

'Workers of All Lands Unite.'

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY BRITISH SECTION OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

No. 20.

MID-FEBRUARY, 1946.

TWO PENCE.

MALAYAN STRIKERS APPEAL TO BRITISH ARMY FOOD SHORTAGE

By Ajit Roy

"The workers of Malaya humbly request you to give us every possible help in the present 'Strike' to raise our standard of living. You shall perform your duty in saving humanity from the imperialist yoke. If you are not in a position to help us, please, be neutral. The British Government may force you to open fire upon the unarmed and innocent people. Dear Brothers, keep up the name of India and save mankind from poverty and death."

Your Brothers who are struggling for better living and New Democracy.

The above appeal was printed and circulated among the British and Indian troops by the Singapore workers during the General Strike which started on the 29th of January and lasted for several days. Over 200,000 workers participated in the struggle, including the engineers, dockworkers, public employees, and even domestic servants and the shopkeepers responded to the call.

The strike had been called because of the continued refusal on the part of the British authorities to release 14 trade union leaders and militants who had been imprisoned for their participation in a previous strike in December, which took place on the issue of higher wages and better conditions for the workers.

The capitalist class, wrangling over the price of rubber has not said a word about the conditions of extreme poverty and hardship in which the workers and peasants of Malaya and Singapore have to live in order to produce the sumptuous dividends of the British rubber and tin magnates. But this is how a Chinese worker, Lin Ying Choong describes in a leaflet some of the conditions as they affect himself and his family:

"Always Hungry"

"I am a Public Works Department employee and earn one dollar a day. As the black market price of rice is I dollar and 40 cents a katty, we can only afford to have two meals of porridge instead of rice a day. Porridge being not as substantial as rice, we are always hungry and I often notice that my brothers and sisters often sob softly when they see other children gorging the delicious food which we find so abundantly on the roadside. Therefore, it sounds absurd when one finds in the editorial of the *Malay Tribune* such statements concerning strikers as 'it is well to

remember occasionally of responsibilities of citizenship while fighting for privileges'. If there is no free education in this country, where do the labourers learn all these fine things.

Before I end, I shall say something concerning the procession which I took part in on the 27th December. As we strikers were marching in orderly fashion to the Padang, some 300 policemen made a baton charge. I received a few knocks on the head but when the melee was over about ten of my fellow workers were lying unconscious on the ground. The Government wanted to let the General Labour Union to the Police I came to learn that the Police had tried to force the strikers to the water's edge. At that time the tide was very high. No news has since been heard of at least five of the strikers. It was because we wanted to let the Government know of our intolerable living conditions that we were on strike and so is it right for the Government to use force to quell us?"

Release the Prisoners!

It is time for the workers to make it quite clear to the Government that they were not put into power so as to do the dirty work for the capitalist class in the colonies, but to support and encourage the struggle of the colonial workers for freedom and independence.

The appeal of the Singapore workers to the British troops shows that the workers of Malaya clearly understand that the interests of the workers of all countries require that they support each other in their struggles, irrespective of the colour of their skin. That is why they appeal to the class instincts of the rank and file soldier in the British Army. Let us show the same sense of solidarity by demanding of the Government the immediate release of all the imprisoned trade-unionists in Malaya.

Cut the Bosses' Luxuries Not the Workers' Necessities!

Food cuts are threatened in Britain. This is the stark fact which faces the working class. The capitalists, in their war, have ruined and reduced to destitution and famine, great areas of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Now that their war is over, they threaten new catastrophes to the peoples of the world.

PARLIAMENTARY FOOD CRISIS

HOUSE OF COMMONS

MENU.

LUNCH

Thick Soup and Fried Snippets
Roast Chicken
Baked Potatoes
and
Brussels sprouts
Apple Fritters and Fruit Syrup
Three Rolls of Bacon Stuffed with Chicken Liver or Kidney.

the workers' standards—dried egg.

The Labour leaders in doing this have given a weapon to the Tory demagogues. The Tories utilise the very services of the Labour leaders in the capitalist's for the purpose of attempting to discredit the Labour Government. Of course, they offer no solution other than phrases to mislead the workers.

Cut Luxury Goods

The answer of the workers in factories, unions, in the housewives in the localities, must be to demand that these unnecessary cuts of essential foods

must stop. If any cuts are to be made, let them be the luxury importations of the rich—wines, cigars, caviare, etc., and if this would not be sufficient then let the capitalists give up some of their inflated war profits for the purpose of foreign exchange. The Labour Government should introduce a Bill to confiscate the gold, jewellery and other assets of the rich, which could be sold for foreign exchange. Let the rich pay for the expense of reconversion which is intended for their benefit, and not the poor who have stood the brunt of the war for six years.

The harassed housewife is worn out with constant queuing for goods which are in short supply. The rich get all they want if necessary by paying enormous sums on the black market. They lack nothing.

Set Up Committees

The workers should demand that committees appointed by unions, co-operatives, factories, housewives, and small shopkeepers should superintend the distribution of food in all localities. The big shops, restaurants and hotels, should not be allowed, as is the case today, to be crammed full of all sorts of foods in short supply. All big restaurants should be reduced to the same level as the workers' canteens. Hospitals, nursing homes, nurseries and other institutions should be priorities for any food in short supply.

R.A.F. PROTESTS Concessions Promised

By A. MAXEY

According to press reports that the Government has announced that the rate of release during the second half of the year will be increased by 250,000, but this forecast is "subject to there being no unforeseen changes in the world situation."

The strikes of protest of the R.A.F. have shown a rapid development in the methods of organisation adopted by the men.

From a loose assembly of 400 at Gibraltar last August, followed closely by an organised march of 950 at Aden, it has developed to large scale strike action involving thousands. This has demonstrated that the working class has not lost its capacity for bold action against the ever increasing strangulation of the class state machine.

As every service man knows, there are two sides to the law, one which puts him at a disadvantage and the other which primarily serves to protect the 'divine right' of the officer caste.

He is also fully aware that a thousand individual protests to the Commanding Officer would bring forth a well-known phrase: "The matter has been referred to some higher authority," and that would be the end of that.

From the very beginning there was no doubt in the minds of the men that having largely been responsible for the Labour Party's victory, their subsequent action of mass public protest would be justified, and it was not illogical to say to oneself, as most men did: "Maybe we are violating some century old class rules and regulations, but most certainly not violating the basic conception of democracy."

A further political development was revealed when they came forth with their anti-imperialist slogan "Ships for Blihty—Not for Java."

The struggle has taken on mature organisational methods and developed political perspectives, and so far the matter rests there.

The public have been informed that a panel of officers (not rankers please note) are to make an investigation. It should not be at all surprising to hear that the men decided that the "investigating body" would have to conduct the enquiry with the elected representatives of the strikers. Such an attitude would flow quite logically from the present developments. This will prevent any misunderstanding and possible intimidation on the part of the officers to seek out individuals to give evidence against the strikers.

750 R.A.F. men stationed at Aden, march in formation to present a Petition to the Governor demanding speedy demobilisation and improved conditions. The demonstration was well organised.

PARIS STRIKERS Refuse to Print Stalinist Papers

By N. BONNE

For a whole week from January 26th to February 1st, Paris was without daily newspapers. The strikers demanded a general increase in their wages, and maintained this demand in spite of the Government's decision that there was no case for allowing an infringement of the general wage-freeze rule applicable to all workers.

The printers thus struck, not so much against their individual employers, as against the Government, and the political significance of the movement was stressed by the fact that it coincided with a governmental crisis. Even the proclamations of the newly-constituted Government could not be published until several days later.

The strike finally ended with Sallant, the general-secretary of the French T.U.C., agreeing to act as arbitrator, and, failing an over-all increase in wages a number of concessions have been granted.

The strike was remarkable for its discipline and solidarity, amongst a category of workers more subject than any other to divisions based on factional party interests.

Stalinist Minister Attacks Workers

Pressure from the rank and file compelled the trade unions to give lukewarm support to the movement. They did so all the more reluctantly as the Minister of Labour, A. Croizat, happens to be a representative of the "Communist" Party.

This fact gave rise to a number of incidents which should be recorded, for they are indicative of the mood of the French workers.

The "Communist" Minister of Labour, A. Croizat—who was Minister of Labour under de Gaulle, and remains so under Guin—on the last day of the strike broadcast an appeal to the printers to return to work. He accused them of anti-patriotism and of endangering the existence of democratic resistance powers; maintained that their demands for higher wages were not justifiable when compared to the rates applicable to other workers, and concluded with a vicious attack upon the printers' attitude during the period of German occupation, accusing them of collaboration with quislings and other traitors and cynically remarking that there

had been no strikes during that whole period.

Printers Refuse to Print Stalinist Attacks

The workers rightly resented these attacks and slanders. The Strike Committee published a declaration protesting against the accusations levelled against Trade Unionists by a Minister of Labour, who is himself a trade union leader. Printers in the provinces, especially Communist workers, expressed their solidarity with the strikers.

The Communist daily paper published in Lille one day failed to appear; the printers had refused to produce it because it contained the text of the "Communist" Minister's broadcast.

In Lyons, the workers of the Communist daily refused to print a front-page caption bearing upon the printers' strike, and the management had to give in, though they published on another page a protest against this refusal.

The most spectacular incident was the appearance of the *Humanité* on February 2nd, with two large blanks on its pages; the printers had censured the articles relating to their strike.

