

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

# SOCIALIST APPEAL



ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

# DOWN WITH TORY REACTION!

For a Majority Labour Government

THE FIGHT IS ON. THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IS NO LONGER TIED TO THE COAT TAILS OF BIG BUSINESS. IT NOW HAS AN OPPORTUNITY OF RIDDING ITSELF OF THE TORY CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT. ON A FIGHTING SOCIALIST PROGRAMME THE LABOUR PARTY COULD GAIN AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY AT THE POLLS.

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TWOPENCE

## BRITISH SEEK TO DOMINATE THE LEVANT

BY M. NAIDU

THE PRESENT CONFLICT IN THE LEVANT IS A STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND FRENCH IMPERIALISTS FOR THE DOMINATION OF THE ARAB WORLD; IT REFLECTS THE CLASH BETWEEN THE IMPERIALISTS AND ARAB NATIONALISM STRIVING TO ASSERT THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE ARAB PEOPLE.

The roots of the present conflict can be traced to the first World War. The outmoded Turkish Empire, regarded by the Liberals of the 19th century as the "sick man of Europe" was cracking. Military blows struck by Anglo-French arms provided the first opportunity to the Arab nationalists to break the stranglehold of Turkish domination. Britain, anxious to maintain the routes to India and the Far East, supported the Arab revolt, and through Allenby and Lawrence promised independence to the Arab people. Simultaneously she entered into a secret agreement with French imperialism agreeing to divide the entire Middle East into spheres of influence between France and Britain.

The terms of the notorious Sykes-Picot agreement were kept secret both from the Arabs and the French and British masses.

Two such mutually exclusive and contradictory policies laid down during the war, offer the key to the subsequent course of history in the Middle East. As homage to the principle of self-determination a few Arab states under the rulership of the feudal bandits were created under the domination of British imperialism. In conformity with the secret agreement, British troops under Allenby were moved into Transjordan and Palestine, thus leaving Syria and Lebanon free for French occupation. After the League of Nations was asked to accept the accomplished fact by conferring mandates for France and Britain in

it. Ever since 1920 tremendous battles have been waged by the Arab people to smash the imperialist domination of the Middle East. In this struggle, the Levant, culturally and economically occupying the first place among the Arab countries, assumed the leadership. In 1925, in an attempt to overthrow French rule, a general revolt broke out in Syria. Damascus was for a second time within six years, bombarded.

With the utmost savagery, French imperialism crushed the revolt at the cost of 60,000 French troops and over 100,000 Arab dead and wounded. Defeated in battle, the spirit of the Arab masses remained unbroken, and scattered local engagements between French and Arab troops continued.

Once again, corresponding to the revolutionary energies of the French workers in 1936 the Arab masses were preparing to strike a blow. Leon Blum's Popular Front Government sensing the explosive situation in the Middle East and its effects upon the French African and Equatorial regions hastily concluded a treaty with the Syrian and Lebanese capitalists on the lines of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, granting a modicum of internal autonomy, but maintaining bases and enjoying economic privileges.

Even this small measure of concessions was too much for the French capitalists, and the French Chamber of Deputies refused to ratify the Treaty.

During the war, Arab nationalism received further impetus by the diffi-

culties poured profits into the pockets of the Arab capitalists, the increasing concentration of workers in factories, the break-up of Nomad tribes, and the trek to the cities and military camps in search of work, brought the Arab masses into contact with modern ideas.

After the collapse of France when the Vichy administration took over the affairs of Syria and Lebanon, already local clashes were taking place between the Arabs and the French forces there. That is why, when the British forces supported by a few De Gaullists entered the Levant in 1941 to quell the rebellious mood of the Arab masses, a joint declaration was made promising the independence of the Levant.

The dual control established in 1941 was only a temporary truce between France and Britain. For the first time, with the increasing American and Russian attention to the Middle

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## Greek Rebels Deported to Abyssinia

The Press contains little news about what is happening in

This will be one of the most fateful General Elections in the history of the British working class. Coming after the defeat of Germany and while the gangster imperialist conflict against Japan is continuing, it offers an opportunity for the workers to protest against the horrors that have been brought about by the system of capitalism. Two world wars within 25 years, the slumps and depressions, mass unemployment, starvation and want in the midst of the destruction of food; misery and insecurity, the menace of fascism, bad housing, low wages, insanitary conditions, ill-health and inadequate food. The oppression and exploitation of hundreds of millions in the colonies. That was the picture of capitalist Britain before the war.

### THE FUTURE UNDER CAPITALISM

But that position will look like heaven in comparison with the hell that capitalism holds out if the workers should allow this monstrous system to survive. During this war British imperialism has lost its dominant position on the markets of the world. British capitalism is ruined. The capitalists are demanding an increase in exports of 50% over that of 1938. But British exports have fallen to a third of what they were before the war. Thus derives the necessity for British imperialism to multiply its exports by five times over that of what it is at present.

After the last war, the capitalists found the problem of increasing their exports impossible to solve. Yet British capitalism was in a better position then than she is at the present time. America can produce goods cheaper than can the British capitalists, and has embarked on a programme, as announced by the American imperialists, of trebling their exports. But the world market, far from increasing, is shrinking. And the American capitalists have grabbed Britain's markets during the war. They will not give them up without a terrible struggle.

At the same time the need for exports on the part of Britain has never been greater. Before the war Britain imported on an average £930 million a year, and exported £543 million. This leaves a deficit of nearly £400 million. America has stripped Britain of from half to two thirds of her foreign investments. Britain's shipping is now inferior to that of America's. The City of London has ceased to be the banking and insurance centre of the world. Britain's dominions and colonies, her former markets in other parts of the world have been partially lost by the industrialisation of these countries.

The standard of living of the British workers, low as it may have been, was higher than that of the workers in most other countries. This was due to the tribute extorted from India and the colonies and from the above mentioned factors.

The £400 million deficit must now be made up in other ways. Far from Britain drawing interest on investments abroad, she is now bankrupt and from a creditor nation has become the greatest debtor nation in the world.

The working class fought in this war in the hope of gaining peace and a better future. But hardly has the firing on the battlefields of Europe died down, than already the real terrible visage of the post-war world peeps through. The "Allies" manoeuvre for position for the next world

war. Trieste, Poland, Austria, China, Germany, Italy, Greece, Syria—they are quarrelling over the prostrate bodies of these countries.

An armaments race between the victor powers has already begun, it is gang law which prevails. The contradictions and antagonisms far from being resolved by the war, have been increased thereby. The shadow of the next world war for which they are preparing overcasts the future.

This in itself makes a mockery of all hopes for social progress while capitalism continues. The "Economist" estimates as a minimum £750,000,000 per year, 10 per cent of the national income will have to be used each year for the purpose of post-war armaments. Even after the last world war with the monstrous expenditure in the 1920's and 1930's it was only 2 or 3 per cent of the national income.

### WORTHLESS TORY PROMISES

On this background of capitalist decline all that the Tories can offer is a programme of further toil, tears, sweat and blood. Churchill in many speeches has said that the workers will be worse off in the post war period than before.

Originally, the Tories wished to fight on this basis of austerity—of promising nothing. But the discontent and disgust of the masses in the war and its results forced them to the same demagoguery as that of Lloyd George in the last war. They promise full employment yet know that there will be 4 to 7 million unemployed; they promise housing while planning to build only 300,000 houses in three years when according to their own figures, 9,600,000 are needed. They promise food yet at the same time cut the rations. They promise freedom and the "Atlantic Charter" while shooting down the Greeks and starving the Indian people.

But the reason why Churchill forced this election is precisely because the

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## STALIN'S POLICY FOR GERMANY

conformity with the secret agreement, British troops under Allenby were moved into Transjordan and Palestine, thus leaving Syria and Lebanon free to the French occupation. For the League of Nations was asked to accept the accomplished fact by conferring mandates for France and Britain in these areas.

The Arab people never accepted the mandate nor were they consulted about

but maintaining leases and enjoying economic privileges. Even this small measure of concessions was too much for the French capitalists, and the French Chamber of Deputies refused to ratify the Treaty. During the war, Arab nationalism received further impetus by the difficulties of the Anglo-French imperialists. While the small growth of in-

# 7,000 HANDLEY PAGE WORKERS STRIKE

7,000 Handley Page workers have returned to work after a strike lasting more than 7 days. 1,000 non-productive workers returned on Monday, June 11th, and the 6,000 productive workers returned the following Thursday. The workers consider that whilst they did not achieve their objectives yet, in as much as they have returned to work solid and organised, and have forced the employers to guarantee negotiations with the Employers' Federation, they have demonstrated their organised strength and their determination to gain their demands.

The strike was caused by the suspension of productive workers, following a stoppage of 1,000 non-productive workers who came out because of the reduction of their bonus-earnings.

At a mass rally on June 4th, the Secretary of the Shop Stewards' Committee stated "That the management was prepared to consider their claims providing they returned to work. According to previous experience this meant nothing at all. We (the strikers) put forward the demand that either every worker is taken back or no one at all will return." "All or nothing!" was the workers' slogan.

The wages of non-productive workers had been reduced to an average of £3. 15. 0 per week by the reduction of their bonus earnings. For more than nine months they had negotiated for wages increases, the last straw came when the management paid the 4/6d. increase and then deducted it from their bonus! This at a time when the cost of living is increasing. The workers cannot possibly live on such a wage, and they have the support of all organised workers in their struggle against the wage slashing policies of the employers.

Following the suspension of the non-productive workers the management attempted to force the productive workers to do the work of the strikers—as one striker put it "They tried to get us to scab on our fellow workers".

On the pretext that the strike prevented work, the management suspended the payment of the Guaranteed Week and stated that as jobs finished, men would be suspended. Hundreds of workers received their suspension notices by June 4th. The immediate reply of the workers was that "if one man was suspended the whole factory would walk out". On Monday, June 4th, 6,000 workers stopped work. The strikers are determined to return to work only on their

own conditions. As the resolution, which was carried almost unanimously stated:

"This meeting realises the importance of this struggle in which we are involved and pledges its support until a settlement is reached."

