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U.S. BOSSES PANIC IN FACE OF STRIKES

Workers Need Independent Political Party

THE STRIKES OF THE AMERICAN STEEL AND AUTO-WORKERS, RAILWAYMEN AND MINERS ARE A SIGNAL THAT THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS IS PREPARING TO GO ON THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL CAPITALIST CLASS. SINCE THE END OF THE WAR ANYTHING UP TO 3 MILLION WORKERS HAVE BEEN ON STRIKE. TRUMAN REACTED BY PREPARING REACTIONARY ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION AGAINST THE WORKERS AND IN THE INTERESTS OF THE EMPLOYERS.

The background to the strikes are the fabulous profits which have been made by the American capitalist class, dwarfing into insignificance the substantially increased profits of the British imperialists in the war. America's production and the productivity of labour has increased enormously. But while prices have soared, wages have lagged behind. With the coming of reconversion and lower hours, the American workers are finding that this means a drastic fall in the standard of living. They are demanding a share of the enormously increased products of their labour.

In the General Motors Strike, which lasted over four months, the workers demanded that the books of the company should be open to inspection by the workers in order to expose the enormous profits of the corporation. They also demanded an increase in wages without an increase in prices, thus interfering with the sacred "rights" of the employers to dispose of their products as they liked.

First Real Strike in 50 Years

The conservative Railroad Brotherhoods which are affiliated neither to the C.I.O. nor to the A.F.L. were forced to call the strike because of the pressure of their members. This is the first strike on the American railways of such scope for 50 years and it follows radical demands of the workers in other industries, far exceeding "normal" economic demands in a strike.

How legitimate the demands for increased wages are, is shown by the fact that labour costs per traffic unit have dropped by 25%, thus increasing the swollen profits of the railway magnates. The hourly earnings of railway workers formerly regarded as "the aristocracy of labour" have since 1936 dropped from second place in America, to twenty-seventh place today. This was the result of the conservative policy of the leadership who did not wish to wage a struggle.

EUROPE STARVES

But 450,000 Herrings Dumped in Sea

NORTH SHIELDS—

The *Sunday Express* of 25th May reports that because prices are too low to give fishermen a profit, 450,000 herrings have been dumped back into the sea by the local drifter skippers.

Another 15,000 are being made into low-grade cattle food at the North Shields works of the Fish Guano and Oil Company.

Half the herring fleet—eight drifters—is tied up at the quayside. The catch at sea are curtailing their catches rather than sell fish at bargain prices.

"We have agreed to shoot 70 herring nets instead of the usual 91," said one skipper today. "We want to relieve the food shortage but we can't afford to sell at present prices and we are out to avoid dumping."

BY TED GRANT

The railwaymen, roused by the struggle put up by the miners and the C.I.O. unions, and the increases they gained thereby, were determined to embark on militant action to achieve their demands.

Miners Firm On Safety And Health Demands

At the same time, 400,000 miners are preparing to end the two weeks truce and come out again if their demands are not met. So great is the feeling among the miners, that 70,000 refused to go back even during the period of the truce.

The employers are prepared to grant certain wage increases to the miners, but do not wish to negotiate on the demand for a ten cent royalty (6d.) on every ton of coal for a welfare fund, which would be controlled by the Miners Union.

The *Miners* of April 20th, the organ of the American Trotskyists describes the scene at the negotiations between the Mineworkers' Committee and that of the miners when John L. Lewis dramatically broke off negotiations on April 10th and stalked out of the Conference room:

"We trust that time, as it shrinks your purse, may modify your rigidly anti-social propensities," declared Lewis at the conclusion of a scathing statement he read to the operators just preceding his walkout.

From the very start of the mine union negotiations, the U.M.W. representatives have insisted on the consideration of a series of life-and-death social demands going far beyond the wage question.

What Demands Mean

These are directed at eliminating the terrible toll of accidents in American mines; providing adequate health, medical and sanitation facilities in the filthy, decrepit company towns; ensuring the welfare of miners' widows and orphans; compensating the injured and their families; restricting the price-gouging in the monopoly company stores and rent-gouging of company-owned dwellings.

To all these vital demands of the miners the smug, grasping operators replied that the mine union committee was merely bringing up "time-killing trivia with the obvious intent of stalling negotiations and creating a national crisis."

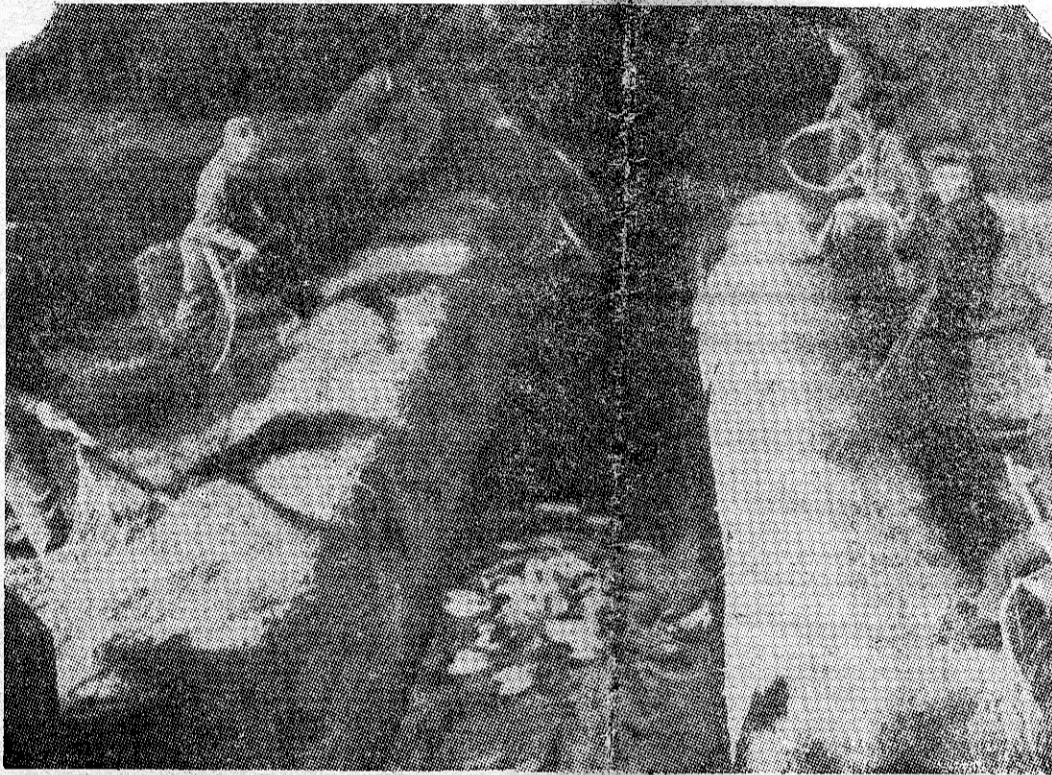
Terrible Toll

These "trivia," as Lewis demonstrated at the very opening of negotiations, include the slaughter of 28,000 miners and injury of more than a million in the past 14 years. This casualty list comes from the refusal of the operators to provide proper safety equipment, their resistance to mine inspection and safety laws, their control of state inspection boards.

The miners are determined to secure decent conditions first of all through a welfare fund, provided from the operators' profits, which the union itself will control. They are also demanding safety equipment at operator's expense. They insist that the operators provide them such "trivia" as running water, bath facilities, garbage collection and sewage disposal.

(Continued on page 4.)

High Level Frat on Emperor's Duck Preserve



The picture above shows A.F. Correspondents and American officers duck hunting in imperial duck preserve at the invitation of Emperor Hirohito. "There were 16 canals teeming with carp and an estimated 50,000 birds in the 25 acre preserve, one of the three duck hunting grounds which the Emperor owns. After two hours of sport an elaborate luncheon was served. Meanwhile Japanese workers are starving and have demonstrated outside the imperial palace demanding that the food be shared out among the people. From Life Magazine.

OUT WITH THE LORDS!

THE DEFEAT BY THE HOUSE OF LORDS OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S BORROWING (CONTROL AND GUARANTEES) BILL IS A SIGNIFICANT WARNING TO THE LABOUR MOVEMENT. IT MUST NOT GO UNCHALLENGED.

As the *Times* so aptly commented:

"In a House where the Government are so heavily outnumbered the result was inevitable once such a challenge was made from the Opposition front bench, but it is not likely to lead to any constitutional crisis. The Opposition merely fired a cautionary shot to insist upon the right of the House of Lords to exercise its function as a revising chamber."

How well the bourgeoisie know their tame Labour leaders! The Tory opposition, flying in the face of the expressed will of the masses, has the impudence to "insist upon the right of the House of Lords" to obstruct the legislation of the Labour Government and... "it is not likely to lead to any constitutional crisis!"

The Lords have carefully chosen, as the object of their "cautionary shot", a money Bill that is a

measure over which they have no power of veto. But that is not at all the point at issue. It is significant that their action follows closely on the defeat of the proposed single-chamber constitution in the referendum in France. In this case, too, the reaction used the question of the powers of a second chamber as a test of strength, and the defeat of the French Socialists and Communists on this issue has given a measure of confidence to reaction abroad.