C.P. Protests

The Executive Bureau of the Communist Party later issued a protest against the attitude of these workers, but this only serves to stress the evolution which is taking place in the relationships between the militant class-conscious workers and their traitorous leaderships. The French workers, especially the rank and file of the Communist Party are becoming conscious of the rift between their interests and the bureaucrats' policies, and even act independently and openly against the class-collaborationist decisions of their leaders.

GERMAN WORKERS PROTEST ALLIED SUPPORT OF NAZIS

BERLIN, Germany, Dec. 2.—The workers of the repair shops of the electrical construction trust have decided to hold a ten minute symbolic strike to express their solidarity with the workers in the Thyssen shops.

The Thyssen workers are on strike, protesting the fact that the Allies are systematically retaining Nazis in all posts of responsibility.

(Translated from the December 15 *La Verite*, organ of the French Trotskyists.)

FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM



Indonesian fighters for freedom from imperialist rule, many armed with sharpened bamboo poles and a few with rifles, massed at a youth meeting in Java.

DAIMLER WORKERS BACK

By Bill Hunter

On Tuesday, 12th of February, the Daimler strikers returned to work and ended one of the most important strikes that have taken place in Coventry for some time.

The decision to return was taken by an overwhelming majority of the men, whose morale and fighting spirit was as high as when they came out on strike three weeks ago. Concessions offered by the management were slight. Pending a local conference, there would be no moving machines from the Parent factory. They gave an assurance that there would be no redundancy as a result of any moving of machines that took place in the future. There would be no prices fixed pending the local conference, which in the event of a resumption, would take place on Wednesday, 13th.

So far as Browns Lane factory was concerned, where the workers had been resisting the management's attempts to pin the guaranteed minimum piece-work prices to the national agreement of 27%, the management held open an offer of a minimum of 40% on day work and 50% of the consolidated base rate, on piece-work.

Solidarity in City

A feeling of solidarity with the Daimler workers exists throughout the city. Advanced workers in Coventry have felt for weeks that a major clash was coming. The Daimler strike is only one manifestation of an explosion which has been piling up for some time. Already the Humber workers were following a go-slow policy. A few weeks ago, Singer Cars were on strike. Minor disputes inside the various workshops have been continuous.

The solidarity of Coventry's workers was shown when on Wednesday, Feb. 6th, a half-day token stoppage took place which, it is estimated, embraced eighteen factories.

At a meeting held in Pool Meadow, a resolution was passed unanimously, calling on the employers to meet the Daimler workers and failing satisfaction, pledging supporting action. Everywhere, the workers are saying: "Daimler is defeated, then it is a blow at us!" The meeting gave an impetus to collections in the factories.

Further, the demonstration of sympathy was a wonderful boost to the already high morale of the strikers. One reflection of their support in the area has been shown by the reception given to the *Socialist Appeal*, with its full report on the strike, and to the slogan of the sellers: "Unity" against the Motor Bosses."

Demands on T.U. Leaders

The workers are learning a lesson as to the role of the official trade union movement, and the necessity to end their collaboration with the bosses. Already demands are going forward within the A.E.U. for the breaking of the industrial truce and the entanglements of arbitration and "procedure". Demands were also made that the union leaders aid the strikers.

The workers were asking that the District Committee support the strike, and with memories of the Barrow Dispute, when the E.C. of the A.E.U. suspended the Barrow District Com-

NUREMBERG Russian Prosecution Silent on Trotsky—Why?

As the Nuremberg trial proceeds it becomes clearer and clearer that there is a conspiracy on the part of Allied imperialism to cover up the crimes of Stalinism in the Moscow Trials.

The Russian Prosecutor, General Rudenko, has outlined the case he intends to prove against the Nazis. Amazing details of conversations, documents, and plans of the Nazi leaders and of the German High Command were presented by Rudenko. Preparations for the attack on the Soviet Union, the detailed plan of attack, and the agreement with the Finnish General Staff all came under review. But not a word of the so-called agreement with the Soviet Generals, Lenin's co-workers, and the alleged arch-Traitor Trotsky.

At the time of the Moscow Trials the entire world press blared forth the so-called "evidence". The Stalinist parties waged a hysterical campaign against Leon Trotsky and his followers. In the name of their alleged agreements with the Nazis and the German High Command, tens of thousands were murdered and the flower of the Soviet General Staff was done to death. After their deaths, it was announced that they had been tried secretly. The reasons given for this unprecedented secrecy, was that the evidence and the documents could not be disclosed for military reasons.

But there can be no excuse now. Yet not a word. Not a whisper. Not a mention.

Secrets of General Staff

The evidence relating to Hess was introduced by the British

carlier in the trial. Full details of his conversations with the British were recorded. But in the case of Hess too, nothing was introduced to indicate the remotest connection with Trotsky.

The Russians brought in some star witnesses against the accused, Von Paulus who was created a Field-Marshal by Hitler at the time of Stalingrad, gave evidence as to the plans of the German High Command. Their most intricate secrets were revealed. Von Paulus was familiarised with all the plans for the attack on the Soviet Union. He knew all the secrets of the now famous "Green Brief Case".

General Buschenhagen was another witness for the Russian prosecution. He detailed the plans for Finland's participation in the invasion of Russia. But curiously enough, he too, knew nothing apparently of the agreement with Trotsky.

Press Silent

There could be no greater indictment of Stalinism and its methods than this silence at Nuremberg. Stalinism stands condemned as guilty of the most monstrous frame-up and the most travesty of justice ever recorded in trials of working class fighters. One would have to go back to the days of the Spanish Inquisition to find a like parallel.

(Continued on page 4.)

Letters

To the Editor,

Farm Workers Wage Demand

Dear Comrades,
Shades of Ket and Ball cast their shadows across the atmosphere of the Farmers' Union meeting in London in January. They realised that the farm workers are in deadly earnest over their wage claims and implored the Government to institute a wages policy (obviously a restricted one) in other industries, in order to try and cut the ground from under the farm-workers' feet in their fight for a living wage.

The farm workers, who are strongly organised in relation to their pre-war position, have won relative increases in wages that outdistance any other industry and are fighting strongly for their £4 10s. 0d.

There is free talk of striking, a weapon which in the hands of the farm workers, would be more potent than in any other hands. But the Labour Government has already sabotaged that possibility by condoning the continued use of approximately 100,000 P.O.W. slaves who are paid 1½d an hour. Many of these would do all they could to assist us, but as they are still under military discipline, their actions are severely restricted. They have, though, on occasions "gone slow" in order to achieve some of their demands.

The miserable pittance of the farm-worker does not only contrast with the industrial workers' wage, but what is more apparent to him, with the luxurious way of living of the farmers. The industrial workers must support the demands of the farm workers.

On to the £4 10s. 0d.! Away with the E.W.O.

Marriage to an Italian Girl

Naples, February, 1946.

Dear Friend,
I would like to give you an idea of what a soldier has to go through to obtain permission to marry a civilian girl in occupied Italy.

The soldier has first to ask his Company Sergeant Major for permission to have an interview with the Company Commander.

The soldier has to be properly dressed, shaved, etc. and on parade five minutes before the appointed time. The soldier then has to make his application and in so doing give answers to the most detailed questions: How long have you known the girl? Where does she work? Where does she live? What are her parents? etc. etc. After answering these questions, the soldier is told to make his application out in letter form giving as many details as possible, such as his army number, date of birth, home address, length of service, period of time he has been

courting the girl, parents consent, etc. etc.
From the girl the same particulars are demanded.

The soldier then hands the letter to his C.C., who hands it to the Officer Commanding the Camp. The soldier then has an interview with the O.C.C. who will ask the soldier a few questions and try to persuade him against the marriage and tell him to see the Padre to get his advice on the subject.

Probation Period

The soldier should then be posted away from his unit for the probation period which is two months (it was six). After that time, the soldier returns to his unit and renews his application for marriage, giving the same details as before and stating that it is his second application. While the probation period is on, the soldier has to obtain all the necessary forms and certificates.

The soldier also has to take his girl for an interview with the Padre. He has to obtain a letter from the girl's parish priest stating her date of birth, address, character, and also the letter must state where the girl was born, baptised and confirmed. This letter is given to the soldier's padre and filed.

Propaganda

During the interview, the Padre asks the girl questions. He also tries to persuade the parties concerned not to marry as mixed marriages are hardly ever successful, owing to language barriers and different customs etc. The girl will be thoroughly frightened by a story like this: The English will hate the Italians for a hundred years to come, because the Italians stabbed England in the back in her darkest hour. When she arrives in England she will be by herself. Everybody will know that she is Italian by her speech. Also, when she enters a shop to buy something people will move away from her and refuse to speak to her. She will not be because she cannot speak the language; even her husband will not be able to understand her properly, so her home life will not be run smoothly.

If the girl says she is willing to go through with it, the Padre will fill in a form giving his opinion and decision. This form is then forwarded to the soldier's unit.

Certain forms have then to be made out in triplicate. These are sent away to various places for examination, also a medical certificate to state that the girl is fit etc. The medical certificate must have the doctor's full address, state what certifies he holds, and where he studied, also his name must be typed under his handwritten signature.

The time a soldier has to wait after his probation period is four months, thus making the complete time six months (it used to be twelve). At the end of all this the answer might be no.

During the probation period the soldier is posted too far away from his girl to be able to see her.

After marriage comes the trouble of getting the girl brought to England.

Thus we see every obstacle is placed in the way, and every means of racial hatred and antagonism is used to prevent the marriage. This has opened my eyes a great deal and that is why I am writing to the *Socialist Appeal* in the hope that it will receive some measure of publicity.

