

HANDS OFF THE GREEK WORKERS!

SUPPLEMENT TO

SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

VOL. 6...No. 10.

MID - DECEMBER, 1944.

TWOPENCE

OUT WITH CHURCHILL!

SMASH THE GOVERNMENT OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED TO THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE :

"BRITISH TROOPS ARE IN ACTION AGAINST THE GREEK WORKERS AND PEASANTS! THE GREEK REACTIONARIES AIDED BY GENERAL SCOBIE, HAVE FIRED ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN. SPITFIRES ARE MOWING DOWN THE GREEK PEOPLE! WAR IS BEING WAGED AGAINST THE GREEK PEOPLE BY CHURCHILL. CHURCHILL AND THE RULING CLASS REVILE AND SLAUGHTER THOSE WHO ONLY YESTERDAY BORE THE BRUNT OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE NAZI OCCUPATION OF GREECE."

L.P. CONFERENCE Labour Lefts Sell Out ANEURIN BEVAN Supports Government

"I DO NOT WANT TO BREAK UP THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ON THIS ISSUE"

THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE THIS YEAR IS ONE OF THE MOST FATEFUL IN THE WHOLE HISTORY OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT. ALL THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE WERE OVERSHADOWED BY THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN GREECE. GREECE WAS THE TEST, AND ON GREECE THE LABOUR LEADERS HAVE BETRAYED THE WORKING CLASS OF GREECE, OF BRITAIN AND OF THE WORLD..

The attention of the entire world was focused on the Labour Party Conference. The workers of Europe and the world were looking to the Labour Party to give a lead. During the course of the last few days, despite the veil of the British censorship, the situation in Greece has become clear. It is not a civil war that is taking place in Greece, but an undeclared war of British imperialist intervention to impose on the Greek people their own reactionary puppets, against the wishes of the Greek masses.

Yet the resolution drawn up by the Executive and passed by the Conference fails to openly condemn the counter-revolutionary and anti-democratic actions of British imperialism. It commits the Labour leaders to nothing but confuses their own

nothing less than a full blown imperialist counter-revolutionary programme.

In relation to the European peoples, he stands as did Noske and Scheidemann, the German Labour leaders—as an open supporter of counter-revolution. We see the result of Noske's policy in Germany today; Bevin's policy, if it succeeds, will have no different result. The ruling class will use Bevin and then cast him aside as the German ruling class contemptuously thrust the social democrats into the concentration camps, after they had no more use for them.

WHAT A SHAMEFUL SPEECH! BEVIN SHOULD HAVE BEEN HOOED OFF THE PLATFORM!

Neither he nor any other of the so-called Left wing delegates had the courage to come out with a fighting socialist lead which would have resounded not only in the Conference hall, but from Land's End to John O'Groats.

Continued on page 4.

SCOBIE AND PAPANDREOU FOOD AS A MILITARY WEAPON



British workers conscripted to "fight Fascism" are being used to replace the S.S. in murdering revolutionary workers. They hate the job. Every British worker hates it.

The Labour movement alone can stop it. BUT WHEN THE ISSUE CAME UP IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. WHAT A BETRAYAL OF THE WORKERS BY THE LABOUR LEADERS! On a motion against the Government:

80 LABOUR M.P.'s WERE ABSENT.

23 LABOUR M.P.'s VOTED FOR CHURCHILL!

33 LABOUR M.P.'s ABSTAINED!

ONLY 24 LABOUR M.P.'s VOTED AGAINST CHURCHILL!

Workers! Force your leaders out of this cowardly position! Labour must mobilise the working class against this counter-revolutionary Government.

Having used the Partisans for its own ends, the British ruling class are demanding the disarmament of these forces. At the same time they have reinforced and lavished arms upon the Greek "Regular Army" composed of Fascist thugs and murderers. Under the Papandreou clique 85 per cent of the Greek army and navy were imprisoned in Cairo. The "Security Battalions" of Greeks, armed and equipped by Hitler to repress the Greek workers and peasants, are being re-

tained by the reactionaries as a police force.

CHURCHILL'S POLICY IS: DISARM THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS; ARM THE FASCISTS AND REACTIONARIES.

The peoples of Europe want a Socialist Revolution. Churchill prepares in advance to drown the revolutions in blood. First Italy, then Belgium, now Greece. As a man who tried to drown the Russian Revolution in blood, who used the Black and Tans in Ireland, who mowed down unarmed, hungry, Indians, who played a leading role in breaking the General Strike—Churchill is an apt choice for the British ruling class.

The Communist and Socialist leaders in E.A.M. have the undoubted support of the mass of the Greek people. These leaders agreed to capitulate to the British military authorities and accept disarmament. But so great was the resentment of the masses that they are compelled to demand at least, the disarmament of the Fascists as well.

Without the backing of British bayonets, there would have been little bloodshed and the Papandreou dictatorship would have collapsed. British imperialism has intervened with tanks, machine guns, and planes against the popular democratic will of the people.

THE MASK IS OFF. IMPERIALIST WAR

The war is revealed blatantly as a gangster struggle for domination of Europe and the world by British and American imperialism against German imperialism. Not democracy and freedom, but economic, political and military domination of subject peoples in the struggle for markets, raw materials, colonies, spheres of influence, land, sea and air bases. **THESE ARE THE OBJECTIVES FOR WHICH CHURCHILL IS USING BRITISH TROOPS AGAINST GREEKS.**

The Trotskyists have consistently exposed this war for what it is. It is becoming clear to every worker that

the good old Churchill and the bad new Churchill! **THERE IS BUT ONE CHURCHILL — THE CHURCHILL OF FINANCE CAPITAL — ARCH-ENEMY OF THE WORKING CLASS.**

The Anglo-American imperialists are preparing a cunning and ruthless policy for Europe. Already all food shipments to Greece have been cancelled! Thus they hope to starve the Greek people into surrender. That is the purpose of U.N.N.R.A., to blackmail and starve the European peoples into submission to capitalist governments. **Those who accept, will receive meagre rations; those who resist will receive not bread but bullets!** We must defeat the fiendish plans of the British bankers and capitalists.

The Trade Union and Labour movement, the Co-operatives must organise the sending of food to Greece and any other European country threatened by British imperialist blackmail with famine and starvation.

The British Labour movement must send food, not through the reactionary force U.N.N.R.A., but under the control of the Trade Unions without conditions.

SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST WORKERS! It is our lives and the fate of the workers of Europe and the world that is at stake. The battle that is being fought by the Greek masses is **our battle!** Your leaders say they want to fight for democracy—then demand that they come out against the anti-democratic Churchill Government!

END THE COALITION WITH THE TORIES.

The British workers must galvanise their organisations into action. They must force their leaders to break with the reactionary capitalist class. In all the localities, in the factories and Trade Union Branches, resolutions must be passed demanding action on the part of their leaders. Councils of Action must be organised throughout the country as they were in 1917 and 1920 in the "Hands off Russia" campaign. **ONLY THE DIRECT INTER-**

become clear. It is not a civil war that is taking place in Greece, but an undeclared war of British imperialist intervention to impose on the Greek people their own reactionary puppets, against the wishes of the Greek masses.

Yet the resolution drawn up by the Executive and passed by the Conference fails to openly condemn the counter-revolutionary and anti-democratic actions of British imperialism. It commits the Labour leaders to nothing but confines itself to vague generalities in which there are so many loopholes that the Government could impose any policy they please on the Greek people.

ERNEST BEVIN SOLD OUT

And Ernest Bevin, in a speech which would have disgraced Ramsay MacDonald, came out even more blatantly and openly for the policy of imperialism than Churchill dared to do. He revealed that the criminal intervention in Greece had the full support of the Labour members of the Cabinet. In defiance of working class opinion in Britain, he said as if to emphasise that they would behave in the same way again:

"Anything I say will be with deliberation because it must have an effect on our attitude to other countries besides Greece."

In revealing the anxieties of British imperialism which Bevin and the Labour leaders have taken upon themselves to defend, he said:

"I took part with my socialist colleagues in the whole of these discussions going over nearly four years, trying to work out the best way to handle these terrifying problems that would arise at the end of the war."

In other words the Labour leaders are preparing and conniving with the capitalist class for intervention against any revolution in Europe.

Cynically he revealed that both Stalin and Roosevelt had agreed that while Bulgaria and Rumania should be territories where Russia kept "order" (i.e. spheres of influence), Britain should keep "order" in Greece.

Bevin's main preoccupation, like that of his master Churchill, is to hold up any possibility of the peoples of Europe settling accounts with the capitalist quislings and traitors, who have exploited and battered on them for centuries. Churchill could not declare openly his motives for intervention in Greece, but Bevin, the lackey of the master, has blurted it out:

"The British Empire, whether we like it or not, cannot abandon its position in the Mediterranean. It is impossible for it to do so."

This is the reason for British intervention in Greece and Italy, and tomorrow other countries. The Mediterranean is "Mare Nostrum" (our sea). Among other things, this is one of the main objectives for which British imperialism has been fighting the war: domination of the Mediterranean for markets, raw materials and above all for the route to India and the Middle East. And this man, Bevin comes to a Conference which is supposed to represent the interests of the working class, to defend

as an open supporter of counter-revolution. We see the result of Noske's policy in Germany today; Bevin's policy, if it succeeds, will have no different result. The ruling class will use Bevin and then cast him aside as the German ruling class contemptuously thrust the social democrats into the concentration camps, after they had no more use for them.

WHAT A SHAMEFUL SPEECH! BEVIN SHOULD HAVE BEEN HOOTED OFF THE PLATFORM AND DRIVEN FROM THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

ANEURIN BEVAN SERVES AS LEFT COVER

But the workers are already disillusioned in Bevin by his actions in the Government in the course of the war. They are seeking leadership elsewhere. They have been looking to Aneurin Bevan and other leaders in the "Left" wing of the Labour Party. Since the debate on Regulation 1A(a) Aneurin Bevan has stepped forth as an opponent of the Labour Executive. He has spoken in opposition in Parliament on Regulation 1A(a), on the Greek, and other questions. This Conference was the test of what his words were worth.

