

# "Workers of All Lands Unite"

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

JANUARY, 1946.

TWOPENCE

# U.S. LOAN AND BRITISH WORKERS

## NO SOLUTION TO CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

BY TED GRANT

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE TERMS OF THE LOAN OF 3,750,000,000 DOLLARS FROM AMERICA, OF WHICH 650,000,000 DOLLARS WILL BE FULL AND FINAL SETTLEMENT OF LEND-LEASE, HAS BEEN MET WITH DISMAY BY THE RULING CLASS. AND THE LABOUR LEADERS WHO HAVE ACCEPTED THE MEASURE AND PUSHED IT THROUGH PARLIAMENT, HAVE SWALLOWED IT AS A DISAGREEABLE AND BITTER PILL.

The most important provisions tie British currency, in effect, to the dollar thus confirming the dominant financial role of Wall Street. By preventing Britain, through the Bretton Woods agreement, from devaluing her currency beyond certain specified limits, America hopes to curtail Britain's competitive powers in the export trade. Britain will be prevented from under-cutting by selling her goods cheaper through this device.

It is noteworthy, however, that all the negotiations for the loan were carried through by the direct representatives of the capitalists, Lord Halifax, Lord Keynes, the permanent officials at the Treasury, etc. Thus the policy adopted was the policy suggested by the servants of Big Business.

However, the agreement has gone through with groans and gnashing of teeth, and the ostentatious "abstinence" of one section of the Tories, while

another has voted against. By this means they wish to unload the responsibility for the agreement onto the shoulders of the Labour Government, though when challenged they could not offer any alternative policy. Churchill admitted that not to have accepted the terms, would have meant an instant fight to the finish, a trade war which British capitalism was not in a position to wage, and in which she would inevitably be worsted.

The American Imperialists have made a hard bargain. All the appeals and supplications of British Imperialism to their "Allies in the common fight", have had the same effect as the appeals to British Imperialism in the days of her might. America has emerged victorious from the war as the greatest Power on earth and is dealing with British capitalism, in the words of one Tory M.P., as "a defeated nation". The real aims of the war are revealed in the post-war struggle between the Powers. Having used British capitalism to help defeat her most powerful and greatest rival, Germany, America wishes to drive British Imperialism to its knees, to become a satellite of the U.S., living on the rations doled out by America and completely dependent upon her.

During the course of the war, the American Imperialists have taken advantage to strip Britain of the accumulated loot and plunder of the exploitation of the world, which has been piled up for generations. Before Lend-lease was introduced, the reserves in dollars and gold of British Imperialism dropped in 1941 to only £3,000,000. Lend-lease was not an Act of generosity, as Churchill pretended, but the fruits of cold calculation. The American Imperialists saw that it was to their advantage to subsidise Britain in the struggle, just as Britain, when she was the world's banker, financed other countries to fight wars in her interest in the past.

And during the course of the war America has become economically stronger; Britain economically weaker. While America's wealth increased tremendously, Britain's wealth has decreased by the staggering figure of 10 per cent. Britain has in the past had to import more than she exported, but the adverse balance was made up out of the income from investments abroad, shipping, insurance and banking. Now these sources of income, whereby British capitalism extorted tribute, especially from the colonial peoples have in great measure been lost. As the "Economist" expresses the position:

"All of these credit items have been affected during the war. The export trade was deliberately abandoned so that manpower, production and materials could be mobilised to the fullest

extent, with the result that it shrank to less than one-third of its pre-war volume, and is expected in 1946 to cover not more than half the country's essential expenditure on a minimum volume of imports and on other necessary payments overseas...

As a result of losses, shipping tonnage, after allowance has been made for new building in the war, is less than three-quarters of the pre-war figure.

Owing to the extensive liquidation of foreign securities, the repatriation of loans by overseas debtors and the increased interest payments to holders of sterling debts caused by the United Kingdom's heavy war expenditure overseas, the net income from overseas investments in 1945 will be less than half the 1938 figure."

Thus on the basis of capitalism, Britain found herself in a desperate position. She lacks necessary food and raw materials, her industry requires modernising and re-equipping to stand even a chance of competing in the markets of the world. She could not possibly make up her deficit of imports over exports without a loan from America unless the standard of living was reduced immediately to a coolie level. But this would have provoked immediately, a fight to the finish battle for export markets with America, which Britain is not in a position to wage successfully at this stage and the danger of social crisis and revolution in Britain. Clearly the masses would not tolerate such an outcome of the sacrifices of the war. It is their hopeless position, their helplessness, which has forced British Imperialism to go cap in hand, humbly to the Wall St. Bankers.

The "Economist" estimates optimistically: "It is hoped that work on export orders will have attained the pre-war level by the second half of 1946, but the period of production and the time lag in payment mean that cash receipts will not correspond until after the end of the year. Moreover, reversion so rapid as this must be regarded as optimistic."

Any estimate of the 1946 balance of payments would be so precarious in view of the large uncertainties affecting many of the factors involved that detailed estimates are not provided. But, on the assumption that the price level of exports and imports will be about double the pre-war level in terms of sterling, the deficit is estimated at £250 million in 1946. A further deficit of £250 million is likely for 1947 and 1948 taken together, and there is likely to be a small deficit in 1949 and 1950 before stable equilibrium is achieved.

The cumulative deficit is thus likely to be £1,250 million or more—though it should be emphasised again that these estimates are precarious—and to meet it, and to release some part of the sterling balances, the United Kingdom will have to rely on its own reserves and, in the main, further external credits."

(Continued on page 4.)

# Pollitt's Speech

## An Insult to Communist Workers

BY D. JAMES

Pollitt's speech at the recent Communist Party Congress has now been printed in full in "World News and Views". It is even more revealing than the Press reports indicated. His tone was a mixture of pleading and defiance. He showed himself completely incapable of dealing with serious criticism. It is clear from the discussions taking place at Report-Back Meetings, that the more intelligent sections of the C.P. felt completely dissatisfied, even insulted, at his speech.

He dealt with four main subjects: the dissolution of the American C.P.; policy in the General Election; attitude to the Labour Government; and attitude to industrial disputes. Let us consider each of these in detail. Extensive quotations will be necessary, because anyone who has not read the speech would not believe that even Pollitt could talk such rubbish.

### BROWDER AND THE AMERICAN C.P.

"No one in this country knew anything about Foster's disagreement with Browder until the appearance of the Duclos article. That is a statement of fact. We expressed our disagreement with Browder's line, and in my opinion, correctly at that moment and in that situation. We refused to publish Browder's book in this country because we disagreed with its contents, and the American comrades were made aware of that."

The "statement of fact" may be taken for what it is worth; if true, it throws an interesting light on the international relations of the Stalinist parties. However, the argument can only mean that the British C.P. is incapable of making up its own mind.

But even that is not quite true. Has Mr. Pollitt forgotten his pamphlet "Pollitt Answers Questions on Communist Policy" so soon? Here, to refresh his memory; are a few quotations (the form of the pamphlet is a reply to a critical member of Common Wealth).

"Then you go on to express your opposition to Earl Browder's speech in very forcible terms. You say 'It has knocked the wind out of you'. What sort of a fighter are you at 23 years of age? Why not try and understand what it is that Browder is trying to explain to the American people? ... Why does Browder

suggest that the name of the Communist Party be dropped, and that of a 'Political Association' be added; that the normal function of a Party—contesting elections (!)—is not the practical issue for United States Communists? For the reasons enumerated above. Why not face the fact? As an Association driving in the two established parties and in the big Labour unions, convincing people of the need for peace and collaboration with the Soviet Union, getting allies everywhere (!), there is a great future for our comrades (!!). They face the sticky end of the great international fight for peace."

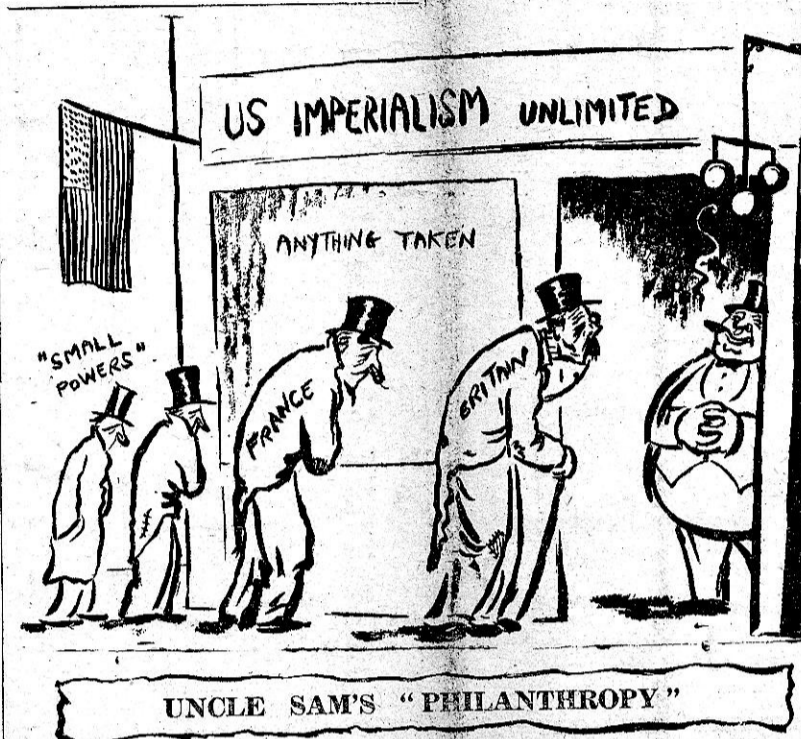
Sticky is the word. Ah, says Harry, but don't you see, this defence of Browder was only in public! Secretly we had our criticisms. And why didn't we publish them?