Yours sincerely, T.P.

EDINBURGH
NATIONAL CLARION
CYCLING CLUB

LANTERN LECTURE
"SOUTH WEST CORK and THE KERRY KING"
By Wilfred Hudson
RITCHIE'S HALL,
102, KIRK GATE, LEITH.
MONDAY, 8th FEB., 7 p.m.
Admission Free. Silver Coll

Workers International News
Theoretical Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

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THE I.L.P. AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.
THE POLITICS OF THE INDIAN BOURGEOISIE.
IMPERIALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

SOCIALIST APPEALS Dance
AN EVENT YOU CANNOT AFFORD TO MISS!
Holborn Hall
Gray's Inn Rd., W.C.1.
On Friday, February 22nd
7.30 to 11 p.m.
Dance to the unrivalled Music of The Regal Orchestra
The leading ten-piece Band giving you everything from 'Jive' to Old Time Dancing!
Spot Prizes! Refreshments.
Admission 3/-

5,000 SOUTH WALES BUSMEN STRIKE

BY JOHN LAWRENCE

5,000 Welsh bus workers staged an unofficial 24-hour strike on February 6th as a protest against the long drawn out negotiations for a living wage. The stoppage was complete throughout the whole of South Wales. It was a magnificent piece of "unofficial" organisation.

The main grievance of the workers is the low wages paid in the industry. Apart from the war bonus, they remain on the pre-war level of 1/4d. per hour and only by working excessive hours under the most trying conditions can an existence wage be earned. The three Unions concerned have been negotiating over a long period for a National Wage Agreement of 2/3d. per hour for both driver and conductor and it is the long drawn out nature of these negotiations which was the immediate cause of the strike. In the words of one of the delegates to the unofficial Conference which organised the stoppage, the strike is a demonstration against the canny methods used by the employers in the negotiations.

The unofficial Delegate Conference which took the decision to strike arose out of a mass desire of the workers for closer and more militant action on the part of the three Unions involved — the N.U.R., the T. & G.W.U., and the N.U.G.M.W. About eight months ago, in Neath and other parts of South Wales, there were formed "Inter-Relations Committees" embracing the workers of different Unions and bus depots. These committees are modelled on the lines of the official Joint

Committee of the three Unions which exists among the National Executives.

ANDY CARLIN

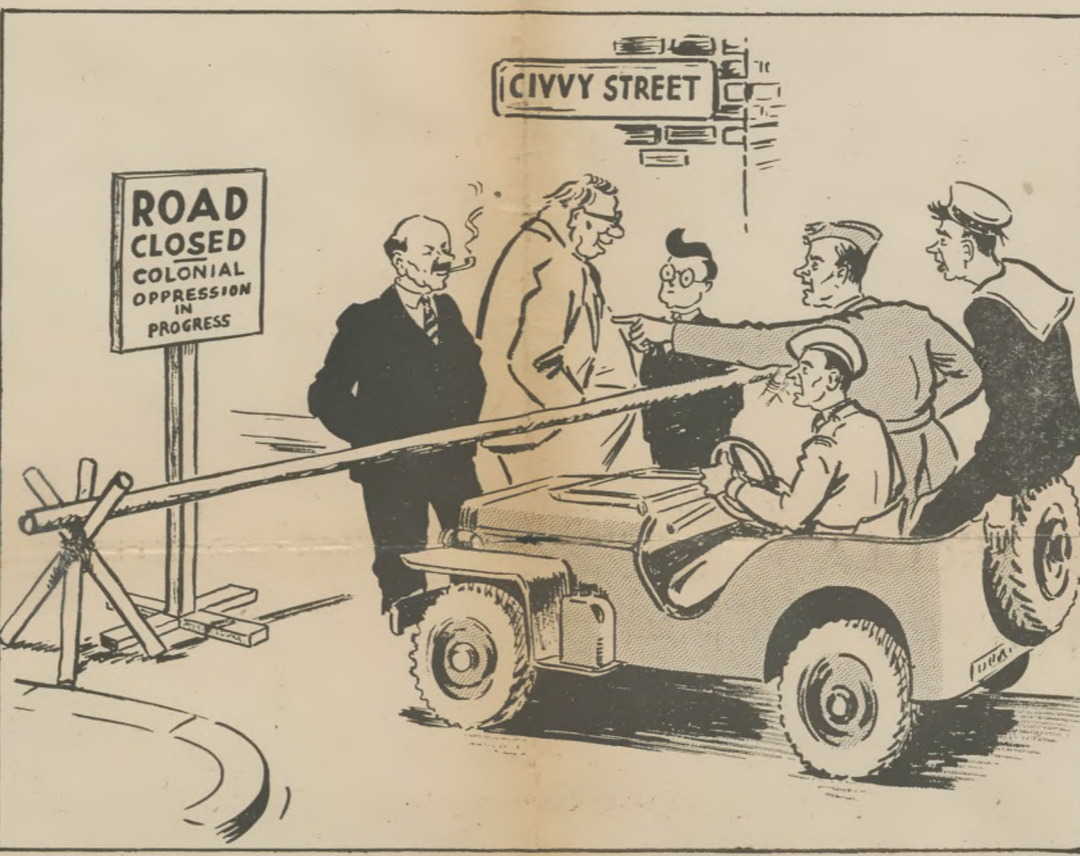
We regret to learn that Comrade Andy Carlin died suddenly in Belfast on 29th February, at the age of 56.

Comrade Carlin served his apprenticeship to the working class cause under John MacLan in Glasgow during the first World War. He was formerly a member of the I.L.P. During the last war he was one of the most outstanding militants in Belfast in the struggle for better conditions and working class rights and he was one of the leading members of the Belfast and District Shop Stewards Movement. In the General Election to the North in Ireland Parliament he was Labour candidate for the Clifton Division.

Comrade Carlin was not a Trotskyist, but he was foremost in the Labour Movement in supporting the democratic rights of our members.

So great was the response and support for this local movement that it was decided to call a South Wales and Monmouthshire Delegate Conference to discuss Joint policy and action in the district. Delegates to this Conference came from all the main bus depots as far apart as Lydney in Gloucestershire to Fishguard in Pembrokeshire. The unofficial union — the Passenger Workers Union was not invited but to the great credit of the workers in the union they came out solid in the 24-hour strike.

The struggle of the bus workers has not ended with this one day token strike in South Wales. It has only just begun. The men have demonstrated their militancy and their determination to achieve a decent living wage and have shown that they are alive to the weaknesses of the present cumbersome set-up of the Unions. Bus workers up and down the country have recently staged very similar struggles. What is now required is, in our opinion, a National link-up of bus workers committees as was done on a local scale in South Wales. Only by such united action can the struggle for a National Wage Agreement be energetically and successfully pursued.



"WE DIDN'T VOTE LABOUR FOR THAT!"

A Docker's Story

By Jack MacLoughlin
Republished from "The Portworker"

It seems a long time ago since the docks received its first visit of destruction and death, a period which, we trust, has become a memory of the past. Poplar, Custom House, Bermondsey, the whole of dockland, is marked with the scars of aerial warfare. Tilbury, too shared the horrors of war.

Rather than leave their menfolk, the women stayed behind. "Who will feed you if we go?" they cried. In spite of begging and pleading, they would not leave their homes. Then came the order for the evacuation of children. A kiss, a smile, a wave of the hand, and the Docker was alone with his thoughts, thoughts of the future, a fresh start, a safe job, freedom from the fear of want, of his family safeguarded against the misfortune of unemployment and illness.

With these thoughts he went to work with a will. His thoughts strayed to his boy, Curly sweating and fighting with the "Chindits" in Burma. He, at least, would reap the reward for their sacrifice. It's all over, thank God.

Months passed, the Docker waited and wondered, he looked in vain for the freedom and justice that was so rightfully his, and he saw his reward. "And the corporation have the right to suspend or dismiss, to allocate, to transfer, to confiscate to take action." Was this the freedom for which he had sweated blood? Decasualisation of this type of slavery and bondage, but it is your reward for your service to the nation.

I will show you of more rewards. Will you accept the filth of wet hides as a reward? Do you consider a lung-full of soda ash, lampblack or other respiratory destroyers a reward, or an attack of pneumonia, through the refusal of essential clothing, to help combat these everyday terrors? Rewards, my friends, are not for you. Your canteen system is out of date. I personally condemn the dirt, the damp, the unwashed crockery and cutlery,

I protest at the gross over-charging Dockers and Stevedores cannot work on synthetic imitations of cooking. The men at last have realised that the Port-worker is an important citizen, and demand to be treated as such.

The Docker's main asset is his hands. He has every right to offer them to the highest bidder. He desires, as a heavy industrial worker, the right to command the leisure that is rightfully his. He wants no more than he is worth. A fair day's

pay for a fair day's work, rather than the elusive intricacies of attendance pay, which, incidentally is far from the figure of the publicly advertised "Guaranteed Week."

The war years are past, the turbulent present is here; from this will emanate a campaign of thoughtful action, in which you and I shall fight to defeat the soul-destroying conditions prevalent in England's most vital industry.

You were promised Freedom and Security. Fight for it.

How well the Coal Owners may laugh at us in our hovels. To hell with compensating these ghoul's for the foul mess they have made of our villages.

There is more to be got out of life than we are getting in

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

There is an old saying that when thieves fall out, honest men come into their own. The press has preserved a conspiracy of silence on the infamous Moscow Trials and the obvious connection with the Nuremberg Trial which could prove irrefutably one way or the other the genuineness of these trials.

