

**Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party** BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

JULY, 1948.

No. 60.

### STALIN FEARS BALKAN FEDERATI YUGOSLAVS INDEPENDENT TOO **Dockers Struck for** Campaign Commences to Liquidate Tito

#### BY TED GRANT AND JOCK HASTON

THE SENSATIONAL EXPULSION OF THE YUGOSLAVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY FROM THE COMINFORM AND THE OPEN BREACH BETWEEN MOSCOW AND BELGRADE HAS LIVELY DISCUSSION IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS. WHAT LIES BEH AD THESE SENSATIONAL EVENTS? THAT IS THE QUESTION EVERYONE IS ASKING. ONLY POLITICAL CHILDREN ACCEPT THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE COMINFORM AS TO THE BASIS OF THE DISPUTE.

Whatever it is, however, it must be of tremendous importance for the Stalinists to precipitate the open breach which amounts to a considerable diplomatic and political set-back.

The conflict will undoubtedly have wide repercussions in the Communist Parties on an international scale. It marks a new stage in the development of international Stalinism which must be closely followed by revolutionary and militant workers.

The struggle must have been going on behind the scenes for a considerable time. Moscow would only have brought the question out into the open when it had failed to gain control of the Yugoslav Communist Party; when the Russian Secret Police, the N.K.V.D. in Yugoslavia had suffered a decisive defeat; when it was considered no longer possible to win Tito or his supporters; and probably, when Tito was gaining support for his policy against Moscow in the other Balkan Communist Parties. This latter event would be the most potent factor in arousing the hatred and fear of Moscow.

other as to ensure that the real control is centred in Moscow. The first policy has considerable

ciolate the national aspirations of the people of the border states and meet with widespread opposition not only from the broad mass of the people, but even from the ranks of the Communist Parties them-selves. It could only be carried out after long preparation and the assurance of one hundred per cent. state domination centrally and in the localities by the Russian Stalinists. To carry it out with any measure of force would arouse the hostility of the whole of the Europaux mathematics.

European working class. The second policy would not ensure such complete subjugation and control of the border states but it has certain advantages in that real control would rest in Moscow while the nominal inde-pendence of these countries could

be the most potent factor in arousing the hatred and fear of Moscow. The real issues of the dispute come out only covertly. What appears to be at stake is the demand by the Russian bureaucracy in Moscow for complete and abso-lute control over the satellite states, even to the smallest detail of internal policy, and Tito's hostility and opposition to complete subjuation to Russia. Moscow is faced with the two possibilities in the evolution of its policy towards the satellite states in the component the U.S.S.R. as a means of ensuring complete and undisputed control; the second is to accept the nominal independ-ence of these states but to try so to organise their internal regimes and arrange their relations with each other as to ensure that the reat compol is centred in Moscow.

Worker" " quotes the reply of Tito and Co. to the accusation that Russian " specialists" were shadowed, as follows: " This is a definite lie ... it is a definite he that anyoody was followed. From the liberation until to-day all members of the match there are full econometion a strengthening of the Communist Parties of these countries and their states as against the domination of Moscow. It is, therefore, one isdicy Schich Scacow will fight with every weapon it can muster until and unless, it is assured of absolute control through puppets. party have given full co-operation to Soviet citizens." Cominform Statement

In the statement of the Comin-form, as quoted in the "Daily Worker" of June 30th, they say: "The leadership of the Yugoslar Communist Party is carrying out a policy unfriendly toward the Soviet Union and to the All-Union Communist Party. In Yugoslavin an unworthu

In Yugoslavia an unworthy the case for the Yugoslavis fairly policy of belittling Soviet military and objectively. Already they had policy of belitting Soviet military experts and discrediting the Soviet Army has been permitted. Soviet cirilian specialists in Yugoslavia have been subjected to a special regime, on the basis of which they were put under the surveillance of State security organs and subjected to shadwrina THE TRADE UNION LEADERS AND THE GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT THE WORKERS' JUST DEMANDS, RESULTED IN THE LOSS OF £800,000.

A Principle

THE ACTION OF THE SEAT AUTHORITIES IN VICTIMISING ELEVEN DOCKERS AND THE FAILURE OF

by Roy Tearse

Interview

with Wales-

wood Miners

See page 2

Price 2d.

On a question of principle, 20,000 London dockers stayed on strike for two and a half weeks, and secured sympathetic action

in the later stages by the dockers in Liverpool and Birkenhead. On the advice of the militant leadership of the Strike

Committee, they decided to return to work. This decision followed the shameful betrayal of their interests by the Trade Union officials and the Labour Government. The Government had brought the entire weight of the State apparatus against them. The Emergency Powers Act of 1920, under which the State of Emergency was declared, had never been invoked since the General Strike. They gave themselves the right to use the armed forces, the police courts, powers of arrest without warrant, and to search the workers to when they employee the interaction of the search the workers to whom they owe their seats in Parliament.

And all the arguments and excuses put forward by Attlee for invoking the Act, followed the same pattern as those of the Tories in 1926. "The Nation was threatened! Supplies were in danger! A Red Plot had been discovered!" Small wonder the capitalist class were quick to applaud the Government's measures.

The "Daily Mail" summed up shipping ever known in the Port is situation in its leader on of London . Shallow primes when they have a real grievance. Stating that "the Government will have the support of all loyal citizens" it continued: "A State of Emergency was also declared in the General Strike of 1926....

Attice expressed surprise that the dockers had refused to work a cargo because IT HAPPENED TO BE A "LITTLE DIRTY." What were the mean The dispute arose out of the handling of a cargo of zine oxide. Far from being a "little dirty", it is of the men who protested against the 'brutal' acts of the Govern-ment then are taking the very same powers now.... These Ministers and 'heir colleagues have obviously 'briged their minds \_\_\_\_\_\_ they wait the other from being a "little dirty", it is one of the filthiest jobs in dock-land. It turns the flesh purple on contact. It gets into the nos --in two yeat .... One other point. Those who saw the thand eyes, mouth and bair. The docke Woscow' in the General Strike o amout a year age. Mr. Attlee himself says the Com-OF LUIT

ing of those working on it. munists are making mischief. We welcome this belated conversion to one of the dockers involved related: "The stuff penetrates everything. ... Down the hatch it was im-We possible to see." "Wanton, Irresponsible "

#### No Protective Clothing

No trick was too scurvy for the pen-hacks of Fleet Street in an effort to work up public opinion against the strikers. The "Daily Mail", which praises the Labour leaders had described the strike as "wanton, irresponsible, unnecessary —everything everyone has called it." The "Daily Telegraph", (19/6/48) wailed: "On a base-less grievance the strikers are hold-ing up no fewer than 117 ships", But the men did not refuse to handle it. They merely asked for certain reasonable conditions. tandle II. They incredy asked for certain reasonable conditions. They wanted protective clothing. The employers, who talk about millions of dollars worth of export trade being lost, who weep about food going rotten, said they could not provide such clothing for these eleven men eleven men.

ing up no fewer than 117 ships' 5/- Ton "Dirty Money" The men demanded "dirty articles of all, the 'Daily Shirror', (24/6/48), calling to women to drive the strikers back to work, had the temerity to state: "the dockers have no real grievances at II." book for this job. This was re-Who are these dockers who were fused and they were offered 3/4d. per ton, the price of lampblack and ochre, which, bad as it is, is nowhere near as filthy a cargo as zinc oxide.



HOUSES AND FOOD jouth African Election - Page 3.

#### AFFORD TO PAY CAN

That TR, wave claims of the workers in the Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry can be well met out of the swollen profits of the employers in this industry is amply demonstrated by the figures below which show how well they are doing. The "Economist" recently reported that:

99 engineering firms made a gross profit of £6,143,000 in 1945-46, £7,442,000 in 1946-47: Net profits were, £3,331,000 in 1945-46, £3,875,000 in 1946-47.

55 firms in motors, cycles and aircraft made gross profits of £15,204,000 in 1945-46, and £18,259,000 in 1946-47: Net profits, £6,945,000 in 1945-46 and £8,801,000 in 1946-47.

11 shipbuilding firms made gross profits of £3,801,000 in 1945-46, £4,438,000 in 1946-47: Net profits were, £2,020,000 in 1945-46 and £2,394,000 in 1946-7.

22 engineering firms which issued their statements of account this year showed £1,000,000 more earned in 1947 than in 1946. Some examples of the latest reported profits :

How ironical to reflect that some

be used to diplomatic and economic advantage. It would still be possible to prevent the federation of the border states in such a way as to strengthen their relative independence in relation to Moscow.

#### Stalin's Great Russian Chauvinism

The whole history of Stalinismespecially the most recent conflicts of policy, indicate that Stalin will fight with every possible weapon to prevent the creation of independent All these and other similar facts prove that the leaders of the Yugo-slav Communist Party have taken (Continued on Page 4)

to shadowing. The representative of the All-Union Communist Party (Bol-sheriks) at the Information Bureau, Comrade Yudin, and a number of official representatives of the Soviet Union in Yugoslavia. Hiberation until to-day memory of the Soviet intelligence service attempted without consideration to recruit Yugoslavs." Let the editors of the "Daily Worker" explain to its readers the omission of this fundamental the provide the provide the transformation to recruit Yugoslavia. of the Soriet Union in Yugoslavia. were subjected to the same shadowpart of its brother Party's reply. ing and supervision on the part of the State security organs of Yugo-Extra Territorial Rights slavia.

Demanded

	TAEAE 1.	TROTIC	
	1946	1947	
	£	£	
uar Cars	 22,102	113,446	
eling-Barford	 23,583	111,866	
istol Airplanes	 346,721	407,786	
rth British Locos	 118,513	124,845	
own Bros	 112,094	168,144	
ixhall Motors	 817,096	853,649	
alton and Pauls	 24,690	100,219	
oom and Wade	 51,368	113,713	
eigh Industries	 165,224	171,793	
rland and Wolff	 2,320,000	1,911,000	
kers	 2,399,000	1,225,000	
ds Motors	 1,099,000	614,940	

Ja

.11 Br

No.

