

LABOUR MUST FULFIL ITS PROMISES

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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TWOPENCE



"NO EXCUSES THIS TIME" SAY WORKERS

By TED GRANT

THE GENERAL ELECTION HAS RESULTED IN A SMASHING VICTORY FOR THE WORKING CLASS. DESPITE THE LIES, SLANDER AND MISREPRESENTATION OF THE TORIES AND THE CAPITALIST PRESS, CHURCHILL AND HIS FOLLOWING HAVE BEEN OVERWHELMINGLY DEFEATED.

Although the Labour leaders did not campaign against Churchill and expose him for what he represented, nevertheless the masses showed that they were not deceived as to what was concealed behind the Churchill myth. In Churchill's own constituency where the Labour leaders timidly and faint-heartedly withdrew, an unknown crank who conducted no campaign, received 10,000 votes in opposition to Churchill's 27,000. This is an index of the changed and determined mood of the people.

RAILWORKERS DEMAND SQUARE DEAL—

LABOUR GOVERNMENT MUST ACT NOW AGAINST RAILWAY BOSSES

COMING HARD ON THE HEELS OF THE NATIONAL DOCK STRUGGLE IS THE THREATENED NATIONAL STRIKE OF RAILWAY WORKERS. IN THEMSELVES THESE STRUGGLES REVEAL THE DEEP MOOD OF THE WORKERS AND THEIR HIGH FEELING OF CONFIDENCE.

For four Sundays the Liverpool and South-west Lancashire railworkers have refused to run Sunday trains. 25,000 railworkers in the North-west have decided to strike on August Bank Holiday if the employers do not accept their demands, whether the Union leaders agree or not. Already this proposal has been accepted by a section of the London railworkers.

The railway workers are demanding twelve days annual holiday with pay, £4 10s. minimum pay, 40-hour week, guaranteed day and sick pay. Rank and file delegates at the Liverpool and Manchester meetings of the union members have demanded nationalisation of the railways.

The "Daily Telegraph" (31st July) remarks, "Some speeches in the Lancashire strike area state that the strikers want to demonstrate that the Government must put railway nationalisation as the foremost of their programme." The railway workers look to the Labour Government as a sympathetic Government and clearly expect them to force the employers, who have been reaping millions, to grant their demands.

The attempts of the capitalist press to whip-up public hostility to the struggle of the railworkers will fail just as Beaverbrook's election stunts failed. The workers have expressed more sympathy for the struggle of the railworkers than for any other section of industry—with the possible exception of the miners. Every worker and office worker almost daily curses the rail bosses for their inefficiency and expresses sympathy for the conditions of the railworkers.

Even the "Daily Telegraph"—a vicious anti working-class paper—is forced to state "Everyone sympathises

with workers and they belong to all classes (!)—who have toiled extremely hard in abnormally unpleasant and dangerous conditions. The railwaymen have had grim years through the war, and some unrest and impatience for better things are natural enough. . . . A proper campaign by the railway unions amongst all sections of the workers would ensure active support from workers and soldiers.

From the beginning of the war to 1942 the railways cost the Government, from public funds, £54,000,000. Controlled by a few financiers the stock of the railway companies amounts to £1,108,953,476. There are more than a million shareholders. Will the Labour Government continue to add millions to the rail bosses' profits by compensating them as did the Government after the last war, when the railways were given £20,000,000 compensation?

The question the workers are asking. The degree of militancy is reflected in the report of the "Daily Telegraph" (30th July) that J. Singleton of the N.U.R. and F. Benner of the A.S.L.E.F. were howled down several times at a meeting of Liverpool railworkers "though they promised that failing satisfactory results from tomorrow's negotiations they would recommend strike action." In the same paper is the report that "The Liverpool meeting rejected by an overwhelming majority an amendment put forward by the unions to suspend their one-day strike and refusal to work overtime till August 14, to discover what action would be taken by the railway companies in the meantime."

The pressure upon the Union leaders has grown enormously in the last few months. Branches throughout the

country have passed strike resolutions to implement their demands. This is shown by the speeches of leading officials and E.C. members of the railway unions. Mr. J. Brown, president of the Manchester Council of the N.U.R. has stated:

"We intend to have that programme, and we shall show the people and the Government that we intend to have it. We are going to have it, and we are going to pay an exceptionally high price for it if necessary." Ted Reid of the Executive Committee has warned the railway bosses that the 'Railwaymen are getting restless.' (Continued on Back Page.)

A tremendous radicalisation of broad strata of the population has taken place. Especially has this been so with the young generation of voters who have grown up in the last decade and have never had the vote before. The men in the armed forces conscripted to fight in the interests of British imperialism and hardened by their experiences in the Army, Navy and Air Force, have turned overwhelmingly against capitalism and everything that it stands for. It is estimated that at least 80 to 90 per cent of the service men who polled, voted for the Labour Party. When it is considered that millions of workers inside and outside of the Forces were disfranchised by the rush election and that the bulk of these would have voted Labour, the magnitude of the Tory defeat is clear. The Tories staged the election at the most suitable time for themselves, had they waited any longer their debacle at the polls would have been even greater.

The difference between the election of 1918 and that of 1945 is very striking. The last 30 years with its record of slumps and wars, of misery and unemployment have taught the masses that they cannot expect anything better at the hands of the Tories. Not only the basic strata of the working class but even large sections of the middle class have swung decisively away from the capitalist parties.

The election of a Majority Labour Government for the first time marks a definite decisive turn in European, world and British history. In voting for the Labour Party, the mass of the

British workers have indicated that they want a complete change from the capitalist system which has brought them such misery, poverty, and insecurity in the years following World War I.

Labour is in Power! Now the workers want radical solutions to the urgent problems which face them: Work, Food, Homes, Demobilisation, Higher standards, and a different policy from that of Tory reaction both at home and abroad is demanded by the working class. They want a fighting lead on a radical programme, and drastic measures against the Big Monopolies and Combes would secure the enthusiastic and active assistance of the workers.

A tremendously important feature of the election and one showing the real tendencies and feelings in the electorate was not only the defeat of the Conservative Party, but the smashing blow sustained by the Liberals. Despite the lavish promises of the capitalist Liberal Party, and the fact that they stood on an anti-Tory ticket, they lost half their already shrunken representation of 20 seats. In the seats held by the Liberals, the Labour Party vote generally increased as greatly as it had done in the Tory areas. Thus the swing from the Conservatives was no mere swing of the pendulum, but an anti-capitalist move against the exploiting class and in favour of Socialism.

The defeat of the Liberals and Tories has also meant the defeat of the "Communist" Party. Their Popular Front policy calling for a National Government, including the Liberals and such "progressive" Tories as Churchill and Eden, even if Labour were returned with a Majority, has been completely rejected by the workers and even sections of the lower middle class.

In the middle of the election, because of the hostile reception accorded by the working class to such treacherous ideas of capitulation to the capitalists and their Parties, the Stalinists were forced to abandon it and adopt in its stead the demagogic slogan of a "Labour and Communist Government". Had the Tories gained a narrow majority, the Stalinists would have pressed this policy of Popular Frontism as they were already doing in the Big Unions, such as the N.U.R. and Miners union which passed resolutions demanding unity of the "progressive" forces at the next General Election. At the last Labour Party Conference a resolution to discuss this question was only narrowly defeated. Now, by their action at the polls the masses have decisively rejected this policy. Not even the Stalinists have dared to revive their Popular Frontism since the election results were announced.

The Stalinists suffered serious blows. The reasons: partly because of their (Continued on page 4.)

DOCKERS WANT 25/- A DAY BY J. DEANE

One of the first acts of the new Labour Government has been to send troops to the Surrey Docks to unload several ships. This can only be taken as a deliberate attempt to use men, who were conscripted under the slogan of fighting fascism, to impose the employers demands upon the workers at the docks.

The soldiers have "no heart to do it" . . . "they sympathise with the dockers" and "hope the Labour Government will recall them", as a couple of soldiers put it to a reporter from the "Socialist Appeal". The dockers don't want them to do it, but they bear them no antagonism because they know they are under military discipline.

The fact that their own Union leaders oppose the constitutional action of the dockers condemns these Union leaders as reactionary bureaucrats.

This experience has demonstrated clearly to all militant dockers that they can expect nothing from the Union bureaucrats.

It is this realisation that has caused the dockers, for the first time, to form a rank and file committee and to establish contact with other workers throughout the country. The Progressive Committee is an excellent step in the right direction, but its basis must be extended. This committee would have the unwavering loyalty of every dock worker, not only now but after the struggle, if it went before the men and asked for elected representatives from every section of the docks. Such a representative committee, thoroughly organised and prepared, could secure victory for the dock workers. This is a step which

the members of the Progressive Committee must consider immediately. Contact has already been established with other ports. This contact must be secured and thoroughly organised. To facilitate this and at the same time create a national consciousness amongst the dockers, the dockers should instruct their Union leaders to call a conference of all dock workers to discuss wages, conditions, and organisation. Mr. Donovan, Secretary of the T. & G. W.U. Docks Section, will try to side step this demand because it will pose the question of electing new and militant officials subject to annual election.

The bosses are provoking the dockers, the dockers only answer can be thorough organisation and preparedness. Only in this way can victory be secured.

Withdraw the troops! Demand that the Labour Government force the employers to concede the dockers' demands! For 25/- a day guaranteed pay.

FRENCH TROTSKYISTS PERSECUTED by REACTION

Militants Publish "La Verite" in Defiance of Ban

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS INTENSIFIED ITS ATTACKS AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT. THE INTERNATIONALIST COMMUNIST PARTY (FRENCH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL) AND ITS PAPER "LA VERITE" HAVE BEEN DECLARED ILLEGAL.