This is a warning to the Labour Government that they must take care and not go too far. Above all it is directed against any future workers' government which may attempt to use the parliamentary machine in the interests of the working class. The Lords have shown by this latest act that they would make full use of their powers to obstruct any measures which were directed against big business.

Why Are These COLLIERIES IDLE?

BY WILLIAM DAVIES

(Ammanford)

While each new day brings hysterical appeals to the miner to produce more coal, there exist in South Wales two fine collieries, Pantyffynon and Wernos, that have been idle for six years. They were closed down in 1940 for development and, although men have been working there ever since, not a ton of coal has been produced.

The output of Pantyffynon Colliery in 1933 was over 3,200 tons and, according to Foster Brown the mining expert, there are still millions of tons of coal in the mines.

In the Ammanford district the matter has become a public scandal. Articles on it have appeared in all the local papers and the case has been discussed on the Ammanford and Llandilo Councils. But nothing has been done.

In 1942 the Pantyffynon Lodge demanded of Dai Grenfell (then Minister of Fuel and Power) that the collieries start production. They were told that this wasn't possible then because of the lack of transport facilities. Swansea Dock was blocked by mines and U-Boats and the railways had all they could do to cope with the coal coming from the valleys nearer to England. Well, we had to accept that at the time. But it must be noted that only transport stopped coal production in 1942! Now there is no U-Boat problem. Why are the collieries idle?

The Real Reason Is Profits

Six months ago the management asked the workmen to submit a price list under a new system of conveyors and cutting machines made possible by the development. The men complied with this request, but when they saw the price list offered by the management it was seen that they were offered only HALF what they wanted!

YSTYWN WILLIAMS (Secretary of the South Wales Owners' Federation) replied to the Lodge Secretary that THE COLLIERY WOULD NOT START WITHOUT A LIST.

Here then is the real reason why these collieries are idle.

In other words, the desire of the Amalgamated Anthracite to squeeze the last ounce out of the workmen is holding up the production. We are told by Shinwell and the miners' leaders that on our ability to produce coal depends our ability to export, and thus to get all the food and clothes and houses so desperately needed by our people. If this is so then why does the Minister of Fuel and Power allow A.A.C. to sabotage coal production in the interests of profit?

To make matters even more shameful, the men at the Bettws Colliery in the same district are being drawn out and sent to work in undeveloped mines as far away as Carway (Llanelli) which means 14 miles travelling each way to work and back. The old men who have been drawn out can't travel these distances so they are idle! Fancy—experienced colliers idle while the world cries out for coal! And right there on the doorstep are two collieries capable of producing thousands of tons of the best coal in the world!

The lesson is clear. The mining industry must be planned by the workmen in the interests of the working people. The days of private profit must be ended. Only by fighting for such a policy can we end the scandals of Pantyffynon and Wernos.

WELSH TIN WORKERS STRIKE FOR 6 HR. DAY

BY JOHN LAWRENCE

All Tinplate Millmen in West Wales stopped work on Saturday, May 25th, and were joined by the Monmouthshire Millmen on Tuesday, May 28th, in the struggle to reduce the present working day from 8 hours to 6 hours. The stoppage is 100 per cent. and involves about 3,000 Millmen, scattered over 120 mills.

The strike is not supported by the Executive of B.S.A.K.T.A., whose General Secretary, Lincoln Evans, has denounced it as an unofficial and unconstitutional stoppage. The strike call emanated from the Central Millmen's Committee which is, in the words of its Secretary, Councillor Len Barton of Neath, a committee which "has always been recognised by the Union and consulted by it and never been repudiated and called unofficial until now". The Central Millmen's Committee is made up of delegates from all branches in South Wales and Monmouthshire, the majority being Branch officials.

The following report was issued after a meeting of the Central Millmen's Committee held in Swansea on May 25th. It shows clearly that the Central Committee is a

serious Trade Union body which has the complete support of the membership.

"At the Central Committee meeting there were official delegates from 29 branches in the South Wales area, and it was unanimously resolved that the stoppage be continued until the agreed terms of the Joint Standing Sub-Committee are erased from the statute book, and that the trade resolution for six-hour shifts and 25% increase be the terms for negotiations."

History Of The Dispute

A Tinplate Conference of the Union held in February 1946 decided unanimously to put forward a claim for a six-hour shift and a 25% increase in wages. It should be noted here that the men were prepared to accept an actual reduction in wages provided the hours of work were reduced because the 25% increase was to be calculated on the output of six-hour shift and not the present shift of eight hours. They were prepared to accept this because they consider that the very lives and well-being of millmen are threatened by the present arduous nature of the work. Death and

disablement from pneumonia and heart disease caused by the strain of working long hours in excessive heat are common in the industry.

The employers were not prepared to grant anything, faintly approaching the 25% increase and, by making the six-hour shift conditional on men returning to the mills, actually turned down the demand for shorter hours because as every worker in the industry knows full well, it is impossible to get more millmen until the present hours of hellish hard work are drastically reduced.

The Central Millmen's Committee, decided to ask for a mandate for strike action which, as seen in the official report quoted above, was freely and unanimously given. The Chairman and Secretary of Central Committee who were also members of the J.L.C. resigned their positions and more militant men were elected in their place. The Welsh Tinplaters are determined to hold out until the present unsatisfactory agreement is scrapped and negotiations are resumed on the basis of the original and unanimous demand of the Conference for a reduction in hours and a compensating increase in wages.

RELEASE L.A.C. ATTWOOD!

BY JOHN SMITH

Protests against the victimisation of L.A.C. Attwood were voiced at an area meeting of the Electrical Trades Union, representing 43,000 members in London.

A resolution that a deputation from the E.T.U. should make representation to Under Secretary for Air, to secure the release of Attwood, was adopted.

In April of this year, when Attwood was first arrested and charged with incitement to mutiny, he wrote to his wife a letter in which he said, "I know you and the kiddies were looking forward to seeing me soon. The news of my arrest will come as a stab in your back."

When Attwood was re-arrested on Monday, May 20th, he collapsed and had to be rushed to hospital immediately. At the present time, as a result of this "cut and inhouse" victimisation, he is lying seriously ill in a detention barracks in Bombay. The renewed case against him has meanwhile been postponed until he has recovered. The circumstances surrounding this further victimisation of this

militant indicates the determination of the highest authorities of the R.A.F. to pursue and press their reactionary anti-labour campaign to stamp out any organised demands for better conditions.

In order to "scare off" or deter other militant elements in the forces from giving voice to grievances and demands, the cases against Attwood and the others now awaiting court-martials on similar charges are to be prosecuted. That is the real reason behind the re-arrest of Attwood. The vicious sentence against Cymbalist of 10 years imprisonment (later, as a result of widespread indignation, cut to 5 years) is an illustration of the vicious lengths

to which the anti-democratic military caste in control of the armed forces are prepared to go; and worse, it is an illustration of the attitude of the Labour Government, who must bear responsibility for this.

Workers, Comrades, support your fellow militants in the services. Support the campaign for their unconditional release.

Raise the question of this class-victimisation in your trade union, branches and all the Labour organisations.

DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF CYMBALIST, ATTWOOD AND THE OTHERS.

R.C.P. MAY-DAY CONTINGENT FORMING



Letters

To the Editor,

From a German P.O.W.

The literature you sent is going from hand to hand in the Camp. Especially the intellectuals here who were opposed to Communism are on a sudden very interested in Trotsky. I am of course very pleased at the turn inside the Camp. Unfortunately bad news comes from the Russian occupation zone about outrages by the Red Army and this makes all discussion more difficult. It happened that an angry fellow-prisoner, who had received a letter from his father, shouted to me: "You're all rogues as you were always depicted to us, for it is written here 'I was able just in time to protect your mother from being raped by a Russian!'"

It is indeed catastrophic the news which one hears and reads from Germany. Unfortunately it is bad propaganda. Not a vestige of Communism left. Thus Stalin and his satellites have indeed left the Marxist-Leninist line.

I am asked the following questions in the camp which in the main I cannot answer; perhaps you would be able to supply the necessary information:

(1) How many party members have the Trotskyists?

(2) Is it possible to join the Party?

(3) Does the Party exist in many German towns?

(4) When a member of the Fourth International, is it all right at the same time to be at the same time a member of the Communist Party of the Third International or is it necessary?

(5) How and where is it possible to join the Party in Germany?

(6) Where is the seat of the headquarters of the Party?

People come to me with these and other questions which unfortunately I cannot answer.

I have received news from my family and have learnt that my wife and children are still alive. They were able to save their lives by the skin of their teeth, but have lost everything else. Both my mother and two sisters met the same fate. For almost a year they all lived in one cellar. We sit here behind barbed wire and are not allowed to help. You can imagine what the feeling of us family fathers are...

With proletarian greetings to all comrades,
The Comrades of Our Camp.

