

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party BRITISH SECTION of the 4th INTERNATIONAL

No. 37. JANUARY, 1947.

MINERS MUST CONTROL

Out with the Capitalist Coal Board!

During the past few weeks the capitalist press has carried panic articles on the "coal crisis". Factories in Lancashire and in many other areas have threatened to close down because of the lack of fuel. The biggest of these organised panic campaigns was the threatened closure of the Austin motor factory. Subsequent facts showed that the factory had actually received its allocation of coal and had no need to close down!

It is not at all accidental that this capitalist scare campaign coincides with the taking over of the mines under the Labour Government's nationalisation scheme. It is clear to all that these campaigns have as their object to slander the miners and to discredit nationalisation.

As in the past, the capitalists try to place the responsibility for the present crisis onto the shoulders of the miners. Shinwell and Morrison have directly participated in this campaign by holding that "absenteeism" and "unofficial strikes" are responsible for the present situation. Horner and Lawther, who now "defend" the miners, also participated in this reactionary campaign. These same gentlemen, one of them a "National Production Officer," devoted their whole energies to campaigns for speeding up production, sabotage of strikes, and ways and means of increasing the sweat of the miners.

The facts, repeated in almost every paper, leave no doubt that absenteeism and unofficial strikes have nothing to do with the coal crisis. The coal crisis is a product of a century of plunder by the capitalists, whose only concern is profit. Absenteeism and strikes are themselves products of capitalism.

The nationalisation scheme of the Labour Government places the whole mining industry in the hands of the State, a capitalist State. No less than six members of the Coal Board, which is to manage the industry, are drawn from the top layers of the capitalist class. Nationally and in the pits themselves the same managers and directors will remain in power under nationalisation.

Already the miners of Whitburn colliery, South Shields, have expressed opposition to the maintenance of the capitalists in power. The "News Chronicle" (30/12/46) reports the Lodge Secretary as follows: "They are disappointed with the Coal Board personnel, and contend that in the main they are the men responsible for the chaotic conditions before nationalisation."

This is the essence of the problem. There can be no solution to the coal crisis and a betterment of the miners conditions so long as the capitalists remain in control. The present nationalisation, that is state-capitalism, can only increase output, pay dividends on state bonds and the huge sums of compensation, at the expense of the miners conditions, wages and safety.

Because they say that the members of the National Coal Board and the Northern Region Board are mainly representative of the owners, the miners at Whitburn Colliery have refused to take part in celebrating on New Year's Day the transfer of the pits to public ownership.

The miners of Whitburn have understood that the same managers under a different name will not solve the problem. If the pits are to be run in the interests of the miners and the working class then firm control must be in the hands of pit committees elected by the miners. That would be a real step in the direction of workers democracy, of socialism.

The miners have generally welcomed the taking over of the pits from the hands of the grasping coal-owners. It is indeed a step forward, but only in the sense of economic centralisation.

The miners and the working-class as a whole must conduct a struggle for workers' control of the mines, for the removal of the capitalist managers and directors, who for years have carried out the orders of the coal barons, for an end to the payment of compensation which places colossal burdens upon the miners, and for the immediate application of the miners' Charter.

CHARLIE DUKES BRINGS 'PRESTIGE' TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS

In the new honours list are several misleaders of the working class, titled for services rendered to... the ruling class. Among these is Lord "Charlie" Dukes, leader of the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

"There doesn't seem much sense in covering up your name when it is fairly well known," said Dukes. "I think I shall just call myself Lord Dukes." "There used to be a great deal of criticism of the House of Lords among Socialists. You never hear it nowadays. We have moved from the idea of abolishing the House of Lords. In the last quarter of a century the House of

Lords has restored its prestige." "Evening Standard", Jan. 1st. It may be true that one never heard a criticism of the House of Lords in the circles of Charles Dukes. This only goes to show how long it is since these leaders have mixed with the members of the working class. When the members of his union read about his promotion to the illustrious Upper House, Charlie should have heard the rude, but good old socialist remarks!

BEVINISM JUSTIFIED BY L.P. SECRETARY

Foreign Policy Discussion in Labour Party

BY J. HASTON
FOLLOWING ON THE HEELS OF THE LABOUR "REVOLT" IN PARLIAMENT ON THE GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY, THE SPELTHORNE DIVISIONAL LABOUR PARTY HAS ISSUED A LETTER TO ALL DIVISIONAL PARTIES CRITICISING THE GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY AND PROPOSING THE OUTLINE OF AN ALTERNATIVE POLICY.

According to the "Daily Worker" nearly 40 replies have been received favourable to the Spelthorne letter. This is about 6 or 7 per cent. of the total number of Divisional Parties.

SPELTHORNE LETTER

This Spelthorne letter was made public by the "Daily Herald", of Dec. 17th, when Morgan Phillips, secretary of the Labour Party, devoted columns of space in reply to it. Phillips' reply is being circulated to all branches and organisations of the Labour Party as a printed folder. Thus both documents will be the subject of a widespread discussion in the next few weeks.

The Spelthorne circular is an exact replica of the current foreign policy advocated by the Stalinists in this country. "Tribune", the organ of the one-time Labour Lefts, commenting editorially on the Stalinist inspiration of the document, said that: "It bears no resemblance, either in content or purpose, to the Parliamentary

opposition against specific and debatable issues of the Government's foreign policy." The Spelthorne document commences with a correct generalisation that capitalism gives rise to wars. Nevertheless it attempts to shift the responsibility for both world wars onto the shoulders of Germany by emphasising "the conditions created by the expansionist needs of German monopoly capital..."

The document criticises the actions of the Labour Government in Greece, Spain, Egypt, Palestine, Indo-China, Indonesia and elsewhere, and correctly argues that the Labour Government aids the reaction and opposes the progressive movement of the masses in various parts of the world. Exposing the tendency of the British Government to bow with America against Russia, the letter argues that: "The Anglo-American line-up has turned U.N.O. into a political weapon against the position of the Soviet Union in world politics." This situation must "sooner or later" result in a new world war.

The solution to this situation is, according to the Spelthorne document, to adopt the alternative "policy of genuine political and economic collaboration with the Soviet Union and the new democratic states in Europe." This would transform U.N.O. from a "battleground of world politics into a real arena for the settlement of world problems." This is the moment is elaborated.

Despite the kernel of truth contained in it, which is often to be found in Stalinist documents, this is a dangerous and indeed poisonous document, which, if it gains support, can divert the attention of those workers who are genuinely critical of the foreign policy of the Labour leaders and who seek to change that policy.

It is much more likely to help the Labour leaders than to assist in crystallising a Left wing of opposition. Its false orientation gives ammunition to the Labour leaders and has been taken up by them as a welcome pretext and opportunity to wage a campaign against all dissidents on foreign policy within the Labour Party.

The weakest point in the Spelthorne document, at least that most easily subject to attack, is its blatant whitewash and support of Russia's foreign policy. It is precisely this weak spot that has been seized upon by Morgan Phillips to direct the discussion from the channels of socialist criticism to that of a comparison between Russia's foreign policy and that of Britain.

PHILLIPS' REPLY

Replying in the "Daily Herald", Morgan Phillips says: "While it is true that socialists believe that capitalist society contains tendencies which may lead to war they do not believe that only capitalism produces war." He proceeds to argue that capitalism is a fairly

modern phenomena and that wars have taken place throughout the history of man. He points to Russia's invasion of Finland and other countries prior to the outbreak of the present war and argues that "even a dictatorship of the proletariat can act first and justify itself afterwards."

It is difficult to imagine greater confusion being concentrated into a few paragraphs. Yet so degenerate have the theoreticians of Stalinism become, so often have they spread a number of the false ideas now put forward by Phillips, and so false is their alternative line that they have not found the possibility of answering him two weeks later.

Dictatorship And Democracy

Phillips here, falsely, and deliberately so, identifies the Stalinist dictatorship against the proletariat, as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "dictatorship of the proletariat" means nothing other than the rule of the working class. It means that the democracy of the country is a workers' democracy; that the state, industry and the control of the machinery of government, this presupposes a more widespread democratic regime than exists in any capitalist country, where not only industry, the government and the state are controlled by the bourgeoisie but also the

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GREEK WOMEN APPEAL FOR AID

STOP DESPATCH OF ARMS TO GREECE

THE U.N.O. SECURITY COUNCIL HAS DECIDED TO SEND AN INVESTIGATING COMMISSION TO GREECE. THE FUNCTION OF THIS COMMISSION IS MOST LIKELY TO BE THE WHITE-WASHING OF THE BLOODY TSALDARIS ROYALIST REGIME AND TO JUSTIFY THE OCCUPATION OF GREECE BY 50,000 BRITISH TROOPS.

14,000 Politicals Deported To Islands

Since the Stalinist dominated Left laid down their arms, the situation has steadily deteriorated for the workers.

It is reported that 14,000 politicals have now been sent to concentration camps on the infamous penal islands. 400 are reported to be on the small island of Anathi. Half starved, with insufficient clothes and bedding, without fuel and short of water.

These are the islands to which the bloody Dictator, Metaxas, exiled worker-militants during his reign. The Royalist reaction continues to strengthen its control of all the commanding positions. Soldiers are recruited on the basis of personal invitations, and "enemies of the nation" are not invited.

Anti-Royalist Conscripts Dismissed

Vourladis, Greek Under-Secretary for War replied to questions from the press on the dismissal of conscripts from the army. Anti-Royalist conscripts from Crete who presented themselves at Corinth, were stated to have been dismissed as superfluous, as were three-quarters of the conscripts who went to Missolonghi, Haidari, Athens.