"If you consider it is any part of Communist leadership in the most difficult stages of winning the war against Fascism, that we should tip you all off about circumstances of that description, so far as I am concerned, you will have to think again."

Browder's policy was endorsed in January, 1944. It was not criticised until 1945 (in April of that year) by Comrade Duclos of the French Communist Party. And it may well be that a Party with a million members will have its views listened to with more respect than a party of 50,000 members."

From this we draw the interesting conclusion that the British C.P. must always remain silent if parties with a bigger membership do not speak.

And then a parting shot: "And finally to those of you who are so worried about this problem, I must draw your attention to the fact that I have not seen any criticism of the Browder policy in any



of the theoretical organs of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—not an unimportant Party in the world!"

Very true! But rather a dangerous argument, isn't it? The American C.P. admits a complete reformist line and the C.P.S.U. doesn't even comment on it! It may lead C.P.s to meditate on the bankruptcy, not only of the British and American but also of the Russian Stalinists.

The fact is, of course, that Browderism was the official Stalinist theory ever since the dissolution of the Comintern and the adoption of the "Tehran Perspective". Only renewed diplomatic tension between the Soviet Union and the "democratic" imperialists led to a "recognition" that it was a "mistake".

Another point for C.P.s to meditate on: neither the British C.P., the

(Continued on Back Page.)

# BUILDERS

## 1d Increase

The National Joint Council of the Building Industry has decided to increase the skilled building workers wage by 4d. an hour, and the Labourers wage by 3d. an hour. It is understood that along with these wage proposals, the union leaders have entered into a secret agreement with the employers to speed up production and freeze wages for a long period. To these accusations, the union leaders have remained silent.

If this is so, the leaders of the AUBTW are guilty of the most deplorable betrayal. As it is, they have ignored the demands of the rank and file which were for 3/- an hour for skilled workers, and 2/6d an hour for labourers. These demands were made in every union branch throughout the country more than a year ago.

The Daily Worker, (Dec. 12th) in an endeavour to prove the efficacy of negotiating machinery, quoted Mr. W. H. Forsdike, chairman of the N.J.C., as follows: "This was an example of a major industry settling its problems by use of long established machinery." What hypocrisy! For nine months the union leaders, ignoring the demands of the rank and file, have been negotiating for a wage increase. Until the publication of leaflets in Glasgow and London exposing the criminal policy of the officials, until the tremendous demonstration of 90,000 building workers in London, the union leaders had done precisely nothing about the wage demands.

It was the determined and militant demonstrations of building workers throughout the country, and the growing revolt against the "Go slow" officials which forced the 4d. an hour increase—this and nothing else.

The Central Campaign Committee, tailed behind the union leaders, was, despite this (and because of this) treated with contempt by the union leaders. When Bryce, militant chairman of the Committee, tried to obtain information from the head of the AUBTW he was told to consult the capitalist press! Later a bosses' representative came out of the negotiating room and he gave the information! What a situation! The union leaders maintained secrecy throughout the whole period of negotiation, and in line with this, reach a backstage agreement with the bosses to impose anti-union conditions upon the workers.

Thanks to the "Communist" Party, the Central Campaign Committee accepted by 32 votes to 8 the offer of the N.J.C. The eight militants, led by Bros. Milligan and McLeary, voted for a 21 days ultimatum to the union leaders to fight for the original demands of the men, or there would be strike action. These 8 militants will become the centre of the future militant struggle of the building workers. For a militant workers' policy—down with class collaboration!

# Japanese P.O.W's

BY A BRITISH TOMMY

I am writing to you from a place outside Singapore. Our job at present is searching Japanese prisoners and sending them off to an island to await transit home, whenever that may be.

Well, to say this place and the Japs surprised me would be putting it mildly. We expected to see all the white women had been raped and all the children undernourished. Imagine our surprise when we saw lovely young girls about 19 years, laughing and looking very well indeed. The young children are looking plump and healthy. What a difference from the children in India, who were "protected", by Britain from the "horrible Jap".

I was speaking to some of the natives and asked them about atrocities. They only laughed and said: "Such things do not exist."

I heard there were a few atrocities committed and the victims were lying in the local hospital. Nothing daunted, we decided to see for ourselves, so we visited the hospital. We went in and did see a lot of bad cases—all women. We asked if any of them could speak English. One of the sisters said, "Yes, I speak English." We asked about her patients and whether the Japs did this. She looked astonished and said: "No, these are our patients. This one (pointing to one of the patients) has a fever." And all the rest had something similar. Not one of them had been touched by a Jap.

I was talking to some of the Jap prisoners through an interpreter. They really didn't know what the war was all about. All they were concerned with was getting home to their wives and families. I asked them if any one of them had thought of committing "Hari-Kari". They all laughed and thought it a great joke. After they had finished laughing they told me not to be silly, as that was a lot of nonsense. They said: "Only a few generals did that and it is the same in any country which is defeated; always a few generals commit suicide."

When we searched the Japs, we expected to find all kinds of loot. Imagine our surprise when nearly everything we found on them was made in Japan. The only thing the army could say was loot were some watches that were Swiss made and everybody knows that Swiss watches are sold all over the world and the Japanese were one of the biggest customers.

MESSAGE TO THE "SOCIALIST APPEAL" FROM A JAPANESE WORKER-PRISONER

第四回ソシアリスト国際共産主義者大会  
全国の労働者よ團結せよ。  
諸君の失ふものは諸君を縛つてゐる鉄鎖以外に無し。  
而して諸君の前途には資本主義を打破せよ。  
資本主義を打破せよ。

It reads down and starts from right to left: "SUPPORT FOURTH INTERNATIONAL WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE. YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS AND A WORLD TO GAIN. DOWN WITH CAPITALISM."

We expected to find the Jap a small dirty individual; he was anything but. He was of average height, very sturdy and the cleanest soldier I have ever seen. They do not get much chance of a real bath, but when the rain comes, they are out in their glory. The other day it was decided to give them a bath. They were marched down to a very small river and told to get in. I was there and timed them; they were given exactly one and a half minutes; some of them hardly got wet.

We have a large camp here for suspected war criminals. They are all fenced in, give no trouble at all and are very quiet. There is also a Lt. Colonel and a Major who are suspected of being war criminals. They are kept away from the others and allowed a bath every day—sometimes that is denied the ordinary rank and file.

When we first came here, all the lads were saying what they were going to do to the "filthy Japs." At first they carried out their threats and treated them pretty roughly. Then we began to piece things together and found out how we had been kidded. Now most of the lads treat the prisoners like ordinary men and slip them food and cigs. Even the most hardened cases I have seen doing this.

The children in this area, now that they have been "liberated" are starving. To feed themselves they come round our dining hall for the scraps that we leave. One soldier, with kids of his own, gave them his scraps. He was immediately detained, his name and number taken, and given the nice award of 7 days C.B. by a Christian gentleman, who preaches the Gospel on Sundays and forgets some of it, which, I think, says: give water to the thirsty and food to the hungry.

# THE T.U. LEADERS BETRAY DOCKERS

BY J. DEANE

THE REACTION OF THE DOCK WORKERS TO THE 19/- A DAY PROPOSED BY THE EVERSHERD COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY INTO DOCK WAGES, HAS BEEN ONE OF BITTERNESS AND DISGUST.

The immediate reaction of the London Central Strike Committee was to condemn and reject the proposals of this committee, which are 6/- below the demands of the dockers, and to call upon the Union leadership to give 21 days' strike notice.

As we go to press, the National Strike Committee, meeting in Liverpool, has decided to accept the Eversherd proposals. But this is not the end of the struggle. Within a short time the dockers will be on the move again in their fight for a decent wage.

The role of the Donovans, the Deakins and the Labour Government in the wage negotiations will serve to teach the dockers and the working class as a whole that they have acted in the interest of the capitalist class. Following the age-old method of killing the workers' claims, the Government appointed the Eversherd Committee of enquiry 6 days before the termination of the 30 days truce. This was done to avert another national stoppage which most certainly would have taken place as a result of the provocative 2/- increase offered by the employers. This "impartial" committee was composed of one capitalist, an ex-chairman of the Metal Box Co. Ltd., two university professors—priests of capitalist education—and one individual well trained in the methods of class-collaboration—an ex-president of the AEU. The chairman of the Committee, Mr. Justice Eversherd, is a protector of capitalist law. From such a committee, com-

posed of the representatives of capitalism, no one, least of all the militant dockers, expected much more than is offered.

The Labour Government had every opportunity and possibility to obtain the 25/- a day demanded by the dockers. Instead of a Commission composed of capitalist agents it could and if a real workers' government representing the interest of the workers, would have appointed a commission composed of representatives of the dockers. Thus the workers would have been assured of proposals in their interest and not, as now, in the interest of the employers.

### UNION LEADERS BETRAY RANK AND FILE

The leadership of the dockers' unions has earned the bitter opposition and hatred of the rank and file. When the employers made their offer of 18/-, Donovan and Deakin were compelled to recommend to a national delegate conference the rejection of this offer. The fact that they have now accepted 19/- only indicates that they have been engaged in backstage collaboration with the employers and the Government in reaching a suitable compromise. Bert Atwood, organiser of the London Central Strike Committee, speaking almost a week before the end of the 30 days truce, nailed the policy of the union leaders:

"We gave 30 days notice when we resumed work to give the employers

(Continued on Back Page.)

