism and nat-ional frontiers, the standards of life will enormously improve in the United Socialist States of Europe.

JANUARY, 1946.

Speech BRITISH WORKERS AND TH **Pollitt's**

(Continued from page 1)

C.P.S.U. nor the French C.P. critic- against the bourgeoisie." ised Browder till 15 months later. Yet the parties of the Fourth International denounced his policy as a complete and final break from Marxism Immediately (see, for instance, the "Socialist Appeal", Mid-January, 1944). Who showed the greater Marxist under-Who standing?

THE GENERAL ELECTION POLICY His explanations of the reason for

adopting the line of a post-war Coal-ition are on the same level:

"After the Paris insurrection in the 1370's, Marx, who had some doubts about its wisdom, was the first to justify what he described as the historic initiative of the masses. And what we ought to be triumphantly extolling is not certain minor weaknesses (!!), but the tremendous historic initiative of the masses."

Poor Marx! The parallel would be closer if Mr. Pollitt could show that he had advocated a coalition with Thiers.

were wrong in our estimation of the left swing in the Labour move-ment. And I believe I can give it you in two minutes. It is not unrelated to the point legitimately made about ears being closer to the ground. I believe we failed to grasp this fact—that in the course of this war, which was brought to the doorsteps and homes of millions of people, in the air-raid shelters and in the cellars, in tubes and firewatching parties, the working class, the professional and middle classes were quietly thinking to themselves, saying a word neither to their hus-bands, or wives, or sons, or brothers (??!!)-but thinking to themselves. They were thinking: 'In our lifetime capitalism has only brought us poverty and unemployment. And now it has brought us this.' And on the other hand they were thinking also of the miracles being performed by a socialist coun-try, in the fight to make this war the last war (!!), and that caused a basic political mental change in the outlook of millions, and led them take that historical initiative of which we had not taken due cognisance.'

Now we may ask: if the majority of the British people had voted Conserv-ative, would that have made Churchill and Eden "progressive" and justified a Coalition with the Labour Party?

To ask the question is to answer it. Mr. Pollitt's "explanation" means that the C.P. leadership estimates the role of parties and individuals, not on a materialist analysis of their class basis, but on the results of an election. In other words, far from being the 'vanguard of the working class'', they are the tail-end of the electorate.

And how come that the R.C.P., the L.L.P. and even the Labour Party itself, all of which rejected a post-war Coalition, could see what the C.P. allegedly couldn't, for all its "Marx-ism"? 1sm

However, he even attempted to justify the policy, and indicated that it might be revived some time in the future. by referring to the coalitions with the bourgeoisie into which the French and Jugoslav Communist Parties have entered. He even misused a phrase of Marx

"You will regret a policy that does not take into account the fact that the capitalist class is not one reactionary mass." ow how did Marx deal with this

the absolutist and feudal opponents politician. His fulminations against

70 years later, Pollitt falsifies quotations from Marx in order to put good colour on his alliance with the ourgeoisie against the proletariat. It is as clear as day that Marx was referring to the possibility of an alliunce with elements of the middle class against the bourgeoisie, or even with the bourgeoisie against the feudal lords. But nowhere does he advocate governmental coalitions with the bourgeoisie, especially in conditions where capitalism has long ousted feudalism from the scene. To justify this, Mr. Pollitt will search in vain the writings f Marx, Engels or Lenin. His quot ations will have to come from the iterature of Menshevism or Social-Democracy. We recommend particu larly the writings of J. Ramsay Macdonald.

ATTITUDE TO THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

A considerable number of C.P. members had criticised the leadership for failing to take up a sufficiently critical attitude to the Labour Government, particularly on questions of foreign Some had taken it further, demanded that the Party return o a Marxist position in opposition to

Mr. Pollitt's reply had, needless to say, nothing in common with Marxist method. He made the C.P.'s attitude the Labour Government dependent on its size and influence

"Nobody would be as happy as I if I thought that the influence of this party was as great as McIlhone makes it out to be. But I refuse to deduce wrong policies as a result of a wrong estimation of the forces which are going to carry the politics through.

You look at the by-elections taking Are they revealing a disilluplace. sionment with the Labour Govern-ment on home and foreign policy? Of course they're not."

Now it is true, of course, that the approach of a revolutionary party towards the problem of combatting reformism varies with the influence of the party and the mood of the masses If the revolutionary party is very large and influential, and widespread disilusionment with the reformists exists, the task is immediately posed of destruction of the reformists' influence and the struggle for power.

strikes and strikers received national publicity in the capitalist Press, which was highly delighted. These fulminations were mainly directed against C.P. members who demanded support for workers on strike, particularly riticising the C.P.'s attitude to the Dock Strike.