May Day in Singapore

Dear Comrade,
On behalf of the May Day Committee set up by some servicemen to further the aims of the 1st May and all that it stands for, we send our best wishes to Jack Haston for the telegram of solidarity with the toilers of the East and West. The R.C.P. was the only organisation that replied. Similar letters were sent to Citrine, Pres. T.U.C., McGovern for the I.L.P., Gallacher for the C.P., E. Bevin, M. Foot and Lawson for the Labour Party. The leading members of the union to whom I spoke, were extremely pleased with the R.C.P. for their May Day Greetings to the Workers of Malaya.

It will interest you to know that our May Day Committee comprised one Labour Party member, one Stalinist, one Trotskyist, one I.L.P., and two militant workers at present unattached. When the Committee was elected a leading Stalinist opposed its formation. Our C.P. friend on the Committee took sides with us against him.

The aim of this body was to work jointly with the unions for May Day. I believe we made our first success when the General Labourers' Union informed us that they had applied for a permit to hold a meeting and demonstration on the 1st May and for two weeks had received no reply. It was already the middle of April. We forwarded a letter to the T.U. adviser in this country, Mr. Brazier, and out of the tangle the unions obtained the necessary permission. It would take up too much space and anyway the position is not quite clear as to what happened to the Union's application.

We put May Day Greetings from the British Workers to the

workers of Malaya in two daily papers. A red banner with similar slogans (another one was "Workers of the World Unite for Socialism") was hung on the platform on May Day.

On the 30th of April I was surprised to hear from the 2nd in Command of my battalion that the civil police had informed them that I was forbidden to go into the May Day meeting, or enter the General Labourers' Union (the headquarters of all Singapore Unions) premises in future. A copy of my intended speech was stolen from the union premises. It was to be translated into three languages.

To the surprise of many servicemen, when they approached the Stadium for the meeting they found the area surrounded by the Military Police. They were told it was a court martial charge to enter the Stadium and were then chased away. Many units had notices up putting this area out of bounds on this day.

Dare a Tory Government have done this in their day? It has now fallen to the Labour Government to pursue such a fierce reactionary policy. Reaction is so strong that the editor of an Indian daily was afraid to include the word "Socialism" in our advert. It took us a long time to convince him he would not get into trouble.

I was told that because I was absent from the platform the local Stalinists prevented the R.C.P. greetings being read to the huge audience, on the grounds that it would not help the relationships with the Malayan Government, and the British Government. What an anti-working class attitude to take. The Stalinists like our capitalist-minded Government fear the unity of the toilers of the East and West for Socialism. Neither the Malayan Government nor the British counterpart represent the interests of the working class.

(As a point of information: since the "liberation" 127 strikes have taken place in Malaya.)

I am writing to an M.P. about the whole dirty business. The difficulty which faces me is what M.P. is interested. I have placed matters in the hands of several M.P.s on a number of occasions before, and they fell asleep on the job. It is not only with me that such things occur but from many servicemen the same complaint is made: "that M.P.s are useless and don't answer you." Yet, they had the audacity to work out a need for an increase in wages and then sanction it in Committee.

The *Socialist Appeal* is the only medium for working class struggle in Britain. We will show our appreciation once again by sending you some more cash. From our May Day work and R.C.P. international ties with the workers of Malaya we are confident of increasing our last amount.

Best wishes to *Socialist Appeal*.
Tom.

PIT PONIES UNDERFED

BY JACK JONES (G.C.G.)

What are the rations necessary to keep pit ponies in a fit condition? When asked this question by the hauliers at the Steer pit, Gwaun cae Gurwen, the management replied that the ponies were getting the rations allowed by the Ministry of Agriculture—12 to 13 lbs. of corn every 24 hours. The hauliers were not satisfied that this was enough to keep the ponies fit and unless something is done about it pretty soon there is liable to be a stoppage of hauliers in the Steer pit.

The Vet recently visited the pit stables to examine the horses and declared that they were getting sufficient food and were in good condition. The unfortunate animals couldn't answer back—so let the men who live with them and care for them underground speak on their behalf.

Percy Jones, a haulier, approached me on the matter. "You should write this scandal up in the *Socialist Appeal*," he said. "My horse, Fido, continuously gnaws at the road timber. He is so hungry and I am ashamed to work him."

Quirk, the man who feeds the horses said: "I have never seen such a thing in my life. It is awful." Another haulier... "My horse Gent, fell six times before the commencement of yesterday's shift because of lack of food and overtime. They work the horses 8 to 9 shifts a week which is far too much."

Finally, Jack Jones, who drives a pony called Lord: "The horses in this condition should not be allowed to work more than one shift." He was very bitter. "It's a damn shame," he continued, "there are hundreds of riding schools about the country where

the horses exist only for the pleasure of the idle rich." "Their luxurious food should be given over to the poor pit ponies who work so damned hard." "Look at those protruding ribs," he said—and then swore heartily.

Everyone will agree with that haulier who pleads on behalf of his horse. It is a scandal that these animals who toil continuously in the stagnant atmosphere of the pit and who rarely see the light of day until their carcasses are more valuable as horse meat—it is disgraceful that these ponies should be underfed while good food is given to the mounts of the Rotten Row exhibitionists.

Every miner's M.P. must protest at this inhuman sweating of pit ponies. They must force Shinwell to stop all Riding Schools, and every other equine pleasure of the idle rich until the working horses have been fed.

Every miner feels bitter that food which properly belongs to him should be guzzled by the ruling class wasters. Let us fight to stop it. And let us not forget also our friend the pit pony. His food too, is filched from him to feed the horses who exist for the pleasure of our masters.

Victimised Worker Reinstated

BY G. HANSON

The prompt and effective strike action taken by the tool-room and experimental workers employed at Wilkinson's Sword Co., Acton, in reply to the provocative dismissal of Bro. Higginson of the Tool-room, has once again demonstrated the tremendous importance of such action.

This victimization of Bro. Higginson was the last straw in a series of provocative actions by the management in the past few weeks. On March 31st, it was announced that as a result of the decrease in the cost of living, (1) plus the fact that in the management's opinion the rates paid by them were above that of the district bonus would be cut by 10%. This cut, and the reasons given for it were vigorously opposed. After negotiations, bonus was cut by 5% with the management prepared to resume discussion if their figures were proved incorrect. Information was soon obtained by the workers concerned to prove that their rates were not above that of the district. This however was not accepted.

During these negotiations the recent 6/- award was announced, this was not paid by Wilkinson's for their reasons given above. The tool and experimental sections thereupon gave a week's notice.

As a result of this the workers' representatives Bros. Peerman and Sawways, were notified that the Award would be paid to all adult male labour, and the factory notified to this effect.

On Saturday, May 4th, it was agreed to resume negotiations; but they immediately broke down and failure to agree was registered. On the same day another Shop Steward registered same failure to agree, since 6/- award was withheld from piece workers contrary to notice of management.

Bros. Peerman and Higginson were delegated by the toolroom to

put the case before the District A.E.U., who were also prepared to give every assistance to the pieceworkers who were not getting the 6/- award.

On Wednesday, 23rd, Bro. Higginson was called by the manager to his office; and in the presence of the foreman, was notified that as a result of toolroom reorganisation he was redundant. This, coming after the statement by the manager at Saturday's meeting that due to pressure of work more toolmakers were needed, plus the fact that the foreman had no knowledge of such reorganisation, was clearly victimisation.

Bro. Higginson was paid a week's pay in lieu of notice and ordered off the premises by closing time. Blunt refusal met all his reasonable requests for more time to clear his kit. This obvious victimisation had its result the following morning when the toolroom unanimously decided to down tools on Friday morning if this being refused, the strike began. Three other departments then issued an ultimatum to the management that they also would come out failing reinstatement.

Faced with this situation, the management climbed down after the usual bluster had failed, and was forced to reinstate Bro. Higginson. The workers then made, and gained the demand that Shop Stewards Committee be formed and recognised, free to organise the workers in the factory.

This decisive victory gained by the organised workers places them in a far better position to restore the 7 1/2% cut, and demonstrates to all workers the need to extend 100% Trade Unionism of the toolroom to the entire factory.

S.O.S. FOR MONEY

We are here again with the old cry: "We must have more for the Fighting Fund". In the next issue we will give the complete list of donations for May. As we go to press we have received only £43 11s. 11d. To reach our target of £120 for the month, we must raise £76 8s. 9d. in the last few days.

Once again we appeal to our readers to help bridge the gap between the cost of production and the selling price of the paper. This copy of *Socialist Appeal* cost more to produce than the price charged. Did you pay more than twopenny for it? If not, will you give as much as you can afford next time, and every time you get your copy of the paper?

Party members and sympathisers! Have you asked every likely subscriber to take a subscription card and contribute regularly to the Fighting Fund? Our West London comrades recently, on one canvas, got two dozen regular readers to take cards and guarantee regular donations. This shows that it can be done.