Since the "liberation" our French Party has had to produce its paper illegally, because in spite of many promises the Government refused to authorise its publication. But it was not specifically forbidden. The latest repression comes after a long campaign of slander, depicting our comrades as "conspirators" and "agents of Hitler", and arrests of local militants. It coincided with a great upsurge of the working-class movement and a strike wave.

STALINISTS INSTIGATE ATTACKS The chief instigators of the repression were the Stalinists. Having abandoned the most elementary communist principles, they put themselves at the service of the capitalist system—by attacking those who have remained faithful to the revolutionary ideas of Marx and Lenin.

"La Verite" has carried numerous accounts of officials of the French "Communist" Party aiding the police to hound Trotskyists, and driving them out of the factories.

Stalin's Ambassador, Bogomolov, demanded the suppression of the Internationalist Communist Party. And we have the evidence of an impartial observer, who wrote as follows in the "Manchester Guardian" (23.7.45):

"At present the 'Trotskyists' have much to fear from the police in France, and this to a great extent is by Communist request. The new term 'Hitlerotrotskyist' has been launched in order to exploit against

those Communists in rebellion against Stalinist leadership the same suspicion of anti-patriotism under which orthodox Communists so long suffered."

WHY THE PARTY WAS SUPPRESSED

The issue of "La Verite" of June 4th, produced in face of the capitalist and Stalinist terror, is entirely devoted to a protest against the suppression. It quotes the Minister of Information, Teitgen, who explained it by saying that

"he could not, in time of war, allow the appearance of a paper which was against 'national defence'." But the war has ended! The excuse of "national emergency" is no longer valid—but the reactionary legislation remains, and is used in order to suppress a revolutionary labour paper; the first paper, we might add, to appear illegally in opposition to Hitler and Petain (in August, 1940).

The real reason for the suppression was the rising tide of working-class militancy, which culminated in the strikes among miners in the North of France, among transport workers, and general strikes in local areas (Lyons). The Government desperately attempted to lop off the conscious revolutionary vanguard of the working-class movement. De Gaulle and the Stalinists followed in the footsteps of Churchill and Bevin, who goaded the leaders of the Trotskyists in Britain at the time of the miners' strikes in 1944. (Continued on back page.)

Miners Watch Nationalisation

One of the first and most important tasks facing the Labour Government is the nationalisation of the coal industry. (The coal crisis is growing; it stands out as the main industrial problem.)

It was surprising to many miners, therefore, that Atlee and the Labour leaders should pour cold water so soon on any idea of immediate legislation to nationalise this industry. As if to dare the Labour leaders, the coal-owners' paper "The Daily Telegraph", and the national capitalist press, is whipping-up a nationalisation scare campaign. The coal-owners and the capitalists are preparing to sabotage and resist all efforts of nationalisation.

Inevitably, the Labour Government will be faced with the choice of remaining tied to the capitalists and defending the coal-owners' profits and their sabotage of industry, or of satisfying the needs of the miners and workers as a whole by bold steps against the coal barons. There is no middle road.

The coal crisis demands bold steps! The miners must insist that immediately a conference be called to work out a plan for the coal industry and to place it under their control. The miners and workers must demand that the Labour Government immediately pass legislation to nationalise the coal industry without compensation.

"ONE DAY WOULD SUFFICE" — LENIN



"To exercise control over the trusts, to publish their full accounts, to call conferences of all their employees, with the obligatory participation of the workers themselves in supervising the business of the trusts, with the admission of representatives of each important political party to independent control over them—all this can be brought into life by a decree, for the drafting of which one day would suffice."

—LENIN

The only Programme for the Workers

DEMAND THE LABOUR LEADERS CARRY OUT THEIR PROMISES. ON GUARD AGAINST CAPITALIST SABOTAGE. URGE STRONG MEASURES AGAINST BIG BUSINESS AND THE MONOPOLISTS. FIGHT FOR OUR PROGRAMME:

1. Immediate repeal of the Trade Disputes Act; the Emergency Powers Act; E.W.O., and all Tory-made anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, 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.
3. Nationalisation of the Bank of England together with the Big Five and all financial institutions without compensation, confiscation of all war profits, all company books to be open for trade union inspection; control of production by workers' committees to deal with the financial and economic sabotage by Big Business and vested interests.
4. Distribution of food, clothes and other consumer commodities under the control of committee of workers elected from the Co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives' committees, and small shop keepers and allocation of housing under the control of tenants' committees.
5. 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.
6. Abolition of the House of Lords and the Monarchy. 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. Clear out the reactionary, pro-fascist, anti-Labour officer caste in the armed forces; election of officers by the ranks.
8. Abolish conscription; for the 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.
9. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; full economic co-operation with Russia, grants of credit and all necessary aid for the reconstruction of Soviet economy.
10. Withdrawal of British troops from Burma and the Far East; full economic and military aid to the Chinese people and a socialist appeal to the workers and peasants of Japan to join in the struggle against militarism and imperialism and for a socialist federation of Asiatic Republics.
11. Full freedom for India and the Colonies withdraw British troops and allow the colonial peoples to choose their own government through freely-elected Constituent Assemblies; and full economic and military co-operation with the colonial peoples in uplifting the standard of living and in defence of their freedom against all imperialist attacks.
12. Against secret Diplomacy; against a peace of vengeance and plunder; for a democratic peace based on the self-determination of nations; full and active support for the German and the European working-class in their struggles against imperialism and fascism, monarchism and reaction for the withdrawal of British troops and a united struggle with the workers and peasants of Europe for a United Socialist States of Europe and for the fraternisation and co-operation of the workers and soldiers of all lands for a Socialist World.

NATIONALISE INDUSTRY WITHOUT COMPENSATION!

NEATH WORKERS BACK GAS STRIKERS

BY HEATON LEE

More than 1,300 Neath workers packed the Gwyn Hall on Saturday, July 22nd. The meeting was organised by the Neath and District Trades Council, on the request of the Gas workers, so that they and the Borough Council could put their case before the Neath public.

The Borough Council (a Labour Council) has refused to grant the Gas workers 12 days annual holiday with pay. The Gas workers have been forced to resort to strike action, and have the complete support of the Neath workers who demonstrated their solidarity in no uncertain manner at the Gwyn Hall meeting. Gas workers in Port Talbot have also been on strike in sympathy with the Neath workers. The Labour Council cannot for long side-step the determined demands of the Neath workers which have such widespread support.

Bro. Vaughan, local chairman of the Gas workers branch of the N.U.M.G.W., put the case for the workers clearly, simply and sincerely.

In May 1944, the non-trading employees of the Neath Council were awarded 12 days annual paid holiday. Some days later members of the N.F.B.T.O. employed by the Council and not governed by the Glamorgan Wages Board were also granted the same conditions. The Borough Council refused to see a Gasworkers' deputation because it did not include a full-time official of the N.U.M.G.W. Strike action was resorted to and after the intervention of the Ministry of Fuel and Power the Council agreed to take the matter up.

There followed 15 months of negotiation. Committee after committee without plenary powers were set up to "report" or to "discuss", until on the 11th July the N.J.C. rejected the recommendation of one of these committees which was in the men's favour, and the Neath Gas workers claim was thrown on the scrap heap.

Three days later a Gas workers' deputation met the Gas Committee of the Borough Council who, while claiming to be sympathetic towards the men's claims, refused to agree to discussing the issue as a local one. The executive and area officials of the N.U.M.G.W., to which Union the striking workers belong, refuse to support the men's demands that the issue be fought out locally, and insist that the workers accept the decision of the Industrial Council and proceed with further endless arbitration.

The strike is thus "unofficial" and is being valiantly conducted by the local workers against the reactionary Union leadership on the one hand, and the employers and the Borough Council on the other.

Councillor Emanuel then put the case of the Gas Committee's case, but stressed that he was speaking in a personal capacity and not as the committee's representative. Having commenced on this completely unsatisfactory note he proceeded to shield the Gas Committee's culpability by saying that "as a socialist and as a Trade Unionist" he was not going to be party to the breakdown of machinery which it had taken the Trade Union Movement 25 years to establish! He was not going to leave himself open to be "charged by Dukes for the breakdown of the negotiation machinery"!

These statements indict both Emanuel and the E.C. of the N.U.M.G.W. The E.C. because of its position to the men it claims to represent and its support of the rotten Mond-Turner Committee which is dominated by the huge privately owned gas companies; and Emanuel because he hides behind the treachery of the Trade Union leaders. He repeatedly referred to himself as a socialist and trade unionist. How can a genuine socialist and trade unionist support Mond-Turnerism? Or justify the action of the N.U.M.G.W. bureaucrats who are notorious for their firmness against their own members and weakness against the bosses? That a "Labour Council" can refuse holidays with pay to one section of the workers, when it has been granted to others, is disgusting. What claim can such Labour Councillors have on Socialism and trade unionism? None whatsoever! The workers must demand, through their organisations, that the Labour Councillors be instructed to grant the demands of the Gas workers... They must insist that their Labour and Union representatives break with the bosses and the hypnotism of private property and conduct a real struggle to satisfy the real desires of the workers.

LONDON DOCKERS FIGHT

Demonstrates Need for National Link-up

THE GRAND STRUGGLE OF THE LONDON DOCKERS FOR A LIVING WAGE HAS BROUGHT UP BEFORE THE DOCKERS NATIONALLY SEVERAL VERY ACUTE PROBLEMS. THE DOCKERS ARE ON THE MARCH. STRIKES IN GLASGOW, HULL, GRIMSBY, AND THE SOUTH-WEST PORTS HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT A HOST OF GRIEVANCES ARE URGENTLY REQUIRING A SOLUTION.