Court martials are functioning uninterruptedly, condemning to death civilians as well as troops. Many of the latter having been accused of fraternisation with the "rebels". In the first week of December, 25 death sentences were pronounced and more than 100 condemnations to life imprisonment, as well as other heavy penal sentences.

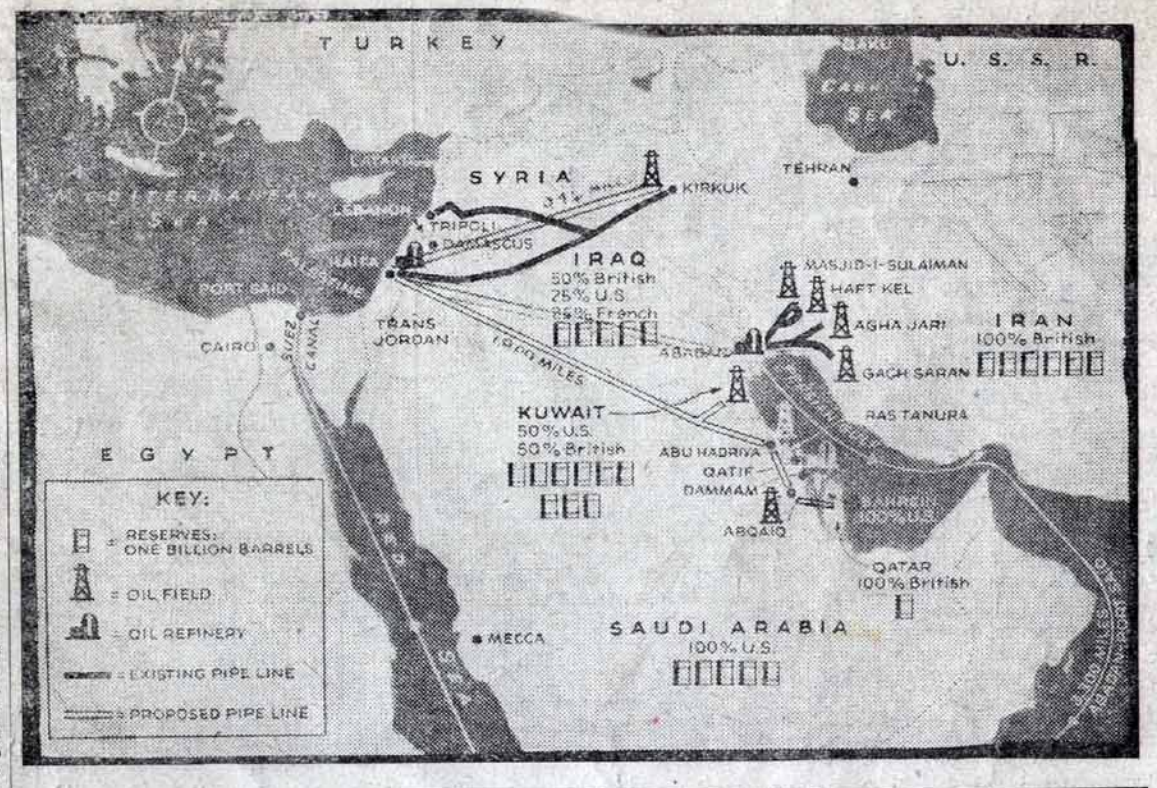
12 Republican soldiers, including one officer and two civilians, were sentenced to death by court martial on the 5th December alone.

British Chiefs Summoned

Meanwhile, British military chiefs were among those summoned to a National Defence Council on the 10th of December, held under the Chairmanship of the Deputy Premier, General Gonatas, which undoubtedly discussed the Royalist strategy against the militants who had taken up arms and gone to the mountains as in the heroic days of the Nazi occupation.

Women members of the Greek Resistance have issued an appeal to British women to oppose any re-equipment of Greek Military forces. "It is untrue to say that your sons are in Greece to ensure order," they say. "The British occupation is in support of Fascism and is aimed at civil strife. Prevent any new bloodshed between our children!" Stop British arms being sent to Greece! Force the Labour and Trade Union leaders to help the Greek reaction.

THE CENTRE OF OIL IMPERIALISM



World Struggle for Oil

U.S. to Extend Influence in Middle East

BY T. CLIFF
ONE OF THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT IS THE PRIOR INVESTIGATION BY THE PARTIES OF THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSTRUCTING A PIPELINE FROM THE PERSIAN GULF TO THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

Vast Resources in Middle East

The oil reserves of the Middle East are tremendous. Although until now less than 150 "wildcat" wells have been drilled in the whole Middle East in order to tap its reserves, in the U.S.A. more than twenty times this number are drilled every year. But it is already clear that the Middle East reserves are at least comparable with those of the U.S.A.

Imperialist Interests

The position of the various imperialist Powers differs as regards control of oil in the Middle East. The Oilfields of Iran are in the hands of the British alone. The attempts of the U.S.A. to acquire a concession over oil in Northern Iran have failed, owing to Russian

opposition. The fields of Saudi Arabia on the Persian Gulf, and Bahrain, are in American hands. The U.S.A. has also got exploratory leases for areas in Egypt. France has no company of her own, independently active in the field of oil output in the Middle East, but a French Company is a partner of the Iraq Petroleum Co. In the Iraq Petroleum Co., two British groups - Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co. and D'Arcy Exploration Co., own 47 1/2 per cent. of the shares, an American Company - Standard Oil Co. - 23 1/2 per cent., and a French Company - Compagnie Francaise de Petrole - 23 1/2 per cent.; the other 5 per cent. belongs to a rich Armenian who owns the fields. The Iraq Petroleum Co. has

concessions in parts of the Arabian Peninsula, including the whole length of the Red Sea coast; and also in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. The concession over Kuwait belongs half to the Anglo-Iranian Co. and half to the Gulf Exploration Co., subsidiary to the Gulf Oil Corporation of the U.S.A.

Britain Held Decisive Position

Until now, with the oil wells of Saudi Arabia and Bahrain not developed, England has had a decisive position in the production of oil in the Middle East, as may be seen from the following figures of the distribution of oil production in the Middle East among the

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Help The Fund!

FIGHTING FUND

The donations to the Fighting Fund for December (up to 28th) show a very small improvement over November. We still fall short of our target—and that means that our financial difficulties increase. Each month we have to meet our bills for the Paper and we can only do so if our readers and sympathisers come to our assistance by swelling the Fighting Fund. There is a gap between our income from selling the paper at 2d. and the cost of production and distribution. Comrades—help us to close that gap!

Our Paper is the only journal in Britain devoted to the struggle of the Working Class for emancipation and for the winning of the Socialist Republic. Our line is consistently that of the class struggle against the bosses. Ours is the only Party and the only paper which bases itself on the Internationalism of Marxism.

We have no hesitation in asking for your financial support—all advanced workers must be conscious of the role that our Party and our paper is playing in the struggle for Socialism and we feel confident that our readers will help us to maintain our press.

Comrades—our Paper does its duty to our class—please send us your donations and do your part in helping the work along.

Send your donations to:
ARTHUR ROSS,
National Treasurer,
256, Harrow Road,
London, W.2.

December, 1946.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	44	14	3
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Thames Valley	2	0	0
G.C. (S.E.A.C.)	3	0	0
S.L.	1	0	0
A.N.	7	0	0
P.H., Sheffield	20	0	0
W.H., Birmingham	14	8	3
Charlie White	1	0	0
Anon.	1	0	0
Edinburgh	3	0	0
R.A.S.C., M.E.L.F.	1	0	0
B.Z., Croydon	10	4	0
Nottingham	1	0	0
	£92	2	10

Conditional Decasualisation for the Dock Workers

BY N. PENTLAND

For many years dock and port workers have been constantly pressing their union officials to secure a scheme of work that would abolish casual labour and ensure regular employment.

In the years of slump and unemployment between the two wars, dockers were a section of the working class who suffered most at the hands of the cyclical depressions engendered by the chaos of capitalism.

Never sure of a job from one day to another, completely at the mercy of the "hire and fire" agents of the Port Authorities and shipping owners, dockers are determined not to go back to such conditions.

Regular employment after the war was a reform promised to the dockers in urging them to "go to work," a promise made by Churchill's Secretary of Labour, Ernest Bevin.

With the coming to power of the Labour Government some semblance of this promise had to be implemented, the outcome of which is the recent recommendations of Sir J. Forster, K.C., as provided for in the October 1945 Dock Workers' Bill.

This Bill, when enacted, replaces the existing National Dock Labour Corporation.

The recommendations of this capitalist K.C. brings very little consolation to dock workers. These recommendations fail to strike at the roots of the problem of unemployment and only mean a reshuffle of employment for a comparatively few registered workers.

Fewer Dockers Recommended

One of the main recommendations suggest that ports should only register just sufficient men to efficiently handle the volume of work which is locally handled. This, in essence, borders on the old method of discrimination and victimisation, and work for only a few, and is far from the dockers' ideas of full employment.

Against this proposal must be the demand for a shorter working day without loss of earnings which will allow for every dock worker to be employed.

Forster further recommends in return for a comparatively privileged few being employed, the dockers must hold themselves in readiness to be transferred and directed

News in Brief . . .

Maurin, General Secretary of the P.O.U.M., Spain, jailed for 10 years, was released together with other workers' leaders. It is rumoured that he has again been arrested. The French Stalinist "l'Humanité", commenting upon his release, repeated the usual slander that he was a "Trotskyist agent of Franco." Maurin never belonged to the Fourth International, but belonged to the P.O.U.M., affiliated to the centrist "London Bureau."