In the period that lies ahead our paper is more than ever essential to give news of the class struggle from all parts of the world and to provide a Marxist analysis of events. It is up to every reader to help *Socialist Appeal*. Send donations to:

HAROLD ATKINSON,
256, HARROW ROAD,
LONDON, W.2

FIGHT BREAK-AWAY UNION

BY JOHN KELLY

A grave threat to the unity of the engineering workers has developed in the Croydon area, where many active A.E.U. members working for B.O.A.C. have resigned membership and formed a branch of the break-away Aeronautical Engineers' Association.

A slander campaign has been started in Stalinist A.E.U. circles which characterises the breakaway as a "Trotskyist union."

The events leading to the split are typical of the frustrating experiences of many engineers today. In April 1943 the R.O.A.C. signed an agreement governing wages and conditions with six trade unions including the A.E.U. The terms of the agreement reeked with company unionism. It dispensed with a shop stewards' organisation in the Company's branches, and substituted a so-called 'Works Committee' which gave non-trade unionists, the same facilities for election and representation as trade unionists, the only difference being that the trade unionists could have one extra representative provided that in an establishment of 500 they had no less than 40 members. This committee had no power to deal with applications for wage increases, since the agreement stipulated that all such claims should be negotiated on a national scale.

In short, the only job it could carry out was on questions of welfare. In no circumstances were shop stewards recognised.

Towards the end of the war with the entry of several experienced Trade Unionists at the Croydon base transferred from shadow factories elsewhere, a campaign got under way to have the agreement cancelled in favour of Federation practices under the York Memorandum. A drive was made for Union recruits and the A.E.U. membership steadily increased. Hopes ran high when the Croydon District Committee of the Union called upon the members to boycott the agreement and fight for shop stewards recognition, but were soon dashed when the Executive Council sent down Bro. Taylor, the Divisional Organiser and a leading Stalinist, to reverse this decision.

Many members dropped out of the Union after this development, and the American C.P. branded him as a "renegade." They declared that his trip was being utilised by the reaction to give the false impression that there existed some sort of "Communist Supreme Court" to whom Bro. Browder could appeal against the action of the American C.P. From this it is fairly evident that such was the object of Browder's visit.

His appeal did fall on totally deaf ears. For his years of service to Stalinism he has been rewarded with a job as... a booksalesman! He is "out of political life," and parades now as "a perfect example of private enterprise." To such an ignominious level is the one-time leader of the American Communist Party reduced! Still his services and his self-abasement are being rewarded. Moscow is giving him a job. He will have his bread and butter guaranteed, and that for a Stalinist servitor is the primary consideration.

since they felt they had nothing to gain from such action. Disputes around such questions as Hanger heating were simply shelved and months went by before the official union machine took the matter up.

But having noted all this, we must examine the issue in the most objective manner. The breakaway is being justified on the grounds that the A.E.U. members at the Airport received no assistance from the leadership. But in abandoning the Union, our brothers have simply "thrown in the sponge" so far as concerns the fight to replace this leadership with rank and file militants.

In fact, by leaving the Union, they have done a service to the leadership of Towner & Co., since the latter are always pleased to see the backs of opponents. The ideal trade unionist to them is the one who says his contribution and keeps his mouth shut. The A.E.U., with a membership of 750,000 has within its ranks some of the finest militants in the engineering trade, and the attitude of our brothers simply splits the ranks of this fine body, when they should be busy strengthening it.

Admittedly this is no easy task, but the one which the brothers have undertaken is a much harder one. At the moment they seem to be impressed by the amount of illustrated propaganda which the executive of the breakaway are lavishly distributing. But this will soon wear off. Promises are cheap. The case of the breakaway is that it will serve their interests best, but so far as its members at the airport are concerned, they have first of all got to win recognition for it, and they have placed the Management in a strong position through allowing them the chance to play off the breakaway against the A.E.U. and vice versa.

In addition, there is bound to be a split at the airport, which will injure the trade union organisation. Our brothers are even further back now than when they set out to win shop stewards' recognition two years ago. And talking about democracy, in the "new" union, a full-time is elected for five years, whilst even in the A.E.U. it is a three year term of office—and this at a stage when the breakaway has only a membership of 2,000.

Perhaps our brothers will consider this an unimportant point, but at a stage when the requirements of the industry more and more demand men with practical experience, plus rank and file militancy at the helm, and the tendency towards bureaucracy is really powerful, it is an ominous sign.

The task now is to minimise as far as possible, inter-union friction at the airport, and this can be done by both sides keeping the fight against the Management as item number one, and trying by friendly co-operation to put up the best possible opposition.

For A.E.U. members the main job is on the course of common activity, to win our brothers back into the ranks there to resume the fight for a militant, democratic union. We have temporarily lost several good militant trade unionists. Our main job now is to help them back, remembering at the same time that the sooner we force the A.E.U. leadership to wage real struggles and get on, the sooner will such a reunion be effected.



Those Strikers think they've got us with our backs to the wall - but they'll see that we're not so soft!
From the "Militant", U.S.A.

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY "AGITATOR"

None will deny the existence of a world shortage of food, housing and consumers' goods. Likewise none can deny that its continuance and aggravation is caused by capitalist obstruction and bureaucratic mismanagement.

In the *Observer* of 26th May, "Perogine" comments as follows on the lunacy of capitalism:

Food Unsaleable

"At the same time, some European countries are anxious to get rid of their own surpluses of food; and they are unable to find buyers. Danish producers of meat and bacon worry because their stocks are unsaleable. Stocks of bacon have to be put in cold storage. Farmers have been warned not to slaughter cattle, because Denmark is now afflicted with a glut of meat. The catch of fish in Danish waters has been cut to one-tenth of normal. Swedish fish merchants, too, do not know what to do with this year's catch. They offered to sell it to the starving countries of Europe at half the market price. Since the offer has not been accepted, they decided to throw about two-thirds of the catch back into the sea. The northern seas have yielded a fabulously rich catch this year, but nature and the have not betimes taken into account the fact that the balances of payment of the starving countries come first and their starving populations only next."

Tobacco Burned

So much for Europe. At home we read of a ton of tobacco being burned at Southern Rhodesia House. It was brought here for show purposes. It has not been kept under proper conditions for smoking, and it cannot be sold here because no duty has been paid on it!

Paint Bulldozed

Into a gravel pit near Chichester the Army has bulldozed hundreds of drums of paint valued at 25/- a drum. It was not first quality paint suitable for houses. But it contained oil and tar and was ideal for fences, gates and out-buildings such as haystacks.

Mansions Empty

Lastly in our recital we refer to the following report from *Reynolds News*:

"Inhabiting a mansion of 100 rooms, with four servants and herself as the sole occupants, Lady Mary Catherine Charlotte Ashburnham, of Ashburnham Place, Battle, Sussex, was yesterday granted permission to possess a revolver 'in order to deal with possible burglars!'"

The most obvious solution to Lady Mary's problem would be to requisition about 96 rooms for workers' families.

What's on

Attend the NORTH LONDON BRANCH Discussion Meetings Every Thursday at 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road, (Room 3)

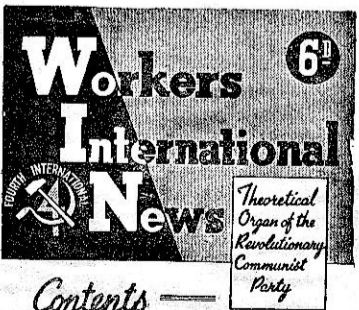
CROYDON BRANCH Wednesdays Fortnightly Rise and Fall of the Communist International 1917-1928 Wednesday, 6th June.

SOUTH EAST LONDON Tuesday, June 4th, at 7.30 p.m. "Our Attitude to the Labour Government" 71 Perry Hill, Lewisham, S.E.

EAST LONDON BRANCH R.C.P. Discussion Circles every Wednesday, at 7.30 p.m. Working Lads Institute 279, Whitechapel Road, Adjoining Whitechapel Station. All readers invited - Special invitation to members of the C.P.

GLASGOW R.C.P. Every Wednesday Evening at R.C.P. Rooms 47, Oswald Street. Open during the day.

SHEFFIELD R.C.P. Wednesday Evenings at 7.30 p.m. Burngrave Vestry, Burngrave Road, Sheffield. Lively Discussion Classes



Contents: EDITORIAL NOTES: World Congress of the Fourth International. MANIFESTO OF THE WORLD CONGRESS. NATIONALISATION—Words and Reality By Ajit Roy. A CRITICISM AND ALTERNATIVE TO THE PROGRAMME OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party,
256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.
Phone: CUN 2526.
EDITOR: E. GRANT.
BUSINESS MANAGER: A. MAXEY.

PACIFIC EXPERIMENT

The newspapers are filled with news explaining in great detail the preparations for the atom bomb experiment on July 1st in the Pacific. Details as to the 4,000 animals—goats, pigs, rats, gathered onto the 97 ships, all ready shaved, greased and lotioned in preparation for the experiment are described.

The scientists wish to measure with the greatest possible accuracy, the effects the explosion of energy will have on the human body.