BY C. MARTINSON

For six weeks the London dockers have refused to accept the new piece rates offered by the employers, and have reverted to day work. In the ensuing weeks, the employers used every means in their power to break the movement. The entire national press misrepresented the causes and objects of the movement so as to mislead the workers and particularly the dockers all over the country. The leaders of the Dockers Section of the T. & G.W.U. in London demanded that the men stop fighting, and branded the rank-and-file Provisional Committee as "irresponsible elements."

FOR A 25/- PER DAY MINIMUM

The facts of the London movement demonstrate the now familiar pattern of wage slashing which is going on in every industry in the country. During the invasion of Europe a Western Front agreement on Tonnage and piece rates had operated on the London Docks. Three weeks after VE-Day the employers cancelled this agreement and offered a revised scale of tonnage rates far below any so far obtained during the war. Several dockers' spokesmen have declared that the new rates would mean going back not to 1939, but to 1922.

The men would on no account accept this offer, and counterposed a demand of 25/- per day, regardless of any piece work or tonnage rates. Refusing to operate the piece work rates offered, the men reverted to day work as is their right, and the right of any worker when faced with a piece-work price which he refuses to accept. The bosses rushed into a hysterical campaign of abuse about "Go Slow" tactics, but at the same time calmly and cunningly proceeded to attempt to smash the movement with the aid of the Government and the M.O.W.T.

SHIPS DIVERTED TO LIVERPOOL

Ships ceased to discharge in London and were sent to Liverpool. Ships on the high seas bound for London were similarly diverted to Liverpool.

The London dockers were faced with a virtual lock-out by the employers. Numbers signing on the Pool, i.e. with no ships to work on, reached over 5,000 at one stage. The Liverpool dockers knew, of course, where the sudden rush of shipping came from, and the question of what action to take was raised very sharply, particularly by a small group of militants on the docks there.

It stood out a mile that the London dockers struggle was very much a concern of the Liverpool men, and that, in the opinion of any conscious militant dockers, the first duty of the Liverpool dockers was to get real information from London, and on that basis, work out a plan of sympathetic action.

UNION LEADERS AND C.P. MEMBERS KEEP SILENCE

The union leaders in Liverpool, as in London shamefully betrayed not only their own members, but even the whole ideals of Trade Unionism. Here was the capitalist press showering out filth about the London dockers, ships from London were being unloaded in Liverpool, yet the Union leaders in Liverpool, the delegates on the docks, and the officials in the offices, said not a word, and held no meetings to explain the real position. Leading C.P. members on the Liverpool Docks, approached to speak on the issue, and asked to state their position, declined with thanks. Meanwhile the fight in London had been going on for 5 weeks, and in view of the mounting confusion and lack of a lead in Liverpool, a small group of militants took the lead after repeated requests from the dockers, in organising mass meetings to discuss the position. A well-known militant was sent to the London Docks to make contact and ask for a delegation to come up to Liverpool to explain the position.

LONDON LINKS UP WITH LIVERPOOL DOCKERS

A delegation of four London dockers, elected at mass meetings in

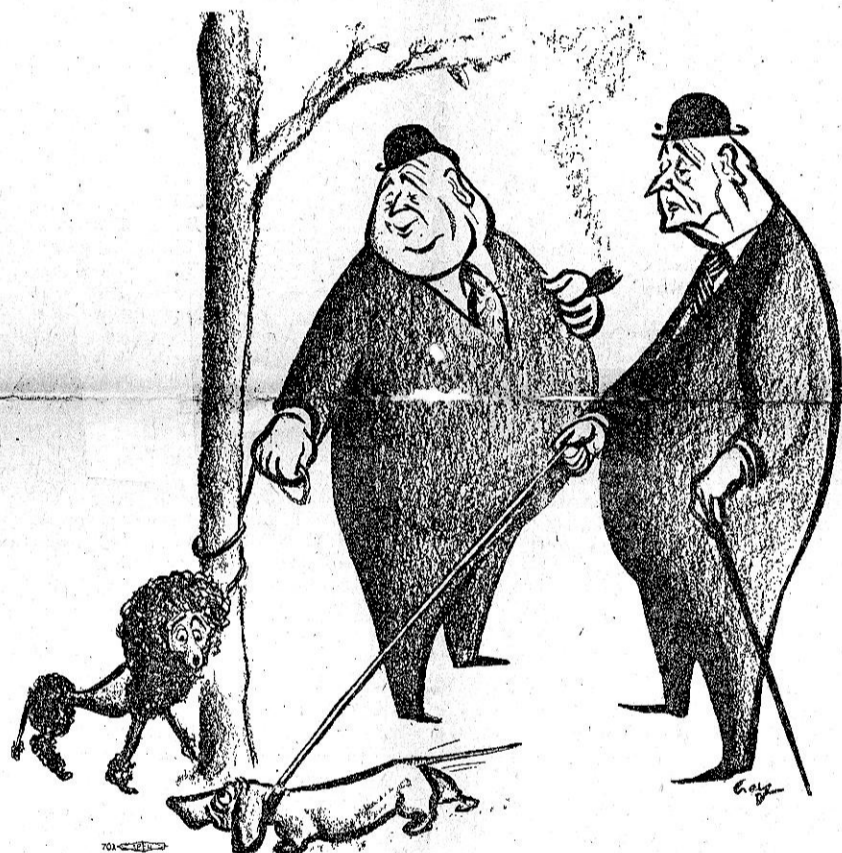
London, arrived in Liverpool and addressed large mass meetings at all the main docks. Most of the delegates put a good militant position over, and were enthusiastically received.

FORWARD TO A NATIONAL PROVISIONAL DOCKERS COMMITTEE

The Provisional Committee in London is a step in the right direction of rank and file committees of dockers to organise a militant policy on the Docks and in the Union. It has been necessary to say hard things about the present union leadership because only by recognising their true betrayal will it be possible to see the way out to a fighting policy.

The present union leaderships are smashing the whole basis of Trade Unionism amongst the dockers. It is necessary to remove the men in the unions who are betraying the whole foundation of Trade Unionism. Militant dockers have the duty of drawing up a fighting programme of demands, which can rally the dockers nationally, and set up the basis of a fighting union policy, as against the miserable sell-out policy of the present leadership.

(Continued on page 3)



"POOR FIFI HAD TO EAT CHICKEN FOR THREE DAYS - WE COULDN'T GET HER STEAK AND SHE HATES FISH!"

Spotlight on Events

STALINISM IN FRANCE

The extent of the disproportion of incomes in the Soviet Union between the workers and the Stalinist bureaucracy is revealed by a report from the "Sunday Times" of June 3rd:

STATE FACTORY CHIEF'S £6,000 BELOW SOVIET WAGE RATE

A correspondent recently in Paris writes: When the Great Renault motor-works outside Paris were taken over by the Government, a council of workers, stewards, and managers was set up to run the business. At one of the first meetings the question of remuneration arose, especially that of the general manager. He suggested a figure of 360,000 francs (£1,800), but as it seemed to encounter some opposition he retired from the meeting, so that there should be no embarrassment owing to his presence.

As soon as he had left one of the workers suggested consulting the Soviet Embassy to find out the approximate scale of wages in Russia. The Embassy were most helpful. After learning the size of the factories, the number of men employed, and the average production, they replied that, given these various factors, a man in a similar position in the Soviet Union would be paid at the rate of 60 times the wages paid to a skilled worker. A simple calculation based on a wage of 40 francs an hour for a 60-hour week showed that the general manager would be entitled to nearly seven and a half million francs a year or £37,000. The meeting was absolutely overwhelmed by these figures, and

BY "AGITATOR"

finally agreed to pay a salary of 1,250,000 francs, or just over £6,000. — "Sunday Times 3rd June, 1945. The report doesn't say whether the manager has yet joined the Communist Party!

ANY RAGS, BOTTLES OR BONES

At a recent sale at Christie's 142 old Chelsea porcelain scent-bottles were sold for £6,501. One bottle realised £175. At Southey's a silver tray fetched £205. Those who made the purchases seem to have come through the storm of "equal sacrifice" and the ravages of war not too badly.

BRITISH - GERMAN FACTORY INTACT

A letter from a soldier with the B.L.A. in Germany further exposes the real interests of the British capitalists in this "war for democracy." He writes:

"I am billeted in a room of an immense factory called Trillke-Werke in Hildesheim. Now the town of Hildesheim is one mass of rubble, while the factory stands without even a tile misplaced. Reason? Trillke-Werke is a German Factory, which is in turn allied to Lucas, the English firm. You can draw your own conclusions from that!" "Trillke-Werke itself is so big that it takes half an hour to motor around it — the area covers 5 miles! I bet that today there are many happy English shareholders in Lucas."

Just as in the last war, the British capitalists protected their interests and property in Germany while millions of workers were giving their lives for "the war against fascism."

BIGGER AND BETTER WAR PROFITS

One of the largest firms of its kind in Britain, BX Plastics Ltd., was recently convicted of selling illegally £1,200 of unbreakable mirrors made from scrap metal. The fine imposed, £794 10s. 0d., equalled the amount of profit made on the illegal sales. £794 10s. 0d. profit on £1,200! Pretty good going even for war time!

A.M.G. PROTECTS FASCIST PAPER

When 2,000 factory workers stormed the offices of the Turin paper "La Stampa" to prevent its continued publication, the U.S. Provincial Commissioner told them that it was being published as a result of orders from Washington and London.

"La Stampa" claims to be a "non-party" paper, said to be financed by the Fiat Motor Company. It gave unqualified support to the regime of Mussolini and earned the hatred of the Italian workers. It was for this reason that the Italian workers took drastic action to suppress it. However, the "anti-fascist" liberators are prepared to take drastic action to ensure the continued publication of this fascist paper. The "Times" reports that Colonel Fiore, Chief Allied Civil Affairs Officer in Turin, told the crowd demonstrating before his office "that A.M.G. intended to protect the newspaper with armed force and ensure its publication."

