

# 1,781 NEATH WORKERS VOTE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

SUPPLEMENT TO

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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TWOPENCE

### 100,000 GERMANS IN NAZI CAMPS

#### Capitalists Hide the Truth

IN THE PAST WEEKS THE CAPITALIST PRESS, CINEMA, AND RADIO HAVE CARRIED ARTICLES, DESCRIPTIONS AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE HORRIBLE ATROCITIES COMMITTED IN THE NAZI CONCENTRATION CAMPS.

There is universal horror and condemnation of the unspeakable crimes perpetrated on the defenceless prisoners in the camps of Buchenwald, Belsen, Dachau, Oranienburg and Oswiecim.

But what has been left unsaid and unrecorded is that from 1933 onwards, when the socialist movement and working class press was exposing Nazi bestiality, the capitalist politicians and press lords, who now hold up their hands in horror, were financing the Nazis and had nothing but praise for Hitler and his methods.

In those days Lord MacGowan enthusiastically attended Nazi Congresses at Nuremberg, and Winston Churchill constantly praised Hitler, expressed his hopes that the British ruling class would find a saviour of the same stamp.

Mavis Tait who now holds up her hands in horror, was one of the prominent members of the delegation who visited the German concentration camps in 1934. But then she found nothing to complain about.

Today these hypocrites, Mavis Tait included, these corrupt agents of vested interests, who refused to lift one finger to save the tortured German working class victims from their terrible fate, now parade these sufferings and use them only for one purpose: to pretend that the entire German nation is responsible, and arouse a hatred for the German people as a whole.

#### WHO IS TO BLAME?

The capitalist and labour politicians and their daily press attempt to lay the blame for the horrors in the camps on the entire German people. Why they ask, did the German people knowingly permit such atrocities?

Deliberately they distort the real situation as it existed in Nazi Germany. They conceal the fact that Hitler could only come to power over the defeated German working class who had been betrayed by their Labour and Stalinist leaders. That Hitler was able to stay in power only by arming and organising the dregs of society, the thieves, swindlers, razor gangs and declassified elements, using

them to terrorise the working class and club them into submission. They ignore the fact that once the Trade Unions and political parties were crushed the merest breath of opposition meant instant death or the concentration camp.

And what the capitalist press has also consciously not stated is the fact that the inmates of Buchenwald and the other notorious concentration camps were German. In Buchenwald in 1938, out of 6,000 prisoners, 2,000 were political, i.e. either Socialist or Communist.

In their propaganda they have hidden the fact that these concentration camps contained in their vast majority, valiant and heroic German fighters. To show these very camps in which the German working class were massacred and tortured as evidence of "German guilt", brands the capitalists and their lackeys as hypocrites and fakers of the worst stamp.

In a booklet written by Victor Gollancz entitled: "What Buchenwald Really Means", he gives figures and facts of the German victims in Nazi camps, which the capitalist press hides from the British people.

According to the Brown Book of the Hitler Terror published in 1933 there were 45 concentration camps containing between 35,000 and 40,000 German anti-fascists. From 1933 to 1939 there were no foreign workers, no prisoners of war, and no resistance workers, therefore the inmates were all German.

The Zurich "Weltwoche" of 9th March 1945, published the following figures as an average of Germans in concentration camps:—

"Buchenwald, near Weimar...	40,000
Sachsenhausen,	
near Oranienburg .....	25,000
Dachau, near Munich .....	11,000
Neuengamme, near Hamburg .....	6,000
Gross-Rosen, in Silesia .....	4,000
Falgersleben, near Brunswick .....	4,000
Danzig-Stuthoff .....	4,000
Flossenburg,	
Upper Palatinate .....	3,000
Mauthausen on the Danube .....	3,000

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### 1,500 Neath Workers at Jock Haston's Meeting

#### Stalinists Forced Into Debate

The greatest mass rally of Neath workers to be held in the Gwyn Hall since 1929, when Ramsay Macdonald addressed the meeting, took place on Sunday, May 13th, convened in support of Comrade Jock Haston, the Revolutionary Communist Candidate.

The meeting had been widely advertised as a "Grand Internationalist Rally" and speakers from India, Belgium, France, Burma, Germany and Greece were billed to speak in support.

Every inch of standing space was crammed, workers were standing on the window ledges and down the alleyways. On the stairways leading to the hall there were queues waiting to get into the hall. And there was still an over-flow meeting of a few hundred people who stood outside and heard the meeting through a loud-speaker relay.

The chairman of the meeting, Comrade Cyril Davies of the local I.L.P., opened the meeting by informing the audience that the Revolutionary Communist candidate had heard that Alun Thomas, leader of the West Wales Stalinist Party, was prepared to debate with Jock Haston and it was proposed to give the meeting over to that debate.

As a result of the tremendous pressure from the rank and file members of the Communist Party, as well as from

the large mass of the miners and workers in the district, Alun Thomas was forced to speak from the platform. Behind him was a large red banner with the lettering "Long Live the 4th International". This was a great victory for the Revolutionary Communist Party.

#### ALUN THOMAS' CASE

In his opening remarks Alun Thomas said that it was not the usual policy of the Communist Party to debate with Trotskyists. But unfortunately there were some politically backward people in Neath who had been persuaded by the demagogues of Jock Haston and that was the reason that on this occasion the C.P. had decided to do so.

He said that the Trotskyists had concentrated their whole national organisation in the constituency.

He went on to say that the Moscow trials had demonstrated conclusively that the Trotskyists were fascists, and that there trials were attended by the international press. Now Mr. Haston  
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## TROTSKYISM LAYS ROOTS IN WALES

By Heaton Lee

THE ADVANCED SECTION OF NEATH WORKERS DEMONSTRATED BY THEIR VOTE THAT THEY WANT AN END OF THE POLICY OF CLASS COLLABORATION AND REFORMISM PURSUED BY THEIR LEADERS, AND ARE DEMANDING A FIGHTING POLICY AGAINST THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

AT A TIME WHEN THE POLICY OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM IS UNDER VIOLENT ATTACK FROM NOT ONLY THE CAPITALIST CLASS, BUT FROM EVERY SECTION OF THE LABOUR AND STALINIST MOVEMENT, THE FACT THAT IN A SMALL AREA OF WALES 1,781 WORKERS VOTED FOR A POLICY OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM, HOLDS OUT GREAT HOPE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT. THIS VOTE WAS CAST IN FACE OF THE BITTEREST AND MOST HYSTERICAL SLANDER CAMPAIGN TO BE SEEN IN AN ELECTION FOR MANY YEARS.

In 1929, in the height of the depression Harry Pollitt, contesting Seaham Harbour against Ramsay Macdonald polled 1,451 votes against 35,615. In 1940 at the Silver-town by-election Pollitt received 996 votes on an anti-war ticket against Labour's 14,343. In comparison with these figures, the result of the first election which our party has contested should be an encouragement and inspiration to the workers seeking a communist solution.



HEATON LEE  
Jock Haston's Election Agent.

### French Masses Turn to Communism

R. RYAN

The result of the second Municipal Ballot in France shows a tremendous swing to the Left on the part of the French workers.

The first returns from about 500 towns of over 4,000 inhabitants show the voting as: Socialists 1265, Communists 1,037, an insignificant vote to unaffiliated groups, Radicals, Resistance, Moderates and Christian Democrats; and the revealing total of 19 vote to the Conservatives.

The French workers have demonstrated by an overwhelming majority that they are disgusted with the capitalist system; that what they want is Communism.

The workers have yet to realise that the French Stalinists no longer intend to fight for Communism. Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the French Communist Party, made clear the future policy of his party in an interview with the "Evening Standard" correspondent, 15th September 1944:

"French capitalists are 'idiots' if they are afraid of Communism according to Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the French Communist Party, who outlined to me today, the post-war programme of his Party."

He went on to say that from his party insisting on a Communist

Government for France they will even refrain from putting forward a programme for radical social reform.

"We are not even interested in the question of a 40 hour week. As far as we are concerned the workers will work 60 hours weekly if it is necessary for the rehabilitation of France."

But Duclos' most surprising disclaimer was his denial that the Communists wished to give self-government to France's colonies.

"The natives in the majority of these colonies are backward people, and it is France's responsibility to give them a helping hand." Support of capitalist imperialism—this is the programme of the French Stalinists.

Despite their large majority, the French Stalinists still cling to the capitalist class and call for a Popular Front Government. In face of the mass support for the Stalinists, the Trotskyists call for a Communist and Labour government, as the best means of exposing them, and educating the masses as to their true role.

In the course of the great class struggles opening up in France, the masses will come to see that only the Trotskyist Party of France offers the programme which will lead to the overthrow of the capitalist class and the seizure of power.

RESULT OF POLL:

WILLIAMS, D. J.	-	30,847
SAMUELS, W.	-	6,290
HASTON, J.	-	1,781

Two generations ago Keir Hardy, the great pioneer of independent Labour campaigned in the Welsh coalmining valleys to break the working class away from the politics of the capitalists and to organise their own class party in opposition to the capitalists. Whatever the limitations of Kier Hardy's programme, this great pioneer performed a tremendously progressive historical task.