Thus, cold-bloodedly, the preparations proceed whereby the whole of the human race can be exterminated. Not only is there a race between the Great Powers feverishly experimenting on the destructive potentialities of the Atom Bomb, but ceaseless experiments and enormous sums are being expended for the purpose of creating even more diabolical instruments of destruction. New robot planes and bombs which could raze whole cities and devastate countries, even without the use of atomic energy. And now comes news of a more terrible weapon than the atom bomb itself—radio-active material, a by-product of plutonium. This deadly material referred to as the "no-secret weapon", can be manufactured in enormous quantities by all the industrial countries and sprayed from planes with lethal effect on all living things which it touches.

Thus, a new war threatens the common ruin of all the participants, the collapse of civilisation and the return of the few remnants of mankind who may survive, back to barbarism.

Yet all the powers are experimenting with atomic energy in the endeavour to gain "secret" advantages over one another. The Labour Government has introduced an Atomic Energy Bill into Parliament providing stringent penalties for violations of secrecy. So in America. Other countries will follow suit.

Thus free research and the unhampered exchange of ideas and information between the scientists of all nations which, by the utilisation of its possibilities could transform the world and prepare a revolution in production, is being deliberately sabotaged by the rulers of the nations.

While the Stalinists have protested against the secrecy shrouding atomic research, neither they nor the Labour leaders have drawn out its implications sharply for the masses. If capitalism should succeed in maintaining itself for the next decade or two, then inevitably atomic energy will be used to destroy mankind.

In the atomic bomb and its implications is the final proof that capitalism, with its private ownership of the means of production and its outworn national states, has become an anachronism.

Only a socialist world can utilise the full resources of atomic energy for the purposes of construction. The experiments on the small Pacific Island should act as a spur to the militants in the working class movement. It must serve as a means to rouse the masses as to the real alternative of the epoch. Only the Fourth International poses the problem squarely: either the Socialist Revolution or the destruction of mankind.

TROTSKY'S ATTORNEY writes to Justice Lawrence

Chicago, Illinois.
May 15, 1946.
Sir Geoffrey Lawrence
Chief Justice, International Military Tribunal
Nuremberg, Germany
Esteemed Chief Justice:

You have by this time undoubtedly received two letters requesting you to ask the Nazi defendants, especially Hess, certain questions calculated to elicit information as to whether or not any of the defendants ever entered into any agreement with the late Leon Trotsky, who was murdered in August 1940 by one of Stalin's hired assassins.

One of the letters is signed by prominent American citizens, among whom is Norman Thomas, James T. Farrell, Matthew Woll, and Dorothy Thompson. The other letter is signed by prominent English citizens, among whom is H. G. Wells.

In both of the letters you were informed that the indictments upon which the infamous Moscow trials of 1936-38 were based charged that Leon Trotsky and his son Sedov had entered into an agreement with the defendant Hess, acting as agent for the Nazi government, for the purpose of waging war against the Soviet Union and dismembering that country.

One of the chief defendants (or better, victims) of the Moscow trials, Pyatakoff, testified in support of the above allegation of the indictment.

That particular charge of the indictment (as well as all other charges), together with Pyatakoff's testimony, was proved to be false by the Commission of Inquiry, headed by John Dewey, the famous philosopher and educator, after an exhaustive examination of all the available evidence, found Trotsky and his son not guilty and designated the charges as frame-ups.

The alleged accomplices of the alleged conspiracy are now on trial. They can be examined. The Nazi archives are in the possession of the governments now occupying Germany. The persons who signed the letters mentioned above have requested in the interests of historic truth, that you and all others who are helping conduct the trial examine the defendants and ask all those who have charge of the Nazi archives to produce any documents dealing with the alleged agreement between the Nazis and Trotsky.

80 TROTSKYIST CANDIDATES IN FRENCH ELECTIONS

Paris, 16th May.—The Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French Section of the Fourth International) began its election campaign with the most successful meeting it has yet held in Paris. The meeting, which was held in one of the largest halls in Paris, was attended by 2,000 workers. Comrades Pierre Frank, Beaufre, Demare, Bonnelle and Garner outlined the programme and election policy of the P.C.I. Enthusiastic applause punctuated all the speeches—demonstrating that the workers were in accord with the programme of the P.C.I. 15,000 francs were collected.

C.P. BRAINS TRUST STUMPED

Allen Hutt Refuses to Answer Nuremberg Question

LONDON: Seeing an advertisement of a "Communist Brains Trust" in Hampstead on May 22nd, I went along.

Perhaps, I thought, these C.P. Brains will be able to tell me why the plots between Trotsky and the Nazis allegedly established at the Moscow Trials have not been brought out at Nuremberg.

The Brains Trust consisted of Allen Hutt, one of the Communist Party's leading theoreticians, and three local members. The meeting proceeded very staidly, until the Question Master with great reluctance, read out my question. He turned to the Brains Trust. Three members looked completely blank. Allen Hutt, after sniggering behind his hand for a little while, finally said: "Trotsky's dead, isn't he?"

The Question Master asked if there was any answer to my question, but there was none. So he said: "The Brains Trust feels that Trotsky has been dead some years, and the question is of no interest."

At this I rose and said it was of interest to me and I wanted an answer. Then another Brain said: "I'll answer the question. When the full reports of the Nuremberg Trial comes out—in 20 or 30 volumes—I will read them all, and then will consider the question."

Well, this flabbergasted even his colleagues! I again pressed my question, pointing out how the Communist Party had used the Moscow Trials during the war as evidence that Russia had wiped out her Fifth Column. I demanded that they answer as a matter of duty to me, to the audience, and to the Party whom the Brains Trust were supposed to represent. But no further word came, and I walked out in disgust.

I have seen some disgusting exhibitions by Stalinists. But never have I seen such a complete admission of political and moral bankruptcy. They dared not answer because Nuremberg shows the Moscow Trials were monstrous lies, and Hutt and his friends know they were lies.

D. JAMES

Coalition! Force the Communist Party and the Socialist Party to take power on a workers' programme!

Comrade Bonnelle dealt with the programme of demands of the P.C.I. The workers' conditions were still deteriorating; food was more scarce and prices far too high for the workers; wages had been frozen on a level well below the minimum requirements. In the present situation the P.C.I. demands: unfreeze the wages, for a rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living; against the piece-work system introduced by the Stalinist Minister Croizat; for consumers' councils, composed of small farmers, shop-keepers, housewives, to control the distribution of food; for a national plan of production formulated by the trade unions; for workers' control of prices; for nationalisation of all heavy industry, without compensation, under workers' control.

Comrade Beaufre, in a rousing speech, called upon the workers to support the P.C.I. candidates. The P.C.I. had been in the forefront of the workers' struggles; of the struggle against the reactionary intervention of French imperialism in Indo-China and North Africa—in the struggle for the unconditional freedom of the colonies. Under the Nazi

occupation, despite the torture and imprisonment of its members, the party continued its revolutionary activity.

80 Candidates

The P.C.I. is to run 80 candidates in 12 areas. These areas are mostly working-class, or areas in which the peasantry have a revolutionary tradition. The candidates will cover 4,500,000 voters, that is 20 per cent. of the French population. The cost will be 20,000 francs per candidate, a total cost of 1,600,000 francs, which sum has already been collected by the Party.

For each area the P.C.I. will publish 3 posters and 2 election addresses—the total printed leaflets, addresses, posters, will run well over 15,000,000. Party speakers will speak on the Paris, Bordeaux, Brittany, Lyon and Grenoble regional radio stations. They have been so far forbidden to speak on the national radio because they have under 20 lists (areas). The Party is vigorously protesting against this measure.

These condensed figures show that this is one of the most important election campaigns taken on by a section of the Fourth International. From every aspect it is of great importance, and the P.C.I. cannot but make important inroads into the life stream of the French working-class.

FAMINE IN CHINA

10,000,000 Eat Grass and Clay

BY MIKE CORT

Millions of Chinese farmers, located on the country's richest rice lands, are today slowly starving to death. 10,000,000 people in Hunan Province rely for sustenance on grass and a native clay which they refer to as "kwanyin" (Goddess of Mercy). This appalling news was reported by Dr. Ting-fu F. Tsiang, Chinese delegate to the Atlantic City meeting of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

After years of sacrifice in the war against the Japanese imperialists, the Chinese people find that peace brings them the gift of starvation. And if they had any illusion that succour in their final extremity would be forthcoming from their Anglo-American "allies," this illusion is now dashed. For official U.N.R.R.A. figures reveal that contemplated relief for China's starving millions amounts to \$1.25 per capita—hardly sufficient to displace clay as a diet staple.

All of China has been allocated 7,500 tons of relief grain for 1946, according to Dr. Tsiang. But Hong Kong, the British crown colony, has been allocated 23,000 tons, nearly half the amount for the whole of China.

No Aid At Home

Nor can the Chinese people look to their own government for aid. Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt regime is today spending more money for military purposes than it has earmarked for food for the starving. Dr. Tsiang gave a vivid description of the plight of his people to the Atlantic City meeting. He said, "The people are eating grass. The farmers and peasants now have marked up the grass into lots. This lot belongs to my family, that lot to your family. They also eat a kind of clay which is a greivish, tasteless business."