Because of the conflict between Britain and Russia at UNO, Michael Foot, Labour M.P., could not resist the opportunity to have a faint jibe at Vishinsky. In the *Daily Herald* of February 5th, Michael Foot wrote:

"Britain's Labour Government was challenged before the court of world opinion for a crime which it had not committed. It was good that the answer came in a voice of thunder. It will be heard better in Moscow than the simpering accents which some would have wished to employ.

Mr. Vishinsky, who has had some experience of trials, has never shown any special respect or tenderness for those who confess crimes of which they are not guilty." This is a mild thrust at the perpetrators of the crimes committed against the Old Bolsheviks at the Moscow Frame-up Trials. It would have been better, to use Michael Foot's own words, if he would have

spoken, not in "simpering accents," but "in a voice of thunder."

Significantly enough, Reg Bishop, professional defender of the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy and of the Moscow Trials, answers Foot in the *Daily Worker* of February 7th, yet does not dare to so much as mention this pointed indictment of Vishinsky. On this point he chooses to remain silent.

The reason? It would be too awkward if the readers of the *Daily Worker* started asking why the accusations against the Old Bolsheviks as being agents of the Nazis are not being raised at the Nuremberg Trial.

The *Sunday Observer* too, in defence of British imperialism's interests, took the opportunity of writing an indictment of Vishinsky, the ex-Menshevik, as the "Grand Inquisitor" who as Prosecutor in Chief, played the principal role in annihilating the Bolshevik Old Guard. The *Observer* too, goes so far, but no further, in the interests of British imperialist diplomacy.

The *Observer* will take a crack at Vishinsky, but in the interests of historical truth, is not prepared to demand that the "evidence" be examined at Nuremberg.

The *Daily Worker* has chosen to ignore this attack too. The silence is eloquent.

Readers! Come to Our Aid

Comrades and supporters of the *Socialist Appeal*:

You will see from this issue of our paper that we have changed the style of heading and the layout. This makes it possible to make improvements in the make-up and to produce a more attractive paper.

But to introduce these improvements costs money — that is why we are once again appealing to you to send us cash contributions to the "S.A." Fighting Fund.

We need £250 in two months and a minimum of £50 a month to keep the "Socialist Appeal" on a sound footing.

You know the importance of the *Socialist Appeal* in the life of the British working class. You know that it was the only journal of the working class which consistently and courageously presented the true picture of working class conditions and

their economic and political struggles against the capitalists during the whole course of the war. You know that it is the only journal of revolutionary Marxism in Britain at the present time.

In the past you have sent us the money we needed when we appealed to you. And we are sure that you will not fail us. To our supporters and sympathisers therefore, we issue this urgent appeal: "Don't put off sending that cash contribution till tomorrow or the day after. Do it now." As soon as you read this issue of the *Socialist Appeal* make your maximum contribution towards that target of

£250

Send your contributions to:
Norah Hill,
256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

OUR HOUSE

By Tom Baylis

"Ours is a nice house ours is". Remember the old song? Well, let me tell you exactly what a nice house ours is. 41, Marlborough Road, ABER-TILLERY, South Wales, is described as a "dwelling house" — in fact it is a hell of a house. There is a 9 ft. crack in the front bedroom wall 3 inches thick; a 6 ft. crack of the same thickness in the back bedroom wall; two bedroom ceilings with bellies like Epstein's Genesis; two of the windows are shut and cannot be opened while the other two are open and cannot be shut! The back kitchen and passage floors are "spoked" so that all floors are jammed and another crack 7 ft. long, in the front room acts as our barometer! Separating us from our neighbours at the back is a 9 ft. brick wall which outrivals the tower at Pisa for its "leanability". To our neighbours it constitutes a danger to life and limb for it leans their way.

And this is one of the "good" houses in Abertillery. Many are far worse. A stranger walking up the main road in Six Bells may be forgiven for thinking that the builders had been imbibing the famous beverage of the local Beer Baron on whose land the houses are built.

The stark tragedy of Mining Subsidence is not realized in parts of the country unaffected or, shall I say, uninfested with Mines. Working class scrapings and savings bound up in useless rubble which were once houses and homes, and are now living tombs, a danger to the health of the community. No one knows better the tragedy of this than our Labour M.P., George Daggar, who has persistently agitated and striven for Government recognition of this problem, but has it occurred to Mr. Daggar that when he supports compensating the Coal Owners, he is compensating not only the people who ruined the Mining Industry but also the people who ruined our houses.

How well the Coal Owners may laugh at us in our hovels. To hell with compensating these ghoul's for the foul mess they have made of our villages.

There is more to be got out of life than we are getting in

1. Nationalisation, of the Bank of England, the Big Five Banks and land, the mines, transport and all big industry without compensation; and the operation of these enterprises under the control of workers' committees.

2. Confiscation of all war profits; all company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers' committees to counter the financial and economic sabotage of Big Business.

3. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers' goods in short supply under the control of committees elected from the co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shop-keepers.

4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants' committees; a state financial national house-building plan directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees.

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

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

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

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

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

these valleys. Agitate now for a full Socialist Programme. Support the Revolutionary Communist Party who have come to our valleys with the programme that matters — the stainless banner of the Fourth International which points the way to our full emancipation.

Revolutionary Communist Programme

- 1. Nationalisation, of the Bank of England, the Big Five Banks and land, the mines, transport and all big industry without compensation; and the operation of these enterprises under the control of workers' committees.
- 2. Confiscation of all war profits; all company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers' committees to counter the financial and economic sabotage of Big Business.
- 3. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers' goods in short supply under the control of committees elected from the co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shop-keepers.
- 4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants' committees; a state financial national house-building plan directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees.
- 5. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum and full maintenance for the unemployed; turnover of Government and other war plants to the production of consumers' goods; a sliding scale of hours to absorb the unemployed without wage reductions.
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- 9. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; full economic co-operation, credit grants and other aid for the reconstruction of Soviet economy.
- 10. Full and immediate freedom for India and the other colonies to choose their own form of government; the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.
- 11. Against secret diplomacy and a peace of vengeance and plunder; against race hatred—anti-semitism, Vansittartism and the colour bar; for the withdrawal of British troops from Europe and Asia and for a peace based upon the self-determination of the peoples of Europe, Asia and the World.
- 12. Full support and active co-operation with the European workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the United Socialist States of Europe; unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for World Socialism.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Editorial

Vishinsky at UNO

The real nature of UNO was laid bare in the disputes between Bevin and Vishinsky—between British Imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Bevin wished to exert pressure on Russia—having failed at the Moscow Conference of the Three Powers—to restrain the Stalinist bureaucracy from establishing control in Northern Persia. The motives of Britain were transparent. In pretending to stand for the rights of small nations, what Bevin really expressed was the indignation of the British imperialists in being thrust aside and replaced by the Stalinist bureaucracy as the dominant power in Persia—so rich in oil and strategic position for the Middle East.

VISHINSKY'S HYPOCRISY

Vishinsky's reply was not at all that of a Bolshevik. In covering up the repacious policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which is seeking guarantees against its Allies and looks for economic advantage at the expense of the Persian people, Vishinsky replied by pointing to the crimes of British imperialism in Greece and Indonesia. Thus, he did not justify his own policy, but said: You are doing the same elsewhere!

Both Bevin and Vishinsky are right in this. And in this quarrel the whole cynical game of power politics, which is the basis of UNO, is clearly exposed.

Bevin's reply to the accusations was to launch a thunderous attack on the policy of Soviet diplomacy. He revealed the hypocrisy of Vishinsky's hollow indignation and its clear implication that if Bevin drops Persia, Vishinsky will drop Greece. Bevin pointed out, correctly, that Russia had regarded with equanimity and indifference the brutal war of aggression by the British in Greece and Indonesia. You never objected before, he said. Stalin agreed with our policy in Greece at the time. There is no sincerity in your protestations. The implication was clear that Vishinsky was using the situation, as a convenient counter-weight to Bevin's charges, and not at all because he was concerned with the fate of the Indonesian and Greek people.

BEVIN'S QUISLINGS

Bevin produced his Quislings from Greece, who protested that they wanted the British there for law and order, for peace and security! No doubt Hitler could have got his quislings—Vichy and others to make similar proclamations.

Of course, the imperialists of America, and the satellites of Britain backed British imperialism against the Soviet Union in a resolution which would have whitewashed her. Thereupon, Vishinsky threatened to use the vote of the Soviet Union. The face of UNO threatened to fall to pieces—even at this first, secondary conflict between the powers.

HAND SHAKES — AND POLICY CONTINUES

Desperate efforts were made to solve the crisis behind the scenes. The upshot: the former antagonists, shook hands with great fervour. Vishinsky dropped his synthetic indignation over the Greek and Indonesian workers and peasants. Britain continues her policy of brutal suppression. Bevin in turn, has sadly recognised the accomplished fact of the domination of North Persia by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Quite probably, a secret agreement to protect British imperialist interests in South Persia has been concluded.

If it served no other purpose, this crisis has been sufficient to reveal in the eyes of all intelligent workers the real aims of the great powers at UNO. That is one of the reasons why, the protagonists in this dispute have patched up an agreement. There was a danger that the working classes might see the impotence of UNO as a force for genuine peace and security.