# US IMPERIALISM UNLIMITED

ANYTHING TAKEN

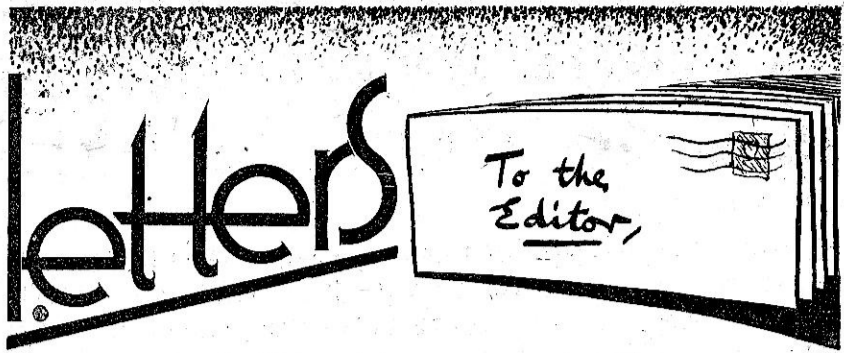
"SMALL  
POWERS"

FRANCE

BRITAIN

UNCLE SAM'S "PHILANTHROPY"





### Seamen in Colombo

Colombo, Ceylon.

Thurs., Nov. 8th.

Dear Comrade,

For the past few years, we and millions of others all over the world have been engaged in the task of the military destruction of German and Japanese Fascism. This task uprooted us from our homes and places of work and took us to the farthest corners of the earth. Now at last when we have successfully finished the job and liberated the peoples that for five long years lived under Fascist oppression, we began to look with expectation towards our statesmen to help put into practice the declaration of the Atlantic Charter, of Teheran and Crimea, etc.

Especially did we look with hope to our recently elected Labour Government to work enthusiastically for the carrying out of these declarations particularly in the field of Foreign Policy, keeping in mind that one of their declared aims was that every nation liberated from Fascism must have the right to choose its own form of Government. Also that it was the task of the United Nations to bring these countries together into a "world family of democratic nations".

Recent events however have made us begin to doubt if after all these declarations were sincere, and we seriously wonder if we haven't been purposely misled. I refer of course to the events taking place in the Indonesian Islands and in Indo-China. It seems to us here on the spot, that after helping to remove Jap Imperialism from off the backs of the native peoples, we are now being used to put back the same old gang of Dutch Imperialists who made such fine pickings in this part of the world before they ran for it when the Japs got too close.

We are all very familiar with the accusations levelled against the armed forces of the native people fighting for their independence from European mis-rule, these are nothing new. Exactly the same lies were told in the press, etc., and exactly the same accusations were levelled against every genuine peoples movement throughout history, the Paris Commune of 1871, the Bolsheviks in 1917, the Spanish Republicans in 1936 and the Resistance movements in Greece and Belgium. These sort of yarns put out by the B.B.C. and others are wearing a bit thin at this late date.

But the fact remains, that we who were called up to fight against Fascism are now being used in a war which hasn't the remotest connection with that fight. Things have even reached the stage where we are co-operating with Jap troops in order to maintain so-called law and order. Those of us who have been out here in the East and in the Pacific long enough to get a clear idea of the miserable existence that is the lot of the huge population of Asia, know that their fight for self-government is a just one, and we support it wholeheartedly.

We therefore strongly protest against British troops and British ships being used to crush the Indonesian Republic and the Resistance movements in Indo-China. We would like to make it quite clear, that among the rank and file of the lower deck there is not the least sign of enthusiasm for such a policy.

We also demand that working class organisations at home in Britain clearly expose the policy of Foreign Minister Bevin and force a change to a policy really representing the interests of the people.

In conclusion we would draw attention to the magnificent example set by the Australian dockyard workers in refusing to load ships being sent to crush the native peoples, and we call upon all working class and Socialist organisations worthy of the name to follow this example of international solidarity.

**Hands off Indonesia. Withdraw British Troops and Ships from Java! Self-Government for the peoples of Asia!**

Yours Fraternally,  
(Sgd.) 2 Seamen Telegraphists.  
P.S.—A copy of this letter has also been forwarded to the "Daily Worker" and "Reynolds News."

### Soldier Looks at India

Madras, November 26th, 1945.

Dear Comrade,

As you can see I am now at Madras awaiting transport. Madras is quite a nice place if you've got the money to spend. The only way it differs from Bombay is that the Indians call you "Master"; in Bombay it was "sahib" (Sir).

The train journey from Ahmednagar to Madras, (a distance of 800 miles, took us 70 hours), gave us a good glimpse into the living conditions of the peasants. It is impossible for me to describe these conditions correctly; they have to be seen to be believed.

At one place on the journey I saw a hole that had been dug in the ground, and was being used as accommodation for a family.

When I think of the excuses given for the Bengal famine, for instance the excuse that the starving populace refused to eat army rations, it makes me laugh! All you have to do is to travel on any train in India and at each station crowds come round begging for food.

At Sholapur, a woman was exhibiting her body to the troops in exchange for biscuits.

There always seem to be innumerable parentless children running round, and I should think there are more people physically deformed in India than anywhere else in the world. It's like travelling through one big "Belsen".

Whilst on guard at Madras Docks, one of the lads saw the body of an Indian floating in the water. It had evidently been in there some days, and when he informed an officer of this, it was dismissed with a shrug and he was told there was nothing to worry about; it was quite a regular occurrence.

It is at this dock that the "S.S. EMPIRE RABUAL" is being loaded with arms for Java. The Indian dockers refused to touch the cargo.

These dockers work extremely hard and their pay is one rupee (1s. 6d.) a day, of which 2 annas (2½d.) has to be paid to an individual who gets them their jobs.

There is widespread feeling among the masses against the Indian National Army trials. In Calcutta, it seems, that the people and especially the students are coming out against the Congress leaders.

With fraternal communist greetings,  
C.C.

# NOW FOR OVER THE TOP!

The Finance Campaign is going well. As we write there are still two weeks to go and the total is nearly reached. While this is written in the middle of December, due to tremendous pressure on the printers and further difficulties created by the Christmas holidays, we are compelled to skip the Mid-December supplement, and present this report in the present issue.

There should be no slacking of effort because the total is so closely within reach. Every Branch should endeavour to exceed its total, taking the Central Office and Edinburgh Branch as an example.

A particularly inspiring item, which we acknowledge this time is the donation from Palestine. This is a fine internationalist gesture on the part of our Palestinian comrades, for which many thanks.

Most of the comrades have gone to work with a will. For example,

although not reaching their total, the amount so far subscribed by the Gwaun-Cae-Gurwen Branch has been collected among the mineworkers in pennies and twopences, and represents painstaking and sustained efforts for the fund.

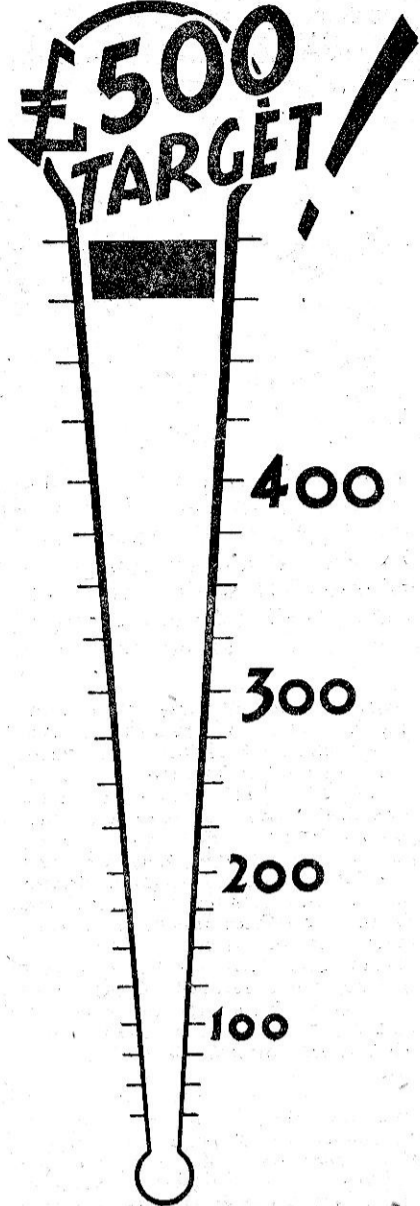
Other means have been and are being devised. The North London Branch ran a very successful Dance and Social. And many of the comrades have run similar social functions with great success.

Branches	Target	Paid in £ s. d.	% age.
EDINBURGH	£15	30 10 0	208%
CENTRAL OFFICE	£50	98 6 6	186%
COVENTRY	£3	4 0 0	133%
FORCES COMRADES	£40	51 7 6	128%
EASTBOURNE	£5	6 0 0	120%
CHELTENHAM	£1	1 1 0	105%
SHANDON	£25	25 10 0	102%
NEWCASTLE	£30	27 0 0	90%
NORWICH	£7	5 15 0	82%
ENFIELD	£5	4 6 6	81%
NOTTINGHAM	£25	20 4 4	81%
NORTH LONDON	£25	19 3 6	79%
ILFORD	£5	3 9 0	70%
BEVERLEY	£3	2 0 0	68%
HENDON	£20	13 18 0	68%
SOUTH WEST LONDON	£25	17 0 0	68%
WEST LONDON	£30	20 6 6	67%
SOUTHALL	£15	9 4 0	63½%
SHEFFIELD	£20	12 2 6	61%
SOUTH EAST LONDON	£20	11 16 6	58%
NEWARK	£3	1 9 6	50%
LEEDS	£8	4 0 0	50%
NEATH	£15	7 6 6	49%
CANNOCK	£5	2 6 6	49%
LONDON DISTRICT COMMITTEE	£35	16 14 8	47%
LIVERPOOL	£30	12 0 0	40%
OXFORD	£5	1 10 0	30%
BIRMINGHAM	£20	4 17 0	24½%
GLASGOW & MOTHERWELL	£40	7 8 0	19%
MERTHYR and TREDEGAR	£7	1 3 6	17%
GWAUN - CAE - GURWEN	£8	1 11 6	16½%
PALESTINE COMRADES		£438 8 10	
		30 0 0	
		£468 8 10	

The final result of the Campaign will be announced in the Mid-January supplement. All Comrades are urged to send in the monies collected at the earliest possible date and in any case by January 4th, at the latest.

