

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY,

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

"Workers of All Lands Unite" TORY SCARE-MONGERING

COVERS LACK OF POLICY

Labour Leaders Did Not Put Up Serious Fight

WE GO TO PRESS ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTION. THE CAMPAIGN OF THE PARTIES PRESENTED MANY FEATURES THAT MUST BE ANALYSED BY THE ADVANCED ELEMENTS OF THE WORKING CLASS.

VOL. 7. No. 9.

JULY, 1945.

TWOPENCE

1700 MINERS STRIKE

Solidarity with Victimised Miners

BY JACK JONES - GWAUN - CAE - GURWEN

1,700 ANTHRACITE MINERS EMPLOYED BY THE GIANT A.A.C. COMBINE AT THE STEER, MARDY, EAST AND CWMGORSE PITS IN SOUTH WALES STOPPED WORK FOR OVER A WEEK IN PROTEST AGAINST THE FINES IMPOSED BY THE PONTADAWE MAGISTRATES ON 16 MEN AND 2 BOYS, ACCUSED BY THE COLLIERY MANAGEMENT OF "CA - CANNY."

who, according to the employer, "fails to work with due and proper diligence", is liable to a criminal prosecution. Thousands of workers have been sentenced under this vicious piece of class legislation, but we have yet to hear of any employer being prose-

The men in this case, owing to a misunderstanding, did not appear in court and had no legal representation. they were each fined £10 and costs in

These heavy fines were imposed despite the fact that most of the accused men had earned more than the Porter Minimum Wage! Their average wage being £1 6. 0 per shift during the period the "ca-canny" was alleged to have occurred.

The Gwaun-cae-Gurwen Lodge, to in the past few years paid thousands of pounds in damages incurred for alleged infringements of the sacred principles embodied in the Employer and Workman Act, but this was the last straw. They felt correctly, that if the men were to be fined for earning the Guaranteed Minimum then the undermined and became a sheer mocker.

Wage was undermined and became a sheer mocker.

These men were prosecuted under the reactionary Employer and Workings, until a more satisfactory attitude to the damages question was able to persuade the 25 stay-in strikers to end their attitude to the damages question was imprisonment which had now lasted 58 taken up by the management. This courageous action had an immediate electrifying effect on the whole area. On Saturday morning all the Steer

pit workmen returned home in solidarity with the stay-in strikers, and to their credit, the men at the adjoining Mardy Pit also refused to work. large number of the East pit men did likewise, and an unofficial strike of nearly 1,700 miners above ground, and the 25 below now prevailed in the Gwaun-cae-Gurwen district.

The union officialdom now devoted itself to ceaseless efforts to get the stay-in strikers to the surface.

From Saturday afternoon till Sunday morning, unsuccessful attempts to end the underground strike were made by Jim Evans—a miners' agent, and Dai Francis, an E.C. member and well-known Stalinist from the Dulais Val-

undermined and became a sheer mock-ery.

Feeling in the district was very-high, but the Lodge meetings called to discuss the position did not move in any decisive manuer, until on Friday, June 15th, a stay-in strike began in the Steer Pit.

All these strike breaking attempts having failed, a mass meeting of the Gwaun-cae-Gurwen Lodge was held at 2.30 p.m. on the Sunday. After the shortest meeting in the history of the Lodge, a resolution was passed to con-tinue the stoppage until the A.A.C. withdrew the summoness. began in the Steer Pit.

After the day shift had descended the shaft at 7 a.m. 25 men of the "Lock and Key" district decided to the Lodge Chairman, and a Lodge

As the strikers came up from the bit, it was evident that the darkness, the cold and the dusty atmosphere had left their mark. The men looked worn out and dusty, and a stubby hair growth covered their faces. But the glittering sun and the knowledge that they had fought hard for the miners' rights was their compensation.

The next day, Monday, June 18th, the miners at Cwmgorse colliery decided at a pit head meeting to stop work in solidarity with the Gwaun-cae-Gurwen men. They also approached the G.C.G. Lodge for united action based upon a Strike Committee embracing all the Lodges involved. This

was a significant move, but upon which action was, unfortunately, deferred until the next general Lodge meeting.

After a week's strike, a mass meeting of the G.C.G. Lodge was held on Sunday, June 24th to decide on a further line of action. At this meeting it was reported that the Executive (as it was reported that the Executive (as usual) was against a continuation of

(Continued on back page.)