In the Neath by-election campaign that mission which Kier Hardy set out to fulfil was re-enacted. This time on a very much higher political plane.

The careerists and job seekers who have taken over and now control Hardy's party, have led the working class back into the arms of capitalism, back under the domination of the class enemy. And the task which the revolutionary communists set themselves in the election was to tear the workers out of the embrace of Churchill and reassert their mission as a class: the destruction of capitalism and the creation of a communist system of society.

Throughout the campaign, the Revolutionary Communist Party raised the central and fundamental principled issues. The character of the war, which it declared to be a war for profits and not a war for democracy; the treach-

ery of the Labour leaders in adopting the capitalist programme and entering a coalition government with the enemies of the working class, there to act as agents of the capitalists against the interests of the workers; the question of complete and unconditional independence for the colonial peoples and opposition to the brutal policy of British imperialism in the colonial countries. The Revolutionary Communist Party raised boldly and fearlessly the need for the workers of Neath to demonstrate to the European and in particular to the German working class that the best sections of the British working class still retain their internationalist traditions and want to extend the hand of class solidarity to their fellow workers both in allied and enemy lands.

And finally, the Revolutionary Communist Party pointed to the need to destroy the capitalist class and for the working people to take power into their own hands as the only class which could wage a progressive war against reaction and make a peace in the interests of the workers of the world.

In the midst of the tremendous press and newsreel campaign of race hatred against the German people, we fought to bring the attention of our fellow workers that fact that there were still German anti-Fascists and a German working class who needed our solidarity in this dark hour.

### Evolution of a Labour Fakir

To study the evolution of D. J. Williams in the course of the campaign was an interesting experience, one in which many workers learned some lessons. For years Williams had a reputation of being a "Labour Left" which he undoubtedly was. The Stalinists had attacked him as a "Trotskyist". He used Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" for his N.C.L.C. lectures. He was the ideal type to whom the workers pointed when they talked about changing the policy of the leadership of the Labour Party.

Unable to conduct a struggle on questions of policy, since he undoubtedly knew the Labour Party's policy was false, Williams gradually adopted the most vicious Stalinist slanders: "Haston is a fascist." "Haston is subsidised by the same people who subsidised Lord Haw-Haw". Whereas at the beginning of the campaign his election agent issued a public declaration renouncing the assistance of His Majesty's Communist Party, as the campaign developed and it became evident that Comrade Haston was gaining a measure of support, he used the services of the Stalinists more and more and finally even authorised them to publish a foul and slanderous pamphlet and to put up posters throughout the constituency "A VOTE FOR HASTON IS A VOTE FOR FASCISM." Thus there arose an unholy alliance of cowardly slanders, without a programme and without a banner other than support for the government of Winston Churchill.

So low did Williams stoop that he alleged from his platforms that the chairman of the revolutionary communist candidate were paid £2 10. 0 per meeting. Although informed that this was untrue by well-known miners in the area, he continued to use this slander. This petty parliamentary careerist found it inconceivable that anyone should participate in the movement without being well paid for it. Like others of his ilk he could see the movement only as a business career and could not think in terms of service to our class without cash payment.

An effectual reply from which we quote below was sent to Williams and published in the "S.A." 5,000 leaflets were distributed headed:

#### END THE SLANDER! Wage a Clean Political Fight

Extracts of this read as follows:  
"Unable to meet our political arguments or refute our programme these miserable and cowardly people descend to using the weapon of reaction: lies, slander, and insinuation."

The great class struggles that will face the workers in the next few months and years will expose them for what they are—Charlatans and Traitors.

#### LET US DEBATE BEFORE THE WORKERS

In our press, in leaflets, from the platform at every meeting we have held in the course of the election campaign, we have challenged them to debate: to come onto our platform and prove their allegations or defend their case to the working class. Instead of honestly accepting the challenge they have scurried away.

The "Socialist Appeal" of Mid-April published a letter written to D. J. Williams by comrade Jock Haston which concluded with the following:

"We repeat our challenge to you which we have also issued to our slandersers. Let us debate the policy issues before the workers, every day of the campaign, and in every miners' and workers' hall in the constituency if necessary. If you are confident of your case you will seize the opportunity, otherwise the workers must conclude that you fear the search of truth and fear the Revolutionary Communist challenge."

THIS LETTER WAS IGNORED. BUT THE FOUL CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER CONTINUES.

#### WORKERS' PENNIES PAY FOR OUR NEATH CAMPAIGN

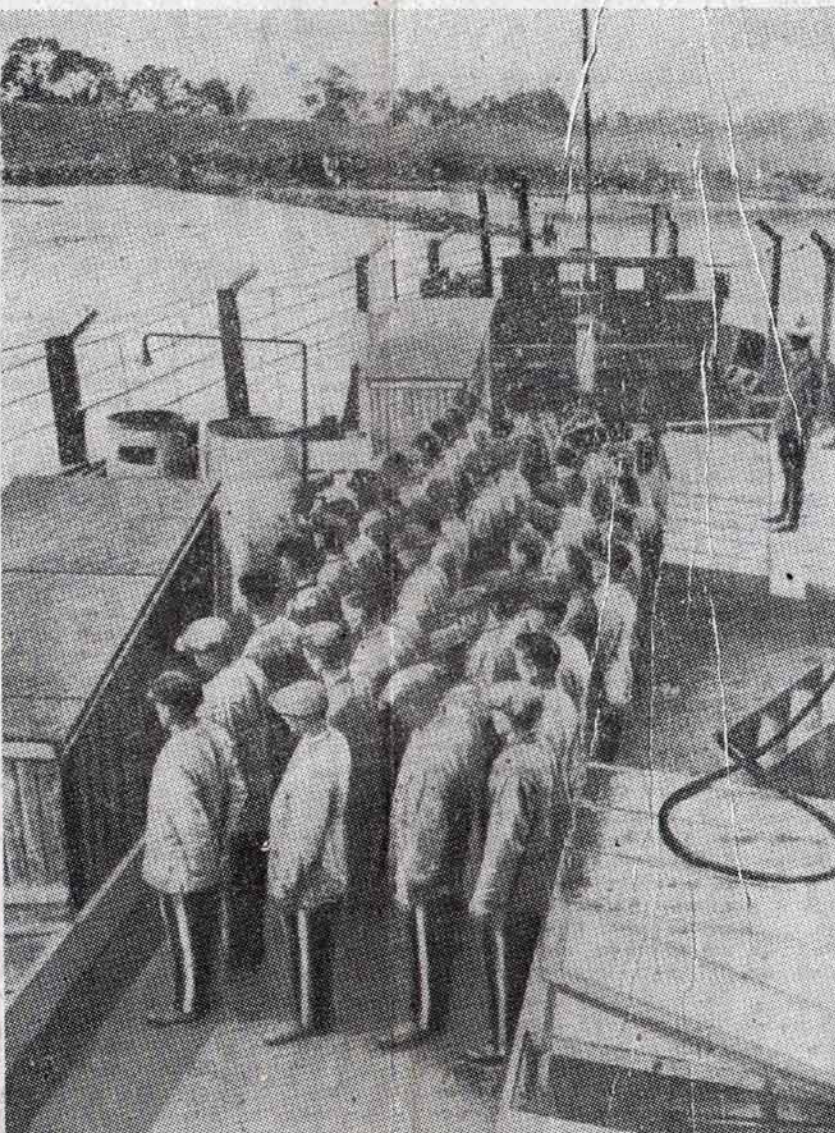
In this same letter we answered the allegations about money by making the following offer which we now repeat:—

"If you—D. J. Williams—genuinely wish to know the source of our funds you, personally, or any elected deputation of Trade Unionists are invited to inspect the books of our party and especially the election fund. You will find that our monies come entirely from workers in industry and the Forces. Indeed, several pounds have already been collected from miners in your own district of Cwaun-cae-Gurwen."  
That offer remains open today. Let the slandersers accept it, or expose themselves as conscious falsifiers and liars!"

#### CHARACTER OF THE ELECTION MEETINGS

Despite the numerous stars that the Labour Party brought into the campaign for Williams, including Jim Griffiths, M.P., D. Grenfel, M.P., W. G. Cove, M.P., Edith Summerskill, M.P., D. Mort, M.P., Morgan, M.P.,  
(Continued on back page.)

### British Capitalists Were Silent Then



Floating Concentration Camp on the Weser, near Bremen where our German Fellow Workers were tortured and murdered by the Nazis, before the War.

# LONDON BUILDERS GIVE STRIKE NOTICE

BY RON BLAKE

"That we the 4,500 building workers of Lewisham demand an opening up of negotiations for a minimum of 3/- per hour to meet a higher cost of living and falling this, we are prepared to down tools on May 16th."

In such words the overwhelming majority of some 500 building workers at a Ladywell Road open-air meeting over-rode the twists and bureaucratic manoeuvres of their union leaders.