SCOBIE AND PAPANDEOU FOOD AS A MILITARY WEAPON



Papandreou unloads first bag of flour sent to Greece, while General Scobie looks on. The masses refuse to accept the fascist-monarchist regime with Papandreou at the head — the food supplies are withdrawn. Here we see the counter-revolutionary role of U.N.R.R.A.—

gangster struggle for domination of Europe and the world by British and American imperialism against German imperialism. Not democracy and freedom, but economic, political and military domination of subject peoples in the struggle for markets, raw materials, colonies, spheres of influence, land, sea and air bases. THESE ARE THE OBJECTIVES FOR WHICH CHURCHILL IS USING BRITISH TROOPS AGAINST GREEKS.

The Trotskyists have consistently exposed this war for what it is. It is becoming clear to every worker that this is a reactionary war. The Labour leaders told us that they entered the Government in order to "destroy fascism and dictatorship", in order to "liberate Europe". Why do they stop in this Government now? A Government stained with the blood of the Greek people. The stains are on their hands too.

And what of the so-called "Communist" Party now? What of their rosy pictures of a "liberated" Europe? They have deceived the workers that Churchill was fighting a "just war for democracy." And even today, in face of these bloody events, the Communist Party tries to find "two Churchills"—

ment. **END THE COALITION WITH THE TORIES.**

The British workers must galvanise their organisations into action. They must force their leaders to break with the reactionary capitalist class. In all the localities, in the factories and Trade Union Branches, resolutions must be passed demanding action on the part of their leaders. Councils of Action must be organised throughout the country as they were in 1917 and 1920 in the "Hands off Russia" campaign. **ONLY THE DIRECT INTERVENTION OF THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS CAN PREVENT CHURCHILL AND THE CAPITALISTS FROM DESTROYING THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN GREECE.**

END THE COALITION! WITHDRAW THE BRITISH TROOPS FROM GREECE!

EXTEND THE HAND OF SOLIDARITY TO THE GREEK WORKERS AND PEASANTS!

FOR THE IMMEDIATE DISPATCH OF ARMS AND FOOD TO THE GREEK WORKERS UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNIONS!

INDIAN TROTSKYISTS IMPRISONED

Betrayed by Stalinists

Brought to trial on charges arising from their escape from a British Concentration Camp, where they had been interned from June 1940 until April 1942, two leaders of the Federation of Bolshevik Leninist Parties of Burma, Ceylon and India, Section of the Fourth International, were sentenced to prison on February 8th, of this year in the Magistrate's Court at Kandy, Ceylon.

They were betrayed to the British police in India by Stalinist agents.

BY LI FU JEN

The two Trotskyists, outstanding fighters in the liberation movement of the Indian masses, are N. M. Perera and Philip Gunawardene. News of their trial has reached the "Socialist Appeal" together with inspiring information concerning the activity of the Indian Trotskyist organisation which continues to live and grow despite the fiercest persecution.

In the finest tradition of the revolutionary socialist movement, our Indian comrades unflinchingly faced their brutal accusers in court, defended their Bolshevik principles and views, and turned the trial into an indictment of British imperialism. We reprint their statement to the court on page 3 of this issue as testimony to the firmly rooted character of the Trotskyist movement in India and a source of inspiration to their comrades in Britain and throughout the world.

In addition to numerous leaflets in native languages along with the burning issues of India's struggle for

freedom from imperialism, and from the oppression of the native princes, the landlords and the capitalists, the Indian Trotskyists publish an impressive illegal organ entitled "Permanent Revolution."

The Indian Trotskyist movement had its origin in the British island colony of Ceylon, at the southern tip of India, in the year 1935, when the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon Socialist Party) was formed. The new party, basing itself on the Trotskyist programme, made rapid headway among the six million Ceylonese slaves of British imperialism. It took part in the struggle of railway workers, plantation labourers and peasants. Its revolutionary literature appeared in Sinhalese (the native language), in Tamil (the language of Indian workers imported into the colony) and in English.

Rapidly the masses came to recognise the Lanka Sama Samaja as their true spokesman, the only real fighter for their interests. In 1938, they ex-

GREEKS DON'T WANT HIM PUPPET OF BRITAIN



KING OF GREECE

pressed their confidence in the Trotskyist party and its programme by electing N. M. Perera and Philip Gunawardene to the Ceylon State Council. These are the two Trotskyist leaders who now, for the second time, have fallen into the clutches of the imperialist overlords.

The British plantation owners and their government were greatly alarmed by the growth of Trotskyist influence among the workers and peasants of Ceylon, but they hesitated to suppress the movement precisely because of the enthusiastic support it received from the masses and for fear of provoking an upheaval.

(Continued page 3.)

DURHAM MINERS PROVOKED

Bill Davy

The policy which has been constantly and persistently pursued by the owners of Whitburn Colliery, Durham, which has resulted in innumerable strikes and disputes has created a crisis which may involve the closing down of the pit.

As a result of the owners claim that it was impossible for them to work the pit at a profit the government has subsidised them and made it possible for them to introduce new machinery which involves changes in methods of production.

There is a constant attempt by the management to introduce niggling economy measures such as saving on explosives which throws extra work onto the fillers who have first to hew the large lumps before loading. These innumerable pin pricks have made the arduous work of the miners intolerable. The substitution of a double unit by a single unit conveyor belt, 200 yds. long, has proved to be the last straw.

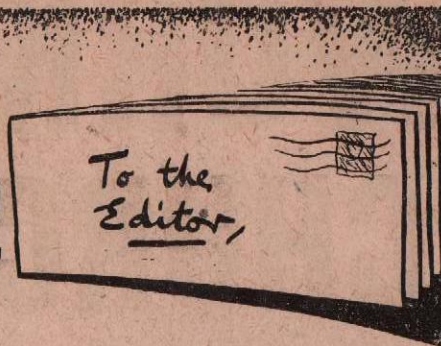
This new machine is constantly breaking down under the additional weight of coal and the additional strain on the inferior belting and accessories. Its installation has meant a revision of production methods. Everything depends on the maintenance of the "cycle of operations". The management claim that in order to get the output through the use of this machinery, that it is necessary for the workers to remain at work and make up for the time lost due to breakdowns etc. This means that the full burden of inefficient and inferior machinery and an equally inefficient management is thrown on to the backs of the already overburdened workers who claim that the demand made by the management, and backed up by the

Regional Fuel Controller, that the miners accede to working the extra hours is in direct contravention of the Mines Acts which lay down that 7 hours plus one wind (approximately 7½ hrs.) shall constitute a shift, and that any additional hours are to be worked only in cases of emergency. Hornsby the Fuel Controller for the Durham area has issued an ultimatum to the workers. Either they produce the 8,000-10,000 tons weekly which were produced in 1939 (when the seams were far better than at present, when there were more faces and less stone in the coal), and accept the bosses proposals of the unbroken cycle of operation—or else the Government will withdraw its subsidy and the mine will close.

The miners rightly consider this attitude as blackmail of the worst type. They are not prepared to bear the brunt of the burden of the inefficiency of the management or of the unsuitable and inferior machinery which has been installed, nor to accept the relaxation of laws which were established as the result of many years of bitter struggle to safeguard the miners' interests from these very blood suckers.

The capitalist press paints a picture of unreasonable, lazy indolent miners who spend most of their time absenting themselves from work and who refuse to listen to reason. In fact these workers have shown tremendous restraint in the face of attacks by the press, mine owners and their own leaders. There is no doubt whatsoever that if the mine owners were expropriated and the pits operated under the direct control of the workers they would be able, in spite of the present bad conditions, to produce the 8,000-10,000 tons required. This is the only solution to the problem of the Whitburn Colliery.

Letters



Russian Prisoners Anti-Stalin

5th December, 1944.

To the R.C.P.
Dear Comrade,

I have come into contact with some Russian prisoners—some belong to the Ukraine and others (Mongols) from Turkestan.

There has not been much time to talk to them up to now. I have talked to a few Ukrainians, who were on collectives there. Most of them are young lads. It is so interesting to hear them talk of the Collectives. Each Collective consists of about seventeen or so houses with 1,000 hectares of land. Planning is carried out by an elected soviet with a president as director. The work is distributed and planned by this body. Division of produce is carried out on the principle of so much grain for each day's work per man. They seem very keen on their collectives and were counterposing it to Capitalist land tenure. The word "egal" keeps cropping up, it means equal in the German. They are all so keen to learn and love to converse and discuss things.

There was one fellow in particular who acted as group leader. He asked various questions: "What hours do you work in the different industries? What is the pay? And many others concerning labour conditions here. I answered him pointing out that overtime had become something like what he knew as Stakhanovism. The heavy taxation by the state I also dwelt upon.

To the question of: "How long will the war last?" I had to go deeper: until the proletariat of Europe institute "The Socialist United States of Europe". He was surprised when I mentioned Zimmerwald and Chauvinism "Die Internationale Kaput". "Long live the Fourth International". When I said that European revolution would tumble the bureaucrat Stalin and bring Russia again on the path mapped by Lenin and Trotsky, he was rapturous and hastened to explain it to the other comrades.

Comradely greetings,
Pte. X.Y.

From Our

Stalinist Bureaucrats in Italy

To the Editor,
Dear Comrade,

Yesterday Naples was honoured by a visit of a Trade Union delegation from the Soviet Union. The locals turned out *en masse* to give them an enthusiastic welcome. When the delegates appeared on the scene, the air was rent with cries of "Viva L'Internazionale!", "Viva la Rivoluzione Operai!" and so forth.

The local workers greeted the delegates with clenched fist salute the delegates just waved back at them. The word was passed round: "No singing of the Internationale." Nothing must happen to upset the happy relations established at Teheran.

Even staunch Stalinists were embittered at the open cynicism displayed by these representatives of the workers' state.

Peck.

Holland Next

B.L.A.

2nd December, 1944.

Dear Comrades,

I am as you know in Holland. Just a few things I saw that impressed me. One day last week I managed to see Brussels for a couple of hours, and in the very short time I was there I saw at least a dozen slogans whitewashed: "Down with Pierlot the Assassin". There were accusations against him of being a reactionary, and also keeping in prison political prisoners. Another interesting thing was that with these whitewashed slogans there was the hammer and sickle prominently displayed.