All out for a last effort. Let the final slogan be: OVER THE TOP!

G. Healy, Campaign Organiser.  
H. Atkinson, National Treasurer.



# MORRIS BOSSES' DRIVE TO CUT WAGES

BY JOHN LAWRENCE

Workmen at the Morris Motor Works, Felinfoel, near Llanelly, are dissatisfied with the rates of wages paid at these works. Comparison between the rates paid to the workmen in the dipping section at the above factory and those paid to workers doing similar work at the Morris Works at Oxford show an enormous difference.

Here are the comparative rates as supplied to the "Socialist Appeal".

**HOURLY FLAT RATE**  
Oxford → Felinfoel  
2/3½ plus dipping 2/- per hour NO allowance of 2½d. allowance of any per hour, plus kind.  
E.W. 5½d. per hour.

**WHEN NOT ABLE TO EARN PIECE WORK**  
3/- per hour. 2/3d. per hour—after fight on each case.

**AVERAGE MONEY EARNED ON PIECE RATE**  
5/- and more per hour. 2/7½d. per hour. The highest ever earned was 2/11½ per hour.

**AVERAGE MONEY EARNED ON CAR WORK**  
3/6d. per hour. 2/3d. per hour.

So impossible are the piece rates at Felinfoel that workers have received as much as £3 16s. 11d. to make up the minimum wage of £5 5s. 7d.

It will be seen that the Welsh workers are earning about half the money of the Oxford workmen on aircraft work, and about two thirds on car work. Moreover, the work is getting continually heavier, while the wage packet remains as light as ever.

## DEBATE R.C.P. versus I.L.P.

I.L.P. ROOMS,  
38 JOHN BRIGHT STREET,  
BIRMINGHAM.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 6th  
at 7 p.m.

Bill Hunter will speak for the R.C.P.

Speaker for the I.L.P. not yet announced.

## MANAGEMENT HOSTILE TO UNION ORGANISATION.

The Morris Works in South Wales were opened about two years ago. From the commencement, the workers allege, the management have been bitterly anti-Trade Union in their outlook. Even today the Secretary of the T. & G. W.U. (in which union most of the workers are organised) is not allowed to enter the premises on Union business.

Redundancy has provided a ready-made excuse to the management to fire out of the plant all the militants associated with the fight for Trade Union rates and conditions.

First, Stan Morris, one of the oldest and, according to his workmates, one of the most capable workers on the job was fired. The workers fought his case and he was reinstated by the N.S.O. Later, however, he was suspended for three days and when he returned to work again declared redundant. His case is still being fought at the time of going to press.

Shortly after this case of discrimination against a union militant, the Shop Steward, Stan Jones, was declared redundant. Jones is a fine union fighter. His workmates again fought the case and were again successful in getting the N.S.O. to reinstate him. But, although reinstated, the management would give him no work to do and he simply walked around the shop doing nothing for about a fortnight. But his workmates had had enough of this petty tyranny and went on strike for his complete reinstatement at his old job. The strike was successful, and Jones was back at his old job—until November 5th when he was again placed on the redundancy list! And this time he received an official notification from the N.S.O. that he was to cease work as and from November 13th.

The men in the Dipping Shop took immediate strike action. They knew that this was victimisation because the management had been asking them to work overtime on Jones's particular job! The N.S.O. appealed to the men to return to work until the result of Bro. Jones's appeal against the decision, but the strikers remained firm in their decision and the next day Jones was back at work—the N.S.O. lamely claiming that his dismissal had been a "clerical error". The militant action of the Dipping Section has resulted in victory—but all the workers concerned are fully aware that this is only the first round in the struggle.

## THE REAL ISSUE IS POST-WAR WAGES POLICY

It is quite obvious that the management are anxious to prevent the growth of militant Trade Unionism in Felinfoel

and a glance at the comparative rates of pay in Felinfoel and Oxford shows why. Morris Motors want to turn the Welsh factory into a Cheap Labour plant which they can use to reduce wages throughout the whole of the great Morris combine. Already, so the workers allege, machines are being transferred from Oxford to Felinfoel! The threat of unemployment will next be used in an attempt to compel the Oxford workers to accept the disgraceful rates of pay which exist at Felinfoel.

But by fighting to bring their rates of pay and working conditions up to the level of those at Oxford, the Felinfoel workers are upsetting all the cheap labour plans of the employers. That is the reason why these Welsh militants are being subjected to such unceasing persecution. Their fight is of tremendous importance—not only to the Oxford workers, who are directly affected—but to the whole of the workers employed in the motor manufacturing industry.

The struggle is of special importance to South Wales. There are definite indications that the so-called plans for the "industrial rehabilitation" of this great area of heavy industry will depend on whether or not the Welsh workers are willing to accept CHEAP LABOUR conditions of work! It is reported to us that a Ministry of Labour official in South Wales recently stated that Wales cannot expect employers to bring industry into the district if the workers are going to squabble so much over rates of pay!

The fight of these Felinfoel militants is of NATIONAL importance and yet, so far, they have received precious little help either from their Union or from the organised Labour movement. It is reported that the workers at Morris's Oxford plant are also engaged in a struggle against sweated labour. It is clearly time that militant co-operation between ALL the Morris Motor Works was instituted. On this co-operation will depend the future outcome of the struggle against the wage-cutting policies of the Motor Monopolies.

## NON PARTY ADVERT

MARXIAN ECONOMIC CLASS  
New Session every THURSDAY, from 15th NOVEMBER, at 7.30 p.m., in CENTRAL HALLS 25 Bath Street. Intending pupils can enrol at Class, or write Secy., Jack Travers, 67, Blythswood Street, Glasgow.

# Revolutionary Communist Programme

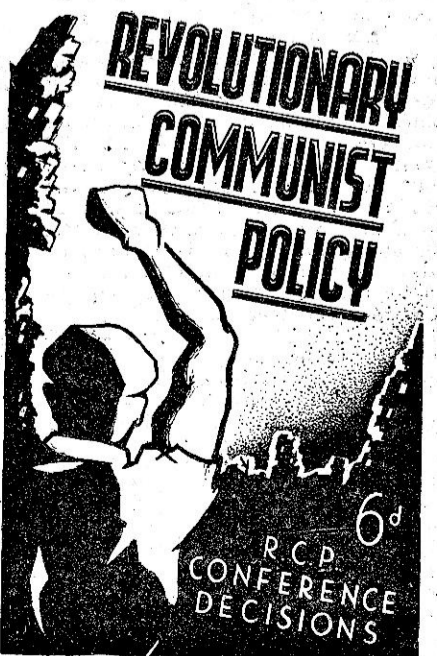
1. Nationalisation, of the Bank of England, the Big Five Banks and land, the mines, transport and all big industry without compensation; and the operation of these enterprises under the control of workers' committees.
2. Confiscation of all war profits; all company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers' committees to counter the financial and economic sabotage of Big Business.
3. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers' goods in short supply under the control of committees elected from the co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shop-keepers.
4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants' committees; a state financed national housing building plan directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum and full maintenance for the unemployed; turnover of Government and other war plants to the production of consumers' goods; a sliding scale of hours to absorb the unemployed without wage reductions.
6. Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords; full electoral rights from the age of 18 years; and full political rights for men and women in the forces; the immediate repeal of the Trade Disputes Act and all other strike breaking and anti-labour laws.
7. Clear out the reactionary anti-labour officer caste from the armed forces; for the election of officers from the ranks.
8. Abolish conscription; for the dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia organised under control of workers' committees; for the establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker officers.
9. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; full economic co-operation, credit grants and other aid for the reconstruction of Soviet economy.
10. Full and immediate freedom for India and the other colonies to choose their own form of government; the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.
11. Against secret diplomacy and a peace of vengeance and plunder; against race hatred—anti-semitism, Vansittartism and the colour bar; for the withdrawal of British troops from Europe and Asia and for a peace based upon the self-determination of the peoples of Europe, Asia and the World.
12. Full support and active co-operation with the European workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the United Socialist States of Europe; unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for World Socialism.

## READERS

### PLEASE NOTE

Contact can be made with our branches at the following addresses:

- GLASGOW R.C.P.,  
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- NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE R.C.P.  
27 Ridley Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1.
- NEATH R.C.P.,  
17 Alfred Street, Neath, Glam.
- LONDON R.C.P.,  
256 Harrow Road, London W.2



# Did He Die for His Country?

BY JOHNNY JONES (CROWN)

Thomas G. Evans of Cannon Street, Brynammon, entered His Majesty's Forces on September 30th, 1939. His medical grade was B.2, and he was drafted to the Pioneer Corps. In 1941, after extensive training, he was admitted to a military hospital suffering from "foot trouble". After his discharge from the hospital he served with exemplary conduct in his unit until October 1943. Then because of a blood-poisoned finger, he again entered hospital where, after treatment, he was found to be suffering also from an ulcerated stomach.

Unable to cure him of this painful disease the Army discharged Tom Evans in December 1943—after 3 years and 3 months service. 1944 and 1945 were bleak years for this ex-soldier. Although suffering terrible pain from an ulcerated stomach, he had no Disability Pension! The local Branch of the British Legion, to their credit, allowed him £1 per week and appealed four times to the appropriate authority for a pension. But all to no avail.

On August 16th, 1945, Tom Evans was buried in the little Ebenezer Churchyard which overlooks his home in Brynammon. His coffin was

draped closely with a Union Jack—but it was not a military funeral. The flag and military ceremonies being provided by the British Legion.