ONSLAUGHT ON WAGES

BY J. DEANE

The capitalists have organised a national onslaught on the workers' wages. This is the explanation of the present wave of strikes and industrial unrest. Every strike and every strike-threat during the past few weeks has, in one form or the other, concerned the question of basic wages and hours.

Using redundancy and the transfer of workers to other industries as a lever, the employers have slashed bonus earnings and piece rates in some industries—particularly engineering. In other industries they have attempted to reduce even the pre-war minimum rates. Such is the policy of the industrial bosses and the financiers at a time when not only has the cost of living been maintained at its high war level, but when according to official estimates it has reached its highest figure since 1939!

Throughout the war period the employers, faced with wage demands backed by determined strikers, conceded increases not in the basic rate but in piece rates and bonuses. The phrase "increase in the cost of living bonus" replaced "increase in the basic rate". Organised workers always understood that this calculated policy of their employers would find them at the end of the war with their wages halved and the cost of living still increasing.

According to official figures, which include overtime, piece rates and production bonuses, weekly wage rates have risen by 46% (much less in many industries) while prices measured by the Treasury's index have risen by more than 55%. Based upon official calculations a present wage of £5 per week is equivalent to £2 5s. pre-war. ('Labour Research' July 1945, states that £4 a week is equivalent to £2 11s. pre-war.) Women's earnings are only 60% of men's hourly rates.

This is how the situation appears from Government figures. And these figures do not tell the whole truth—not by any means.

Since long before the war the Trade Union and Labour movement condemned the official food index which was compiled on the basis of a budget survey made in 1904. Even the Government departments do not agree on the actual cost of living increases! The official index ("Ministry of Labour Gazette") measured the increase in 1943 at 30% above pre-war. The "Treasury" index measured the cost of living increase as 54% in the same period. The latter is, of course, nearer the truth.

The out-of-date basis of the official index, which serves the bosses so well, is further demonstrated by the fact that of the items included in the 1937-8 national expenditure 40% are wholly excluded from the index! The items excluded are those upon which a large portion of the workers' wages are spent; such as, vegetables, lard and fats, canned goods, jam, cake, biscuits, sausages, cereals, ready-made women's and children's clothes, increased rents (assumed by the Ministry to have remained stationary during the war), increased light and fuel charges, entertainment and beer. The latter two items have been taxed more than any other items. From entertainment and beer the Government reaps millions in taxes—and the bosses millions in profits—yet they are excluded from the cost of living index! The prices of the other above mentioned commodities are precisely those which have soared sky high during the war. The official index works only in the interest of the bosses.

The real value of wages has decreased during the war to half their pre-war value. Profits on the other hand, have increased during the war. Rent, interest and profits have increased

between 1938 and 1943 from (in million £s) 1,612 (plus 259 undistributed) to 2,132 (plus 975 undistributed). Figures for 1944 and '45 are not available; these would show even greater increases in profits and interest.

With the ink still wet on the proclamation of European victory by the Allies, the war for "freedom from want and fear" turns out to be a war for "freedom to want and fear". The capitalists who have made millions out of the sweat of the workers and the lives of the soldiers, and with whom the Trade Union leaders, the Morrisons and Bevins, the Pollitts and Dutts, asked the workers to collaborate, are conducting a war at home against the workers' wage standards. They believe in the axiom: The main enemy is at home.

The experience of the last war gives some indication of what is beginning. The wholesale price level rose to 216 in 1918, and by March 1920 reached 229—that is, three times above the pre-war level. Between 1920 and 1923 the employers slashed wages by one-third. The miners and engineers got the full blast of the capitalists' onslaught. Along with this, unemployment increased at a tremendous rate. That this experience is to be repeated on a much larger scale is clear from the present attacks.

What are the policies of the Labour and Union leaders in this situation? The bosses have given up all pretence, and are now beginning naked class warfare. Not so with the Union leaders! They intend to continue the class collaborationist policies which have aided the bosses so much during the war. Bevin has placed on the Statute Book the Wages Councils Bill which legalises and makes compulsory the half-and-half committees. J. Tanner, president of the A.E.U., has written articles openly stating that the A.E.U. leadership intends to continue its war time policies of collaboration with the capitalists. Although the European war has ended and the lying slogans of "war against fascism", "Go to it, to defend England" have lost all meaning, not one strike has been officially recognised, not even the constitutional struggle of the London dockers! All this shows that it is the intention of the servile union "leadership" to continue their anti-working class policies.

Under pressure from the Union rank and file the Union leaders will be forced to give verbal support to the workers' demands, to do anything else would be to expose themselves completely. More skilled in this deception are the Stalinists who try to lead the movement into safe channels and thereby play the role of strike-breakers. The workers must be on guard!!

The abolition of overtime and bonuses whilst reducing wages brings out, in all its sharpness, the real problem facing the workers. The real problem facing the workers is the need to increase the basic rate of wages to meet the increased cost of living. The workers must demand a rising scale of wages to meet the real cost of living which should be determined by the Trades Unions.

Because of the pressure of the workers some of the largest Unions are demanding a 40 hour week, no reduction in pay. The workers must insist that their Union leaders conduct a real struggle for this demand. There must be an end to the treacherous lagging behind of the bureaucrats.

FOR A RISING SCALE OF WAGES TO MEET THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING!

FOR A FALLING SCALE OF HOURS TO HALVE THEIR PRE-WAR VALUE. PROFITS ON THE OTHER HAND, HAVE INCREASED DURING THE WAR. RENT, INTEREST AND PROFITS HAVE INCREASED

WORKERS! DOWN WITH CLASS COLLABORATION, FOR A REAL STRUGGLE

HOUSING CRISIS

Direct Action Shakes Local Authorities

BY HAROLD ATKINSON

If proof is needed of the efficacy of direct-action, it can be seen in the official reaction to house "requisitioning" by the Vigilantes.

Within a few days of the press publicising the activities and growth of the Vigilantes movement, the Government acted. On July 21st, it was announced that local authorities had been given power to requisition houses and to issue building licences for amounts exceeding one hundred pounds. Seldom has the Government acted more quickly, or more obviously under pressure from the masses. The "Times" made this clear in its editorial comment:

"The new policy destroys any possible justification for the action of the 'Vigilantes' who have been requisitioning houses unlawfully in a number of towns. . . . The legitimate complaints of private citizens about housing conditions should be addressed to their local authorities . . . and any further attempts to redistribute dwellings by unlawful

private action should meet with appropriate punishment." The Vigilantes have scored a victory, but a very limited one. The local councils now have the power to take over empty dwelling accommodation. They must be compelled to use it quickly and to the full. It is especially important that tenants committees, under the control of the Labour movement, direct such operations and see to it that there is no yielding or hesitating before the demands of vested interest.

But even when all the empty living accommodation has been requisitioned and occupied it is only a drop in the ocean of housing shortage. Seven million houses are needed, at least four million of them immediately. There is only one way to tackle that problem: Release all building workers from the forces immediately. Expropriate all land suitable for building sites. Nationalise the building industry without compensating the owners, and operate all building work under the control of workers and technicians,

READ The Death Agony of Capitalism AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS BY Leon Trotsky THE PROGRAMME OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL 42 PAGES PAMPHLET



701 ←

**“POOR FIFI HAD TO EAT CHICKEN FOR THREE
DAYS — WE COULDN'T GET HER STEAK AND
SHE HATES FISH!”**

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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EDITORIAL

POTSDAM

The Potsdam Conference has been in session for many days. But the peoples of Europe and Asia whose fate is being decided by the Conference, are not allowed to know even an inkling of what is being discussed. Extraordinary police and military measures have been taken to ensure that there is not the slightest leakage of information.

Perhaps the most ironical feature of the secrecy precautions is that they have been decided on the initiative of Stalin. His hirings in the Communist Party in Britain have attempted to justify this anti-democratic procedure. But even these hardened and cynical bureaucrats dared not invoke the name of Lenin to justify it. Nowhere in the writings of the great teachers of Socialism could they find a single line to justify their attitude. For it is not only anti-Socialist but flies in the face of the elementary idea of democracy and the control of their own fate by the peoples.

Secrecy suits well the imperialist gangsters of Britain and America, and they are only too willing to unload the responsibility onto the shoulders of the spokesman for the Soviet Union. They have as much, and more, to conceal from the masses as to their real aims and intentions in diplomacy as has the Soviet bureaucracy itself.

But the secrecy is symptomatic of the real nature of the discussions. Lenin and Trotsky, representing the interests of the world working class, as well as the interests of the Soviet masses, (they are one and the same thing) found it to their advantage to conduct their diplomatic discussions in as public a way as possible. They had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the pressure the masses would exert on the discussions at international Conferences. They always endeavoured to stress the importance of the active intervention of the masses to decide the fate of the world.

Whatever decisions come out of the diplomatic horse-deals and juggling between the Big Three they bode no good for the tortured masses of Europe and Asia. The two Continents which contain the bulk of the world's population have been ruined and ravaged in a way unexampled in history. What is being decided in Potsdam is the division of the spoils. Peoples and countries are considered as mere counters in the game played by the mighty imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucrats, whose main idea is to increase their power and privileges at the expense of the peoples everywhere.

The previous Conferences of the Big Three had ominous consequences for the people of Europe. Greece was cynically handed over to the tender mercies of British Imperialism which prepared her brutal attack on the Greek people — even before the Nazis had been driven out; and in return the Balkans were handed over as a sphere of influence to the Stalinist bureaucracy. THE REAL DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCES WERE NEVER MADE PUBLIC; they were made in secret agreements which partially leaked out by the march of events. No better result can be expected from the present Conference. The real decisions will be kept in secret agreements confined to the tops.