NO FUTURE FOR UNO

This was a crisis over a secondary conflict. The moment that a really serious and major conflict divides the powers in their search for spheres of influence, strategic positions against one another, UNO will break up into its component parts. The right of veto of the Great Powers makes it even more of a caricature of world government than the League of Nations.

To find peace and security in the world, the working class cannot rely upon agreements between the imperialist blocs and the Stalinist bureaucracy. They can rely only upon the force of the world working class leading to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Socialist world.

Cape Town Election

With the support of the African Voters Association, and on the programme of the Cape Town Fourth International Group, Z. Gamiet Official candidate of the Kensington Peoples' Action Committee got 356 votes in the Cape Town City Ward elections, against a big capitalist and segregationist candidate, I. Albrow, who polled 2,024 votes.

One-sixth of the votes were thus given to the programme of Zayed Gamiet. An analysis of the votes show that Comrade Gamiet won the majority of the non-European votes, who voted

in their entirety for democratic rights, against segregation and expropriation, for unity between African, coloured and Indian. This is the first time in Cape Town that the programme of the Fourth International has stood in the elections against the reactionary and semi-fascist programme of big business. The results demonstrate the developing political consciousness of the non-European workers. The 356 votes were cast for a revolutionary programme. A test has been made, and both organisationally and politically our comrades have gained in the contest.

Belgian Trotskyists Unite

A joint statement by the P.C.R. (Revolutionary Communist Party of Belgium) and the G.C.I. (International Communist Group) announces the fusion of these parties into one organisation. Starting by recalling the foundation of the Communist Party 25 years ago, in order to fight the reformist and chauvinist policies of the Socialist Party, it outlines the degeneration of the Communist Party under Stalinist control, until today it stands in the complete position of class collaboration.

The manifesto continues, "For the approaching workers' struggles, for the proletarian offensive which could be decisive, a new revolutionary leadership must be built, a new and genuine communist party."

Since 1938 there have been two Trotskyist organisations in Belgium: the P.C.R., section of the Fourth International, and the G.C.I. (Against the Stream). These two organisations have now decided to fuse. This fusion is an important step forward on the road of constructing a new revolutionary party.

The Trotskyist Party, whose central organ will be called *La Lutte Ouvrière* (The Workers' Struggle) will carry the name Internationalist Communist Party (P.C.I.). There could be nothing better than this name to distinguish it as against the nationalist and jingoist Communist Party.

But the unification of the two Trotskyist tendencies is only a first step forward. Tomorrow, hundreds and thousands of Socialist militants and honest Communists will join its ranks. Tomorrow the working youth, which today is full of disgust and hatred for the traitorous "workers'" leaders, will find the road of the P.C.I., of genuine communism.

Today, when we unite our own forces we turn to these militants and this youth. We say to them: it is high time to break with these parties. It is high time to participate in the political struggle of the working class.

Soon, in Belgium, as throughout the world, the waves of the revolutionary upsurge will rise. To assure their victory you must rally under the Party's banner, the banner of communism, the banner of the Revolution.

TRIBUTE TO NICOLA

The funeral of Nicola, leader of our Italian Party, demonstrated the love and respect in which he was held by all sections of the Italian Labour movement. Despite the lack of publicity, there marched behind his bier, over 500 workers, representing, besides the Trotskyist Party, the Socialist Party, Anarchists and the Communist Party. Each grouping carried their respective banner.

Had the news of the funeral been more widely circulated, there would, without doubt, have been present representatives from the Unions of Naples, with whom Nicola had worked, to pay their last respects to him.

The Labour Government has now presented its most ambitious and embracing Social Security scheme. No more do we have to worry about our future, we are told, for everything is being taken care of in a manner never before attempted. Unemployment may become something like a pleasure; old age a period to look forward to as the twilight of our lives approach. We only have to read the respectable *Daily Sketch* to see that—

"Unless a man or woman is paid in the future roughly some £3 a week, they may prefer to make some excuse for continuing themselves with the State payment for the unemployed, which will amount to about the same figure. State payment for doing nothing will become widespread. . . . This Bill is clearly intended to pick the pockets of the rich to secure the welfare of the poor."

Mr. Griffiths has also made the claim that this is the best Bill of its kind to be published anywhere at any time. Overwhelmed with such a volume of praise, we feel compelled to make a journey into the Britain of a few years hence, where, from the windows of our prefab (or patched up) house, we can see this all-embracing Social Security scheme in actual operation.

Is It An Increase?

If we are unemployed or sick, we will receive 26/- a week. At the present time we receive 18/- if sick, and 24/- if out of work. Thus it appears as an increase. When we examine the question however, we find a somewhat different picture. The official cost-of-living figures reveal that since 1939, the cost of living has gone up by nearly 33%. If we wanted to buy goods which cost 18/- in 1939, we need at least

STALIN VERSUS MARX

BY TED GRANT

A SIGNIFICANT SPEECH WAS DELIVERED BY GREGORI ALEKSANDROV, AT THE LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING IN MOSCOW. ALEKSANDROV IS THE CHIEF OF THE PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST (STALINIST) PARTY. PRESENT AT HIS SPEECH WERE THE ELITE OF THE BUREAUCRACY AND ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU.

In this speech he openly proclaimed a revision of the fundamental doctrines of Marxism-Leninism on the state.

Aleksandrov's Speech

"Theories developed by Marx in the middle of the nineteenth century could not be accepted unchanged by Lenin. Lenin developed the idea that Marxists could not regard the theory of Marx as inviolable, and that that theory must constantly absorb the new experience of history and exert a transforming influence on the development of society. He accurately foresaw that the forces of reaction abroad would attempt to destroy the Socialist Soviet Union.

The establishment of a powerful and flourishing Socialist land had been possible only, the speaker explained, because the theory of building a Socialist society in a single country was put into effect. There were two aspects of this policy. There were internal obstacles to be swept away and dangers from abroad to be met. Today there is a force within the Soviet Union capable of preventing the further development of Socialism and its gradual transition to Communism. Vigilance against attack from without had necessitated the rejection of the Marxist theory of the withering away of the State, based on the assumption of international Socialism and the adoption of the Stalin theory of building a strong State with a powerful army and its own military science capable of winning in war and achieving the military and diplomatic consolidation of victory."

The *Times*, Feb. 1st, 1946. Here, in a finished form, is that vulgarisation of the ideas of Marxism against which Lenin fought all his life. The attempt to drag Lenin in as an opponent of Karl Marx is a vilification of the memory of the orthodox Marxist. Lenin fought his whole life against the narrow, nationalist conception of "socialism in one country."

Stalin's Previous Position

Stalin himself wrote in 1924, in his book "Foundations of Leninism": this of course, before he said exactly the reverse:

"Can we succeed and secure the definitive victory of Socialism in one country without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? Most certainly not. The efforts of a single country are enough to overthrow the bourgeoisie; this is what the history of our revolution proves. But for the definite triumph of Socialism, the organisation of socialist production, the efforts of one country alone are not enough, particularly of an

essentially rural country like Russia; the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are needed. So the victorious revolution in one country has for its essential task to develop and support the revolution in others. So it ought not to be considered as of independent value, but as an auxiliary, a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries."

"Theory and Practice of Leninism," issued by the C.P.G.B., 1925.

Fruits of "Socialism in One Country"

This theory of "Socialism in one country" has been shown to be false both internally and externally. The Communist International, from being an instrument of revolution, was reduced to an instrument of foreign policy for the Soviet bureaucracy. Thus, as a consequence, the revolution in other countries met disaster after disaster and because of this, inevitably resulted in war on the Soviet Union. Today the Communist International has been thrown into the dustbin.

The victory of the Soviet Union in war does not solve the basic problems of the Soviet Union. The policy of Stalin is preparing inevitably a third world war. All the efforts of Stalinism to gain "military" and "diplomatic consolidation" against her allies—"Britain and America, will in the end result in the same disaster as did the Stalin-Hitler pact. As Lenin so clearly pointed out, war will continue so long as capitalism exists in the rest of the world. Thus, the theory of "socialism in one country" far from building socialism free from interference, prepares new and greater catastrophes for the Russian and world working class.

Socialism Needs no State

Stalinism cannot show a single line in Lenin which would justify the rejection of the Marxist theory of the withering away of the state. Just the contrary. Lenin's little masterpiece *State and Revolution* categorically refutes this revisionism. The argument that a strong state is necessary because of the danger of intervention from without is palpably false. If socialism really had been achieved in the Soviet Union, there could be no question of intervention on the part of the capitalist world. On the contrary, the capitalists would be powerless economically, militarily and politically in the face of a socialist society. This could be because socialism would achieve such an enormous development of the productive forces that America's vast productive facilities would seem puny by comparison.

Such a system, far from requiring an enormously strengthened

state, as Lenin taught in the above mentioned work, would need no state at all. The necessity of the state does not arise from the danger of military intervention—but from the inequalities within society, and to regulate the antagonisms that arise from these inequalities. Lenin called the state a capitalist survival. Far from seeing the need for a constant strengthening of the state and of the army, Marx and Lenin expounded the idea of the "armed people" replacing the standing army, pouring scorn on the opportunists and the Mensheviks who argued the need for a military caste and a civil bureaucracy standing above the people.

Lenin would have stood aghast at such a revision, even in the early stages of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We quote from Lenin:

Lenin on the State

"The proletariat needs the state—this is repeated by all the opportunists, social-chauvinists and Kautskyists, who assure us that this is what Marx taught. They 'forget', however, to add that, in the first place, the proletariat, according to Marx, needs only a state which is withering away, i.e. a state which is so constituted that it begins to wither away immediately, and cannot but wither away; and secondly, the workers need a state, i.e. the proletariat organised as the ruling class."