Soldiers of the 1st Battalion Berkshire Regiment, stationed near Hanover, Germany, gave up their chance of Christmas at home so that they could give a party to German children. They had saved their rations for weeks in preparation for the party.

A new fascist organisation has been uncovered in Atlanta, Ga., (U.S.A.) named Columbians, Inc., who boast they are "40 times as bad as the Klu Klux Klan." Openly launching a pogrom against Negroes who are moving into white restricted areas, they also hurled threats of violence against Jews. They claim branches in other cities, including New York.

Three members of the Lanka-Samasamajist Party (Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India) have been elected by large majorities to the Colombo Municipal Council. The names of the comrades are Comrade Doric de Souza, Comrade Indrapala, and Comrade Aboubacker.

BUILDERS PROBLEMS

Volunteer Labour on Housing

SHOULD BUILDING TRADE WORKERS OFFER THEIR SERVICES WITHOUT PAYMENT OF WAGES DURING THEIR WEEK-ENDS ON REPAIR OF HUTMENTS.

A BUILDING WORKER GIVES THE ANSWER.

Some time ago Building Trade operatives had to be stopped from working an extra hour a day without wages on a housing site at Bexley, Kent, because of a breach of the Working Rule Agreement.

Stalinist Line

More recently a "help-my-neighbour" campaign has been resorted to by the local Stalinists in the Hendon-Edgware district, who have been making an appeal to Building Trade workers in the Trade Union branches, and in the Hendon Trades Council to give a few hours of their spare time at week-ends to the repair of some disused Nissen huts on the Arrandene camp site, Wise Lane, Mill Hill.

State Of Hutments

It is some weeks ago since these hutments were taken possession of by a number of squatters, who were in desperate need of a home. An idea of just how desperate was the need of these people can be gained by the fact that the state of the huts was considered by the Borough Council to be so advanced in dilapidation as to render them absolutely unfit for human habitation.

Notice of eviction soon followed, and it was then that the squatters decided to stay put, and to inform the Council of this intention, besides demanding the right to discuss the position with members of that body. As a result of this, the Mayor of Hendon visited the site, and after a parley with the squatters' Committee who claimed that the hutments could be made fit to live in, his worship agreed

to have the eviction notices withdrawn, and to have materials supplied to make the necessary repairs as soon as possible.

As to the necessary labour, the Mayor could not guarantee the possibility of putting members of the Council's maintenance staff to work on the huts, and suggested that the squatters should cope with that aspect of the problem as best they could. This is the point where the line is taken by the Stalinists of calling on building workers to give some of their spare time to doing a service to their fellow-workers.

Switch Labour Force

They succeeded in having a resolution sent from the Trades Council to the Town Clerk demanding that he make application for a permit to enable workers on the maintenance staff to work week-end overtime on the site also demanding that voluntary labour be paid. Representations were made to the Hendon-Edgware Branch of the N.F.B.T.O. asking them to support this line. But that body decided to follow somewhat different procedure, by deciding to urge the Borough Council to have repair work on the huts made Priority No. 1, so as to make it possible to switch the necessary labour force away from work of lesser importance.

In answer to this request, the Council will only commit themselves to saying that they are not prepared to take over the huts but are prepared to manage them on behalf of the Ministry, and they are awaiting further instructions from the Ministry. Meanwhile members of the C.P. are going

around endeavouring to get recruits to go to work at week-ends, seemingly oblivious to the fact that by doing so they are only toying with the fringe of the problem. Such a policy is only practicable in a workers' state where the ownership and control of the means of production is in the hands of the workers.

As it is, the correct line is to have resolutions flowing into the Council and the Government departments concerned from the Trades Councils, Trade Union branches, etc., demanding immediate action in switching labour away from some of the luxury jobs not only in the district referred to here, but in other parts of the country where similar conditions are being experienced by other squatters.

By accepting the line of the Stalinists the workers in the building trade are finding an easy way out for landlords and Borough Councils who are reluctant to face their responsibilities and in this particular case, a Tory Borough Council into the bargain!

From a Sympathiser

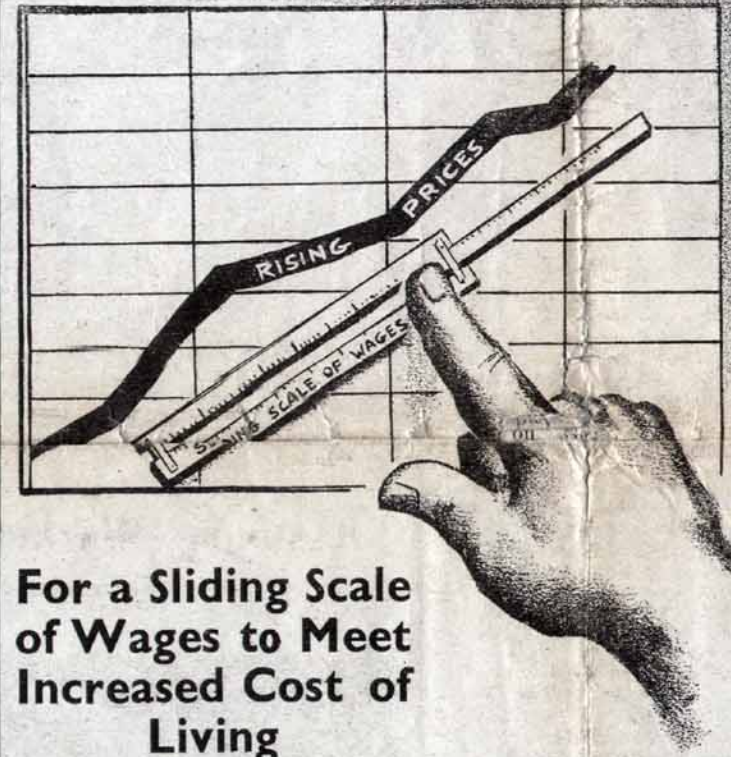
Dear Editor,

Could it be possible for you to insert in one of your publications an article on inflation and deflation, as there is so much reactionary trash being let loose in the place where I work, that it makes me feel sick every time I hear it, and especially when I hear from those very same mouths talk such as: "Sweated Labour", "Free the colonies", "Down with capitalism" and such like, that somehow it seems impossible.

I was so overwhelmed on reading your Mid-November editorial on Italian Labour that I can still feel that true spirit of internationalism crying out again and again wanting to be heard. I showed it to one of my workmates (as I normally do with all our literature); he agreed in general with the policy, but the revolutionary fervour wasn't there. Still, I suppose one has to be contented with getting a hearing at the present time. I will remember one time when you couldn't get a hearing at all.

Please find enclosed £1. 0. 0. for your organisation. I wish I could spare more. Every letter of that editorial deserves a pound.

Comrade Sympathiser



For a Sliding Scale of Wages to Meet Increased Cost of Living

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

U.S. COLLABORATORS GO FREE

When Ribbentrop and his fellow Nazis swung from the gallows at Nuremberg, many a big business man and financier in this country and in America must have said to himself "There but for the grace of God . . ." During the whole drawn-out process at Nuremberg they must have experienced many anxious moments lest one of the defendants should expose to the world the close tie-up between British and American capitalists.

Confirmation of this close link comes with the news from Washington that Assistant Attorney General O. J. Rogge has been summarily sacked under orders from President Truman himself. Rogge was responsible for drawing up a report on Fascist activities in the United States, and his dismissal follows his public revelation of some of the contents of the report after it had been suppressed by the Department of Justice. An important section of the report confirms from Nazi sources, the dealings of America's leading corporations with the Nazis.

After his dismissal, Rogge told a meeting in New York that he had questioned a Berlin attorney, formerly in the service of Hitler's Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, who said that he had come to the United States in 1940 in order to strengthen connections between American and German capitalist interests.

The German envoy told Rogge: "My most important connection with American business was with

the International Telephone and Telegraph Co., whose President Sosthenes Behn, was also a director of the German Standard Elektrizitats Gesellschaft."

He also referred to the German connections of the Underwood-Elliott-Fisher Co., Eastman Kodak, General Motors and the Ford Motor Company.

It should now be quite clear to every worker why the American Government, representing the American capitalist class wanted this report suppressed and why the Department of Justice dropped the prosecutions of Standard Oil, General Electric and many other big American concerns for business dealings with Nazi cartels. It should also be clear why there has been no investigation in this country about similar activities on the part of Imperial Chemicals and other British capitalist concerns.

HOW "THE WORKERS" LIVE

Despite Molotov's negative attitude at most sessions of U.N.O., signs are not wanting that the Stalinists have the highest confidence in the future of the organisation—or at least in the future of New York real estate.

According to the "Evening Standard" of October 24th, of all the 51 nations who are members of U.N.O., Russia is the biggest buyer of property in New York.

"Latest purchase is three five-storey houses near fashionable

Central Park. They cost £168,750. Mr. Gromyko, Russia's permanent delegate on the Security Council will occupy one. . . .

"The Russians now own four properties in Manhattan and a million dollar estate with a 51-room mansion—apparently one for every U.N.O. nation—at Glencove, Long Island."

In these sumptuous premises, the representatives of the Workers' Fatherland can be quite sure that they will not come into contact with the working class of New York.