As readers of the "Socialist Appeal" will remember, these workers, many of whom have been brought hundreds of miles from their homes, have had to struggle against unbearably bad conditions.

The rate of pay is low: 2s. 2½d. per hour for a tradesman, and 1s. 9½d. for a labourer, and no bonus is payable on these rates. In addition they have to cope with the lack of washing facilities, the prevalence of skin diseases caught from demolishing parts of bombed houses, the lack of protective eye-shields and other clothing, bad transport to and from the job, and hostel conditions which could reasonably be much improved, as well as the need to maintain two homes on an extra allowance of 26/6.

The increasing discontent came to a head at the Shop Stewards' meeting held at 12 o'clock on Friday, May 4th. Stewards representative of all the sites in Lewisham came armed with the same resolution:—

In view of the impending reduction to a 54 hour week 3/- per hour, or strike on May 16th.

The progress committee, completely controlled by the Stalinists took charge and called an open air meeting for 12.30 on Saturday.

Despite a steady soaking drizzle, about 500 men gathered to hear the report back.

The committee was bound to communicate the Shop Stewards' ideas to the meeting and put forward a composite resolution, including the 3/- wage demand and the strike threat. But they immediately followed this

with a strong recommendation to delete the strike notice and replace it by a demand for payment retrospective from May 14th.

In their efforts to avoid a vote on the strike motion, every kind of reactionary argument was used by the platform.

Bro. Pimm, secretary to the operative representatives said that to threaten strike might be a mistake since the building workers weren't 100% organised! He was unable to placate the just anger of the workers at the press statement of Bro. Coppock, General Secretary of the N.F.B.T.O. that there were 50,000 men too many on the job.

"It's a lie!" shouted some London workers.

"Why can't we go home then?" shouted men from the provinces.

Bro. Light, secretary of the Lewisham Site Progress Committee, tried another tactic, raising the fear that since the transport workers strike was "against public opinion" a builders' strike would not receive sympathy.

In response to a clamour from the workers, Bro. Milligan, a well-known militant of the N.S.H.S.P. took the platform and moved the resolution.

"Mr. Light", he said, "had urged them to use every weapon in their power. . . Look at the lessons of the past. Substantial gains had never been obtained around the table. The workers had always had to fight for their needs. They had always been forced to resort to strike action. (Hear, Hear!) Building workers were prepared to do this again if necessary. It had been said that they must struggle for 100% trade-unionism. That was quite true, but they must not postpone struggles against bad conditions and low wages until that was obtained. It was the duty of Trade-Unionists to give a lead to non-unionists on such matters and in this way recruit to the Union. It was more and more clear that the workers were having to fight not only the bosses but their Union leaders too!" At this there was loud applause.

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried overwhelmingly (Continued in next column.)



19th April, 1945.

Dear Comrade,  
On Thursday, 19th April at a re-call Conference at Hammersmith Town Hall, Mr. D. N. Pritt reaffirmed his intention to contest the seat at present held by him at North Hammersmith as an "Independent".

During his speech at the April 1945 Conference, Mr. Pritt consistently implied that the N.E.C.'s continual refusal to readmit him to membership of the Labour Party was due to his outlook being more left than that of official Labour. A questioner from an A.E.U. branch in Mr. Pritt's constituency contested this assertion and brought to the attention of the meeting the fact that there was essentially no difference between the programme of the Labour Party and those of either Mr. Pritt or the Communist Party. The questioner suggested that if anything, in view of the fact that the Labour Party had expressed the intention of achieving its programme on an independent party basis, while Mr. Pritt wished his to go into operation in collaboration with "Progressive" Liberals—the Labour Party might be said to be more left wing than either Mr. Pritt or the Communist Party. Mr. Pritt denied that he had stated he was more left wing than the L.P. but admitted that it could have been inferred that he intended his remarks to have the construction the questioner had put upon them. He admitted that there was no difference between the reformist programme of the Labour Party and with his own or that of the Communist Party.

In the Credentials Report it was brought out that in the whole Conference only 7 Trade Union Branches from Hammersmith were represented, and according to Mr. Pritt, probably more were from his own constituency of North Hammersmith. The reason he gave for this last was that, as far as he knew, there were no comfortable pubs in N. Hammersmith and therefore no branches met there. This can be taken as a good gauge of Mr. Pritt's opinion of organised Labour in his own constituency.

A resolution in support of Mr. Pritt's candidature was moved and passed with two abstentions.

W. Coleman.

(Continued from Column 2.)

with only some 15 or 20 including the platform voting against.

It is clear that the Lewisham building union leaders, like other fakery at the present time, have no enthusiasm for leading their members in a militant struggle. They want to lead the fight into "safe" channels.

Lewisham building workers must be on their guard against this misleadership. They must develop fresh leaders who will fight for their demands.

BUILDING WORKERS! SOLIDARITY WITH THE LEWISHAM SITE WORKERS! SUPPORT THEIR STRUGGLE WITH RESOLUTIONS, PROPAGANDA AND EVERY OTHER MEANS IN YOUR POWER.

# SUPPORT FOR GERMAN WORKERS IN A.E.U. SHOP STEWARDS MEETING

AT THE GLASGOW DISTRICT A.E.U. SHOP STEWARDS' QUARTERLY MEETING THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION RECEIVED 110 VOTES AGAINST 112. THIS IS A CLEAR INDICATION THAT THE WORKING-CLASS DOES NOT ACCEPT THE VANSITTART HATE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE GERMAN WORKERS, DESPITE THE LABOUR AND STALINIST LEADERS WHO ACTED AS ATTORNEYS FOR THE CAPITALISTS' VICIOUS ANTI-WORKING CLASS CAMPAIGN.

THE FACT THAT THE RESOLUTION WAS ONLY DEFEATED BY 2 VOTES UNDER LABOUR AND STALINIST PRESSURE, SHOWS THAT A STRONG FEELING OF INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY EXISTS ON THE CLYDE.

This Committee condemns the attitude taken up by the World T.U.C., and particularly that of the British delegation, in relation to the treatment of the German working class after the war.

It considers that this is a betrayal of the German working class and can only serve to strengthen the hand of Hitler and Goebbels when it is shown that Vansittart and the capitalists have the full support of the "leaders" of the working class organisations in the "Allied" camp.

We further consider that the German working class are no more responsible for the deeds of Hitler and the Gestapo in Europe than are the British working class for the deeds

of the British Imperialists in India and the colonies.

This Committee emphatically calls upon the T.U.C. and Labour leaders to abandon this shameful policy expounded at the World T.U.C., and to extend a hand of international class solidarity to the German workers. Such a policy could do no other than assist a revolutionary movement of the German workers against Hitler.

As the first step towards this, we demand that the Labour Party and Trade Union leadership break the coalition and industrial truce, that all Trade Union and Labour representatives are withdrawn from government posts, and that Labour wage an immediate struggle for power on a socialist programme.

## SILICOSIS

The Story of a Soccer Team

We reproduce below an item from the "News Chronicle", (11/12/44). It is startling and dramatic proof of the extent to which the dread disease of Silicosis is ravaging the Welsh mining community.

This is the story of a tough young Soccer eleven who set out to sweep all before them in the Welsh mining valleys 14 years ago.

They were 11 picked men, strong, skilful, full of vim.

What happened to them is told by Margot Heinemann, a Labour research expert, in an important book, "Britain's Coal," published by Gollancz today.

The men all came from one anthracite pit in the Ammanford area, where the silicosis rate is exceptionally high.

Miss Heinemann reports how the miners' agent tried to get in touch with the team in 1943. Here is his report:

Goalkeeper (age 37). Buried in 1939 under fall of roof, injured spine and fractured pelvis. For weeks his life was in danger.

Alive today, but will never be able to work again.

Right-back (41). Total incapacity due to silicosis.

Left-back (34). Buried by fall in 1934. Fractured leg and shoulder. Able to perform only light work on surface.

Right-half (42). Partial incapacity due to silicosis.

Centre-half (42). Total incapacity due to silicosis.

Left-half (40). Total incapacity due to silicosis.

Outside-right (40). Total incapacity due to silicosis.

Inside-right. An exceptionally good workman and very strong, was always willing to work in the wettest places. At 25 contracted rheumatic fever and died.

Centre-forward (42). Total incapacity due to silicosis.

Inside-left (33). Partial incapacity due to silicosis.

Outside-left (36). Buried by fall of roof. Injured spine and will never be able to work below ground again.

Today there is another team in Ammanford. What will their fate be in 1954?

## BREAK THE COALITION Labour to Power

on the following Programme

### INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY.

- 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.
- 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.
- Distribution of food, clothes and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the Co-ops, distributive trades, factories, houses and allotments, and small shopkeepers, and allocation of housing under the control of tenants' committees.
- A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guarantee minimum; the rate for the job; and industrial rates for all members of the armed forces.

### DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS

- Repeal of the Essential Works Order, the Emergency Powers Act, and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking legislation.
- 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.
- 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.

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

- 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.
- Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist power; despatch of arms, food and essential materials to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
- A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany, Europe, Japan, and the rest of the world to join the international 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.

## REDUNDANCY IN BELFAST

Sir Stafford Cripps recently notified the Ulster Aircraft workers that their work is drawing to a close. He concluded his harsh message with the typical humbugging plea of the Belfast workers to accept the impending pay-off with public-spirited restraint.

Cripps received a fitting reply to his letter on Wednesday, 28th March, when 25,000 incensed workers staged a protest demonstration against redundancy. Each factory contingent was led by a band. A number of placards were carried bearing caustic comments on the broken promises of the capitalist politicians. Among them were "WORK OR FULL MAINTENANCE".

Converging on "Red Square", as the waste ground at Belfast High Street is popularly called, the demonstrators were addressed by the Trade Union officials who had placed themselves at the disposal of the meeting only because of their fear of losing control of their members. A few facts were recited exposing the Government's incompetency, and a call was made to the workers to vote Labour at the forthcoming General Election. Beyond this nothing was said.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Irish Section of the Fourth International distributed a special leaflet dealing with the crisis. The Labourites, the Stalinist "Communist" Party and the Trade Union officials were all of one mind in attributing the redundancy crisis solely to the bungling of the Stormont Cabinet. The developing redundancy crisis in Britain and the existence of mass unemployment on the European continent, were left unexplained. Nor was it pointed out that the government of the richest and strongest country in the world, the U.S.A., expects to be faced with the problem of coping with between 20 and 30 million redundant workers at the end of the war.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party alone offers the "redundant" aircraft workers a serious solution, which to be sure, won't be achieved by practising the art of parliamentary lobbying—pushing, prodding and cajoling—but only by waging a stern struggle. To maintain full employment in face of the decline in production in the aircraft industry, the Revolutionary Socialist Party advocates a reduction of hours of work sufficient to re-absorb all workers considered to be redundant. The R.S.P. demands the maintenance of the 47 hour week wage as the minimum wage, and that every increase in the cost of living should be met by a corresponding rise in wages. The entire cost of this programme must be borne by the capitalists, who have amassed huge profits out of the war. To expose concealed profits, the R.S.P. demands that Factory Committees be given full facilities to inspect Company Books.

W.W.

B.A.

**PROPHETS**  
*Every worker should read -*  
**BY TROTSKY**

**WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE TASKS OF BRITISH WORKERS** 6d.

**TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL** 6d.

**A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM** 6d.

**Cannon's Testimony in U.S. Labour Trial** 6d.

**THE ROAD TO INDIA'S FREEDOM by A. Scott and E. Grant** 3d.

**BUILDING WORKERS! SOLIDARITY WITH THE LEWISHAM SITE WORKERS! SUPPORT THEIR STRUGGLE WITH RESOLUTIONS, PROPAGANDA AND EVERY OTHER MEANS IN YOUR POWER.** 3d.

# Engineers Want More Pay

THERE IS ONE QUESTION WHICH EVERY MEMBER OF AN ENGINEERING UNION IS NOW ASKING. WHY IS IT THESE UNIONS, PARTICULARLY THE A.E.U. WITH ITS POWERFUL FUNDS, WITH A MEMBERSHIP OF ALMOST A MILLION ENGAGED IN A KEY INDUSTRY VITAL TO THE EMPLOYERS' WAR, PRODUCES AFTER MONTHS OF NEGOTIATION A PALTRY INCREASE OF 4s. 6d., MOST OF WHICH WILL PASS STRAIGHT INTO THE HANDS OF THE INCOME TAX COLLECTOR, LEAVING NOT ENOUGH EVEN TO MEET THE RISE IN PRICES WHICH ANDERSON PROMISED IN HIS LAST BUDGET SPEECH!

The reductions in overtime, and cuts in bonus earnings as a result both of the transfer of workers and the policy of the employers, has brought home to engineers just how inadequate their wage rates are.

It was in the light of these developments and in the face of a cost of living which has risen 54% during the war, according to the official figures, whilst fitters wages for example, have only risen 35%, that we watched carefully the progress of our unions' application for a "substantial increase" from the employers. The arbitration award has given us the "substantial increase" of 4s. 6d. a week!

A careful analysis of the negotiations between unions and employers just published shows that the whole answer is to be found in the policy of our union leadership, which is hamstringing our organisations.

The A.E.U. leadership in these negotiations used tones of gentle persuasion. They painted a beautiful picture of the post-war world, a picture of planned production, a large home market and expanding exports, plus better conditions for the workers — if only the employers would march hand in hand with their wage slaves!

"We believe," stated Tanner, on behalf of the engineering unions, "that any serious observer must now agree that the problem of securing exports for Britain in the post-war world cannot be solved by wage restrictions or by a return to international cut-throat competition."

In asking the employers to abstain from international cut-throat competition, Tanner and Co., might as well be asking the lion to shed its claws and teeth! Alexander Ramsey, who spoke on behalf of the employers must have secretly laughed loud and long to think that the leaders of one of the mightiest unions in the world could be capable of such a childlike utterance, could have such a simple faith in the employers as to believe they would put aside cut-throat competition. In any case, Ramsey's statements have more significance for workers assessing their post-war position than have the fairy tales of Tanner. Ramsey has left us no illusions that the employers of the world will amicably share out their markets after the war. He said:

"It might be, of course, that the manufacturers of the United States of America will survey the problem in a spirit of true altruism and co-operate with Britain in endeavouring to secure that the greatest good should be done to the greatest number in the shortest space of time, and that the credit worthiness of both nations should be pooled for the purpose. It is my personal view, however, that when the pressure and dangers and inspirations of war are over, the United States may endeavour to dispose of their surplus products in those markets for which they are likely to get the best and quickest return. . . . Moreover, in the larger export market it would certainly appear that new factors not entirely favourable to this country are likely to raise their heads. The development of production in all the Dominions and in India, the enormous expansion of production facilities in the United States of America, the clear intention of all these countries to protect their own manufacturing interests, but at the same time to sell as much as they can to others, are all factors we have to take into account."

Tanner, in trying to persuade the employers that they need not cut wages to maintain their exports and profits, said:

"We fully realise that if we are to get our full share of the new orders we must aim to be as efficient as other countries. But this will never be achieved by a low wage policy. We would remind you that wage rates in the United States—generally believed to be one of our most formidable competitors, if competition is once more allowed to

develop—are almost double what they are in this country."

Who is Brother Tanner kidding with this argument? He certainly is not kidding the employers. They are fully aware that the greater efficiency of American production is not due to the higher wages paid to American workers but to the dominant position of the American ruling class in world economy; to the superior productive power of their machinery and mass production methods, and the easy accessibility of raw materials. They are fully aware that if they are to compete with the American employers then it must be done principally by a greater exploitation of our labour power, which means lower, not higher wages for us. They are not blinded as to what the future holds in store for British capitalism.

Brother Tanner is not kidding the employers; he is kidding the workers! He is deluding them that under capitalism, in the post-war world, it will be possible to satisfy both our demands and those of our masters. Yet we know that it is impossible to achieve higher wages, less hours and social security for the workers; and at the same time growing exports, less competition and more profit for the employers.

It might be said, of course, that Tanner's statements were merely slick negotiation talk, that he was trying to befuddle the employers with arguments. If Tanner can smart-alec the employers into giving us a rise, then we would be foolish to refuse it. But this is not a question of one or two isolated manoeuvres in negotiation. Tanner paints a picture of bright post-war prospects not only to the employers, but also to the A.E.U. youth

conference. He tells the youth to "give no ear to the people who dimly predict that the position of youth after the war will be the same as last time. This time democratic advances have been made which are the foundations of and guarantee of a post-war world different from after the last war."

The whole strategy of the A.E.U. leadership, their preparations (or lack of) for the post-war period are based on this prospect of a "world different from after the last war."

Every engineer knows that only after testing our strength will the employers grant us our demands, or even maintain our present standards. The future that opens out for us is not one of peace in industry, but of war, a fiercer war with the employers than any we have yet seen. In such a situation we are doomed to defeat under a leadership that is continually seeking ways and means of collaborating with the enemy; which refuses to prepare for future struggles; which covers up the real nature of the post-war capitalist world by phrases describing a brighter future; which withdraws from our armoury its strongest weapon—the right to strike; which dampens our militancy and holds us back from taking offensive action against the employers now when we are strongest.

In the interests of our fight, not only for the barest means of life but also for the complete overthrow of the employers, militant engineers must campaign for an end of the industrial truce which is strangling our organisations, must campaign for a new and militant leadership with a policy capable of meeting future struggles.

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**

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

# 'PEACE' IN EUROPE

The end of the war in Europe, or rather the end of the struggle for imperialist mastery in Europe has come. A wave of relief swept over the population in Britain. But despite all the atrocity propaganda there was very little of the manifestations of jingoism and chauvinism.