The Three Allies have been compelled to modify their policy towards the German people already. But despite the fact that they are preparing desperately to try and get some sort of shabby patchwork out of the chaos created by the capitalist system in Europe and Asia, they cannot build anything permanent and durable on such rotten foundations.

From every point of view the settlements mooted are far more savage, vicious and repressive than the reactionary Treaty of Versailles. That "Peace" did not endure for even two decades. No more long lasting will be the arrangements made by the present masters. They are anxiously discussing the problems facing the peoples of Europe.

On one thing, and one thing only are they united: Fear of the Socialist Revolution in Europe and Asia. By making concessions to the Stalinist bureaucracy they hope to utilise its services to stave off the complete collapse of Imperialism and capitalism in Europe and Asia. An Illusion! The Revolution is stronger than them all. In the coming years the fate of Europe and Asia will not be decided by secret Conferences of the Great Powers, but by the active intervention of the masses. This it is which will decide the future and revise all the decisions which will be made. Not a new and worse Versailles, perpetuating the reactionary national divisions and dismemberments of the peoples on the basis of an outworn social system, with all its foul oppression, exploitation and racial hatred, but a Socialist United States of Europe and a Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics of Asia will be created by the coming upsurge of the peoples.

Trotsky Memorial Meeting

Monday, Aug. 20th, 1945
7 p.m.

Art Workers Guild Hall

6, QUEEN'S SQUARE

(nearest Tube: Russell Square)

French Stalinists Back Reaction

AN INTERESTING REPORT OF THE LAST C.P. CONFERENCE IN FRANCE HAS BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" IN ITS ISSUES OF JULY 23rd AND 24th. FROM A CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP OF 45,000 IN 1934 AND 340,000 IN 1937, THE LEADER OF THE C.P. CLAIMS THAT 706,729 MEMBERSHIP CARDS HAVE BEEN DELIVERED TO THE DISTRICTS. "WE ARE GOING TOWARDS A MILLION" CLAIMS THOREZ.

However this claim boastfully echoed in the reports published by the British C.P. is apparently not quite accurate. The "Guardian" correspondent remarks:

"M. Leon Mauvais, the Party's third secretary, in a speech less noticed than that of Thorez, admitted two days later that 'of course the 906,627 cards sent to the regions did not represent the number of adherents actually registered'. He gave the number as 618,930 at the end of May as compared with 385,000 at the end of 1944."

Nevertheless undoubtedly at the present time the Communist Party in France has the majority of the working-class supporting it. As the writer of the "Manchester Guardian" cynically continues:

"It (C.P.) provides at the present simultaneously the attractions of being, in name at any rate, the extreme Left and a well disciplined, orderly organisation which is gradually building up a theory of its own relations to France's past that enables it to claim to be the heir of the country's historical traditions. Marty, the anti-militarist mutineer of the French Black Sea Fleet of 1919, recently took the leading part in a ceremony in honour of General Hoche. Hoche was a revolutionary general, but one must expect the French Communists to pick out heroes in France's monarchist past, just as the Russian 'Communists' are doing from the earlier centuries of Russia's history. TO MAINTAIN THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING THE EXTREME LEFT INDEFINITELY MAY BE DIFFICULT. AT PRESENT THE 'TROTSKYISTS' HAVE MUCH TO FEAR FROM THE POLICE IN FRANCE AND THIS TO A GREAT EXTENT IS BY COMMUNIST REQUEST. The new term 'Hitlerotrotskyist' has been launched in order to exploit against those Communists in rebellion against the Stalinist leadership the same suspicion of anti-patriotism under which the orthodox Communists so long suffered."

In another section of the paper we report the persecution which our comrades are suffering. As in India, America, and Britain the principal instigators of persecution against the genuine revolutionaries are the Stalinists. The above quotation shows to what extent they have degenerated — they have reached the lowest depths. Instead of appealing to the heroic past of the French workers and their fine revolutionary tradition as shown by the Paris Commune of 1871, they

have adopted the poison of nationalism and chauvinism. Thus the French C.P. has remained in a Government that has brutally murdered thousands of workers in Algeria and Syria.

Of course, in pursuing this role the C.P. carries out Stalin's foreign policy and defends French capitalism from the possibility of overthrow by the working-class. As in Britain, America and other countries, the Stalinists play the role of the most skilful strike-breakers and agents of the employers which the ruling class possesses.

In its issue of 24th July the "Manchester Guardian", in addition to the above quoted article, contains the following report of a speech of the leader of the French Communist Party:

"The main purpose of M. Thorez's speech, however, was not to deal with the constitutional issue but to impress upon the miners the necessity of producing more coal. While rejecting what he called exaggerated accusations by the enemies of the people, M. Thorez told the miners that there was too much absenteeism, of which he quoted one scandalous case, and too little discipline. HE TOLD THEM THAT EVEN IF THEY HAD GOOD GROUNDS FOR COMPLAINT THERE MUST BE NO STRIKES because the nation needed coal and they must strengthen the alliance of the working-class with the middle classes and the peasants."

"This speech followed an article by M. Benoit Frachon, a leading Communist representative of the C.G.T. (French T.U.C.) telling the miners that they must obey the engineers (technicians and managers) not to throw out of gear managements' production plans."

"IF THE COMMUNIST PARTY CAN MAKE A SUCCESS OF THEIR STAKHONOVIST CAMPAIGN IN THE MINES before the country goes to the Polls, it will very greatly strengthen its position with the general public and will probably ENSURE A BIG ENROLLMENT OF ENGINEERS AND SORELMEN IN THE U.G.M. INSTEAD OF IN THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT UNIONS."

Miners and the workers in Britain will recognise the same old tune played in Britain. The workers must obey while the bosses and their tools who waxed rich under the rule of the Nazi still continue to provoke and exploit the workers. France is not to be rebuilt in the interest of the workers, but in the interest of the

"nation", i.e. the capitalists who always regard their interests as the "national" interest. As if an alliance with the middle class and the peasantry can be obtained except by a struggle against the capitalists, landlords and bankers!

In France at the present time a great struggle is going on over the question of the French constitution. The French C.P. has been demanding the proposed constitution suggested by De Gaulle as reminiscent of Bonapartism (military dictatorship). The organ of the C.P. "L'Humanite", in its issue of July 11th, declares that the C.P. "does not accept the smallest share of responsibility in the drafting of the proposal, which is informed by the regretful anti-democratic attitude". The denunciation of the other Left-wing organisations have been even more bitter. Yet the vote in the Council of Ministers (the French Cabinet) in which the C.P. has two members, was unanimous. Could double dealing to the working-class by people claiming to represent its interests, go further?

The "Manchester Guardian" correspondent politely indicates the lack of democracy in the French C.P. by this characterisation of its Conference:

"At the Congress there were no discussions—only instructions and explanations. Staff work is admirable. The Communist Party is today the greatest school of discipline in France. MANY CATHOLICS SPEAK OF IT WITH ENVY AND ADMIRATION."

The secret of the hold of the C.P. leadership over the best rank and file workers is also given a comment by this correspondent:

"It (C.P.) gains others by associating the triumph of the Russian Revolution, of the Red Army, and of the Soviet industrialisation with the hopes of the French Communists."

However, already within the French C.P., a critical attitude to its policy of class collaboration with the capitalists is beginning to develop within the rank and file. The campaign of lies, vilification, persecution and terror which they have launched against the Trotskyists is an indication of the fear of the Stalinist bureaucrats. The fine rank and file militants in the C.P. will discover by bitter experience that the gains of the Russian revolution and the Red Army have nothing to do with the Stalinist usurpers. They will find that the programme of Bolshevism, the programme of Lenin and Trotsky is represented only by the 4th International.

WHITE TERROR IN GREECE

The Varkiza Agreement ended the civil war, by providing for disarmament of all irregular troops and the establishment of a "National Guard", which would contain all classes and shades of political opinion. But once they had secured disarmament of the workers and peasants, thanks to the treachery of the E.A.M. and E.L.A.S. leaders in signing this document, the Government proceeded to violate every one of its provisions.

In practice, only E.L.A.S. was disarmed: the monarchist and fascist organisations kept their arms or were incorporated en bloc into the National Guard while at the same time E.A.M. supporters were systematically weeded out under various pretexts. The National Guard is now entirely a weapon of the ruling class. The "Manchester Guardian", in its editorial of July 13th, could state as a fact that in Northern Greece—

"It seems true that while the Greek National Guard (with the aid of British troops) is zealously hunting down the Communist bands, the Fascist guerrillas are not only left unmolested but are even permitted to join in the hunt."

The promise of democratic rights is a complete farce. The Communist Party, for example, is a legal organisation: (all organisations to the Left of it are illegal) but the law offers no protection against the violence of reactionary bands. Sellers of its paper "Rizospastis", are systematically attacked in the streets and beaten up while the police look on. Its headquarters have been burnt down three times. The goals are full of supporters of E.A.M. (the latter gives the figure of 500 killed and 20,000 arrested since the Varkiza agreement), and the Government is setting up a concentration camp for them on the barren and waterless islands of Trizonia.

One incident provides a picture of the ferocity of the terror. In June Ares Velouthotis (Claras) was captured by the National Guard. The most brilliant guerrilla leader, founder of E.L.A.S., he had earned the hatred of the ruling class by refusing to participate in or support the capitulation of the Stalinist and Socialist

leaders of E.A.M. when they entered the Papandreou Government in 1944; he also refused to be bound by the treacherous Varkiza Agreement, and he and his followers kept their arms and took to the mountains.