FOR WORKERS AROUND MAYFAIR

Headed "Beauty in Business" and adorned with a picture of a bejewelled female, the following advertisers' announcement appeared on the 11th December:

"Mrs. JOHN CHURCHILL, well known in Mayfair, has opened an antique shop in fashionable Sloane Street. Against a background of rare and beautiful things, the daintiness of her fair skin shows to full advantage. I rely on . . . Cold Cream for cleansing and keeping my skin soft," says Mrs. Churchill. "And I always use Vanishing Cream as a powder base."

Where did this appear? You've guessed . . . in the "Daily Worker."

40 HOUR WEEK SELL-OUT

BY J. KELLY

The acceptance of the Employers' offer of a 44 hour 5-day week by the Confederation of Engineering Unions was a betrayal of the fight for a shorter working day.

Ever since the emergence of trade unionism in the engineering industry this fight has been to the forefront. If the ghosts of past militant action had been present at the conference table, they would have roundly condemned the lengthening of the 8 hour day, regardless of any excuses peddled by such spineless leaders as Scott, Tanner and Hodgson.

History Of The Struggle

The struggle for the nine-hour day first began in the North East, where the militant President of the Sunderland A.S.E. led the engineers out on strike on April 1, 1871. In spite of the hostility displayed by the leadership of the A.S.E. to the movement (there were Scotts and Tanners in those days also), the local employers agreed to introduce it on June 1st. This was refused, however, by the Strike Committee, who insisted that it should operate from May 2nd, and the threat of continued strike action eventually ended in complete victory for the men.

The movement in Sunderland quickly spread to Newcastle, where the "Nine Hour League" was formed from elected shop representatives. The local employers, who had banded themselves into an association, contemptuously rejected the demands of the League, and in a short while 6,000 to 7,000 men struck work. This strike covered five months of bitter struggle, with the employers using every method to force defeat. They even went to the extreme length of importing foreign labour from Belgium and Germany, whilst the strikers on the other hand, operating through the International Working Men's Association, succeeded in winning over to their side this potential scab labour, until the engineering bosses had to admit complete defeat. So great was the solidarity between the engineers and the foreign workers that the latter appeared on the strikers' platform at a great meeting on the Town Moor. The "Nine Hour League" assisted many of them to go home. This great struggle resulted in a historic victory and by the Spring of 1872 every important district had won the 9 hour day.

The 8 1/2 Hour Day

Eight days after World War I came to an end, the Employers' Federation agreed to the 47 hour week. At that time there was considerable opposition from the storm centres where the shop stewards' movement had been strong during the war. This was checked in January 1919 by the strike on the Clyde for the 40 hour week. The position of the strikers was expressed as follows: "Thousands of workers are being demobilised from the Army and Navy every day. Over 10,000 workers have been dismissed from civil employment. They are now looking for jobs. There are no

jobs for them. There is only one remedy. Reduce the number of hours." After two weeks of struggle, during which the Government drafted troops with machine-guns into the Clyde, the strike was smashed and many shop stewards were blacklisted from employment for a considerable period afterwards.

An article in the A.S.E. Journal during that period talked about the "immediate necessity of now demanding our place in the sun . . . tomorrow will be too late." These words are a warning to the engineering workers today. From all over the country news is forthcoming about the "get tough with the stewards" policy which is being pursued by the Employers' Federation. Today the A.E.U. and the Confederation are in the strongest possible position to drive home the demand for the forty hour week; that is why after all the struggle and propaganda that has been carried out in its favour, the decision to accept 44 hours by increasing the length of the 8 1/2 hour day cannot be classified as other than a defeat.

The trade union leaders who have agreed to the sell-out, not only betray the historic struggles of the past, but contravene the recent decision of the T.U.C. against the lengthening of the working day. Is it not despicable when a man like Sir Mark Hodgson can lay down the law at the T.U.C. against the lengthening of the working day, and then turn around as Chairman of the Confederation and accept on behalf of the engineers, just such a proposal? At the T.U.C. and Trade Union Conferences in general such bureaucrats talk a lot of hot air, but when they meet the employers they quickly don the mask of servility. After all, Hodgson did not get his knighthood for serving the workers. Perhaps before long we may read in

names of Sir John Tanner or Sir Joseph Scott, and even Sir Walter Hannington.

The lesson for the rank and file is clear: the fight for the 40 hour week must go on and it must be linked to an organised struggle inside the unions to replace the present docile bureaucracy with trusted militants from the ranks. Only in this way will victory be achieved and the militant traditions of the past be vindicated.

* Facts in this article based on the book approved by the A.P.U., "Story of the Engineers" by D. Jefferies.

Third Greek C.P. v. Trotskyist Debate

ATHENS, Dec. 2—

On Sunday, Nov. 26, in Athens, the third public discussion between the Greek Communist Party and the Internationalist Communist Party of Greece (Fourth International) took place on the subject: "The war and the tasks of the communists." The first speaker was a Trotskyist. He analysed the attitude of the communists towards the different wars since Marx, and insisted particularly on the imperialist character of the First and Second World War. He refuted all the arguments of the Stalinists, who presented the last world war as the war of "democracy against fascism", and criticised the attitude of the Greek Stalinists in the Italo-Greek war of 1940-41 in which they supported Metaxas and the Greek bourgeoisie in the name of "the defence of the independence and integrity of the country."

In concluding he insisted on the danger of a Third World War of the imperialists against the Soviet Union if victorious socialist revolutions did not intervene.

The Stalinist speaker, justifying the "democratic-progressive character of the last war on the part of the imperialist 'Allies' of the U.S.S.R., declared that the last war was led by fascism in the aim of oppressing the "free" countries of Europe and not for the conquest of colonies, and he mentioned the position of Marx, in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 distorted to suit his case!

The auditorium was less numerous than in the two preceding discussions, the vote included only 641 people.

The C.P.G. obtained 411 votes, the P.C.I. (Fourth International) 204 votes and there were 24 white bulletins and 2 abstentions.

The minutes of the three discussions will be printed in common pamphlets by the C.P.G. and the P.C.I.

GERMAN YOUTH

It was the custom of the ultra-pessimists during the war to pour cold water on any suggestion that German Youth might not, after all, have been quite so hopelessly poisoned by the Nazis. For these gentlemen, who still voice their opinions in spite of the ready response of German P.o.W.s to the programme of socialism, I wish to record one fact. The Lünebeck Young Socialists organisation has increased its membership fivefold during the last three months. Scores of the new members are ex-soldiers, and they have an avid interest in theoretical questions. In particular they want to know what Trotskyism is, and what the Trotskyists think about the Soviet Union. There is no need to make any comment.

Help Our German Comrades!

SEND FOOD

To:- H. CHASE,
256 Harrow Road,
London, W.2.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

Stop the Forces Victimisations!

BY G. NOZEDA

A series of court-martials has commenced at Tel-el-Kebir, in the Middle East. 10 soldiers are under arrest charged in connection with the demonstrations and protest strikes which took place there in November against the decision of the Labour Government to slow down the demob programme.

DEMOB

The arbitrary arrests of a handful of the militants who took part in the protests and demonstrations has further angered the troops. The soldiers know full well that this attempt to frame a few of their fellows as the "ringleaders" is being made by the officer-caste in order to stifle the justified discontent in the armed forces at the demob slow-down. Their solidarity with the arrested militants is expressed by all the troops overseas and a Defence Fund in their aid is being collected. At one R.A.F. station in India, 400 rupees (£30) was collected in half an hour. "The only ones who didn't contribute..." said the Sergeant in charge of the collection, "were the lads who were broke."

Allegations have been made, and not denied, that the 10 victimised soldiers have been threatened in the usual gesticulation-manner of the military officers investigating. They were threatened, each one separately, that "unless they made a statement on their part in the demonstrations, they would get 10 years imprisonment."

Similar protests against the Labour Government's demob policy has been made by B.A.O.R. troops in Germany. A British soldier is now awaiting court-martial there on a charge of "fomenting discontent about the slowing down of demobilisation". The charge arises out of the circulation among the troops there of a mass petition protesting against the demob delay and demanding that the Labour Government reverse its policy and speeds up demob.

Appeal To A.E.U.

Former members of the A.E.U. are responsible for the petition, which is expected to be signed by 10,000 troops. The petition appeals to the A.E.U. to take up these demands of the soldier-conscripts and put pressure on the Labour Government to speed-up demob. "Every conscript" states the petition, "has one ambition, to get out—and get home for good." These words sum up the feelings of

the conscripted worker in the armed forces.

Attlee has said that "world commitments" of British imperialist interests involves the maintenance of some 50,000 troops in Greece, some 350,000 in Germany, 45,000 in Italy, 110,000 in Palestine, 100,000 in Egypt, many thousands in India, Japan and other countries. In all a total of over three quarters of a million conscripted troops are stationed at British bases and camps overseas. The interests of British imperialism imposes upon the troops years of service in the armed forces away from their homes and families. The conscripted worker has no wish or ambition to continue as the oppressive tool of British imperialism. And the conscripted workers look to their comrades in Civvy Street to aid them in their demand for speedier demobilisation and return home.

The petition of the troops in Germany addressed to the A.E.U. is a challenge to the class-consciousness of the whole of the British organised workers. Let every trade unionist, every socialist and worker in the Labour movement demonstrate their solidarity with fellow-workers in uniform and demand that the Labour Government withdraws the troops serving overseas. The withdrawal of British troops from the colonies and India may well precipitate revolutionary struggles on the part of the colonial masses against their native oppressors once the foreign oppressor has gone. As revolutionary communists we stand for the right of the masses in these countries to determine their own destinies and support their struggles for freedom from Imperialist oppression.