The Strike Committee has organised the strike, arranged the pickets, meetings and social activity. It has issued an appeal for financial and moral support from the workers throughout London. Already workers in various London factories have levied themselves in order to give financial aid to the strikers.

The London District Committee of the AEU has not officially recognised the strike. It has maintained silence, so that if the strike should spread and get out of hand they will declare official backing in the hope of leading it into safe channels. The workers must demand an end to such cowardly and tailing policies, they must demand that the Union leadership officially conduct a campaign against the bosses' attacks.

This strike of the Handley Page workers is the culmination of widespread agitation against redundancy and the recent tribunal decision on engineering wages. The employers have conducted an all-sided drive to lower wages and to break down the workers' factory organisations. With redundancy, the beginning of mass unemployment, the London workers have decided to take a stand in the defence of their union rights and to fight for an increase in the basic rates of wages to meet the cost of living.

For a rising scale of wages to meet the real cost of living!

For a sliding scale of hours to absorb redundant and unemployed workers!

End the industrial truce—demand that the Union leaders fight the employers!

# Deported to Abyssinia

The Press contains little news about what is happening in Greece and to the fighters arrested by the British and Greek reaction. The report published here has been sent by a British airman for publication in the "Socialist Appeal."

These Greek fighters were all staunch anti-fascists, except about 10 ordinary criminals whom the reaction mixed among them. Their morale was high, in spite of seven months of torture and mal-treatment "by blackguards, both Greek and British."

From a questionnaire put to these workers by our correspondent, he established that they were either members of, or influenced by the Communist Party and had illusions in the Atlantic Charter and a Popular Front, or national government of capitalists and workers in Greece. Despite this, British imperialism cannot even tolerate workers with illusions such as these. They were being deported into the heart of Abyssinia, there to rot together with thousands of their fellow fighters.

The British Labour movement cannot tolerate such a situation. It is necessary to raise the demand for the freeing of all E.A.M. and E.L.A.S. prisoners and for the setting up of a Committee of Trade Unionists and Labour rank and file workers to investigate these deportations and the concentration camps to which these men are being sent. — Editor.

Conditions were not easily staged for direct communication, only two of their number, (nearly 176) could understand English.

They were under British Army escort, duly to be interned somewhere in Abyssinia.

On the boat they were closely guarded, forward ship being partitioned off by miles of barb wire.

Discussion with individuals of the army guard revealed in most cases a troubled perplexity—their officers had told them that the mutineers were agents of Germany.

Every night the mutineers would sing. From among the R.A.F. and Army Corps they had a large enthusiastic audience. The decision of the C.O. to stop singing from our quarter—even though most of the songs were of non-political character, clearly emphasised to the perplexed the significance of British imperialism and class justice. They continued to sing.

Fraternalism expressed itself visibly everywhere—papers, cigs, smile of encouragement, the red salute.

The C.O. must have breathed a sigh of relief when the mutineers disembarked at Massawa.

The ship was crowded with silent on-lookers. It was like a funeral procession—Courageous men going—may be never to see their homes again. That is their fate.

All this on the 27th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

# STALIN'S POLICY FOR GERMANY

Until recently the Stalinist attitude towards Germany has been one of rabid Vansittartism and race hatred. Here is an example from the pen of the arch-priest of race hatred, Ilya Ehrenburg:

"We despise the Germans for being morally and physically shameless. They photograph one another performing their natural functions. This is the humour of the pigsty. Even a dog would be ashamed of a 'joke' of that kind . . ."

"The Germans educated their daughters to be concubines. To the German, a woman is something between a housekeeper and a mattress . . ."

"The husbands of these women have made a tour of all the brothels of Europe, have infected themselves and infected others, behaved like beasts everywhere and brought home obscene postcards. One may stop to look at a baboon. That is Zoology. Baboons don't wear trousers, and don't boast about their racial superiority. But the sight of German men and women turns the stomach."

(Soviet War News, 12/4/45)

The aim of this sort of raving was to make out that the whole German people was responsible for the bestial crimes of Fascism.

## A TURN

But in the last months a turn has occurred. The first sign came last December, when the Free German Committee and League of German Officers in Moscow suddenly came to life and issued a manifesto:

"German people! Rise for the salutary exploit against Hitler and Himmler, against their ruinous regime! In unity lies your strength! The weapons of struggle are also in your hands! . . ."

(Soviet War News, 21/12/44)

The first official statement came in April, 1945, when G. Alexandrov, head of the Propaganda Department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, wrote an article against Ehrenburg, in which he described the latter's statements that Germany is "nothing but a colossal gang" as wrong. He said that many Germans had ceased to support Hitler, and ended up by quoting Stalin's Order of the Day (1942): "It would be ludicrous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people with the German State."

These Ehrenburgs and Alexandrovs are not men, they are more like electrical plugs. Stalin removes or connects them according to the particular line he wishes to broadcast. This article therefore meant that official Stalinist policy was about to change. News of this change was not long in coming.

## THE NEW POLICY IN RUSSIAN-OCCUPIED GERMANY

Although a Chinese Wall separates foreign journalists from the Russian-occupied areas of Germany, the news

coming from there, based mainly on the Russian-controlled Berlin Radio, indicates that official Stalinist policy is very different from that of Britain and America.

Thus musical programmes (forbidden in the Anglo-U.S. zone!) are broadcast. Stories of fraternisation between Germans and Russians are told with approval. German women come to the microphone to tell how rations are being increased, milk and coffee are reappearing. Thus the "Manchester Guardian" (22/5/45) quotes a broadcast by a Fraulein Ursel:

"Now we know what lies the Goebbels propaganda told about the Red Army. Not only shall we not starve, but the working man gets more than under the Nazis . . . We all see rolling past us the Red Army lorries carrying food to the Berlin population. Altogether a new life is beginning."

This policy is summed up in an official statement by Mikoyan, deputy Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, who says "our moral standards and traditions compel a humanitarian attitude towards peaceful inhabitants of a conquered people."

## WHY THE CHANGE?

The roaring of the tiger has apparently changed to the cooing of the dove. Why?

There is a band of eternal optimists, who have never bothered to understand the nature of Stalinism, and are therefore always hoping that one day it will become revolutionary again. They seize upon every shift to the "left" in Stalin's policy in order to bolster up this hope. Included in this band are the scribes of the "New Leader", who called the reprimand of Ehrenburg "the best news that has come out of Russia for a long time" (21.4.45), and say that "Russia is making a bid to capture the support of the German people, and is in that respect playing a progressive role." (9.6.45)

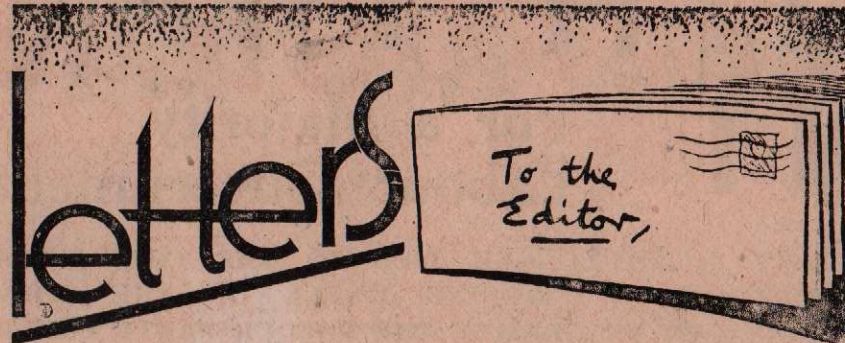
But unfortunately for them, there is evidence that Stalin (not "Russia") has not altered the fundamental policy of oppressing the German workers. "Time and Life" (2.6.45) reports that while Berlin Radio is playing concerts, able-bodied Germans are being rounded up and put in camps preparatory to deporting them to Russia to carry out forced labour—but this is not being broadcast! The "Daily Mail" of June 7th also reports that engineers and technicians are being sent to rebuild the devastated parts of Russia.

Thus the change in line can hardly be interpreted as a return to inter-

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"I KNOW THAT MANY OF MY LABOUR COLLEAGUES WOULD HAVE BEEN GLAD TO CARRY ON."—Churchill.



## "Liberation" in Italy

Dear Comrade, 31/5/45.

Have just heard of the grand fight put up by the R.C.P. in Neath. The total of 1,781 votes for Revolutionary Socialism is but the beginning. It shows once again the forward march of our class. When the working class fully realise the correct leadership given by the R.C.P., they will go on to the complete destruction of Capitalism. The first step being Labour for Power in the forthcoming Election.

After some time out here it is not difficult to see which way the soldiers are thinking. It is clear now, just who Churchill and his Tories represent. The soldiers will, I'm sure, vote that gang right out of office.

Open discontent and disgust is expressed over lack of news and action regarding release and leave to United Kingdom, etc.

So many letters on the subject have been written to that military rag, the "Union Jack", that they were forced to devote the whole front page to questions asked and the replies from High Command. To most men the replies were an insult, not one word to put men's minds at rest.

Along side all this we see the results of their war for "liberation". In a huge British Military controlled factory, the workers leaving their place of work for any period of time must first report to the foreman who books them out and in on return. Failure to carry out this order, or staying over the considered time, means two days' pay being stopped. These orders and methods are more or less fascist in their attempt to smash the spirit of the Italian working class. That is the role of British capitalism and the Officer class in Italy. ...

While the soldiers are being used as S.S. men and bosses of cheap labour, these "liberators" are having a grand time in Rome and other cities, in the various circles of Italian society and "ex"-fascists.

The Italian Trade Unions in this part of Italy (South) have made wonderful progress among these backward peasants and workers. So far that progress is only in the civilian owned factories but up to now it would seem

fraternisation. At the third offence it becomes a court-martial offence. I might add that we have a prize set of patriotic anti-German officers. And our O.C. made it quite clear that he won't hesitate to impose the maximum penalties in all cases of fraternisation. Its a problem which really has the military caste worried. They can't be everywhere with all the troops, all the time can they?

