

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

# SOCIALIST APPEAL



ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY  
BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

SUPPLEMENT MID - AUGUST, 1945.

TWOPENCE

# WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM ASIA!

New Conflicts in East  
Come to the Fore.

By AJIT ROY

THE FAR EASTERN WAR IS ENDED. THE DIPLOMATS WILL NOW TAKE OVER FROM THE GENERALS. WHAT WILL THEY MAKE OF THEIR VICTORY? SHALL THERE BE ENDURING PEACE OR A CONSOLIDATION OF IMPERIALIST POWER - POLITICS ON A NEW LEVEL AND THE PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW AND MORE DEVASTATING WAR?

## THE KING'S SPEECH

### Capitalists Have Nothing to Fear From His Majesty's Government

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT HAS COMMENCED ITS TERM OF OFFICE. THE KING'S SPEECH OUTLINING THE POLICY OF THE CABINET HAS BEEN PUBLISHED. IT IS IN LINE WITH THE ELECTION DECLARATION OF THE LABOUR PARTY IN "LET US FACE THE FUTURE."

The statement that the infamous "Trades Disputes Act, 1927" (under which four of our comrades were arrested last year) is to be repealed will be welcomed by organised workers everywhere.

Previous to the overwhelming election victory, the Labour leaders adopted a milk and water attitude to the Trade Disputes Act. Bevin, when questioned about Labour's attitude to its repeal in Paddington, indicated that it would be amended to allow the Civil Servants to join the T.U.C. but evaded a straight answer that it would be repealed.

The spirit of the workers as revealed in the election must have been a warning to the Labour leaders that the workers were in no mood to see the Government tinkering with this reactionary legislation but wanted it abolished. To only have amended the Trade Disputes Act would have brought a storm of protest from the organised working class. If this issue is forced through the House of Commons it will be a tremendous victory for the working class against the capitalists.

But there is still plenty of anti-working class legislation on the statute books, put there by the ruling class which must also be swept away. These laws can still be used, almost as effectively as the Trades Disputes Act, to cripple the Labour Movement. The workers must not allow the Labour

Government to pass any anti-working class legislation. Otherwise, and inevitably, they will feel the lash of the Labour leaders when they use this legislation for strike-breaking, as it was used by the Liberal and Tory Parties.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

In foreign and colonial affairs the Labour Government is to continue the policy of the Coalition Government that preceded it. Its policy in this sphere differs in no fundamental way from the foreign and colonial policy of the Tories.

The decisions of the Big Three at Potsdam, or of the San Francisco Conference, have nothing in common with Socialism or with the interests of the working class. The occupation of Germany by the "victorious Allies", the huge reparations and de-industrialisation of Germany; the Balkanisation of Europe, and the maintenance of capitalist "law and order" at the expense of the working class: all these are the poisoned fruits of capitalist politics. They prepare the way for a new cycle of crises (only more catastrophic and widespread) such as we suffered between the end of the first and of the second world imperialist wars.

That the Tories do not fear the foreign policy of the Labour Government, but want only to strengthen its most reactionary sides, was clearly expressed by the most militant spokesman of British Imperialist reaction, Churchill, in his speech on the King's speech.



THE KING OF ENGLAND  
Reproduced from U.S. "News Week"

Already, before the smoke has scarcely lifted over the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we begin to witness a new alignment of forces which is no less menacing in its implications for future peace, than the one which has just been destroyed. Indeed, each stage in the decline of the power of Japan has been followed by a deepening and sharpening of the conflict between the victorious allies.

American Big Business and monopoly capital was quite content to carry the entire burden of the war against Japan on its own shoulders. They did not want any competitors. By defeating Japan single handed, they hoped to acquire the right to dictate peace single-handed too, and thus secure the complete domination of American imperialism over China and the whole of the Far East. The ruling class of Britain had to fight hard and complain a lot before they could get their share in the "noble" war and participate in the final share-out.

A New York despatch from London on May 25th, quoted "qualified British quarters" as saying that "Britain desired to play a considerably larger role in the Far Eastern war than the United States was disposed to allocate to her."

So far as China was concerned both her "friends" had taken good care that she did not become too powerful in the course of the war. Indeed, the "defence of China" has been nothing more than a hoax which made it easy for the Labour and Trade Union bureaucrats to call upon the workers to support the war. For 14 years the Chinese people had been fighting heroically against Japanese imperialism. During the greater part of this period Big Business in Britain and America, under the plea of "non discrimination" had to supply the Japanese imperialists with oil and all

other military requirements. If they were at all interested in saving China from aggression they would have helped to arm and equip the Chinese masses, who fought on, very often without weapons at all.

With her undeveloped reservoir of cheap labour, China represents the principal outlet for the pent-up profits of the American capitalist class. Besides, the victory of China would represent a victory of the colonial peoples against imperialism. Such a victory would set in motion anti-imperialist forces throughout the whole of the East and might well prove to be the first chapter of an anti-imperialist revolution which would take the whole of Asia out of the orbit of imperialist and capitalist exploitation. It was not for China, but for the domination of China that Britain and America went to war.

But the conflict of interest between Britain and America is of minor significance in relation to the conflict between themselves and the Soviet Union. Ever since Stalin's denunciation of his pact with Hirohito, the ruling classes of Britain and America had been in a state of perpetual trepidation at the prospect of Russian entry into the war against Japan. The war in Europe had been a great disappointment for them. Everything had gone wrong. They had hoped that Russia and Germany would succeed in exterminating one another, leaving them the undisputed masters of Europe. Instead, Russia emerged as the dominant power on the Continent. They did not want to see the same thing in Asia as well. They had set their hearts on deciding the fate of Japan and Asia without any interference from their dear friend and ally.

Thus, during the period when the world press was busy speculating on the day of Russia's entry into the war, America and Britain were feverishly stepping up their military measures to force an issue before that tragic day. It was for this that the atomic bombs were used. It is a well known fact that a decision had previously been arrived at not to use this diabolical weapon in the present conflict. That

Attlee that Russia's entry into Manchuria was one more proof of the wonderful harmony and accord among the Big Three, serves only to show that the art of hypocrisy is no monopoly of Tory politicians.

Stalin did not march into Manchuria to save his allies. After Hiroshima the Allies needed no help. The final issue was no longer in doubt. Nobody knew it better than Stalin himself, who had already been approached by the Japanese authorities with a request for mediation. Stalin double-crossed his Allies to prevent them from double-crossing him. It was to strengthen himself against his "friends", to make sure of Manchuria and Korea and of naval bases on the China seas, that Stalin gave marching orders to his troops. It was Poland all over again.

Thus the revolutionary internationalists and the world working class cannot but condemn the actions of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which are on the same level of power politics as the imperialists. Opposed to the socialist revolution in Asia as well as Europe, because of the consequences within Russia, Stalin wishes to increase the revenues, power and influence of the Stalinist bureaucracy, while at the same time gaining safeguards against possible attacks by his present imperialist allies. The Chinese Eastern Railway in the hands of the American imperialists would be an even greater danger to the Soviet Union than in the hands of the Japanese imperialists. Thus Stalin wishes to gain safeguards against his present "friends".

The one thing Stalin has in common with his Allies is his contempt for the Chinese masses and the international working class. The slogans with which the Moscow press greeted the Red Army's march into Manchuria were echoes of the Czarist days "Remember Port Arthur!" "Death to the Samurai!" Breathing the spirit of reactionary nationalism, these slogans were designed deliberately so as not to provoke any revolutionary sentiment among the workers and peasants of China and the soldiers of the Japanese armies. In seeking to carve out of China his own sphere of domination, in contemptuous

## French Trotskyist Victimised

working class legislation on the statute books, put there by the ruling class which must also be swept away. These laws can still be used, almost as effectively as the Trades Disputes Act, to cripple the Labour Movement. The workers must not allow the Labour leaders to rest on their laurels. They must help the Labour Government, indeed force it to eliminate all anti-labour legislation and replace it with legislation directed against the Capit-

## COALOWNERS TO BE COMPENSATED

### Burdens to be Borne by the Miners

The proposals to nationalise the coal industry may imbue the workers with the belief that the Labour Government is going to take real steps against the capitalist class. But there is nothing in the Labour Government's proposals which should lead to this belief. Such illusions on the part of the workers will be short-lived.

True, the coal barons will try to sabotage this step by every possible means. But a large and growing section of the capitalist class is in favour of the nationalisation of the mines. The present state of the industry is a danger to the capitalist class of Britain, a running sore that threatens to infect the body as a whole. And even the coal capitalists may begin to favour the project now that the new source of power is discovered in the splitting of the atom.

In its editorial columns of August 14th, the "Times" consoles the capitalist class by pointing out that the policy of the Labour leaders in relation to nationalisation is aimed at efficiency and not against capitalism or the capitalist class. "Even a nationalised industry," says the Times, "must be in hands, NOT OF REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEES, or of Civil Service administrators, but of technical experts." But this is precisely the nub of the question for the workers.

Even if the nationalisation of the mines is carried out (and we have a long way to go before we see it in operation) to compensate the parasitic owners will leave the industry strangled in a heavy burden of debt which will continue to come out of the toil of the miners. Unless the industry is controlled, precisely by REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEES OF WORKERS AND TECHNICIANS, the rationalisation and speed-up which will follow the control in the hands of efficiency experts will be loaded onto the shoulders of the miners to the advantage and profit of the capitalist class. The Post Office is nationalised under this system, but the post office workers have not benefited.

The Labour movement, and particularly the miners' unions must insist that representative committees (whose absence fills the editor of the "Times" with relief) be set up immediately to

take over the control and management of the mines.