Bre

Va

Bo

Bro

Ral

Ha

Vic

Fo

and in one of the most viciou articles of all, the **'Daily Mirror**' 47 3,446 all.' 1.866 7,786being slandered? They are the same workers who, during the war 1.845 3,144 6,649

C.P. PEACE CONFERENCE SIDETRACKS ISSUE

**U.S.** Imperialism Prepares

point.

reality and common sense .

No trick was too senryy for the

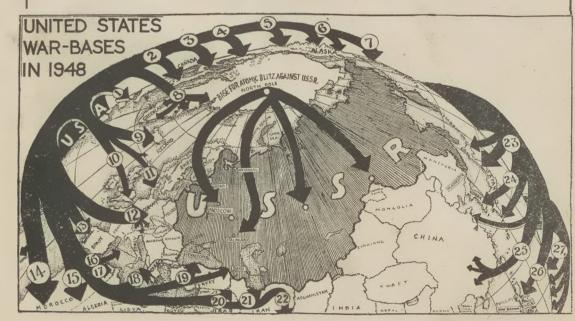
were so loudly praised by Churchill Bevin, Attlee and all for sticking to their task of maintaining sup-plies in the midst of the heaviest bombing that was experienced throughout Britain. They are

#### Men Showed Restraint

Far from acting " impetuously throughout Britain. They the same workers who, during the Fuel Crisis, were held up by everyone as saviours because they effected the quickest turn-round of the same showed considerable test in the same showed considerable and appealed against the price. They asked for a View Committee (Continued on Page 4.)

### **TWO YEARS AFTER WORLD II AMERICA** HAS 434 FOREIGN WAR BASES

Arrows 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 on map shows Bases in Canada; 6 and 7 Alaska and the Aleutians; 8 Greenland; 9 Iceland; 10 Britain; 11 Denmark; 12 Germany; 18 Portugal and Spain; 14 Antarctic; 15 Belgian Congo; 16 Italy, Mediterranean; 17 North Africa; 18 Greece; 19 Turkey; 20 Iraq; 21 Iran; 22 Arabia; 23 Japan; 24 South Korea; 25 China; 26 Phillipines; 27 Pacific Islands.



From " Blitz," India.

"I believe war to be immoral, un-Christian and silly, and no true civilisation would include war as part of its organisation." The Air Policy Commission calls for preparation for atom and be solved on class lines. War does not arise from ill-will or immor-ality on the part of the ruling class. It arises out of the com-tradictions of capitalism; it is a necessity of the system. The Air Policy Commission calls for preparation for atom and bacterial warfare. The War Department keeps 60 Government-owned industrial plants ready for war work. 2,745 new airports are to be built.

Its organisation."Tradictions of capitalism; it is a<br/>necessity of the system.<br/>"Only after we have overthrown,<br/>dike states in an interview with the<br/>"Daily Worker" as propagada<br/>for the "Daily Worker" Peace<br/>Conference on July 17th.<br/>Sincere, though this may be,<br/>such sentimental observations do<br/>ner form a programme upon<br/>which to fight the pending im-<br/>perialist war.<br/>The above quotation does, how-<br/>ever, show clearly the character of<br/>the Communist Party campaign,<br/>as do the various interviews with<br/>dignitaries of the Church, including<br/>Bishops and viears.<br/>In the original appeal published<br/>in the 'Daily Worker" of April<br/>10th, cau be seen the keynote of<br/>. ". . . it is not intended to<br/>agont resolutions of apitalism can be ware appendix to avery great<br/>eracted by the October Revolution;<br/>a system which is in mortal anta-<br/>the show quotation does, how-<br/>ereated by the October Revolution;<br/>a system which is in mortal anta-<br/>the show quotation does, how-<br/>ereated by the October Revolution;<br/>a system which is in mortal anta-<br/>the show quotation does, how-<br/>ereated by the October Revolution;<br/>a system which is in mortal anta-<br/>the 'Daily Worker" of April<br/>10th, cau be seen the keynote of<br/>the Conference:—<br/>". . . it is not intended to<br/>agont resolutions of the Aretia mortal anta-<br/>the conference impossible of the variage shows,<br/>the Conference impossible of a very great<br/>system which is in mortal anta-<br/>the system which is in mortal anta-<br/>the system of the ware propagalada and the system of the system

assible to avoid war. As the map on this page shows, capitalism, and that only the work- CAPITALISM.

a series of successful socialist revolutions could prevent war. If

the first world war flid not result in the destruction of capitalism. In the destruction of capitalism, Lemin forecast it would be followed by a Second, and a Third, and even a Tenth imperialist war, till civilisation itself would be destroyed. After the tegrible Second World War, this should be destroyed is a super with the fourthet clear to anyone with the faintest knowledge of Marxism.

Conferences of this nature which do not mobilise the masses for artion against capitalism can only on the sow illusions and h<sup>0</sup> the masses hursh into a false sense of security, against THERE CAN BE NO PER-against CANUTALISM

Oth. can be seen the keynote of<br/>he Conference:--As the map on this page shows,<br/>America's war machine spreads<br/>from the Arctic wastes to South<br/>adopt resolutions or to commit<br/>the organisations represented to<br/>views that may be expressed."As the map on this page shows,<br/>America's war machine spreads<br/>from the Arctic wastes to South<br/>base outside America.capitalism, and that only the work-<br/>ing class through its mass organi-<br/>isations, can lead this struggle.<br/>Before World War 11, the Court<br/>munist Parties of the world<br/>organised similar anti-war Con-<br/>for the international solidarity of<br/>the organisation organise.<br/>This is obviously intended to<br/>progressive' capitalist organis-<br/>tions taking part.As the map on this page shows,<br/>America's war machine spreads<br/>to about the Arctic wastes to South<br/>base outside America.<br/>Dresident Truman presented<br/>Congress, with America's largest<br/>penecetime budgel, 70 per cent, of<br/>which goes to war.<br/>E614,500,000 has been spent on<br/>the development of the atom bomb.capitalism, and that only the work-<br/>ing class through its mass organi-<br/>isations, can lead this struggle.<br/>Before World War 11, the Court<br/>organised similar anti-war Con-<br/>for the international solidarity of<br/>the working class can really fight<br/>for peace. Only the setting up of<br/>a Socialist United States of Europe<br/>and the world can put an end te<br/>the danger of war.

SOCIALIST APPEAL, July, 1948.

## **INTERVIEW WITH WALESWOOD MINERS** ENGINEERS HAVE A Why Did They Strike? What Is Their Mood? JUST WAGE CLA

JOCK HASTON VISITED WALESWOOD, HAD NUMEROUS DISCUSSIONS WITH INDIVIDUAL AND GROUPS OF MINERS. HE WAS INVITED TO ADDRESS THE LODGE. WE PRINT HIS **REPORT** BELOW.

The miners at Waleswood Colliery, North Derbyshire, are an unhappy and somewhat disillu-sioned group of workers. Their magnificent stay-down strike—the second—which lasted two weeks, was smashed. The pit has been closed for the production of coal and hundreds of miners have been their average output was "just miners was smashed. The pit has been closed for the production of coal and hundreds of miners have been sent to other pits. More than 100 miners—men over 50—are still working at Waleswood and will be for many months. But they will be drawing off, taking out the machinery and sealing up the pit. Magnubils well over 100 miners

ample: men on compensation or part compensation have been refused work at all the adjoining pits, and since they have all been sacked, they are not meet in the sacked. they are not receiving their allocation of miners' coal.

The dispute is now some weeks old. But the mean mood of the Waleswood miners is of tremendous importance to the organised workers of pits in the other parts of the country are to be similarly closed and thousands of miners in all parts of the land will shortly be undergoing the same experiences. be undergoing the same experiences. Joe Hall, in his speech at the Doncaster miners' gala on Satur-day, emphasised this point by referring to it again and again.

#### "Magnificent Output"

When in July, 1947, there were rumours in Waleswood that the pit was to be closed, the Pit Producwas to be closed, the Pit Produc-tion Committee, on the insistence of the miners, promptly sent a resolution to the North Eastern Divisional Coal Board asking if there was any truth in these rumours. They received a reply in August from the Area No. 1 Pro-duction Manager, Mr. Ellis, who declared that: "there was no foundation for these rumours and that the men of Waleswood were to be congratulated on the magnifito be congratulated on the magnifilooked forward for the con-nce of the same."

#### Pit To Close

The following month, a special meeting was called, where the Branch Union officials and Com-mittee were informed that the pit was to be closed.

The reasons given for this extraordinary step were:

- (1) That there was a loss of up-wards of 10/- per ton on coal produced at Waleswood.
- (2) That the life of the pit was only another 8 to 12 years.

Miners' Present Plan

month later, the leading officials of the Waleswood Union Lodge, together with the Branch

Waleswood | to the Secretary of the Waleswood |

production.

mainly surface workers, are re-dundant, without hope of alternate work in the district, their homes in danger of being disrupted. At the same time, a hundred and one anomalies exist. One ex-ample : men on compensation or part Commensation have been refused. At expert has a capacity of the pit was less than 10d, per ton and that a report given by an N.C.B. expert had declared the life of the blasted every argument of the N.C.B., the miners were then told that the pit was unsafe!

that the pit was unsafe! An examination of the pit was then made by leading officials of the Yorkshire and Derbyshire Miners' Union, Joe Hall and Alwyn Machin, who were accom-panied by N.C.B. officials. Both miners' officials, technically ex-perionced, declared that if the claim that the pit was unsafe was the reason for the closure, 50% of the pits in both counties would have to be closed. have to be closed,

have to be closed. New Reasons The N.C.B. then declared the shaft to be unsafe. But this refuted by the Derbyshire Miners' Inspector who, upon inspecting the shaft, declared it good for 40 to 50 years.