The worst is yet to come. At this place where we are going, there is also a huge Stalag camp for ex-slave workers of Russia who are awaiting repatriation to Russia. I will tell you the exact words of the O.C. on this matter, he said:

"Seldom in my experience have I seen such dreadful dirty uncouth and uncivilised people. While we must bear in mind the facts of their ill-treatment, hunger and hardwork meted out to them by the Germans, it seems to be no excuse for their present ill-mannered, dirty and unbelievable excesses and antics at present staged every night in this area. The night is made hideous by their indiscriminate firing of rifles, Tommy-guns, verey lights, and all manner of firearms, which they wantonly and carelessly shoot off. Their sanitary habits in the locale is low and animal-like. They are completely savage at the present time."

That in effect, is what he told us of these Russians who will be our nearest neighbours in the area. He proposes that as we shall be under canvas we should make up camp as conveniently far away as possible and to protect the workshops and property of the unit from these "indiscriminate, ignorant Russians", we shall have to have a strong barbed wire fence all round our camp. Its a peculiar position, we shall have to fence ourselves in to protect ourselves from — our Russian allies! I think you may have to address letters in future to "Stalag 824", we don't quite know who are the prisoners!

But personally, I think its all moonshine, but will let you know later.

If I survive the Russian "savages", I'll write next from Germany. I would add that the boys were not pleased with the O.C.'s comments on the Russians.

Best wishes,

Pte. G.

# NOTTS. T.U. WORKERS IN MILITANT MOOD

## NOTTS A.E.U. POLITICAL CONFERENCE FOR INTERNATIONALISM

The AEU Political Conference held in Nottingham on May 26th carried the following resolution condemning the Vansittart policies of the Labour and Union leaders in relation to the German workers. The Stalinists spoke and voted against this demonstration of international working-class solidarity.

"This Political Conference of the Nottingham AEU condemns the attitude of the LP and TUC towards the treatment of the German working-class after the war. It considers such a policy can only strengthen the German capitalist class when it is shown that Vansittart and the Capitalists in Britain have the support of the so-called leaders of the British working-class.

"The German workers are no more responsible for the crimes of fascism in Europe than are the British working-class for the crimes of British imperialism in India and the colonies. We therefore call upon the L.P. and TUC leadership to abandon their shameful policy and to extend a hand of international class solidarity to the German workers. Such a gesture can only help a revolutionary movement of the German workers with the British working-class towards a Socialist Europe."

## TRADES COUNCIL FOR 40 HOUR WEEK

A resolution passed by the Nottingham Trades Council calls upon the Union leaders to conduct a serious and active struggle for the 40 hour week.

"That this Trades Council calls for the fullest publicity to be given to the Employers' refusal to agree to the 40 hour week, and considers this question to be one of the most important to the workers movement

in view of the post-war unemployment indications, and should therefore be the basis of propaganda by the Unions."

## No. 1 A.E.U. ON AWARD 718

Throughout the country engineering workers have protested against the sacking of workers—redundancy—and the recent Tribunal Award 718. Monster demonstrations have been held in London demanding the right to work and an increase in wages.

Typical of the widespread feeling amongst engineering and allied trades workers is the resolution passed by the Nottingham No. 1 AEU branch. Similar resolutions have been passed by the Ilford No. 1 AEU branch and many other branches up and down the country.

"This branch declares that the National Arbitration Tribunal Award No. 718 is utterly inadequate being insufficient even to cover the increase in the cost of living.

"It is a further demonstration that the Tribunal is but an instrument of the employers to keep a low ceiling on wages, and that Trade Union members on its panel are only hostages to give an appearance of impartiality.

"We declare that so long as the Trade Unions give official support to the Tribunal and allow their officials to sit on it, we can expect no worthwhile betterment of wages or conditions. We therefore demand:

- (1) All T.U. support for the N.A.T. be withdrawn.
- (2) The Trade Unions reaffirm the right to strike.
- (3) A sliding scale of wages and hours so that:
  - (a) every increase in the cost of living means a corresponding increase in wages, and,
  - (b) any threat of redundancy or unemployment is counteracted by a corresponding reduction in working hours with no reduction in earnings."

# Tyne Boilermakers Arrested

All Naval Yard Boilermakers ceased work when six Naval Yard workers were arrested. They had refused to pay fines imposed upon them by the local Court.

At a mass meeting on the day of the

pay the fines. On Monday, 4th June, all fines were paid and all the men released. The Boilermakers resumed work on Tuesday.

There can be no doubt that had a fighting lead been given by the Strike Committee in opposition to Hodgson's

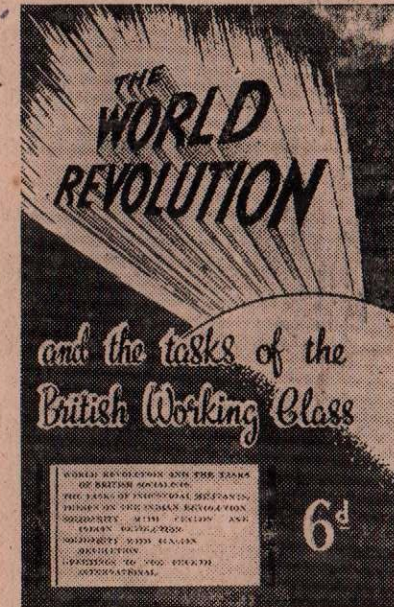
# "GESTAPO" IN TORY ULSTER

At a Public Meeting organised by the Revolutionary Socialist Party under the title "Labour to Power", a representative of the R.U.C. attended. He took no notes of the first speaker's speech, but when Bob Armstrong started speaking he surreptitiously brought out his notebook. He was immediately challenged by the Chairman, who asked him what authorisation he had to take notes. He did not produce any written authorisation, but stated that he was acting under the Special Powers Acts. The Tory Government here justifies the existence of these acts on the grounds that they are intended, not for use against the working class movement, but against illegal armed organisations!

The detective further admitted that his instructions were to take down Bob Armstrong's speech only.

It is obvious that the Tory Government plan to celebrate their return to power by an offensive against the working class organisations, and primarily against the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and that they are seeking grounds for a case against Comrade Armstrong.

As Comrade Armstrong pointed out at the meeting, this detective, Lightbody, is one of those who attended strikers' meetings and gave evidence against the Shop Stewards who were sentenced to imprisonment here.



## Labour to Power! on the following Programme INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY.

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

### DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS

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

### MILITARY POLICY.

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

### INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

10. Against race hatred and discrimination of all forms (Vansittartism, Anti-Semitism, and the Colour Bar); for the fraternisation and co-operation of workers and soldiers of all countries.
11. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; despatch of food and essential materials to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany, Europe, Japan, and the rest of the world, on the basis of this programme in Britain, to join the socialist struggle against Nazism, Fascism and all forms of capitalist oppression and for a Socialist United States of Europe and a Federation of Asiatic Soviet Socialist Republics.

# Reg Bishop on

cities, in the various circles of Italian society and "ex"-fascists.

The Italian Trade Unions in this part of Italy (South) have made wonderful progress in the civilian owned factories but up to now it would seem that the Military are using intimidation to keep Trade Unionism out. Let the British Trade Unionists and workers take careful note of this and demand that the Trade Union and Labour leaders tell them the truth about Allied rule in Italy and other "liberated" countries.

The British workers must not forget that those who operate this vile rule out here are the very same bosses in England, and would like to rule the British workers in the same way.

Yours fraternally,  
W. Williams, C.M.F.

## O.C. on 'Russian Savages'

Holland.  
Sun. 20th May.

Dear Comrades,

Next week we are going up into Germany. The C.O. of our unit has been there to view the situation; we were paraded on Friday evening to hear him outline the position and to receive a heavy dose of the non-fraternisation policy. We were deluged with literature about it beforehand. Then he personally went into it.

It appears that we are going into Germany as 'conquerors' we must maintain the bearing, dignity and discipline of "conquerors" attitude of "teaching them a lesson" by completely ignoring all Germans of whatever age, and only speaking when necessary to the pursuance of military duty. Should such an awful embarrassing situation arise, the addressee must address the addressor in a brusque military tone of command. Children's smiles and naive hellos must be distinctly ignored as the little beasts have probably received instructions from the local werewolves to ingratiate themselves with the "conquerors". "Ogling girls" (I quote literally) is also strictly forbidden. At this the boys on parade couldn't suppress their feelings and a loud disappointed "Oh" went up. This sort of thing went on for a good hour and I was heartily sick of it.

It ended with the "tariff" list of punishments for various offences of

If I survive the Russian "savages", I'll write next from Germany. I would add that the boys were not pleased with the O.C.'s comments on the Russians.

Best wishes,  
Pte. G.

## Roosevelt and the C.P.

Warwickshire.  
23rd May, 1945.

Dear Comrade,

The article in the May supplement of "Socialist Appeal," entitled "Roosevelt and the C.P." is certainly convincing. This form of propaganda—comparing the past utterances of the C.P. leaders to what they say today—is the best way of showing up the reformist, un-Marxist policy of the leadership, in which, as you know, I have lost faith, although still belonging to the Y.C.L. and not accepting the Trotskyist position in many respects.

The C.P.'s only reply to the accusation that it has abandoned its past is that the situation has changed—although there is just as much need for a revolutionary fight for socialism today as there was ten years ago. But it cannot say that historical facts—such as the role and character of Roosevelt in 1933 change as the years go by.

It is the C.P. that has changed, but the leadership refuses to publicly renounce its past and the teachings of Lenin, because if it did so it would straightaway lose thousands of its members, the whole party would in all probability break up. It is the thought that the present policy of the C.P. is a correct Marxist policy, necessitated by the present circumstances—an application of the Marxist adage that "Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action"—and that the C.P. will return to its previous revolutionary position when the situation is "ripe", that dupes the best members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. into support for the present class collaborationist policy.

As regards the comparison you published between Page Arnot on Roosevelt (in 1945) and Dutt on Roosevelt (in 1934) in case it should be thought that the two quotations are just differences of opinion between two individuals in the C.P., I have the C.P. pamphlet "For Soviet Britain" (1935)—which I think members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. should certainly read today—in a foreword to which Page Arnot himself attacks the "New Deal."

He begins by attacking the plans made to institute "New Deals" in England which, for the workers mean "the cutting of scales, the slashing of wages, the growing of cannon fodder, the plunder and oppression of millions in Britain and hundreds of millions in India." (Page 12).