Workers! Protest in your trade unions and labour organisations against the victimisation of militant conscripts. Demand their immediate and unconditional release!

Demand that the Labour Government ends its reactionary policy of upholding British Imperialist interests. Demand that the troops be withdrawn and brought home!

FRENCH WAR ON DEMAND ACTION INDO-CHINA Against Franco

By Charles Van Gelderen

Role of Socialists and Stalinists

ONLY A FEW MONTHS AFTER THE FRENCH MINISTER FOR THE COLONIES, MARIUS MOUTET, CONCLUDED THE AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH RECOGNISING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE VIET NAM REPUBLIC, THE FRENCH IMPERIALISTS HAVE LAUNCHED A BLOODY ATTACK ON THE YOUNG STATE.

By this act of imperialist brigandage, the Blum "all socialist" Government is demonstrating to the French ruling class that it is as capable of carrying out the traditional policies of colonial conquest and exploitation as any of its predecessors.

The ostensible excuse for the attack is the refusal of the Viet Nam Government to allow the French to control the customs at Haiphong. This would have been in sharp contradiction to the terms of the French-Viet Nam Agreement and would have been a pistol pointing straight at the heart of Viet Nam economy. In actual fact, French imperialism is fighting to maintain its stranglehold on this, the richest of the French colonies. Behind the demand for customs control lies the determination of the Bank of Indo-China to retain its monopoly control of the economic and financial life of the country.

The Bank Of Indo-China

The Bank of Indo-China is closely connected with all the big financial houses of France and has the most intimate relations with every reactionary movement in that country. Before the war it was one of the principal contributors to the funds of the *Cagoulauds* (French hooded fascists). During the occupation its Director-General, Paul Baudouin, was Minister of Propaganda in the Vichy Government. Since 1945 it has actively assisted the arming of the Spanish Royalists and today it gives financial aid to the D.G.E.R., the De Gaulle Gestapo. Through the intermediary of the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, with which it is associated, the Bank of Indo-China is connected with the M.R.P., through Andre Delmyr. This explains why, in 1945, the M.R.P. refused to agree to the nationalisation of the Bank of Indo-China.

Economic Monopoly

It completely dominates the economic life of Indo-China. It has the monopoly for issuing money and the control of transport, mines, and the metal industry, rubber, electricity and distilling is in its hands. Through its monopoly control, the Bank of Indo-China has been able to put an effective brake on the development of the productive forces in the country.

A Record Of Bloody Repression

The record of French imperialism in Indo-China is one of bloody repression and vicious economic exploitation. Since the "liberation" over a year ago, 100,000 Viet Namese have been massacred and hundreds of thousands gaoled and interned. 8,500 French soldiers have lost their lives and over 50 milliard francs have been

squandered in the cause of French Finance Capital. In his pamphlet, "In Defence Of The Colonial Revolution", Ajit Roy gives the following description of some of the measures taken to suppress the mass uprising in Cochín, Annam and Tongking in 1930:

"Men and women were arrested in masses and tortured extensively applied... the tortures used included starvation, beating, pins driven under the nails, half-hanging, pinners in the temple (to force the eyes out), and a number of others that are not printable. One of these was 'with a razor blade, to cut the skin of the legs in long furrows, to fill the wound with cotton' and then to burn the cotton."



With such refined and "civilized" methods the rulers of France try to maintain their hold over the colony.

French "Socialists" and "Communists"

In France today there is a "Socialist" Government. Yet thousands of fresh French troops are on their way to Indo-China to drown the struggle of the colonial people in blood. They will join the expeditionary army already there, which contains 80% of former Waffen S.S. forces. The Communist Party (Stalinists) is the most powerful party in the country yet all it demands is: "The rapid resumption of negotiations between the Viet Nam Republic and the French Government." ("Daily Worker", 26 December, 1946). It has not made a single serious protest or called one demonstration against this newest imperialist adventure. The Socialist Party only issued a half-hearted condemnation of the policy carried out by its own ministers.

HAMBURG NOTES

By a British Soldier

THE FOOD QUESTION

One of the consequences of the lively correspondence that has been taking place in the British Press recently about the German food question has been the publication of one or two letters enlarging on the trials and tribulations of the British housewife.

Most of these, it is obvious, did not emanate from working-class housewives, who, as far as I know, have very little time for writing to the Press, but from that peculiar type of upper middle class moron who scares herself silly in print about the awful possibility of being starved to death by a vindictive Labour Government. The German food shortage is a myth according to these ignorant people, and the British housewife is going through almost as much as the German.

To what depths of stupidity can the human mind sink when it is corroded with the national philistinism so carefully inculcated by that creation of the Kemsley Press, the British Housewives' League!

Most people in England see the German food situation only through the medium of figures. The ration calories per day; and cuts in the ration scale publicised in the same manner. In an effort to show what the Control Commission is doing, the British ration is compared with the German, but again in terms of calorific content—a comparison which demonstrates precisely nothing. What is a calory? Or fifteen hundred calories? The figures register in the mind; but the imagination is untouched. Nobody who has not tried to live on it can possibly visualise what the present ration in Germany means, in terms of human want and human suffering.

Tea With Frau F.

The other evening I went to tea with Frau F—. I took my own rations, of course, which made me a criminal in the eyes of the Army. (One can do anything with army food, eat it, throw it away, or feed it to pigs. But you must never, under any circumstances, give it to Germans. Even the giving away of haversack rations at railway stations is forbidden.)

Frau F—prepared tea, and told me what the simple snack we ate together represented in German rations. For purposes of comparison she ignored the difference in quality between the roughest army food and the best foodstuffs the Germans can buy. But no British housewife, faced with hard black bread, tasteless ersatz tea and coffee, and watery milk, would ignore it.

I ate two slices of bread, lightly spread with margarine and cream cheese. To Frau F—this represented a day's ration of bread (the army loaf is bigger than the German one, of course), a month's ration of cheese, and one week's total fat ration. We had tea with sugar and milk, an almost forgotten delicacy in Germany today, and Frau F—told me she couldn't remember when she had tea last. Nor could she remember the last time she was able to put sugar in tea. But she did know that we used the equivalent of a day's ration of milk in two big cups of tea, and the milk was milk and not the watery fluid she gets. When I opened up a can of corned beef and started to lash it out I was reminded, and I must confess it shook me, that the little can I held in my hand was only about a hundred grammes less than

As the result of a resolution passed at the United Nations Assembly, the British Government has withdrawn its Ambassador from Spain.

This action follows the demand from the T.U.C. that all relations with Franco Spain should be broken off.

This platonic gesture has been undertaken because of the discontent of the British and world working class at the continued support by Anglo-American Imperialism of the bloody totalitarian regime of Franco in Spain. But in itself, while commercial relations between Britain, Spain and other countries are continued and even intensified, it cannot help in any way the struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants to overthrow the dictatorial regime of Franco. Foreign trade between Spain and Britain has increased during the last year thus helping Franco to temporarily prop up his shaky regime.

Despite the fact that Spain was not directly involved in the imperialist war and devastated as were other European countries the conditions of the masses is almost the same as that of a defeated country.

The position in Spain has been colourfully described in an article in the "Daily Telegraph" of December 5th by John Ridley and we make no apology for extensively quoting him. He writes:

Dying Of Starvation

"You see on the fashionable Gran Via in Madrid, among the sleek, well-fed and luxurious limousines, wretchedly ragged women, boys and girls stretching out their hands to snatch a biscuit, a piece of sugar, or a few crumbs from the cafe tables. Go into the country areas, and particularly down South in Andalusia, and you find men, women and children literally dying of starvation. Queues of hungry mothers with their half-naked, famished children clinging to their skirts wait for the meagre plate of lentils or beans doled out to them by relief organisations. Families of decent working people live like animals in caves and holes in the ground.

Opulent Restaurants

"Yet on the other side of the picture one finds opulent restaurants and hotels which serve meals of the rarest foods and wines, and magnificent shops where you can buy all the clothes and luxury goods you could possibly require. But all these are at a price, and that price is far beyond the means of 9% of the people.

"The real ruler of modern Spain is the black market. Everything is governed by it. Since the legal

ration is so pitifully inadequate it has to be augmented by the meat, olive oil, bread and eggs that are now almost the monopoly of the black marketeers.

30s. A Week

"The average weekly wage of a skilled worker is 30s. A meal in a moderate restaurant costs 16s., and in a good restaurant at least £2. A loaf of bread on the black market costs 4s. 6d., a pint of olive oil, the people's only fat about 24s., and rice, another staple food, from 6s. to 7s. a lb. One egg costs 1s. 3d. Flat rents are high, and the cost of clothing, though unrationed, is exorbitant.

"The only way a Spanish workman can earn enough to keep himself and his family from starving is by having two jobs and continuing to work after his official eight-hour day is finished. This is not so easy now, as, despite official figures, there is increasing unemployment. Nor has the tremendous rise in the cost of living ever been met by a corresponding rise in wages.

"Today General Franco is exceptionally unpopular. If it were possible to have a free election and the people could vote for or against him, there would be a 95% ballot against him.

The Budget

"The Army... and it must be remembered that Spain has been at peace for more than 7 and a half years and possesses hardly any modern equipment—absorbs 22% of the general Budget. The Ministry of the Interior, whose responsibility includes the maintenance of civil order, takes 10.8%. In striking contrast, the Ministry of Agriculture, in a predominantly agrarian country, is allotted a mere 0.9%, while the Ministry of Education, on which one might reasonably suppose the future of Spain depends, receives only 4%.