The reaction revenged itself on this indomitable revolutionary: his head was cut off and, together with those of four of his comrades, exposed on poles in the town square of Trikkala, Thessaly.

The pro-monarchist "Daily Telegraph" reports:

"Six members of the band were taken prisoner, including a political commissar named Drakos, who seems to have been ordered by the National Guard to decapitate the corpses."

This piece of medieval barbarism shows the true face of the present order in Greece.

The masses were defeated and betrayed in December, but because they

had fought and almost defeated British imperialism and its Greek puppets, it was impossible to crush them completely.

It is quite possible that the masses may defeat the fascist plans, and bring to power a government of E.A.M. or even of the Stalinist and Socialist parties. But such a government, which would remain within the limits of capitalist democracy, would be no more stable than the present one. Either the workers will take the whole power into their own hands and set up a Socialist Republic, or fascism will eventually conquer. The workers will only seize power if they find leadership in a revolutionary party, which, as Churchill himself explained, can only be a Trotskyist party. The success of the coming revolution in Greece depends in the last analysis on the ability of the party of the Fourth International to gain the leadership of the masses.

D.J.

London Dockers Fight

(Continued from page 2)

ship. Such a programme should include the following demands:

1. Abolition of tonnage rates and piece work.
2. 25/- per day minimum.
3. One union for all dockers.
4. Maintenance of the "closed shop" but complete independence of the union machinery on the dock from the bosses machinery.
5. Transfer of dock labour to be under the control of the unions.
6. Establishment of "Box" or "Control" committees elected by the rank-and-file.

Such a programme should be carried out by a national union leadership. But while the rank-and-file are pushing for such a militant programme inside the unions, many burning issues arise from day to day.

The dockers struggle more than any other section of the workers has to be national or nothing. The present union leaders have proved that they

will not circulate information of strikes, and dockers struggles. They are opposed to all strikes, and militant workers struggles. The dockers cannot wait until the struggle is decided inside the unions. The two struggles, for a fighting Union programme and for the defence of living standards against the boss, go hand in hand.

The dockers have already shown, by the London-Liverpool link-up, that such a unity is vital in the struggle if it is to be successful. It is significant that the London bosses came to terms immediately after the link-up between London and Liverpool became effective. This unity in struggle is vital to the dockers. Thus the most important issue before all dockers, regardless of union, port, or party, is to

A NATIONAL PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE OF RANK AND FILE DELEGATES FROM ALL PORTS AND DOCKS.

August Struggle in India

BY F. CORNELL

Continued from July issue THE ROLE OF THE C.P.

The Communist Party of India, self-styled third major party in India, was legalised by the Government on July 22nd, 1942. The official statement reads:

"The C.P.I. have decided, if permitted, to throw their energies into the task of co-operating with the existing war effort. . . . The Government of India welcomes this statement of their intentions and desire that full opportunity should be given to them of putting those intentions into practice. In order, therefore, that they may function legally as a party the Government has decided to remove the ban on them."

The role of the C.P.I. was thus laid down clearly by the British Raj to split the working class and endeavour to hold it back from the approaching civil disobedience campaign. This duty they performed loyally and efficiently, though, as we have seen above, they were not able to prevent the wave of political strikes that followed August 8th. In their publications, however, they take the credit for preventing disruption of the Imperialist war machine. As in other countries, they dub every revolutionary tendency as "fifth columnist" and denounce every revolutionist (to the police, if they can, as the Indian underground movement has learned to its cost) as a Japanese spy. Indeed, to take their material seriously, one would imagine that Jap spies were hiding behind every blade of grass in India. Old maids looking for burglars have nothing on P. C. Joshi and Co.

Ten months after the repressions, when India was just beginning to experience one of the most terrible famines in her history, the 1st Congress of the C.P.I. passed a resolution on "Unity and action" in which they crow:

"... during the last ten months the country has been saved, though temporarily, from a national disaster. The main factor which is responsible for bringing about this change is the heroic fight of the Communist Party against the fifth column and its slogans."

Later on, however, they admit that they have not been able to win over the workers to support of the war. "Communists" reads the resolution "went into action against the fifth column with the slogan 'Stick to your jobs, for the defence of the country, under the banner of the party'. The rout of the fifth column was complete. . . . but the Communists have not been able to arouse a patriotic upsurge among the working class, thereby enabling it to play its leading role in the defence of the country."

In a slave country like India, of course, support of the war machine and the Government has to be decked with the frills of a paper struggle against Imperialism to make it palatable to the rank and file. Individual Communists have helped to organise food committees, etc.; "People's War," organ of the C.P.I. concentrates a lot of fire on the sins of the "bureaucracy". But even this mild agitation very often goes a little too far for Joshi and Co. Again at the May 1943 Congress they referred to left deviations. "All these deviations have one common root—namely, the failure to conduct a sharp struggle against the fifth column and its slogans. . . . and the tendency to over-emphasise the 'exposure' (Joshi's sarcastic quotes F.C.) and the worthy abuse of the bureaucracy. If this tendency were to persist, it will reduce the striking power of our policy." In other words, Joshi is telling the C.P.I.: "Don't take the line too seriously boys. We made a deal with the Government to back the war effort, and, no matter what they do, we'll have to stick to it."

The main political line of the Communist Party is the advocacy of unity between the Muslim League (political organisation of the reactionary Muslim landlords of the North-west) and the Congress, and the formation of a "national" Government with Jinnah and Gandhi as its leading figures. All that is necessary for the winning of independence, according to this formula, is for Gandhi to agree to Jinnah's separatist demands and present a joint request for independence to the Viceroy. Imperialism will then gracefully pack its bags and leave by the next boat. What a maggoty carrot this is to dangle in front of Indian eyes! It is doubtful whether even the Viceroy's Communists can take it seriously.

Although the Muslim League has gained in strength in recent years, owing to the manoeuvrings of Mr. Jinnah, vis a vis Imperialism, it is still one of the main obstacles to the achievement of Indian freedom. Jinnah is extraordinarily skilful. He knows as well as anybody that his political importance flows from his position as one of the pawns in the Imperialist game to "divide and rule". Gandhi has practically crawled to Jinnah in an effort to compromise with him, but the latter has always produced further vital differences out of his inexhaustible hat. Jinnah can never, and will never take up any position against Imperialism. He and his backers are dependent too much upon it. Verbal concessions to nationalism are on the order of the day in every organisation in India these days—even on the Viceroy's council—but in the field of action, Jinnah contents himself with fiddling around with the provin-

(Continued on Back Page.)

LABOUR MUST FULFIL ITS PROMISES

(Continued from page 1)

support for Churchill and the Liberals; partly because the masses did not see any sense in splitting the vote when the C.P. programme was similar to that of the Labour Party, except that it was more right wing. Their change of front in the middle of the election did not save them. The Stalinists lost 13 deposits out of 21 candidates, succeeded in electing 2 M.P.'s only, and polled well in only a few constituencies. So well known a figure as R. Palme Dutt polled 1,850 votes. Their total vote was a little over 100,000.

The I.L.P. campaign was confused. They put up only 5 candidates—the lowest number since the last war. With difficulty, they succeeded in retaining their three Glasgow seats with lower majorities.

In Bilston, they were snowed under, receiving only 890 votes. And even in East Bradford, their votes dropped to half of what they had been in the previous election. This could be expected as it would have been difficult for the Labour voters to see any difference in the policy put forward by the I.L.P. and that of the Labour Party.

The Common Wealth has been virtually wiped out; most of their candidates where they opposed the Labour Party losing their deposits, and only one being returned where there was no Labour candidate.

The election of a Labour Government with a majority is a tremendous step forward for the working class. Had the Labour leaders made a bold stirring appeal which would have electrified the electorate, the votes received by Labour would have been enormously increased. As it is, over the capitalist Parties together, the working class vote is only a bare majority.

But real measures against the capitalists and in the interests of the masses, would convince the bulk of those backward workers and the middle class who voted for Churchill and the capitalist parties.

The workers in the various Labour Parties, factories, Co-ops and the other mass organisations of the working class must demand that the Labour leaders should carry out their promises.

Immediately, the Labour Government must order the requisitioning of all empty houses and have a census made of the space in the houses and hotels of the rich. After a reasonable amount of space is left for the capitalists and their families, (the average rooms in which workers and their families are expected to live) homeless families and those had pressed for proper shelter should be billeted upon them. This measure would at least relieve the housing shortage.

The Labour Government must introduce measures on the lines outlined in the programme put forward in the "Socialist Appeal". A committee composed of delegates elected in the factories and technicians from the different industries should be set up to investigate the resources of the country and plan production so as to ensure high standards of living for all. Control of these industries would have to be in the hands of the workers committees to ensure decent wages and conditions for all.

Any attempt by the capitalists to

close their factories and thus produce mass unemployment during the re-conversion programme, must be answered by the confiscation of these factories and their taking over by the Government, to be run under the control of committees which should be elected by the workers employed in such plants.

All war factories closed down because of lack of work must be reopened and run in the above manner and converted to the production of goods needed by the workers.

In order to facilitate the nationalisation of the mines, steel industries and other industries as promised in the Labour programme, the workers must be appealed to in order to set up committees to run these industries under the control of the miners, steelworkers, engineers, etc.

Among the first measures which the Labour leaders must introduce is an Act repealing all anti-working class legislation, especially the Trade Disputes Act of 1927.

The last Labour Party Conference overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling for equal gratuities for all ranks in the forces. This pledge must be speedily implemented by the Labour Government.