.3. At one of the pits, mechan-isation was so bad that there were still over 70 ponies in use. Waleswood was completely mechanised.
4. All complained that the system, or lack of system in com-parison with Waleswood was

system, or lack of system in com-parison with Waleswood was evident from the moment they first went into the pit, with a conse-quent loss of earnings and

5. Most of the men were faced with extra travelling expenses which were not made up. Pre-viously they had lived in the village built upon the pit and their expenses were in the neigh-bourhood of 1/- per week. Now they have to pay 6/-, 7/- and even more in travelling.

#### A Little Story

#### With A Meaning

One of the miners expressed in a nutshell what they had hoped nationalisation would achieve. For years, he said, as they assembled in the morning to go down the pit, a little puffing rail-way engine attached to the colliery started up and passed them, blow-ing clouds of smoke and grime into their faces as they stood ready by the cage to descend. If the engine had started 10 minutes later or

How the Waleswood Miners

View the N.C.B.

ONE OF THE CARTOONS DRAWN BY A MINER WHILE ON STRIKE UNDERGROUND. THE

CAPTION OF THE LEAFLET ON WHICH IT WAS

ISSUED BY THE COMMITTEE READ : "I AM A

WALESWOOD MAN. I HAVE RECEIVED SEVEN

DAYS' NOTICE BECAUSE MY MATES DOWN THE

PIT ARE NOT ONLY FIGHTING MY BATTLE,

The **RIGHT** TO HAVE A

SAY IN INDUSTRY . . . . "

advanced socialist workers. But let it be recognised that these moods are the inevitable product of disillusionment with the State capitalist bureaucratic mismanage ment which could develop into a dangerous trend in areas where a less capable and less advanced Lodge Committee exists.

#### What The Miners Walk

In a fighting speech made to the In a ngitting speech hade to the Union Branch, the Secretary, A. Chambers, tried to draw the lessons of their experiences. He pointed to the fact that the rationalisation which was now taking place in the industry and the introduction of new machinery and the introduction of new machinery

the introduction of new machinery had as one of its essential aims the reduction of the number of workers employed in the industry. It was being said behind the scenes in the Union, he said, that the labour force would be cut down to about 400,000 miners, the over-whelming buik of whom would be concentrated at the coal face. The workers did not oncose the intro-

concentrated at the coal face. The workers did not oppose the intro-duction of modern technique. In-deed, they were all for it. Bat, be continued only the most vigorous would be kept. It was the older, the weaker, the partly mained and initial the partly

vigorous would be kept. It was the older, the weaker, the partly maimed and injured as the result of accident who would suffer These men had to be protected and their future ensured. The experi-ence of redundancy at Waleswood should be an urgent warning to niners elsewhere, as to what would happen on a national scale when the policy of closing pits really got well under way. It should be a warning to the younger and more vigorous face workers not to stand by, but to fight for the miners who were going to suffer. If nationalisation is to be a success, he said, from the stand-point of production, socialism and the interests of the working class, the whole set-up in the adminis-tration and management must be changed. The Trade Unions must fully participate from top to bottom in the select and appoint-ment of the administratize and managerial personnel. In addition, the workers representatives at the pit level should have complete

managerial personnel. In addition, the workers' representatives at the pit level should have complete access to all accounts, administra-tion plans and proposals and be con-sulted before final decisions are arrived at, which alter the con-ditions of work at the pits.

In view of the fact that the former non-productive coal owners are being compensated, in the most liberal manner, as also are man-agers and directors, it is absolutely essential, he said, that all displaced producers, the workers, should be fully compensated for any change in their conditions of life or work which are to their financial and which are to their financial and physical disadvantage. This would apply especially to the older workers in the pits "displaced" and "redundant" as the result of

Following the engineering employers' rejection of the wage claim of 13/- per week made by the Engineering Unions, the National Committee of the A.E.U. has called for a Government Inquiry on wage anomalies and profits in the industry.

This decision followed the defeat of a resolution demanding that sirike action should be decided upon now. An inquiry has the specific purpose of ascertaining the facts of the situation. But the facts are well known to the Union leadership. Added to this, delegate after delegate to the National Committee cited additional data which proves the justness of the wage claim up to the hilt. There is not a doubt that the employers can afford to pay.

**Profits Rose** 

The statement of Sir Alexander

Ramsay, in the negotiations, that engineering profits have declined by  $8\frac{1}{2}\%$  in the past year has been the exploded by figures cited by capital A ist journals. The "Economist" the points out that the net profits of He 165 representative engineering and the life is the second second second second second second the life is the second s shipbuilding firms rose from  $\pounds 12,296,000$  in 1945 - 6 to  $\pounds 15,070,000$  in 1946-7, an increase of 221%.

Contrast this to the fact that many skilled workers receive little over £5 per week, shipyard labourers about £4 6s, and women aren dess

But it must be remembered that the employers' main argument is the wage-freeze policy of the the Government.

#### Why The Delay

On the question of facts, the Union leaders are well equipped. On the question of the Govern-ment's policy, they have been well-informed. Thus, the decision on strike action will not really depend on such an "inquiry". On the contrary, the issue could be decided on now.

The real reason for this The real reason for this "delaying" resolution can found in the speech of Jack **Tanner**, the Union's president. "Strike action is a challenge that goes too far," he said. And those who supported him argued against strike action, because they feared it would embarrass the Labour Government. Government.

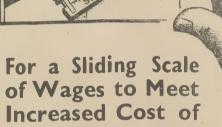
No Reply trom C.P. **Peace Conference** 28th June, 1948. 28th June, 1948. Conference Secretary, Room 20, "Daily Worker," 234, Gray's In Road, London, W.C.1. Dear Comrade, On June 4th we sent you a registered letter requesting

registered letter requesting credentials for the forthcoming Peace Conference to which you have invited all organisations interested in peace. o datTe we have not yet received an acknow-Idgement.

As we are anxious to attend this conference, will you please issue the Revolutionary Communist Party with credentials so that the following delegates will be able to participate in the deliberation:

policy of class collaboration, during which time the leadership of the Engineering Unions have linked arms with the engineering employers, and even broken strikes.

In this respect, the irrespon-sibility of C.P. spokesmen such as Birch of the A.E.U., is glaringly demonstrated. Stating that "faint heart never won a wage increase" he argued that even a ballot on strike action is unnecessary. Birch and his "Communist" Party colleagues have been in the front ranks of the class-collabor-ationists until recent times. They have attempted to give "scientific" arguments to show why strikes should not be embarked upon. You cannot pursue such a policy for

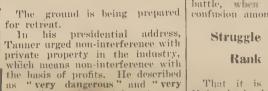


RISING

## Living

private property in the moustry, which means non-interference with the basis of profits. He described as "very dangerous" and "very wrong" any industrial action on the part of the rank and file. Bemoaning the fact that the members were asking for a bigger share in the national "eake"— the national is entered.

employers. Jack Tanner has forgotten his A.B.C.s. Show Of Hands Not Enough Show Of Hands Not Enough



share in the national "cake"— the national income, he stated: "We must make the cake before we can dispose of it." He forgot to say that the employers were having a good feed from the exist-ing cake. On 1947, whilse 40.3 per cent. of the national income con-sisted of wages, almost as much, 36.3 per cent, went in rent, in-terest and profit. And, let no one be fooled, the bigger the cake created by the workers, the more will be the profits pocketed by the will be the profits pocketed by the employers. Jack Tanner has

Struggle Depends On

#### Rank And File

That it is necessary for the Union leadership to give a lead to the rank and file for strike action. no serious socialist would deny

But such action requires the firmest leadership, it requires the highest morale born out of an absolutely clear understanding of the need for such action by the rank and file of the Union. It is the ordinary worker the rank and the of the Union. is the ordinary worker, the rank and file in industry who must carry the burden of the struggle. The strength of the fight will depend upon him.

Demonstrations are being called by some District Committees to protest against the employers' re-fusal; protests are being registered trations, token

the like must constitute a show of

the like must constitute a show of strength which, failing the neces-sary results, will be backed up by more effective action. Unless the Unions have this perspective, the employers will merely sit back and hold tight, while the energies of the rank and file will be dissi-nated wid while ther are holded to

pated and while they are lulled to sleep by talk of an "inquiry."

The militants must demand a bold lead from their leading com-

mittees. The demonstrations must form the beginnings of a campaign,

Lodge, together with the Branch Committee, adopted a "Report and Plan" which they had printed, sent to the Area Coal Board and issued as an alternative to the policy of closure of the pit. This was a comprehensive Plan, ex-amining all sides of the short and long term aspects of production at the pit, and was introduced with the statement that: "we hereby submit for your examination our the statement that: "we hereby submit for your examination our alternative scheme and plan, not just merely in order to offer some justification for the keeping open of Waleswood Colliery, but some practical suggestions which, if vetted by your eTchnical Advisers, would enable Waleswood Colliery to play an even greater part in its to play an even greater part in its contribution of coal so much needed for National Recovery.'

It is not possible to say with certainty, without specialised knowledge, that all the proposals and arguments of the miners in this statement is correct. Sufficient to say that it was never replied to by an authoritative statement from the N.C.B.

From official figures published in "Coal", organ of the Coal Board, the Waleswood miners proved that their average production of coal was higher than that of the N.E. Division (Nov. 1947) and that if their average was pro-duced by the N.E. Division as a whole, there would have been an extra 1,189,490 tons produced in that month

The only comment made by the officials of the N.C.B., according



When the N.C.B. had refused time of passing of the puffing negotiate on any pretext, the billy to ten minutes later. Waleswood miners struck work and remained down the pit from February 9th to 11th. They came and grime still blew into their up on a promise that further ex-amination would be given to one of the seams consisting of 200 acres considered

of good coal. The leading officials of the Union who examined this seam declared that the claims of the local Union Committee completely proved. Despite this the Coal Board were adamant and refused to shift of listen to the pleas of the miners The pit was to be closed ! Faced with an ultimatum, the

BUT YOURS . .

niner of Waleswood went on heir second stay-down strike. 'his time it lasted two weeks Although there were deficiencies in

their campaign for support among the other pits in the area which are recognised by the miners them-ore, the principal reason for their failure to gain support was that the the Yorkshire miner, who would have probably supported them on another issue, could not see the logic in fighting to keep the pit open if there was work elsewhere.