**BANK NATIONALISATION ACCEPTABLE TO CAPITALISTS**

The same applies to the proposal to bring the banks "under public ownership." National Banks, where they exist, operate just as efficiently and effectively in the interests of the capitalists as do privately owned banks. Churchill, spokesman of reaction, made this quite clear in his opening speech in the House of Commons when he said:

**"The National ownership of the Bank of England did not, in his opinion, raise any matter of principle. There were important examples in the United States and in our Dominions of central banking institutions, but what mattered was the use to be made of this."** ("Times", Aug 17.)

Workers who may have suffered the illusion that the nationalisation of the banks was a contribution towards socialism should note these words of the firebrand capitalist and they can only draw the conclusion that Labour's programme in this respect makes no real attack against banking capital and finance. On the contrary, it is but a further step in capitalist centralisation and rationalisation.

The same argument applies to the "control of investments". Capital is prepared to accept it, if it continues to bring in the profits.

**WORKERS MUST NOT TOLERATE PLAN FOR DISTRIBUTION OF COMMODITIES "IN SHORT SUPPLY"**

On the distribution of "many necessities" in short supply, "especially houses, food, clothing and fuel", the policy of the Labour Government as outlined in the King's speech is to "call for the same spirit of tolerance and understanding which the nation has displayed in the last six years of war."

No indication here of radical measures to be taken against the monopolies who control these commodities or of radical measures against the

(Continued on page 4)

## French Trotskyist Victimised By Government

### Pierre Frank to be Deported

THE POLICE HAVE INFORMED COMRADE PIERRE FRANK, A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONALIST COMMUNIST PARTY, (P.C.I.) THE FRENCH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, THAT HE IS TO BE DEPORTED BACK TO FRANCE ON SEPTEMBER 10th, AS AN UNDESIRABLE ALIEN.

Pierre Frank is a political refugee. He came here before the outbreak of the war in 1939 after he had been sentenced by the corrupt Daladier regime to 8 years imprisonment in his absence.

Frank had written a series of articles warning of the coming imperialist war and arguing that the ruling class of France would prefer to collaborate with Hitler than rouse the masses by revolutionary actions. For this he was charged under the reactionary anti-Labour press laws of the last century and was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment.

He was arrested in October 1941 for illegal entry into Britain and spent more than three years in British prisons and on the Isle of Man. At his trial the police stated that there was no doubt that he was a political refugee.

At that time a deportation order was issued against him, but the Government preferred to keep him on the Isle of Man than to implement the deportation order.

Fenner Brockway, who together with other leaders of the I.L.P., and a number of Labour M.P.s had taken the issue up with the Home Secretary, was informed by John Jagger (then the Parliamentary Secretary to Herbert Morrison at the Home Office) that: "the Home Secretary has had this case under review and can assure you that there is no intention of deporting Pierre Frank to a country where he would be liable to be prosecuted."

Similar assurances were given to Jimmy Maxton and to Colonel Wedgwood.

In France to-day there is a new regime. An amnesty has been proclaimed freeing political prisoners and refugees sentenced under the reactionary pre-war and early post-war regime. This has enabled Thorez and the leaders of the Stalinist organisations to carry on their political work unhampered. The amnesty applies to thousands of Socialists and Communists. From France, however, we are reliably informed from legal

sources that the amnesty does not apply to Pierre Frank.

Deportation under these conditions is the same as extradition. It means that the British Government is handing a political refugee over to the French police.

Why is the Government going back on the word and guarantees of the Home Secretary, given four years ago? Why is the Labour Government, which claims to protect political refugees from the reaction, handing Pierre Frank over for an 8 year sentence?

We call upon the Labour Party members to protest against the victimisation of Comrade Pierre Frank and to force the Labour Government to implement the pledge given by Herbert Morrison four years ago, that Frank would not be sent back to France while the sentence still hangs over him.

In France to-day our comrades of the P.C.I. are only semi-legal. Despite the fact that "Le Verite", the paper of our French Party (of which Frank was the one time editor), was the first illegal publication of the working class to appear against the Nazis, the De Gaulist Government has refused to grant the P.C.I. the right of publication. This act is taken under the pressure of the Stalinists who wish to silence their revolutionary opponents.

The case of Pierre Frank is a test case for the Labour Movement. He has been in the workers' struggles since he was 15 years of age. He joined the Communist Party of France in 1925 and was expelled together with other comrades as a Trotskyist in 1929. In the early days of the Left Opposition he was an editor of "La Verite" and in 1933, when the Trotskyists entered the Socialist Party of France, he was elected as an alternate to the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of France.

**PROTEST TO THE HOME OFFICE AND LABOUR PARTY EXECUTIVE AGAINST THE DEPORTATION OF PIERRE FRANK!!**

**DEMAND THAT FRANK BE GRANTED CONTINUED ASYLUM AS A POLITICAL REFUGEE!**

stepping up their military measures to force an issue before that tragic day. It was for this that the atomic bombs were used. It is a well known fact that a decision had previously been arrived at not to use this diabolical weapon in the present conflict. That decision was revoked solely in order to hasten the capitulation of Japan before Russian military preparations were complete. The excuse that the use of these bombs, which destroyed half a million human beings in half a minute, was to save human lives is a cynical lie which requires no further exposure to socialist workers. Under these circumstances the statement of

these slogans were designed deliberately so as not to provoke any revolutionary sentiment among the workers and peasants of China and the soldiers of the Japanese armies. In seeking to carve out of China his own sphere of domination, in contemptuous disregard of the Chinese people, Stalin has by implication given a free hand to the Allies to do the same for themselves. Such action has nothing in common with the internationalist policy of Bolshevism, which in the days of Lenin and Trotsky sought the safety of Russia in the friendship and

(Continued on page 4.)

## Leon Trotsky

### Founder of the Fourth International

From Lenin himself we have the testimony of the role which Trotsky played in shaping and building the Red Army:

**"Show me another man who would be able in a year to organise a model army, yes, and win the esteem of the military specialists?"**

The Stalinist "historians" have lost themselves more than once in their maze of fabrications, lies and distortions. But Stalin's "October Revolution", published by the C.P.G.B., exposes more glaringly their lies, and at the same time, the method. On one page Stalin says:

**"All the work of practical organisation of the insurrection (of October 1917) was conducted under the leadership of the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the bold execution of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and above all to Comrade Trotsky."**

But in a few pages later he says:

**"Comrade Trotsky played no particular role either in the Party or the October insurrection, and could not do so, being a man comparatively new to the Party in the October period."**

Let the paid hacks and pen-prostitutes of Stalin spin their lies and slander; let them falsify the history of the Red Army and October Revolution. They will fail to wipe out Trotsky's imperishable role in history as the creator and organiser of the Red Army and architect alongside Lenin of the October revolution!

(See Anniversary article on page 3)



TROTSKY AS COMMISAR OF WAR, 1921.

# DOCKERS! ORGANISE YOUR STRUGGLES!

See page 2

# Dockers: Organise Your Struggles

Leaflet Distributed to London Dockers by the London District Committee of the R.C.P.

For ten weeks the London dockers and stevedores, supported by dock workers nationally, have waged a struggle for 25/- a day guaranteed pay. For ten weeks they have suffered reduced wages and in many cases no wages at all in this fight for a decent standard wage. The London Dock workers cannot permit defeat now—they must be victorious.

The Ship-owners and port authorities have used vicious and brutal methods in their attempt to smash the dockers. They have suspended hundreds—have forbidden them to earn a cent or receive the "guaranteed" pay. With lies and slander the capitalists have attempted to whip-up public hostility through their kept press. The Labour Government has aided the bosses by using troops.

**What is the meaning and importance of the dispute?**

The capitalists want to reduce the wages of the dock workers to a level lower than pre-war; to smash the de-casualisation scheme and render the dockers' organisations harmless. More than this; the attack of the Ship-owners is but the prelude to a wholesale and direct attack upon the wage standards of all workers. They are beginning with the dockers first—the next will be the Merchant Seamen, Engineers and Miners. Victory for the bosses now would give them added confidence to begin the real onslaught on wages and trade unionism.

The struggle of the London dock workers is in the interest of all workers nationally. The Donovans and Barratts lie when they say that it is a local or sectional problem. It is a national problem demanding national action. Every serious thinking worker supports the London dockers and stevedores. The actions of the Liverpool dockers demonstrate this clearly.

**Union leaders help bosses!**

The capitalists have conducted a thoroughly organised and all-sided attack on the dock workers. Not only have they the assistance of the Government, its troops and apparatus, but they have the help of the union "leaders", who have devoted their time and energy to breaking the dockers' fight.

The Donovans, Condons and Barratts have worked openly on the side of the bosses. They have betrayed the dockers completely. This is the real meaning of their actions. Every dock

worker nationally knows Donovan's role. The Stalinists—members of the ex-Communist Party—have sabotaged the struggle by undermining militants, attempted compromises with Donovan, and by their attempts to localise the struggle and thus split the workers. The policies of Donovan and the Stalinists are one and the same. Both want to smash the dockers' struggle, though they may use different methods.

**On whom can the dock workers depend?**

Every dock worker wanted to reply to the vicious suspensions and lock-outs with organised strike action. But they were prevented because they had no organised and thoroughly prepared leadership. The dock workers can only rely upon their own organised strength.

Whilst remaining members of the unions the dockers must immediately organise committees in each section of the docks. They must demand that the Progressive Committee extend its basis, become really representative, and lead the struggle militantly and actively.

**Away with hesitancy!** If the Progressive Committee is worth anything at all it will take the steps we suggest immediately. Not to take these elementary steps is to sabotage the dockers' struggle.