The state is a special organisation of force; it is the organisation of violence for the suppression of some class. What class must the proletariat suppress? Naturally, the exploiting class only, i.e. the bourgeoisie. The toilers need the state only to overcome the resistance of the exploiters, and only the proletariat can direct this suppression and bring it to fulfilment, for the proletariat is the only class that is thoroughly revolutionary, the only class that can unite all the toilers and the exploited in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, in completely displacing it."

(*State and Revolution*, page 168 Collected Works, Lenin was not satisfied with explaining how the State would wither away under Socialism, but laid down concrete measures, not for socialism to be noted, but even for the establishment of a workers' state—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The workers, having conquered political power, will break up the old bureaucratic apparatus, they will shatter it to its foundations, until not one stone is left upon another; and they will replace it with a new one consisting of these same workers and employees. AGAINST whose transformation into bureaucrats measures will at once be undertaken, as

pointed out in detail by Marx and Engels: (1) not only electiveness, but also instant recall; (2) payment no higher than that of ordinary workers; (3) immediate transition to a state of things when ALL fulfil the functions of control and superintendence, so that ALL become 'bureaucrats' for a time, and NO ONE, therefore, can become a 'bureaucrat'."

The Stalinist State

Not a single one of these conditions is in existence in Russia today. The Soviets have been abolished and a parliament—without the advantages of bourgeois democracy—free elections of contending parties and candidates has taken their place. Instead of the dissolution of the army into the armed people, we have a caste of privileged military bureaucrats living on higher standards in relation to the Russian soldiers than even the generals in the capitalist countries in relation to their rank and file. The rule of no payment for officials higher than that of a worker was long ago abolished. And high state officials and bureaucrats have greater differences with the people in privileges and wages than even in the capitalist countries. "The functions of control and superintendence" have long ago disappeared and an all-powerful caste of bureaucrats in state and factory orders the workers' lives.

As if to make quite certain of answering traitors such as Stalin and Aleksandrov in advance, Lenin had written, "The possibility of such destruction (of bureaucracy—E.G.) is assured by the fact that Socialism will shorten the working day, raise the masses to new life, create such conditions for the majority of the population as to enable everybody, without exception, to perform 'state functions', and this will lead to a complete withering away of every state in general."

"The more democratic the 'state' consisting of armed workers, which is 'no longer a state in the proper sense of the word', the more rapidly does every state begin to wither away."

Open Break with Marxism

Thus we see that Lenin's position is just the opposite to that of Stalin and his mouthpiece Aleksandrov. To attempt to separate Marx from Lenin is to betray all the teachings of Leninism, in the name of Lenin. Stalin, the anti-Marxist, for the first time here openly proclaims his break with Marxism through one of the stooges. Up to now the Stalinists have made a pretence of basing themselves on the Marxist theory of the state. For years they have slandered and vilified Trotsky because he foretold the inevitable break with Marxism. This open break will make the road considerably easier for the Trotskyist movement in its approach to members of the Communist Parties who suffer from illusions that Stalinism is Marxism.

The break with Lenin's internationalism led to the theory of "socialism in one country." This in its turn has led now to the open break with Marxism on the question of the state. This fundamental breach with the ideas of Marx and Lenin prepares the way for the complete abandonment of any pretence of standing on the programme of Bolshevism, which was always based on the teachings of Marx.

Now that the danger of military intervention has receded into the background, the workers, especially the youth of the Soviet Union will be asking, even if in muffled tones, why the Marxist and Leninist theory is not working out; what need is there for the highly paid generals and bureaucrats in the army and civilian life? The workers will be saying: Isn't it about time that they, who have lorded over us for the past 20 years, should start to make themselves scarce and "wither away?"

SOCIAL SECURITY or INSECURITY?

BY JIM HINCHCLIFFE

The Labour Government has now presented its most ambitious and embracing Social Security scheme. No more do we have to worry about our future, we are told, for everything is being taken care of in a manner never before attempted. Unemployment may become something like a pleasure; old age a period to look forward to as the twilight of our lives approach. We only have to read the respectable *Daily Sketch* to see that—

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Mr. Griffiths has also made the claim that this is the best Bill of its kind to be published anywhere at any time. Overwhelmed with such a volume of praise, we feel compelled to make a journey into the Britain of a few years hence, where, from the windows of our prefab (or patched up) house, we can see this all-embracing Social Security scheme in actual operation.

If we are unemployed or sick, we will receive 26/- a week. At the present time we receive 18/- if sick, and 24/- if out of work. Thus it appears as an increase. When we examine the question however, we find a somewhat different picture. The official cost-of-living figures reveal that since 1939, the cost of living has gone up by nearly 33%. If we wanted to buy goods which cost 18/- in 1939, we need at least

24/- today. Thus, even from an official point of view, the increase is very VERY slight! Furthermore, when we take into consideration the fact that the contributions have jumped from 1-11d to 4/7d. (2 1/2 times as much) we can see that the average worker is certainly not being given anything!

We are well aware that the official cost-of-living figures are hopelessly incorrect: the Labour and Trade Union leaders themselves have condemned them in the past. Sir John Anderson, ex-Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is hardly likely to exaggerate on questions of this nature, stated that the £ 1 is today worth only 3/6. IF WE WERE TO ACCEPT THIS ESTIMATE, THE PROPOSED GRANTS, ETC., REPRESENT A DECREASE, AND NOT AN INCREASE AT ALL.

When we consider the main rates which the workers will receive, we can see how totally inadequate they are. A married man with one child is expected to live on £2 9s. 6d. a week, a sum which equals only 2/5d. per day per person—and that is on the assumption that you pay the rent out of savings made whilst working! Is there anyone who can consider this to be sufficient to live on?

The maternity benefits are of a similar character. The wife who does not go out to work will receive £4 grant plus £4 over a period of 4 weeks to pay for domestic help. If the woman is usually compelled to work for her living, due to her husband's low wages, etc., she will receive £4 plus 36/- a week for 13 weeks on the condition that she stays away from work. What kind of benefits are these which never exceed the measly sum of 5s. a day?

The Pensions Scandal

The most scandalous aspect of the proposals is to be found in the section relating to pensions.

It would appear on the surface to be a really tremendous improvement—from £1 for an old couple to £2 2s. 0d.—and it cannot be denied that it does represent an improvement—but only a very slight one. Even under the old scheme, the old-age pensioners had the right to claim numerous supplementary grants, which in most cases made the total income never less than 37/-, assuming a rent of 6/- a week. Thus the new proposals only represent an increase of 5/- a week at the most, omitting the increasing cost-of-living which wipes out the benefit of such an increase almost completely. Considering the sum as it stands however, is 42/- a sum which can keep two people in even moderate comfort?

It may be argued that the pensioners will be able to receive the same supplementary grants as at present, and consequently will receive very much more. This however, is not the case. As Mr. Griffiths pointed out in the House of Commons:

"The benefits provided by this Bill may reduce the need (!) for supplementation, but the power to make supplementary awards remains untouched. We can consequently see that the pensioners will be made to suffer reductions in supplementary payments which will to a large extent offset the proposed increases."

Means Test Remains

Neither does the scheme eliminate the notorious Means Test against which the Labour movement has fought for so long. For every 1/- the old-age pensioner earns above 20/- a week, a corresponding amount will be deducted from his pension. Thus he receives no benefit from any sum he may earn between £1 and £2 6s. per week. For those workers who may think that our criticisms are

unjustified, let us quote the opinions of such Labour M.P.s as Mrs. Ridehalgh, who asked the question:

"I would like to ask whether anyone in this House could run a home on 42/- a week—49/6d. if there is a child. I know I would not like to try," and she later remarked— "I could not conceive—because we had a Socialist Government with people in it who actually know the needs of the workers—a figure of less than 50/- plus 10/- for the child."

Who Pays For It?

The position is that the workers are not only paying 4/7d. a week for the Social Security scheme, but an additional 4d. for Workmen's Compensation, making a total of 4/11d. a week. In return they are receiving benefits which are only 2/- above the present grants for which they pay the relatively small sum of 1/11d. When William Beveridge reassured the rich that his scheme would not touch them at all but would really mean a redistribution of income amongst the working class, he was perfectly correct. This scheme, which in all essentials is the same as the Beveridge Plan, throws the main burden onto the shoulders of the workers and leaves the rich practically untouched.

The workers must not rest content with these paltry "concessions". They must exert pressure upon the Government to carry out Labour's original programme; to demand that every worker be entitled to work or FULL MAINTENANCE; that their wives and children be granted full and ample allowances. Labour now has no excuse for not operating such a programme, and the workers must agitate through every Labour and Trade Union channel for the implementing of these demands.

I stake my life!
BY LEON TROTSKY
DEWEY REPORT on the Moscow Trials



MINERS AND DEPUTIES CALCUTTA SHOOTING DAIMLER STRIKE

UNITE BY HEATON LEE

A public meeting organised by the No. 11 panel of the Yorkshire area of the National Union of Miners jointly with the Yorkshire Deputies Association, was held in Doncaster on Sunday 27th January.

This is the first occasion in many years that Miners and Deputies representatives have held a joint meeting. Its purpose was to expose and to initiate a joint struggle against the newly-formed Yorkshire Association of Colliery Officials and Staff, a company Union organised by a Mr. Hunter the Managing Director of the Doncaster Amalgamated Collieries. Some 800 miners and colliery officials attended the meeting.