GERMAN C.P.

UPHOLDS CAPITALISTS

IN GERMANY. AS WAS TO BE EXPECTED IT IS PLAYING THE SAME COUNTER - REVOLUTIONARY ROLE

AS THE STALINISTS ARE PLAYING IN FRANCE AND

THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY HAS BEEN REVIVED IN THE AREA OCCUPIED BY THE RED ARMY

The programme on which the Conservatives fought was decked out under cover of a "National" Party representing the "national" interest. The capitalists always regard themselves and their class as representing the 'nation'. The usual scare mongering election stunts in order to panic the backward non-political voters have been used by the Tories. With tongue in cheek, cynically, Churchill led the way in talks about a Gestapo and the abolition of "enterprise and initiative" if the Labour Party came to power. In an attempt to scare the middle class and the small shopkeepers gen-erally, Churchill with the powerful aid many undergo torture at the hands of a political "Gestapo" or secret police. Churchill and the Tories supported of the capitalist Beaverbrook-Rother-mere press, pretended that the nat-ional coalition stood as the champion

As if, during this war alone, 100,000 small business men and shopkeepers have not been put out of business for the benefit of the Big Trusts and combines! And as if this process will not be speeded up in the next period when the small man will find if capitalism is maintained, that it will be impossible to compete with the big monopolies in the conditions after the war, when new sections will be driven to

the small man who was threatened

with expropriation by the Socialists. The Tories pretend to champion the interests of the small business man as

against the monopolies and the co-ops.

At the commencement of the election campaign Churchill boastfully promised nothing to the workers. He thought he could repeat the "toil, thought he could repeat the "toil, tears and sweat" fraud. But towards the end of the election campaign he dropped this and concentrated on lying promises of the Tories: work for all, food for all, homes for all, and

The next trick used by the Tories was the fantastic tale that the Labour leaders stood for "violence" and through Laski threatened to achieve their aims by violence.

glamour of Churchill in the same way as they used Lloyd George after the last war. What a neck the Tories have got. For more than a century the British capitalists have been practising vio-lence on the peoples of Asia and Africa and against the working class at home whenever the oppressed were driven to struggle for a betterment of their lot. They have waged two bloody world wars in defence of their loot against their rival gangster imperialists in other countries. In India today the masses are held down under a regime wherin the prisons tens of thousands are held without trial and

The Tories waged the campaign on the lines that might have been expected. Having

precipitated the election at a time most suitable to themselves, they have used the Churchitt

mascot as the means of covering up the programme of Big Business. And why not? After five years in which the Labour leaders had been assiduously plugging the Churchill legend,

covering up the role of Churchill and the monopolies during the coalition, the Tories used the



"SOCIALISTS WANT VIOLENCE" SAY TORIES!

violence when it was used against the working class by Mussolini, by Hitler, by the Mikado and by Franco. Never mind at home, but even in far away Russia, when the masses took a decision to overthrow the capitalists and take power into their hands, Churchill and the Tories refused to accept this and waged a bloody and violent war of intervention against the Russian people. And what of the violence used by the Tories against the Greek people? Nearer home in 1912 the Tories, beaten at the polls by Liberals who had promised Home Rule for Ireland with Coronles there and game. land with Carson's thugs and gang-sters in Ulster prenared for violent civil war, rather than accept the cratic decision of the electorate. They did this because they believed this affected their fundamental class interests. Faced with a threat to their interests by the working class, this implacable gang who have plundered the British and colonial workers for centuries, would unhesitatingly use violence against the masses to protect their loot and their right to exploit.

LABOUR'S HALF-HEARTED CAMPAIGN

On a fighting socialist programme explaining the real issues to the workers, there can be no doubt that the Labour Party could have swept the country and given new hopes, a new outlook to the British and world workers. But the Labour leaders waged the campaign on the basis of presenting themselves as like the Tory party as possible. Instead of exposing the hollow sham of the Tory pretense to represent the whole nation, by presenting a strong class policy, the Labour leaders vied with the Tories in claim-ing to be a 'natoual' party representing no particular class, but all sections of the nation.

instead of the big majority of candidates being working class, we had the scandalous position where capitalists, generals, barristers, lawyers, and people with neither connections or understanding of the workers or the class struggle, least of all socialism, were boastfully presented as the Labour candidates. Morrison proudly boasted of the "respectable" character of the Labour Party. While the masses have gone left there has been a tremendous swing to the right by the

The Labour leaders were hamstrung The Labour leaders were hamstrung by their previous support of the monopolies in the coalition. They did not dare to expose the fact that the big monopolies and combines have reaped fortunes during the war and made even bigger profits than before the war, because it would expose their own criminal complety during the coaltion. They lied to the workers in their pamphlet "Let us Face the Future" and in their general propaganda in saying that the monopolies had been saying that the monopolies had been curbed and their profits curtained.