But it is only one part of the imperialist conflict which is at an end. The flagrantly gangster conflict for supremacy in the Pacific is still to go on with its toll of human lives and sufferings.

The Labour leaders have come forth with statements that the victory over the Axis will lead to a just and lasting peace; the Stalinists talk of "permanent peace" on the basis of the Yalta Agreement.

There could be no more base deception of the working class. During the last world war the Labour leaders announced that it was a "war to end wars"; a war to save democracy. And its results? The plunder and oppression of Europe by Versailles which Lenin described as the most unjust treaty in history. Far from ensuring the victory of democracy it led to the rise of fascism in Europe and the most terrible slaughter of the peoples in the whole of history.

In reply to the self styled "practical" politicians and "realists" who argued that the vista of peace and prosperity lay before the workers after the last war, Lenin warned that unless the workers seized power, they would live through a third world war.

What Lenin said then is even more true today. If capitalism should survive this war a new world war within the next decade is inevitable. Despite the fact that the "aggressors" will be crushed as no nations have been crushed in history, the "united" nations are spending and are preparing to spend more money on armaments than ever before.

In the budget of the Soviet Union the expenditure on armaments for 1945-46 is to be greater than even when Russia was fighting for her life against Germany. America has announced a programme for maintaining the biggest navy and airforce that the world has seen. In enfeebled Britain, crippled economically by the war, capitalist politicians and their Labour lackeys talk of programmes of "preparedness"— vast schemes of military training and arms expenditure.

For what reason are these preparations being made?

Because of the rivalries in Europe, in Asia and all over the world between British imperialism and American imperialism; between the Stalinist bureaucracy, fearful of the inevitable new onslaught on the Soviet Union by its "allies".

The shadow of coming events is shown by the disagreements at San Francisco. Throughout history the competition for markets, and the antagonisms this provoked led to arms expenditure which in its turn inevitably led to war.

Meanwhile, the aftermath of the war is preparing famine in Europe and in Asia.

But already the protest of the masses against the capitalist system is manifesting itself. The movement in North Italy, the elections in France— everywhere we see a swing not only of the workers but of the middle class towards the Left, towards socialism and communism.

If the Stalinists and the Labour leaders should succeed in stemming the revolutionary wave, as their forerunners did after the last war, we will see not a new blossoming of democracy, freedom, peace and plenty, but the most frightful reaction, a new and worse form of Fascism, misery, insecurity and unemployment for the masses, and new wars; and because of the further decay of capitalism, on a far more intensive scale.

More than a hundred years ago Marx wrote that the development of capitalism means the concentration of capital into fewer and fewer hands at one pole, with the accumulation of misery, ignorance, toil and degradation at the other pole for the working class. This war has further accelerated this process.

The Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution is the only party which tells the workers the truth about the perspectives that lie ahead, that offers no false promises and prepares them for the battles that are yet to come. In the struggles that lie ahead, the workers will come to see that their problems are bound up with those of the workers of other countries; that only the Fourth International unites the workers of all lands on a common programme which can lead to a socialist Europe and world.

Long live the Fourth International!

# A New Versailles Treaty

BY V. SIMMS

The war in Europe is at an end. German workers who have suffered under the jack-boot of the Nazis are to be the main victims of the victorious allies. Once again vindictive and inhuman conditions are to be imposed on Germany.

## THE VERSAILLES TREATY

At the end of the last war, the French, American and British imperialists holding Germany and the German people responsible for the war, attempted to extract tribute from Germany. The economic clauses of the Versailles Treaty were:—

1. All German vessels of the merchant navy exceeding 1,600 tons, half the number between 1,000 tons and 1,600 tons, one quarter of trawlers and other fishing boats were to be handed over to the Allies.
2. All German overseas possessions and colonies were to be taken over by the Allies.
3. All German investments abroad to be transferred to the Allies.
4. German coal-mines situated in the Saar Basin to be ceded to France.
5. For 10 years Germany was to deliver coal free of cost, up to 20,000,000 tons annually for the first 5 years, and up to 8,000,000 tons annually for the second 5 years to France.
6. Part of the reparations to be paid in coal to France 7,000,000 tons annually for 10 years; 8,000,000 tons annually to Belgium; from 4,500,000 tons to 8,500,000 tons to Italy, and an unspecified shortage to be made good to Luxembourg.
7. Germany to accord most favoured nations treatment to the exports from allied countries to Germany for five years.
8. In addition, Germany to pay compensation to cover the damage to Allied property estimated at £8,000,000,000.

The effect of these impositions was to undermine the German and European economy in three ways. Firstly, German exports which were not paid for because the reparations demanded payment in kind from Germany, which made it impossible for Germany to buy

## ALLIES IN CYPRUS

The Committee for Cyprus Affairs in London has issued a report of an outrage committed by the police in the British colony of Cyprus on March 25th, Greek Independence Day. They opened fire on a peaceful demonstration in the village of Lefkonico.

The government statement alleged that "following violent dispute between opposing parties an illegal procession had taken place. The police intervened to prevent a serious clash between the parties and the demonstrators were repeatedly asked to disperse. They refused to do so and the police opened fire . . . Two persons were killed and another nine wounded, five of whom were taken to hospital."

Eyewitness reports, plus a statement signed by the Mayor and all organisations in the village, including Trade Unions, Churches, sport associations, etc., tell a different story. The procession was held in accordance with a permit issued to the local High School, and was therefore quite legal. It consisted of all organisation in the village, headed by the High School. After a ceremony of thanksgiving in a Church a meeting was held, during which representatives of the Unions asked to be allowed to speak. This led to disagreement, and the meeting peacefully broke up.

The unions proceeded to their premises: but at a small distance from them were met by armed police, who ordered them to disperse. Their leaders asked to be allowed to enter the premises and disperse inside. This request was not replied to—the police immediately opened fire on the unarmed demonstration. The first to fall dead was a 12-year old schoolboy. Two people were killed and 12 wounded.

Though an official enquiry was ordered, the policemen responsible for the shooting are still at liberty, one has even been promoted. The Government gagged the Press, instructing all the editors to print nothing but official accounts of the matter, until the enquiry had started. In protest the entire Greek press, two Turkish newspapers and the English paper "Cyprus Post" suspended publication on March 28th.

A joint statement of three workers' and peasants' parties points out that this atrocity is "the result of the existing anti-liberal laws and orders by which the Cyprus people have been deprived of elementary liberties."

An indication of the regime was given by the delegate from Cyprus to the World T.U. Conference, who said that more than 5 people may not gather without permission from the authorities, which is not granted when the Government thinks it might be criticised; and that the Press cannot publish news from the Soviet, American, French and other radios, but only from the B.B.C. and Cairo.

Five-sixths of the population are Greek, and the desire to be united with Greece is strong. But some time ago a correspondent to the "Daily Telegraph" wrote that Greek nationalism is on the wane, and the masses are looking more towards a dictatorship of the proletariat as the solution to their problems: He also said that in addition to the Stalinist party there exists "a dissident Communist party, Trotskyist in inspiration."

D.J.

the raw materials and foodstuffs from abroad. Secondly the German coal and steel industries were crippled by the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine. Thirdly, lack of coal and rolling stock threw the German transport system into chaos.

Physically exhausted by the war of 1914-18, unable to maintain even the pre-war production, the German capitalists joined with Allied "humanitarians" to extract the last ounce of energy and blood from the German working class, who faced utter ruin and starvation. This misery reached its climax in the inflation of 1923.

Unable to obtain the promised coal from Germany, French troops occupied the Ruhr, and added burdens of occupation were thrown on the backs of the German masses. Because of the failure of the German labour leaders and Stalinist leaders to give a revolutionary lead to the German workers, the revolutionary upsurge of the German people was destroyed. This led directly to the victory of fascism.

The Allies helped the rise of Fascism because it was the only means of saving the capitalist system.

But what must be remembered is that not only did it mean misery for the peoples of Germany, but for the people of Europe and Britain as well. German economy is an indispensable part of European economy. Germany is the industrial heart of Europe, and the other countries are dependent upon Germany for machinery, capital goods, equipment, etc. In addition to which, Germany was a great market for the goods produced by the more backward countries in the rest of Europe. Reparations meant that Germany could not afford to buy back the goods they produced. The lower standards for the Germans means lower standards for the other countries too, because of the

competition of German goods produced by cheap labour. Reparations meant unemployment for the Welsh miners, the Scottish shipyard workers, and the British engineers. If the workers of this country believe that by reducing the economy and living standards of the German people, they will better their own standards of life they are very much mistaken.

## MORE DRASTIC TERMS THIS TIME

History is about to repeat itself. Today these are the plans of the Allied imperialists:

1. All German heavy industry and any other branch of industry which can be transformed to the production of armaments is to be smashed.
2. Germany to feed her own population with severe restrictions on the export of foodstuffs to Germany. If the food production of Germany is inadequate, no help will be given to feed the population.
3. Territorial compensation to Poland, France, and possibly Holland.
4. Compensation and reparations to be calculated for the damage caused to property and persons by an Allied economic Commission.
5. Rebuilding of part of Europe and Russia with German slave labour.
6. Seizure of all equipment and plant in various industries.
7. Seizure of all foreign investments of Germany.