He goes on to say on Page 13:

"All these plans hark back to President Roosevelt, the father of all New Deals... Although the nature of the New Deal with its strengthening of monopoly, lowering of real wages, expenditure on war preparations and approach to fascism are now plain to see, the Trade Union Congress have never withdrawn that recommendation (of the Roosevelt 'New Deal'). The meaning of the New Deal for the workers of America has been unmistakably shown by the tremendous strike struggles of the past year, when over a million of the American working class came out against the bayonets and tear gas of the strike-breaking American authorities."

Arnot draws the conclusion:

"As against these New Deals, as against all these plans (of the Labour Party for "Socialism and Peace") there is put forward by the Communist Party this programme for Soviet Power."

The number of votes Jock received at Neath were, I think, an encouraging sign considering the circumstances of the L.P.-C.P. slander campaign. I was horrified to see that Alun Thomas publicly declared that he thought the Trotskyists on the platform should be shot. Such utterances will undoubtedly disgust the C.P. rank and file.

Yours fraternally,  
Y.O.L.er.

All Naval Yard Boilermakers ceased work when six Naval Yard workers were arrested. They had refused to pay fines imposed upon them by the local Court.

At a mass meeting on the day of the arrests the Boilermakers decided by a large majority to stay out as long as any of their members were in jail, and telegrams appealing for support were sent out to workers in Blythe, Wear and Tees.

Meanwhile more arrests were made. Mark Hodgson, Secretary of the Boilermakers Society, recommended that the fines be paid. This was accepted by a conference of the Blythe and Tyne Boilermakers Shop Stewards, who threatened to withdraw support if Naval Yard men did not comply with this recommendation.

The Strike Committee then entered into negotiations with the management and arrangements were made to

pay the fines. On Monday, 4th June, all fines were paid and all the men released. The Boilermakers resumed work on Tuesday.

There can be no doubt that had a fighting lead been given by the Strike Committee, in opposition to Hodgson's sell-out, a big protest could have been registered. A serious and well organised action would have forced the release of the men and a withdrawal of the fines. As it was, the strike caused hardly a ripple. The strikers would have had the backing of the Naval Yard workers, this was demonstrated by the response to their appeal for support. Workers in other areas had actually fixed dates for cessation of work.

The Strike Committee believes that they have taught the employers a lesson and is now awaiting the findings of the Forster enquiry.

BILL DAVY.

## 74 YEARS OLD— Works 12 hours a day

To illustrate the slavery which is inherent in the capitalist system we give below a brutal, although not rare, example from South Wales.

Among the thousands of workers, both men and women, labouring day and night in the great Ebbw Vale steel and tin works which belong to Richard Thomas, there is a man who works twelve hours a day as a general labourer, from 6.30 in the morning until 6.30 at night, performing tasks which would test the strength of any young man in his twenties. Yet this worker is not in his twenties—he is in his seventies! He is over 74 years old! The reason—the sole reason—that he is daily compelled to sell his waning strength to Richard Thomas is because without his wages he could not live. He has the Old Age pension, but as every pensioner knows, this miserable pittance cannot provide for even the most elementary needs of a worker—even if he is 74 years old.

All his life, this man has toiled for the capitalist class. At the age of nine he started work down the pits. His father often had to carry him to work, and there he worked for 56 years. A whole lifetime! Working miles below the earth's surface at the hardest and most thankless job in the world. At the age of 65 he qualified for the Old Age Pension, and was promptly sacked by his grateful employers! After 56 years of toil he was not retired on a decent allowance but unceremoniously and callously tossed onto the scrap heap. Years of unemployment, odd jobs and poverty and then came the war. The capitalists needed workers, even old ones, because the young ones were sent out in their

millions. Our old worker seeing the chance to sell his labour power once again in order to raise slightly his standard of life, once more entered the ranks of the wage slaves and became an employee of Richard Thomas. You will find him there today. Behind him there is 65 years of thankless back-breaking toil. In front of him, what...?

If your blood boils when you read of this brutal exploitation, if you are determined to put an end to this system which compels men and women of our class to labour twelve hours a day when they should long ago have retired on a comfortable pension, if you are determined to end once and for all the capitalist system, then the future of this worker can be bright. But should capitalism remain in this country, nothing can stop that worker (and millions like him) from being once again tossed onto the scrap heap of unemployment and destitution which is the only reward the capitalist system ever gives to its worn out wage slaves.

J.L.

WORKERS  
INTERNATIONAL  
NEWS

# Reg Bishop on Red Army Wages

Here we reproduce a letter straight from the horse's mouth, Reg Bishop, of the Russia Today Society, sent to us by its recipient, a reader of the "Socialist Appeal".

The growing and alarming disproportion between the wages of the workers and salaries of the bureaucracy in Russia, in this case the soldiers and officer caste, is underlined by Bishop's letter.

The argument that the Red Army soldier gets a free issue of cigarettes, etc., used by Bishop is so much eye-wash, because the officers have a hundred times more privileges than the rank and file.

Bishop's argument has more in common with capitalism than with socialism. Indeed, in a recent issue of the "Economist" leading capitalist weekly, it is argued that the British officer caste must be paid higher wages to attract more brains! Learn from the Russians, the "Economist" argued, and pay the officers more.

If the same wage difference was introduced, Montgomery and Co. would get about four times the salary of a cabinet minister! — Ed.

April 17, 1945.

Dear Mr. Gullins,

Many thanks for your letter. The pay of a Russian private soldier is 10½ rubles a month, with double pay in the front line, which is doubled again if his unit becomes a guards unit. An n.c.o starts at 300 rubles and works up to 600 rubles. An officer gets 900 rubles, a colonel gets 1,600 rubles. A Red Army General gets 3,000 rubles and a Marshal of the Soviet Union receives 5,000 rubles, which, incidentally, is the highest salary paid in the U.S.S.R.

These differences appear very large, but there are certain circumstances to be borne in mind. A soldier conscripted into the Army is regarded as a citizen contributing something to his country, for which he does not expect a reward. He receives a purely nominal wage, but all his expenses are paid—there is a free cigarette issue, free transport on the local transport systems, free admission to places of entertainment. All cleaning material is issued free, and no charge is made for postage. When a private soldier is discharged and returns to civilian life, his prospects are not only unimpaired but are actually improved. The Soviet State guarantees him immediate employment on leaving the Army, at a rate of pay comparable to what he would have been receiving had he remained in his job throughout his period of service.

Most n.c.o.'s and commissioned officers are expected to make the army their career. Therefore they are entitled to rates of pay commensurate to what people with similar qualifications would get in civil life. A sergeant is entitled to receive pay equivalent to a skilled workman; a Marshal of the Soviet Union is entitled to as high a rate of pay as the most highly skilled person in any other walk of life.

I am afraid I cannot tell you the extent of Alexis Tolstoy's fortune. It must have been considerable, because in the Soviet Union people benefit to the full from the fruit of their labour, although they are not allowed to exploit the labour of other people. There is no country in the world where so much of the proceeds from the sale of a book is returned to the author, but the exact extent of Tolstoy's fortune is regarded as a private affair and therefore the figure has not and will not be published.

Yours sincerely,  
R. Bishop,  
Secretary.

## GENERAL ELECTION MEETING

JOCK HASTON  
will speak at the  
GWYN HALL

NEATH  
on  
LABOUR TO POWER!  
SUNDAY, 1st JULY, 1945

at 6 p.m.

## CORRECTION

In the May 1945 issue of the "Socialist Appeal" we reported that Bro. H. Beckett was Secretary of the Belfast 2nd 4th Branch A.E.U. This was incorrect and should have read Bro. H. Beckett, Minutes Secretary.

READ  
**The Death Agony of Capitalism**  
AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS  
By Leon Trotsky  
THE PROGRAMME OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
49, Regent Street, London, W.1

**SOCIALIST  
APPEAL**

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

## EDITORIAL

# 'Democracy' in Germany

An "Evening Standard" report declared that dockers in Hamburg, working under Allied administration, are being paid at the rate of 4d. an hour! Not even Hitler dared to pay such coolie rates. The German workers are worse off under the Allied "democrats" than they were under the fascist barbarians! This is a blow at the Labour movement.

If Anglo-American imperialism can force the German workers to be employed as cheap labour then this represents a threat to the British workers' standards. After the last war British orders for ships were placed with a Hamburg yard for the special purpose of frightening the British trade unions and bringing pressure to bear on them, with a view to lowering wages and lengthening hours of labour. Our rulers will have no hesitation in again using the cheap labour of the German workers.

Today, the British and American rulers make it plain that they know which class it is in their interests to support in Germany. "Maple Leaf", the Canadian forces' daily (26.5.45) reports:

"An unauthorised meeting of 6,000 Germans at Cologne was broken up by U.S. troops who fired over their heads.

"The meeting was organised to welcome Germans returning home from Buchenwald. The crowd was dispersed after signs appeared expressing dissatisfaction with the mildness with which the Americans are treating the Nazis."

When the German workers express their solidarity with the victims of fascism, and their desire to see it completely eradicated, American Imperialism bares its teeth: The Anglo-American Imperialists have more in common with the Nazis and German capitalists than with the German workers. Their mildness towards the Nazis, the fraternisation of high ranking officers and business men, stands out in blatant contrast to their treatment of the German working class.

Throughout the war, while the capitalist press was pouring out its poisonous stream of race hatred, saddling the German workers with the crimes of Nazism, we have stood firmly on the principles of working class internationalism. Labour, Trade Union, and Stalinist leaders betrayed those principles and heaped abuse on the German workers, who were deceived and bludgeoned by their fascist rulers. But the Trotskyists refused to desert their class brothers in Germany. We declared that it was the German ruling class who supported and backed the Nazis, with the aid of the Allied imperialists; it was the workers who suffered and were oppressed by them.

Today our German class brothers who were tortured and oppressed by the Nazis, are suffering under the rule of the victorious "democracies."

# I.L.P. IN CONFUSION

THE REJECTION BY THE LABOUR LEADERS OF THE I.L.P. APPLICATION FOR AFFILIATION WAS SOMEWHAT UNEXPECTED. CERTAINLY TO THE LEADERS OF THE I.L.P. IT HAS SOWN CONFUSION AND BEWILDERMENT WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE I.L.P. LEADERSHIP.