According to the Death Certificate, Thomas G. Evans died of "natural causes". His relatives approached D. J. Williams, M.P. for the Neath Division for guidance in relation to claiming a pension. And it is reported that Williams's guidance was "It is useless to fight for a pension because of the report on the Death Certificate."

No case for a pension because of the Death Certificate. But what of the years of military service? What of the fact that this worker had no ulcerated stomach when he entered the Army? And what is to become of his sister who was partially dependant on his allotment? Do not these constitute a case for a pension? As sure as he had been hit by a mortar bomb, this man "died for his country." And his case is but one among many. Thus British Imperialism callously thrusts on the scrapheap those who do the dirty work of upholding its right to loot and exploit the peoples of the world. They are mere cannon fodder and material for exploitation in the eyes of the ruling class.

Now it is true, of course, that the approach of a revolutionary party towards the problem of combatting reformism varies with the influence of the party and the mood of the masses. If the revolutionary party is very large and influential, and widespread disillusionment with the reformists exists, the task is immediately posed of destruction of the reformists' influence and the struggle for power. If



*THE RISING TIDE OF WORKERS' MILITANCY*

A MODERN KING CANUTE

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

REMEMBER LIDICE!

A full scale war of colonial repression is being waged in Indonesia and Indo-China. Hints that a savage and protracted campaign is necessary to stamp out the "rebellion" are beginning to creep into the British capitalist press.

According to the "News Chronicle" of December 14th, describing the "strafing" of a native position in Indo-China: "After warning leaflets had been dropped, Spitfires shot up the emplacement."

In Java, the "Chronicle" reports: "Following the murder of the British major and the Red Cross girl worker near Padang, in Sumatra, FURTHER REPRISALS have now been taken in addition to the arrest of several Indonesians and the shooting of others who attempted to escape."

Everything is there, from the time worn formula made famous by the Nazis "shot while attempting to escape", and the razing of villages as a reprisal.

Where are the illusions sown by the Stalinists and Labour leaders that once German fascism was destroyed the face of the world would change under the benign guidance of the "great democracies"; that we would have a world of peace, freedom and plenty, a world of fraternal co-operation between the peoples?

The full shame of the situation lies in the face that a British LABOUR GOVERNMENT is responsible for this bloody war of intervention, and the Dutch and French Socialists and Stalinists are supporting the actions of their imperialist masters against the colonial peoples.

How these hypocrites wept at the crimes of the Nazis in Lidice! The Trade Union leaders organised a fund in memory of Lidice. But they are silent about the British Lidices.

The workers in the Labour movement must call a halt to this continuity of imperialist aggression and repression of colonial peoples. It is not enough to pass resolutions of protest and leave matters here.

The colonial peoples must be allowed to decide their own fate without interference from without. For the right of full self-determination, independence and freedom for the enslaved peoples of Asia! An end to the policy of reprisals and murder.

From LEFT and RIGHT by "A Giterator"

Nuremberg and the Moscow Trials

In the years 1936-38 almost the entire Bolshevik "Old Guard" who led the Russian Revolution, were wiped out by Stalin. Some committed suicide, some just disappeared, but most of the best known figures were brought into the Soviet courtrooms and played the role of "confessors" in the most publicised international trials of all time.

The most fantastic charges were made against Lenin's co-workers who led the Russian Revolution to victory. Leon Trotsky was alleged to have been in the pay of the German General Staff since 1921! Of the nine members of the Political Bureau of the Bolshevik Party during the days of Lenin, only Stalin, the executioner, has not been put on trial as a foreign agent!

all these leaders of the Revolution and of the Red Army had been "foreign agents" since the time of the revolution. Leon Trotsky allegedly stood at the head of the whole conspiracy. Through Hess he arranged to cede large areas of Ukrainian and Russian territory to Germany in exchange for his return to power at the end of a victorious war of the Nazis against the Soviet Union.

Not long ago Warner Brothers made a film, "Mission to Moscow", allegedly the story of the trip to Moscow of the American emissary, Joseph Davies. This film also gave credence to the frame-up trials, purporting to show how the Stalinists got rid of Hitler's "fifth column" in the U.S.S.R.

The Nuremberg Trials have afforded the Stalinists a splendid opportunity to vindicate the Moscow Trials. They have their representatives on the prosecuting council. The most amazingly confidential documents abound to prove the guilt of the Nazis as war criminals. Hundreds of tons of documentary material has been unearthed by the investigators. Diaries, telegrams, stenographic records of confidential discussions, films, thousands of letters, military and State documents—all these have been produced by the prosecution in abundance.

Mussolini, Franco, Chamberlain, Daladier—all the living and the dead (Continued in next Column.)

FASCIST MEETING SMASHED AUSTRIAN ELECTIONS R.C.P. and C.P. IN UNITED FRONT

On December 6th, a Meeting was held in the Holborn Hall, organised by the "Peoples Party". The Speakers were The Duke of Bedford and John Beckett, a former Leader of the B.U.F. This represented the first attempt of the Fascists since their suppression to embark on open propaganda activity, and as such was a challenge to the Labour Movement. The challenge did not go unanswered.

About 1,000 people attended the meeting, of whom about 300 were in opposition the majority of the rest were fascists. Lines of cars and taxis disgorged well-dressed people, who greeted each other and the fascist literature sellers as old friends, who at last appeared in the open after a long time in hiding.

The meeting opened with a typically demagogic speech by Edward Godfrey. Announcing the subject of the meeting "Is it Victory?" he dwelt on the economic plight of Britain, denounced surrender to American economic domination, and urged a nationalist policy and a struggle to break the power of "alien financiers."

Trouble began when a scuffle at the doors showed that people were being kept out. Angry interjections demanded that they be let in. These became so numerous and loud, that in the hope of saving their meeting, the stewards opened the doors. That was their misfortune, for those who entered were all anti-Fascists, including a number of Revolutionary Communist Party members.

From this moment the anger of the anti-Fascist section of the meeting burst out. Interruptions multiplied. The opposition, consisting almost entirely of C.P. and R.C.P. comrades began a mass chant: "WE DON'T WANT FASCISM HERE!" which drowned all attempts of the platform to continue.

Finally, after Beckett had unsuccessfully tried to make himself heard, the Chairman announced that the meeting would be abandoned. This was greeted with a great cheer, and the speakers left the platform while the opposition sang the "International". C.P. and R.C.P. comrades occupied the platform, but it proved impossible to hold an orderly counter-meeting, so after a time the hall emptied.

As the audience passed through the vestibule, they saw many comrades selling "Socialist Appeal" and shouting anti-fascist slogans—the only opposition literature and slogans there, in spite of the large and active C.P. fraction.

Thus the fascists took a thorough beating the first time they raised their heads. This was a great achievement, but it must not be over-estimated. Both its positive and negative sides have many lessons to teach all of us.

Fascism thrives on the soil of decaying capitalism. Only on condition that the working class fails to provide an alternative road by fighting for socialism, will despairing elements of the middle class turn in masses to the Fascists. Thus, in the long run, Fascism can only be defeated by building a revolutionary party which can lead the masses to the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Fascism cannot get a mass basis unless the working class suffers serious defeats. Nevertheless, a number of reactionary middle-class elements who are hit by the crisis of capitalism, and blame the Labour movement as the cause of the trouble, will be attracted by their propaganda. With British capitalism heading for a sharp

economic crisis, unless the Labour Government takes radical action to transform the system completely, there will be a fruitful field for Fascist demagoguery. Particularly as young men are returning to miserable conditions, after having been educated during the war in the methods of violence. Such organisations as the "League of Ex-Servicemen and Women", which has published a pamphlet "exposing" the bankruptcy of the "old gang"—the Tory, Labour and Communist parties—and making apparently radical attacks on "alien financiers", will tend to grow.

The extent of their growth will depend on how the working class movement reacts to the danger they represent. At present, these organisations are weak and are proceeding very cautiously.

If the Labour Government carried out real measures against capitalism and in the interests of the masses, including the middle class, the basis for fascism would be completely destroyed. The rats would have to creep back into their holes. They would be impotent to gain any following from the ranks of the middle class and backward workers. But if the Labour leaders compromise the idea of Socialism and nationalisation, by small reforms and only tinkering with the problems, the middle class will be used by the capitalists to destroy the Labour movement. The capitalists will finance the fascists, who will blame the Labour movement and the Jews for the crimes of capitalism itself.

If the Labour movement is blind to the danger, it will discover that the fascists can develop into a menacing threat. The lessons of Italy and Germany are there to be learnt. The working class organisations must conduct a united struggle to stamp on the fascists while they are still weak.

At this London meeting there was excellent co-operation in practice between the C.P. rank and file workers and members of the R.C.P. But there was no real organisation of the opposition. Although rank and file C.P.ers participated, the C.P. issued no public call to demonstrate and the "Daily Worker" did not even mention that the meeting was taking place.

In future, any fascist activities must be met with organised and united opposition—picketing by all working class parties and Trade Unions. Only by such a solid united front, can the morale of the fascists be broken. The task of every class conscious worker is to rouse the Labour movement to the necessity of fighting the fascists, no matter how few they may be today, so that we are not taken unawares.

U.S. Fascists Busy Again

Stop Jewish Barbarism! Thousands of defenseless animals are being daily tortured to death by Jewish Butchers. Hosted by a kind leg, its throat slashed, the kicking, gasping and sobbing creature is subjected to cruel agony of being slowly bled to death... Protest against Koshier Slaughter Why should the "Great American Civilized Democracy" stand for Jewish atrocities? PIONEER NEWS SERVICE P. O. Box 415 - CHICAGO 90, ILLINOIS

The above leaflet was distributed at the first Christian Front meeting held in New York since the beginning of the war. The Christian Front is an American fascist organisation modelled on the lines of the Nazi party. Homer Maertz, head of the "Pioneer News Service" of Chicago, is violently anti-Semitic. He was a delegate at the America First national convention, August 29th, 1944, where he presented a resolution calling for the sterilisation of all "Jews" in America. In 1941 he served a six-months jail sentence for smashing windows of Jewish owned stores. Recently he toured the country "organising sluggers and hoodlums into action groups."