**DOCKERS; ORGANISE!**

**ELECT YOUR COMMITTEES. PUBLISH AND DISTRIBUTE A NATIONAL LEAFLET CALLING FOR SUPPORT AND FUNDS.**

**ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH ALL PORTS**

**ORGANISE PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS TO TRANSPORT HOUSE AND PARLIAMENT, DEMANDING THAT THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT AND THE UNION LEADERS BREAK WITH THE BOSSES.**

**DEMAND THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT WITHDRAW THE TROOPS.**

**ORGANISE YOUR STRUGGLE THOROUGHLY.**

If these steps were taken immediately the bosses would be forced to grant the dockers' demands within a week.

**SOLIDARITY! CLOSE THE RANKS! FOR A MILITANT UNION LEADERSHIP!**

# MANKIND AT THE CROSS ROADS

BY ANN WALKER

The pronouncements of prominent statesmen on the new vista opened up by the harnessing of sub-atomic energy were no exaggerations, in fact they were gross understatements. The rulers of the world stand appalled before the demon force which mankind has set free from the heart of the atom. They are afraid of their own power, they dare not look too deep into the future; and there is a still more potent reason for caution on their part, for if the masses of the people understood the full significance of this discovery the days of capitalism would be numbered on the fingers of one hand.

The discovery of steam power gave the possibility for every human being to have at his service the mechanical equivalent of several human slaves, electrical power multiplied this by hundreds. The new sub-atomic energy will multiply it by millions. It was obvious to Marx three-quarters of a century ago that the natural forces then being harnessed by man would grow to such a pitch under the stimulus of production for profit that a time would come when they could no longer be kept within bounds by private individuals, and, if the human race were to continue its development, these forces must be transferred to the collective control and ownership of the whole of society. This collective control and ownership he termed "socialism", and he predicted that the toiling masses would rise up against the capitalist class and wrest from it the control of natural forces for the use of the whole of the human race instead of for the private profit of a few.

Since Marx's time capitalism has grown up, flowered and decayed, dragging society deeper and deeper into the abyss of ruin and destruction. In October 1917 the Russian workers expropriated their own capitalists and set up the first workers' state. Trotsky pointed out before the present war began that, unless the workers throughout the world were able to complete the task begun in Russia, the putrid and disintegrating capitalist system would drag down into chaos the whole of humanity. The invention of the atomic bomb poses this question with startling urgency, the fate of humanity is at stake. The alternatives before us are the social ownership and control of the means of harnessing the forces of nature, or the wiping out of human life, and possibly all forms of life from the face of the earth.

About the second alternative there is no need to go into detail. The fact

Europe and Asia will be as nothing compared with the awful devastation, the complete mortification of thousands of square miles, the roasting to death and disintegration of living organisms which will occur if the new weapon is left in the hands of monopoly capital.

Of the other alternative there is something to be said which is not generally understood. Accustomed as we are to a routine of work and sleep and small pleasure; of sweated labour for long hours at low wages; a monotony only broken by the horrors of war or the lethargy of unemployment; it is difficult to envisage a kind of life in which work would be a pleasure, and where the human personality, instead of being crushed and moulded for the benefit of private profit making, is able to grow and develop to its full capacity. Even under the present system of production every human being could have a life of comfort and leisure for education and personal development if the productive forces were controlled by society instead of by a few profit makers.

Now with the discovery of sub-atomic power the possibilities for human development are increased a thousand-fold. It means that the technical basis will soon be established for the production of all the essential material needs of life in a few minutes every week; all the rest of the time can be spent on the battle against disease, on the perfection of the human brain. Everyone would be free to develop his personality to the utmost limit. Scientific research on the human body could go forward at such a tempo that our grandchildren could grow up in a world where the outside forces of nature were subservient to our will. In a life-time an individual with the necessary means and leisure can develop a good deal, he can hand on his knowledge and experience to a certain extent to succeeding generations, but this kind of human development is limited and unsatisfactory. Every new individual has to start from the animal stage of mental development, and cannot develop beyond a certain point during his life-time. With the prolongation of life in its prime, and the control of physiological processes, every human being could acquire the stature of a genius, and the world's new mental giants would tower so far above the old level as to make Einstein and Beethoven seem like crude savages just fumbling on the threshold of conscious life.

# Steel Bosses' Plans

BY J. DEANE

The British steel bosses have announced a plan to re-organise the British Steel industry. The cost of the plan is calculated to be more than £120,000,000. It was approved by the Tory "Caretaker" Government.

This plan does not claim to better the wages and conditions of the steel, tin-plate and iron workers; neither does it claim to satisfy the wants and demands of millions of workers for houses and household goods.

This plan, is designed to regain the lost markets of the Steel Kings at home and abroad. It takes three giant strides along the road of complete monopolisation—a process which began on a scale hitherto unknown early this year when the Bank of England, after a long and complicated struggle, forced the Richard Thomas concern (with its comparatively modern strip-mill in Ebbw Vale) to conform with the "ring's" policy, and finally amalgamate with the less modernised Baldwin concern. In this neat swindle many shareholders and small producers suffered.

Another deal is contemplated! This time not at the expense of Sir T. Firth and the shareholders (for whom we shall weep no tears) but at the expense of the public—of the workers.

## OWNERS' PLAN

Stage one of the Steel Kings' plan is to wipe out the small producers and compensate them with public funds. Owners of old-fashioned mills, which account for 30 per cent. of the present tin-plate capacity, are to be wiped out through a levy on continuing production. Under this scheme the levy will rank as an operating expense for E.P.T. and in come tax purposes. "In other words" states the "Tribune", "the compensation money will be found by the nation at large, and any suggestion of big-heartedness on the part of Richard Thomas and Baldwins, the dominant tin-plate firm, can be dismissed." The "Tribune" continues: "The scheme leaves the tin-plate industry as a virtually closed monopoly of Thomas-Baldwins and a few other producers who will operate in the shadow of that company."

Stage two of this skillfully calculated plan is that the main cost of the £120,000,000 plan will be the modernisation and development of Thomas-Baldwins' mills in South Wales and other big firms such as, Dorman Longs, Stewart and Lloyds and United Steel. By mechanisation and development this plan aims to:—

(1) Mechanise 28 iron foundries which will represent more than 50 per cent. of iron castings capacity.

question that some at least (!) of these profits have come out of the pockets of the consumers of steel—who include, directly or indirectly, almost every inhabitant of this island."

The monopoly structure of the steel industry was established in 1930 on the basis of extensive capital construction during the first world war at inflated prices. Under the National Government of 1932 the industry was protected by a tariff on imported steel and the industry consolidated into a Federation, "which regulated output and fixed prices at an ever-rising level, while at the same time the concentration of financial control into a few giant combines was pushed forward with the special aid and interest of the Bank of England." (L.R.D., June 1945).

Profits were restored by increasing prices at the expense of handicapping other industries. 'In 1938 the prices asked for steel were so high that the consumers of steel simply stopped buying. The maintenance of steel prices at a very high level led to an astonishing rapid decline in consumption.' ("Economics for Democrats"). Such a multi-millionaire as Lord Nuffield has denounced the steel industry as "a perfect ramp, and absolute ramp—big cigars and nothing to do." The "Economist" also has declared that the Steel Federation is one of the tightest and most drastic monopolies this country has ever known."

The steel industry is also very wealthy. Apart from its connections with the coal industry and the leading financial circles it has formidable liquid assets. The "Financial News" 30/1/45, lists 19 companies which together have £52,000,000 in liquid assets. Of these companies, ten paid 10 per cent. or over on dividend in 1944. Every capitalist journal has spoken of the high profits, which are out of all proportion to the backwardness, anarchy, and productivity of the industry.

## WORKERS' CONDITIONS

The wages and conditions of workers in the Iron and Steel industry are, on the other hand, amongst the worst in the country compared to the conditions of work. Most of the mills and furnaces are antiquated, lack elementary sanitary and health facilities. For long hours workers sweat in filthy shops, breathing air which is foul and heavy with dust. The average wage of a British Iron and Steel worker is 2s. 4d. per hour for 50 hours. (Jan. 1944). An American Steel and Iron worker receives 5s. 3d. per hour for 40 hours. In other words, the American steel worker was

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grant the dockers' demands within a week.  
**SOLIDARITY! CLOSE THE RANKS! FOR A MILITANT UNION LEADERSHIP!**

## Revolutionary Communist Party MEETINGS

will be held from 12.15 to 1 p.m. every

Thursday : Royal Group Docks

Friday : Surrey Commercial Docks

## Our Martyrs

### BELGIUM

**Léon LESOIL** : foundation member of the Belgian Communist Party, foundation member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Belgian section of the Fourth International; member of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International; arrested 22 June, 1941; died in the Neuengamme camp on 6 May, 1942.

**Ferdinand MICHAUX** : died in the Neuengamme camp. (from Châtelaineau).

**Joseph FRANQUET** : from Jemappes, died in Neuengamme.

**Joseph BEUGNIES** : from Jemappes, died in Neuengamme.

**Marius NOPERE** : from Cuesmes, died in Neuengamme.

**Louis MARCOUR** : from Cuesmes, died in Neuengamme.

**Victor ROUSSEAU** : from Cuesmes, died in Neuengamme.

**François VAN BELLE** : from Liège, died in Neuengamme.

**LEMMENS** : from Liège.

**Lucien RENERY** : former member of the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Party; died in Neuengamme.

**Leon DE LEE** : from Antwerp; died in Neuengamme.

**Henri BRIDOUX** : from Brussels, died in 1943 in the Mauthausen concentration camp.

**Elie SZTOKFEDER** : Jewish refugee, hanged at Auschwitz.

**DAVID** : from Brussels, died at Auschwitz.

**HERMAN** : from Antwerp; shot at Auschwitz.

**JACOB** : from Antwerp; died at Auschwitz.

**Martin WIDELIN** : German emigre comrade in France, entrusted by the European Secretariat with the direction of the work among the German soldiers; shot by the Gestapo in the Bois de Vincennes, Paris.