The Labour leaders have pledged themselves to support the Imperialist war against Japan. The workers must demand that their husbands, sweethearts, sons and brothers should be brought home. The arming of the Indian and Chinese people, would supply more than enough forces to achieve the liberation of Asia from the shackles of Japanese Imperialism.

The power of the Mikado and of the Japanese militarists could be broken by a genuine liberation of the peoples of Asia from the exploitation of all imperialisms, and by appealing to the Japanese workers and farmers on the basis of a declaration of freedom for the Eastern peoples.

As it is, the Labour Government will be helping to get back oil, tin, rubber and other materials, plus strategic bases for the plunder and exploitation of the peoples of the Pacific in the interests of the British capitalists. Such a policy would be entirely against the interests of the British workers.

In relation to Europe, the Labour Government should restore freedom to the German people, now that Hitler is gone and aid them to take action against the German capitalists and landlords.

Bring the boys home from Germany and restore them to their wives and families and let them help in the reconstruction of Britain. To the workers of Europe the Labour Government should offer a genuine Socialist union in a Socialist United States of Europe.

Immediately the result was announced, Harold Laski, Chairman of the Labour Party, declared that the Labour Government would not aid reaction in Europe. Discredited kings and monarchs, and fascist dictators such as Franco could not expect support from the Labour Government. It would support the peoples against the reactionaries. The workers must take the Labour leaders at their word. Laski said this in the first exuberance of victory. But obviously, this is the elementary duty of any government

claiming to represent socialism. The workers must demand through their organisations, an immediate break with the butcher Franco. No truck with fascist gangsters and monarchists—such as the King of Italy and Greece, stained as deeply as Hitler and Mussolini, with the crimes of fascism. No support to quisling reactionary regimes such as that of Vurgaris and Damaskinos in Greece! Full support to the peoples in their struggle for free elections and a government of their own choice.

Obviously, any real measures in the interests of the workers will meet with the determined sabotage of Big Business. Already Wall Street is openly preparing to exert pressure on the Labour Government according to the reports in the capitalist press. No less bitter will be the sabotage of British Big Business.

The reply of the Labour Government must be to seize control of all the Banks and financial Houses.

Any attempt at obstruction by the House of Lords or the monarchy must be repelled to by an instant appeal to the polls on the issue of the abolition of these feudal survivals.

A bold programme of deeds, and not words would gain the enthusiasm and strong support of the workers nationally and internationally. The ruling class has no sure basis of support on which to lean against a Labour Government carrying out such a programme. To appeal to the Army (80 to 90 per cent Labour) would be fantastic. A few generals and officers could do nothing. Even the rank and file policemen would not lift a finger in the interests of the capitalists.

How much and how easily could the whole social structure in Britain and Europe—be changed by a bold Socialist programme on the part of the Labour leaders!

The mood of the advanced workers is one of jubilation at getting rid of the Tories, but one of watchful waiting and scepticism at the ability of the Labour leaders to deliver the goods!

The attitude of big sections of workers in the advanced areas in Labour strongholds of many years is "Give them a chance—but no excuses this time! They've got everything they asked for in a big majority!"

This thoughtful mood of the workers is an indication of the tremendous advance in mass consciousness in the last 25 years. The workers mean business. They want improvements and they intend to get them. But already Big Business is confidently calculating on utilising the Labour leaders against the workers! The "Daily Mail", rabid and bitter organ of reaction in its Editorial of 30th July, cynically remarks:

"A large majority implies great expectations on the part of the people. They will certainly look for a vigorous exposition of what the Government intend to do, especially in the realm of social reform."

"Little has been heard of nationalisation since the election results were declared, but this economic experiment is still the main plank in the Socialist's programme. The time has come when they must abandon generalities and get down to details."

Whether the Government will succeed in nationalising all the industries they have named remains to be seen. It is a lot to do in five years, even if there were no other problems.

But there will be plenty. The strike of the locomotive engineers which has stranded holiday-makers at the Kentish seaside resorts is a small but sharp reminder of the troubles ahead.

Foreign policy, home affairs, and economics will present the Labour Government with a series of hard and unalterable facts. They will find that £.s.d. are not meaningless symbols, and that the change-over from war-time to peace-time wage scales will be no more popular because it comes from a Labour Government. They begin their great tasks with general good-will and not a little curiosity."

This is really a veiled threat on the part of reaction, in spite of smooth words to cover the preparations of the boss class offensive against the workers, and to utilise the situation to discredit the idea of Socialism.

But nevertheless, that there is a basis of fact in the attitude adopted by Big Business in the editorial quoted above, is shown by the report of a discussion between Bevin and a Swedish Trade Union Leader quoted in the "Daily Express" of July 28th. In an article ironically headed, "The Problem," it says:

"Mr. Charles Lindley, Swedish trade unionist said today: 'When I spoke to Bevin at the Blackpool congress he rather doubted a Socialist victory.'"

He said: 'Even if we win we shall have hard times before us. To convert industry to peace production with lower wages as a result will be an enormous problem.'"

There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this report. Bevin has not denied it! All the more reason, therefore, for vigilance and watchfulness by the rank and file of the movement.

But that many sections of the working class realise this already is shown by the movement of the railwaymen and dockers. They want action, and action in their interests against the bosses. The "Daily Telegraph" of July 30th reports:

"Officials of the railway trade unions were howled down when they appealed to 1,000 'Sunday strikers' at Liverpool yesterday to abandon their threat of a Bank Holiday strike . . ."

Delegates at both meetings called for nationalisation of the railways. At Liverpool, a Birkenhead representative declared: "If we continue our present action the new Government will be able to turn to the com-

panies and tell them they cannot manage their business. It would then be an easy step towards nationalisation."

Sensing the mood and the determination of the railway workers, Binks, the president of the National Union of Railwaymen openly threatened national action and proclaimed at the very dawn of the new Government:

"Before our new Government can nationalise the railways it must first give them back to the companies that own them and then do what it says, it is going to do. Until then it is the companies we have to deal with."

But although we now have a Government of our own liking and choosing it may be in the future—time will tell—that we of the trade unions will have to fight them to get what we want as we fought the Government in the past." (Reported in the "Daily Express" of 30/7/45).

The need for pressure to obtain the demands of the workers could not be expressed better than in the latter part of Binks' statement. Coming from one of the top leaders of the Unions it obtains added weight. But the railwaymen will expect deeds as well as words from him too.

The workers must exert pressure in an organised fashion. Committees should be set up composed of delegates from the unions, factories, housewives, Co-ops, even small shop-keepers and middle class people in the localities, to push forward the demands of the masses and to exert mass pressure against any attempt of the capitalists to sabotage or disrupt measures undertaken by the Labour Government.

Real assistance and moral support could be given the Labour leaders if they introduced measures in the interests of the workers. Perhaps the trades councils extended and broadened to embrace other sections of the population could fulfil this function.

The R.C.P. declares to the workers. We fought with all the forces at our disposal to help put Labour into power. The workers have achieved this wonderful advance. But again we warn you, you can rely only on your own organisations, strength and solidarity to achieve any real gains. We will fight side by side with you now, we insist, and endeavour to ensure, that the Labour leaders take adequate action against capitalism and in the interests of the workers, and to watch carefully all the manoeuvres and intrigues of Big Business against the Labour Government.

No excuses!
Actions against capitalism! Put into force a Socialist programme in the interests of the masses!

Watch the intrigues of Big Business! Form Committee to help and exert pressure on the Labour Government!

Railway Demands

(Continued from page 1.)

We want to let it be known that we want from the Government nationalisation of our industry in the forefront of their programme."

J. E. Binks, president of the N.U.R., has promised, before the Liverpool and Manchester railwayworkers, to officially organise a national strike if the employers turn down their demands. He stated "It may be that after the meeting on Tuesday we may need throughout the whole country that vitality we see at Liverpool now." A ten-day strike costing over £1,000,000 was discussed by the leaders of the railway unions.

The railway workers must see to it that their Union leaders carry out their promises and organise a national strike if the employers remain obstinate. A strike, if thoroughly organised would force the employers' hands in a few days. It need last no longer than three days if the Labour Government intervened on behalf of the workers and nationalised the railways. The Union leaders and the Labour Government will be subjected to their first test by the demands of the railwayworkers and the policies of the rich railway bosses.

As the speeches of the rank and file delegates and local officials demonstrate the present demands of the railwayworkers are bound up with the question of nationalisation without compensation. If the rail bosses provoke a national strike the Government will be faced with the immediate need to nationalise this important industry.

As one delegate at the Liverpool meeting put it: "If we continue our present action the new Government will be able to turn to the companies and tell them they cannot manage their business. It would be an easy step towards nationalisation."

The railwayworkers along with all organised workers must demand that the Labour Government carry out immediate steps to force the employers to grant the workers' demands.

The industry must be taken out of the hands of the financiers and big industrialists and nationalised and placed under the control of the railwayworkers.

The workers must not rely upon the promises of the Union leaders, along with the demand that the Union leaders conduct a determined struggle, the railwayworkers should organise rank and file shop committees and establish contact with the main centres.

Only these steps will secure the victory for the railwayworkers, and the nationalisation of the railways without compensation.

LEOPOLD to JAIL

"La Lutte Ouvriere", the paper of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Belgian Section of the Fourth International, (published in the mining area of Charleroi to replace 'La Voie de Lenin' which the Belgian government suppressed, reports in its issue of July 14th, 1945:

The Socialist and Communist leaderships of the Belgian workers have wasted months in futile negotiations to get rid of King Leopold, whom the vast majority of the workers and peasants of Belgium heartily detest. Meanwhile, the Belgian miners show that they are ready to solve their problems by class-action.