Experiences

In Other Pits

heard reports from Waleswood miners regarding their experiences in other pits to which they had been drafted. Here are some :

 The furthest they had to travel at Waleswood took 17<sup>4</sup>/<sub>2</sub> minutes from pit bottom to coal face. But at the adjoining pits to which numbers of them had been drafted, 1 hour and 5 minutes was usual and in some cases much more time was taken up in walking to the ubee of work with subsemore time was taken up in waiking to the place of work with subse-quent loss of production. In some parts they travelled 15 minutes on the mechanical conveyance and then walked for 45 minutes.

2. Although one of the state-ments of the Coal Board was that the airways were bad and one of the reasons for the closing of the pit, the airways at the adjoining colliery to which they had been sent were at best no better than those at Waleswood.

faces for no earthly reason. The wishes of the miners were not even

#### **Their Hopes Shattered**

For two generations these miners at Waleswood have been cam-paigners for the Labour Party. When the Labour Government came to power, they thought here was what they had worked for all was what they had worked for a their lives: a government of workers' representatives, responsive their to the needs of the working class, and responding to well founded

criticism of the working class. Because they firmly believed this, they put their backs into getting coal. They turned out as high an average as the best pits for many miles model. They

for many miles around. They participated fully in the Preduction Committee, making hundreds of concrete proposals to mprove output, conceding to the nanagement in the face of what they thought were reasonable pro-positions to speed up the production of coal.

But Waleswood pit has been closed and their hopes have been shattered by the bureaucratic handling of their dispute with the National Coal Board over the design of the site

closing of the pit.

The Political Effects

The political effects of the Waleswood experience are of great importance. The workers are bitterly resentful of the bureauratic mishandling of the dispute the Labour Government, the Trade Union leadership, and their local M.P. The latter did not even reply to the letters they sent him He did not turn up at a single

meeting, even if only to oppose their point of view. The reaction

participate in the deliberations nationalisation.

Their struggle was of a uniqu character. These workers were not fighting for an extra bob. They were fighting to keep the pit open, or more correctly, to be fully con-sulted before it was closed; to have their own ideas of an alterna-

IN U.S.A.

"Times" correspondent was com-pelled to hide his embarrassment

behind a veil of cynicism. He

the

betrored.

tive and more productive plan o coal getting discussed and seriously Secretary,

"Peace Conference," Daily Worker," coal getting discussed and seriously considered. This is the import-ance of the dispute. This is really one of the roads upon which the fight for socialism must be carried forward in the coming years. This is the road towards workers' con-trol over the state administration; it is the cond here the state administration to the state adm London, W.C.1. Dear Comrade, We herewith formally make application for two crediential ards for the forthcoming Peace Conference. it is the road by which workers will strive to go forward towards real workers' management of nationalised enterprises.

Yours fraternally, J. HASTON, General Secretary.

A.E.U. Executive voted Ted Grant, Roy Tearse, Harold Atkinson, Jock Haston. If there is a limit to the number of delegates please inform us. Yours fraternally, J. HASTON. General Segestary The against the wage-freeze policy of the Government. But such a challenge by a show of hands is utterly meaningless unless they are prepared to back it by action in industry, where the full might of the organisation can be demonstrated. The argument that action would

embarrass the Labour Government is tantamount to a repudiation of the anti-wage freeze vote.

employers. Jack forgotten his A.B.C.s.

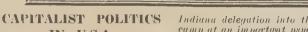
#### **Prepare For Action**

crowned by the demand that the Executives ballot the membership for strike action. They must see that the demand for an inquiry is However, even a decision for action is not sufficient in the present situation. The rank that the demand for an inquiry is and file cannot be expected to line not utilised to drop the whole

themselves up for a struggle at a moment's notice, when for years struggle **Essential To Every Worker** 

**A New Pamphlet** 





THE Philadelphia Conference of Philadelphia Conference of American Republican as made news over here, we who nurture illusions is and politicians of the Hemisphere, the moron-remances of the principal parties must come as of a shock. of least, the clowning and in in the camp of John who looks like getting President. Even the Party has made news over here. capitalist parties must come as something of a shock. And not least, the clowning and corruption in the camp of John Dewey who looks like getting elected President. Even the

Saturday."

"Its (the proletarian) Party must be the ideological leader in the fight against every form of Most to be regretted, perhaps their point of view. The reaction among the rank and file is said to be : reluctance to pay into central Union funds. A consider-able number say they will not vote

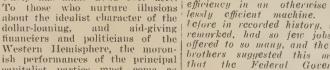
RELIGIOUS

" COMMUNISTS "

Indiana delegation into the Dewey | speculation was that' immediately speculation was that 'immediately after the ceremony the new Pre-sident and his wife attended a special **Te Deum** service in the Cathedral at St. Vitus at which Archbishop Beran officiated, Neither President Masaryk nor President Benes did this."

On June 27, the "Observer" reported: "The patriarch of the Orthodox Church of Rumania, as well as the Archbishops of Buko-vina and Moldavia have been dismissed. The new Patriarch is young Communist village priest named Justinian."

A timely reminder of Lenin's attitude, which was maintained right until his death, is contained in some comments which we quote om his articles on Socialism and Religion.



camp at an important psychological moment, ... Such instances are so numerous that most observers

From LEFT and RIGHT

**BY AGITATOR** 

**General Secretary** 4th June, 1948.

SOCIALIST APPEAD, July, 1948.



### Socialist Leadership ! Not Bureaucratic Dictation

For decades the dockers, together with other sections of the organised working class, looked to the day when they would place the Labour Party in power. They confidently anticipated that when they achieved this they would put an end to their exploitation in the interests of the profits of the employers. But as important in their eyes as of all workers was the desire to end the arbitrary tyranny of the employers, who held the whip of victimisation, unmerited suspension and sacking over their heads.

The dockers confidently anticipated that "their" Government would support them in any battle for their rights which they might be forced to embark upon. They have been bitterly disillusioned. The Labour Government had the power to end the dispute immediately by ordering the penalties against the men to be cancelled. There was no need for any fuss and bother. A simple declaration that the penalties were cancelled would have been sufficient to prevent the development of an "emergency".

But while the tenderest consideration is given to capitalists when they howl against any measures adopted by the Government, the Labour leaders were prepared to turn the country upside down rather than give consideration for a moment to the demands of the dockers, or even give them a hearing by going and meeting the Strike Committee, who, contrary to Attlee's statement were **DIRECTLY ELECTED** by the dockers themselves.

To anyone with an iota of Socialist or even Trade Union consciousness surely it would be obvious that men do not strike for weeks if there were not an important trade union and working class principle at stake! And as though he were acting in a comic opera, Attlee, on the very day when the Government was invoking Emergency Powers against the strikers, said that he wouldn't meet the strike leaders because he did not "propose to interfere in the strike" ! The use of blacklegs and troops to break the strike is apparently not "interference"!

Any workers' leader worthy of the name would be only too willing to discuss with members of his class who think they have a grievance, whether justified or not, and thus settle it in the MOST DEMOCRATIC way possible.

If the Labour leaders adopted one-tenth of the intransigeance they display to the workers against the capitalists the Socialist solution of the problems of the workers would be simple.

Attlee, Deakin, and all the Labour leaders resent the "interference" of the workers in the sacred preserve of control and management. By this they defend not the interests of production, or the "nation", but the interests of the employers. The workers have the right under a Government claiming to introduce Socialism, and, moreover, one which is appealing for greater production efforts, to examine how production is organised and to directly elect their representatives on to the controlling boards. These representatives must be subject to immediate recall if the workers are dissatisfied with their actions. Only in this way will the farcical situation be avoided whereby a Deakin can claim to speak in the name of thousands of men, yet retain not the slightest confidence of the men he claims to represent.

# Peace Conference Adopts FREEDOM FOR **Trotskyist Resolution**

CONFERENCE on Socialism and Peace was held at Friends Meeting House in London, on June 26. It was convened by the 1948 Research Group and attended by some 40 to 50 delegates and indi iduals from various Left-wing organisations including the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers, Peace Pledge Union, Divisional Labour Parties, Divisional Co-operative Parties, Women's Co-op Guilds, J.L.P., World Government Crusade, Anarchists, Common Wealth, Revolutionary Communist Party, Social Science Association,

The Chairman opened" by in- socialist and communist workers and socialist inteldicating the sponsors' intention of system of society.

seeking broad lines of agreement between the various organisations an I not dwelling on disagreements. And the heterogeneous character of the Conference and the proposed resolutions was attested by the fact that the opening speakers were Mr. George Rogers, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Supply, who advocated the Causade for World Government, and Miss Sybil Morrison of the war. P.P.U., who put forward an outright pacifist case.

Attitude Of The R.C.P.

The delegates from the R.C.P., Jock Haston and Harold Atkinson, sought to bring the Conference to a realisation of the very limited character of its representation and function. Trotskyists were prepared to unite with other working class and Left-wing organisations on specific issue on which joint action was possible, they said. But the only basis for such a conference was to discover how far agreement between those assembled was possible-agreement which could be translated into action. It was no use glossing over fundamental differences and going away. having made only pious declarations of faith.