### GREECE

**POULIOPOULOS** : Secretary of the International Communist Party, Greek section of the Fourth International.  
Also : VITE and 17 other Archio-Marxists.

### FRANCE

**Jean MEICHLER** : shot by the Gestapo.

**Marc BOURHIS** : teacher, shot in 1941.

**Pierre GUEGUEN** : Trotskyist Mayor of Concarneau, shot in 1941.

**André LEBACHER** : shot.

**Robert GRUAU** : shot in the street by the Gestapo.

**THIOLON** : shot.

**Henri KUNSTLINGER** : student, shot by the S.S. at Lyons.

**VAN HULST** : shot by the Militia during the insurrection, August, 1944.

**LAURENT** : in charge of the "military section" of the P.C.L., shot at Paris during the insurrection, August 1944.

**Yves BODENEZ** : leader of a cell of the Party, died at Buchenwald, aged 23.

**TRENO, REBOUL, SALINI, SADEK** : escaped from Puy in October 1943, disappeared in the Maquis.

### Also in HOLLAND

**SNEEVLIET** : leader of the R.S.A.P. (Revolutionary Socialist Workers' Party, not affiliated to the Fourth International), and eight other comrades of the R.S.A.P.

are the social ownership and control of the means of harnessing the forces of nature, or the wiping out of human life, and possibly all forms of life from the face of the earth.

About the second alternative there is no need to go into detail. The fact that the first application of the new discovery has been to annihilate at one blow tens of thousands of people is a sufficient indication of the use to which the present ruling classes will put the colossal power now available to man. The rival capitalist countries will not hesitate, in their mad scramble for profit, to shower death on millions of human beings in the countries of their rivals. The chaos and misery which the old methods of warfare have already produced in

human being could acquire the stature of a genius, and the world's new mental giants would tower so far above the old level as to make Einstein and Beethoven seem like crude savages just fumbling on the threshold of conscious life.

Humanity stands at the cross roads, one road leads to death—the other to abundant life. The capitalists by their very function are incapable of leading us forward to life, they have demonstrated in practice that the only way they can use man's control over nature is for destruction and death. Only the toiling masses can save humanity by seizing the power from the hands of the capitalists and their governments and using it in the interests of the human race.

## Spotlight on Events

BY "AGITATOR"

### STALINISM IN GERMANY

On August 12th, the Stalinists in Germany staged one of their most disgraceful theatrical parades. Five hundred Communist Party members and stooges, calling themselves a "United Front" of Berlin's four political parties, met in the Broadcasting Hall, the Albert Hall of Berlin.

Undeterred by the fact that they couldn't even rally enough supporters to fill more than a corner of the hall, representing nobody but themselves, the five hundred Stalinists "from all four political parties" proclaimed "the earnest desire of the German people to fulfil the terms of the Potsdam Declaration". Unanimous support was also accorded a Quisling-Vansittart resolution "acknowledging German collective guilt for the crimes of Hitler's regime."

In the coming resurgence of the German working class movement these monstrous masquerades will receive the treatment they deserve.

Members of the so-called Communist Party who still delude themselves with the idea that Stalinist methods are directed towards the achievement of Communism will do well to study the events taking place in the European satellite states of Russia. Marshal Tito, one of Stalin's principal puppets, talking to Allied correspondents on Aug. 12. "indignantly denied that Yugoslavia was on the road to Communism or was planning a Communist regime." Tito went on to assert "Changes now going on in Yugoslavia are far from Socialistic... Private property is respected here... We have only nationalised the property of enemies and traitors."

From this it becomes clear that Tito and his monstrous totalitarian regime exist to perpetuate capitalism and not at all to foster and encourage socialist revolution in Yugoslavia, and these facts give the lie to the statements of prominent British C.Pers that the regime in Yugoslavia is "progressive" and "neither capitalist nor socialist."

How the capitalists regard the role of the Labour leaders is shown by the following article by Trevor Evans in the *Daily Express* on August 9th:

"I saw one of his (Shinwell's) Ministerial colleagues yesterday who said, 'Well there's one thing to be said, Manny's well in with the miners'."

"He needs to be, because any day now he is going to ask them to make what most of them regard as a tremendous concession."

"He is going to ask them point-blank to work harder. He wants them to give an undertaking to do so. If the undertaking is broken, except through unavoidable circumstances, there wages go down. His proposals must specify a minimum output, which will vary from district to district, and a minimum attendance which will be national."

"These ideas have lain in the Ministry for more than a year. Only a Minister with a powerful personal appeal dare put them forward."

So we see already the evidence to prove that the "left" Labour leader, "Manny" Shinwell is preparing to foist on the miners proposals which the Tories didn't even dare bring into the light of day. The miners must exert pressure through their organisations to demonstrate to Shinwell that they put the Labour Party in parliament not so that the Labour leaders dictate to them, but that they are there to carry out a policy in the interests of the miners.

Long, Stewart and Loyds

and development this plan aims to:—  
(1) Mechanise 28 iron foundries which will represent more than 50 per cent of iron castings capacity.

(2) One-third of the blast furnaces are to be renewed. This will increase the total production capacity by 20 per cent.

(3) Expansion of open hearth capacity which will be capable of producing 100,000 tons of special tube a year.

In plain language this, the third stage, means that not only will the big firms (Thomas-Baldwins and those which operate in its shadow) develop their technique and output, but that the entire productive capacity of the steel industry will be concentrated in their hands.

### HIGH PRICES AND ANARCHY — MONOPOLISTS' POLICY

The steel industry in Britain is singularly backward and antiquated, though it is a vital industry. With public funds the Coalition Government developed, modernised and re-equipped mills and furnaces. These funds were donated to the steel bosses despite the fact that their profits were excessively high. With the intention of off-setting exposure. Sir, J. Duncanson, who until recently was Iron and Steel Controller in the Government and who now is Commercial and Technical Director of the British Iron and Steel Federation (a fitting post for one who served the monopolist so well!) stated:

"Ninety per cent. of the new plant and equipment created during the war is of little or no post-war benefit..." (*Times*, 23/7/45).

Despite the huge subsidies from public funds the production of steel during the war was less than 1939. The production of pig-iron was equal to that of the eighties! American productivity—i.e. output per worker, per hour—was four times greater than in Britain: today it is probably greater.

Mr. Crowther, Editor of the *Economist* has stated:—

"The result of the Conservative steel policy has been to confer enormous advantages on the business men of the industry. They have been granted a monopoly and assured of its exclusivity and permanence; and they have been encouraged to use it to raise prices for their product. The policy has beyond question put large profits into the pockets of the steel shareholders. And it is equally beyond

which is foul and heavy with dust. The average wage of a British Iron and Steel worker is 2s. 4d. per hour for 50 hours. (Jan. 1944). An American Steel and Iron worker receives 5s. 3d. per hour for 40 hours. In other words, the American steel worker was being paid more than twice the wage of an English steel worker, though the American steel industry was selling its products at three-quarters of the English price!

Before the war the steel workers suffered unemployment and casual employment. The Steel Federation's plan, by concentrating production in a few new areas, by restricting production to increase prices; in short, by running industry for one consideration: profit; will mean that even worse will be the unemployment and casual labour amongst the steel, tinplate and iron workers in the coming days.

### THE ONLY SOLUTION

Clearly, the future for the steel workers, and those millions of workers in the metal, engineering and shipbuilding industries is one of unemployment, poverty and misery if these industries continue to be owned and controlled by the financiers and monopolists. More than any other section of industry, it is the steel and armament industries which views imperialist slaughter as "very good business". They have made millions out of the sweat of the steel workers, and blood of the worker-soldiers.

The steel and iron workers must demand that their Union have the right to inspect all company books. They must demand an end to the strict secrecy with which this monopoly clothes its bandit actions, its profits and interests. Open all company books to Trade Union inspection.

With the complete information and knowledge of the industry the workers could prepare a plan for industry to satisfy the demands and needs of all workers. The workers must demand control over the financiers and Steel Kings to prevent them from using public funds and carrying out their reactionary plans.

From the Labour Government, which now has a clear majority and therefore no excuses, the workers must demand real and genuine steps against the capitalists whose plans mean misery and future world wars. Nationalise the steel and allied industries without compensation! Demand that the Labour Party carries out its promises!

### NOTICE

### NOVEMBER MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

The North East District Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party is considering fighting several Municipal Elections in the Tyneside area.

Fights at Wallsend and Newcastle are almost certain. North East worker supporters are asked to send any offers of financial or material help to:—

R.C.P. OFFICE,  
27, RIDLEY PLACE, NEWCASTLE ON TYNE 1.

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International.

256 HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2  
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## EDITORIAL

# Communism or World Chaos

**THE SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR IS ENDED. FOR SIX YEARS THE IMPERIALISTS HAVE BEEN LAYING WASTE THE GREATER PART OF EUROPE AND ASIA. NOT A COUNTRY AND HARDLY AN INDIVIDUAL IN THE WORLD HAS BEEN LEFT UNTOUCHED BY THIS BLOODY HOLOCAUST THAT HAS LAID WASTE ENTIRE COUNTRIES AND RUINED THE PRODUCTIVE POWER OF ENTIRE NATIONS.**

This war has, up to the end of the European phase only, wreaked the stupendous toll of 60,000,000 casualties, a war that has left a heritage of pestilence and disease throughout Europe and Asia, and ends with the imperialist politicians vainly seeking to avoid the effects of a world food shortage caused by their struggle for the redivision of the world.