Now about Holland: from what I can gather, and one of the people with whom I spoke was a Dutch F.F.I. Lieutenant—I doubt if the Dutch Government in London has 10 per cent support. I doubt if anything will happen until the whole of Holland is "liberated"—then I should imagine we might see a bit of fireworks when the Dutch Government comes back.

Yours in comradeship,
Pte. S.

Sheffield

BLITZ WORKERS' HOSTEL

Appalling Condition

By Heaton Lee

For 5 long years Britain's building and civil engineering workers have been subjected to the most atrocious living and working conditions in camps and hostels, on aerodromes, military camps, aircraft and ordnance factories. Exploited by the bosses and avaricious landlords, buffeted by the notoriously bad English weather and equally callous N.S.O.'s, thousands of bricklayers, plasterers, joiners, painters and labourers have now been drafted to London to repair fly-bomb damage.

It was no unique experience for these workers to be directed willy-nilly, at a moment's notice into areas where accommodation was hopelessly inadequate, to find themselves billeted in insanitary, overcrowded, under-heated camps and hostels; their bedding and mattresses vermin ridden and filthy; their lives controlled day and night by their employers, who appointed the camp commandants and "welfare officers" who controlled the camp.

London's hostels and camps are no different, in fact in some hostels the conditions are even worse. I visited one of these hostels in Lancaster Gate, which before the war, had been a reasonably fashionable and very comfortable hotel. The dining rooms with their plush carpets and expensive furniture had been stripped bare, evacuated no doubt like the bloated bosses and their bejewelled women who patronised the hotel in pre-war days. Today 280 workers are served with "meals" in the room in which previously a dozen people dined and wined. There are no table cloths on the collapsible wooden tables. There are no condiment sets. Salt is served in a heap in the middle of the dirty table or in a 7-lb. carton. Mustard is mixed and served in old tins. The maximum permitted price is charged for all services. A meal which costs 1/1d. in a British Restaurant costs 1/5½d. in this hostel, where the catering is done by the biggest Building and Civil Engineering constructors in Britain, **George Wimpey & Co. Ltd.**

Not satisfied with the colossal profits they have made out of Government contracts in the course of the war, or from the repair of bombed premises (of which they have a tremendous proportion) Messrs. Wimpey are now de-

termined to augment their profits by "catering" for the blitz repair workers.

Of course these gentlemen will throw up their hands in horror at the allegation that they are making any profit at all. The kitchen is grossly understaffed, and the kitchen staff are miserably under-paid. Waitresses and kitchen hands are paid £2. 10. 0 per week for an 8 or 9 hour day, and the cooks are erstwhile plasterers. All this in the midst of comfort and plenty not a stone's throw away, where highly paid chefs prepare delicate dishes for their capitalist patrons.

The stairs of this hostel have been stripped of their carpets, so have the bedrooms. The lift which formerly carried parasites to the top floor is no longer in use. After a hard day's work, a worker has to climb 150 stairs to his bedroom on the top floor. The rooms are over-crowded and bare of any furniture except bunks. Eight or ten workers share a room previously occupied by a single person, 90 workers are now expected to live in a house designed to accommodate 9. There are three lavatories which are hopelessly inadequate. The Hostel Committee suggested installing urinals and the M.O.W. Welfare Inspector countered by suggesting pails on each landing! Although hot water has been laid on to each room, the system designed for 10 people is so inadequate that workers have to draw hot water for a wash from a central point which involves most workers in a climb of some 60 stairs. No fires are permitted in the rooms and the floors which are frequently scrubbed never dry. In conditions like these, tuberculosis will thrive like plants in a hot-house.

One worker told me that he had been through the last war, and that conditions there had been better than in this hostel—at least they had been allowed a fire. Each worker is issued with four thread-bare blankets and no sheets. There is nowhere to hang his clothes and he is forced to "live out of a box". The arduous conditions under which these workers

are compelled to work in all weathers is made worse by the bad conditions in the hostels.

How are these hostels operated?

The M.O.W. requisition accommodation and appoint caterers to run the hostels. The M.O.W. provide all the crockery, cutlery, furniture, kitchen ranges and utensils. The caterers employ the cooks, waitresses and other hostel staff; they also appoint a camp commandant and a "welfare Officer" whose wages are reclaimable from the Ministry. It is the duty of the Welfare Officer to see to the welfare of the men, but for the most part these "gentlemen" are more concerned about the welfare of the boss. Beaumont, the welfare officer in the particular hostel that I visited, recently objected to meetings being called by the hostel committee at which Wimpey's staff were excluded, without first obtaining "permission" from him. In the course of a heated discussion with the Hostel Committee he informed them that "I'll have no more Trade Unionism discussed in this hostel."

In the face of these bureaucratic and wholly arbitrary methods there is only one solution. The bosses who reap fat profits while workers live and fight under miserable conditions must be removed from the control of these hostels. FULL CONTROL MUST BE PLACED IN THE HANDS OF THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED HOSTEL COMMITTEES, who will see to it that the kitchen staffs are paid trade union rates of wages, and that they work under trade union conditions. Through the Hostel Committees, arrangements should be made with the Co-operative Society for the supply of all provisions at wholesale prices. Through the Council of Action and through the Trade Union branches, pressure should be brought to bear on the leadership to see to it that priority is given to the installation of adequate washing, heating and wardrobe facilities.

To the bleating of the bosses that they are making no profits out of the catering, workers should demand that they open their books to inspection by the Trade Unions.

BREAK THE COALITION!

Labour to Power

on the following Programme

AN END TO THE COALITION WITH THE BOSSES. LABOUR AND TRADE UNION LEADERS MUST BREAK WITH THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT AND WAGE A CAMPAIGN FOR POWER ON THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMME:—

Industrial and Economic Policy.

1. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation, as the prerequisite for a planned economy and the only means of ensuring full employment with adequate standards of living for the workers, and the operation of the means of production under control of workers' committees.
2. Confiscation of all war profits, all company books to be open for trade union inspection, control of production through workers' committees to end the chaos and mismanagement.
3. Distribution of food, clothes and other consumer commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the Co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives' committees, and small shopkeepers, and allocation of housing under the control of tenants' committees.
4. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum; the rate for the job; and industrial rates for all members of the armed forces.

Democratic Demands

5. Repeal of the Essential Works Order, the Emergency Powers Act and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking legislation.
6. Full electoral and democratic rights for all persons from the age of 18 years. Full democratic and political rights for the men and women in uniform.
7. Immediate freedom and unconditional independence for India, Ireland and all the colonies of Britain; immediate withdrawal of British armed forces from these countries; full economic and military assistance to the Indian and colonial peoples to maintain their independence against all imperialist attack.

Military Policy

8. Clear out the reactionary, pro-fascist, and anti-labour officer caste in the armed forces and Home Guard; election of officers by the ranks.
9. Establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of workers' officers; arming of the workers under the control of workers' committees elected in the factories, unions and in the streets for the defence of the democratic rights of the workers from reactionary attacks by the enemies of the working class at home and abroad.

BEVIN BOY SPEAKS AGAINST SEPARATE UNION

By H. Finch

Irish Domestic Service

...the bureaucratic Stalin and bring Russia again on the path mapped by Lenin and Trotsky, he was rapturous and hastened to explain it to the other comrades.

Comradely greetings,
Pte. X.Y.

From Our American Brother Party

August 17, 1944.

Revolutionary Communist Party
256 Harrow Road, W.2.
London, England.

Dear Comrades,

We have concluded our campaign to raise a thousand-dollar solidarity fund for your party.

Our comrades responded readily and enthusiastically. We raised this fund as our expression of solidarity with you at this moment while you are under the persecution of the class enemy.

It is our hope that this modest sum will help you carry on with the work of the party, especially its press.

With fraternal greetings,
M. Stein,
Acting National Secretary.

FROM A Welsh Miner

West Wales,
November, 1944.

To the Editorial Board,
"Socialist Appeal."

May I congratulate you on the November issue of the "Socialist Appeal." I have never before had the occasion to write in such a strain—to the dusty atmosphere of office journalism.

Prior to my introduction to the "Socialist Appeal" I had resigned myself to the hopelessness of reading reactionary articles—and listening to reformist speakers' impudent hypocrisy on democracy in relation to capitalist collaboration.

Your paper, with its revolutionary appeal has given me the impetus to combat the apathy and discouragement such writings have created.

The continuation of the "Socialist Appeal" is essential to the interests of the British working class, and the world's proletariat in their march forward to world revolution and freedom!

To Jock Haston, Heaton Lee and Co., I express my sincere gratitude for their victorious fight against Regulation 1A(a) which is so detrimental to the interests of the British working class.

Also may I thank John Lawrence for the "Silicosis" article in the November supplement issue. It is time the horrors of this dreaded disease are advertised. The religious ministers of our valley, are continually occupied giving "last rites" and sympathy to the bereaved.

In extending the hand of friendship to the workers of all lands, I can truthfully say: The elementary doctrine of internationalism will eventually bring the best, true class conscious workers to the ranks of the Fourth International.

J. R. J.
West Wales Miner.

...the Dutch Government in London has 10 per cent support. I doubt if anything will happen until the whole of Holland is "liberated"—then I should imagine we might see a bit of fireworks when the Dutch Government comes back.

Yours in comradeship,
Pte. S.

Sheffield Worker Charged

Sheffield,
23rd November, 1944.

Socialist Appeal,
Dear Comrade Editor,

On Monday, November 6th, I was charged in the Sheffield Police Court by my employers "The Tinsley Wire Industries, Ltd." with being persistently late. But although everybody from other firms were fined anything up to £7, my case was so glaringly against them, that my case was adjourned for one month.

Here are the facts:

1. It is true that I lost about a half an hour a week.
2. If you are two minutes late you are stopped fifteen minutes.
3. For four and a half years I have worked 15 hours overtime per week on the average.
4. On one occasion I had to face the Works Committee for being half an hour late although I had worked over 100 hours the week before.
5. I, along with others, have had to make so many complaints about the Works clock being wrong, that finally they got another clock.
6. Many times I work as much as 30 hours overtime.
7. On top of all this, for the whole of the war, I have done one all-night every week voluntary fire service.