These provisions are far more drastic than the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. According to Varga, the Soviet economist, the reparation Russia will demand alone would be ten times the total reparations to all the allies provided by the Treaty of Versailles. Translate this to mean enslavement of the German people for decades to come. Shamelessly, Kuczynski, the Stalinist statistician describes this as a just

expiation for the guilt of the German masses.

The Bolsheviks and the Foundation Conference of the Third International condemned the Versailles Treaty and called for a peace without indemnities and without annexations. Today, the Labour traitors in Britain, the renegade Stalinist "communists" are demanding an even more revengeful tribute from the German masses.

We warn the workers, as the Communist International of Lenin did: the effect of these terms will spell disaster to the entire European populations. Today more than ever, Europe is a unified economy. The entire productive relations of Europe are connected with intricate threads and Germany occupies the key position in this system. From Germany, radiate goods so much needed by Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries. The destruction of German heavy industry, the loss of German coal, iron, steel and chemicals would mean, not only misery for the German masses, but for the people of the entire continent.

The payment of reparations to the allies could only be made in the form of goods and services. That would mean German coal, machinery and chemicals being sent to France, Britain and other countries without any corresponding returns. While the German masses will be reduced to destitution, the British working class cannot escape the consequences. Once again unemployment will reign in the coal fields of South Wales; shipyard workers will be thrown on the dole; while the bosses will continue to use German goods both for domestic consumption and exports.

The employment of German slave labour to rebuild Europe will strike at the root of the organised working class movement. During the famous miners struggles in the nineteenth century in Britain, the capitalists attempted to smash the organisation of the miners by importing cheap Belgian labour. Organised opposition from the workers of both countries struck this weapon from the hands of the bosses. Today once again, the capitalists, in the name of justice, want to do the same thing with regard to German labour. Already in Belgium, German prisoners are used to break strikes. In the London area, where the discontent of the British workers is reaching a climax, to prevent any explosion, German workers are to be employed. If this pernicious system of slave labour is allowed, the British working class will place itself at the mercy of the capitalists, and one by one their hard earned rights of a century of struggle will be undermined.

Even if the logic of this argument is admitted, some say, the reconstruction of Europe is necessary. Why not make the German masses bear the burden? If, out of this war, the European working class emerges defeated, with capitalism triumphant, no plans, no indemnities, will stop Germany once again becoming a nerve centre of capitalist reaction.

Instead of rebuilding to satisfy the needs of the masses, only feverish preparations for a third world war will proceed. In the meanwhile, the present economic chaos and poverty, accompanied by the evils of inflation, will be deepened and inflict insufferable misery on the entire population of Europe. Capitalist reconstruction of Europe in the end means only reconstruction for war.

But, if out of the sufferings of the masses and devastation wrought by the 6 years of massacre, the workers emerge victorious, Germany will again occupy a key position to provide the necessary economic cultural leadership in a socialist Europe. A socialist Germany would speedily rebuild and reconstruct Europe. Russia would be supplied with machinery to rebuild her industry, and the German workers would gladly aid in this task.

In fraternal co-operation, the workers of Britain and Europe can rebuild a socialist Britain and Europe, banishing all future wars and increasing the material and cultural standards for all.

## THE "PEACE" AFTER VERSAILLES



Unemployment . . . Hamburg workers asleep sitting up.

## ROOSEVELT AND THE C.P. TO-DAY AND YESTERDAY

In the "Daily Worker" of April 14th 1945, R. Page Arnot wrote a tribute to Roosevelt which he entitled "DEMOCRAT, FIGHTER AND PEACE BUILDER". There he told the workers that:

"With over 17,000,000 unemployed on the bread line, with desolation spreading through the country, Roosevelt proclaimed the New Deal. By the National Recovery Act of 1933, he prohibited child labour, fixed an 8 hour day and a minimum wage, and instituted public works on a vast scale."

" . . . He fought the most reactionary capitalists and got rights for the Trade Unions."

"The Trade Union movement advanced by leaps and bounds. Trade Unionists recognised in Roosevelt an ally."

So much for R. Page Arnot. However, it is unfortunate for the Communist Party that some of us have long memories, although the various changes of C.P. policy have taxed them to the utmost. Let us turn up R. Palme Dutt's book "FASCISM AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION" published in 1934.

Turn to page 247: "The New Deal," says Palme Dutt, the policy of the Roosevelt regime expressed in the National Recovery Act and associated measure, represents the most comprehensive and ruthless attempt of finance capital to consolidate its power with the entire strength of the state machine over the whole field of industry, to hold the workers in subjection under extreme and intensified exploitation with a universal lowering of standards . . ."

Is that how Roosevelt fought the reactionary capitalists, Mr. Page Arnot? And how did the Trade Union movement advance by leaps and bounds and Trade Unionists recognise in Roosevelt an ally? Was it in the way Palme Dutt expressed it when on page 248, he declares:

" . . . It (the New Deal) effects a universal reduction of the real wages of all workers, such as to make the guaranteed wage standards, already fixed at very low levels, in practice the cover for a general lowering of wage standards, as even

the American Federation of Labour has now begun to complain."

TODAY THE C.P. LEADERS SAY THE ROOSEVELT OF 1933 WAS A DEMOCRAT.

YESTERDAY THE C.P. LEADERS SAID THE ROOSEVELT OF 1933 WAS A PRO-FASCIST.

Can any intelligent worker trust a party with leaders who, in eleven years can change their opinions so completely as this?

W. W.

## Belgian Trotskyist Paper Suppressed

"La Voie de Lenin" ("The Road of Lenin"), organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Belgian Trotskyists, was banned during March of this year. The paper was declared illegal following the Editorial in the March 31st issue, entitled "Solidarity with the German Proletariat." The Editorial called upon the Belgian workers to oppose the Allied Imperialist and Stalinist policy of vengeance and oppression against the German working class. It attacked the Belgian puppet Government for its support of the Allied Imperialist plans.

It further indicted the Stalinist regime in the Russian occupied countries. The Editorial states:

"One thing is certain here and now; if the German people did not find the strength to revolt against Hitler, no terroristic measures will prevent them fighting tomorrow against the slavery that is intended to follow their subjugation."

The experience of the Hitlerite occupation should be a warning to the 'Allied' leaders. For four years the most powerful Nazi apparatus of oppression did not succeed in breaking the resistance of the occupied peoples.

How are we to believe that it is possible to destroy tomorrow a people of eighty millions who have attained the highest degree of civilisation and national conscience, who have shown so often in the past

an incomparable capacity for struggle and for organisation?"

The non-fraternisation order of the Allied High Command has already proved a failure. Already we can cite cases of American soldiers sent to prison for six months for fraternising with German civilians. And Roosevelt dreams of an occupation lasting fifty years!

The Belgian workers, for their part oppose all participation of 'their' government in this policy of vengeance and oppression directed against the German proletariat."

The Editorial ends on the following note of internationalism:

"Complete solidarity with the German workers. This must be our watchword."

There were protests from Belgian Liberal and working class papers.

## NOW ON SALE!

### GERMANY—The Key to the International Situation

By LEON TROTSKY. December, 1931

INTRODUCTION by TED GRANT 6d.

# Neath Campaign THE DEBATE WITH STALINISTS

(Continued from page 1.)

Ness Edwards, M.P., Mary Sutherland, Will Lawther, Arthur Horner (Arthur Greenwood, M.P., and Aneurau Bevan, M.P. were booked to speak but did not appear) etc.—in spite of this bombardment, with the exception of the last two meetings in Neath they were badly attended, and principally by older people.

Questions were restricted and absolutely no discussion was allowed.

The meetings of the R.C.P. varied in different parts. In the mining villages of the Swansea Valley we had better meetings than the Labour Party, and in Neath all our meetings were better attended. We had the additional attraction that the overwhelming bulk of those present were young workers. Lively questioning, interjection and discussion was allowed. Opponents were invited to come onto the platform and oppose the policy of our party. This confident and democratic procedure stood out in sharp contrast to the bureaucratic handling of the Labour Party and Communist Party meetings, and was widely appreciated by the workers.

At our open air meetings held in the streets of Neath, hundreds of workers collected every night to listen to our speakers, and discussions took place with groups of workers until the small hours of the morning. The fact that Comrade Haston was the only candidate to mix among the workers freely, answering their questions and expounding his policy, made a deep impression upon them. After each meeting our Committee rooms were packed to the doors with groups of workers seeking information and discussion.

At most of the pits in the district we had the opportunity of taking meetings with a loud speaker van where the miners listened attentively to our case, which was discussed throughout the campaign down the pits. At Cefn Coed Pit the tubs were coming up chanted "Up with Haston". When we offered the "mike" to Stalinists who had been slandering us in this pit, they got out of the way. This had a profound effect on the workers and considerably increased our support.