ANTI-MONARCHIST DEMONSTRATION AT CHARLEROI
On June 25th, the Socialist and Stalinist parties at Charleroi, a great mining centre, called a demonstration to demand the abdication of the King. Over 10,000 workers turned out. The Revolutionary Communist Party of Belgium, playing its part in the demonstration, directed it against the whole capitalist regime.

"Right from the start, the slogans put forward by our Charleroi comrades, 'Put Leopold in Jail', 'Down with the Monarchy', 'Long Live the Republic', were taken up by the immense majority of the demonstrators."

The demonstration developed into the most serious warning which the Belgian workers have yet served on the capitalists who are hiding behind Leopold.

In perfect order and singing the "International", the workers marched on the house of a rich merchant outside which he had put up a portrait

of "his" king. He fired on the crowd, which replied by throwing bricks through his windows and broke his doors down.

POLISH AND BELGIAN MINERS UNITED IN STRUGGLE

5,000 Polish workers have been recruited by the Allied Military Government in Germany to work in the mines of the Charleroi and Borinage coalfields; as in Britain, they are "short of labour" here too.

"La Lutte Ouvriere" reports that 35,000 more are on their way.

The Miners' Union sent a delegation to interview the Government officials concerned, who promised verbally that the Poles are to have the same wages as the Belgian miners, the right to strike and the right to change their place of work. The miners have no reason to trust the government, and are pressing for the Poles' contract of service to be made public; it is significant that the Poles are understood to say that they were not told when they were recruited that they would be sent underground, but were offered surface work only.

PROVOCATION! — THE WORKERS' ANSWER

The management of certain of the mines (alleged by some of the Poles to contain ex-S.S. men) have cut the Belgian miners' rations by half, on the pretext of releasing food for the Polish newcomers. The Belgian miners, however, are demanding equal pay and rights for foreigners and Belgians alike. The bosses have so far failed to separate the Polish from the Belgian miners, who are being united together in localised strike struggles on such issues as these.

T.J.B.

AUGUST STRUGGLE IN INDIA

(Continued from page 3)

cial ministries in an attempt to manoeuvre Muslim Leaguers into office.

This, then, is the threadbare camouflage with which the C.P.I. attempts to cover its real policy of subservience to Imperialism and one hundred per cent support of the war machine. It is customary among Indian political workers to describe the Communists as having stabbed the August struggle in the back. This, as we have seen is not strictly correct. The policy and composition of the Congress foredoomed any struggle to failure. But it does reflect the mounting hostility to the C.P.I. and the realisation that it is the real fifth column in the Indian struggle for freedom.

THE CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY

The Congress Socialist Party has always had a strong attraction for the younger intellectuals within the Congress. As a result of its programmatic vagueness and organisational looseness it was rather a heterogeneous collection of westernised Congressmen, bound together by an intellectual distaste for Gandhi's religious obscurantism, than a serious socialist party. Its composition was wholly middle class and its members were by and large, completely isolated from the working class. Leading members of the organisation all had different conceptions of their work in Congress. Jaya Prakash Narain, the most clear-headed and able of all the C.S.P.'ers, seemed at one time to be moving rapidly towards revolutionary Marxism, as the documents released by the authorities after his first escape from Deoli prison camp show. On the other hand, however, Minoo Masani is moving at breakneck speed back to pure Gandhism. His book "Socialism Reconsidered" reveals that he has long since ceased to be a socialist in anything but name. Yet Yusuf Meherally, leading Bombay C.S.P.'er, had the effrontery to claim in one of his speeches, reported in the "Statesman" of July 6th, 1942: "Congress Socialism is an intelligent application of the principles of revolutionary socialism to the conditions in India."

It is not surprising, therefore, that such theoretical middle-headedness and lack of consistency, coupled with an almost pathetic faith in Gandhi and orthodox Congress methods of struggle, should have produced a series of ghastly failures in the field of action.

After the first shock in August, most of the active work was done by members of the C.S.P. It was vitiated, however, by their lack of a clear-cut revolutionary programme and consequent inability to gain a mass basis among the working class. Although they called themselves the Congress Socialist Party, they did not operate as socialists but as nationalists pure and simple. Their emphasis throughout was on Gandhian, non-violent methods of struggle and though they were able to gain the leadership of the movement in certain areas, it was on the basis of the Congress programme of bourgeois nationalism. Even Narain, in his analysis of August, still accepted the leadership of the Congress and failed to see the essential connection between its programme, which discounts revolutionary struggle against Imperialism, and its organisational ineptitude. Underground literature produced by the C.S.P. was indistinguishable from that turned out by the Congress.

Many of the younger members of the C.S.P. bitterly conscious of the fact that they were participating in something that they were not prepared for, and sensing that the C.S.P. policy of "Swaraj first—then propaganda for socialism" harassed them to the shirt tails of the Gandhians, became increasingly susceptible to purely terror-

ist ideas. They were in an impasse and sought a way out through pure violence. Students who had plunged into the August struggle with high hopes became disillusioned—and finished up by sticking home made bombs in cinemas. The best elements in the C.S.P., however, have been steered and educated by August and will almost certainly take their stand with the revolutionary Marxists when the next uprising takes place. This development has been speeded up by Masani's capitulation to Gandhism.

It is doubtful whether the C.S.P. can survive in its present form. Gains have been made as a result of the degeneration of the Stalinists to mere police spies, but most of the new members are disillusioned students passing through the C.S.P. either completely out of political activity, or in the direction of Marxism. No roots have been struck among the working class.

THE COMING STRUGGLE

Youngest of all the parties that took part in the struggle was the Bolshevik-Leninist party of India, Section of the Fourth International. Formed only in May 1942, the Party's influence was felt mainly in Bengal, though it played its part in Bombay and certain areas in Southern India. Too weak to have much influence in August, the party nevertheless drew the necessary conclusions from the opening wave of struggles and put forward the slogans of THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, THE ABOLITION OF LANDLORDISM AND THE LIQUIDATION OF AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS.

The independent activity of the working class demonstrated that it alone is capable of assuming the leadership of the coming struggles. The workers have not yet found their way to the programme of the Fourth International. But as Trotsky pointed out in his 1939 "Letter to the Workers of India", a document which the whole of the Bourgeois nationalist press refused to print, ". . . In the event that the Indian bourgeoisie finds itself compelled to take even the tiniest step on the road of struggle against the arbitrary rule of Great Britain, the proletariat will naturally support such a step. But they will support it with their own methods: mass meetings, bold slogans, strikes, demonstrations and more decisive combat actions, depending on the relationship of forces and circumstances. Precisely to do this, the proletariat must have its hands free. Complete independence from the bourgeoisie is indispensable to the proletariat, above all in order to exert influence on the peasantry, the predominant mass of India's population. Only the proletariat is capable of advancing a bold revolutionary programme, of rousing and rallying tens of millions of peasants and leading them in struggle against the native oppressors and British Imperialism."

These are the lessons of the ill-fated August struggle.

Frederick Cornell.

FRENCH TROTSKYISTS DEFY BAN

(Continued from page 1.)

OUR COMRADES CHALLENGE THE SLANDERERS

In face of this naked violation of democracy and freedom of the Press, our comrades took a bold step. To demonstrate clearly that they are neither "conspirators" or "hooded men", but the vanguard of the labour movement, they openly defied the repression, and published the names of the comrades who compose the committee of "La Verité" together with the address of one of them. They demand:

The recognition of the International Communist Party as a legal party;

The authorisation for "La Verité" to appear legally, promised for nine months;

A Court of Honour to be set up before which the slanderers must bring their "proofs".

THE RECORDS OF OUR COMRADES IN FIGHTING FASCISM

The records of the members of this Committee are sufficient in themselves to disprove completely the slander that they are "Hitler's Agents". Four comrades are concerned:

A. Demazière:
A member of the Trotskyist Party (P.O.I.) since 1936, after his demobilisation in 1940 reorganised the Party in the "unoccupied zone". Arrested by the Vichy police in 1942, sentenced to perpetual hard labour for "Communist activity". Escaped with the aid of the Partisans in 1943, worked illegally for the Party until the "liberation". Secretary of his Trade Union Branch and a member of the E.C. of the Union.

Max Clemenceau:
Metal worker, active in the Communist movement since he joined the Communist Youth in Angouleme at

the age of 14. Expelled from the C.P. as a "leftist" in 1936. At the end of 1940, arrested by the Vichy police for "resistance" activity, including helping members of the C.P. who were victims of the repression, he was kept under police surveillance. In 1942 went illegally to work in Paris in the Trotskyist ranks. During and after the "liberation" organised the running of canteens in his own and neighbouring factories, under workers' management, to feed the population.

Maurice Laval:
Only a brief note given in this issue of "La Verité" says he has recently returned from a deportation camp.

Marcel Beaufrère:
Member of the Socialist Youth at 15, of the Trotskyists in 1936. Arrested and victimised from his job in August, 1939, under Daladier's decree laws. Worked illegally in the P.O.I. after his release in 1940. Arrested in July, 1942, freed by a "resistance" police inspector, again sought by the Vichy police in August, but escaped. Later denounced by his boss, fled to the South-West and organised the Maquis. Sent in September 1943 to Brest to reconstitute the Brittany district organisation of the P.O.I. Arrested by the Gestapo in October, for organising Trotskyist cells among the German soldiers (30 of these German soldiers were shot by the Gestapo), and stealing arms for the partisans. He successfully resisted 10 days' torture, thereby saving his own life and that of several of his comrades. Sent to Buchenwald in January, 1944, where he remained until the Nazi collapse. Recently returned to France.

Such are the men responsible for producing the French Trotskyist paper. We do not yet know the outcome of their challenge. But the courageous stand of the French revolutionary communists against their slanderers, in defence of the freedom of the Labour Press, is an inspiring example which will be applauded by every militant worker.