BY W. WHITFIELD

The Easter Conference of the I.L.P. took a decision by a very narrow majority, to affiliate to the Labour Party. After meetings between the leaders of the I.L.P. and the Labour Party the I.L.P. executive's decision to refuse affiliation was made public some days ago.

The main reason given by the Labour leadership for their refusal was that:

"The Labour Party Executive hoped that the election would result in a Labour Government being returned to power, and believed that the opposition of the I.L.P. to conscription would be inconsistent with the conduct of the war against Japan."

Twelve years ago the I.L.P. dis-affiliated from the Labour Party. Soon after disaffiliation Trotsky argued that there was no future for the I.L.P. unless it turned to the Labour Party and the Trade Unions, and that there was no future for it unless it worked out a revolutionary programme. But the I.L.P. leadership had other perspectives. Contemptuous of the Trotskyist methods, describing the thrashing out of a revolutionary programme as "constant theorising, abstract hair splitting and dogmatising", the leadership based itself on the vague idea that the workers would automatically be disillusioned by the Labour Party and turn to them, as the mass alternative to the Labour Party. It did not take ten years to shatter that illusion.

Before the war the I.L.P. was already moving into the Labour Party. But the jingoistic policy of the Labour leaders which followed the declaration of war, and later the formation of the coalition, temporarily drove them away. For a period all the old illusions were resuscitated among the I.L.P. leadership that they had only to sit tight in their office, and in a very short period, the revolutionary masses, disillusioned in the Labour Party and the war, would surge into the I.L.P. Their illusions were soon shattered.

The failure of the I.L.P. to grow appreciably during the war, the isola-

tion of the party from the masses, the inability of the leaders to understand the mood of the workers or the dialectic of events has meant that, afraid of their own isolation, they have been driven willy nilly back to the bosom of the Labour Party.

In their recent approach to the Labour Party, the leadership has displayed all its weaknesses and opportunism. Secret negotiations and bargaining between the leaders of the two parties has been going on for months. The I.L.P. leaders have tried hard to convince the Labour leaders that they are not "dangerous people", whose revolutionary ideas would be too much of an embarrassment inside the Labour Party. Flowing from their desire to get in at all costs, has been the noticeable toning down of the pacifist, anti-war policy of the "New Leader", the mild and friendly criticism of the Labour leaders, and a general blurring over of the differences between the I.L.P. and the Labour Party. When the Labour Party leadership through Laski, stated they didn't like the Trotskyists, as reported in the last issue of "Socialist Appeal", five Trotskyists were sacrificed on the altar of affiliation. The leadership thus broke up the whole of the North East Division of the I.L.P. which was built up by these comrades. But despite all their watering down of principles, despite their abject belly-crawling, the I.L.P. leadership were informed that, at present, their affiliation could not be accepted.

It is evident that, at present, the Labour leaders feel they can hold the workers without the I.L.P. inside the Labour Party to give it a "left" appearance. At the last moment they have discovered that the I.L.P. is against military conscription and the imperialist war against Japan! In other words they thought that the pacifist record of the I.L.P. might embarrass them in the General Election.

The I.L.P. is plunged in crisis. The leadership, which was split on the affiliation issue, is completely at a loss. The whole future perspective, both

personal and party, of the pro-affiliationists among the leadership—the breaking of the Coalition and subsequent revival of the "stinking corpse" (as Ridley, one of the anti-affiliationists, was calling the Labour Party a few months ago) have proved that Ridley's witticisms and sectarian dogmas are not enough to remove the Labour Party as a prime factor in British politics. The anti-affiliationist leaders have felt the chill breath of isolation, and weakened their "principled intransigence" to a link up with the Labour Party.

For many years the leaders of the I.L.P. have sneered at the Trotskyist slogan of "Labour to Power". They argued then that the Labour Party was finished and was completely exposed before the working class; that to call on a reformist party to break with the Tories and take power, was sowing illusions among the ranks of the working class.

Today the rank and file of the I.L.P. are bewildered and without a lead. Instead of a principled directive on the attitude to the Labour Party—a directive which, based on the reformist policy of the Labour leadership, and the mass swing towards the Labour Party, could only be on the lines of "Labour to Power"—I.L.P. members are given a statement in the "New Leader" of June 9th, that, where I.L.P. candidates are not fighting, "we should give support to the Labour Party as a general rule despite what has happened. In some constituencies there may be a Common Wealth candidate who is a better Socialist and whose chances are better, he should have our support." Here the leadership are deliberately avoiding giving a lead to the party, deliberately avoiding analysing the real nature of the struggle in the General Election, which is one of parties, not individuals. By telling the rank and file, in effect, to "support the man not the party", they leave it to the

members in a given area to determine their attitude on the degree of socialism they can find in the various candidates.

Members of the I.L.P. will want to know why the leaders failed to support the Trotskyist candidate against the Labour-Tory coalition candidate at Neath (presumably on the basis of not supporting sectarianism) while it is proposed to oppose Labour at one or two places now that Labour is out of the coalition.

The unprincipled approach of the leadership to the Labour Party is being made clear to every rank and file. Instead of utilising the negotiations with the Labour Party for the purpose of educating the rank and file of the Labour Party who possess a genuine desire for working class unity, placing the blame for disunity on the shoulders of the Labour Party leadership, they attempt to enter the Labour Party through the channels of diplomacy, of bargaining their principles with the Labour leadership. Fenner Brockway's article in the "New Leader" of June 9th, makes this clear in its comment on the reason why the Labour Party executive refused affiliation. Instead of pointing out to the Labour rank and file that it is the desire of the Labour leadership to carry on the imperialist policies of the ruling class which stands between unity of the I.L.P. and the Labour Party; Brockway, afraid to make a revolutionary comment on this betrayal of the Labour leaders, declares that "anti-warism is less and less of an electoral liability." Thus he states that even if the I.L.P. is opposed to the war, well, it doesn't really matter!

It is evident that, in the coming period, the I.L.P. leadership can pursue no independent policy, but that, with a suitable toning down of policy in the "New Leader", with diplomatic manoeuvres from above, they will seek to make smooth their path until such times as the Labour Party leadership recognises their value as the classical "left cover" and invites them back into the fold.

# Facts About Coal

THE MOST SEVERE COAL CRISIS SINCE 1925 IS APPROACHING. MILLIONS OF WORKERS INCLUDING THOSE WHO WIN THE COAL, HAVE GONE THROUGH A BITTER WINTER

materials; that big profits are made from the by-products of coal (chemicals, dyes, munitions, etc.), we can see that the published figures represent only a small part of the actual profits made by the coal-owners and bankers.

JIMMY DEANE

Such is the situation in the coal industry! High prices, big profits, anarchy and chaos, and low wages and sweated labour. Such is the crisis in the industry under the con-

He gets  
£12,000  
a year.



R. FOOT

class who supported and backed the Nazis, with the aid of the Allied imperialists; it was the workers who suffered and were oppressed by them.

Today our German class brothers who were tortured and oppressed by the Nazis, are suffering under the rule of the victorious "democracies."

It is the age old game of the imperialists to divide the working class on national lines, the better to pit the one against the other while they reap the benefit.

The interests of the workers of all lands are one and the same. This elementary working class principle must be repeated after a 100 years of socialist struggle, because of the betrayal of the leaders of the movement.

The evils of capitalism which has reduced Europe to ruin cannot be overcome by transforming the German working class into the semi-colonial slaves of the Allies.

The Fourth International, the only living international movement of the world working class, says: the way out lies in fraternisation and co-operation of all workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of a socialist system of society.

The British Section of the Fourth International, the Revolutionary Communist Party calls upon the British workers to demonstrate their solidarity with the German working class by fighting the chauvinism and Vansittartism raging in the Labour movement; by demanding that the German working class be given the democratic right to organise their own regime.

For a Socialist Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe and the World!

## Labour to Power

Now that the General Election is in full swing the mass of the organised workers are moving forward to put Labour into Power.

Despite the partial success of the Stalinists in diverting the rising movement of the workers into Popular Front channels, as recorded by the voting at the Labour Party Conference, they have been forced to push into the background the demand for a post-war National Government to include Churchill, Eden and the Crimea Tories in the form of a "Labour and Progressive Government."

The "Daily Worker" and Stalinist propagandists attack Churchill — not too savagely, of course, and now call for a "Labour and Communist Majority". This reflects the pressure of the workers. But not the beginning of a turn towards revolutionary politics. The weight of Stalinism will still be thrown into diverting the workers onto the road of Popular Frontism with capitalist parties. Particularly if Labour fails to gain a majority in the coming election. It is necessary to emphasise again and again: His Majesty's Communist Party is to the right of the Labour Party.

The mass of the workers have illusions that the Labour leaders will take real steps against the capitalists. The more critical workers say: "Try them out. Put them to the test."

Put them to the test, is indeed a good idea at this stage of the struggle. That is why we Trotskyists want the unity in action of all workers' organisations — to ensure that Labour will be returned to power with a great majority. Maintaining our programme; making our criticisms of Labour reformism perfectly clear; calling upon the Labour leaders to fulfil their promises to the workers; fighting to arouse the masses to destroy capitalism and bring about the socialist system of society, we are confident that out of our common experience the best workers will find their way to the socialist revolution, and to our Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party.

THE MOST SEVERE COAL CRISIS SINCE 1925 IS APPROACHING. MILLIONS OF WORKERS, INCLUDING THOSE WHO WIN THE COAL, HAVE GONE THROUGH A BITTER WINTER WITHOUT COAL FOR THEIR FIRES. MINERS HAVE BEEN SENTENCED AND FINED FOR TAKING HOME SMALL QUANTITIES OF COAL. THE PRODUCTION OF COAL STEADILY DECLINES AND WE ARE WARNED THAT THE CRISIS WILL BECOME WORSE, THAT WE SHALL HAVE NO COAL AT ALL NEXT WINTER.

The extent of the anarchy and chaos in this basic industry is not only an indictment of the coal-capitalists but also an indictment of the Labour and Union leaders, whose cowardly policies aid the capitalists. What precisely is the situation in the coal industry? The following facts, pregnant with meaning, reveal the depth of the coal crisis.