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL NEWS

FRANCE

From Bordeaux a comrade writes: "Now in France we are meeting interest among the workers, middle-class and students. Last week I spoke in a small meeting organised by the big Socialist Party; only fifty students and socialist militants came to hear a member of the Bordeaux Municipal Council. This night there were no adherents to the Socialist Party, but two to the P.C.I. (French Trotskyists)."

Every day we go short of our newspaper "La Verite", so much is it in demand by the workers. The most extraordinary story, showing the explosive force of our ideas, was told by a comrade working with German prisoners of war. One of them spoke French. Our friend asked him without any ceremony if he knew the Fourth International. "Yes"

(Continued from Column 2) politicians of the historic drama—have had their records paraded before the public eye. The role of Stalin in Hitler's plans of conquest and domination is clearly revealed. But there has not been a word about the alleged complicity of Leon Trotsky and the Bolshevik "Old Guard" whom Stalin "purged" as agents of Germany!

How is this explained? How does it come about that in all the tons of documentary material there is not a single shred of evidence which the Stalinists could produce in the courtroom to support the verdicts of the infamous Moscow Trials?

It is simply explained. No such evidence exists! The Moscow Trials were a frame-up from beginning to end! We always branded them as such. Now it is proved before the eyes of the whole world. One historical function of value, at least has been performed in the trial of the Nazi gangsters. Nuremberg has become the burial ground of a myth. The Moscow Trials are once and for all exposed as the most disgraceful judicial fraud in history. And the Pritts's and the Davis's and Warner Brothers and the rest of the fraternity who defended them are shown up to be unprincipled scoundrels and falsifiers of history.

SOUTH AFRICA

From Johannesburg our comrades write: "Our 'HANDS OFF THE COLONIES' Campaign got a good response and apparently the bourgeois 'saw red'. At the same time our headquarters was set on fire in an obvious case of political sabotage. Whether it was Nationalist or Communist Party inspired, we don't know, but our offices were partly gutted and we have suffered a severe loss in equipment."

If these political reactionaries think they can stop our work by incendiaryism, they will learn their mistake only too soon.

Our work has not been affected by the fire. Our main attention is given to building and strengthening party cadres and Trade Union work.

BELGIUM

The Fifth National Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Belgian section of the Fourth International, met in Brussels on November 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1945.

At this Congress, the first since 1943, the Party examined the fine record of its activities during the period of Nazi occupation, took important decisions on organisational matters which should open up a period of expansion and concretise the Party's already wide-spread influence among the masses. It drew up a "Programme of Action", and adopted several resolutions dealing with the situation in Belgium and the immediate tasks of the Party, as well as the international perspective of a proletarian revolution, and the situation in the U.S.S.R. and in the countries occupied by the Red Army.

The Congress also issued a Manifesto drawing the balance sheet of the "liberation", warning of the dangers for the working class latent in the counter-offensive of the bourgeoisie, and pointing out the methods of struggle capable of guiding the working class towards its genuine emancipation. A full report of this Congress will be published in the next issue of "Workers International News".

INDIA

According to the "Times of India", 26.11.45, Comrade Leslie Gunawardene, member of the Indian Trotskyist Bolshevik-Leninist Party, and well-known leader of the Ceylonese working class movement, has been released on bail after having been arrested at his house at Panadura on a charge of inciting an illegal strike. Comrade Leslie Gunawardene was imprisoned by the imperialists during the war. He escaped, as was previously reported in "Socialist Appeal". A few weeks ago, the warrant for his arrest was withdrawn, and his re-arrest on the charge of inciting to illegal strike took place following his dramatic appearance at a public meeting, where he was welcomed by Ceylonese workers.

Our Ceylon comrades were responsible for collecting £5 from a mass meeting of Ceylonese workers for the British dockers during their great national strike. At a mass meeting of London dockers, of about 2,000, it was enthusiastically accepted as a demonstration of international solidarity.

AUSTRIAN ELECTIONS

The Austrian General Election has resulted in a resounding defeat for the Communist Party. The results of the polling were:

Table with 2 columns: Party Name and Seats. Rows: PEOPLES (Catholic) Party 84 seats, SOCIALISTS 77, COMMUNISTS 4.

Thus, Austria is one of the few countries in Europe in which the workers' parties have not gained a majority—although because of the collapse of the Nazi regime, and the conditions of the masses, the swing to the left should have been more pronounced.

The catastrophic defeat of the Stalinists is even more significant. After the hopeless failure of the policy of Social Democracy, which led to the defeat of the workers in the February 1934 uprising, the Communist Party of Austria which had only been a tiny sect, became a mass party. According to their own reports, it was as strong, if not stronger than the Social Democratic party. The most militant, active, and self-sacrificing fighters, especially in the Schutzbund (Austrian Workers' Defence Force), came over to Communism.

With the "liberation" of Austria, which was proclaimed with the victory of the Red Army, it could have been anticipated that the overwhelming majority would have come over to communism. . . had the Red Army been pursuing a Leninist policy.

The Catholic workers and peasants had seen how the Catholic bishops and capitalists had betrayed them into the hands of the Fascists—Dolfuss and Schussnigg. They had seen how these catholic bishops and capitalists had come to terms with Hitler. The sections of the middle class who had supported Hitler, had had time to sober up, and realise that the Fascists represented not the middle classes, but finance capital. All sections had suffered intense misery as a result of the Nazi regime. All were seeking a way out. Why then did they not turn towards Communism?

The "Tribune" gives the following terrible picture of what Stalinism means in Austria.

"The Russians have between 600,000 and 800,000 troops in Austria. They live on the land in more senses than that they requisition food and cattle. In the zones they have occupied, they have left behind them a trail of economic and moral devastation. Life is insecure, rations have never yet reached a fraction of the normal allowance, and looting is rampant."

In Vienna, the number of officially recorded cases of rape within the Russian-controlled zones exceeds 100,000. Few women venture out alone after dark in this area. In Lower Austria, the number recently infected cases of venereal disease officially reported to the medical officer is above 50,000, and almost entirely confined to women; one adult woman in five is presumed to be thus affected. In Eastern Styria, which was first occupied by the Russians and then by the British, and where British doctors have supervised the inquiry, it has been established that 20,000 women were raped (about 80 per cent. of the total number of adult women) and between 25-40 per cent. have been reported as V.D. cases. This mass assault on women was accompanied by a similar one on property; and this was no mere looting; it frequently took the form of sheer wanton damage to clothing, furniture and houses."

It is significant that neither the "Daily Worker" nor the Soviet Embassy has issued a denial of this horrible indictment. It is clear that the facts are too well known and are unanswerable.

It is not that the Russian soldiers are naturally criminals (mainly backward peasants, were responsible for these crimes and not industrial workers). But the Nazis, especially the S.S. thugs committed similar and worse crimes in Occupied Russia. The Stalinist bureaucrats—the Ehrenburgs and others—incited the Red Army, not against the German capitalists, but against the whole German people. The racial outpourings of Ilya Ehrenburg and others of his ilk were as bad as those of Goebbels.

Instead of the internationalist policy of Lenin and Trotsky, nationalist fifth was preached at high pressure. This has a logic of its own. The seeds of hatred were sown, instead of the seeds of class solidarity being planted in Austria and in Germany.

This it is, which has enabled the catholic bishops and capitalists once again to restore their hold over the peasants, and especially the women. This it is which has enabled the discredited Social Democrats to once again reinforce their hold over the overwhelming majority of the Austrian-working class.

As a result of Stalinism, the name of the Red Army stinks. But the victory of the reformists and Catholics rests on very shaky foundations. The masses want a way out. A left wing is bound to develop in the Austrian Socialist Party. The masses will come to understand that Stalinism is not communism—but is a betrayal of communism.

Together with the rest of Europe, a section of the Fourth International will rise on the principles of Marx and Lenin, of fraternity and solidarity of workers of all lands. Through the efforts of the workers of Austria and Europe, abolishing capitalism and national frontiers, the standards of life will enormously improve in the United Socialist States of Europe.

# Pollitt's Speech BRITISH WORKERS AND THE U.S. LOAN

(Continued from page 1)

C.P.S.U. nor the French C.P. criticised Browder till 15 months later. Yet the parties of the Fourth International denounced his policy as a complete and final break from Marxism immediately (see, for instance, the "Socialist Appeal", Mid-January, 1944). Who showed the greater Marxist understanding?

## THE GENERAL ELECTION POLICY

His explanations of the reason for adopting the line of a post-war Coalition are on the same level:

"After the Paris insurrection in the 1870's, Marx, who had some doubts about its wisdom, was the first to justify what he described as the historic initiative of the masses. And what we ought to be triumphantly extolling is not certain minor weaknesses (!), but the tremendous historic initiative of the masses."

Poor Marx! The parallel would be closer if Mr. Pollitt could show that he had advocated a coalition with Tories!

But listen to Pollitt's reasoning:—

"There is a basic reason why we were wrong in our estimation of the left swing in the Labour movement. And I believe I can give it to you in two minutes. It is not unrelated to the point legitimately made about ears being closer to the ground. I believe we failed to grasp this fact—that in the course of this war, which was brought to the doorsteps and homes of millions of people, in the air-raid shelters and in the cellars, in tubes and fire-watching parties, the working class, the professional and middle classes were quietly thinking to themselves, saying a word neither to their husbands, or wives, or sons, or brothers (???)—but thinking to themselves. They were thinking: 'In our lifetime capitalism has only brought us poverty and unemployment. And now it has brought us this.' And on the other hand they were thinking also of the miracles being performed by a socialist country, in the fight to make this war the last war (!), and that caused a basic political mental change in the outlook of millions, and led them to take that historic initiative of which we had not taken due cognisance."