What was Mr. Pollitt's basic reason

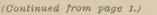
for opposing strikes? "You can get a strike in the coal-fields tomorrow if you want it (why??). Will it advance the working class movement of this country, or the perspective of our nation being a first-rate nation in the family of united nations?"

This is familiar argument from Mr. ("Red, White and Blue") Pollitt, who earlier in his speech had complained that "we sometimes have so many hesitations about saying we are Brit-If capitalist Britain is to be a ish''. ush'. If capitalist britain is to be a world power the working class must not engage in struggles which weaken the social system and destroy "national unity". To put it more bluntly: British imperialism needs a docile working class.

This is only a continuation of the C.P.'s wartime policy. Then, we were told that there must be national unity "to fight fascism" (but after the war, comrades, we'll become revolutionary again!) Now the war has ended, but we still have our "national prestige" to maintain.

the strike-breaking line, Mr Pollitt had some interesting admissions to make

'On the dock strike . i took the view that if our Party had been compelled to stick its head out in difficult situations during the war and COMPEL OUR COMRADES TO BE STIGMATISED AS STRIKE BREAKERS AND BLACKLEGS, we are not called upon to repeat that in the days of peace (?!), but we would examine every dispute on its merits. The 'Daily Worker' reported the facts AND IT IS TRUE WE



In reality, even these figures are unlikely to be reached and the deficit is likely to be even greater. The British capitalists will probably find that the redit they have obtained from Amerca will melt away in vitally necessary purchases, even in a couple of years, eaving Britain in as difficult a position s that which drove her to seek suc-our from the United States capitalists. Because of her loss of investments, etc., even to maintain her pre-war position would mean herculean efforts beyond the power of British capitalism The "Economist" explains:

"It has long been a commonplace that British exports will have to be increased by 50 per cent above their 1938 valume; the financial burdens now assumed raise the figure to 75 per cent. In 1938 the exports of the United Kingdom were just over 10 per cent of the world total, so that if they are to rise by three-quarters an extra volume of trade must be won equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the world total, either by tak-ing it away from others or by securing the lion's share of any likely increase in the total. This by itself would be a gigantic task. But it understates the real problem. The whole of the increase will necessarily be concentrated on manufactures, and if the total is to rise by 75 per cent the volume of manufactured exports, which were 72 per cent of the total before the war, will have to rise by just over 100 per cent. But British manufactured exports in 1937 amounted to 19 per cent f the world total in this category. In short, in this decisive field, the British task is to secure additional markets equal to one-fifth of the whole inter-national trade of the world."

This is clearly impossible. Ostensibly the loan agreement is intended to tide Britain over a period when she annot compete, till her economy be-omes "normal" through the switchover from war to peace production. But he irony of it lies in the fact that in return for this assistance America is utilizing the position to gain admission to markets where Britain was formerly dominant. The sterling bloc by means of which Britain preserved large markets in the Dominions, Colonies, and certain other countries which were compelled by this means to buy goods Britain in return for British purchases of food and raw materials, has been broken. By forcing Britain to make dollars available to them, Amer-ica makes it possible in the immediate future to penetrate the markets of India, the Colonies and Dominions.

Britain's greatest weapon in the trade struggle of being the greatest market in the world is rendered futile because she cannot directly bargain on the basis of an immediate exchange of

goods which would come under the heading of discrimination. She cannot friday of a purchases of any ray mat-erials or goods from the Colonies or Dominions while decreasing the purchase of the same goods from America as this would come under the same heading. America is in a position to supply goods and machinery immedi-ately or almost immediately and in many cases cheaper than Britain which could only supply the goods urgently required only after a long delay, consequently her former markets will under constant American pressure. This with no real corresponding concessions on the part of Yankee Imperialism. The "Economist" cries out: "In short, those devices (of trade) which could be used by Britain to its advantage are banned with the greater degree of ex-Our line was to advise the dockers plicitness; those that assist American

U.S.LOAN

even those who protest alternative to offer. ON THE BASIS OF CAPITALISM THERE IS NO OF tradition, put a curse on the ambitions of the rich!'

bowing the knee to American Imperial-Mr. penham remarked with evident satis-

"From these unsatisfactory documents we secure one great advantage. From now onwards there cannot be a they were fighting against fascisn), man or woman in the country who does not see that the export trade is the world of undreamed of plenty and nation's first priority, and that all the other sound objectives of policy that were listed at the General Election, housing, nationalization, social reform and the rest, must now step down to make way for exports."