At the end of this imperialist conflict, as at the beginning and throughout its course, the Trotskyists reiterate the true character of the conflict. This was a war, not for democracy and against fascism, or for the freedom of small nations; it was a naked imperialist conflict waged for profit, for empire, for markets and spheres of influence. Alone among the great powers, the Soviet Union, the degenerate workers' state, fought a progressive war. But, as the Axis powers, so the Allied imperialist powers fought for predatory imperialist and anti-working class aims. The Trotskyists, as faithful followers of Lenin, opposed the imperialist war and exposed the war aims.

With the end of the war, the masses hope for a relief of their sufferings and sacrifices. With a Labour Government in power, the soldiers expect to return home to a better life. But the full meaning of the war will become clear to the masses now that the peace has come. In order to protect the imperialist loot, the British and Allied soldiers will be needed to do the policing of the conquered territories and peoples.

The defeat of the Axis powers will not prevent the outbreak of future wars. None of the basic contradictions of world capitalism have been removed, but on the contrary have

spent £500,000,000 on developing the bomb. This amounts to almost the entire pre-war budget of Britain, one of the richest countries in the world. Yet in peace time, research on scientific problems amounted to only £100,000.

On this background the complete anachronism of the capitalist system stands out. The existence of national boundaries, customs barriers, state armies, navies and air force, the delirium of production for profit seems like a ghastly nightmare.

The very survival of humanity demands that the working class should destroy the fetters of production established by the existence of the capitalist system. The need for international socialism as a planned world economy has never in history been so apparent.

The industrial revolution in Britain, which was based on the steam engine, transformed the world and destroyed the basis of the old feudal system everywhere. Modern civilisation was built on the technique of new engines. No less revolutionary in its effects would be the use of atomic energy in industry. And the capitalists will have no alternative but to use it. Russia, freed from the restrictions of private ownership, will eagerly utilise this new discovery in peace as well as war industry.

Even if Russia has not yet solved the problem (and they were not too far behind in the race) it can only be a matter of time before they have it. Other countries will rapidly find the secret. A world monopoly of one or two countries is out of the question for any length of time.

Competition among the countries, the need to develop its maximum efficiency for the purpose of war will result in

Stalin's lies and slanders have fooled a few men, but certainly not the capitalist class of all countries, who hound, persecute and murder the Trotskyists throughout the world. History is more powerful than lies. Today every leading capitalist spokesman views the coming proletarian revolution and Trotskyism, as one. They fear the programme of Trotskyism—the programme of world socialist revolution.

The murder of Leon Trotsky by Stalin was not an isolated act of personal jealousy. It was the culmination of sixteen years' struggle between revolutionary internationalism (Bolshevism) and "Socialism in one country" (Stalinism). Stalin had removed all the other leaders of the October Revolution in the bloody purges of 1936 and '37. Trotsky alone remained, as a beacon light to the workers of Russia and the world. His very existence embarrassed the open and complete collaboration between Stalin and foreign imperialism. Thus, the murder of Trotsky was dictated by the needs of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy and the reactionary plans of world capitalism. Stalin feared Trotsky, and later murdered him, in the same way, and

Plekhanov who fought the liquidators. From the very beginning of the imperialist war he took a clear-cut internationalist position, participated in the publication of "Nashe Slovo" in Paris, and adhered to Zimmerwald.

"Deported from France, he went to the United States. On his return from there after the February Revolution, he was arrested by the Government of Kerensky and indicted for 'leading the insurrection' but was shortly freed through pressure from the Petersburg proletariat. After the Petersburg Soviet went over to the Bolsheviks, he was elected Chairman and in this capacity he organised and led the insurrection of October 25th. Standing member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1917; a member of the Council of Peoples' Commissars; Commissar of Foreign Affairs up to the signing of the Brest Treaty, then Peoples' Commissar for War."

### TROTSKY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THEORY

The great contributions to mankind made by Trotsky were manifold. He

socialist revolution, the Fourth International, which today is the only banner bearer of international socialism.

Trotsky showed that the failure of the old organisations of the workers to solve the contradiction of our time: the contradiction between the development of the means of production and the fetters of private ownership and the national state led inevitably to a new world imperialist war. Equally inevitable would be the betrayal by Stalinism and Social-democracy in their support for the imperialist war. Trotsky ridiculed the fantastic illusions of Stalin that in such a world conflagration Russia would be able to keep out. Continually and consistently he stressed the need for the world working-class to rally to the defence of the Soviet Union despite the treachery of Stalin.

Long ago, Leon Trotsky pointed out the direction in which Stalinism was travelling. Long before the actual events, Trotsky predicted the dissolution of the Third International and some of its national sections, and the treacherous social-patriotic role of Stalinism in the world war. The following extracts are from an article written by Leon Trotsky in 1938, entitled, "A Fresh Lesson On The Character Of The Coming War.":

"Ten years ago it was predicted that the theory of socialism in one country must inevitably lead to the growth of nationalist tendencies in the sections of the Comintern."

"Fifteen years of uninterrupted purges, degradation and corruption have brought the bureaucracy of the ex-Comintern to such a degree of demoralisation that it has become able and anxious to openly take into its hands the banner of social-patriotism. The Stalinists (we shall soon have to say ex-Stalinists) have not of course, set the Thames on fire. They have simply picked up the well known banalities of petty-bourgeois opportunism. But in propagating them, they have injected into them the frenzy of "revolutionary" parvenus, who have turned totalitarian slander, blackmail and murder into normal methods of "defending democracy". As for the old classic reformist, washing their

tionary international founded by Lenin and Trotsky, should remain today amongst the main obstacles in the path of the emancipation of the working-class. The remnants of the Stalinised Third International occupy today the traitorous place previously occupied by the Second International. Here the logical development of Stalin's theory of "Socialism in one country" is to be found—in the unconcealed counter-revolutionary role of the "Communist" parties in every part of the world.

Trotsky's analysis of the nature of the "Communist" parties and the Comintern has been completely borne out by events. The American "Communist" Party was dissolved by Earl Browder, and now, with cynicism peculiar to Stalinism, is to be reformed because of the needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Browderism revealed itself as an international and general tendency in the various "Communist" parties. Pollitt's speech and the dissolution of the Dutch "Communist" movement were all products of the tendencies spoken of and analysed by Trotsky.

Stalinism grew and flourished only in a period of reaction as a reflection of pessimism and lack of confidence in the proletarian revolution and the ability of the working-class to carry it through. Thus this cancerous growth is the result of an episodic relapse. In sweeping away capitalism the world working-class will sweep away the terrible disease of Stalinism. The two and a half decades of reaction are ended; the future is a new period of revolution—the epoch of Trotskyism, the epoch of world revolution!

The cleansing wave of revolution will put all tendencies to a new and ruthless test. The ideas of Bolshevism, of Trotsky, will become the ideas of the international working-class. The revolutionary essence of Trotsky's teachings lie in the necessity of a revolutionary party with a revolutionary leadership, trained and educated in the ideas of Marxism and enriched by the lessons of the events of the past century. The whole of Trotsky's life was dominated by this single aim. Time and again the masses fought for the conquest of power. In every capitalist country the masses had shown their heroism and self-sacrifice.

# LEON TROTSKY

## Assassinated by Stalin's G.P.U., August, 1940

**ON AUGUST 20th, 1940 LEON TROTSKY, LENIN'S CO-WORKER, FOUNDER OF THE RED ARMY, LEADER AND FOUNDER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, WAS BRUTALLY MURDERED BY STALIN'S G.P.U. ASSASSIN—FRANK JACSON. AFTER FIFTEEN ELABORATE ATTEMPTS, STALIN FINALLY SUCCEEDED IN ROBBING THE WORLD WORKING CLASS OF ITS MOST BRILLIANT AND HEROIC LEADER. FOR IN LEON TROTSKY'S BRAIN WAS CONCENTRATED ALL THE RICH EXPERIENCE AND THEORETICAL CONCEPTIONS OF NINETY YEARS OF MARXISM.**

**LEON TROTSKY**  
with his wife Natalia, and son Sedov  
taken in Prinkipo



and Allied powers do the policing of the conquered territories and peoples.

The defeat of the Axis powers will not prevent the outbreak of future wars. None of the basic contradictions of world capitalism have been eliminated; but on the contrary, have been aggravated and intensified by it. Past conflicts have been replaced by new and ever sharper conflicts.

The second Imperialist war has ended on a more ominous note than when it began. During the war, technique has advanced at an increased pace. The productivity of Labour has enormously increased in the principal belligerent countries. Thus, the problem of disposing of the surplus produced under capitalism, has reached a more acute stage than a quarter of a century ago.

The technique of destruction has advanced even faster than the technique of construction. Already V.1 and V.2 are obsolete as destructive weapons. The blitzkrieg of tanks, planes and guns are the product of another age. The terrible bombings of the great capitals of the world are but child's play compared to the powers of obliteration of the atomic bomb.

The atom bomb is the climax of this war in the cold-blooded search by the imperialists for the best method of scientifically exterminating whole populations in war. It transcends by far the primitive sackings of cities and the slaughter of their inhabitants by such amateurs as Genghis Khan and Attila the Hun. The wiping out of every man, woman and child in a city in a matter of seconds is a massacre which has no equal in the long cruel and bloody history of mankind.

The Japanese reported the effects of the atom bomb on the former city of Hiroshima:

"Medical relief agencies rushed from neighbouring districts were unable to distinguish, much less identify the dead from the injured. The impact of the bomb was so terrific that practically all living things—human and animal—were literally seared to death by the tremendous heat and pressure engendered by the blast. All the dead and injured were burned beyond recognition."

The hypocrisy of the Allied imperialists in their condemnation of the fascists in the use of poison gas in Abyssinia, and the rockets and flying bombs against Britain, is scarcely credible.

And the lackeys of the imperialists—the Stalinists and Labour leaders, who yesterday castigated the crimes of the Nazis, today gloat over the appalling tragedy that was Hiroshima and Nagasaki. No word of condemnation or protest against these atrocities committed by their masters. All this is an instructive lesson in the class mechanics of morality. There is no crime too appalling for the imperialists to commit, if their class interests are threatened.