The Conference adopted, often by minority vote of those present, a number of very vague and often contradictory resolutions-mostly of a broad, general character which committed no one to any specific course of action. A resolution moved by the R.C.P. delegates, supported by Common wealth and the I.L.P., received the highest number of votes of any It reads as follows:

**R.C.P.** Resolution

" Conference considers that the struggle against the outbreak of a new world war is inseparable from the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism nationally and internationally and the establishment of a democratic

To this end, without giving up our separate programmes and fundamental policies, the assembled delegates of organisations and individuals, pledge themselves to find the the re-establishment of Soviet maximum possible unity of democracy in Russia, but will

class of this country or any part of that ruling class, from preparing a third world The main value of conferences This requires that in our of this nature is to bring together wn country we carry on a the most active political elements ampaign against the present of the various Left-wing forces to thrash out an attitude towards policy of the Labour Governproblems facing the working class.

ient which continues to tilise military might to hold **Discussion On Russia** own colonial peoples as well.

A motion presented by Comrade the sponsors to convene a further conference to discuss the nature Soviet Russia end Stalinisr generally, and the attitude of the various organisations towards it.

## **A New Industry** In Hiroshima

through the military occu-

On the international scale

t requires that we assist the

pation of that country.

For months past, the number of wooden shacks selling "atom bomb souvenirs" in the city, has been increasing. Guides have been increasing. Guides have steered visitors through the rubble, finishing up at an "atom bomb teashop" for refreshments. Last month, reports "News Last month, reports "News Review," this commercialisation of the horrors of Hiroshima, became an organised business, with the hlessing of Hiroshima's Mayor and the local Municipal Sight. Socium Association Sight-Seeing Association.

Announcing the inauguration of municipal bus tours for tourists, the Japanese Travel Bureau stated

lectuals to carry on a struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. It also recognises the anti-Communist, anti- Socialist character of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the need for mmunist and non-Communist ganisations will be banned by action to prevent the ruling oppose any attempts of the his Bill if they do not toe the capitalist powers to destroy the nationalised and planned economy of Russia and Eastern Europe."

As a dycommension representative of the rubber planters, Sir John Hay, admitted recently that t' e cost of the labourers staple diet  $r'c_{a}$ , has multiplied ninefold since 1941. And yet, the recent recom-aondations of the Joint Wages ommision for increases, are only three times greater than pre-war in lower grades and less in the

higher.

### MALA BY T. REILLY T. Reilly was stationed in Malaya during the war and worked closely with the Malayan Trade Union Movement. On the pretext that the country is in danger from

ouncil early in July, which will

ive the most extensive powers to

The Facts

As a dyed-in-the-wool represent-

ther. The result is that the orking population is desperately

In

Singapor

ministration and police.

Communist armies, the British authorities illegalised all the effective Trade Unions in Malaya. The Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions and ten other federations of ade unions have been dissolved. Hundreds of arrests have been made and dozens of workers shot dead by the police. BEI To Be Rushed Through | British Imperialists from Malaya." 'Establish a Ma'ayan democratic Sir Edward Gent, the High party." minissioner, said that a Bill will rushed through the Legislative

Both

United In Unions

The linking up of the Chinese, Indian and Malay workers in Malaya through the Trade Unions undermined the employers' has old tactic of playing off workers of different racial origin, one against another. The Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions, in fighting on behalf of the working class, has engendered the hatred of the planters and the employers as a whole. The Labour Government's efforts to get trade union emissaries to curb the Unions failed. Their efforts to form breakaway unions also failed. La desperation, the Government turned to brutal suppression.

Imperialist Exploitation

Not the petty gaugster is dominating developments in Malaya, but the big gangsters of British imperialism, who are bartering the broken lives of their labourers to sell the "dollar-getter", rubber. In 1947, Malaya supplied over In 1947, Malaya supplied over oalf the world's total rubber output, with America as the biggest buyer. Last year's exports were £150 million, double the pre-war

The Dunlop Rubber Company, which made a profit of over £9 million in 1947, a million pounds more than the 1946 figure, is too interested in increasing profits, to i'se the wages of its workers.

#### Fake Constitution

In demanding that the British mperialists be chased out of Malaya, the workers are only too Malaya, the workers are only too "Uberal Constitution" recently imposed on them, did not repreent the interests of the toilers. The Federation Legislature at Kuala Lumpur, which met for the first time in February, consists of 75 members, all of them appointed. In the March elections in Singapore which were hoy-cotted by the Left-wing parties.

only 1,300 people voted out of population of over half a million. made that employees on the estates British Workers

#### Must Protest

British workers must condemn who are not accepted by the unions should be dismissed. On the Labour Government's suppression of the trade union and political organisations of the workworkers have threatened to take over the administration and to og class in Malaya. Demand that the Government

According to the "Financial Times" slogaus are appearing, such as: "Long live the Communist Party," "No labour friends should come here and work," "Chase the

From the atomised ruins of Hiroshima arises a new "Industry'—the commercialisation of the horrors of this most "famous" of Japan's 261 bomb-bl'sted cities. For months past, the number of wooden shacks selling "atom

lain there unburied for more than two years. After the atom bomb fell on

After the atom bomb fell on Hiroshima in August 1945, thousands of injured sought refuge on Ninoshima. There they died at the rate of 500-600 daily. Ninoshima became a great funeral pyre as the Japanese frantically attempted a mass cremation. When the fuel ran out, the bodies were buried, but as conditions deteriorated survivors abandoned the island, leaving the bodies on the open beaches.

from the sight-seeing Profits The Japanese Fravel Bureau stated that the route will include " the ten grimmest piles of atom rubble" in Hiroshima. Buses will carry guide-girls who will give a running commentary during the journey. One spot not likely to be included profits from the sight-seeing tours of Hiroshima, will be used, it is stated, to promote further facilities for sight seeing tourists, which it is hoped will attract one million yearly to the world's foremost horror Exhibit.

n lernourished. clone, one in five suffers from uberculosis, and large numbers the people of Germany Haston was accepted, authorising e each month from the effects starvation. In Malaya, when the worker gets sacked from the plantation H.A.

#### e and his whole family are evicted com their home (which is an innitary shack) and left to starve u the roadside. The workers moved into action increased wages and better rking conditions.

**Examples Of Terror** 

On one estate in Johore during a strike the police indiscriminately fired and shot dead seven workers. In one Dunlop estate 79 labourers and their families were

sacked and thrown out of their homes during a wage dispute. The position now seems that 12,000 of their fellow workers ave also been evicted.

In the Malayan Federation 19 estates and 5 tin mines are idle because of strikes.

**Revolutionary Demands** 

should not be dismissed except with

the consent of the unions; that

estate conductors and contractors

and European assistant managers

number of properties, the

In some instances demands were

# South African Election --- Its Meaning

BY VINCENT CHARLES

2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Million Whites Rule Over 9 Million Negroes, Coloured and Indians, who are Disfranchised in this

#### "Democratic" Land. What are the Implications of Malan's Victory?

The defeat of General Smuts in f source f from the shock and f assured f by business that no he source f in mationalists, came as a fundamental changes could be expected in mationalist South Africas f from one of degree. Smuts' United f and f assured f is largely dependent on the industries and on the all-powerful industries and on the all-powerful f and f assured f in more f and f and f assured f in more f and f and f and f assured f in more f and f assured f in mationalists, f and f assured f in mationalists, f and f assured f in more f and f assured f in more f and f and f and f and f and f assured f in more f and f assured f and f assured f in more f and f assured f and f assured f in more f and f assured f and f assures f and f as the South African elections and the return to power of Malan and the Nationalists, came as a violent shock to British capitalism. Smuts had for so long faithfully Malan himself, not unaffected by served British imperialism, had for so many years been the foremost champion of the capitalist order of things, that he was more or less taken for granted in his position of authority.

British capital has a great stake in South Africa. Last year 3,721 new companies were registered with new companies were registered with a total capital of £98,000,000 and 1,012 companies increased their capital by £68,000,000. In the last two years it is estimated that £300,000,000 of British capital has gone to South Africa as "funk" money.

American capital to a smaller extent has also penetrated South Africa, According to American monficial estimates in 1946-1947 American companies in 1940-1944 about 19,000,000 dollars, most of it in mining projects. 14 American companies were registered in South companies were registered in South Africa with a nominal capital of 9,500,000 dollars. South Africa is the largest dollar paying customer at the present time. American sales to the Union rose from 29,000,000 dollars in 1939 to 414,000,000 in 1947. Ford, Studebaker, General Motors and Chrysler have all built Assembly Plants in the Union. The immediate reaction to Smuts' fall was a panic on the Stock Ex-change. According to the Financial Editor of the "Cape Times", the

coonised our relationship to the examinity of nations," and chowledged "the uniquely

riendly relations existing between farmer, who wants an abundance south Africa and the United of native labour available in the lingdom

Significantly, in this, his first broadcast to the nation after his election, Malan spoke in the English language for the first time 15 years. The "Financial Times"

The

proniuently featured the official open-ng up of the railway to the Drange Free State Goldfields by be Nationalist Minister of Transnort together with the prominent nine magnate, Sir Ernest

anne magnate, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer. This, after the attack on the Chamber of Mines, Jewish finance, etc., by the Nationalists indicates the demagogic character of their demagogic character of their election campaign.

> Farmers Want Native Labour

towns, was not practical politics. Malan, however, depends for most of his votes on the Afrikander countryside. His urban support comes from Afrikander elements who fear that their privileged positions would be lost, if the

barriers to Native employment in skilled and semi-skilled occupa-tions were lifted. "Apartheid" (separation), was his main election ery and in a country where only the white minority (plus a very small proportion of the coloured people of mixed ancestry) enjoy the vote, "apartheid" won the day.