The capitalists wish to place the full burdens of the crisis onto the should-ers of the working class. And the Lab-our Government by pursuing a capital-ist way out of the crisis make it in-evitable that the real standard of living must fall. (Int is show the huilding must fall. That is why the building workers and the dockers nave received such grudging increases! But the intensification of Labour which the cap-italists, the Union and Labour leaders and the Stalinists are all simultaneously demanding, speed-up and rationalisation, will not solve any of the prob-lems of British capitalism. With or without the agreement with America such a policy would and can only pre-pare the way for a new and more terrifying slump than in 1929-1934 which led to intense misery for the masses and the fall of the Labour Government. No one in the Parliamentary debate could deny the fact that a terrible slump would follow the present boom

speakers in the debate economic crisis with a weakened econ omy would mean mass unemployment, even further lowered standards and general misery for the masses. These will be the fruits of the policy now being pursued by the Labour Government.

But what is the alternative many OF CAPITALISM THERE IS NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE BUT TO ACCEPT THE DOMINATION OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM. The "Economist" grimly but sadly sums it up in a very apt way: "All this, no doubt, is unavoidable. Beggars can't be choosers. But they can, by long tradition nut a curse on the ambitions is only one way out. If instead of pursuing this shameful policy of cap-itulation to the City of London and Wall Street the Labour leaders purrcy, a Leminist policy, the situation would be entirely changed. The first step would be to take over the banks The capitalists prefer that it should and all industry without compensation be the Labour leaders who incur the to the capitalists and run them under odium of doing the dirty work and workers' control. Then on the basis of workers' control. Then on the basis of having instituted as in Russia a State ism. The consequences for the masses will be hard in the next few years. As Mr. Eccles the Tory M.P. for Chip-could be organised and planned. Even if the American capitalists attempted economic reprisals the workers would gladly accept sacrifices temporarily (as they did when they believed

peace, of rising standards for them and their children. A Socialist Britain could appeal to the Russian, American, European and Asiatic workers to come to their assistance.

This is the only realistic policy for the British working class. The other way leads to the collapse of decrepit British capitalism, to untold sufferings and hardship, to slump and finally fascism and war. The capitalists will utilise the services of the Labour lead-ers and then cast them aside. A new crisis and a new 1931 debacle is inevit-able if the present policy of the Gov-ernment is persisted in.

Labour workers, Communist work-ers, this economic agreement is an ominous warning! Prepare now for the battles that lie ahead. Compromise with capitalism at home or abroad can only lead to disaster. Only in the overthrow of capitalism can the work-ing class find a way out of the anarchy, chaos and nightmare of capitalism. Only the Revolutionary Communist Party tells you the truth and warns of the debacle that lies ahead for the Lab-our Government. Remember in the future and support the Party that forein America and that it would spread to warned and forearmed you for the Britain. A point that was made by battles that lie ahead.

DOCKERS BETRAYED

(Continued from page 1.)

one week to meet the issue (25/- minimum wage). If they did not, the Transport and General Workers Union officials could then give Mr. Isaacs 21 days notice that a dispute existed.

"Instead of that, the union agreed to discuss something less than 25/-. There are vested interests in the Transport & General Workers Union and the Stevedores Union who are trying to fog and bamboozle the issue so that at the end of the 30 days we will not know where we are."

The opposition to the official union leaders was clearly shown at the handpicked national delegate conference of the T.& G.W.U. held on 14th Decem-14 delegates voted against the acceptance of the Evershed proposals. An official meeting of union members was called on the 15th December. **Out** more than 10,000 u London, about 80 attended the meeting. As soon as the officials read the proposals the vast majority of these walked out leaving the officials on the Deakin and Donovan (deplatform ! spite the fact that the former was re-cently elected General Secretary-how this happened no one knows!) have no support whatsoever from the rank and

file. The power lies in the hands of the National Strike Committee,

ONLY A MILITANT POLICY CAN PRESERVE THE RANK AND FILE ORGANISATION

All the recent events show that the power lies in the hands of the National Strike Committee, which because of its courageous and militant leadership has won the support of dock workers throughout the country. But any com-promise or sell-out of the dockers' struggle can soon end the unity and organisation won by the strike. Such a compromise would again place the dock workers in confusion and frust-ration—ready material for the machinations of Deakin and Donovan. politically conscious elements on the National Committee must prevent such a degeneration. All the weaknesses must be corrected. Nothing should be permitted to stand in the way of full

If RISING TIDE OF CORFERS MILITANCY A MODERN KING CA GAV HIS MAJESTY'S COMMUNIST PARTY 75

have illusions in reformism, it must "patiently explain". The Bolsheviks adopted both these attitudes at differ-ent stages of the 1917 Revolution. But this is a question of tactics. The