Intimidation Alleged

Speaking at the invitation of the organisers of the meeting, Mr. Smart, District Organiser of the Clerical and Administrative Workers Union alleged that Hunter had intimidated clerks preventing them from joining the C. & A.W.U. and urging them to join Y.A.C.O.S. The C. & A.W.U. was not recognised by the Employers Federation and that at this moment they were conducting a campaign for recognition. In Barnsley colliery clerks, members of the C. & A.W.U. had given strike notice to the employers to enforce recognition of the union. The strike had been temporarily averted but would come off shortly unless recognition was granted.

The General Secretary of the Yorkshire Deputies Association was the next speaker. He related how, after the defeat of the Miners strikes in 1921 the employers had almost smashed the Y.D.A. by buying over large sections of the deputies. This was done by introducing the Colliery Officials Mutual Benefit Society. The members of the society contributed 2/6 weekly and the employers contributed 3/6 weekly in return for certain benefits. One of the rules of the C.O.M.B.S. was that no member of the C.O.M.B.S. could be a member of a union.

Miners and Deputies Unite

At this meeting for the first time in many years representatives of the Miners and of the Deputies were united on the same platform to expose and oppose the danger from boss-class stooge organisations. In

itself this was an indication of the movement of the deputies away from the bosses and in the direction of the miners.

Deputies were demanding that they should be freed of the responsibility for discipline and production and be made responsible for safety only. This action would in itself increase production by cutting down the accident rate which is the highest in British industry.

He appealed to the younger deputies who were not caught up in the meshes of the C.O.M.B.S. to join their own union, the Y.D.A.

A representative of the Colliery Officials and Staffs Association (C.O.S.A.), a Union affiliated to the T.U.C., which was the recognised union catering for technical staff, also addressed the meeting at the invitation of the Panel.

Resolution Adopted

A resolution adopted by the No. 11 Panel which is to be circulated throughout the branches under their jurisdiction was read at the meeting as follows: "The Doncaster Panel of the N.U.M. representing over 30,000 miners, urge the deputies and clerks in the Doncaster coalfields to join the Yorkshire Deputies Association the Clerical and Administrative Workers Union, or other appropriate Union."

"We promise full support to any person or group of persons who are interfered with by any person or group of persons from joining their appropriate Trade Union."

An attempt by Hunter and an organised group of his hoodlums to discredit the platform failed miserably. The demand for democratic consideration and the privilege to speak by Hunter, who refuses the elementary democratic rights to members of C.O.M.B.S. was correctly rejected by the chair.

Miners and Deputies Unite

No 11 Panel are to be congratulated for the fine gesture they have made.

supposedly made in order to safeguard democracy and freedom. The people of Malaya have struggled for many years to attain this freedom.

This freedom has been denied us by the B.M.A. and following their refusal to grant unconditional release of the above mentioned prisoners we have been forced to call a General Strike on 29th January, 1946, until our demands are met.

BRITISH SERVICEMEN

In the very near future you may be forced to fire on unarmed and innocent people who are struggling for their democratic rights.

The Malayan people have fought for many years for their freedom and, during the present war (backed by promises of freedom and prosperity. With the assurances of the Atlantic Charter which was to give all people the right to freedom and choice of governments) they have fought magnificently against the Japanese military machine, only to find that now the promises are not fulfilled.

British Troops—you came out here to fight against fascist aggression and now the B.M.A. wants you to do the same despicable work.

We appeal to you as class brothers to refuse to act as Fascist Troops.

Demonstrate your International solidarity with us by refusing to fire on unarmed people.

Support our General Strike for elementary human rights.

In your struggle for a speedier demobilisation we give you our support.

With fraternal greetings, COMMITTEE OF SINGAPORE ALL LABOURERS OF ALL NATIONALITIES. 28th January, 1946

PROPOSALS TO THE B.M.A.

1. The immediate release of the above-named persons.
2. The seizure of the People's properties by the Police and the Government to be returned immediately.
3. The assurance of the B.M.A. that similar happenings will not occur again in the future.

ELECTION PROGRAMME Of Our Belgian Comrades

Our comrades of the International Communist Party (Trotskyists) alone, offer the workers a consistent programme of transitional measures whose application would open up the road for a truly Socialist government. In spite of its present numerical weakness, the Belgian section of the Fourth International is presenting its list of candidates in the forthcoming elections and calling upon the workers to indicate their determination to sweep away reformism and Stalinism and apply revolutionary measures for the solution of their problems.

Although all parties are allowed use of the radio during the election campaign, only our Belgian section has been refused. Our party has sent a cable to the Director General of the I.N.R., asking that democratic rights be granted to our comrades during the election.

We reproduce below a translation of the International Communist Party's election manifesto:

"The Trotskyist voice must be heard in Parliament!"

Workers,

Not a single voice was raised in Parliament against the wage-freeze Regulation. Not a single voice denounced the Civil Mobilisation. Not a single voice denounced the Monarchy, this centuries-old bulwark of anti-working-class reaction. Not a single voice has protested against the Massacre of Colonial Peoples. Why?

Because there were no longer any true workers' representatives. Because the Communist Party which courageously defended the workers' cause after the last war, has now also become a governmental party.

But outside Parliament, the voice of the Trotskyists was heard, clamouring against all anti-working-class policies.

The Trotskyist papers have protested against the freezing of wages, against civil mobilisation. They have shown the way for a struggle against the monarchy. The employers compelled Van Acker (The "Socialist" Prime Minister, Ed.) to smother their voice by forbidding the publication of their organs.

The Trotskyist leaders, our comrades Davister in Charleroi, Malengreau in the Borinage, Bougard in the Centre, Dorremans in Antwerp, were the only ones to defend with all their might the workers on strike, whilst reformists and Stalinists were helping the employers to strangle the strikes with the slogan "Production first!"

The Trotskyist Party alone has called upon the workers to demonstrate their solidarity with the colonial peoples, with our German class-brothers in the mines. Whereas it had valiantly fought Nazi imperialism during the four years of occupation and lost more than 20 of its militants and leaders at the hands of the Gestapo, it now suffers from the blows of "democratic" repression, because it has remained true to the communist slogan: "Workers Of All Lands, Unite!"

The Trotskyist Voice

which is the voice of unreconcilable class struggle, has become the voice of the striking miners and metal workers, in opposition to the bureaucrats, the voice of all the class-conscious workers throughout the country.

This Voice must be heard in Parliament!

You will send a Trotskyist Deputy to Parliament on February 17th, in order that a true communist voice may once more be heard there.

Your vote will give the International Communist Party the most brilliant revenge. Persecuted by the Gestapo and the Belgian "Security", more slandered than any working-class militants ever have been, having remained for years isolated as the vanguard of their class, the Trotskyists have paid dearly for their unshakable loyalty to the workers' cause.

On February 17th, your vote will demonstrate to the whole country that you are in complete solidarity with their struggle against capitalism, for the Communist Revolution!

Your vote will demonstrate that you are gathering behind the banner of the Fourth International, the banner of the only existing International.

The Fourth.

On February 17th, you will vote for the candidates of the International Communist Party, in order that the workers' voice may once more be heard in Parliament and, over the heads of the bourgeois representatives and their accomplices, call upon the toiling masses in the whole country to fight:

- For the sliding scale of wages and uniform old-age pensions!
- For workers' control over production and prices!
- For nationalisation without indemnities or purchase!
- For the immediate abolition of the monarchy!
- For a government of the working-class parties and trade unions!

FOR THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION! Trotskyist Candidates

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I enclose £.....s.....d. for the above paper/papers. (Strike out which is not required).

Subscriptions should be addressed to: Business Manager, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

The Calcutta workers have staged demonstrations against the sentence of seven years imprisonment on Captain Abdul Rashid, who served in the "Indian National Army".

The hatred of British imperialism—the resentment of the Indian masses against the regime of famine, exploitation and repression it has imposed on the Indian people for centuries, is manifested in these demonstrations. So great is their hatred of British rule that they regard Abdul Rashid as a patriot who tried to strike a blow for Indian freedom.

As always in India, the police resorted to armed force and brutal repression. They opened fire 14 times on unarmed demonstrators, killing 14 persons and injuring about 200. But so great is the anger, that even these brutal methods did not suffice to control the enraged workers.

The indiscriminate firing of the police had the opposite effect to what was intended. It did not intimidate the masses, but made them more determined to demonstrate their strength against the crimes of British imperialism.

Hindus and Moslem workers demonstrated in solidarity side by side. So unanimous was the feeling in Calcutta that the Governor of Bengal was forced to withdraw the ban on processions in the heart of the city. Over 200,000 people marched through the area calling out the

office workers along the route to join them.

In a panic, realising that the armed police could not cope with the situation, the Governor called out troops. Tanks, armoured cars, planes and troops are patrolling Calcutta. British troops are thus maintained in Asia by the Labour Government for the brutal purposes of imperialist domination.

Instead of taking the lead in this rising wave of revolutionary struggle, the leaders of the Indian capitalists, the Congress Party, together with the direct agents of British imperialism, the Moslem League and the new Quislings the Indian Communist Party—all are frantically endeavouring to keep the movement in check, to accept the domination of British imperialism and to prevent this movement from spreading.

The Daily Worker of February 13th boastfully proclaims its quiescent role. "Congress Party, Moslem League, and Communist Party members have formed 'peace squads' These squads are patrolling the affected areas in the attempt to persuade people to go home."