These conditions mean that in Hunan province alone, according to a March 22 dispatch from Chungking to the New York Times, 4,000,000 Chinese will die of starvation unless adequate relief is provided.

A representative from Hupeh declared that conditions in his province were far worse than those reported in Hunan. In Hupeh, he said, there is only dirt to eat.

IN CHIANG KAI SHEK'S CHINA



Chinese labour is so cheap that Chinese labourers are used as beasts of burden by the landlords and capitalists. A Soviet China would introduce large scale industrialisation and raise the level of the Chinese coolie from that of a beast of burden living on grass and clay to that of a human being.

BRITISH BEHEAD GERMAN

The Labour movement must be roused against the barbarity—there is no milder word to describe it—of the British occupation authorities in Germany. A.P. reported recently "Kurt Rogener, found responsible for issuing numerous anti-British posters in the British Zone of Germany, has been beheaded for inciting the populace to rise against the occupying authorities." This, presumably, is the military government's idea of "re-educating" the German people after Nazism!

During the whole period of the war the British ruling class and their propagandists called on the peoples in all the countries of Europe occupied by the Nazis to rise against the oppressor, and they assisted and encouraged resistance movements for this purpose. Now the situation is reversed and Britain has become the oppressor, the occupying power. Now it is a crime to resist the occupying forces. And what is more a crime punishable by beheading!

It is a disgrace to the name of the British Labour movement that such a thing can happen with a Labour Government in power.

From the report the politics of Kurt Rogener are not clear. That is not the issue. He was beheaded for "inciting the populace to rise against the occupying authorities." This is a monstrous position. Almost all forms of German left-wing or trade union activity which fall foul of the dictates of the military occupation can be listed under such a heading and any genuine movement must inevitably dash with the occupying powers. It gives the all-clear to the reactionaries in control of the occupation to launch pogroms against any kind of socialist activity of which they disapprove.

Such actions as the beheading of Rogener can only antagonise the German masses and provide the breeding ground for a resurgence of reactionary nationalism in Germany. The working class movement here must be roused against these atrocities which are being sanctioned by the Labour Government.

Solidarity with the German workers must become the keynote of our agitation. The demand must be raised for the withdrawal of the troops from Germany and Europe.

C.P. LEFT SWING

BY DAVID JAMES

The policy of class-collaboration patriotic flag-wagging and strike-breaking pursued by the Communist Party since June, 1941, led, as we all remember, to its participation in the General Election under the slogan of "National Unity," advocating a post-war coalition Government including Churchill and Eden.

The decisive and scornful rejection of this policy by the mass of the people and the heavy defeat of nearly all its candidates, gave it a severe blow. A mood of disillusion and depression swept the whole Party. It seemed to have no real future as an independent party, with a policy hardly differing from that of the Labour Party except that it was more reactionary in some respects.

As a long-term perspective this remains entirely true, and the campaign for affiliation to the Labour Party emphasises this: for the C.P. makes it abundantly clear that in ideology and program, it is completely reformist. Nevertheless, it remains in existence as an independent party, and has recovered some of its lost self-confidence.

A "Left" Turn

This is due to the fact that its policy has in recent months shifted somewhat to the left, and its members have therefore felt their existence as a separate tendency to be justified.

It has become increasingly critical of the Labour Government, mainly on Foreign Policy. On the industrial field, it no longer adopts a naked strike-breaking attitude, but when a strike or rank-and-file demonstration breaks out, it attempts to gain the leadership in order to limit it, lead it into "safe" channels and betray it. The engineers' demonstration in March, and the Cossor strike, are typical examples.

The clearest indication of this "left" turn is given in a May Day pamphlet written by John Mahony, significantly entitled "Direction — Socialism." It is in no sense a revolutionary pamphlet but when contrasted with Pollitt's "Answers to Questions" written a year ago it shows how far the C.P. policy has moved leftwards. Pollitt was denying the whole basis of Marxism, denying that capitalism must inevitably lead to world crises and war, proclaiming that through class-collaboration a peaceful transition to Socialism

was possible, "forgetting" the question of colonial oppression. Mahony starts from a recognition—in words!—of the principles of Marxism, that "the very development of capitalism itself would sharpen the class struggle" (p. 6); denounces the reactionary rise of British imperialism and raises the slogan of "Withdraw British troops from Greece, Indonesia, Egypt, India"; and warns that "Anyone who hugs the old illusion that all you have to do is pass a Bill through Parliament, is in for some rude awakenings. The nature of capitalism is such that it cannot and will not co-operate in measures to limit its own profits, privileges and power" (p. 12).

This "left" policy is not an original discovery of the British Communist Party. On the contrary, it is merely swinging, somewhat late as usual, into the internationalist line. The event which first heralded this "left" movement was the article of Jacques Duclos in April 1945, attacking Earl Browder and the American C.P. for dissolving itself and prostrating itself before Wall Street. Since then, Earl Browder has been expelled and denounced (correctly, but about ten years too late) as an agent of capitalism. The Stalinist leaders have been dragging out their dusty volumes of Marx and Lenin to search for quotations in service of the new line.

The Roots of the "Left" Policy

The very fact that the C.P. proposed and carried out a reformist, class-collaborationist and strike-breaking line just as vigorously after the end of the war as before it proves that the shift to the left is not a fulfilment of the promise so often given to C.P. members justifying the wartime policy: "After the war we shall adopt a revolutionary policy again!"

It is not a return to Marxism, because there is no criticism of the theory or practice of reformism, in Mahony's pamphlet or in any C.P. publications. The Labour Government is criticised only on specific questions, above all where it comes directly into conflict with Stalin's foreign policy. For instance, red-hot denunciation of British imperialism in the Middle East. The swing is, in fact, only an opportunistic reflection of the current needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, which dictates the

"line" to its agents—the C.P. leaders—in all countries.

Two factors press upon the Stalinist bureaucracy and force it to adopt a demagogic "left" line. One is the sharpening antagonism between the USSR and its imperialist "allies" of yesterday. As the dominant imperialist power, America, is playing the leading role in lining up the capitalist Powers against Russia. Yesterday the Stalinists were proclaiming the unshakable unity between "socialist" Russia and the capitalist "democracies," in the interests of which they sabotaged the workers' struggles, and by sowing this dangerous illusion disarmed the working-class in the fight to defend the Soviet Union. Today, forced by events they did not foresee, to recognise the antagonism between these Powers, they are denouncing American imperialism, not in order to lead the world working class in a struggle against it and for socialism but only as a means of justifying and excusing Stalin's incursions in the realm of power politics.

The second factor is the mounting discontent of the Russian workers themselves. Stalin's speech on the eve of the Soviet elections clearly showed that the bureaucracy is conscious that its privileged position is menaced by the Soviet workers' demand for a

(Continued on Back Page.)

STALINIST ANTI-SEMITISM

"... I consider the assertion of Jewish particularism as nefarious.

"... It is normal that, as a result of their situation, the Jews should be more receptive than others to the cosmopolitan which seems to be becoming the offensive ideal of a certain over-seas mercantilism. To the extent that Jewish particularism detaches the French Jews from the interests of the Frenchmen taken as a whole, and renders them more receptive to propaganda which might threaten our independence, I consider this a dangerous fact.

IS IT SACRILEGE TO ASK FOR WHAT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REASONS SUCH AND SUCH A PARTY HAS IN ITS LEADERSHIP A LARGER PROPORTION OF JEWS THAN THIS OR THAT OTHER PARTY? IS IT SACRILEGE TO ASK WHY 80% OR MORE OF ALL TROTSKYIST AGITATORS ARE JEWS?"

(Extract from an article by PIERRE HERVE, daily contributor of the Humanite, published in the paper Fraternite, 21.2.46.)

CAPITALIST INHERITANCE LAWS INTRODUCED BY STALIN

For the first time in many years first-hand material concerning internal life in the U.S.S.R. is becoming available in this country. Two highly significant developments have taken place: one in the field of economy, the other in the domain of politics. The latter is quite recent, the former is one year old.

Last year, on March 14, 1945 the Supreme Council promulgated an important decree which introduced sweeping revisions into those sections of the Soviet Civil Code that govern the inheritance of private property by law and by will. So far as we know, the full text of this decree was made publicly available in this country for the first time in the recent February issue of the *American Review of the Soviet Union*. A study of this decree discloses a further deep incursion under the Kremlin regime into the economic foundations of the U.S.S.R.

From the Marxist standpoint, inheritance is a juridical expression of "the economic organization of society based on the private ownership of the means of production" (Marx). A little reflection will show that it is impossible to strike at the roots of capitalism without at the same time overturning the chief buttresses of the legal superstructure whereby private property is perpetuated. That is why one of the first actions of the young workers' republic under Lenin and Trotsky was to abolish inheritance. "Inheritance by law as well as by will is hereby annulled," states a decree of May 1, 1918.