GAVE NO LEAD FOR TEN DAYS -and that is no crime, because we considered the strike ill-advised . to go back to work . . . It was a pos- exports with the greater degrees of

question? In his polemic with the German Social-Democracy, entitled The Critique of the Gotha Pro-gramme'', he wrote as follows: gramme

"The emancipation of labour must be the work of the working class, in contrast to which all other classes

ARE ONLY ONE REACTIONARY

MASS." (Point 4 of the Gotha programme

The Communist Manifesto it is In said:

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today. the proletariat alone is a really re volutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry, the proletariat is its special and essential product."

The bourgeoisie is here conceived as a revolutionary class—as the bearer of large-scale industry-in contrast to the feudal lords and middle estates, who desire to maintain all social positions that are the creation of obsolete modes of production. Thus they do not form together with the bourgeoisie only one reactionary mass.

On the other hand, the proletariat is revolutionary in contrast to the bourgeoisie because, having itself grown up on the basis of large-scale industry, it strives to strip off from production the capitalist character that the bourgeoisie strives to perpetuate. But the Manifesto adds that the "'middle class . . . if by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat.

From this point of view, therefore, it is again nonsense to say that they, together with the bourgocasie, and with the feudal lords into the bargain, form only one reactionary mass in relation to the working class.

Did we proclaim to the artisans, small industrialists. et a, and peasants during the last elections: In contrast to us you, with the bourgeois and feudal lords, form only one reactionary mass?

Lassalle knew The Communist Manifesto by heart, as his faithful followers know the gospels written by him. If, therefore, he has falsified it so grossly, this has occurred only to put a good colour on his alliance with

attitude in principle to the reformists remains the same: no concessions the position of revolutionary opposition.

But listen to Mr. Pollitt's attitude "Our main fight, therefore, comrades, is not against the Labour Government, not against Bevin-our main fight is against capitalism and against the ideas of capitalismideas of those particular members of the Labour movement and the

Labour Government who are influenced by capitalism." But doesn't Marxism Very good.

each that reformism as a tendency only a reflection of capitalist ideas within the Labour movement? Not a ew individuals, but the reformist eadership as such are "Labour lieut enants of the capitalist class". How can capitalism be fought without fighting reformism? While defending Labour Government from any attacks from the capitalists it is necessary to characterise it as fundamentally a capitalist Government, because although it derives its support from the working-class movement, its task is o administer capitalism; it is necesary to explain patiently to the working class that only a revolutionary Government based on workers' councils bring about socialism.

This is the only principled Marxist attitude. Pollitt's attitude is comunprincipled. He does not even attempt to analyse the class character of the Government. He

"Don't let us forget that the people of this country see nationalisation of the coal industry and the Bank of England and the reduction in income tax, as well as Greece and Indonesia, and we are making a ghat mistake if we don't grasp this."

tionary but of a left-reformist. Thus, those sections of the Communist Party who demanded a return to Marxism on this question were disappointed The leadership continues on the reformist read.

THE ATTITUDE TO INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

Here Mr. Pollitt (once a leader of the Jolly George strike and later of the Minority Movement) appeared in in G his full glory as a **respectable** Labour date.

Itive line and it needs fighting for. vagueness." AND BECAUSE COMRADES GOT CHASED IN FIGHTING FOR IT— all right—it is not the first time and it won't be the last (!!!) (our em-

phasis) Who can deny that even the miserable advance conceded by the Evershed

Committee would not have been made

(Continued in Column 5)

GLASGOW BUILDERS ON THE MOVE

Following closely on the heels of the Building Workers' demonstrations the London area, the Glasgow in Building Trades workers are on the move.

A few weeks ago the "Building Workers' Campaign Committee" was formed by rank and file melitants on the job, with the object of gaining contact with building workers in other areas. On Sunday, December 16th, a meeting was called, attended by over 400 workers. It was clear from the discussion that the Glasgow building workers are in no mood to be trifled with by the Building Employers, and a wide suspicion exists on the "possibilities" of the outcome of the pending discussions between the Em ploylers and Union Representatives over the question of wages.

A Seven Point Resolution was dopted unanimously by the meeting:

1, 3/- per hour for Tradesmen.

- 2. 2/6¹/₂d. per hour for Labourers.
- A 44 hour guaranteed week.
- 4. 14 days' holiday a year with full pay.

5. Increase in lodging allowances. One Union for all Building Trade 6.

- Workers. 100% Trade Unionism. 7. Nationalisation of the Building
- Trade Industry.