The capitalist press never reported a word about my case, only those who were fined.

Yours sincerely,
H. Evans.

Welsh Tour

The following meetings have been organised in South Wales at which Comrade Jock Haston, National Secretary R.C.P., will present the case for International Socialism—the Programme and Policy of the Fourth International.

GWAUN-CAE-GURWEN.

Minor Hall at 7 p.m. on Friday, January 5th. Chairman, Llew Pritchard.

PONTA DULAIS.

Mechanics Institute at 5.30 p.m., Saturday, January 6th. Chairman, Edgar Thomas.

EBBW VALE.

Workmens Hall at 6.30 p.m., Monday, January 8th.

MERTHYR VALE.

Rechabites Hall, at 7 p.m., Tuesday, January 9th.

MERTHYR.

I.L.P. Rooms at 7 p.m., Wednesday, January 9th.

BEVIN BOY SPEAKS AGAINST SEPARATE UNION

By H. Finch

Recently the National Press reported the attempts of a certain individual to set up a special Union for the "Bevin Boys".

To some "Bevin Boys" who have had very little experience of Trade Union work this idea may have held out certain attractions, but to experienced Trade Unionists, the idea is reactionary and against the interests of not only the "Bevin Boys" but the whole of the Working Class.

The question of a separate "Bevin Boys" Union was debated at one of the Miners' Hostels and turned down by a large majority. In this instance, the "Bevin Boys" showed their solidarity with the miners and took up a correct attitude. But that does not mean that at other Hostels the idea of a separate Union may not spread and cause much danger to the workers' struggles. Hence, it is absolutely necessary to reiterate all the lessons of the past to show how dangerous a separate Union will be.

Firstly, let us take some of the "arguments" of the advocates of a separate union:—

1. "Bevin Boys" pay 25/- per week at the Hostels and only receive two main meals. Hence, to improve the situation, either by more wages being received or more meals for the 25/-, a separate Union is needed.

2. "Bevin Boys" are not miners and hence the struggles of the Miners do not concern the "Bevin Boys".

Both "arguments" are false and reactionary. The genuine grievance of the "Bevin Boys" over the meals, especially the 18 year olds, who only receive £3 per week (after deductions, etc.) can never be solved by a separate Union. It is fundamentally a question of wage increases and in the large Miners' Federation it is a demand that will meet with support by thousands of miners, who at all times are fighting for improvement of their low wages.

The second point is typical of these splitters. They try and create the impression that "Bevin Boys" are "above" the miners and should be classified as a separate strata. The fact is that "Bevin Boys" are members of the Working Class who have been thrust into the Mining Industry against their will. They cannot regard themselves as "separate" because, whilst in the mining industry, a "Bevin Boy" suffers practically all the hardships of the Miners and receives the same wages, except in certain cases of piece-work. It is obvious to any worker that a "Bevin Boy" and a Miner have exactly the same interests, and hence, the "Bevin Boy" has to fight alongside the miner for improvement of conditions and for the abolition of the private ownership of the mines, because any improvement in

mining conditions directly improves the lot of the "Bevin Boys".

The dangers of a separate Union from the above, are self-evident.

1. The miners will be incensed against the "Bevin Boys" and will feel themselves betrayed by the youth.

2. A separate Union will allow the employers and Government to isolate the "Bevin Boys" from their brothers, the miners, and give them an extra weapon to crush the militancy of the youth.

3. The exclusion of the youth from the Miners' Federation leaves the Union in the hands of the old bureaucrats, and hence hampers the fight for the creation of a fighting leadership of the Union.

The Miners' Federation now embraces all the hitherto smaller miners' unions. This is a step forward. One of the arguments of the new Union advocates, is that the leadership of the Miners' Federation is rotten, hence, "Bevin Boys" should have a separate Union. Here they show their own spinelessness. The leadership of the Miners' Federation has carried out a policy of class collaboration in this war which has definitely acted against the interest of its members. But, as the Welsh and Yorkshire miners strikes have shown, the miners are beginning to get very impatient with the treachery of their own leaders. Therefore, the solution is not to form a separate Union but to fight in the Miners' Federation for a new militant leadership. By forming a separate Union, new weapons are given to the Miner's misleaders and they remain more firmly entrenched than ever before. It shows fear on the part of these new Union advocates to put up a real fight for a strong union of Miners and "Bevin Boys".

The Youth is the most oppressed section of the Working Class. All its energy, boldness and initiative is hampered by the capitalist system. But the youth, being the most audacious, fights back with vigour. The task of the youth lies not in forming separate unions, thus alienating itself from the support of other workers and thereby remaining isolated. NO!—their task is to join the established trade organisations of the workers and fight to transform them into MILITANT bodies, that on the morrow will challenge the power of the Capitalist State and help end all the miseries of the working class, especially the miseries in the mines.

BEVIN BOYS: THE MINERS' FIGHT IS YOUR FIGHT! YOUR FIGHT IS THE MINERS' FIGHT!

FIGHT FOR A MILITANT LEADERSHIP OF THE MINERS' FEDERATION!

NO SPLITS—NO DESERTIONS!

Irish Domestic Service

LETTER SENT TO
"TORCH" ORGAN OF THE
DUBLIN LABOUR PARTY
DOMESTIC SERVANTS AND
THEIR MEN FRIENDS

Dear Sir,

Some time ago I listened to a Missionary recommending young men and women to marry before it was too late and therefore risking the possibility of ever getting any of those magic 2/6's. He said that it was a shame for those young people who won't stand up to their obligations. He further said that the biggest number of unmarried people of any country in the world lived in Eireann. Every other big 'shot'—patriot and politician—are talking in the same strain.

But how many of those so-called friendly advisers are themselves living on the starvation wage they expect our working men friends to live on, and how many of them are facing up to the responsibilities they expect us to face up to and any of them who do, take very good care that they won't be burdened with a large family?

All of us young working girls are prepared to face the married life on conditions. In spite of all the misery and hardship our married friends have to go through most of us are still ready to take the chance, but a big number of us are gradually learning sense. I am one of those lucky ones who are earning up to £1 per week, but I am able to spend it all on dress, a few luxuries and a few dances. If I had the good fortune to be married now, could I dress myself and, of course, my husband, provide food, fuel and lots of other little things for the house, except that there was an income of up to £5 per week coming in? But what chance have I or my sort, of getting a husband with such a salary? I know it costs about £4 10s. per week to provide the necessities for the house in which I am working. How could I then even exist on the present labourer's wages?

Let any woman make up what it costs to run a house (excluding the clothes, the kitchen and other household furniture and a few luxuries, as cigs for the boss; and she will find that nobody could live and provide properly for a family of five or six under £5 per week. How then can the labouring men and their wives and families live on a wage which varies from 20/- to 30/- per week and keep, or on the official wage of 40/- without keep. None of them are doing it, even though some of them pretend they are well off. They

...the reactionary, pro-fascist, and anti-labour officer caste in the armed forces and Home Guard; election of officers by the ranks.

9. Establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker-officers; arming of the workers under the control of workers' committees elected in the factories, unions and in the streets for the defence of the democratic rights of the workers from reactionary attacks by the enemies of the working class at home and abroad.

International Policy

10. Against race hatred and discrimination of all forms (Vansittartism, Anti-Semitism, and the Colour Bar); for the fraternisation and co-operation of workers and soldiers of all countries.

11. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; despatch of arms, food and essential materials to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.

12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany, Europe, Japan, and the rest of the world, on the basis of this programme in Britain, to join the socialist struggle against Nazism, Fascism and all forms of capitalist oppression and for a Socialist United States of Europe and a Federation of Asiatic Soviet Socialist Republics.

are just existing and their children are suffering from what the doctors call malnutrition but which really is starvation.

Since this is the case why should those patriots ask women like me to go through this misery? These people who are advising us to marry are not themselves living on the wages they expect working men to live on.

Considering all the circumstances I will chance remaining single. The prospect of being an old maid with none to look after me, is preferable to a long married life of misery for me and mine. The moral and natural law says marry. I say let the rich marry and leave us alone with our small wages and odd pleasures or else let our advisers raise their voices to obtain for our labouring men enough wages to enable them to live in frugal comfort.

We servant girls and our servant-men friends are not the only ones thus affected. Every small farmer, his sons and daughters are in as bad if not in a worse condition. It's a sure sign we are a slavish race—ready to put up with our miserable lot—ready to eat the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table—while we slave night and day to provide the riches for those people who want us to continue existing and slaving so that they may enjoy the good things of life.

If we stay at home and remain compulsorily single we are not doing right. If we go to England and get good wages and probably a man we are again doing wrong. Can a poor girl ever do right (except, of course, work for the rich and produce children whom those same people can pounce on for their own pecuniary ends)?

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

EDITORIAL

FOOD—as a Counter-Revolutionary Weapon

Very little publicity is given to the use of food as an instrument to destroy the European revolutions. Food is one of the mighty weapons in the hands of the Imperialists.

Five years of Imperialist war has resulted in famine and pestilence in many countries. This includes countries under German occupation and territories under the domination of the Anglo-American Imperialists.

Out of this hunger, out of this starvation, mankind will seek a way out through social revolutions.

In the struggle against the revolutionary masses, the Imperialists are determined to use every possible weapon. Food and shells equally serve as counter-revolutionary instruments of the ruling class. That is the basic purpose of the U.N.R.R.A.

The aim of the Imperialists was openly proclaimed after the last war. "Bolshevism cannot be stopped by force, but it can be stopped by food." Thus spoke the "democrat" Wilson in 1919.

It was used with deadly effect in starving the revolutionary masses in Bulgaria, Russia, and Finland.

Their aims are no different to-day. On November 28, 1942, the "New York Times", the organ of Wall Street Big Business declared, "Food will be a mighty weapon and a powerful persuader in that critical period between war and peace when the future of the world will be decided."

In Belgium U.N.R.R.A. delivered food to the Pierlot Government. Along with British bayonets, starvation was held as a threat to force the Belgian masses into submission.