Such is the madness of capitalism that the Anglo-American imperialists

Other countries will rapidly find the secret. A world monopoly of one or two countries is out of the question for any length of time.

Competition among the countries, the need to develop its maximum efficiency for the purpose of war, will result in a race for the development of atomic energy for industrial power. This in itself will transform not only the technique, but undermine and shatter the social foundations of capitalism. The new technical revolution will prepare the way for as great a social revolution. The changes in mass consciousness will be speeded up.

All the traitors and renegades within the ranks of the working class, the Stalinists and the reformists who looked towards a gradual solution of the evils of capitalism, have had a shattering refutation by the development of the atom bomb. The dominating task for those who wish for even the continuation of the human species, let alone civilisation, is to explain the alternatives clearly to the workers of all lands. The international working class must be made conscious of the real issues at stake.

The capitalists themselves have been shaken by the powers of destruction which now lies in their hands. Their spokesmen are pouring out illusions that this weapon will ensure perpetual peace. This is a most dangerous and pernicious illusion. The talk about "international control" and "a weapon of peace" are so many empty phrases in the interests of the victors to lull the anxieties and deceive the peoples of the world; it is nothing more than an attempt to maintain a world monopoly by Anglo-American imperialism and to dominate and exploit the rest of the world. What they are prepared to do to the masses of Japan, they will do to the masses of other lands, including their own.

Hardly had the first shock of the news died down, than the "Evening News" of August 13th can belliciously proclaim: "The more we think about the bomb the more clearly we see that Britain and America are now masters of the world." The American imperialists go further: they shove the British aside, proclaiming that as the atom bomb is manufactured in the U.S.A., it is they who hold the mastery of the globe.

The significance of the atom bomb with which World War II fittingly closed, is that in itself it is a threatening reminder of the lagging of the Socialist Revolution behind the modern development of modern technique. The era of Atomic energy is a warning to the working class of all lands that it is no longer a question of Communism or Barbarism, as Lenin imperiously warned—it is now a question of Communism or Nothing. The continued existence of the capitalist system poses as a serious possibility the complete extermination of mankind.

**WORKERS OF BRITAIN AND THE WORLD! THE ATOM BOMB IS THE LAST WARNING. FIGHT FOR A COMMUNIST WORLD OR CAPITALISM WILL DESTROY HUMANITY.**



for the same fundamental reasons, as the German Social-democracy feared and later murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

In order to distort the role of Leon Trotsky and the policy of Bolshevism, the history of the Russian Revolution has been re-written on dozens of occasions to suit the policies of Stalin. Popov the editor of 17 revised editions, was himself "liquidated" as a "Trotskyist"!

All the Stalinist lies and slanders can be swept aside by just one or two simple facts which appeared in Lenin's Collected Works. A succinct summary of Trotsky's political biography appeared as a note to the first edition of Lenin's Collected Works, Volume XIV, Part 2, pages 481-82, published by the State Publishing House in Moscow 1921. Here in a few lines, edited under the sharp eye of Lenin, are the answers to all the lies and falsifications concocted in later years by the betrayers of the Revolution:

"L. D. Trotsky, born 1881 (1879), active in the workers' circles in the City of Nikolayev; in 1898 exiled in Siberia; soon after escaped abroad and participated in the Iskra. Delegate from the Siberian League at the Second Congress of the Party. After the split in the Party adhered to the Mensheviks. Even prior to the revolution in 1905, he advanced his own and today particularly noteworthy theory of the permanent revolution, in which he asserted that the bourgeois revolution of 1905 must pass directly into the socialist revolution, being the first of the national revolutions; he defended his theory in the newspaper "Nachalo", the central organ of the Menshevik faction published during November-December 1905 in Petersburg. After the arrest of Khrustalov-Nussar, he was elected chairman of the First Petersburg (now Leningrad) Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Arrested together with the Executive Committee on December 3rd, 1905, he was sent into life exile to Obozersk, but escaped en route and emigrated abroad.

"Trotsky chose Vienna to live in, and there he issued a popular newspaper, "Pravda", to be circulated in Russia. He broke with the Mensheviks and attempted to form a group outside of all factions; however, during the factional struggle abroad he made a bloc with the Mensheviks and the Vyperod group against the bloc between Lenin and

made invaluable theoretical contributions to Marxist theory. His theory of permanent revolution, analysis of centrism, sectarianism and petty-bourgeois politics, his analysis of fascism, what it is and how to fight it, number amongst his outstanding contributions to scientific socialism. Above all, however, was his analysis and explanation of the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the rise of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy; the elaboration of the programme of and outstanding role in the creation of the world party of

# FOURTH INTERNATIONAL NOTES

## TROTSKYISM IN GREECE

As we go to press we have received several publications of our Greek comrades and a report of their activities. Material from their press will be published in forthcoming issues of the "Socialist Appeal."

In Athens there are two Trotskyist organisations—the Revolutionary Labour Party, a split-off from the Archeo-Marxists, and the Internationalist Communist Party, a split-off from the Communist Party.

The organisations publish respectively, the printed "Workers' Front" and the "Workers' Struggle", weekly in Athens. In Salonika where the elements of these organisations recently fused, they publish a duplicated paper "The Spark".

Both organisations are entirely illegal and persecuted by the government. They have the added terror of the Stalinists directed against them. While the Stalinist controlled E.L.A.S. was the dominating military force in the first days of "liberation",

past century. The whole of Trotsky's life was dominated by this single aim. Time and again the masses fought for the conquest of power. In every capitalist country the masses had shown their heroism and self-sacrifice, but only once, in the Russian Revolution of 1917, were they victorious. And only then because of the existence of a Bolshevik Party and a Bolshevik leadership basing itself on Marxist theory.

Trotsky wrote to J. P. Cannon: "We work with the most correct and powerful ideas in the world, with inadequate numerical forces and material means. But correct ideas in the long run, always conquer and make available for themselves the necessary material means and forces."

Already this is borne out by events. Churchill and Wallace, both students of revolution, have more than once referred to the revolutionary events in Italy, Greece, France, Germany, as the "spectre" of Trotskyism. In Europe and Asia the masses are moving along the road of world revolution.

(Continued on back page)

the Fourth International to the workers sought to expose the role of the Stalinists—and called on them to organise their own organs of revolution from below. It exposed the perfidious nature of the E.A.M. slogans of 'national liberation', democratic republic, etc., and counterposed the slogans of socialist revolution."

Many workers learned the lessons of the events, the Archeo-Marxists and Fourth International recruited heavily from the workers who broke away from the ranks of the Communist Party. At the moment there is a crisis in the C.P. itself, for it is becoming more and more difficult for it to carry out its programme of betrayal and still retain the leadership of the masses. The semi-fascist hooligan bands, who, with the connivance of the Government, continually terrorise the working class organisations, have twice, recently wrecked the newspaper offices of the C.P. and E.A.M. and beaten up the staff. The I.C.P. appeals to the workers to form Defence Guards against these attacks. The question of the fusion of the two organisations into a united Party is now under consideration by the Greek comrades and the full assistance of the international and national sections of the Fourth International must be given them in this task.

many of our comrades were slaughtered by the Stalinists who resort to such methods to remove their political opponents in the Labour movement.

In Salonika, where there was no open clash between British troops and E.L.A.S., no less than 254 members and supporters of the Archeo-Marxists and Trotskyist organisations were rounded up and shot by E.L.A.S. Casualties in Salonika and Athens have continued ever since.

"The position taken during the British-E.L.A.S. conflict by both Fourth Internationalist and Archeo-Marxists, was that "The E.A.M. was comparable in most ways to the other National Liberation movements of Europe, and playing the same treacherous role. The analysis termed it the modern version of the 'Peoples Front', and compared the situation in many ways as similar in the conflict of forces, to the Spanish Civil War. The E.A.M. movement was not a movement of the masses. True, it canalised the pressure of the masses for its own ends, but was nevertheless a bureaucratic apparatus controlled from the top, wherein the masses had no say. The programme of

# R.C.P. Holds Conference

## Great Strides Made in Past Year

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY WAS HELD AT THE ART WORKERS GUILD HALL, RUSSELL SQUARE, LONDON, ON 4th, 5th and 6th AUGUST, 1945.

36 accredited delegates from branches attended, and 13 consultative delegates. In addition there were 160 visitors. Fraternal greetings were brought from our French, Ceylonese and Italian brother parties.

Principal items of the agenda were:

- (1) The Organisational Report dealing with the development of the Party since the fusion of Workers' International League and the Revolutionary Socialist League and the founding of the R.C.P. which took place in March 1944.
- (2) Resolutions on the International Situation updating the developments of the war. The relationship of the imperialist and class forces in Europe and the perspectives of the class struggle in the European countries.
- (3) Resolution on the perspectives in Britain and the tactics of the R.C.P. updating the development of the struggle in Britain and the new relationships in the working class movement arising from the coming to power of the Labour Government.
- (4) The Industrial Perspectives, policy and tactics of the R.C.P. in the industrial sphere.
- (5) The International Report dealing with the growth and development of our brother parties, the national sections of the Fourth International in all parts of the world.

A draft resolution on the war in the Far East was not discussed at the Conference owing to lack of time but was referred to the new Central Committee for redrafting and elaboration.

A controversy on the political and industrial tactics of the Party were resolved on the basis of resolutions and after full discussion. These decisions of the Party Conference are to be published in pamphlet form in a special edition of "Workers' International News".