#### Malan's Demagogy

A South African wrote to us on the elections: "With the growth of secondary industry, the Africans were brought into the towns and had to be paid minimum living wages according to their standards. This negligible

results than Malan himself—and he was totally upprepared. They promised the people white bread and mutton, neither of which can be granted. A woman in Pietersbe granted. A woman in Pieters-burg refused to accept a brown loaf, because she said she was promised white bread as soon as the election was over! There has been a scarcity of meat and already they announced in their

newspapers that the shortage will have to continue for at least another month. But the most serious of all is the dwindling of gold reserves, and they are talking of introducing import permits again, which is going to do away with the importation of luxury mode " goods.

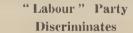
#### **Race Hatred Inflamed**

The mass basis of the Nationalists is provided by the rural population, both farmers and poor whites. These poor whites have whites. These poor whites have been forced to a position of desti-tution by the inevitable concen-tration of landed property and the impossibility of competing with

It is to gain the support of the most reactionary elements that the Nationalists whip up colour pre-judice and at the same time indulge in anti-capitalist, anti-Semitic and anti-English Imperialist demagogy. In his election programme Malan demanded that not only inter-course between black and white, which is illegal, but even marriage between coloured and white, must be prohibited by law.

The Nationalists and their Afrikander allies together received 447,719 votes. The United Party got 524,230 votes and the Labour Party 27,360. The constituencies are so weighted that 8,000 votes in a rural constituency elect a member, whereas it requires 10,000 votes for an urban area. The Government, together with their Allies, represents only a

Plants in the Union. The immediate reaction to Smuts' fall was a panic on the Stock Ex-change. According to the Pinancial Editor of the "Cape Times", the value of Johannesburg Stock million. But the British Press soon from Malan on how the "native under both Hertzog and Smuts Communist Party addressed an The poll tax, especially designed United Party and Party addressed an for this purpose, forces them out



The South African "Labour" Party made a pact with Smuts in Party made a pact with Smuts in order to "keep out the National-ists." This party, which the British Labour Party regards as a brother Party has nothing in com-mon with Socialism. It is a party of the White aristocracy of Labour, does not allow membership to Nations or coloured member and

to Natives or coloured people, and stands for the privileges of the Whites as against the suppressed Negro majority.

> C.P. Appealed to Smuts

A notable feature of the election

their Allies, represents only a minority of the voters. **Malan's Supporters** The Afrikander Party represent a more moderate wing of the Big landowners. Havenga their leader tas been made Finance Minister as an additional placatory gesture to the Mining and imperialist in-terests. He occupied the same post under both Hertzog and Smuts when they united to form the (Continued on Page 4.)

The South African Negroes are the most oppressed of the Native peoples in Africa. In fact it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the exploitation and to say that the exploitation and discriminatory measures make them the worst treated and subject race in the world. The laws restricting their rights number hundreds. They are not allowed out at aights after 9 p.m. in the towns without a permit from their employer; they are not allowed to live in "white" areas but are confined in hovels in special "locations" or ghettoes; anything from 10 to 15 miles from where they work. Insanitary and fifthy, they are not fit for human beings to live in. They have to have special permits to move from one town to another. They are compelled to carry a special pass and tax receipts for poll taxes which are not paid by white any first or to firm are

## Stalin's Method of Liquidating Leaders (Continued from Page 1.) Tito appears to have learned some Pot Calls Kettle Black In Russia, every member of the Control Computities of the Russian DOCKERS : The Issues at Stake (Continued from Page 1.) Tito appears to have learned some Pot Calls Kettle Black lessons from the purges.

Tito Massacred Trotskyists The apparatus of the N.K.V.D. is built to ensure the carrying out of Russian policies and the elimination of anti-Stalinist elements. But it seems that Tito was not prepared to give Stalin freedom to build an independent military and police apparatus which could be used against himself and the other members of the Yugoslav Com-munist Party who supported the orientation of achieving a large measure of independence from

Moscow. 'The 'Daily Worker' was guilty. 'The 'Daily Worker' was guilty. of a further distortion. In print-ing Tito's protest against the accusation that there had been no elections in Yugoslav C.P., they failed to print the reply of Tito these Stable's Party was no better. that Stalin's Party was no better.

As for the fact that in a few sections there have been no elec tions, this was caused only by wartime post-war conditions. It has been the case in many parties including the Russian Bolshevik Party.

#### Defeat Of N.K.V.D.

That the Stalinist Secret Police have been defeated is indicated by the complaints in the Comintern statement both as regards the supervision of Russian "specialists" and by the demands for democracy in the Yugoslav C.P.

in the Yugoslav C.P. The Yugoslav pupils seem to have learned too well from the Russian master. They got in first and expelled Stalin's stooges from the Party. It cannot be excluded that the recent execution of lead-ing members of the Yugoslav Communist Party as "British agents." was another example of the Stalinist method of eliminating political opponents. A little political opponents. A little Balkan version of the Moscow little

The Cominform declaration that the "Yugoslav leaders began to identify the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. with the foreign policy of the imperialist powers. . . . " is clear evidence that the Yugoslavs were objecting to the demands of the Russians, which they con-sidered to be in violation of the and national aspirations of the Yugoslavs.

#### Lenin Opposed Stalin On

National Question

The tendency of Stalin to Great Russian chauvinism is nothing new. He has been built up as the great "Leminist authority" on the National Question. In fact, one of the last struggles which Lenin con-ducted against Stalin before he ducted against statut to oppose died was precisely to oppose Stalin's bureaucratic policy to-statut minorities. But wards national minorities. But this, like Lenin's last letter to the Bolshevik Party demanding the removal of Stalin from the position of General Secretary of the Party has been hidden from the rank and file communists until this present day. This tendency against which Lenin fought, became more pronounced after his death when Stalin succeeded in usurping complete control. During the great purges, the entire Governments of National the entire Governments of National Republics were wiped out, massacred, as part of Stalin's policy of national oppression. haughtiness and conceit."

If the leaders of the Yugoslavian Party have indeed criticised Moscow as the Cominform statement alleges, with arguments "borrowed from the arsenal of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism— on the degeneration of the All-Union Communist Party, on the degeneration of the Soviet Union and so on...", we can only hope that some spark of light has penetrated the ranks of the Yugo-slav Communist Party. One thing we know. Tite is no Unsthuist borrowed from the arsenal of we know. Tito is no Trotskyist. Organisationally and ideologically he is the enemy of Trotskyism. At the period of the liberation of Yugoslavia, Tito was responsible for the physical annihilation of the Trotskyist cadres both inside and outside the Communist Party.

If the pressure fails to take effect and Tito refuses to capitulate, Stalin may be compelled to come to some agreement.

Even now, far from attacking the real crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy, it appears that Tito will try to arrive at some comwill try to arrive at some com-promise. Experience teaches that Stalin will stop at nothing to wipe out the opposition of the character with which he is now faced in Yugoslavia. The whole monstrous apparatus of Russian propaganda will be turned against the loadors will be turned against the leaders of the Yugoslav regime. The miserable Stalinist hacks in this country, who only yesterday were blazoning Yugoslavia, Tito and his achievements in their press, will now turn their pers, will now turn their pens against the regime to undermine it and denigrate its leaders.

#### "No Internal Democracy" -Cominform

For the first time, and only in order to discredit the dissident Tito and his regime, the Stalinists now blurt out some truths. Criticisms that Trotskyists have nade of the regime in Yugoslavia, are now revealed as true by the Stalinists themselves. The Cominother satellite states either. form statement says: Inside Yugoslavia "The Party

does not have any internal party democracy, elections are not held there is no criticism or self riticism. The Central Committee of the

Party . . . consists in its majority not of elected but co-opted members. . . . It is quite intolerable that in the Yugoslav Communist Party the most elementary rights of party members are being trampled upon, that the slightest criticism of the incorrect way in which things are run in the Party is followed by grace repressions. The Information Reconcercements The Information Bureau regards as disgraceful such facts as the expulsion from the Party and arrest of members of the Central Committee Comrades Zujerich, and Hebrang, because they dared to criticise the anti-Soriet attitude of leaders of the Yugoslar Communist Party and to advocate friendship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet

Union. Such an ignominious, purely Turkish (!!) terrorist regime can-nto be tolerated by the Yugoslar

If carried out, the agreement

come forward enthusiastically

inder the conditions imposed

Western Powers

If ever there was a case of a

millions to Siberia for opposition to their regime, which is so con-temptuous of the rights of the rank to their regime, which is so con-temptuous of the rights of the rank and file, that in violation of the Constitution, they have not bothered to hold a Party Confer-bothered to hold a Party Confer-Constitution, they have not bothered to hold a Party Confer-ence in Russia for nearly ten years. The last Congress of the Russian Communist Party was held in October 1938. In Lenin's time the Congress was held at least once a year, even during the Civil War.

Any who dare offer a criticism of Stalin are soon on the road to Siberia or destined to die at the hands of a hired assassin. Tito's regime is probably a model of democracy compared to the Russian regime which is the most total-itarian and bureaucratic in the whole of history. Some of the economic criticisms

are undoubtedly correct. They re-peat in a distorted way, the criticism which Trotsky made of Stalin's policy from 1923 to 1927. First that Tito underestimated the Kulak elements in the villages, and the danger which arises from this : then, after criticism reversed his policy and proceeded to nationalise small shops and other small in-dustries and to take action in the villages before the economic basis had been prepared. Precisely the way Stalin proceeded! From way Stalin proceeded! From opposing collectivisation to "liquid ating the Kulaks as class" and introducing 100% collectivisation and The bureaucrats in Moscow and in the Cominform must have necks of brass to make the criticism that there is no nationalisation of the land in Yugoslavia. This is a correct criticism. But it happens that they have not nationalised the land in a single one of the

#### **Tito Has Mass Base**

The question immediately springs The question immediately springs to mind : Why were the facts now enumerated by the Cominform con-cealed for years? Why is it revealed only when Tito refuses to bow the knee to Stalin and uses Stalin's tricks against him? In place of Stalin's N.K.V.D., Tito has an efficient instrument of bis has an efficient instrument of his own and is arresting Stalin's stooges, aparently on charges of being in the pay of British and American imperialism! It may even be true that in the circles of the Yugoslav C.P., Marshal Tito, while he does not dare to bring this into the open, has been secretly denouncing the degeneration of the Russian Communist Party and regime.