Officers Well Treated—

2s. A Week For Privates

"Franco is first and foremost an army man, and, rightly realising that his precarious power depends on the Army for its life blood, he treats the Army well. An Army officer or N.C.O. eats well and is superbly uniformed and well housed. He gets good pay and, better still, draws unlimited rations—a large proportion of which is sold on the black market—from the *Economata Militar*, a sort of Spanish equivalent to N.A.A.F.I.

"On the other hand, the ordinary private soldier is paid 2s. a week, and is badly dressed, badly fed and badly housed in filthy and often verminous barracks.

"Thus one finds these are often a productive field for the efforts of the underground movement, who flood most barracks with clandestine newspapers, and although the penalty for a soldier being found with a copy is death they are widely read.

"Travelling round Spain, as I have done during the past few months, one might quite reasonably imagine that the country was at war. Everything is on a war basis, with mass movements of troops and all the fantastic display of a totalitarian State—gaudy uniforms, brightly polished jack-boots, police armed with automatic rifles and revolvers, extreme poverty and extreme riches."

Fear If Franco Goes

It is on this background portrayed by Ridley, that the manoeuvres of the Imperialists in regard to Spain must be considered. They wish to save the Franco regime but are desperately seeking some alternative to substitute for him in the event that the pressure of the masses should threaten to culminate in revolution in Spain. That is why they are holding in reserve the possibility of the restoration of the monarchy at a suitable moment. If they are hesitating at the present time it is because they fear that the removal of Franco from the top would unleash the pent-up feeling of the masses in revolutionary upheaval from the bottom. So as long as possible, they wish to prop up the tottering Franco regime.

Strikes have already broken out among the heroic workers of Barcelona, who began the revolution in 1936 as a reply to the counter-revolutionary uprising of the Army Generals; and in other towns in Catalonia. In these strikes the workers risk the firing squads and the concentration camps in which hundreds of thousands of the flower of the Spanish workers are still held under incredibly vile conditions.

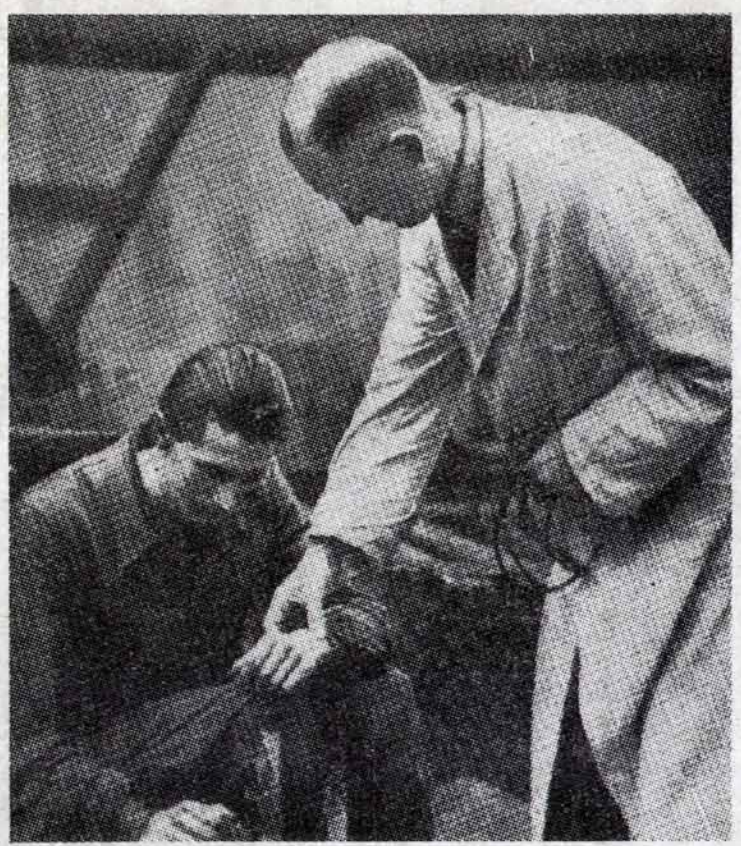
Workers' Parties For Capitalist Republic

The old workers organisations who were responsible for the disastrous defeat of the working class in the civil war, are coming forward with the demand for the restoration of the status quo as it existed before the Franco regime, i.e. for the capitalist republic.

Some sections of the Socialists have even been negotiating with the Monarchist reaction in order to win the support of Anglo-American Imperialism for the ousting of Franco. This they hope will reconcile the imperialists to the change, as the Monarchy would

(Continued on Page 4.)

Hamburg Worker Faints from Starvation



FAINTING MAN had collapsed when he came out of Hamburg factory for air. In a fortnight he had fainted three times. In one day 30 workers collapsed from hunger.

Frau F—'s monthly ration of meat.

Frau F—gets about 8 pounds of potatoes a month, but she has to stand in long queues to get them and she never knows from day to day whether the food on her ration card will be available or not. Sometimes it is. More often, particularly during the last few weeks, what she has been able to get has been far below what her card entitled her to.

The Queues...

And the queues here in Germany! It is impossible to see them without feeling the sense of hopeless desperation that fills the minds of the grey-faced men and women who stand there for hours and hours, waiting for the miserable rations that a dog would turn his nose away from in England.

And even when they get the food, it is doubtful whether they themselves eat more than a half of it. German working class women are the same as our wives and mothers: their children come first.

It is the working class housewife who suffers the most, of course. The people with the cash, who are still around in spite of "de-nazification", can live on the black market.

Herr K—, for instance, ex-officer and pillar of one of the local Military Government detachments, told me that he spends about five thousand marks a month getting food for himself on the black market. He is typical of thousands, who find it good for business to work with Military Government. It is easy to spot them. They walk around arrogantly, smoking English cigarettes. (Only one of these cigarettes would cost a worker a day's pay to buy.) And in Germany today, those who have the "connections" have the power. Frau F—has no "connections", no rings or watches to sell, and little or nothing in the bank. She and the other German working-class housewives have to carry on a well-nigh hopeless fight to exist. In peace, as in war, they are the most helpless victims of capitalism.

Middle East Oil Deal

(Continued from Page 1.)
different interests: %
Britain 79
U.S.A. 16
France 5
Total 100

There is no doubt that with the increase in the exploitation of the oilfields in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, the weight of the American companies in the production of oil in the Middle East will grow tremendously. Harold Ickes, American Petroleum Administrator during the war, touched on the crux of the matter when he said: "The capital of the oil empire is on the march to the Middle East. The United States had better move in a big way—and fast."

Connected with the question of the oil resources of the Middle East is the problem of refining. There are today five refineries in the Middle East: in Abadan (Iran), Haifa, Tripoli, Bahrain and Suez, besides small refineries in Iraq which work only for local consumption. At the moment 80 per cent. of the refinery capacity is in the hands of the British, but the position will change with the construction of additional American refineries. One of them, the Ras Tanura refinery, is already nearing completion.

U.S. Extension Plans

There is much talk about the extension of the network of pipelines in the Middle East. At the moment only one pipeline exists leading from Kirkuk in Iraq to Haifa. The length of the whole line is 974 miles. There has been talk recently of doubling the carrying capacity of the Iraq-Haifa pipeline by building a line parallel to it. There is also an American plan to construct a new pipeline from Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait to the Mediterranean coast—either to Haifa or to Alexandria. The length of the line to Haifa would be 1,000 miles; this would mean a great reduction in the route around the Arabian Peninsula through the Suez Canal is 2,300 miles long.

According to another calculation, if the American plan for constructing this pipeline materializes, it will be necessary to build refineries in Haifa to refine 300-350 thousand barrels a day, i.e., two or three times the output of all the four refineries existing in the Middle East together. The annual output of Haifa will then reach 16 million tons.

The construction of refineries owned by Socony Vacuum, in Tripoli and in the Lebanon is also being spoken about. The new agreement speaks about connecting the oilfields in Iran with the Mediterranean.

It is estimated that the materialization of all the existing oil plans of the American companies and the American Government would cost £300 million. Such a gigantic sum would cause a tremendous economic and social change in the Middle East, and would subjugate it entirely to a handful of English and American oil magnates.

Britain On The Decline

For American imperialism Middle East oil can be one of the most important fields of investment. The great development of American capitalism has deepened manifold the contradictions within it, and the capitalists will try to overcome them by imperialist expansion on a terrific scale. After World War I the British military authorities in Palestine arrested a zoologist employed by the United States Standard Oil Company who had the audacity to discover a source of oil round the Dead Sea. They confiscated his sketches and deported him; today, after World War II, U.S.A.'s power compared to Britain's is too strong for such actions to be taken against her.

Tokes declared in unambiguous terms that the stability of the peace depended on agreement being reached about the division of oil resources, and among the matters to be put before the Peace Conference, there was nothing more important than oil. In the struggle over the question behind the scenes of the Peace Conference, the American capitalists, of course, expect to get the lion's share of the concessions.

The relative weakness of British imperialism compared to American, reveals itself very clearly in all the oil deals in the Middle East. As we have already shown, the American oil companies are taking the biggest part in all the new plans to construct refineries, oil pipelines, etc. The new agreement shows that the American capitalists have entered even the holy of holies of the British Empire, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. This agreement is motivated not only by economic, but also by strategical reasons. The concentration of the refineries in Abadan (which today refines about three-fifths of all the

Middle East oil output) will be a drawback, in case of a war with Russia.