The International Report revealed that a regroupment and link-up of our national sections was already well under way. The British Party was in touch with our comrades and brother sections of the Fourth International in France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Greece, Palestine, Egypt, Sweden, in South Africa, Ceylon, Australia, Canada, Chile, Uruguay, Mexico, Argentine and the U.S.A. We had reports of our comrades or their activities in Germany, Denmark, Spain and several other parts of the world including Russia.

Reports revealed that during the Nazi occupation hundreds of our best comrades had been slaughtered in Europe or sent to concentration camps. A list of some of these is published elsewhere in these columns. In several European countries, despite the alleged "liberation" by the Allies our organisations were still declared illegal and repressive measures were being used against our comrades, including the suppression of their press. These questions will be dealt with in future issues of "Socialist Appeal".

The principal discussion on the political tactics of the Party centred around the question as to whether the forces of the R.C.P. could best influence the advanced sections of the working class by preparing to liquidate the independent organisation in favour of entry into the Labour Party, or of pushing out under our own banner among the politically and industrially organised workers at the present stage. Conference decided that the development of the struggle on these lines and with the present relation of forces, offered the best opportunities to influence the advanced sections of the working class through and by the vigorous independent propaganda and activity of the R.C.P. The possibility of a future entry into the Labour Party was left open. But in the meantime the closest possible links had to be forged with the mass of the workers organised in the Labour Party and Trade Unions.

## MAIN RESOLUTION

### LABOUR IN POWER

Party played an exceedingly important part in the present election.

The attitude of the strata who have formed the core of the militant Labour supporters in the past is one of watchfulness and waiting. The political thought of the Labour masses is on an entirely different level than in the past decades. Among large sections of workers is a feeling of relief and jubilation, coloured by the half-threaten-

ing mood: "They've got an overwhelming majority! No excuses this time!"

After the first period of watchful waiting and the plea of "Have a little patience—give them time to carry out their promises," for which the Labour leaders are already pleading, the masses will begin to exert tremendous pressure on the Labour Government to carry out measures against the capitalists in the interests of the working class.

## REORIENTATION OF OUR AGITATION-PROPAGANDA

Our party will have to reorient its agitation and propaganda among the masses on a different axis. For the last decade the main agitational slogan has been **Labour to Power**. Now this aim has been achieved by the movement of the masses. The next stage will be to concretise our transitional programme and attempt to harness and clarify the inevitable insistent demands of the masses for measures against the capitalists and in the interests of the workers.

A criticism of the acts of the Labour Government as contrasted with what a real workers' government would do, and the advocacy of the necessary measures which should be introduced will be put forward in an explanatory and simple way.

To suggestions of sabotage by the capitalists as excuses and extenuations put forward by the Labour leaders, we will demand that strong measures must be taken to clip the wings of these gentry: seizure of the banks, abolition of the House of Lords, monarchy, etc.

At the same time, as an undertone to the main stress of our agitation and propaganda which will be positive though critical, the conceptions of mass committees will be developed in industry and within the mass organis-

ations to exert organised pressure on the Labour leaders and assist them to deal with the employing class by means of workers' control. We will constantly stress the necessity for reliance on the mass strength, solidarity and organisation of the workers to exert pressure on the Labour leaders to achieve their declared objectives.

The development of a further phase and a change in emphasis of agitation and propaganda will again depend on the development of events and the movement of the masses. But for the next period our broad agitation must be on the lines indicated above.

The coming period will witness tremendous ferment and political life within industry, the Forces, among housewives and all strata of the population. The masses will more and more insistently demand action in their interests. Events at home and abroad will shake the Labour Government. The Labour regime will be a regime of crises.

At each successive phase of the struggle, the Trotskyists will campaign on the basis of proposed concrete measures in the interests of the masses and with the participation and initiative of the masses to solve the problems with which the masses are faced.

## ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

The organisational report showed a steady advance on the part of the Party.

The circulation of the "Socialist Appeal" was pegged at 12,000 per issue by the paper control. This circulation

in the Neath area had been gravely weakened. By the end of the campaign the workers in the district clearly differentiated between the Stalinists and the revolutionary communists.

During the Neath campaign the

## THE KING'S SPEECH

(Continued from page 1.)

landlords who control the housing space.

"Toleration" of the situation would be the action of self-imprisoned slaves. To end the present set-up ought to be one of the first acts of the Labour Government. To do so, committees of housewives, co-operatives and monopoly stores employees, and of small shop keepers should be set up. In the absence of such a lead, Trade Unions and Labour Parties should undertake the task of setting up these committees and push the Labour leaders on the road of struggle against the monopolies.

Far from having the "same spirit of tolerance" as they showed during the war, it is time the workers woke up and took over the distribution of the available housing space through democratically elected workers' committees. If the Labour Government won't give a lead on this question, the local Trade Unions and Labour Parties must.

In general, the programme as outlined in the King's Speech is the most radical programme of reforms which has been outlined for half a century, and so it is taken to be by leading circles of the capitalist class.

But reforms such as are proposed in Housing, Social Insurance, education, etc., can only be granted if the economy of the country is ascending and growing from year to year. The economy of Britain is steadily declining. The effects of the war on British economy are almost as devastating as if she had lost the war. Not only is Britain the greatest debtor nation in the world, but many of her basic markets are gone never to be recaptured.

These factors make it impossible for

the standards of the British workers to be really raised in the next five years of Labour Government and the continuation of the capitalist system.

If the Labour Party is to solve the problems to the benefit of the workers it will only do so by taking real anti-capitalist measures against the ruling class. Not by a programme of social reforms "acceptable to all" but by a socialist programme acceptable to the working class.

Such a programme demands the active intervention and organising genius of the overwhelming majority of the working class and the setting up of democratically elected workers' committees to carry that programme into effect.

Class conscious socialists will fully understand the reformist and utopian character of the Labour Government's programme and the reactionary implications of its foreign and colonial policy in Europe and Asia. But millions of workers still have the illusion that the Labour leaders and the Labour Government can raise their standard of life and introduce a new era of freedom, democracy, collaboration among the peoples of the earth. The Labour Party's programme is now about to be put to the test. Every serious revolutionary worker, who does not suffer from these illusions, in going through the experience of testing Labour's programme in action, will help to mobilise the workers in defence of the Labour Government whenever it is under attack from capitalist reaction, and will constantly seek to rally the workers to set up democratically elected workers' committees to force the Labour leaders into taking real steps against the capitalist class in the interests of the workers.

## LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from page 3.)

lution—along the road of Trotskyism. In Europe and Asia the parties of the Fourth International are growing and winning hundreds to their banner. In Britain the ideas of Trotsky are penetrating the most advanced and militant strata of the working-class.

After fifteen years of persecution and hounding, during which period his two sons were killed and no less than seven secretaries assassinated by agents of Stalin; Jacques Monard—alias Frank Jackson—a paid assassin of the G.P.U., succeeded in carrying out his terrorist assignment.

But this dastardly crime, whilst dealing a great blow to the world movement, failed to achieve its objective: the destruction of the ideas of the world revolution. Jackson's icepick shattered Trotsky's brilliant brain. But the ideas of Trotsky have been written down in millions of words and assimilated by thousands of men and women of every race and colour. Trotsky had done his work well. Before the fatal blow fell he had left behind the rounded and complete pro-

when the lies and the slanders of Stalin against Trotsky reached their highest point of frenzy Trotsky wrote the following. It was this spirit and understanding of history which placed Trotsky above all other men of his age:

"The struggle which is in the offing transcends by far the importance of individuals, factions and parties. It is the struggle for the future of all mankind. It will be severe. It will be lengthy. Whoever seeks physical comfort and spiritual calm, let him step aside. In time of reaction it is more convenient to lean on the bureaucracy than on truth. But all those for whom the word "socialism" is not a hollow sound but the content of their moral life—forward! Neither threats, nor persecutions, nor violations can stop us! Be it even over our bleaching bones, the truth will triumph! We will blaze the trail for it. It will conquer! Under all the severe blows of fate, I shall be as happy as in the days of my youth! Because, my friends, the highest human happiness is not in the exploitation of the

# MAIN RESOLUTION LABOUR IN POWER

The following extract from the main resolution is reproduced here dealing with the coming to power of the Labour Government and the tendencies which would reveal themselves within the working class and Labour Party.

The election of 1945 marks only the first wave of the radicalisation of the masses. The change in the consciousness of the workers is graphically shown in the difference between the election of 1918 and that of 1945. Lloyd George waltzed home with an overwhelming majority. It is true that the comparatively young Labour Party increased its representation tremendously. But the decisive feature of the election was the illusion in the programme of Lloyd George of a "Land Fit for Heroes to Live In". In the present election, despite the prestige of Churchill and the fact that the election was precipitated in the hour of victory, the capitalist parties have suffered an unparalleled reverse.

For the first time in any of the important capitalist countries of the West, the reformists have been returned to power with an overwhelming majority. Such a result (least of all anticipated by the Labour leaders and achieved despite their timidity, cowardice and dread) is but an echo of the moods developing among the masses. It was achieved despite the virtual disfranchisement of millions of voters through the rushed election, the bulk of whom would have voted for Labour. Symbolic of the real development within the masses was the big vote polled against Churchill himself by an unknown crank when the Labour Party withdrew their candidate!

A tremendously important by-product of Labour's victory is the by-passing of a Popular Front stage in Britain. This would have been virtually certain had the Tories succeeded in obtaining a narrow majority. Already under Stalinist influence, many of the big unions were passing Popular Front resolutions in the period before the declaration of the results of the election. But the complete eclipse of the Liber-

## THE MOOD OF THE MASSES

The Labour Government begins its tenure of office in an entirely different position from that of 1929 and 1924. Millions in the backward areas awakened to discontent with capitalism have evinced tremendous enthusiasm for the Labour Party, especially in the middle class areas formerly bitterly hostile to Socialism. But millions in the Labour strongholds of the last couple of decades or so, voted Labour in a critical and sceptical frame of mind. Only the Left Wing leaders of the Labour Party in these areas received an enthusiastic welcome. The Right Wing leaders received in many of such areas a tepid response.