It was emphasised during the meeting that this was only a beginning and a decision was taken to hold a token strike and demonstration on all sites in Glasgow and District at an early

Thus British capitalism is in the posarms and legs to be hobbled together when he runs. Not for nothing has America announced a programme of trebling her exports! But even if the world market increases somewhat it will not be big enough to satisfy the Imperialisms of Britain and America. et alone the lesser struggling Powers

The trade war is on, only the British apitalists have begun on such a weak ned position that they have been comelled to surrender without a battle for he time being.

However, it can be predicted in advance that the Agreement will break lown. It is impossible for bankrupt British capitalism to fulfil it. The "Economist" openly declares: "It is very difficult to understand how any man in his senses can think that the obligations now to be assumed can possibly be fulfilled. It is not the annuity £35 million to America that is so of frightening, but the chronic deficit of at least ten times that amount that would seem to be the all but inevitable consequence of the subsidiary conditions.'

The spokesmen of American capital ism know very well that Britain will never be in a position to pay back the But they have a double objective in making it. By allowing a certain amount of consumers and other goods nto Britain and thus finding markets which their enormous surplus production urgently needs they stave off an immediate social crisis of British capitalism. Such a crisis would lead to revolutionary struggles throughout Europe, and would have immediate repercussions in Asia and the colonial world thus leading to the danger of the complete overthrow of world capitalism. At the same time American Imperial ism needs Britain as a counter-balance to Russia in Europe. Simultaneously they drive into Britain's most sacred preserve and her last line of defence against the American trading offensive Empire Markets.

The whole of the capitalist press unanimously shrieks "Woe, woe"; both he Labour leaders and the Conserv atives, those for the agreement and those against agree on its disastrous effects in the long run for Britain. But

and serious preparation for the future struggles, and for the removal of the leadership and the traitorous union revival of union democracy. On the basis of a militant policy the present national organisation forged by the dockers can become a most important factor in the struggle of the British working-class for Socialism.

(Continued from Column 3)

but for the great Dock Strike? And had the C.P. been backing the dockers and called for a national transport strike, all their demands would probably have been won after a short, sharp struggle.

Finally, he urged acceptance of a £4 10s. minimum wage:

"Demands and programmes are important, but what is more important still is the mobilisation of the working class to achieve their demands and the working class is a sensible class and it has never organ-ised to fight for what it conceives to be impossible."

To this we need only reply two things. (1) Mr. Pollitt and the C.P. leadership ave done, and are doing everything in their power to smash the real mobilis ation of the working class, that took place through the strike and the formation of an unofficial national Docks leadership to fight the T.& G.W.U bureaucracy, (2) the dockers organised to fight for 25/- a day and a 40-hour They didn't conceive this to be impossible. Only the craven Stalinists. defeatists from beginning to end, believed that. Mr. Pollitt summed up his attitude

in a statement that can only be appreciated fully when set in its proper con-We shall here do our best to text. provide it with one.

"With the discussion of General Strikes and Bolshevism and all that kind of thing I have nothing to do at all." (Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, May 3rd, 1926).

'We are sitting on top of an industrial volcano that might go up at any moment." (Mr. Ernest Bevin, introducing Regulation 1A(a), April 28th, 1944).

"You are either in favour or not of the line that has been expounded here of mass strikes as the only way

to realise the workers' demands, and if you are, I warn you you are play-ing with fire that can help to lose the peace and reduce this country to ashes." (Mr. Harry Pollitt, November 24th, 1945).

WHAT KIND OF A PARTY?

Mr. Pollitt ended his masterly exposé of reformist political theory with ome equally notable contributions to the study of political organisation: "My last word is this. In relation

to building our Party. I want to sweep away all alibis. You can talk about objective and subjective factors as long as you like, but the fundamental reason why our Party does not grow is that you comrades do not want it to grow. What is your rea-son? The Party wants to be a narrow Party: it wants to be a Party of exclusive Marxists."

Nobody could accuse Harry Pollitt of uch a desire.

Pollitt's speech has been its own con-demnation. Nobody with an ounce of intelligence can have any doubt that this man, who was once an outstanding militant, is today a tired and cynical bureaucrat. The elements in the C.P who came to the Congress hoping to set the Party on to the revolutionary

road were met with this contemptuous rubbish. And not only from Pollitt as an individual, for he was selected as spokesman for the E.C. This signifies that the whole Stalinist leadership has

itterly abandoned even the pretence of Marxism.

Only in the Revolutionary Communist Party will these honest C.P. mili-tants find a serious attitude towards Marxist theory and a genuinely revolutionary policy.

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