Russia And Oil

Middle East oil, particularly that of Northern Iran, plays a great role in the plans of the Stalinist bureaucracy too. This is the result primarily of the tardiness in the execution of the oil extraction plans in Russia. Thus, for instance, the Second Five Year Plan set the increase in production from 23.3 million tons in 1932 to 47.5 million in 1937. In fact, it increased only to 30.5 million tons. In 1940 production did not reach more than 35 million tons, although the plan laid down a level of over 50 million tons. With these miscalculations, the new Five Year Plan sets a more moderate aim for 1950—35.4 million tons. On examining the general plan for increasing of production it is clear that oil will be one of the most important bottlenecks in Russia. The Stalinist bureaucracy tries to get over its difficulties—the result of bureaucratic mismanagement, in a simple way: by gaining control of rich new fields.

It is quite clear that the masses in Iran were not very enthusiastic about the Russian-Iranian Agreement, which gave a concession to operate the oilfields in the north of the country to a joint company (Russia to have 51 per cent., the Tudeh Party (Stalinist dominated) suffered a great loss in influence through this agreement. The fact that after the unrest among the workers in the oil fields and refineries of the Anglo-Iranian oil company, British imperialism succeeded in strengthening the Shah's government position, in strengthening the Persian army, in overthrowing the autonomous puppet Stalinist government in Azerbaijan—all go to show that the attitude of the Iranian masses to Stalin's plans as regards their country is by no means sympathetic. The recent Anglo-American agreement is a new point scored for Anglo-American imperialism in their struggle with Russia.

For A Socialist Federation Of The Arab East

In the struggle against the American and British oil octopuses, the toilers of the Middle East cannot rely on any of the great powers. They can rely only on themselves, on their own strength and on the help of the millions of fighters for national and social independence of the East and the working class of the West. The struggle for oil reflects the aims of all the great powers. In their desire to dominate the sources of this important raw material which offers new prospects of enormous profits and wealth to the magnates of Anglo-American imperialism, the seeds of a new world war will be sown. It is oil which is determining the importance of all the great powers. And the wealth which will be gained will not benefit the peoples of the Middle East or the masses of the Western powers. It can only lead to the further enslavement of the Arab peoples. Plot and counter-plot, strategic and political manoeuvres round this area will be endless. A Socialist Federation of the Middle East in a Socialist World would be the only means of utilising the tremendous resources of the Middle East, as of the world, for the enrichment and benefit of all.

Xmas Draw Winners

The following are the winning numbers. The names of the winners will be published in the next issue

1st ... 7074	14th ... 6742
2nd ... 4093	15th ... 243
3rd ... 1191	16th ... 5272
4th ... 2931	17th ... 1350
5th ... 2582	18th ... 978
6th ... 5703	19th ... 6140
7th ... 1421	20th ... 5406
8th ... 4004	21st ... 271
9th ... 4372	22nd ... 2457
10th ... 5707	23rd ... 1871
11th ... 4345	24th ... 3701
12th ... 2705	25th ... 1075
13th ... 4010	26th ... 241

Glasgow Winners

- 1st Prize: No. D 85; T. Frame, Muirhouse Avenue, Motherwell.
2nd Prize: No. A 200; Jenn S. Woods, 42, Ancroft St., Glasgow.
3rd Prize: No. B 131; Mrs. Vm. Walker, 17, Forrest Street, Glasgow, S.E.
4th Prize: No. D 156; W. Dowd, 6, Neptune St., Govan, Glasgow.

Labour's Foreign Policy

(Continued from Page 1.) the press, wireless and the most important means of influencing public opinion.

The Paris Commune, which Frederick Engels called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was the most democratic regime of its time. This was also true of Russia in the early days under Lenin and Trotsky. The special measures of suppression undertaken by the Bolsheviks, were the necessary and temporary result of the deliberate economic sabotage by the Russian and international capitalist class, who first waged a civil war against the workers' regime and then became quislings in the war of imperialist intervention. Stalin has succeeded in perpetuating these measures, in converting them into a system and directing them against the democracy of the working class itself. When the dictatorship of the proletariat was exercised in Russia, it freed unconditionally the nations who had been oppressed for centuries by the Czar. It appealed to the international working class to break down the barriers of national hatred and unite their forces against the capitalist class. This foreign policy of the dictatorship of the Russian proletariat, formulated by Lenin and Trotsky, was the most progressive the world has ever known.

Inevitability of Imperialist War

Morgan Phillips knows perfectly well that there is a difference between ancient wars and 20th century imperialist wars. The wars for the destruction of feudalism, for the unification of the principalities and the formation of the modern nations were progressive wars. They led to conditions for the development of modern capitalism and the development of human culture. But the modern world wars of imperialism have no progressive features at all. They do not lead to the progress of mankind but to the destruction of human culture.

Modern imperialist war is the result of the struggle for markets, for sources of raw material and for fields of investment for finance capital. The over-production of industrial goods for which modern capitalism can find no market leads, inevitably, to a cut-throat export drive and competition between the imperialist powers. Just as inevitably, it leads at a certain stage to a new war for the control of these markets. Foreign policy is the diplomatic negotiations and manoeuvrings that the government carries on with the object of protecting these economic interests of the dominating class and extending these interests to the best of its ability.

When this idea is penetrating the consciousness of large sections of the working class and even the middle class, and when the capitalist politicians have themselves begun to openly admit it, Phillips chooses this time to say that capitalism may lead to war. No, Phillips, capitalism must lead to war! To end modern imperialist war is not possible without destroying the capitalist system of competitive production. To end war, imperialist export of finance capital must be ended. Whether U.N.O. operates with Britain working in conjunction with Russia as Spethorne urges or whatever the line up there on the part of the Labour leaders, U.N.O. will not be capable

of stopping the atomic war any more than the robber League of Nations stopped the Blitzkrieg. The foreign policy of the Labour Government must be challenged. But it cannot be done with the policy of Spethorne. Both create illusions that U.N.O., with or without the shift of Britain into the Russian orbit, can end imperialist war; both disarm the workers in their struggle to overthrow the capitalist system, which if continued, must lead to the Third, Atomic War.

WHY BRITISH TROOPS WITHDRAW FROM EGYPT

Phillips quotes the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt and the concessions granted to the Indians as proof of the progressive policy of the Labour Government. We must say that these actions have had an important effect upon the masses of the workers in Britain. They believe these acts to be inspired by genuine social democratic aims. The facts, however, are somewhat different.

The rising discontent of the mass of the population and of the "national" capitalist class of Egypt and the Middle East has resulted in the development of a powerful national consciousness in these areas. The masses are demanding that the British must go! To maintain the old military occupation, the British Government would have to conduct a fairly large scale war. This is also true of India. In the present state of mind of the British workers it is most unlikely that they would allow such a war to take place without protest. Of course if the Tories were in power they would hang on even more grimly than the Labour leaders, and would possibly have asked a war. After all, it is their Empire! But the Labour leaders, while seeking to protect the Empire as effectively as Churchill himself, suffer from the pressure of interests and pressures that leads to partial retreats and give Labour's foreign policy a slightly more liberal colour than that of the Tories.

GERMANY—Russian and British Policy

The Spethorne document claims: "Britain's policy towards Germany, conditioned by the fear of socialism, has so far blocked any hope of agreement with the Soviet Union on Germany's economic future." In reply to this, Morgan Phillips argued that: "Mr. Bevin has announced that Britain proposes to nationalise German industry and to reconstruct German economy along Socialist lines. In fact, one of the main causes of conflict between Britain and Russia has been the encouragement given by Britain to the German Social Democrats."

In both statements there is a kernel of truth, but this kernel is used for the purpose of furthering a lie. It is true that the Labour leaders do not want to see the creation of a Socialist Germany. But the Russian bureaucracy under Stalin are no less interested in preventing such a step. What is so progressive in the Russian policy that Bevin should follow it? The Russians have expropriated all the large Junker land estates and

broken them up among the peasantry. At the same time they have nationalised all large German industries in their zone and purged the Nazis. But these actions have been accompanied by an organised looting which had a parallel only in the areas which the Nazis conquered in their day. All important agricultural machinery has been looted and shipped to Russia, instead of being handed to the peasants to work the large estates as collective farms. The stripping of German industrial equipment has devastated the economy in the Russian Zone. At the same time, the remaining industrial productive forces have not been handed to elected representatives of the German working class but are controlled by Russian bureaucrats and the overwhelming bulk of the products of the German workers are shipped to Russia as reparations. Any independent political or industrial action by the working class is immediately suppressed and crushed in a totalitarian vise.

All this has nothing in common with communism or socialism, and is not the foreign policy of a Marxist government, but is a policy of blatant robbery. It is true to say that in the British Zone the conditions have not been as ruthless with the ex-Nazis, even if a greater freedom is allowed to the independent activities of the workers. The Labour leaders also carry out a policy of loot and plunder. If the Labour leaders are now calling a halt to this policy it is not because they have remembered a few socialist phrases from their youth but largely because they hope to create a base among the German population which can be used as a Liberal capitalist barrier against the extension of Russian influence further West. The economic fusion with the American Zone has had this object primarily in view. It remains to be seen whether the Nazi owners will be expropriated, especially in the face of American pressure. Socialist workers in Britain can have nothing in common with the policy of Stalin or of Bevin, with Spethorne or of Phillips, but must fight for a genuine socialist policy in Germany. That is to say they must be for the complete withdrawal of all foreign occupation troops and for the German people to decide their own fate. That means an end to the policy of robbery; it means the unification of Germany into an economic and political whole. A Socialist foreign policy would urge the German workers to take control into their own hands; to extend the nationalisations that have already taken place and to continue the process until every major industrial, financial and transport concern in Germany was in the hands of the German working class. A socialist policy would render every political and material aid to the German working class to gain this control. By these means, instead of Germany becoming a plague spot of starvation and disease, and of new reactionary nationalist movements, it would become what socialists have always held it must be: the industrial and cultural heart of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The demand of the Spethorne Division to throw out the old Tory officials from the Foreign Office is one which will receive unconditional support. But history teaches that Labour leaders are no less reactionary in the same Foreign Office as Tories. The whole movement must not be side-tracked into one of "Bevin Must Go" but must be concentrated on ending the policy of maintaining capitalism and the inevitable foreign policy which follows from it.