Now we may ask: if the majority of the British people had voted Conservative, would that have made Churchill and Eden "progressive" and justified a Coalition with the Labour Party? To ask the question is to answer it. Mr. Pollitt's "explanation" means that the C.P. leadership estimates the role of parties and individuals, not on a materialist analysis of their class basis, but on the results of an election. In other words, far from being the "vanguard of the working class", they are the tail-end of the electorate.

And how come that the R.C.P., the I.L.P. and even the Labour Party itself, all of which rejected a post-war Coalition, could see what the C.P. allegedly couldn't, for all its "Marxism"?

However, he even attempted to justify the policy, and indicated that it might be revised some time in the future, by referring to the coalitions with the bourgeoisie into which the French and Yugoslav Communist Parties have entered. He even misused a phrase of Marx:

"You will regret a policy that does not take into account the fact that the capitalist class is not one reactionary mass."

Now how did Marx deal with this question? In his polemic with the German Social-Democracy, entitled "The Critique of the Gotha Programme", he wrote as follows:

"The emancipation of labour must be the work of the working class, in contrast to which all other classes

ARE ONLY ONE REACTIONARY MASS." (Point 4 of the Gotha programme.)

In The Communist Manifesto it is said:

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry, the proletariat is its special and essential product."

The bourgeoisie is here conceived as a revolutionary class—as the bearer of large-scale industry—in contrast to the feudal lords and middle estates, who desire to maintain all social positions that are the creation of obsolete modes of production. Thus they do not form together with the bourgeoisie only one reactionary mass.

On the other hand, the proletariat is revolutionary in contrast to the bourgeoisie because, having itself grown up on the basis of large-scale industry, it strives to strip off from production the capitalist character that the bourgeoisie strives to perpetuate. But the Manifesto adds that the "middle class . . . if by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat."

From this point of view, therefore, it is again nonsense to say that they, together with the bourgeoisie, and with the feudal lords into the bargain, form only one reactionary mass in relation to the working class.

Did we proclaim to the artisans, small industrialists, etc., and peasants during the last elections: In contrast to us you, with the bourgeois and feudal lords, form only one reactionary mass?

Lassalle knew The Communist Manifesto by heart, as his faithful followers know the gospels written by him. If, therefore, he has falsified it so grossly, this has occurred only to put a good colour on his alliance with

the absolutist and feudal opponents against the bourgeoisie."

70 years later, Pollitt falsifies quotations from Marx in order to put a good colour on his alliance with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. It is as clear as day that Marx was referring to the possibility of an alliance with elements of the middle class against the bourgeoisie, or even with the bourgeoisie against the feudal lords. But nowhere does he advocate governmental coalitions with the bourgeoisie, especially in conditions where capitalism has long ousted feudalism from the scene. To justify this, Mr. Pollitt will search in vain the writings of Marx, Engels or Lenin. His quotations will have to come from the literature of Menshevism or Social-Democracy. We recommend particularly the writings of J. Ramsay MacDonald.

## ATTITUDE TO THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

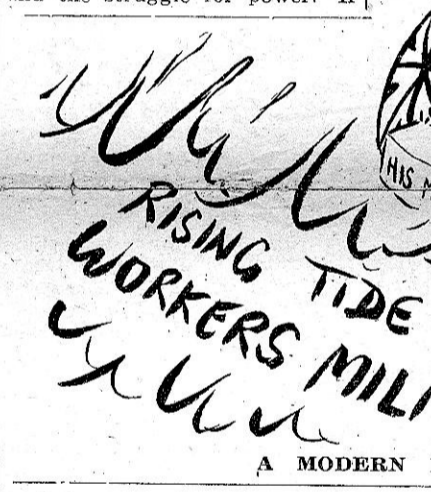
A considerable number of C.P. members had criticised the leadership for failing to take up a sufficiently critical attitude to the Labour Government, particularly on questions of foreign policy. Some had taken it further, and demanded that the Party return to a Marxist position in opposition to reformism.

Mr. Pollitt's reply had, needless to say, nothing in common with Marxist method. He made the C.P.'s attitude to the Labour Government dependent entirely on its size and influence:

"Nobody would be as happy as I if I thought that the influence of this party was as great as McIlhenny makes it out to be. But I refuse to defend wrong policies as a result of a wrong estimation of the forces which are going to carry the politics through."

You look at the by-elections taking place. Are they revealing a disillusionment with the Labour Government on home and foreign policy? Of course they're not."

Now it is true, of course, that the approach of a revolutionary party towards the problem of combating reformism varies with the influence of the party and the mood of the masses. If the revolutionary party is very large and influential, and widespread disillusionment with the reformists exists, the task is immediately posed of destruction of the reformists' influence and the struggle for power. If



politician. His fulminations against strikes and strikers received national publicity in the capitalist Press, which was highly delighted. These fulminations were mainly directed against C.P. members who demanded support for workers on strike, particularly criticising the C.P.'s attitude to the Dock Strike.

What was Mr. Pollitt's basic reason for opposing strikes?

"You can get a strike in the coalfields tomorrow if you want it (why??). Will it advance the working class movement of this country, or the perspective of our nation being a first-rate nation in the family of united nations?"

This is familiar argument from Mr. ("Red, White and Blue") Pollitt, who earlier in his speech had complained that "we sometimes have so many hesitations about saying we are British". If capitalist Britain is to be a world power the working class must not engage in struggles which weaken the social system and destroy "national unity". To put it more bluntly: British imperialism needs a docile working class.

This is only a continuation of the C.P.'s wartime policy. Then, we were told that there must be national unity "to fight fascism" (but after the war, comrades, we'll become revolutionary again!) Now the war has ended, but we still have our "national prestige" to maintain.

On the strike-breaking line, Mr. Pollitt had some interesting admissions to make:

"On the dock strike . . . I took the view that if our Party had been compelled to stick its head out in difficult situations during the war and COMPEL OUR COMRADES TO BE STIGMATISED AS STRIKE BREAKERS AND BLACKLEGS, we are not called upon to repeat that in the days of peace (!), but we would examine every dispute on its merits. The 'Daily Worker' reported the facts AND IT IS TRUE WE

GAVE NO LEAD FOR TEN DAYS

—and that is no crime, because we considered the strike ill-advised . . . Our line was to advise the dockers to go back to work . . . It was a positive line and it needs fighting for, AND BECAUSE COMRADES GOT CHASED IN FIGHTING FOR IT—

all right—it is not the first time and it won't be the last (!!!) (our emphasis)

Who can deny that even the miserable advance conceded by the Evershed Committee would not have been made

(Continued in Column 5)



A MODERN KING CANUTE

the party is small, and the masses have illusions in reformism, it must "patiently explain". The Bolsheviks adopted both these attitudes at different stages of the 1917 Revolution. But this is a question of tactics. The attitude in principle to the reformists remains the same: no concessions from the position of revolutionary opposition.

But listen to Mr. Pollitt's attitude: "Our main fight, therefore, comrades, is not against the Labour Government, not against Bevin—our main fight is against capitalism and against the ideas of capitalism—ideas of those particular members of the Labour movement and the Labour Government who are influenced by capitalism."

Very good. But doesn't Marxism teach that reformism as a tendency is only a reflection of capitalist ideas within the Labour movement? Not a few individuals, but the reformist leadership as such are "Labour lieutenants of the capitalist class". How can capitalism be fought without fighting reformism? While defending the Labour Government from any attacks from the capitalists it is necessary to characterise it as fundamentally a capitalist Government, because although it derives its support from the working-class movement, its task is to administer capitalism; it is necessary to explain patiently to the working class that only a revolutionary Government based on workers' councils can bring about socialism.

This is the only principled Marxist attitude. Pollitt's attitude is completely unprincipled. He does not even attempt to analyse the class character of the Government. He says:

"Don't let us forget that the people of this country see nationalisation of the coal industry and the Bank of England and the reduction in income tax, as well as Greece and Indonesia, and we are making a great mistake if we don't grasp this."

This is the attitude, not of a revolutionary but of a left-reformist. Thus, those sections of the Communist Party who demanded a return to Marxism on this question were disappointed. The leadership continues on the reformist road.

Here Mr. Pollitt (once a leader of the Jolly George strike and later of the Minority Movement) appeared in his full glory as a respectable Labour

politician. His fulminations against strikes and strikers received national publicity in the capitalist Press, which was highly delighted. These fulminations were mainly directed against C.P. members who demanded support for workers on strike, particularly criticising the C.P.'s attitude to the Dock Strike.

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(Continued from page 1.)

In reality, even these figures are unlikely to be reached and the deficit is likely to be even greater. The British capitalists will probably find that the credit they have obtained from America will melt away in vitally necessary purchases, even in a couple of years, leaving Britain in as difficult a position as that which drove her to seek succour from the United States capitalists.

Because of her loss of investments, etc., even to maintain her pre-war position would mean herculean efforts beyond the power of British capitalism. The "Economist" explains:

"It has long been a commonplace that British exports will have to be increased by 50 per cent above their 1938 volume; the financial burdens now assumed raise the figure to 75 per cent. In 1938 the exports of the United Kingdom were just over 10 per cent of the world total, so that if they are to rise by three-quarters an extra volume of trade must be won equal to 7½ per cent of the world total, either by taking it away from others or by securing the lion's share of any likely increase in the total. This by itself would be a gigantic task. But it understates the real problem. The whole of the increase will necessarily be concentrated on manufactures, and if the total is to rise by 75 per cent the volume of manufactured exports, which were 72 per cent of the total before the war, will have to rise by just over 100 per cent. But British manufactured exports in 1937 amounted to 19 per cent of the world total in this category. In short, in this decisive field, the British task is to secure additional markets equal to one-fifth of the whole international trade of the world."