#### Purging—Stalin's Method

In the past Moscow succeeded in asserting its will, and removing or destroying the leadership of national sections without a serious crisis. The history of the Com-intern is saturated with the

Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party who was in the pot calling the kettle black, here it is! Tongue in cheek, the Moscow bureaucracy attacks Tito for the lack of democracy. This bureaucracy which murdered prac-tically all the leaders of the October Revolution, which killed and exiled willious to Siberia for a prussition sole survivors of the 24 the members.

Russia because of illegal conditions, not once but twice during the late 1930's.

These purges took place without great disturbances. But once the national parties have control of their own state apparatus, all the levers of finance, economy, the military and the police, the inevitable effect of such a transformation is to strengthen the position of the national leadership and to create conditions of independence from Moscow.

#### The Beginning Of A P. scess

The importance of the present conflict lies in the fact that it is the first important crack in the international front of Stalinism since the end of the war. It is bound to have profound effects on the rank and file members of the Communist Party throughout the world, especially in Western Europe and Britain. It is the beginning of a process of differ-entiation within the ranks of the Communist Parties, which in the long run will lead to splits.

The extension of the power of the Russian bureaucracy further west from the Russian borders creates new problems for them. While temporarily strengthening them, in the long run it will undermine their position. It is clear that any Leninis

must support the right of any small country to national liberation and freedom if it so desires. All socialists will give critical support to the movement in Yugoslavia to federate with Bulgaria and to gain

federate with Bulgaria and to gain freedom from direct Moscow dom-ination. At the same time, the workers in Yugoslavia and these countries will fight for the instal-lation of genuine workers' demo-cracy, of the control of the administration of the state and of industry as in the days of Lenin and Trotsky in Russia. This is unpossible under the present Tito regime. regime.

an Independent Socialist Soviet Yugoslavia within an Inde-pendent Socialist Soviet Balkans. This can only be part of the struggle for the overthrow of the **Capitalist Governments in Europe** and the installation of Workers Democracy in Russia.

Communism means the widest possible freedom and democracy for the people. Without the par-ticipation and control of the

democratic Soviet regime with full autonomy and freedom for the

(Continued from Page 1.) to investigate the position. The View Committee confirmed the 3/4d. price without even seeing the job. They had several such com-mittees after this, and only one saw the job; it saw three "sets" lifted. The men's appeals against this miserable price were in vain.

#### The Ship Sailed

Receiving no satisfaction they vere reluctant to continue and said they would work another cargo on the same ship while the whole question was being investigated. But the Port Authorities would is the port Autornees would not have this and brought in another gang to work the other cargo. After discussing the matter with their mates "on the stones" eleven men involved voted to finish the zinc oxide cargo and then have the matter looked into. The job was completed and the ship sailed on time.

#### "A Smack In The Ear"

But the employers were not satisfied. Their arrogance knew no bounds. They decided to "teach" these dockers a lesson for daring to dispute the price. They em-barked on a vicious policy of victimization victimisation.

The consternation of the men was aptly summed up by Conn Was approved in the eleven involved, in an interview with the "News Chronicle: "Everyone thought the affair was finished, but in the morning I had a letter saying I was suspended. The penalty was the product of the set when the like a smack in the ear when the fight was over. We finished all the zinc oxide. There was no time lost. While there was work to do, we worked."

#### Safeguard The Future

The punishment meted out was one week's suspension and thirteen weeks' deprivation of attendance money. How did the dockers view this? They were justly angered by the argument of the Union bureaucrats, that the deprivation of attendance money to-day means no financial hardship because there is plenty of work in any case They saw that to accept this victimisation meant to accept the right of the Port Employers to wield the stick of forcible unemployment in any future dispute over price. And they have no guarantee that work will always be plentiful on the docks. They realise the possibilities of unem-ployment in the future, when this weapon will be used, not only to throw dockers out of a job, but to drive prices down. Their anger drive prices down. was easily understood.

#### Union Officials Had Majority

The worst aspect of the victimsation was that the Union officials, who are supposed to represent the ticipation and control of the workers there can be no transition to socialism. These developments in the Balkans are a symptom of the real situation which exists in Russia and the Eastern State. The sole solution lies in a genuinely democratic Soviet regime with full outconouv, and freedom for the solution of the solution in the solution in the solution in the solution is a genuinely democratic soviet regime with full outcoment, and the solution is a genuinely solution is solution in the solution is a genuinely democratic solution is a genuinely solution is solution in the solution in the solution is solution in the solution in the solution is solution in the solution in the solution in the so Union Secretary reminded the workers that "their strike was not bureaucratic elimination of Stalin's opponents and agents who have been sacrificed in the interests of the bureaucracy.

at which the Union representatives had been in a majority." ("Daily Mail," 23/6/48). situation. A Question Of

T.U. Principle The dockers gave the only

possible answer. Their solid fighting front undoubtedly led to the establishment of a Tribunal, with an "inde-pendent" chairman, which recommended the reduction of the 13 weeks' deprivation of attendance

money to two weeks. Had the strike ended there the dockers could have rightly claimed that the bosses had been compelled to climb to use these despicable methods. down. But they were not con-cerned with shallow prestige. To

them it was a question of principle which had to be settled. It made which had to be settled. It made no difference if the penalty was one week, two weeks or a hundred weeks. The precedent was there whatever the duration of the sentence. Their demand was simple: complete withdrawal of the penalting argingst the always the penalties against the eleven men and the clarification of the clause in the Docks Agreement which gave rise to them.

Why Government

#### Refused

Why did the Government and the employers not end the strike immediately by granting these element ary demands of the dockers Because, they too recognised the significance of the dispute.

significance of the dispute. Instead, they chose to hold the nation up to ransom. They chose to invoke Emergency Powers. They chose to spend taxpayers' money on troop movements. They chose to do all these things, and more, rather than withdraw the unjust negative.

injust penalties. The "Times" gave the game away when it stated that to give way to the dockers would "spell the end of the efficient ordering of dock work," which should read: "spell the end of the efficient ordering about of the dock worker."

Deakin — Misleader

Deakin, General Secretary of the Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, is rapidly becoming one of the most hated figures in the Trade Union movement. Not content with making public statements supporting the sentences on the eleven men, it was he who began to discover a "Red Plot." The "docker is being made a

The "docker is being made a political pawn" and "the spread of the strike has been spread of the strike has been according to careful instructions," he said. Unable to stand up to the genuine case of the men, con-scious of his lack of prestige among the rank and file, he felt the need to indulge in this type of "intrine" story. However, the " intrigue" story. However, the very vagueness of his innuendoes branded them for what they were worth. Why did he not come out

with acts? Because he had none! with facts? Because he had none! Nevertheless, Deakin's "plot" set the tone of the propaganda against the dockers. It was taken up by the Press. It was the ful-crum of Attlee's broadcast to the country. It was even utilised by the handful who broke away from

munist" Party had been in a majority, that does not alter the

situation. To suggest that the dockers would take such action, which brought hardship to themselves and their families, because "agitators" urged them to do so, is nothing short of a slander on the intel-ligence of the working class. That Deakin should use such arguments merely underlines his contempt for the rank and file who pay his wages. Afraid of the high standing wages. Afraid of the high standing of the Strike Committee in the eyes of the rank and file, he chose

#### A Warning

The conduct of the Union officials during this strike and previous strikes must sound a note of warning to the rank and file. Deakin and the others, with their fat salaries and expense accounts, having long forgotten what it is like to do a hard day's work under filthy conditions, have become so far removed from the interests of the rank and file, that they no longer represent those interests.

Safely saddled in their jobs, owing to the bureaucratic structure of this octupus union, they com-mit these crimes against the working class and continue in their jobs, thumbing their noses at the rank and file.

There will be repeat perform-ances, getting worse each time, if the rank and file of the Union does

the rank and file of the Union does not take the matter in hand. The dockers must take the fighting spirit of their strike right into the heart of the Union apparatus. They must fight to establish the position where no official receives more than the average wage of the worker on the ich and where aved one of them is job, and where each one of them is subject to regular election every twelve months and recall at a moment's notice. In this way the basis can be laid for the establish-ment of a fighting leadership. Deakin and his ilk would soon relinquish their posts under these onditions

The dockers returned to work on the basis of the holding of a public inquiry into the Dock Scheme, with special reference to Clause 16 (the punishment clause). The Strike Committee recommended this step "in view of the complete line-up of reactionary forces against us and the considerable complacency of the respective factions-em-ployers, higher trade union officials and the Government." The reso-lution went on to state that they would tolerate no victimisation. The spokesman of the Committee made it clear that they were "not afraid of a thougand Attlees." The Committee retained the confidence of the rank and file, who passed a vote of thanks for their handling of the struggle.

The dockers are determined to hold Deakin to the promise he was compelled to make in face of the pressure of the strike, that the whole question will be investigated. They must see to it that he is not allowed to crawl out. The strikers deserve the whole

country. It was even utilised by the handful who broke away from the strike committee in the midst of the battle. The political composition of the Strike Committee was given several times by the strike leaders: 27 non-party, 10 Labour Party, 5 Communist Party. This speaks for itself. But even if it were



UNITED

aggression."

to the

bodies of the German masses

real democracy and Socialism.

blockade of the Western Occupied parts of Berlin and the countermeasures of the Allies tension rises hetween Anglo-American Imperialism and its former "ally".

A

The immediate cause of the friction was the insistence of the Russian Occupation authorities that the "Eastern" mark should the only valid currency fo Berlin. This is being devalued following the currency reform introduced by the Western Allies in Western Zones without con the sultation with the Russian occupa tion authorities.