### THE FACTS

The annual output per miner is 290 tons and has not increased since 1906!

The production and employment figures for South Wales are the same as they were in 1870!

The national coal output has fallen by more than 50,000,000 tons per year, 10,000,000 tons since the war began!

30% of the coal used in generating electricity is wasted!

In 1937, and the situation now is no better, of the 14,000,000 tons of coal used in generating heat 10,000,000 tons were wasted!

All coal reserves have gone!

AMAZING FACTS INDEED!

### THE PROFITS

In spite of this terrible situation the coal-owners continue to make big profits. The "Daily Herald" (1/9/44) states:

"Despite heavier taxation and increased working costs, coal and iron companies continue to make substantial profits."

It cited two examples: The Sheerbridge Iron & Coal Coy., made a net profit of £159,148 in the year ending June 1943. This was the highest on record. The Stanley Coal and Iron Coy., in the same period, increased its net profit by £26,194 to £299,405.

But this is not the whole of the story. The published profits of the whole coal-industry in 1943 were £12,000,000. Materials and stores costs, for the same year, were £29,000,000. And who owns the industries which provide the material and stores? None other than the coal-owners! If we consider that the published figures are greatly lower than the actual profit (such figures are only for public consumption); that a tremendous profit is made from mining equipment and stores

materials; that big profits are made from the by-products of coal (chemicals, dyes, munitions, etc.), we can see that the published figures represent only a small part of the actual profits made by the coal-owners and bankers.

Who pays for these astronomical profits? With the assistance of the Labour and Union leaders the Coal-owners exploit the miners; with the assistance of their Government they fleece the working-class as a whole.

The average wage cost is 18/- per ton. The Coal-owners claimed, during the recent debate on prices, that the increase in prices was due to increased wages. That this is a downright lie is shown by the following figures: With the 1944 Porter Award the price of coal was increased 4/- per ton. This represents £40,000,000 on 200,000,000 tons produced. But the costs of the Porter Award was estimated to be no more than £10,000,000. What happened to the other £30,000,000? This directly and indirectly went to feed the insatiable profit lust of the coal-owners and bankers.

The price of coal has increased by 18/6d. in the last two-and-a-half years. This is equal to an increase of £185,000,000 on the 200,000,000 tons of coal produced per year. The worker who buys his coal, a hundred-weight a week, pays, with the latest increase in prices, £4 2s. 9d. per ton. The pithead price averages 30/- per ton, and it is at this price that other industries buy their coal.

It is clear, that the miners and the working-class as a whole are being exploited and fleeced by the coal-owners.

JIMMY DEANE

Such is the situation in the coal industry! High prices, big profits, anarchy and chaos, and low wages and sweated labour. Such is the crisis in the industry under the control of the profit-mad capitalists. And in face of this, what do the leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers do? They renounce the struggle for nationalisation in favour of "immediate steps" to increase production.

### "EXPORT OR DIE" — THIS MEANS A CUT IN WAGES

Not only is the coal industry a direct source of astronomical profits, it is also the basis of British exports. To understand the concern of the capitalist class as a whole we need only look at the 1938 export figures. All the following exports require coal:

|                  |   |            |      |
|------------------|---|------------|------|
| Machinery        | - | 57,907,000 | tons |
| Vehicles         | - | 44,640,000 | "    |
| Iron and Steel   | - | 41,599,000 | "    |
| Chemicals        | - | 22,049,000 | "    |
| Electrical goods | - | 13,434,000 | "    |
| Coal             | - | 37,411,000 | "    |

British exports at present are only 27% of the pre-war total and represent 2.7% of the national income. Every capitalist economist and politician screams aloud the slogan that "Britain must double her exports". "Export or die" shouts the "News Chronicle" and the "Economist". Sir John Anderson goes much further "We must increase exports five-fold."

At the expense of Britain, Germany and France, America has increased her exports by 200% in value, and 300% in volume. ("News Chronicle" 8/1/45). Yankee imperialism has

## The Coalgetter Gets £4 3s. per week



He gets  
£12,000

a year.



R. FOOT  
Owners' Spokesman

penetrated all the richest world markets. The "Times" remarks that:

"In every continent we have lost markets. . ."

"The war has left American industry in a better position than our own to resume normal activities."

Lord Croft said in a speech to the Cairo Rotary Club:

"One of the most important economic changes which will have occurred is that Great Britain will have passed from being a creditor to a debtor country."

How is Britain to compete with America? With the higher technique, American miners produce five times more coal per week than the British miner. American mines produce 300,000,000 more tons of coal than British mines, with 100,000 less miners. In proportion, the price of coal in America is less than half of the price in Britain. Not only is this the case, but American productivity is five times greater than that of Britain—this is true of many of her industries. The British Coal-owners must reduce the export price of coal if British capitalism is to compete with America. They cannot reduce costs and they will not reduce their profits, but they can, if the Union leaders have their way, reduce wages and increase the rate of exploitation. This is the only way that British capitalists can compete with America.

The crisis of the coal industry is the crisis of British capitalism. Its history is the history of the decline and death agony of capitalism, a system which has become a reactionary obstacle to the progressive development of industry and the satisfying of human needs. Correctly "The Observer" editorial 28/1/45 stated:

"The coal crisis is not the result of one severe winter. It has been developing for thirty years. It has shown itself in industrial strife, low productivity, and rapidly falling output during the present emergency, and most significantly an exodus of labour whenever possible."

"... Our basic and most essential industry has ceased to be attractive."

### THE COALOWNERS "PLANS"

What solution do the Coal-owners offer to the present crisis? Within recent months we have had the Foot "Plan"; the Reid Committee proposals; the Tory Reform Committee proposals, and the Report of the American Mining Section on Combined War Resources Board.

(Continued on back page)

# BRITISH AIMS IN LEVANT

(Continued from page 1.)

East, Britain recognised that the days of division into spheres of influence was over. For her strategic interests and for an ultimate control of oil resources in the Middle East, it was necessary to gain unchallenged control of the entire Middle East. From that time onwards, France and Britain entered into a struggle behind the scenes. France, waging a defensive war, yielded point after point.

In 1943 under the double pressure of British imperialism and the nationalist movement in the Levant, France agreed to the holding of elections. The results were convincingly against the continuation of French rule in the Levant. Beaten in the elections, French imperialism attempted intimidation by arresting the President of the National Assembly and the Ministers. Immediately, the Arab masses replied by declaring a general strike, and demonstrations broke out in Syria and Lebanon with violent clashes between the Arabs and the French troops.

Immediately, Britain moved in and forced France to accept a compromise. It consisted of the following terms:

1. Gradual transfer of internal administration to the Levant.
2. Gendarmerie to be armed for internal policing by the British authorities.
3. Levant to be placed militarily under British supreme commander.
4. Recognition of the independence of the Levant.

In effect, the basic aims of British imperialism were revealed in this episode. They are, firstly to push the French out of the Levant and obtain control over Syria and Lebanon. Secondly to bring the Levant into a union of federated Arab States under British influence. Thirdly, to localise the issue in such a way that it would not find an echo in Egypt, Iraq and the other Asiatic countries under British domination.

With the supply of arms and the military dispositions under their control, British influence increased tremendously from 1943. Even then, Britain was not prepared for a show-down with France. After the Yalta Conference, when Churchill met the Arab leaders in Cairo, he told the Syrian leaders not to force an immediate show-down with France, but to negotiate a Treaty. He expressed concern that a crisis in the Levant might have serious repercussions in the Middle East causing embarrassment to Britain.

The British Foreign Office learnt the precise terms of the Treaty France wanted by the end of April of this year. The French demands if granted, would have meant the end of British ambitions in the Levant and finally an split in the Arab League where France would play with an opposition group.

tine into Syria. Later it was explained that this was a routine movement of troops.

On the 6th of May France presented a note to Britain protesting against the movement of troops. Though not openly stated, it was obvious that both the French and British imperialists moved deliberately to force the issue.

From the beginning of May, the British supply of arms to Syria increased though at no stage could it become decisive in a struggle against France.

The French Treaty terms were presented to the Levant in the third week of May. They consist of:

1. Demands for the control of schools and general education.
  2. Free entry for French goods into the Levant and preference for French investments.
  3. Strategic military and air bases.
- In return France recognised the "independence" of the Levant, agreed to transfer control to local Syrian militia, but under the supreme high command of France.

This was followed by the landing of French troops. Once again, the contradiction in British policy was revealed by the fact that French troops were landed in Beirut which is under British Naval Command and were allowed to go to Syria.

The first demonstrations were staged by the Palestinian Arab troops imported into Syria under British command. This was finally confirmed by British official reports.

The Syrian Government abruptly broke off negotiations and nation-wide demonstrations were held. A General Strike was ordered in Damascus and other cities and sympathetic strikes broke out in Palestine and other Arab States.

## An Appeal

News has reached us that many of our comrades have been released from Nazi concentration camps and are returning to their homes in Europe in a destitute condition.

These comrades are starving, without clothes of any description, and without money.

It is an imperative duty for every Party member and sympathiser to make a contribution towards their succour. Comrades and friends are asked immediately to send any second hand clothes they can spare, particularly warm ones, as well as a donation towards the rehabilitation of these comrades.

All clothes or funds for this purpose should be clearly marked:

Open hostilities broke out on the 29th of May with the French ordering the troops to fire with 75mm. guns, bombarding Damascus, and the French air force going into action.

The Syrian Government sent notes to Britain, America and Russia raising three points:

1. In view of the French action, the immediate formation of a Syrian army was necessary and the three powers who had recognised Syrian independence in 1943 should provide the necessary arms.
2. To provide facilities for training a Syrian air force.
3. To stop shipments of arms and equipment to France.

Simultaneously an appeal was issued to the other Arab countries to raise volunteers and if necessary to support Syria by armed intervention.