In Greece, the deliveries are held up. Half-starved Greek masses are refused supplies, pending submission to Papandreou.

Papandreou is boosted as the "deliverer" by handing over the limited supplies to him.

Feeding the Royalists, the pro-Fascists, the black-marketeers, and butchers of the workers; starving the masses who have struggled against the Nazi domination, who are struggling against collaborators, that is the lesson of U.N.R.R.A.'s policy in Italy, in Belgium, and in Greece.

To this treacherous policy of the Imperialists the workers must reply with their own weapons. Shipments of food and distribution to the masses must be carried out under working class control.

Strangulation of the revolution by starvation is the policy of the Imperialists. To wrest this control from their hands, to aid the toiling masses, who are sounding the death knell of Capital, should be the policy of the working class.

During the wars of intervention against the Russian Revolution, the workers of Britain...

1932 returned to Ceylon
 1935 (Dec) Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSSP)
 1940 (Mar) Stalinists expelled
 1942 (formally) joined T. (S) 1940 arrested
 1943 (15) arrested
 1944 (23) sentenced

Statement of Indian Trotskyists on Trial

Below is the full text of a statement made in the magistrate's court at Kandy, Ceylon on Feb. 8 of this year by Comrades N. M. Perera and Philip Gunawardene, leading members of the Lanka Sama Samaja (Trotskyist) Party, who were tried and sentenced to prison on charges arising from their escape in 1942 from a British concentration camp.

I was arrested on the 8th of June, 1940. I was kept in detention till the 7th of April, 1942. No specific or precise charges were ever made against me. I was not tried before a court of law. My colleagues and I refused to appear before the Advisory Committee—that mockery of judicial tribunals.

Why were we kept in detention? I challenge the right of Sir Andrew Caldecott, agent of the Bank of England and tool of the capitalist class of Britain, to issue a warrant for my arrest and detention. What right has the ruling class of Britain to rule over this island except superior force? Britain has as much right to rule over the people as the Nazis to rule over the people of Denmark and Norway, or the Japanese imperialists to rule over Formosa and Java. NO MORE. The British ruling class came to this island as pirates and have remained here as plunderers. The British Empire was built up by perjury by day and forgery by night.

Ever since my return to this island in 1932, my colleagues worked with ceaseless endeavour to disseminate the idea of scientific socialism among the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and the advanced sections of the working class. The spontaneous labour movement which displayed tremendous vigour and militancy in the twenties had spent its force in the stagnant waters of trade union politics by the early thirties. After three years of work in the propagation of Marxism, we had developed a sufficiently large nucleus, imbued with the ideas of scientific socialism, that we were in a position to launch the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, in December 1935. The history of the party is known to the people of this country. Suffice it to say that it put itself at the forefront of every struggle against imperialism and the capitalist class in this country ever since the party was founded.

The leadership of the L.S.S.P. from its very inception refused to come under the leadership of the Stalinist Communist International and remained ever loyal to the principles Lenin and Trotsky stood for in their day. In March 1940 the party, under the influence of the teachings of Trotsky, expelled the Stalinists who were trying to smuggle into the party Stalinist contraband. In 1942 the L.S.S.P. became a section of the Fourth International, founded by Trotsky and the comrades of the International Left Opposition.

When the Second Imperialist World War broke out in September, 1939, the party characterised the war as an imperialist war and took a revolutionary defeatist line. My colleagues and I continued to intensify the class struggle and the fight against British imperialism. War is the continuation of politics by other means, i.e. by more forcible means. The character of the war is determined by the class that conducts the war. The war was and remains an imperialist war for markets, for sources of raw materials, for colonies. The "democratic" powers and the Axis powers are fighting to determine which group shall dominate the world. Democracy and Fascism are but two sides of the same coin. Over-ripe and decadent capitalism develops into Fascism when the working class fails to overthrow capitalism and set up its own form of government—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party refused to change its characterisation of the war on the entry of the Soviet Union into the war. It was quick however, in defining the war as an imperialist war on the part of every country involved in it except the Soviet Union and China. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, though deformed. Thus the Soviet Union is fighting a progressive war in defence of the gains of the October Revolution. The Party supports the Soviet Union in this war and is doing everything in its power to enable the working class to render every independent assistance to the Soviet Union in this war. It stands for military victory against the counter-revolutionary forces of Hitler's Europe.

We support the war of the Chinese workers and peasants for national liberation from the yoke of Japanese

imperialism. But the party works for the defeat of British imperialism in this war by the forces of the colonial masses and the working class of Britain.

The war has set in motion social and political forces that the ruling classes of the warring imperialist powers never bargained for. **Fascism is already tottering in Europe thanks to the hammer blows of the Red Army. But Fascism is taking shape in Great Britain and America.**

The fate of the Empire of the Mikado is sealed. The paper houses of the Mikado will go up in flames. **But the working class in Japan is likely to settle accounts with the landlords and the capitalists of the Rising Sun—not the armed forces of America and the British Empire. Before this war is over civil war will spread over Europe and Asia. The Soviet Union will play a dominant part in the shaping of the world in the coming years.**

Revolutions are on the order of the day. There is no room to believe that the European working class has not benefited from its experiences since the October Revolution in 1917. In the wake of the fall of Fascism working class revolutions will break out in Europe. The fall of Japanese imperialism will give rise to colonial revolutions. Lenin characterized this epoch as the epoch of wars and revolutions.

I escaped from prison in April, 1942, for the purpose of helping the tiny group of Fourth Internationalists in India to build a party of the working class that can take advantage of the crises in Indian society that are breaking out in rapid succession. My colleagues and I timed our escape to be in India at one of the most important crises in her history. We are glad that we were able to play an infinitesimally small part, no doubt, in the movement that took place in India from August, 1942.

We were arrested on the 15th of July, 1943. After spending five long months in the jails of British Imperialism in India, we are back in the dungeons of British Imperialism in Ceylon. Time is with us. **IMPERIALISM IS DOOMED, THE FUTURE IS WITH THE WORKING CLASS.** The working class of Ceylon under the leadership of the Sama Samaja Party will play its part in the coming years.

Indian Trotskyists Accuse Stalinists

(Continued from page 1)

With the outbreak of the war in Europe, however, and the resurgence of the national liberation movement in India (which they know would sweep into Ceylon), they could hesitate no longer. In September, 1939 they arrested Perera and Gunawardene in violation of their parliamentary immunity and seized other members of the Lanka Sama Samaja, herding them into a concentration camp without trial or hearing of any kind. They confiscated the party's printing plants. Accompanying the official repression, there commenced a campaign of "unofficial" terrorism against the rank-and-file of the party and local party leaders, by the plantation owners.

More than two years later, on March 13, 1942, having long since driven the party into the underground, the British governor of Ceylon, Sir Andrew Caldecott, officially proclaimed the outlawry of the Trotskyist movement. It was no accident that this crowning act of repression occurred at the time of the fresh and mighty upsurge of the struggle of the great masses of India for freedom from British rule.

Inspired by this grandiose struggle and realising the urgent need to establish a Trotskyist party on the mainland of India, Perera, Gunawardene and their comrades resolved to escape from the concentration camp, and proceed to India to help in this work.

As Perera said in his statement to the court in Kandy last February: "My colleagues and I timed our escape to be in India at one of the most important crises in her history."

While in the Ceylon camp, they succeeded in converting their jailor to the Trotskyist programme. He assisted them in their escape. Together they made their way to India. In that vast sink of colonial despotism they found the nucleus of a Trotskyist movement, born on the rising wave of the struggle of the Indian masses. Throwing themselves into the work of welding together a firm Trotskyist organization, they assisted vastly in this labour.

The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, based on the tested programme of the Fourth International, was founded. It combined with a Trotskyist group in Burma and with the Lanka Sama Samaja in Ceylon, to form the Federation of Bolshevik-Leninist Parties of Burma, Ceylon and India.

The original nucleus of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India consisted of seasoned revolutionary fighters who came over to Trotskyism from the...

ORDER NOW!

GERMANY—The Key



in Belgium, and in Greece.

To this treacherous policy of the Imperialists the workers must reply with their own weapons. Shipments of food and distribution to the masses must be carried out under working class control.

Strangulation of the revolution by starvation is the policy of the Imperialists. To wrest this control from their hands, to aid the toiling masses, who are sounding the death knell of Capital, should be the policy of the working class.

During the wars of intervention against the Russian Revolution, the workers of Britain forged the mighty weapon of Councils of Action. Once again the solidarity with the masses of Greece and Belgium demands the need for such Councils of Action. They are needed to stop the shipment of food and munitions to the counter-revolutionaries and the shipment of food and arms to the revolutionary masses.

> Operation of this policy in the midst of an Imperialist war means a struggle against the State. It means an immediate struggle for power.

Workers of Britain must demand of the Labour leaders now that they end the coalition and conduct a struggle for power to aid the masses of Greece and Europe.

BEHIND THE GREEK EVENTS

By
D. James

WITHIN A MONTH OF "LIBERATION" THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN GREECE HAS REACHED THE POINT OF CIVIL WAR. THE CHURCHILL GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH CAPITALISM HAS INTERVENED WITH TROOPS, PLANES AND WARSHIPS ON THE SIDE OF THE REACTIONARIES, SHOOTING DOWN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS IN THE STREETS OF ATHENS.

This follows on the events in Belgium, where British imperialist intervention supported the Pierlot Government in shooting down a mass demonstration of the Resistance movement which was demanding bread and political liberty; and in Sicily under "Allied" rule, where police fired on a demonstration in Palermo on October 19th, killing 16 and wounding 104.

The conclusion is plain: the Anglo-American imperialists are willing to drown the workers and peasants in blood, in order to crush the European Socialist Revolution, and prop up their reactionary quisling Governments.

THE CIVIL WAR: FORCES INVOLVED

The forces struggling in Greece are as follows. On one side stands EAM, a Popular-Frontist seven-party coalition, in which both the Communist Party and the Liberals participate. This is a mass movement of workers and peasants which came into being in order to resist the German occupation. It organised strikes and guerilla activity against the Nazis, during which the army ELAS was formed, which is now fighting in Athens.