This is only the latest episod in the conflict, which has beet waged with increasing bitterness for the domination of Germany It follows similar incidents only pation of key areas . . ." This means the occupation will continue few months ago in Berlin, which is the heart of the Eastern Zone surrounded by Russian-occupied indefinitely even after "peace treaties have been signed. territory and entirely cut off from the sectors dominated by American would render Western Germany completely dependent on Anglo British and French Imperialism.

The currency reform was in augurated as a result of the Six Power Conference which ended in Fower Conference which chieded in London on June 1, and was devised as a step towards the setting up of a West German State for the Three Allied Zones. endeavour to establish a bas for Western imperialism in Ger many is clearly a challenge to the Russians. Its design is to integrate economically Western Ger favour of the Constituent Assembly with Western Europe many as an integral part of the Marshall Plan.

Even some of the capitalist politicians of the Christian Democratic Union pointed out in However, any "government" set protest, that Germany's fate wa up in the West will be a govern will continue. At the same time there will be International Control being decided without any con altation with the German peopl whatsoever. Dr. Adenauer, Chain man of the Christian Democrati of the Ruhr by the three Western Union in the British Zone described it as a "heavy blow for Powers having three representative on the Controlling Council, with one each from Holland, Belgium those working to strengthen the spirit of peace and international and Luxembourg, plus three repreco-operation among the German people." Declaring that there was scatatives for Germany, these to be nominated temporarily by the Mlied Military Governments. "no trace of the promised freedom of self-government," he added that Thus, the real base of German in there was "continued discrimina-tion against the German people, with foreign interests corering her dustry will be under foreign domination. The Allied authorities will control the distribution of coal, coke and steel. At the same time steps are to be taken to set up a "Constituent Assembly" for "willing collaboration of Germany,

While the possibility of a with-

by such proposals.

The Social Democratic Party However, the document goes on to say "a German peace treaty officially commented that the London recommendations were "in" withdrawal of contrasting for drawal from Germany is viewed as being a contingency for the remote future, nevertheless promany ways an insufficient means within one year of signature, visions as draconic as Versailles are foreshadowed. This was reinduct within one year of signature," within one year of signature," This demagogy is intended as a This demagogy is intended as a threat, as a bid for support of the German masses if the Allies do not come to some sort of agreement with the Russian bureaucracy. The brutal expulsion of Germans vealed at the meeting of the Big Three, partly at the insistence of the French Imperialists, who view with nervousness the prospect of revival of German might which would inevitably follow industrial were contemplated along Germany's restoration. 'It was affirmed (by the Three Powers) that prior to western boundaries, and that the German political parties should the general withdrawal of the hare been allowed at least forces of occupation agreement will consultative part in the discusbe reached among the Governments sions: the statement also pressed once more for the transfer of the concerned with respect to neces sary measures of demilitarisation, Ruhr's heavy industries to public ownership and control." disarmament, and control of industry, and with respect to occu-

Naturally, the Stalinists vigorthe Western Imperialists. The leader of the C.P. in the Western zones declared that "the only object of the continuing occupa-tion was to maintain monopolistic and capitalist interests and not

American and French Imperialism democratic ideas." As such, it could not be expected When plunderers and diplomats o evoke much enthusiasm among fall out the truth comes out. But this correct estimate is rendered the German masses despite the propaganda campaign of the ludicrous by the statement that the London decisions (were) a further The political parties which are

breach of the Potsdam Agreement." As if the Potsdam Agreement, to a large extent puppets of the occupation powers did not dare to vith its ferocious reparations and limitations of German industry did not represent a grim oppression of the German people!

However, for the first time, and nationalism on which Lenin based mly counter-blast to :18 Western diplomacy, the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia and their agents in Germany are raising the question of the withdrawal of the unus induced and a subowness, after the meat-ing of the Foreign Ministers of the Eastern European States under Russian domination a communique was issued, which, according to the "Daily Worker", declared that "Worker Communique with free by raising the problem of withdrawal of the occu-pation forces. Apparently they believe their own apparatus is unification to octabilized in the base "Daily Worker", declared that "Western Germany would have a puppet Government comprised of German elements to the liking of they know the Allies will never occupation authorities, and agree, at any rate for the next h are closely bound with period. Thus if necessary they can the which American and British capitalist monopolies but not connected with most potent and dynamic demagogy.

conflict deepens and Stalinists demand the expropriaund Anglo-American Imperialists. tion of the monopolies and combines in Germany.

The Stalinists have made all the preparations for the integration of their half of Germany with the withdrawal of occupation troops Germany with the economy of the Eastern Bloc. They are preparing to set up an Eastern German State which will claim to speak for the whole of Germany if the Western Allies refuse to come to an agreement. That is why the struggle for Berlin is so important. The brutal expulsion of Germans and annexation of part of Eastern Traditionally the capital of all Germany, it would be a key position for the capital of such a Reich. Germany demonstrates how little the welfare of the German people is a concern of the bureaucracy That this is so is shown by thei

At the same time the Russians are very cleverly manoeuvring to demand for Four Power Control of the Rubr. The addition of the Stalinist bureaucracy apparently turns manure into gold. From place the responsibility for splitting up of Germany on the shoulders of the Western powers. Thus they will have powerful weapons in their hands. being an instrument of Anglo-American repression, with the Stalinists in on the control, it would become an instrument of "democratisation".

Both sides use phrases about eace and democracy. The peace Western What the Scalinists are after was shown in their demand that powers triumphantly point to the totalitarian terror in half of Germany dominated Russia; the Russians point to the Arrangements should be made for Germany to fulfil her reparations the role of the monopolies and trusts in the West which are being obligations to countries which suffered damage from German restored to power by the Allies. The Western imperialists feature aggression." Thus, so long as the Allies will allow Russia a share of the reparations which are being extorted from the Eastern Zone by the booty she would be prepared to compromise with them over the the Russians: the Russians retort by referring to the aims of domin-The policy of Russia, as of the

ation of the Ruhr by Anglo-Allies, has nothing in common with American Big Business.

Neither side offers a way out for has not the remotest resemblance the German and European masses. policy of Marxist The workers in the Western countries have the duty to raise the foreign policy of Russia. Now that they have firmly totalitarian the demand not as a bargaining weapon, but in reality for the unised their Eastern Zone, and with the expropriation of the capitalists conditional and complete with-drawal of all the troops of occuand landowners, have a certain mass support despite the lack of pation! Let the German workers decide their own fate, division of Germany is only The 0116 expression of the division of Europe at the present time. If capitalcapitalism remains this can only lead to new world war. For an independent Socialist

United Germany as part of a Federation of a Socialist United States of Europe. Such a pro-gramme can only be based on the repudiation of all treaties of can the forman people and hostile to the latter's democratic striving." No mention is made of the interests of the French Trusts because appeal for the German masses.

#### Elections African

(Continued from Page 3.) work on the land and in the mines in order to earn the money pay their taxes.

Yet these innumerable restric tions are not enough for Malan and the Nationalists. They demand further measures against the "Kaffirs" as they con-temptuously term the Negro people.

Natives Will Suffer

Malan will be faced with al sorts of difficulties, apart from his small majority in Parliament. The Nationalist Party is no longer

The Nationalist Party is no longer the homogenous body it was when it first took power under General Hertzog in 1924. Then it was almost 100 per cent, the party of the Boer farmers. Since then, and especially of recent years, many Afrikanders have entered the ranks of the industrialists. These in-dustrialists need cheap black Afrikanders have entered the ranks of the industrialists. These in-dustrialists need cheap black labour and they will not relish a native policy which aims at keping this labour on the land. Nevertheless, Malan will have to make considerable concessions to the policy of racial hatred which he propagated during the election campaign and which was prin-

campaign and which was prin cipally responsible for his victory Without a doubt, the Natal Indians, so recently the victims of Indians, so recently the victims of the Smuts regime, will be further attacked. The very limited fran-chise conceded to them in the "Land Tenure and Indian Repre-sentation Act" will probably be lost. In the Cape, the coloured population also stand in danger of losing their wate on the com-

of losing their vote on the com-mon voters roll. Native trade unions will be banned and no person of colour will be allowed to join the "All White" unions. Already legislation is being drafted which will bar Natives from the skilled and semi-skilled work into which they were allowed to drift during the war years, despite the exist-ence of the Colour Bar Act, One of the main issues in the

election was the need to prevent the further development of a decades. Smuts has admitted the Brock & Co. Ltd., (T.U.), W.10.

futility of this. And he saw in further immigration from Europe, principally Britain, the only means to hold the Natives in check in the next decades. Malan will use vicious repressive measures but his campaign for segregation (apartheid) is mainly demagogie. as it will be impossible to hold back this development through the working of economic laws. In a lecture some years ago, Smuts corectly admitted that legislation was powerless to prevent this development. Economic law is always stronger than legal enact-ments. With the further develop-ment of industry the number of Natives in the Urban Areas will be inversed

be increased. This process will intensify the present tendency for the formation of a Negro industrial working class. The privileges of the Whites will tend to break down. The standard of living of the White masses will begin to fall. They will begin to understand Marx's dictum that "Labour with a white skin can never be free, while Labour with a black skin is branded.

The decisive struggle for freedom and Socialism will be waged by the oppressed Native masses. The brunt of the struggle will be borne by them. From none of the White ruling

class parties can the native masses expect succour. Only organised under their own hanner and programme will they be able to gain the rights which are denied them. Only the unity of the working class, black and white, fighting on a programme of equal rights for all, and working for a United Socialist Republic ublie can problems solve the innumerable proble created by the virtual slavery solve the Natives and the inevitable fall in the standard of living of the white masses. Their allies, they will find in the ranks of the organised workers of the world and among their brothers in the colonial world.

the further development of a Native Urban proletariat which has increased from half a million to two million in the last few Printed in Gt. Britain by C. A.