The appeal had almost an electrical effect in all the Arab countries. Britain which had so far vocally supported the Syrians and had intervened only in the role of a provocateur now realised the danger implicit in the situation, to her own interests in the Middle East. What had started as a conflict between British and French Imperialist interests now threatened to assume the character of a national struggle of Arabs against both groups of Imperialists. Firstly the appeal for volunteers produced 100,000 recruits within a few days. Secondly the demand for ending the special privileges extended to the other Arab States and public opinion in Iraq and Egypt raised the question of abrogation of the treaties granting special concessions to Britain. Thirdly, extending beyond the frontiers of the Arab States echoes were heard in Iran asking for the withdrawal of the American, British and Russian troops.

It was then that Britain in an effort to localise the issue intervened by presenting an ultimatum to France and moved an army supported by tanks into Damascus to take complete control. None of the three powers appealed to, replied to the specific request for arms, but contented themselves by pious declarations of support. Diplomatically Britain having established agreement with America proposed a Three Power Conference of America, Britain and France to decide the issue. The main victims of French shooting and bombing, Syria and the Lebanon according to the official announcement were to be "drawn into the discussions" at a later stage. Immediate reaction all over the world was that this smelt of the familiar "Hoare-Laval Pact" technique.

France to place Britain on the defensive countered with the proposal of a Five Power Conference to include Russia and China for a full discussion of the position in the entire Middle East. The Arab League accepted this suggestion so that they could play France and Britain against each other.

the ruling cliques of the Arab countries are ready to act as pawns of one or the other group of imperialists, the Arab masses are getting ready to strike blows against the imperialists. The present conflict is the beginning of a general Arab revolt which in its sweep will affect the millions of Asiatic and African masses. In the gigantic struggles that are opening up in Asia, the Syrian crisis is the preliminary shot fired by French imperialism.

The Communist Party of Britain has assumed a non-committal neutral attitude. In this it follows the official policy of Stalin, indicated in "Pravda" where after narrating facts, fear is expressed that such incidents may weaken the claims of the Big Powers. The French Stalinist press went a step further, and according to a report in the "Times" 4/6/45, the Communist Party backs De Gaulle wholeheartedly.

The Labour leaders supported Churchill and Eden in Parliament. They thundered against France, but meekly accepted British domination. No demand was raised for the withdrawal of both the French and the British armies. The question of providing arms for Syria was not even mentioned.

The crucial question in the Middle East is the removal of imperialist domination by the British, French and Americans. The Arab feudal chiefs and capitalists are prepared to sell themselves to the highest bidders. But the ultimate unification of the Arab people and the independence of the Arab nations can only be achieved when all the imperialists are driven out of the Middle East.

Towards this end the Arab masses look to the British, French and American workers. The British imperialists must be forced to withdraw their troops along with the French troops. Only then can the masses in the Middle East freely determine their own destiny.

## Election Fund

|                           | £   | s. | d. |
|---------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Previously acknowledged   | 672 | 2  | 1  |
| H.A. Collection Sheet ... | 18  | 19 | 0  |
| J.D., Hendon ...          | 3   | 0  | 0  |
| Neath Workers ...         | 4   | 6  | 0  |
| Birmingham R.C.P. ...     | 1   | 2  | 9  |
| Clydebank R.C.P. ...      | 15  | 0  |    |
| Florence Baldwin ...      | 5   | 0  |    |
| T.J., Lanes. ...          | 1   | 0  |    |
| Glasgow R.C.P. ...        | 3   | 13 | 0  |
| Edinburgh R.C.P. ...      | 18  | 5  | 9  |
| Two I.L.P. Comrades ...   | 7   | 6  |    |
| F.T., Neath ...           | 10  | 0  |    |
| Neath ...                 | 8   | 0  |    |
| Nottingham R.C.P. ...     | 5   | 0  | 0  |
| St. Paul R.C.P. ...       | 12  | 6  |    |
| Motherwell R.C.P. ...     | 5   | 0  | 0  |
| Liverpool Corporation     |     |    |    |
| ET.U. Branch ...          | 10  | 0  |    |

# For a Majority Labour Government

(Continued from page 1.)

Tories know that even the next six months would give the workers a taste of the horrors that capitalism holds in store for them. Already "redundancy"—a polite word for unemployment—and ruthless wage slashing has begun to take place. Another six months of this and the Tories would be certain of defeat at the polls. Thus, the rush election: to stampede the electorate before they realise what is taking place.

The outlook for the workers is grim if capitalism survives. The workers don't ask much out of life: enough to eat, shelter and security, decent living conditions for their families, not too long hours of work, and a certain amount of recreation and amusement. Capitalism cannot even give this minimum. And yet today through the toil of the working class in the last century, enough machinery has been created, and the materials are there on a world scale, to guarantee decent conditions for every human being on this planet. What stands in the way? The rapacious greed of the capitalists for profits whereby they turn what should be a means of making a paradise on earth into a nightmare for the working class. In their lust for profits they leave the machines idle while the masses starve—instead of the co-operation of the working peoples of Germany, Britain and Europe, the imperialists pit one against the other in the interests of imperialist greed.

The working class cannot tolerate the continuation of such a monstrous system as this. The working class must reorganise society completely. They must take over the mines, the banks, the railways, without compensation to the capitalist class. They must offer the hand of friendship to the workers of Germany and Europe and together with them break down the national boundaries and combine the forces of European industry with those of British industry to build on socialist foundations a new world.

This is the programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party. But unfortunately, the vast majority of the organised and class conscious workers of Britain still have faith in the Labour Party and hope and trust that by the election of a Labour government, conditions will be improved, and fundamental changes will be made. They explain the failures of the last two Labour Governments by the fact that the Labour Party did not have a clear majority.

That is why the Revolutionary Communist Party says: "Labour to Power with a clear majority". We believe that the Labour leaders will act in exactly the same way as they did in the previous Labour Governments, whether they have a majority or not. Under the Labour Government unem-

to break strikes; they shot down and imprisoned more Indian workers than even the Tories had done. The reason for this was that the Labour leaders were not prepared to break with the capitalists and wage a struggle against them. They continued the policy of the capitalist class without attempting to make any fundamental changes in the system.

## WHY WE SUPPORT LABOUR

Why then, do we support the Labour Party in this election and fight for a Majority Labour Government? We say to the working class: without your support, it is impossible to overthrow capitalism and introduce a new society. You do not support our party at this stage but believe, as many workers put it that "We must give Labour a chance;" they say and they believe that the Labour Party can solve the problems of the workers. Fellow workers, together with you we will fight to put the Labour Party in Power. Together we will go through the experience, and we are convinced that by the experience you will find that our criticism of the Labour leaders and their policy is one hundred per cent correct. As Lenin said: we are not charlatans and do not expect the workers to believe us merely because we say so. The workers will rally to us when they see that we are prepared to struggle with them, even when we believe that their policy is incorrect, fighting unitedly while retaining the right to criticise and put forward our point of view.

Every serious worker will agree that this is an honest and a principled attitude.

## BEWARE OF HIS MAJESTY'S "COMMUNIST" PARTY

We warn the workers that the Communist Party is laying a trap for them. They call for a "Labour and Progressive Government" which is something very different from Labour to power. What does this Labour and Progressive Government mean? Let them speak for themselves:

In a pamphlet issue by the London District Committee of the Communist Party, entitled "Your Vote—How will you use it?" the main article consists of an imaginary conversation between "Mr. Clever Dick" (who is sceptical about the promises made by the capitalists) and "Mr. Sensible" (who is no doubt, Pollitt). In it Mr. Sensible says:

"We've got to change the House of Commons and the Government at the next election. But, provided we get a new House of Commons with a strong majority of Labour, Communist and Liberals, I believe the Labour Party should then form a new National Government and invite others, INCLUDING TORIES LIKE

The British Foreign Office learnt the precise terms of the Treaty France wanted by the end of April of this year. The French demands if granted, would have meant the end of British ambitions in the Levant and finally, a split in the Arab League where France would play with an opposition group. Immediately, British diplomacy decided to force the issue. And since British provocation has been repeatedly denied it is worth, while examining the facts.

In the first week of May, Britain decided to move garrisons from Pales-

succour. Comrades and friends are asked immediately to send any second hand clothes they can spare, particularly warm ones, as well as a donation towards the rehabilitation of these comrades.

All clothes or funds for this purpose should be clearly marked:

**European Comrades' Fund**  
and sent to  
M. Lee, 256 Harrow Road,  
London, W.2.  
**Political Bureau, R.C.P.**

France to place Britain on the defensive countered with the proposal of a Five Power Conference to include Russia and China for a full discussion of the position in the entire Middle East. The Arab League accepted this suggestion so that they could play France and Britain against each other and thus raise the problem of Egypt, Iraq and Palestine also.

That is where things stand today. But the whole incident has brought to the surface the desire of the Arab masses for the independence and unification of the Arab countries. While

|                           |          |
|---------------------------|----------|
| F.T. Neath ...            | 10 0     |
| Neath ...                 | 8 0      |
| Nottingham R.C.P. ...     | 5 0 0    |
| Nottingham R.C.P. ...     | 12 6     |
| Motherwell R.C.P. ...     | 5 0 0    |
| Liverpool Corporation ... |          |
| ET.U. Branch ...          | 10 0     |
| Total ...                 | £735 6 7 |

That is why the Revolutionary Communist Party says: "Labour to Power with a clear majority". We believe that the Labour leaders will act in exactly the same way as they did in the previous Labour Governments, whether they have a majority or not. Under the Labour Government unemployment did not decrease but increased. They failed to raise the standards of the workers; they used the police

of Commons and the Government at the next election. But, provided we get a new House of Commons with a strong majority of Labour, Communist and Liberals, I believe the Labour Party should then form a new National Government and invite others, INCLUDING TORIES LIKE CHURCHILL AND EDEN, to participate."

Every worker will see that this policy is far more to the right than even that of the Labour Party. The reply of the workers to this policy of class collaboration with the reactionary Tories must be to vote against all Stalinist candidates and for the Labour candidates. They are not genuine communists who seek collaboration with Churchill and the ruling class. They are worse deceivers than the reformists. Anyone who suggests that collaboration with Churchill and the Tories can serve the interests of the workers, is a tool of the capitalists and a traitor to his class.