On the other side stand all the forces of capitalist and landlord reaction. These comprise the monarchist resist-

ance organisation EDES, headed by Colonel Zervas, which spent a great deal of its time under the Nazi occupation in fighting ELAS; the Greek Mountain Brigade and Sacred Battalion, both formed by the British in Egypt, consisting entirely of reactionary elements (the former was "purged" of all democratic elements in May, after the mutiny in favour of EAM; the latter is a Commando force consisting almost entirely of officers serving as privates). Fighting together with these, is the Government police—the nature of which can best be summed up by quoting from the "Sunday Times" (10/12/44):

"The attitude of the Athenian population in general and ELAS troops in particular towards the police is understandable when it is recalled that they served the late dictator, General Metaxas, faithfully, they served the Germans faithfully, and now are serving M. Papandreou, and the chief, Evert, is passing on orders to his men from a British general as he did from a German for three-and-a-half years."

Standing behind all these, and now actively intervening on their behalf are the British Government and Armed Forces.

THE CAUSE OF THE FIGHTING

The immediate cause of the fighting lay in the order of the Greek Government that all volunteer organisations were to be disarmed by December 20th, and that a "National Army" should be formed. The leadership of EAM agreed to this proposal. They demanded, however, in face of the pressure of their followers, that it should include, not merely the disbandment of ELAS, but also of the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion.

The British Ambassador, Rex Leeper, informed the Greek Government that

these forces were under British command, and the British Government would not agree to their disbandment, following on this maintenance of armed reactionary formations, while the workers and peasants were to be disarmed, the latter were more alarmed when Royalist demonstrations took place in Athens.

In reply, EAM resigned from the Government on December 2nd, and called a Demonstration on the 3rd, to protest against this reactionary provocation. The Government forbade the demonstration at midnight on the 2nd, i.e. obviously waiting until it was too late for EAM to cancel it effectively—in order to provoke a clash. The demonstration took place, a column of unarmed demonstrators, carrying (sad illusion!) the flags of their "liberators"—Britain, America and Russia. Coldly, deliberately and without provocation, the Greek police shot down the procession. 15 people were killed, 148 wounded.

The workers' reaction was swift. The aim of the Government was only too plain—to provoke a clash, crush and disarm the masses, and instal a dictatorship. EAM replied by declaring a General Strike in Athens. Then British intervention started.

British forces disarmed 800 ELAS troops entering Athens. General Scobie issued an ultimatum that unless ELAS troops left Athens and Piraeus by midnight of December 6th, they would be treated as enemies. A day later, British troops opened fire on the enemy. The workers who had resisted the Nazis for 3 years, who had many times declared strikes and fought the quisling police—three weeks after the "liberation"—were thrown once more into the battle. Opposing them, the same police—and foreign soldiers—though the field-grey had changed for khaki, the Schmeissers for Stens.

ORDER NOW!

GERMANY—The Key to the International Situation

By LEON TROTSKY. December, 1931

The background to the rise of Hitler and the responsibility of the Labour and Stalinist Leaders.

INTRODUCTION by TED GRANT - - 6d.



the party was founded.

workers and peasants for national liberation from the yoke of Japanese will play its part in the coming years.

The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, based on the tested programme of the Fourth International, was founded. It combined with a Trotskyist group in Burma and with the Lanka Sama Samaja in Ceylon, to form the Federation of Bolshevik-Leninist Parties of Burma, Ceylon and India.

The original nucleus of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India consisted of seasoned revolutionary fighters who came over to Trotskyism from the treacherous Stalinist party and the middle-of-the-road Congress Socialist Party. The activity and growth of the new party, evidenced in its diverse and energetic activity and, especially, its excellent press, testify to the political maturity of the Indian Trotskyist movement.

Comrades Perera and Gunawardene continued their work in India as underground revolutionists while the British imperialists, having placed a huge price on their heads, scoured the country in efforts to capture them. Finally, on July 15th, 1943, together with a third comrade named Kusuma, they were arrested in Bombay in a series of police raids. Two other Ceylon comrades, R. S. V. Senanayake and L. Cooray, were arrested in police raids in Madras. After spending five months in the prisons of India, the Ceylon comrades were transported back to Ceylon for trial.

The raids and arrests were not the result of any lack of caution by the Indian comrades. They were betrayed by the Stalinists who directed the police to their homes and hiding places. A paid Stalinist functionary named Kulkarni had wormed himself into the party in Bombay by simulating devotion to the cause of Trotskyism and the Indian Revolution. By his subsequent conduct he aroused suspicion, but before the alarm could be raised he had already executed his perfidious assignment and the raids took place.

The "Permanent Revolution" in its Jan. March, 1944 issue states: "We are now in a position, on the basis of police interrogations of the arrested comrades and the activities of the Stalinist hireling Kulkarni, to state that the Bombay police acted on information supplied by the C.P.I. (Communist Party of India)." Commenting on this black treachery, the paper writes:

"The 'Communists' have crowned their popular front policy in a fitting manner by allying themselves with the Raj police. In doing so they are only living up to the notoriety of their confreres abroad. Under the benign wing of the imperialist government, the Indian Stalinists shall continue their nefarious work, but the revolution, in its turn, will extract its price of blood for these counter-revolutionary acts."

While the Trotskyists are mercilessly persecuted by the British Raj, the Stalinist party has been legalised and is allowed to work in the open, because it has become an agency for keeping the Indian masses in servitude to the British colonial despots.

In the coming period, the masses of India will rally in ever greater numbers to the clean revolutionary banner of Trotskyism. They will turn their backs on the deceivers in Gandhi's Congress Party, the fainthearts in the Congress Socialist Party, and the Stalinist betrayers. The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India will grow into a mighty party of the Indian masses and will lead them to victory in their struggle for liberation.

"Non-partisan"—then how does it come about that Churchill, while reviling EAM, supports the quisling "Security Battalions", formed by the Nazis to fight ELAS? This support, first stated by Churchill on May 24th, was repeated on December 9th. The character of the "Security Battalions" was illuminated by this item in the "Daily Telegraph" (8/12/44):

"Col. Georg Papadogonas, chief of quisling Security Battalions in the Peloponnese during the German occupation, was killed when ELAS forces attacked Goudi concentration camp near Athens where he was prisoner. Papadogonas was first Greek to be proclaimed war criminal by Greek Government".

"Non-partisan"—then why are British forces fighting side by side with EDES, as was admitted in the B.B.C. 9 o'clock News on December 6th? EDES was also subject to the order to disarm the guerillas. Is this not partisan? The secret is—that EDES is a monarchist organisation. "Constitutional Governments must be upheld."

"ANTI-FASCISTS" YESTERDAY—
"MURDER GANGS" TODAY!

Churchill, reviling those who had resisted the Nazis, said:

"If what is called in this amendment 'the action of the friends of democracy' is to be interpreted as a carefully planned coup d'etat by murder gangs, and by the iron rule of ruffians seeking to climb into the seats of power without a vote ever having been passed in their favour—if that is to masquerade as democracy, I think the House will unite in condemning it as a mockery."

Mr. Churchill was looking in the wrong direction for his "ruffians" and "murder gangs"; he should have looked towards the "seats of power". Who elected the Papandreou Government?

(Continued on back page)

ANEURIN BEVAN SUPPORTS GOVERNMENT

(Continued from page 1).

Aneurin Bevan started off by attacking Ernest Bevin's speech:

"One complete answer to Mr. Bevin is that only three bodies of public opinion in the world have gone on record in his support—Fascist Spain, Fascist Portugal, and the majority of the Tories in the House of Commons."

He then went on to say:

"This Conference should go on record condemning the action of the Government and insist that our representatives inside the Government should exercise a more decisive influence on the conduct of our affairs, or leave the Tories to do their own dirty work."

Once having stated this, the obvious course of action for anyone taking this position seriously would have been to demand an end to the infamous and quising collaboration with the British Tories in doing their dirty work in this and other countries. For this is what the Labour leaders have been doing for the last four years. But delegates could have asked Aneurin Bevan "Where do we go from here?" Which indeed they did. Shouts from the body of the hall called to him "We agree with all that, but what is your alternative?" Bevin lamely remarked "This is unfair" because the E.C. had not permitted amendments". But this excuse is no answer! Bevan wants to have his cake and eat it. He wants to support the government and the coalition in the imperialist war and allow himself the luxury of empty criticism. Bevan says that the Labour leaders shouldn't do the dirty work of the Tories. The rank and file labour workers might well ask that Bevan should not do the dirty work for the Labour ministers. As a harmless critic who does not take his criticism seriously but puts it forward merely as a means of diverting the anger of the labour workers, he plays the role of lightning-conductor for the Labour ministers. He said: "I don't want to break up the national government on this issue." In that case, Mr. Bevan, you are as responsible for the crimes of Churchill and the ruling class as Ernest Bevin himself. In fact, your role is more dangerous. Because, while criticising in words, you prevent the masses from moving against this infamous counter-revolutionary government and its crimes. Those who are not with us are against us, that is the decisive test in this case. You try telling the Greek workers who are dying from the bullets of British imperialism on the responsibility of this government—

your cleverly concealed position, to the steel workers of Ebbw Vale and the miners of South Wales, and see what they will tell you!

When it comes to the test you are on the other side. You may say these are hard words Bevan. But there can be no fooling when the destiny of hundreds of millions in Europe, when the destiny of the British working class depends on the actions of the working class movement, and not mere words.

Bevan revealed how tense the feeling of the workers is when he warned that while they might decide one thing the workers in uniform might decide another—and then where would they be?

But he gave no lead to the workers of Britain. If Bevan can help it the coalition is to continue—until such time as the Tories have no more use for it.

The bitterness of the rank and file was revealed by the uproar at the Conference due to the flagrant manoeuvres of the platform and the chairman in not allowing amendments to the resolution, not only on this question but on others.