But this original decree, like others in the same period, was intended to set a goal rather than to be put immediately into effect. It is possible to completely abolish inheritance, only when a country's economic life has been definitely switched to the track of socialist production. At the outset it is possible only to place rigid restrictions on inheritance. This is precisely what the Bolsheviks did in Russia. A limit was fixed on the amount of property that could be

bequeathed and the number of individuals who could inherit. Capitalist law, naturally, sets no such limits.

Soviet Law Under Lenin

The initial Soviet regulations of inheritance were stop-gap measures. In the absence of adequate social security provisions, the Soviets permitted, in order to take care of incapacitated individuals and minors, inheritances of property up to 10,000 gold rubles in value, with the heirs being limited to the direct descendants of the deceased—children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, the surviving spouse, and the incapacitated members of the household. All property over and above the set sum reverted to the state, the sole legal owner of all property.

With the inception of the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.)—that is, with the partial retreat toward capitalist forms made necessary after the termination of the Civil War—these stop-gap measures became the legal norm (decrees of May 22, 1922). In certain cases the 10,000 gold ruble restriction was waived, and a heavy progressive inheritance tax—up to 50 per cent.—was levied on permitted inheritances over and above the fixed sum.

Under the regime of the bureaucracy we observe a step by step relaxation of restrictions on the amount that could be legally bequeathed, and on March 1, 1927, the 10,000 gold ruble limit was erased. In addition, exempted from the heavy inheritance tax were such items as: household articles (except luxuries), insurance policies, author's and patent rights, bank savings, etc. The next step toward removing all restrictions on the amount of inheritance came nine years later, when the decree of April 1, 1935, sanctioned the transfer of bank accounts, state bonds and negotiable paper to individuals other than the legal heirs.

But the restriction on the number of legal heirs remained in force throughout all these years, and through the first years of the war. Moreover, if a property owner died intestate, his estate could be by law divided exclusively and equally among his direct rela-

tives (surviving spouse, children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and incapacitated members of the household). In the absence of these, the property reverted to the state. The original provisions in this connection, thus remained the law of the land.

Such is no longer the case, because the March 1945 decree extends the number of heirs by law to include "able-bodied parents, and in their non-existence the brothers and sisters of the deceased."

Sweeping Changes

In addition, an order of precedence is set by law, as is the case in capitalist countries. No such precedence, however, operates in the Soviet Union. Article II of the new decree flatly states that "every citizen can bequeath his entire property, or part thereof to one or several persons mentioned in Article I of this decree," and then goes on to add that in the absence of these "the property may be bequeathed to any person." In other words, not only distant relatives but completely unrelated individuals may legally inherit by will. This is virtually identical with the capitalist guarantee for the perpetuation of private property.

It is noteworthy that the decree also permits property owners to bequeath either part or the whole of their estates to "government organizations and to social institutions," the sole restriction being that minor children and other incapacitated heirs cannot be deprived of their legal share. Among the "social institutions" recognized by the Kremlin are the "millionaire" collective farms, co-operatives, restricted officers' clubs, and other formations which represent budding bourgeois property forms within the existing economic structure of the Soviet Union. It ought to be added that the Greek Orthodox Church, too, is now a legal heir.

One cannot estimate at a distance the full extent to which capitalist tendencies have been strengthened in Soviet economy during the war years. It is clear, however, that the March 1945 decree greatly re-enforces these tendencies. Not only is the perpetuation of private property now sanctioned, but the road to its concentration is widened.

(Reprinted from *Fourth International, American Trotskyist Journal*.)

Adrema Strike Firm

The following Press release from the Adrema Strike Committee, has been sent to the "Socialist Appeal"—

DISPUTE AT ADREMA LTD., EAST ACTON

27th May, 1946.
Arising out of the leadership of the Convener, Bro. L. Miller (Acton 7 Branch) in the recent successful strike action at the above factory, he has now been victimised.

Since the termination of the strike and the E.W.O. the Convener has been asked by the Management on several occasions to "Co-operate" with them on various issues.

In view of the fact that the management have never offered to co-operate with the workers and had always operated only the minimum T.U. conditions and concessions, the Convener felt that he would not be working in the best interests of our members by agreeing to such "co-operation".

At 3.45 p.m. on Friday, 24th May, the Convener was called before the management and accused of "approaching members of the office staff with a view to getting them to join a Trade Union for the specific purpose of obtaining inside information from the Company's Offices." Our brother denied the allegations but was told to "get off the premises immediately".

The Convener met the rest of the Shop Stewards and the whole factory, comprising some 150 workers, decided to down tools immediately and make their way to the canteen.

As the Convener approached the canteen he found the way barred by representatives of the management who intended to prevent him, by force, from addressing the workers. Two stewards came to our Brother's aid and forced their way into the canteen. The management threatened to call in the police to have the Convener forcibly ejected but they never arrived.

The Convener addressed the workers who unanimously decided to stage a Stay-in-strike until he is reinstated, and instructed the stewards to approach the management with this demand. The management refused.

The next day, Brother Berridge, (Divisional Organiser), together with the Stewards met the management who still refused reinstatement, Brother Berridge informed the Management that he fully supported the action taken by our members, and that he would report the matter to the District Committee with a view to obtaining official recognition of the strike.

A Strike Committee has been elected and pickets posted at all entrances.

The workers in this establishment are determined to carry this fight to a successful conclusion. The Strike Committee urgently appeals to you for your whole-hearted support and assistance that will help us once and for all to stop the victimisation of Militant Trade Unionists.

(Signed) Bro. W. COLEMAN, Chairman.
Bro. A. PEARSON, Secretary.
(On behalf of the Strike Committee)

canten he found the way barred by representatives of the management who intended to prevent him, by force, from addressing the workers. Two stewards came to our Brother's aid and forced their way into the canteen. The management threatened to call in the police to have the Convener forcibly ejected but they never arrived.

The Convener addressed the workers who unanimously decided to stage a Stay-in-strike until he is reinstated, and instructed the stewards to approach the management with this demand. The management refused.

The next day, Brother Berridge, (Divisional Organiser), together with the Stewards met the management who still refused reinstatement, Brother Berridge informed the Management that he fully supported the action taken by our members, and that he would report the matter to the District Committee with a view to obtaining official recognition of the strike.

A Strike Committee has been elected and pickets posted at all entrances.

The workers in this establishment are determined to carry this fight to a successful conclusion. The Strike Committee urgently appeals to you for your whole-hearted support and assistance that will help us once and for all to stop the victimisation of Militant Trade Unionists.

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(On behalf of the Strike Committee)

SHEFFIELD SOLIDARITY STRIKE

BY H. LEE

SHEFFIELD, 27.5.46.
On Thursday night May 23rd at 5 p.m. the managing director of Ambrose Sharnold & Co. Ltd., Sheffield, informed the militant convener of shop stewards, Bro. Bill Longden, that he was dismissed with one hour's notice, saying that there was not enough room in the firm for the two of them.

A mass meeting of workers was immediately summoned and a decision taken to strike in support of the victimised convener. A strike committee was elected on the spot, and at a mass meeting it reported on the developments of the strike.

A continuous rota of pickets has established a 100% close-down of the factory.

Apprentices and non-staff chargehands had refused to cross the picket lines and had joined in the strike. Press releases had been made at regular intervals and a leaflet explaining the cause of the strike, stating its objects and calling for financial and moral assistance had been drafted. The meeting endorsed the proposal of the strike committee that 12,000 be printed and distributed at factory gates throughout Sheffield. Preparations are being made for a prolonged strike, and all donations to the strikers' cause should be sent to the **Shardlow Strike Committee at the A.E.U. Institute, Stanley Street, Sheffield.**

There can be no doubt about the overwhelming support which the Shardlow strikers will receive in the course of their struggle.

By Friday night, 7 branches of the A.E.U. had declared their solidarity and called on the D.C. and the E.C. of the A.E.U. to recognise the strike as official.

Present at the mass meeting today were the convener of shop stewards at the giant English Steel Corporation plant, and representative stewards from Firth Browns, another great plant. Both addressed the meeting, pledging the full support (both moral and financial) of the workers in their factories. Resolutions of solidarity have also been received from other factories. The General Purposes Committee of the A.E.U. District Committee met and pledged full support and solidarity.

At the end of the meeting volunteers for picket duty, leaflet distribution, etc., were called for. The response was magnificent. The Chairman's remark that "we workers will show the boss that we are capable of organisation and sacrifice" was no idle boast.

Killed in the Struggle for Communism

Under the heading: "Killed in the Struggle for Communism," the *March 9 La Verite*, organ of the *Parti Communiste Internationaliste*, French section of the *Fourth International*, publishes the following tribute to four of the heroic German Trotskyist leaders murdered in the Nazi concentration camps:

The long list of militants of the Fourth International who have fallen victims of the bloody Hitler dictatorship is not yet closed.

After recently honouring Marcel Hic, General Secretary of our French Section and L. Lessol, leader of our Belgian Section, both martyrs of the Fourth International, we salute today the memory of four of the most outstanding fighters of our German Section, about whose murder in Nazi prisons we have just learned.