This is clearly impossible. Ostensibly the loan agreement is intended to tide Britain over a period when she cannot compete, till her economy becomes "normal" through the switch-over from war to peace production. But the irony of it lies in the fact that in return for this assistance America is utilizing the position to gain admission to markets where Britain was formerly dominant. The sterling bloc by means of which Britain preserved large markets in the Dominions, Colonies, and certain other countries which were compelled by this means to buy goods in Britain in return for British purchases of food and raw materials, has been broken. By forcing Britain to make dollars available to them, America makes it possible in the immediate future to penetrate the markets of India, the Colonies and Dominions. Britain's greatest weapon in the trade struggle of being the greatest market in the world is rendered futile because she cannot directly bargain on the basis of an immediate exchange of goods which would come under the heading of discrimination. She cannot increase her purchases of any raw materials or goods from the Colonies or Dominions, while decreasing the purchase of the same goods from America as this would come under the same heading. America is in a position to supply goods and machinery immediately or almost immediately, and in many cases cheaper than Britain which could only supply the goods urgently required only after a long delay, consequently her former markets will be under constant American pressure. This with no real corresponding concessions on the part of Yankee Imperialism. The "Economist" cries out: "In short, those devices (of trade) which could be used by Britain to its advantage are banned with the greater degree of explicitness; those that assist American exports with the greater degrees of vagueness."

Thus British capitalism is in the position of a starving athlete preparing for a race, who accepts food from a competitor in return for allowing his arms and legs to be hobbled together when he runs. Not for nothing has America announced a programme of trebling her exports! But even if the world market increases somewhat it will not be big enough to satisfy the Imperialisms of Britain and America, let alone the lesser struggling Powers. The trade war is on, only the British capitalists have begun on such a weakened position that they have been compelled to surrender without a battle for the time being.

However, it can be predicted in advance that the Agreement will break down. It is impossible for bankrupt British capitalism to fulfil it. The "Economist" openly declares: "It is very difficult to understand how any man in his senses can think that the obligations now to be assumed can possibly be fulfilled. It is not the annuity of £35 million to America that is so frightening, but the chronic deficit of at least ten times that amount that would seem to be the all but inevitable consequence of the subsidiary conditions."

The spokesmen of American capitalism know very well that Britain will never be in a position to pay back the loan. But they have a double objective in making it. By allowing a certain amount of consumers and other goods into Britain and thus finding markets which their enormous surplus production urgently needs they stave off an immediate social crisis of British capitalism. Such a crisis would lead to revolutionary struggles throughout Europe, and would have immediate repercussions in Asia and the colonial world thus leading to the danger of the complete overthrow of world capitalism. At the same time American Imperialism needs Britain as a counter-balance to Russia in Europe. Simultaneously they drive into Britain's most sacred preserve and her last line of defence against the American trading offensive: her Empire Markets.

The whole of the capitalist press unanimously shrieks "Woe, woe"; both the Labour leaders and the Conservatives, those for the agreement and those against agree on its disastrous effects in the long run for Britain. But

## U.S. LOAN

even those who protest have no real alternative to offer. ON THE BASIS OF CAPITALISM THERE IS NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE BUT TO ACCEPT THE DOMINATION OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM. The "Economist" grimly but sadly sums it up in a very apt way: "All this, no doubt, is unavoidable. Beggars can't be choosers. But they can, by long tradition, put a curse on the ambitions of the rich!"

The capitalists prefer that it should be the Labour leaders who incur the odium of doing the dirty work and bowing the knee to American Imperialism. The consequences for the masses will be hard in the next few years. As Mr. Eccles the Tory M.P. for Chippenham remarked with evident satisfaction:

"From these unsatisfactory documents we secure one great advantage. From now onwards there cannot be a man or woman in the country who does not see that the export trade is the nation's first priority, and that all the other sound objectives of policy that were listed at the General Election, housing, nationalization, social reform and the rest, must now step down to make way for exports."

The capitalists wish to place the full burdens of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working class. And the Labour Government by pursuing a capitalist way out of the crisis make it inevitable that the real standard of living must fall. That is why the building workers and the dockers have received such grudging increases! But the intensification of Labour which the capitalists, the Union and Labour leaders and the Stalinists are all simultaneously demanding, speed-up and rationisation, will not solve any of the problems of British capitalism. With or without the agreement with America such a policy would and can only prepare the way for a new and more terrifying slump than in 1929-1934 which led to intense misery for the masses and the fall of the Labour Government. No one in the Parliamentary debate could deny the fact that a terrible slump would follow the present boom in America and that it would spread to Britain. A point that was made by

many speakers in the debate. Such an economic crisis with a weakened economy would mean mass unemployment, even further lowered standards and general misery for the masses. These will be the fruits of the policy now being pursued by the Labour Government.

But what is the alternative many sincere Labour workers will ask? There is only one way out. If instead of pursuing this shameful policy of capitulation to the City of London and Wall Street the Labour leaders pursued a real revolutionary Socialist policy, a Leninist policy, the situation would be entirely changed. The first step would be to take over the banks and all industry without compensation to the capitalists and run them under workers' control. Then on the basis of having instituted as in Russia a State monopoly of foreign trade, the industry and trade both at home and abroad could be organised and planned. Even if the American capitalists attempted economic reprisals the workers would gladly accept sacrifices temporarily (as they did when they believed they were fighting against fascism), when they realised it would mean a world of undreamed of plenty and peace, of rising standards for them and their children. A Socialist Britain could appeal to the Russian, American, European and Asiatic workers to come to their assistance.

This is the only realistic policy for the British working class. The other way leads to the collapse of decrepit British capitalism, to untold sufferings and hardship, to slump and finally fascism and war. The capitalists will utilise the services of the Labour leaders and then cast them aside. A new crisis and a new 1931 debacle is inevitable if the present policy of the Government is persisted in.

Labour workers, Communist workers, this economic agreement is an ominous warning! Prepare now for the battles that lie ahead. Compromise with capitalism at home or abroad can only lead to disaster. Only in the overthrow of capitalism can the working class find a way out of the anarchy, chaos and nightmare of capitalism. Only the Revolutionary Communist Party tells you the truth and warns of the debacle that lies ahead for the Labour Government. Remember in the future and support the Party that forewarned and forearmed you for the battles that lie ahead.

# DOCKERS BETRAYED

(Continued from page 1.)

one week to meet the issue (25/- minimum wage). If they did not, the Transport and General Workers' Union officials could then give Mr. Isaacs 21 days notice that a dispute existed.

"Instead of that, the union agreed to discuss something less than 25/-. There are vested interests in the Transport & General Workers Union and the Stevedores Union who are trying to fog and bamboozle the issue so that at the end of the 30 days we will not know where we are."

The opposition to the official union leaders was clearly shown at the hand-picked national delegate conference of the T. & G.W.U. held on 14th December. 14 delegates voted against the acceptance of the Evershed proposals. An official meeting of union members was called on the 15th December. Out of more than 10,000 union members in London, about 80 attended the meeting. As soon as the officials read the proposals the vast majority of these walked out leaving the officials on the platform! Deakin and Donovan (despite the fact that the former was recently elected General Secretary—how this happened no one knows!) have no support whatsoever from the rank and

file. The power lies in the hands of the National Strike Committee, ONLY A MILITANT POLICY CAN PRESERVE THE RANK AND FILE ORGANISATION

All the recent events show that the power lies in the hands of the National Strike Committee, which because of its courageous and militant leadership has won the support of dock workers throughout the country. But any compromise or sell-out of the dockers' struggle can soon end the unity and organisation won by the strike. Such a compromise would again place the dock workers in confusion and frustration—ready material for the machinations of Deakin and Donovan. The politically conscious elements on the National Committee must prevent such a degeneration. All the weaknesses must be corrected. Nothing should be permitted to stand in the way of full and serious preparation for the future struggles, and for the removal of the traitorous union leadership and the revival of union democracy. On the basis of a militant policy the present national organisation forged by the dockers can become a most important factor in the struggle of the British working-class for Socialism.

to realise the workers' demands, and if you are, I warn you you are playing with fire that can help to lose the peace and reduce this country to ashes." (Mr. Harry Pollitt, November 24th, 1945).

WHAT KIND OF A PARTY?

Mr. Pollitt ended his masterly expose of reformist political theory with some equally notable contributions to the study of political organisation:

"My last word is this. In relation to building our Party. I want to sweep away all alibis. You can talk about objective and subjective factors as long as you like, but the fundamental reason why our Party does not grow is that you comrades do not want it to grow. What is your reason? The Party wants to be a narrow Party; it wants to be a Party of exclusive Marxists."

Nobody could accuse Harry Pollitt of such a desire.

Pollitt's speech has been its own condemnation. Nobody with an ounce of intelligence can have any doubt that this man, who was once an outstanding militant, is today a tired and cynical bureaucrat. The elements in the C.P. who came to the Congress hoping to set the Party on to the revolutionary road were met with this contemptuous rubbish. And not only from Pollitt as an individual, for he was selected as spokesman for the E.C. This signifies that the whole Stalinist leadership has utterly abandoned even the pretence of Marxism.

Only in the Revolutionary Communist Party will these honest C.P. militants find a serious attitude towards Marxist theory and a genuinely revolutionary policy.

"We are sitting on top of an industrial volcano that might go up at any moment." (Mr. Ernest Bevin, introducing Regulation 1A(a), April 28th, 1944).

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