Had a clear lead been put to end this disastrous coalition and take power on a socialist programme, the rank and file would undoubtedly have responded enthusiastically. The speeches of the trade union bureaucrats which condemned the resolution faint-heartedly—Benstead of the N.U.R., Griffiths of the miners—and others, reflecting the pressure of the rank and file—all sheltered behind the cowardly statement that they could not break up the government. The temper of the rank and file was shown by the numerous references to the glorious episode of the Jolly George when the British workers prevented Churchill from making war on Russia by stopping supplies in 1920, and the call for the same action today.

On all questions, on the other hand, the cowardly and treacherous attitude of the leadership was revealed. In declaring that the German and Japanese masses were responsible for the crimes of their rulers and the demand that they should pay, they confirmed their Vansittart attitude. On all major problems that confront the working class today the leadership stood behind the capitalists, while the rank and file were dragged unwillingly behind them for lack of an alternative leadership.

The one thing the Labour leaders were more terrified of than anything else, was the possibility of being forced onto the road of taking power themselves. But, Conference de-

of the masses are another; the last word rests with the masses.

NOW IS THE TIME TO END THE COALITION

Workers! Look where this collaboration with the ruling class by the Labour leaders has led us? While the Labour leaders have been exhorting the workers to "Go to it" and the soldiers to die "for democracy" they have led them to this shameful pass Today your brothers and sons are dying in Greece to preserve, a reactionary clique of royalist fascists, to preserve the profits and interests of British capitalists.

The workers cannot be satisfied with such a result of the Labour Party Conference, when it is clear to everyone that Greece is not the last, but only the first of a series of episodes of like character. It is time that this shameful coalition was ended! There is no excuse for waiting. The mass of the people in Britain are horrified at the crimes of Churchill and the government. Now is the time to expose the Tories in the eyes of the electorate! Now is the time when a majority could easily be gained for Labour! Now is the time to force a General Election. Churchill says that the Greeks have no democratic mandate. Has he got a democratic mandate for his crimes? Let the people of Britain decide. With a fighting policy Labour would overwhelm the Tories at an election.

Workers! Demand that your leaders end this coalition! Greece is a taste of what the Tories hold in store for the workers of all Europe and for Britain if they are allowed to retain control and dictate policy. Our duty to the Greek workers and peasants—our duty to the starving Indians—our duty to our German class brothers struggling against Hitler—our duty to the British workers—all demand that we fight this capitulation to the class enemy.

Workers of the Revolutionary Communist Party will fight side by side with the Labour workers to force the Labour leaders out of the warm ministerial seats to which they have clung so long. By forcing them to take power we believe that the working class movement in Britain can take a tremendous step forward. It can serve to expose the fact that the Labour leaders are incapable of serving the interests of the workers. The road will be clear for the Revolutionary Communist Party to attract to its banner the majority of the working class who still have illusions in the Labour leaders.

Support the Revolutionary Communist Party in its fight to end the coalition!

Demand Aneurin Bevan, G. R. Strauss and the other "Lefts", match their words with deeds!

Demand from your leaders, that they end the coalition and fight for

EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

The events in Greece can come as no surprise to readers of the "Socialist Appeal". While the Stalinists and Labour leaders have been lulling the working class with utopian dreams of peace and plenty once the Nazis have been defeated in Europe, we have consistently shown the cause of the war and the inevitable results it would bring, in increased suffering and insecurity for the masses of the people, if capitalism survives.

The real motives of the imperialists have been revealed in one incident after another as nothing but the promotion of the naked class interests of the ruling class. Long ago, Lenin had answered in advance all the shameful arguments of the Pollitts and the Dutts, of the Attlees and the Bevins, when he pointed out that the character of the war was always determined by the class which held the power.

This new war of intervention against the Greek people was prepared long in advance in a conspiracy between Roosevelt and Churchill at Quebec. And probably at Teheran, in the secret horse-dealing and discussions between the "Big Three" which have never been revealed, a similar conspiracy against the peoples of all Europe was hatched.

Churchill has revealed the complicity of Roosevelt in the gangster preparations to strangle the rights and movement of the Greek masses. He has done so because of the cunning manoeuvre of American imperialism to disavow all responsibility for the attempt of British imperialism to dictate the governments of Italy, Belgium, and now Greece. American imperialism wishes Britain to be covered with the odium and hatred which these violations of the rights of the European peoples will bring among the masses in Europe, in order that she can reap the benefits later. This it was, which compelled Churchill to reveal that the American capitalists were a party to this plan. He stated in parliament:

"I therefore proposed to the President (as the position of the German garrison in Greece became untenable) that we should try to gather forces to enter Greece as and when the German position was sufficiently weakened, and, above all, to save Athens from the anarchy and starvation which threatened it. I pointed out that, if there was a long hiatus after the German authorities went from the city before an organised government could be set up, it was very likely that the E.A.M. and the Communist extremists would attempt to seize the city and crush all other forms of Greek expression but

other countries as well. The political general staff of capitalism, especially men like Churchill, have assimilated the lessons of the last world war. It was ended by the Russian revolution, revolutions in Germany, Austria-Hungary and other countries and a revolutionary situation in Italy, France and even Britain. The masses who had paid the price in blood and suffering while their masters made millions out of the slaughter and hunger demanded a reckoning for the crimes of capitalism. The capitalist spokesmen have been haunted throughout this war by a fear of the repetition of these events.

Churchill has made many speeches in which he showed his anxiety over this problem notably at Columbia University when he was given an honorary degree, at the time of the first Quebec Conference.

It was at the time of the mass movement of the workers and peasants of Italy which precipitated and burst forth after the fall of Mussolini. Churchill as was subsequently revealed sent frantic telegrams to General Alexander demanding an advance into Italy to prevent "anarchy" and "chaos" i.e. any attempt of the Italian masses to take control into their own hands. Not for nothing did Churchill in his speech in the House of Commons on Greece defend his praise and support of Mussolini and fascism in the past:

"I certainly thought, at that particular time, that the kind of regime set up in Italy at that time was better than a general slump of Italy into the furious Bolshevik civil war which was raging in many other parts of Europe."

So that Churchill as a typical representative of British capitalism regarded approvingly as "law and order" the terror regime of Mussolini with its castor oil, concentration camps, brutal beatings up, tortures and "murder gangs", so long as it was directed against the working class.

Churchill and the ruling class can see that the masses of Europe even more than in the last war are seething with hatred and bitterness against capitalism and all its works. The last world war, the world slump, unemployment and its attendant anxieties and horrors, then fascism and a new and worse slaughter of the peoples. These, plus the fact that the capitalists of the European countries have lived well and flourished during all these phases, have roused the peoples to a bitterness and hatred seldom seen in history. When the peoples see that "liberation" from the iron heel of the Nazis will restore the capitalist collaborators and quislings into power they will not tolerate such a shameful result of their heroic struggle for freedom from the yoke of the Nazis. They will demand "liberation" from

the best panacea for social and political maladies such as that now revealed in Greece and elsewhere in less virulent form. This consideration makes it necessary for the allied armies to put forth unexampled efforts in the depth of winter in country of a type in which it has been customary to go into winter quarters. They have to fight not only for the political, military, and moral ends which have been accepted throughout the war but also to save Europe from the abyss which it is approaching. The defeat of Germany at the earliest possible moment is the first need."

What the gentlemen of the ruling class fear above all is the outbreak of a socialist revolution in Germany, which is well on the order of the day according to the latest reports which have been published by such papers as the "Daily Telegraph". That is why considerations of military possibilities have to be cast aside despite the fact that this may mean hundreds of thousands of more British and American casualties. The capitalist class wish to have their hands free to deal with the masses in the other countries of Europe, as they are attempting to deal with Greece. They want to finish the war before the winter is out in order to "save Europe from the abyss which is approaching".

Meanwhile Churchill and the ruling class confidently expect the support of Stalin and the bureaucracy in their struggle against the socialist revolution in Europe, above all in Germany.

It is significant that Stalin has not issued a single word of protest against the brutal war of aggression which British imperialism is waging against the Greek people.

Instead of clearly pointing out to the peoples of Europe and the world the implications of the present position in Europe and preparing them for a struggle against the implacable capitalist class who will now turn to Anglo-American imperialism as their masters and for protection against the European peoples as they turned to Hitler before; the Stalinists and Socialist leaders systematically deceive the working class as to the real situation in Europe and the aims and intentions of the ruling class. Even now they are shamefully hiding the fact that Churchill is only behaving as a consistent representative of the aims of Allied imperialism.

At the Labour Party Conference the renegade Arthur Woodburn openly stated "that there would be revolutionary situations in the coming period all over the show", not in order to prepare the workers for a struggle but to warn them against "Communist" and "revolutionary" methods of solving their problems.

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self. In fact, your role is more dangerous. Because, while criticising in words, you prevent the masses from moving against this infamous counter-revolutionary government and its crimes. Those who are not with us are against us, that is the decisive test in this case. You try telling the Greek workers who are dying from the bullets of British imperialism on the responsibility of this government—You take open responsibility for Churchill and his crimes, which is

confirmed their Vansittart attitude. On all major problems that confront the working class today the leadership stood behind the capitalists, while the rank and file were dragged unwillingly behind them for lack of an alternative leadership. The one thing the Labour leaders were more terrified of than anything else, was the possibility of being forced onto the road of taking power themselves. But Conference decisions are one thing: the decisions

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BEHIND THE

(Continued from page 3.)

Who gave it a mandate to shoot down unarmed demonstrations of workers and their families in the streets of Athens? In fact, it was formed under the aegis of British imperialism and the Greek King, following on the mutinies of last April: **under its "democratic" "constitutional" rule, 85 per cent of the Greek armed forces in the Middle East were gaoled. Elected by no-one, it is backed only by the landlords and capitalists in Greece, and by British imperialism.**

This is made glaringly clear by the fact that Papandreou himself offered to resign in favour of a 30-year-old Liberal, Sophoulis. This was after the civil war had begun, and might have stopped it. **But Papandreou stated that he was forbidden to do so under Churchill's orders.** We hold no brief for "Bonomi Governments", but we ask: how can Churchill assume the mask of a "democrat" when he supports a Government which has not even confidence in itself? The demonstrators carried banners past the British Embassy which read:

"British soldiers, let us choose our own government!"