The reactionary activities of the Labour Government, especially in Greece and in relation to Franco Spain, has aroused considerable protest in the ranks of the working class. The protest of the T.U.C. and the British Trade Union delegation to New York are a reflection of this discontent. The parliamentary revolt of Labour M.P.'s collapsed at the first serious test. Nevertheless, the large bloc of abstaining votes undermined the Government spokesmen in the foreign chancelleries and in the international councils of the powers. At the same time, it considerably shook the Labour leaders, making them much more hesitant about a direct and open link with American imperialism and more cautious generally in their conduct of foreign affairs. The Tory press, anxious to exaggerate the split in the Labour (Continued in next column.)

DEMAND ACTION AGST. FRANCO

(Continued from Page 3.) act as a bulwark of the capitalists and landlords.

Trotskyist Policy

The Fourth Internationalists while supporting the demand for the overthrow of Franco and the convening of a Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage, put forward this slogan to mobilise the workers in the fight for the Socialist revolution. At the same time they warn that it was the capitalist Republic which shielded the army conspirators and that it was under its protection that the generals prepared their insurrection in order to crush the organization of the working class. The advanced workers must understand that unless they organise under their own class banner and class organizations and take power into their own hands, they can fall into a new frightful impasse which will prepare the way for a new Franco.

For International Class Action

The gesture of the withdrawal of the British ambassador from Madrid is mere hypocrisy if it is not supplemented by actions which will strike real blows against the fascist regime. It is not sufficient for the Trade Union leaders to send deputations to the Cabinet

The Policy of the R.C.P.

- Nationalisation of the land, of all atomic processes, of all large financial, insurance, industrial, distributive and transport enterprises without compensation, and the operation of these enterprises on the basis of an overall production plan under control of workers' and technicians' committees.
- Abolition of business secrets. All company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers committees.
- 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 shopkeepers which will eliminate the black market.
- The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants committees; a state financed national house-building plan to be directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees.
- A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum and a falling scale of hours to absorb the unemployed, who must be fully maintained while not working; a 40-hour week maximum without loss of earnings.
- Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords; full electoral rights for all from the age of 18; and full political and civil rights for men and women in the forces; the immediate repeal of all strike-breaking and anti-labour laws.
- Abolish Conscription; For the dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia.
- For the abolition of military law; clear out the reactionary anti-labour officer caste from the armed forces; for the election of officers from the ranks. For the establishment of military schools by the trade unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker officers.
- 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.
- End secret diplomacy and a peace of vengeance and plunder; end race hatred, anti-semitism, Vandalism and the colour bar; the withdrawal of British troops from Europe and Asia and a peace based upon the self-determination of the peoples of Europe, Asia and the world.
- Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; for the overthrow of the privileged Stalinist bureaucracy and the re-introduction of workers' democracy in Russia.
- Full support and active co-operation with the European workers against all occupying forces, for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a United Socialist States of Europe; unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for world socialism.

Party and to widen that split from the right, hopefully predicted that Bevin, on his return from U.N.O., would flay his critics and launch an all-out attack against them. But this wishful-thinking has not been fulfilled. The speech made by Bevin on the radio was not a trenchant attack upon his critics. On the contrary, it was a mild defence of his policy. Despite this, the action of the Labour leaders in circulating the Phillips letter and opening the campaign on foreign policy, is a clear indication that at the moment they feel this to be one of their weakest points.

Every Labour worker who is hostile to the imperialist foreign policy of the Labour leaders and its assistance to reaction, will seize this opportunity to further weaken this policy and strengthen the pressure to end the present foreign policy and replace it with a socialist foreign policy which will reflect the aspirations and interests of the British and international working class.

demanding action from the Labour Government. The failure of the Labour Government to take such action is a blot on the whole of the Labour movement. The workers must demand that the Labour Government and the Union leaders declare an embargo on all goods coming to or from Spain to Britain!

In the past the British workers have not waited for governments to take action on issues of this nature. The railwaymen transport the goods, the dockers land them, the seamen carry them abroad. They have the power to stop all goods coming to and from Spain! The workers in the Union branches must demand that the Union leaders organise such a campaign throughout the country, in conjunction with the international trade unions abroad to declare all goods to or from Spain black until the overthrow of the Franco regime.

Such a movement of international class solidarity would stir and encourage the oppressed Spanish people! Franco would fall within months if not even weeks or days under the combined blows of the International and Spanish working class.

No reliance on cheap and demagogic gestures from U.N.O. Independent class action on the part of the world working class can destroy Franco!

This will not be possible only on the basis of resolutions, but will necessitate the taking of direct action to end all forms of economic and military aid to reaction.

CORRECTION

In the November issue of "Socialist Appeal" in reporting the elections in the United States, there appeared the following sentence: "The S.W.P. has appealed to all the Parties involved (the Stalinist C.P., the Workers' Party, the Socialist Party), to make a joint defence. Not merely has no response to the appeal... but the S.P. etc." The Workers' Party have protested that this is an incorrect statement of fact that the S.W.P. did not appeal to the W.P., but the contrary, the W.P. appealed to the S.W.P. but received no response. This is correct.

TROTSKYIST PAPER IN GERMANY

The following item concerning the Trotskyist paper "SOLIDARITAT" published by the R.C.P. in the German language, appeared in the "New York Times", December 15th. Readers of the "Socialist Appeal" are already familiar with "Solidaritat". It was one of the publications which Comrade Bill Cleminson of Sheffield gave to the German Prisoners of War and for which he was brought to court and fined £10.

"REDS ASK GERMANS TO JOIN IN REVOLT"

Pamphlet Issued in London urges New Internationale and denounces Stalin

Berlin, Dec. 14—A mimeographed pamphlet entitled "Solidarity," announcing the formation of a German section of the Fourth Internationale, has been circulated recently in Berlin. The publication was definitely old line revolutionary Communist policy or what has come to be known as "Trotskyite." It strongly attacked "Stalin's policy for Germany" and invited German workers to organize revolutionary groups within the Socialist and Communist parties.

The editors of the publication were listed not by name but the pamphlet was attributed to the "Revolutionary Communist Party" with offices at 256 Harrow Road, London, W.2. The lead article denounced reparations, demanding instead the expropriation of the property of the capitalist class through and for the proletariat. It argued that the policy of nationalization in the Soviet zone would benefit only the Russian economy not the German masses. The leading names of German workers' parties are inseparable from the traditions of the Socialist and Communist parties, the article continues: "These parties were unable to avert the Hitler catastrophe in 1933. On the contrary they were responsible for it. From today's speeches and today's programs by these people we see they have learned nothing from that catastrophe. Consequently we intend to build up an independent revolutionary party, the German section of the Fourth Internationale. The officer class in the Soviet Union has a strong interest in remaining as occupation troops in Germany. With their enormous salaries, their officer clubs and all their privileges they live at the expense of the working class. The Soviet soldier is used to defending the privileges of the officers. He cannot have any interest in this. A Germany under the control of the working class will be happy to exchange the excess of its industrial products first of all with the Soviet Union. An exchange of goods on an equal basis will strengthen both countries enormously and will be the first step to end the isolation of Russian workers from the world proletariat."

SMASH FRANCO

PUBLIC MEETING

Holborn Hall
Grays Inn Road, W.C.1

on Monday, Jan. 27th,
at 7.30 p.m.

Speakers: **TED GRANT**
F. Jackson, J. Lawrence.

Questions & Discussion

Organised by the Lon'on District Committee
Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist)
256 Harrow Road, London, W.2.



Despite the difficulties caused by the cold weather, some Party branches have managed to maintain "Socialist Appeal" sales, and in some cases, to extend them. Considering the branch reports as a whole, the sales show a slight upward trend. The efforts of the comrades can be seen from reports such as the following from LONDON: "Literature sales are going well. 140 'S.A.s' were sold at Building Workers Hostels last week..." and from MOTHERWELL who reports that "a canvass was held at Law Junction, a mining area, where seven dozen were sold by three comrades in 1 1/2 hours."

Selling the "Socialist Appeal" in this way is not the only method, however. MOTHERWELL continues to report that: "A Public meeting of the 'Communist' Party, featuring Harry Pollitt was held on December 1st, and was covered by four comrades. Among the literature sold were 5 "I Staked My Life" by Leon Trotsky, which was good considering that the bulk of the attendance consisted of C.P. members."

EAST LONDON too, remark in an earlier report that "Two Stalinist meetings have been covered, one on the Soviet Union. No questions were allowed, and we distributed the Nuremberg leaflet as widely as possible." The task of spreading our circulation among wider sections of the workers has also received the serious consideration of the CROYDON branch. They report: "We are not content with our 'S.A.' sales and have decided to attempt to double them within the next two months," and in addition report that "Prior to November, most of our work was done through the Trade Union movement and in canvass work, but we decided to hold a series of meetings on important issues which affect the workers."