OUR MARTYRS:

WEINER SCHOLEM, leader of the German Communist Party until 1923 and editor-in-chief of the paper *Red Flag* in Berlin, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at Moscow. He joined the Trotskyist movement at an early age. After Hitler seized power, he was sent successively to the concentration camps of Sichtenburg, Esterwegen, Dachau, and finally to Buchenwald, where he was assassinated in 1940 by a shot from the revolver of an S.S. officer.

WALTER (whose full name we withhold, since his family is living in the Russian zone) was a functionary of the German Communist Party for many years before joining the Fourth International together with Scholem. He was arrested in 1933, and after 11 years of suffering in Nazi concentration camps, he was mortally wounded on August 24, 1944, during an aerial bombardment.

EDWARD KOLISCHER, a delegate of the (German) Soldiers' Councils in 1918, who soon thereafter placed his military talent at the disposal of the Bolshevik Red Army. He was assigned to Leon Trotsky's General Staff. After the expulsion of Trotsky, Comrade Kolischer was retained on the top General Staff of the Red Army and at the same time represented the Austrian Communist Party on the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He finally joined the Communist Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky and took part in the underground struggle against the Schuschnigg dictatorship. Arrested in 1938, he was deported to Buchenwald and then to Dachau. He was murdered there in 1942, at the age of 49, by a series of blows dealt by a prison guard.

FRITZ REUTER, a baker by trade and one of the oldest German Bolshevik-Leninists, was imprisoned in Buchenwald, then in Dachau, where tuberculosis quickly carried him away. Comrades, the example of your lives as militant fighters and as working class prisoners, the example of your sacrifices will not be in vain. Your heroic struggle will serve as a striking refutation of the capitalist lie that would have us believe in the solidarity of the German people with Hitler.

TRUMAN'S ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION

(Continued from page 1.)

Company Stores
They are seeking an end to the extortionate prices of the company stores through a 10 per cent. discount on all purchases at present price levels and 20 per cent. on mine clothes and equipment. As Lewis charged, the 3,600 mining company owned stores "were inferior in service and in goods because competition is eliminated and thus prices are high."

Lewis minced no words in characterizing the smug attitude of the wealthy operators towards these "trivial" matters.
"When we sought success from blood-letting you professed indifference. When we cried aloud for the safety of our members you answer 'Be content'—twas always thus'—When we emphasized the importance of life you pleaded 'the priority of profits; when we spoke of little children in unkept surroundings you said, 'Look to the State.'"

Bread And Roses
Now the operators are complaining that they are willing to give the miners the highest pattern of wage increases but have been "refused with abuse." The miners answer, in the words of the old labour song, "We want bread, but we want roses too." If they win their social demands they will see an example for the rest of the American laborer that may have far-reaching progressive consequences.

The capitalists would prefer to give wage concessions, if pressed, but are terrified at the idea of the workers health facilities and compensation. It is too dangerous in its implications. The workers would begin to see that there is no need at all for the capitalist parasites, that they could well manage industry as well as administer their own affairs. Furthermore they would be in a strong position in the event of strikes.

That is why the capitalist senate is rushing through legislation. As a reply to the miners' demands and the recent strikes, the Senate has just passed a Bill which would make it illegal for employers to contribute to a welfare fund exclusively controlled by a Trade Union, to make it compulsory for employers and employees to accept arbitration; and for a 60 days cooling-off period after the intervention of the Federal Mediation Board during which strike action would be illegal.

Anti-Strike Legislation
It is above all against the miners that Truman and the American capitalists are rushing through their legislation. Since the passing of the Trade Disputes Act there has not been such vicious anti-working class and strike-breaker legislation in a self-styled democracy. The provisions are as follows:
1. The President is empowered to declare a national emergency at any time an interruption occurs in the operation of any facility which he deems vitally necessary to the maintenance of the national security.

C.P. LEFT TURN

(Continued from page 3.)

better standard of living: in self-defence, Stalin once more talked the language of Marxism. This gravedigger of the Revolution tries to use for his opportunist ends the revolutionary tradition of Lenin, which he and his clique have dragged in the dust.

Stalinist Zig-zags in the Past
In this way, the latest Stalinist turn can be shown to be in line with all those in the past.

The rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the hounding and expulsion of the Left Opposition led by Trotsky, from 1924 to 1928, was accompanied by a right-wing policy, which culminated in the tragic defeat of the Chinese Revolution. This was succeeded in 1928 by a violent swing to the left, whose cause lay directly in the Soviet Union itself. The opportunist policy of Stalin and Bukharin had led to a position where the kulak and capitalist elements threatened the very existence of the Soviet state: in self-defence, the Stalinists were forced to embark on a ruthless policy of forced collectivisation of agriculture and feverish industrial construction, though Stalin had opposed the Five Year Plans put forward by Trotsky. This was reflected in the Stalinist Communist International as an insane ultra-left policy, the "Third Period," in which the Labour Party was described as "social-fascist."

Hitler's rise to power in Germany, the direct result of this criminal policy, forced a fresh turn, this time to an extreme right-wing policy. In the interests of reaching a diplomatic alliance between the USSR and Britain, France, and the USA, the Stalinists led the workers into disastrous coalitions with capitalist parties—the Peoples' Front—which ruined the Spanish and French revolutions just before the war.

With the Nazi-Soviet Pact, a new "left" turn took place. But this was a pale shadow of the Third Period ultra-leftism. In spite of demagogic anti-war propaganda the rotten policy of class collaboration was retained (in Britain, the grotesque farce of the "People's Convention.") When a fresh right-swing took place in 1941, following on the outbreak of war between Russia and Germany, it went far beyond that from 1935-39. Not even the Social Democrats at their worst conducted such a foul activity of strikebreaking and chauvinist hysteria.

Two things stand out from this brief survey. One, that the zig-zags of Stalinist policy are utterly opportunist and without historical perspective, determined completely by the day-to-day needs of the Soviet bureaucracy and not by those of the international working-class. The other, that the process has been a continuous evolution to the right; each left-swing has been a pale shadow of its predecessor, each right-swing has been more profound.

How Far Will the "Left" Policy Go

The Communist Parties continue to be dominated by the Moscow bureaucracy, but they have also undergone an evolution of their own. Two decades of unprincipled policies, becoming in the later years downright counter-revolutionary, have profoundly changed the Communist Parties. Not only have they destroyed all possibility of their revolutionary regeneration but they have become basically reformist parties, closely integrated with the Trade Union bureaucracies. This, irrespective of Moscow's policies, limits the extent of their "left" manoeuvres.

Another important fact is that in spite of the antagonism between Stalin and the imperialists, these gentlemen have a common interest which forces them to collaborate in the coming period, namely, fear of the world revolution. However the Stalinists may try to blackmail the imperialists with the threat of unleashing revolutionary movements (as they are doing at present, in the most cynical and revolting fashion, with the tortured Spanish and Greek workers and peasants), they dare not allow a victorious revolution to occur in any country, since this would give the Russian workers a rise in confidence and inspire them to self- and overthrow the counter-revolutionary Kremlin clique.

For this reason, the left-swing will be largely confined to words. It is impossible to predict its form or its extent. But what is certain is that any real struggle of the working class will as hitherto be sabotaged and betrayed by the Stalinists (who may, nevertheless, indulge in the mockery of praising its heroism!)

The American workers are learning how the State and the capitalist parties act directly in the interests of the employers. Like trade union leaders in Britain in the past, the American Union leaders, both C.I.O., A.F.L., as well as the Railway Brotherhoods have been an appendage to the capitalist parties, particularly the Democrats. And the Democrats have behaved as the Liberals in Britain behaved in their day. Pretending to be impartial, whenever there was a decisive clash, they have acted in the interests of the employers and against the workers.

The fact that President Truman and the Democratic Party have revealed themselves will educate the American workers as to their role. The same combativeness and militancy which makes the American workers among the best fighters in the world in the industrial struggle will be manifest on the political arena.

The Danger of Stalinism

The left-swing increases the danger of Stalinism. Workers who become dissatisfied with the impotent reformist policy of the Labour Party and seek a revolutionary road, who would be repelled by a "Communist" Party which openly breaks strikes and supports the capitalists, can be confused by the same party which conducts basically the same policy but talks an apparently Marxist language. It is to be expected that the C.P. will grow in the next years in Britain, where it is not in any position of power, and therefore does not so openly show the contradiction between its words and its deeds as in other countries, such as France, where it forms part of a capitalist Government.

This imposes on all genuine communists the task of redoubling the effort to explain and demonstrate the rotten theory and practice of Stalinism, its essential identity with reformism, its hostility to revolutionary communism; and to show all serious Communist workers the Leninist road of uncompromising class struggle which is followed today only by the Fourth International.

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 financial national house-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 all 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.

LONDON DISTRICT COMMITTEE
MARXIST DAY SCHOOL
SUNDAY, JUNE 16th
3 p.m. and 7 p.m.
Tea Break
3 p.m. KARL MARX'S THEORY OF CAPITALIST CRISIS — John Goffe.
Tea Break
7 p.m. CAN CAPITALISM AVOID CRISIS — THEORIES OF KEYNES AND BEVERIDGE — Ajit Roy.
1/-

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