Noteworthy of the result was, that it was achieved despite the uninspired and half-hearted campaign waged by

als makes such a phase out of the question for the next period in Britain. The class issues are posed in a sharp clear-cut and unambiguous fashion, which represents a tremendous gain for the revolution. The ground is cut from under the feet of those who wish to suggest any compromise with any of the capitalist parties. To propagate a "National Government" with "Churchill and Eden included" or even an agreement with the Liberals, would be to be greeted with derision and laughter by every section of the working class. It would mean the extinction of any party suggesting it.

A new and entirely different epoch in British historical development has commenced. It marks an epoch in British history as pregnant with change and historical convulsions as the victory of the Liberals in the General Election of 1906. This marked the period of Britain's "New Dealism" following the shake-up of the class structure in Britain and the beginning of British Imperialist decline on a world scale.

The difference between then and now represents the tremendous change in the class structure during the last decade and the desire for an entirely new social system on the part of big sections of the population. It represents fundamentally important differences from the minority administrations of the Labour Party in 1924 and 1929, both in the objective situation of British capitalism at home and abroad and in the subjective moods and reactions of the Labour masses.

For the first time every important industrial city went overwhelmingly Labour, including such former Tory strongholds as Birmingham and Liverpool, and big sections of the lower middle class and professional classes for the first time turned away in large numbers from the capitalist parties.

the Labour leaders. In addition to which the Party machine was not nearly as large or active as the electoral machine of 1935, when there were 30,000 organised in the Labour League of Youth alone.

This in itself was an index of the attitude of the masses. In great part it was the old Labour local officials who ran the elections. In many areas the C.P. and the Trotskyists participated largely in the campaign. The top layer bureaucrats were compelled to close their eyes to this because of the weak position of the Labour Party machine. In contrast with the 1935 elections when hundreds of individual Labour Party members in each area participated actively in the campaign, workers not directly in the Labour

The organisational report showed a steady advance on the part of the Party.

The circulation of the "Socialist Appeal" was pegged at 12,000 per issue by the paper control. This circulation could be readily increased as soon as the control was lifted or the paper ration increased.

The membership of the Party had increased by more than 20 per cent since the fusion. The majority of new members came from the Communist Party or were fresh to organised political activity though they were in the main moving towards the Stalinists before turning to the R.C.P. New members were also gained from the I.L.P. The organisational gains, however, were not a real reflection of the growth of influence of the Party in the British Labour movement.

### TRADITION FOR TROTSKYISM BEING BUILT

For the first time Trotskyism in Britain had seriously begun to penetrate the organised working class movement and had become recognised by the advanced workers as a distinct revolutionary communist tendency.

The three principal factors making for this advance were:

(1) The full participation of our Party in the real strike struggles of the workers and the fact that ours was the only party to seriously intervene in these struggles of the workers. The result was that reporters of the "Socialist Appeal" were welcomed at meetings of the militant workers who were fighting the capitalist class and the "S.A." was welcomed by militant workers throughout the country.

(2) The arrest of our comrades in connection with the Tyneside apprentices anti-Bevin Pit-ballet strike under the infamous Trade Disputes Act; the courageous and bold fight they put up in the dock; and the culminating defeat of the Government at the court of appeals when the conviction was quashed. The case was one of the most important in Trade Union legislation for years and the victory enhanced the prestige of our Party in the eyes of organised labour. This strike threw up the only militant and revolutionary leadership from the youth in the course of the war. The outstanding youth leaders of that struggle are now in the R.C.P. or are sympathetic to it.

(3) The Neath By-election. The success of the vigorous campaign was felt particularly in the most advanced area of Britain—South and West Wales. In this campaign we had tested the agitational propaganda line of the Party and the ability of the organisation to carry a real uphill campaign. The result 1,781 votes for the Trotskyist programme in face of V Day, the chauvinism of the mass organisations, the first incursion into the territory by the Party—was a very fine vote. Our relations with the rank and file of the Labour Party in the Welsh valleys were on a very good footing despite the fact that we had opposed a Labour-Tory coalition candidate.

We dealt the Stalinists severe blows in the district and their organisation

in the Neath area had been gravely weakened. By the end of the campaign the workers in the district clearly differentiated between the Stalinists and the revolutionary communists.

During the Neath campaign the Party distributed over 100,000 leaflets. We put up 8,000 posters and sold 15,000 copies of the "Socialist Appeal" and some hundreds of assorted pamphlets. 70 indoor public meetings were held, the two outstanding ones attracting 750 and 1,500 workers respectively.

From having practically no basis in Wales at the Fusion Conference we now have three proletarian branches composed almost entirely of miners and steel workers.

The name of the Party has proved to be one of our best assets. The workers who were turning to Communism sensed that there was something wrong with the Stalinist version of "communism" and we were able to demonstrate their role with the Stalinists on the defensive throughout.

### SOLID TRADE UNION BASIS

In the Trade Unions the Party had made great advances. Almost the entire membership is composed of workers, 98 per cent of whom are in trade unions. A large percentage of Party members hold shop stewards' cards and several are convenors of shop stewards in important engineering plants. The main advances had been made in the mining industry. The most significant gain being a miners' official.

We have comrades on more than 30 Trades Councils, and we also have comrades on several District Committees of the A.E.U.

### GAINS FROM THE I.L.P.

In the I.L.P. the leadership had expelled a group of comrades for "Trotskyism" in the Newcastle area. These comrades had been fighting to expose the role of the leadership as capitulators to Transport House and had tried to get a series of revolutionary resolutions on the agenda of the I.L.P. Conference. The inability of the N.A.C. to combat these comrades politically had forced them to use the Party apparatus to exclude the resolutions from the agenda and prevent them being discussed at the I.L.P. annual conference.

In joining the R.C.P. these comrades had materially assisted in building one of the healthiest and best functioning local Party organisations.

### GENERAL ELECTION

During the General Election our electoral policy of giving active support to put "Labour into Power" and criticising the Labour programme and leadership, had won us considerable contact with the Labour workers.

Many of our comrades had been allowed to present our critical policy from Labour platforms. In one area, the new Labour M.P. had appeared on 5 occasions on our platform. Several of our party members had been employed as full time workers for the L.P. during the election. A close and comradely contact has been established with the Labour Party rank and file wherever our comrades worked.

(Continued at foot of Column 5.)

But the ideas of Trotsky have been written down in millions of words and assimilated by thousands of men and women of every race and colour. Trotsky had done his work well. Before the fatal blow fell he had left behind the rounded and complete programme and party of the Fourth International.

During the Moscow frame-up trials,

## Withdraw the Troops from Asia

(Continued from page 1.)

sympathy of the colonial peoples and in aiding their struggles against world imperialism.

However, in the period immediately ahead, the mutual hatred and jealousies among the victorious powers will be kept within the bounds of moderation by their common fear of revolutions. The imperialist powers are already preparing to restore the Japanese Emperor onto his shattered throne. The capitalist press of Britain and America have begun to discover the beneficial role which this representative of militarism may play in restoring law and order in Japan in the troublous days of the future. The surrender of the Japanese ruling class took place against a background of riots and popular revolts in the principal cities of Japan. Who can doubt but that once the workers of Japan emerge as an independent political force, they will upset the dream of the empire builders?

Not only in Japan but throughout

bones, the truth will triumph! We will blaze the trail for it. It will conquer! Under all the severe blows of fate, I shall be as happy as in the days of my youth! Because, my friends, the highest human happiness is not in the exploitation of the present but the preparation for the future." Long live the Fourth International!

Asia a powerful movement of the masses will emerge in the coming period, demanding freedom and economic emancipation. The task that faces the working class movement in Britain is to establish firm bonds of solidarity with the toiling masses of the East. Only the triumph of the popular masses for freedom can bring real peace in the East and eliminate the danger of a new war which may well prove to be the end of humanity.

We must demand of the Labour ministers that they be no party to any settlement which seeks to perpetuate imperialist rule which does not accord the Asiatic nations the right to decide their own destiny. A powerful demand must go forward from our movement for the withdrawal of all troops from the East, for the release of all political prisoners in India and the colonies, and for full freedom for all the Asiatic countries to determine their own form of government through their own freely elected assemblies.

The Second National Conference marked a great step forward in the history of the British Trotskyist movement, as of the working class. Despite our small forces in relation to the mass organisations of the Labour and Communist Parties, the growth of the Party and of the Trotskyist tendency in the course of the war, during which period our Party established itself as the revolutionary wing of the working class, was a heartening sign of the change which was taking place in the advanced sections of the working class.

Many workers in the Labour Party had come to realise that the Trotskyist organisation was the only tendency which had a consistently anti-capitalist, internationalist and revolutionary programme in the course of the war. Our friendly relations with the local Labour Parties was a good augury for the future integration of the party with the mass of the organised workers. The fact that a great part of the Communist Party members no longer accepted the lies and slander of the Stalinist leadership about the Trotskyists but looked upon the R.C.P. as a radical section of the Communist movement, is another indication of the changing relationship of forces within the British working class.

The correctness of the internationalist ideas of the Fourth International on a world scale, of Trotsky's analysis of the degeneration of Stalinism, the character of our epoch and the forms of struggle that would inevitably develop have been fully shown in the course of the war. These ideas made it possible on an international scale for the Fourth International to prepare the advanced workers for the great struggles that lie ahead and were an inspiration to all who assembled at the conference of the R.C.P.

Our comrades went back to their districts with renewed determination and vigour to participate in the daily struggles of the workers and to apply the principles of our International programme which alone is the guide post for the emancipation of our class.

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY!

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