Our Indian comrades—the illegal Bolshevik Leninist Party of India, will be participating in these demonstrations and taking the lead in the struggle for Indian independence.

British workers! Demand that the Labour Government withdraw the troops and grant the Indians the right of democratic self determination. British imperialism is not wanted in India!

ELECTRICAL WORKERS Demand Shorter Hours

The great Strip Mill of Richard Thomas and Baldwins at Ebbw Vale is again the scene of a fight between the electrical maintenance men and the employers. The electrical workers are demanding a maximum of 48 hours in any seven days instead of the 56 hours in 7 continuous shifts as at present. The dispute has now reached the stage where the men have placed an embargo on all overtime.

Some history of the Ebbw Vale plant is necessary to a proper understanding of this dispute. Building began in 1938 on the site of the old Ebbw Vale Steelworks whose collapse had brought great misery to the workers in the Ebbw Vale District. During the building of the new Strip Mill and associated plant many electrical workers were needed—modern strip mill methods of steel production being highly electrified. At this time, war preparations were getting into their stride, electrical workers became scarce, and much overtime was worked during the building period.

Intolerable Overtime

Toward the end of 1938 production began. Many of the men employed in constructing the plant went over to maintenance, but others found work elsewhere. Those who remained were faced with the task of maintaining the most advanced and complicated, electrically driven and controlled, steel plant in the country. And this meant frequent overtime. By the middle of 1939, production was in full swing and regular overtime—particularly during week-ends, the only real chance for overhauling hard worked machinery—became a feature of the maintenance man's job. This overtime became intolerable and a movement grew up for easing the situation. Then war broke out.

The war, of course, made matters worse. Men went to the forces, others were transferred to jobs of greater priority, and those left had to maintain plant which was getting older and showing the tremendous pace at which it was being operated. The men (mistakenly in our view) put up with these worsened conditions and looked forward to the end of the war and a general easing of the burden of overtime. The war weariness and work weariness of the overworked maintenance men was all the time aggravated by the fact that large numbers of production workers in the same plant were all this time working a 40 hour week.

Management Contemptuous

With the end of the war, a demand for an all round let-up again came to the fore. The men requested the management to meet them to discuss the situation. Six weeks elapsed before the Company replied to this request, during which time the men had drawn up a scheme they felt would ease matters and which could be operated even with the present greatly reduced staff.

The men's suggestions were placed before the Electrical Chiefs and the Personnel Manager and a blunt rejection was the outcome. No alternative scheme was offered, the Company stating that until they had more electricians the existing conditions must continue. The men did not agree, and at a subsequent Union meeting decided to revert to their basic agreement of 47 hours—which meant no week-end working and no overtime during the normal working week.

Various manoeuvres by the Company followed, and attempts were made to deal with the E.T.U. Area Committee over the

heads of the local organisation. This failed and the Company were compelled to hold a further meeting with the men's representatives. On this occasion the employers stated that they had two alternative schemes which they would discuss if the men returned to work as before, that is, if they returned to working week-ends and regular overtime.

Overtime—A Condition

The workers quite rightly rejected this demand of the Company which was an attempt to make the workers accept a condition of negotiations. The Company's reaction to this was to report to the employers side of the "South Wales Allied Skilled Trades Association" that the E.T.U. members at Ebbw Vale had broken the agreement by refusing to work overtime (The Allied Skilled Trades Association is an organisation to which a number of craft unions—E.T.U.; A.E.U.; Boiler-makers, etc., belong, and which has secured a number of common agreements with the employers in the steel and associated industries in South Wales.)

A joint meeting of this Association took place at which the Ebbw Vale workers put their case. On the grounds of a "restriction of practice" the Association recommended that the men return to working overtime in order to allow negotiations to take place. A special meeting of the men called to receive a report on the above meeting, unanimously rejected the recommendation, holding that it made overtime compulsory until the dispute had ended. The meeting also issued a demand that a conference of all electrical workers in the heavy industries of South Wales be called as soon as possible. Meanwhile, the dispute continues at Ebbw Vale.

Co-ordinate the Struggle

These militant electrical workers are now leading a fight which will receive the sympathy of maintenance men throughout heavy industry. Workers in other Welsh tinplate works are also moving along similar lines to Ebbw Vale. The task now is to co-ordinate the struggle. Plans for a conference in South Wales must be pushed ahead and contact established with electrical workers in heavy industry in other parts of the country. The Executive of the E.T.U. must be pressed to pay more attention to industry and not remain, as at present, immersed in the problems of the Contract and Supply side of the Trade. Heavy industry is becoming more highly electrified every day. Electrical workers must demand:—

- A National Industrial Committee of the E.T.U.!
- A National Policy and United Action!
- A 40-Hour Week with no Reduction in Pay!

Party Activity

LONDON. The London "Ban the Fascists" demonstration called by the Communist Party was covered by the London comrades with literature and leaflets. 2,000 leaflets "Smash the Fascists" were distributed.

At the India League meeting held at Trafalgar Square on Sunday, 27th January, 95 copies of Ajit Roy's "In Defence of the Colonial Revolution" were sold

mittee for its support of that strike, these militants were determined to see that in taking such a course the D.C. would be given the full backing of the District.

Press Silent

The national press, of course, has commented very little on the strike. However, if it extends the workers can prepare to face a barrage of slander and lies from this weapon of the employers. The "Daily Worker" published several small reports of the strike, but without comment. The wondering Communist Party member would look in vain for guidance as to whether his party supported the strike or not. It is true that there were a relatively small number of workers involved, but the nature of the dispute, its background of a general tendency to lower rates in Coventry, the possibilities flowing from it of a general stoppage throughout the city, make it of prime importance to engineering workers.

No Aid From C.P.

"Communist" Party members would do well to consider certain points which are made clear in this struggle. Again it is demonstrated that the "Daily Worker" is no longer in the forefront of the workers struggles, publicising them and stressing the important aspects in an effort to rouse the maximum pressure on the employers. In Coventry the Stalinists have given no lead. Were the Communist Party seriously eager to aid the workers it would be going all out helping Coventry workers in this advance guard struggle, to deal a decisive blow at the employers in preparation for the greater battles which inevitably must arise in the future.

The National Shop Stewards Council, which is under the control of the Stalinists could with its national factory contact and its organs the New Propeller, give invaluable aid and publicity to this struggle.

As pointed out in the last issue of "Socialist Appeal", the relatively high rates in the Coventry area which were won in struggle elsewhere, are a lever for workers elsewhere. In Coventry, in general, the national minimum, particularly the minimum of 27½% of the base rate, which is guaranteed to workers of average ability working on bonus, have never been accepted by the workers. If the employers succeed in tying areas such as Coventry to the national minimum, then the stage is set for a general drive against the national minimum itself.

NUREMBERG

But it is significant that not only the Stalinist press remains silent, but the capitalist press throughout the world is shielding Stalin and the bureaucratic assassins from exposure to the world working class.

To add further shame to the Labour Movement, the Labour Government and the Labour Party have become partners in this conspiracy of silence. Despite the fact that they condemned the Moscow Trials as a frame-up, the reasons of agreement with the Stalinist bureaucracy, they too are silent.

Truth Will Prevail

Thus we see all the forces of the old world lined up against the revolutionaries. In this new conspiracy of silence is mirrored the mockery of the phrases about "truth, honour, justice" etc. But history will pass its verdict. Nuremberg is making an unanswerable indictment against the Stalinists: "Traitors, Murderers, Fratricides!"

In the words of Trotsky: "In the time of reaction it is more convenient to lean on the bureaucracy than on the truth. But all those for whom the word socialism is not a hollow sound but the content of the moral life—forward. Neither the threat of persecutions, nor violations can stop us. Be it even over our bleaching bones, the truth will triumph! We will blaze the trail for it. It will conquer!"

PLEASE NOTE

Contact card on made with our branches at the following addresses: GLASGOW R.C.P., 47 Oswald Street, Glasgow, C.1 LONDON R.C.P., 258 Harrow Road, London W.2 NEATH R.C.P., 11 Alfred Street, Neath, Glam. NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE R.C.P., 27 Ridley Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1.

CLASS APPEAL To British Troops

Copy of Leaflet sent by a Soldier

NOTICE

To protest against the British imperialist policy in the arrests without reasons of the following people in Malaya and in Singapore.

- Singapore (3 Indian labourers arrested on 27/2/45, and were sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment): S. V. Muthiah, Peckiriasamy and Archimand.
 - Johore Ex-Servicemen Malayan People Anti-Japs Army: Chu Kow.
 - Johore General Labour Union: Ho Liang and Wong Keng Kwang.
 - Perak General Labour Union: Chin Yang Min (Chairman) and Leong Sin Chok (Vice-Chairman).
 - Selangor Anti-Japs Union: Soong Kwong.
- In addition to all these happenings the properties of the peoples have been confiscated by the B.M.A.
- Actually, all these arrests and confiscations in Malaya were

Pamphlets You Should Read

- REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST POLICY Conference Decisions 1945 ... 6d.
- TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL 6d.
- A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM 6d.
- WHITHER FRANCE! by Leon Trotsky ... 6d.
- GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION by Leon Trotsky ... 6d.
- TRADE UNIONS by Leon Trotsky ... 1d.
- IN DEFENCE OF THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION by Ajit Roy ... 2d.
- I STAKE MY LIFE (Moscow Trials) by Leon Trotsky ... 6d.

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