OLD IMPERIALIST SLANDERS REVIVED

In order to give a semblance of justification for their intervention in Greece, the British imperialists are trotting out the hoary old tale of "German influence". Evidently remembering how he used it against Lenin and Trotsky when doing the same dirty job of intervention in Russia, Churchill revived the story during his speech in the House of Commons:

"... a number (of Germans) had been left behind and are acting in ELAS ranks."

Joyfully seizing on this the gutter press is playing it up hard. Thus the "Sunday Dispatch" of December 10th makes our flesh creep by telling us that ELAS are armed with German weapons. How surprising! Where do you think ELAS got its weapons to resist the Nazis if not by disarming German troops? Remember, the British Government sent arms only to EDES. And there are Germans in ELAS ranks: how surprising to our Vansittartists, that there were some German soldiers who deserted to join the workers in occupied countries against the Nazis! We shall no doubt soon be hearing that the whole Resistance movement was organised and financed by the Nazis!

There can be no doubt as to the real reason why British imperialism is in-

tervening. **They are afraid of the Socialist Revolution.** Churchill, dropping the "democratic" mask, fulminates!

"... it would be very much easier for us to stay away and allow everything to degenerate into anarchy or a Communist dictatorship."

And Churchill, as he showed during the intervention in Soviet Russia after the last war, will go to any lengths to try and crush communism.

PLANNED AT QUEBEC—DOWN WITH SECRET DIPLOMACY

Churchill lifted a corner of the veil covering Allied secret diplomacy. He revealed in the House of Commons that at Quebec an agreement was reached with Roosevelt for the provision of an army and U.N.R.R.A. in order to occupy Greece, because "it was very likely that the EAM and Communist extremists would attempt to seize the city." Thus, in secret, the Allied chiefs worked out a complete plan of counter-revolution.

We Trotskyists have consistently condemned this secret diplomacy. We know that it covers agreements of international capital against the working-class. In the same way, the iron censorship which covers the "liberated" countries conceals the most intense class struggles, in which the Allies are doing everything to back the capitalists against the workers. Al-

most no news was released from Greece until... civil war was imminent! The working-class must demand, lift the political censorship! Conduct negotiations in public! Down with counter-revolutionary secret diplomacy!

At this time the complete solidarity of the British Government with Greek reaction was evident. In Greece, the monarchist EDES was engaging in civil war with ELAS; and in the House of Commons, Eden stated that the bulk of British arms dropped in Greece went to EDES. Dealing with the British intervention we wrote in the "Socialist Appeal" Mid-May, 1944:

"General Sir Bernard Paget, C-in-C. Middle East, referred in the classical language of civil war to 'subversive elements' organising the mutiny in the First Greek Brigade, and spoke of 'reorganising the reliable elements'."

... The civil war now raging, the viciously suppressed strike, is merely the prelude to far more bitter struggles when the Allies enter Greece and the full depths of their reactionary policy are evident. General Paget's 'reliable elements' are the cadres of the capitalist side in this civil war; the Allies will bring their quislings with them, already steeled in the brave art of suppressing rebellion."

This estimation, based on the class character of the British and Greek Governments, is amply confirmed.

The Allies are not at this stage attempting to impose the King on Greece. They are waiting until the revolution has been crushed by the "democratic republican" government of Papandreou, when they can bring out the heavy artillery of reaction.

PROBLEMS FACING THE GREEK MASSES

It is difficult with the scant information at our disposal to reach a true picture of the Greek war. But certain facts stand out plainly.

The struggle in Athens is a struggle for power. It is no longer a question of reforms, of exerting pressure on the Government. Either the Greek workers will be victorious or they will be drowned in blood. But victory, difficult enough in face of the powerful military force of British imperialism, is impossible without a clear revolutionary aim. As far as can be seen the EAM leadership does not give the movement such an aim. The slogans of the demonstrators:

"Long live Churchill!", "Long live Roosevelt!", "Down with Papen-

plus the fact that the capitalists of the European countries have lived well and flourished during all these phases, have roused the peoples to a bitterness and hatred seldom seen in history. When the peoples see that "liberation" from the iron heel of the Nazis will restore the capitalist collaborators and quislings into power they will not tolerate such a shameful result of their heroic struggle for freedom from the yoke of the Nazis. Especially when "liberation" brings only further privations for the masses while the rich continue to live as they did under the Nazis.

What Churchill means of course, is that having liberated themselves from the shackles of the Nazi conquerors largely by their own efforts, having got rid of the Nazis, Churchill and Roosevelt have been afraid they would not tolerate their own capitalists for any length of time—quislings—who waxed fat on the share of the spoils the Nazis allowed them while the masses starved. Hence the preparations to crush with an iron hand any move of the masses to take control into their own hands.

Thus Churchill and Roosevelt prepared not to make war on the Germans in Greece, they were preparing to evacuate, but to make war on the Greek people. This to forcibly impose on them a government, to the liking of Churchill and Roosevelt, which they knew in advance would be rejected by the Greek people.

But clearly the Imperialists know that the process taking place in Greece has been taking place in

worse slaughter of the peoples. The fact that the capitalists of the European countries have lived well and flourished during all these phases, have roused the peoples to a bitterness and hatred seldom seen in history. When the peoples see that "liberation" from the iron heel of the Nazis will restore the capitalist collaborators and quislings into power they will not tolerate such a shameful result of their heroic struggle for freedom from the yoke of the Nazis. Especially when "liberation" brings only further privations for the masses while the rich continue to live as they did under the Nazis.

The explosion in Greece is but a foreshadowing of similar explosions of the masses throughout Europe. The most sober representatives of finance-capital the "Times" in its editorial of 11th Dec. assesses the prospect in accents of foreboding:

"The explosion of feeling in Greece must stand as a warning. It reveals more clearly than ever before though there have been other symptoms of like nature the extent to which the nerves of Europe have been strained and tempers irritated by the deadening oppression of over five years of total war. There is no certainty that victory and peace will be accompanied by tranquillity; in fact complete tranquillity has generally been restored only gradually after the longer and more distressing of the wars of the past. But there can be no doubt that victory over Germany with all that it implies will provide

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At the Labour Party Conference the renegade Arthur Woodburn openly stated "that there would be revolutionary situations in the coming period all over the show", not in order to prepare the workers for a struggle but to warn them against "Communist", and "revolutionary" methods of solving their problems.

No matter what the military developments in the next period, even if the dream of the "Times" is realised and complete military victory is achieved over Germany will not solve the problems of the ruling class. The British and American soldiers have no particular relish for the job of being S.S. men. **It would inevitably provoke trouble as did the attempt to use the army for counter-revolutionary purposes after the last war.** In addition the workers of Britain and America will not be satisfied with the results that the war will bring for them. Gigantic struggles will take place in Britain and even in America.

The sole way out for the workers of Europe lies in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Socialist United States of Europe. Workers of Britain, help us to build a revolutionary Party the Revolutionary Communist Party, which predicted this outcome of the war and which has the programme which will put an end to capitalism and its off-spring wars, unemployment, and fascism.

GREEK EVENTS

dreou!", "Long live democracy!", "Beans and lentils but no King!"

reflect an extremely limited consciousness of their tasks.

This is not surprising, in view of the character of EAM, which is a Popular Front coalition of liberal-capitalist and workers' organisations, predominantly Stalinist. This leadership had already capitulated by entering Papandreou's Government and acquiescing in the repressions of the mutineers; and again when they agreed to disband ELAS to form a "national army".

Already, at the time when EAM first entered the Papandreou Government, a split occurred in the ranks, the rank-and-file opposed this sell-out on the part of their leaders. This was smoothed over. But in the face of the civil war, the rift is once more growing between the masses and their treacherous leaders. Gen. Serafis, leader of ELAS, has been trying to negotiate an armistice, and states that he wishes to obey the orders of Gen. Scobie and disarm his troops. According to the "Sunday Times" (10/12/44) and the "Dispatch", there is a rift in EAM, the right-wing Liberals disassociating themselves from the ELAS. It is believed that the resistance is carried on in Athens by forces under "extreme Communists", who are beyond the control of the capitulatory leadership of EAM.

The so-called "Communist" Party in Greece and in Britain, basely deserting the precepts of Marxism, is calling for the disarmament of "both

sides," and for a "compromise" which would leave the power in the hands of the only armed force—British imperialism. This can only lead to disaster for the Greek workers and peasants. But they have their orders from the master, Stalin. He is trembling lest the Greek dynamite should set fire the whole of the Balkans. He has intervened, according to the press, with a refusal to give the workers and peasants aid in their war against British imperialism.

But British imperialism has miscalculated. The resistance has been greater than they expected. They expected that as in Belgium, the Stalinists would immediately capitulate. And they would have done so, but the masses intervened on the scene of action. While the masses are fighting, the leadership of E.L.A.S. and E.A.M., because of their whole programme of compromise with capitalism and imperialism, has been trying to do a deal with the capitalists which will not be so flagrant as to make them lose control of their followers. Because of this, as Lenin would call it, a "rotten compromise" may be reached between the leadership and Churchill. Whether the Greek workers and peasants will move on to take complete power in their own hands, will depend on whether the Greek Trotskyists will succeed in gaining the workers to the ideas of

Lenin and Trotsky in time. Power all over Greece is in the hands of the workers and peasants. 21 out of 25 police stations in Athens had been cleaned up and were in the hands of the workers: the long score which the fascist police had piled up was settled: hundreds of police thugs were killed. The situation which capitalism fears most, had come into being: the workers in arms had risen and began to take power. According to the press the workers in Salonika commandeered the houses of the rich and quartered the poor in them, and taxes were imposed on traders, i.e. black marketeers. If they took over the factories and the land, they would fire the workers of all Europe—and above all the workers and soldiers of Britain. A socialist Greece, even if it was defeated, could alter the course of world history. But there is every chance that it would succeed because of the echoes that it would arouse all over the world.

The Greek workers and peasants have shown that they can fight. But this is not sufficient: the workers of Germany, Spain, of Italy knew how to fight. But they were beaten because there was not a Party to pose the problem of power before them. Greek workers! Take power into your hands on the programme of Lenin! Build the Revolutionary party of the Fourth International!