At a mass open air meeting at Pontardawe Cross a Welsh Nationalist, Kitchener Davies, took over the microphone for 15 minutes, where he demonstrated the bankruptcy of the Welsh Nationalist case. His principal point was that Welshmen did all the hard work and received low pay, while the English workers received high wages and better conditions. Comrade Haston effectively exposed his case by demonstrating that the English workers suffered under the same terrible conditions as the Welsh. Explaining how De Valera and the Irish nationalists had gained the support of the Irish workers and peasants, but instead of raising the standards of life of the Irish population, they had declined catastrophically with the result that there was a tremendous immigration of Irish workers into Britain to seek a means of livelihood. He pointed out that Welsh nationalism could only find its true expression in a socialist Britain.

### PRESS BOYCOTTED US

The press boycotted us. At the first series of meetings we had a reporter at each one—but they were police reporters!

From the standpoint of news the meetings of the R.C.P. were full of lively interest. If any other Party had run such lively meetings they would have been widely reported. And although we had the biggest meetings in the campaign, a tight censorship was clamped down on news about our activities.

The coal owners' press gave a little publicity to the nationalists, but they heavily weighted their publicity in favour of Williams. Unable to put forward a candidate of their own the coalowners supported Williams and opposed Haston. This is ample testimony to refute the credentials of Williams who claimed to stand for the miners' interests. Let the workers take note of these facts for they will show themselves in the activity of D. J. Williams in the future.

On the day of the election the "Daily Worker" carried the following:

**"TORY BID TO TRICK VOTERS AT NEATH"**

From Ben Francis

Neath goes to the polls tomorrow. A bumper victory for the Labour candidate—Mr. D. J. Williams—is expected, despite local Tory propaganda.

This takes the form of describing "Jock" Haston, the Trotskyist candidate, as a Communist (the Trotskyists are calling themselves the "Revolutionary Communist Party").

As a result, Haston may gain some votes on the strength of the strong support for the Communist Party in the constituency.

The Swansea "Evening Post" is the chief Tory weapon in this campaign. Letters pointing out that Haston is not a member of the Communist Party have been ignored by the Editor.

The Neath workers know this is a lie. They know the Tories were behind Williams. They gave publicity to Williams and remained silent about Jock Haston. This was a most striking feature of the campaign. Furthermore, the Neath workers know that the whole campaign centred on the difference between the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party, and far from masquerading as the official Stalinist Communist Party, our bitterest attacks were directed against them.

Every worker who voted for Jock Haston, was voting consciously for Trotskyism as against Stalinism. This was a feeble effort in anticipation of a good vote for the revolutionary candidate.

### THE ORGANISATIONAL WORK

The bulk of the field work of the campaign was carried out by a handful of six comrades who formed the backbone of the organisation. Their activities were of a most diversified character. Chalking, white-washing and bill-posting, paper selling, canvassing, speaking and endless contact work. They carried out a three months campaign with self sacrifice and devotion in face of the most strenuous physical conditions and against tremendous moral pressure. They have played a valiant and significant role in establishing a splendid tradition for Trotskyism in West Wales.

Comrades from Glasgow, London, Huddersfield, Newcastle, Birmingham, Newark and elsewhere gave up their annual summer holidays to come down for a week and help in the campaign. Without their splendid assistance it would not have been possible to have conducted so splendid a campaign.

In London and other areas comrades made their contribution to the great success. Their efforts in collecting the necessary funds enabled us to fight

## From a Neath Labour Worker

Mr. Alun Thomas in his opening remarks in the debate with Jock Haston at the Gwyn Hall, Neath, on Sunday, stated that if he had his way all those who were on the platform would be shot. Now friends, just think of the significance of those words. Do they strike you as democracy or communism, or fascism? Mr. Alun Thomas by those words admits that he would do the same as Hitler and Mussolini did to all those people who opposed their will in Germany and Italy. Mr. Alun Thomas states that his party supports labour in this election. The Labour Party do not want the support of would-be assassins. Our boys fought in Germany for freedom of thought and speech, and no decent, sensible worker will be taken in by the hoodlumism of the supporters of Alun Thomas, who refused to give a fair hearing to Jock Haston in the debate. Alun Thomas was not enough of a man to make an appeal for fairplay for his opponent, which he himself was given.

By a Labour Party Member.

little hampered by financial restrictions. Particular praise goes to those comrades who carried out the addressing and packing of the 41,000 election addresses. (One election statement was sent to each family).

In every aspect of organisation we were ahead in the field. The tremendous Labour Party machine was unable to undertake even its envelope addressing, demonstrating the demoralisation which Labour Party workers had undergone as a result of the coalition politics of the leadership.

### WHAT THE CAMPAIGN ACHIEVED

Over £130 worth of literature was sold in the constituency in the three months campaign. 7,500 copies of the special February edition of the "Socialist Appeal" were sold—approximately one to every three houses. Hundreds of copies of the "A.B.C. of Trotskyism"—all we had in print—were sold out before the campaign ended—many hundreds of other pamphlets, and about 2,000 of each issue of the current numbers of the "Socialist Appeal" for the period of three months. 30,000 leaflets were distributed. Contacts and sympathisers were made in every village in the district but the decision was made to bring no members into the party in the heat of the campaign, so that the more serious elements could work closely with us and the party could afterwards consolidate its gains by recruiting classes in the post-election period.

Comrade Jock Haston was mainly responsible for setting the high political standard of the campaign. He mercilessly squashed any attempt at popularising him by referring to the fact that he had been imprisoned last year under the Trade Disputes Act. He prefaced his remarks that such introduction had been singularly unfortunate—that some of the Labour fakery had also been imprisoned; that he hoped it did not foreshadow that he too would sell out the workers as they had done; what was at issue was not the personalities of the three candidates, but their programmes and their policies.

### THE ATTITUDE OF THE I.L.P.

At the outset of the campaign we wrote to the I.L.P. and explained the importance of the decision to contest the Neath by-election. We appealed to the leadership of the I.L.P. to

support us in the fight against the coalition and the war.

We were informed by the leadership of the I.L.P. that the question would be discussed by the N.A.C. In spite of repeated requests for a statement on their attitude, the I.L.P. leaders refused to take a stand with the anti-war candidate against the reformist Labour-Tory coalition candidate.

Here was the classic indication of the cowardly and unprincipled manoeuvrings of the leadership of the I.L.P. This was emphasised by their campaign in Newport, where in Bob Edward's election address it is impossible to distinguish between his and the policy of the Labour Party.

He skirted the question of the war; he failed to criticise the Labour Party; he failed entirely to even touch on the central problem of international solidarity with the German working class in face of the hate campaign carried out by the capitalist class and the Labour leaders.

But the Leadership could not be distinguished from the Labour Party in the Newport election, the Neath comrades of the I.L.P. had an entirely different outlook. They gave wholehearted support to our campaign and courageously defended us and carried the international socialist message to their fellow workers in Neath. The policy of the leadership of the I.L.P. helped the Labour leaders, and by refusing a united front with the revolutionary anti-war candidate, helped the capitalist-class and the Churchill Government.

Our estimate that Neath was one of the most class conscious divisions in the country was entirely correct. The level of the campaign was the highest that any of us had experienced in years of election work for the Labour Party and Communist Party.

The nationalists were pushed entirely out of the picture. We found not a single Labour Party worker who supported the policy of the leadership although hundreds attended our meetings. The discussions with Labour Party members were always on the plane of how best to change the Labour Party policy by fighting from within. Such a hammering did we give the Labour leaders for their betrayal in the Coalition, that the Labour leaders were undoubtedly on the defensive. This could be seen from the local press which carried such headlines as: "Grenfell Answers Communist Charges". In the meetings, the greatest clause was forthcoming when our speakers attacked the policy of the Labour leaders.

The vote does not reflect the feeling of the Labour workers to their leadership; it reflects that great loyalty to "Labour", to which the workers still cling despite their disillusionment.

In Neath itself the Communist Party was thoroughly demoralised, as the result of the campaign and this demoralisation spread into the valleys when the rank and file became fully aware that their leaders were fearful and incapable of conducting an honest political fight defending their party from attacks.

The serious workers asked precisely the questions that we set out to answer when we entered the fight. Why do we contest a Labour seat instead of a Tory seat? Isn't there a contradiction between our policy of calling for Labour to Power and contesting the election against Labour?

We explained that if the Neath Labour Party had issued a declaration opposing the coalition and proposing to contest the election independently on Labour's programme, we would have supported the Labour Party against any possible Liberal or Tory opponent. We explained that in the General Election when the Labour Party was standing on an independent platform we would call on the workers to support the Labour Party and vote Labour. We would not create the illusion that the Labour Party could solve the problems of the working class with its programme of reforms. Throughout the campaign we would put forward our alternative policy as the only solution to the problems of the working class.