**Workers! Rely on your own strength! Down with Churchill! Down with the capitalists! Class against class!**

The General Election, whatever its result is just the beginning for the workers. The ruling class is preparing for a tremendous offensive on the standard of living of the workers. Even if a Labour Government is elected the workers must prepare to demand that this government, claiming to represent the workers shall take action against the capitalist class and introduce measures in the interests of the workers. The Revolutionary Communist Party will struggle side by side with the workers to force the Labour leaders to take this road. We will join with all workers' organisations in a united front to achieve any demand however small, put forward in the interests of the workers. For unity against the capitalists, not unity with them. Against "national" unity! For class unity!

Workers! Vote Labour but trust only in your own independent organisation, your own solidarity, your own strength for the purpose of achieving the aims of the working class. Only by militant workers' struggle have the workers achieved anything. Parliament cannot and will not solve your problems. We must prepare now for the stormy and stern battles that lie ahead against the capitalist class.

The next stage forward on the march of the working class towards power lies in a majority Labour Government. But we believe that the problems of the working class can only be solved when a mass revolutionary party, basing itself on the scientific teachings of Marx and Lenin, stands at the head of the working class. The final solution of the problems of the workers will only be achieved by the overthrow of capitalism and the taking of power into the hands of the working class under the leadership of the Fourth International.

**Workers! Down with the Tory National Government! Vote Labour!**  
**For a majority Labour Government!**

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# Stalin's Policy in Germany

(Continued from page 1.)

national socialism! Its cause, as for all the zig-zags in Stalinist policy, is to be found in the changing relations between the U.S.S.R. and the imperialist Powers. The struggle between Russia and the Western Allies for domination in Europe is refracted through Germany, as it has previously been through Poland.

The truth of this assertion can be seen more easily if we briefly consider the history of Stalin's attitude to Germany during the war.

## ZIG-ZAGS IN STALINIST POLICY

From the beginning of the Nazi-Soviet war, Stalinist policy gradually became more and more nationalistic, depicting the war as a "national war" against Germany as a nation, rather than against the German capitalist class and their Nazi agents.

In April, 1942, Stalin suddenly executed an abrupt turn, and issued the Order of the Day referred to above, in which he distinguished between the German State and the Hitler regime. This was after the relatively successful Soviet winter offensive of 1941-42; the Western Powers had undertaken no diversionary activity in Europe, in spite of the Second Front agitation. Stalin was feeling about for the possibility of a separate peace with Germany in order to avoid further destruction in the U.S.S.R. But the German offensive of 1942 shattered these hopes, and the "line" was put into cold storage. The nationalist line was adopted once again.

In July, 1943, the inactivity of the Western Allies brought the Stalinist agitation for a Second Front to a new height. Diplomatic relations became extremely strained. Once again Stalin played the card of seeking support in Germany in order to blackmail the Allies. The Free Germany Committee came into being, and for a few months was widely boosted.

This time the situation was changed by the Moscow Conference in November, 1943, at which the "Allies" once again reached agreement on the basis of a promise to open the Second Front in 1944. The Free German Committee faded into obscurity. From then until the beginning of 1945, during the period of "agreement" (Teheran, Crimea), the racialist line of Ehrenburg became official Stalinist policy. With the inter-"Allied" differences softened, the common fear of revolution in Germany dictated this policy.

And now once again, when the Western Powers and the Soviet Union are at loggerheads over the question of the domination of Europe, when each is seeking to gain spheres of influence and oust the other, Stalin is seeking a point of support in Germany as a weapon of blackmail against his "allies".

## THE FACTORS DETERMINING STALINIST POLICY

Thus Stalinist policy is not determined by any principles, whether racialist or internationalist, but is completely opportunist. The particular orientation of Stalin's policy at any given moment is the resultant of two forces: fear of his imperialist "allies" and fear of the German revolution.

The latter was directly responsible for the Vansittart-Ehrenburg policy. In an interview published in the "Christian Science Monitor" of 7th August 1944, when asked what the Russians would do in the event of a revolt in Germany which would "overthrow Hitler and welcome the approaching Red Army with appropriate banners" Ehrenburg replied: "**THESE WOULD BE THE FIRST PEOPLE WE WOULD SHOOT.**" Only by sowing the idea that the Germans are an "inferior race" could the Stalinist bureaucracy hope to get the ordinary Red Army soldiers to shoot on revolutionary workers.

Fear of the German revolution remains the main dominating factor. The support which Stalin hopes to find in Germany is from the most reactionary section of the population, the Junkers, to whom the Free German Committee and the League of German Officers directly appeals. And if the new policy of fraternisation and re-starting German industry leads (as it inevitably will) to the strengthening of revolutionary tendencies in Germany and among the Red Army soldiers, the line of Ehrenburg will once more be plugged in.

## A HEADACHE FOR KING STREET

The Stalinists here, whose policy is directly determined by Stalin's, must be very distressed by having to keep up with these wild zig-zags. These Pollitts and Rusts, who yesterday claiming that the Germans were barbarians worthy only of the most brutal treatment, will have to sing a different tune today.

Thus the "Labour Monthly", in its issue of April, 1945, supported Ehrenburg in a vile attack he made on H. N. Brailsford, alleging that Brailsford is a "friend of Fascism" and a "devil's advocate" because he dared to oppose Vansittartism! And while this issue was still on the bookstalls, lo and behold, Ehrenburg is himself ticked off by an official Stalinist spokesman! Perhaps the Editors will be so kind as to tell us whether Brailsford is, after all, a Fascist, or not?

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM THE ONLY CONSISTENT POLICY

The performance of the King Street marionettes is a joke. But for the ordinary C.P. worker, who has to face his fellow workers with violently contradictory policies from one week to the next, it is more of a tragedy. It is the price he has to pay for belonging to a party led by people without any political principles, whose policy shifts from day to day with the shifting relationship of forces in the world of power politics.

The capitalists have a consistent policy: to promote race hatred, divide the workers of one nationality from those of another, and make use of these divisions in order to pursue their imperialist aims and crush the revolutionary movement in each separate country as it arises. The Stalinist bureaucracy is helping them in this counter-revolutionary work.

The working class can oppose only one consistent policy to this: that of international socialism, the fraternisation of the workers and soldiers of all countries in the common task of overthrowing the capitalists and landlords. This is the line of Marx—"workers of all lands, unite!"—and of Lenin. Its only consistent advocate has been and is the Revolutionary Communist Party. Postscript: The "Sunday Times" of June 10th, reports "Russian troops occupying Berlin are forbidden to fraternise with the population, said Marshal Zhukov to Allied Correspondents today. "Relations between the Red Army and the local population are governed by a strict occupation regime," he said. Pollitt and Dutt can breathe easier for the moment—The "line" may be changed again! Apparently the gangsters of British and American Imperialism have temporarily come to some agreement with the Stalinist bureaucrats.

D. JAMES.

(Continued from page 1.)

The Foot "Plan" proposed by this "impartial" (!) £12,000 a year hiring of the Coal Owners' Association, and ex-boss of the largest coke and gas company, is essentially a plan of big business. It offers monopolisation; the placing of the entire coal industry in the hands of sixteen "experts". This Committee will have power to loan money, raised from a levy on output, or to guarantee loans for technical development. So long as the individual Coal-owners obey this giant trust they may retain their independence. If they refuse to carry out the orders of this trust they would be compulsorily amalgamated!

The proposals of the Tory Reform Committee whilst not so blatant amount to the same as those of Mr. Foot. With one exception. The Tory Reform Committee proposes "competition" as the motive force for the solution of the coal crisis! This gross stupidity is ignored even by other sections of the capitalists. These senile gentlemen have forgotten that competitive capitalism gave way forty years ago to monopoly capitalism!

The Reid Committee report is a report made by managers and technicians who have received their training under the Coal-owners. This report limits itself to the question of technical development and does not say how this is to be carried out and who will carry it out—in other words it leaves the key question unanswered.

The American Commission report was considered such an indictment that its publication was prohibited!

What will these proposals cost and who will pay? The Reid Committee left this question unanswered. Mr. Foot reckons that the cost of the modernisation of the coal industry would be £300,000,000—possibly more! The Coal-owners will not pay for this. Monopolisation and rationalisation may contribute a tenth of this huge sum, but who will pay for the other nine-tenths? The Coal-owners hope to raise this from public taxes, as they did after the last war when they received £60,000,000 annually from public funds, and by intensified exploitation of the miners. Such a programme would take 20 years—20 years of starvation level for the miners and workers as a whole. Moreover, within two years Britain will be faced with the deepest economic and political crisis in its history; and within one year she will be faced with the worst coal crisis, and

within ten years another world war, deeper and more destructive than the present imperialist blood-bath.

There can be no solution to the coal crisis or any of the problems of British industry so long as capitalism remains. Not one of the capitalist plans can possibly solve the problem.

Even if the plans of big business were practicable would monopolisation solve the problem? One need only look at the Amalgamated Anthracite Collieries Ltd., of South Wales—the largest coal monopoly in Britain—to find the answer. This monopoly has a whole history of financial jugglery, carried out without the slightest consideration for the South Wales miners, whole communities of whom suffered unemployment and starvation. It would require a large book to relate in detail the highlights of the A.A.C.'s ascendancy. Born in 1923, with Sir A. Mond as mid-wife, by 1928 the A.A.C. controlled the whole of the coal industry and the largest portions of land in South Wales. Far from this monopoly preventing crises it caused poverty and misery for the South Wales miners, whose suffering is too well known to be repeated. This is the meaning of monopolisation. Monopolisation cannot solve the coal crisis but can only pave the way for more terrible and deeper crises.

## THE LENINIST SOLUTION

The only solution to the coal crisis is the nationalisation of industry without compensation, and the placing of the mines under the control of committees composed of the men who win the coal. The closely guarded secrets of profits and costs would then be open to thorough inspection by the workers' organisations.

The five years of imperialist war has laid bare the terrible anarchy and chaos of industry in the hands of the capitalists. Far from the war helping to solve or alleviate the crisis of capitalism it has aggravated it in the extreme. The programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party offers the only possible solution:

Down with the connivance of the Labour, Union and Stalinist leaders with the plans of big business! For a Labour Government based upon a genuine working-class programme. For nationalisation without compensation, of the mining and all heavy industries under workers' control!

J.D.