By uniting the electoral forces of Labour and other organised workers against the Tories and Liberals we would go through the experience of the workers who still believed the L.P. could bring about socialism. In the course of our common experience and on the basis of the class-struggle we were convinced that the best workers would be won for a clear policy of revolutionary struggle against the capitalists.

What is the lasting achievement of the campaign? It can be seen already in the heightening of the political consciousness of organised Labour in this area. To the older generation of workers, embittered and disillusioned by the repeated betrayals of Reformism and Stalinism our campaign for Revolutionary Socialism brought a new inspiration and revived the will to struggle. To the working youth, from the mines and the factories, hundreds of whom listened with rapt attention to Comrade Haston and our speakers, our campaign came as a rousing call to prepare themselves by study and understanding for the great class-battles of our epoch. Trotskyism has found its roots in Wales. But its richest harvest will be reaped in the years to come. Our campaign has begun the process of unifying the mighty power and fighting capacity of Welsh Labour with the ideas and principles of militant Socialism—of Trotskyism. Out of this combination will be born a new fighting leadership—a tower of strength for the entire working-class movement in Britain in its coming struggle for Power.

(Continued from page 1.)

was going round saying that these trials were a frame-up. "That was Hitler's story; that was Rothermere's story; and that is Haston's story."

He quoted, to "prove" that we were anti-Soviet Union, from Comrade Cannon's evidence in the Minneapolis trials which the workers in the constituency have been buying in large numbers under the title "THE A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM." He read out that section of the evidence in which Comrade Cannon states that we are for a political revolution in the Soviet Union, as distinguished from a social revolution in that we would not change the property forms.

His main emphasis was on the war. "Haston says that this is an imperialist war, but we say this is a people's war for liberation." He said that in Europe we have a great democratic liberation movement of the people which has overthrown fascism. We communists had always fought against fascism, and in this war the glorious Red Army, led Marshal Stalin, had destroyed the fascist army.

"But what does Haston do about it? He tried to get the miners out on strike everywhere when we were preparing for invasion. His policy was the same as Oswald Mosley, both parts of one and the same policy."

'He comes out against unconditional surrender. Says the German worker is our ally. How can the Russians, who tried to fraternise with the Germans and get them to mutiny, talk about these elements as brothers? Hitler has created a nation of nincompoops and murderers. Haston had to follow in Hitler's footsteps."

"These Trotskyists say the Communist Party has sold the past. We say, until the active left forces unite to crush fascism, any talk about Socialism is sheer tommy rot. It is no good Haston looking at 1945 through the glasses of 1918. Haston says he's a Marxist. Haston says he's a Leninist. He's a liar! One thing about Marxism it is not a dogma, and we have to change our policy on the basis of the facts." In Europe today, he went on, fascism had been destroyed.

"Haston wants to hasten things. He has never said Hitler was wrong. He has never said anything against Hitler...Haston and Hitler are the only two who are right."

"All Haston's talk about socialism and revolution is blowing hot air. We have got to unite the forces of progress against fascism, which has to be defeated before the fight for a socialism can become a real thing."

"Haston has come to this election to confuse and split the workers. In Russia they defeated fascism because they shot all the Trotskyists and the Fifth Column scum, and if we had our way, these people on this platform would be shot. In this election the workers can strike a blow at the Fifth Column by polling a big vote for D. J. Williams."

### COMRADE HASTON'S CASE

Comrade Haston opened his remarks by saying that Thomas' statement that it was not the usual policy of the C.P. to debate with Trotskyists, was the only true statement he had made in the course of his speech.

"If Comrade Thomas was debating on this platform, it is because of

the complete exposure of the bankrupt policy of the C.P.

"In the course of this campaign we have attempted to raise the fundamental political issues before the working class. Anyone who has studied the literature distributed by "His Majesty's Communist Party" or attended their meetings will find concentrated slander but no political attack."

"Comrade Thomas says that only the backward workers are influenced by the Trotskyist policy, but in this hall are assembled the most class conscious sections of the workers in the constituency, including many who in the past few years have broken away from Stalinism. Thomas refused for three months to take part in a public debate. He said that the C.P. would not give the Trotskyists a platform, but this tremendous meeting has assembled to-night to hear the Trotskyist policy. This is our platform. We have forced Thomas to appear on it."

He then dealt with the Moscow Trials and the glaring discrepancies in the evidence:

He asked Alun Thomas how it was that Socialist and Trade Union International representing the world and trade union movement were refused permission to send independent lawyers to take part in the trial and defend the accused.

He then dealt with the record of His Majesty's Communist Party in relation to the fight against fascism.

Dealing with the C.P.'s anti-war period he quoted Gallacher's statements from the "Daily Worker" in which he demanded peace with Hitler at a period which would have been most advantageous to the Nazis.

"Never let the workers forget that it was Molotov who said when he was fraternising with the butcher Ribbentrop and toasting the newly signed pact that 'Fascism is a matter of taste'."

He dealt with the Stalinist Third Period when they were calling the Labour Party and Social Democratic Trade Unions "fascist organisations." And pointed to the fact that the Trotskyists were expelled from the Communist Party here and in Germany for advocating a united front with the Labour Parties against Fascism. This was the time when the Stalinists had a united front with Hitler against the German Labour Party in the Hitler's referendum to remove the Social Democratic Government in Prussia in 1931.

He recalled the time when Pollitt in this country wrote an article in the "Daily Worker" on 29th January, 1930, advocating the smashing of Labour Party meetings with physical violence. For fighting against this mad policy the Trotskyists were expelled in 1932.

He dealt with the degeneration which had taken place in the Soviet Union, the abandonment of the ideas of world revolution, and the economic degeneration in the differences in pay of the ordinary Russian worker and the bureaucrats and Generals.

"In 'Soviets at Work' Lenin wrote that insofar as they had to pay managers and specialists higher wages than received by the average workman, that was a concession to capitalism. That the Bolsheviks would not deceive the workers by saying that it was anything else.

"Under Stalin these differences have grown enormously."

"A Red Army soldier receives 17½ roubles a month, but the Red Army General gets 2,000 roubles a month. The pit manager receives ten to twenty times the wage of a collier. These capitalistic differences are growing enormously, but Stalin and people like Thomas call it socialism."

Yes, he continued, we say the German workers are our allies. Thomas says the Russians tried to get the German soldiers to fraternise and mutiny. This is a deliberate falsehood. Here is what Ilya Ehrenburg, Stalin's spokesman, said when questioned by the correspondent of the "Christian Science Monitor" who asked what the Russians would do in the event of a revolt in Germany which would overthrow Hitler and welcome the advancing Red Army with appropriate banners, he replied: "THESE WOULD BE THE FIRST PEOPLE WE WOULD SHOOT!" ...

He asked if the German workers could be expected to revolt in face of such anti working class propaganda.

The issue in this election, he concluded, was one of no confidence in the policy of the Labour leaders who have capitulated to Churchill and the capitalist class; was the unity of the workers of Britain with the workers of India, of Europe and the world against the capitalist class. That is why the workers of Neath should vote Revolutionary Communist.

### QUESTIONS ANSWERED BY BOTH SPEAKERS

In question time when the workers had the opportunity of hearing each speaker answer every question, the superiority of the revolutionary communist case was clear. In answer to a query on the wage differentiation within the Soviet Union, Thomas replied that it was from the ranks of the people that these generals and writers had risen and the Russian workers appreciated this and wanted it that way. This obviously did not go down among the socialist conscious workers in the audience (despite the applause of the C.P. members) and the workers there understood well that this was not socialism.

Dr. Jarmin, a prominent Stalinist in the town asked "Mr. Haston what he knew about, and was prepared to do about, the bad housing problem and tuberculosis problem in this division." The workers warmly appreciated Jock Haston's answer in which he stated that unlike the other candidates he promised nothing under the capitalist system. That to do so would be duplicity of the worst kind.

A worker was heard to say: "I'm voting for Haston because he promises nothing."

The loudest applause of the meeting was when Comrade Haston remarked: "There is a Labour Council in this town and every worker will agree with me when I say that it stinks!"

As soon as the debate concluded Thomas and his supporters (under 200) left the meeting.

The rest of the time was spent in questions to the candidate which he answered with courage and confidence. When one worker asked a question about India, Comrade Haston asked with the permission of the Chairman, for Comrade Ajit Roy to answer that question. Comrade Roy gave an inspiring answer calling for the Neath workers to demonstrate their support for the struggle for freedom of the Indian masses who were suffering tortures and starvation equal to those suffered by the European peoples under Hitler. He said that the granting of freedom to India would mean the destruction of Japanese imperialism in the East. He was warmly applauded. He was followed by Comrade Kastinos, a Greek comrade, ex-member of the Y.C.L. whose brother had been killed in Spain. He called upon the workers to demonstrate to the Labour leaders that at least they were opposed to the vile policy carried out by the British Government in Greece.

The meeting ended on a rousing internationalist tone, with comrade Haston saying in a ringing voice: "Long live the International Solidarity of the working class! Workers of all lands unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win!"

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