Instead of exposing the blatantly gangster imperialist aims of British imperialism in this they fought the

Instead of showing the hollow sham of the new "League of Nations" which has even less chance of preventing war than the previous ill-fated "thieves" kitchen" as Lenin termed it, they

(Continued on page 4.)

ENTHUSIASTIC RALLY REPORTED BY

"Down with Tory reaction" was the slogan under which a rally in support of Labour was organised by the Neath Branch of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Nearly 600 workers attended the Gwyn Hall to hear the Trotskylst policy of "Labour to Power" in the General Election ably presented by Comrades Jock Haston and Ajit Roy. Comrade Heaton Lee was in the chair.

Comrade Haston dealt effectively with the hypocritical Tory campaign around the alleged advocacy of violence by the Labour Party, pointing out that no politician in the country had a worse record of violence against the working people than had Winston Churchill! This point was later emphasised by our Indian comrade, Ajit Roy in the course of a brilliant indictment of the policy of British important of the policy of British important of the policy of British important of the colonics. perialism in India and the colonies, where millions of workers and peasants were held in subjection precisely by the methods of terror and violence.

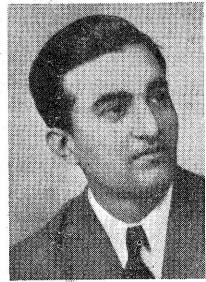
In their speeches, both comrades In their speeches, both comrades made it abundantly clear that whilst supporting Labour against the capitalist reaction, the R.C.P. did not withdraw any of its past criticisms of the false policies and treacherous actions of the Labour leaders. But the R.C.P. would fight with the Labour workers to put the policy and the leaders of the to put the policy and the leaders of the Labour Party to the decisive test-a majority Labour Government.

Comrade Haston's replies to questions drew great applause—especially when he developed the Party's criticwhen he developed ism of the Labour Party's policy of ism of the Labour Party's policy of "If nationalisation". "If nationalisation". "Nationalisation". "If nationalisation of the mines," he said, "is to benefit the workers, then there must be no compensation to the mine-owners, and the mines must be operated under

The meeting ended up on an enthusiastic note with Comrade Haston urging all R.C.P. supporters to vote Labour in the General Election. To these workers who still believed that the Labour Party could solve the problems of the reaching class. Comrade Haston of the working class, Comrade Haston addressed an urgent appeal to revitalbuild up a left wing worthy of the was excellent.

workers' control and management."

JOHN LAWRENCE



AJIT ROY

great socialist traditions of South

A collection at the meeting realised the sum of £5. 7. 2.

A Labour victory in Neath is a certainty—despite the lack of any vigor-ous campaign by the Labour candidate, D. J. Williams. Neither the Tory nor the Welsh Nationalist have the faintest chance of winning the seat. Although the R.C.P. contested the seat against the Labour-Tory coalition, now that the coalition has been ended it is throwing all its resources into support for the Labour candidate.

A number of open air meetings have been organised, at all of which the speakers have urged the R.C.P. supspeakers have urged the R.C.P. supporters to vote for Labour against Toryism and Welsh Nationalism. One of these was held immediately after the workers' hostility had compelled the Tory to abandon his only attempt to address the Neath workers on a street corner. The response to our speakers' case against. Tory reaction ise the Labour movement in Neath and speakers' case against Tory reaction

ALL THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. gives unspoken support for it. But it openly stands for the burdens of re-The "Daily Worker" of June 16th, 1945, reports that in their manifesto to the German people published in their newspaper "Deutche Volksespectability, the German Communist

Party's central paper in Berlin before Hitler was called "Die Rote Fahne" "The Red Flag" and was founded by Liebknecht and Luxembourg) the Ger-man C.P. calls for: "Nazis in official positions to be purged and war criminals punished, and for their property to be con-

zeitung" "German Peoples' Times"-

the name was obviously chosen for its

Other urgent tasks, said the manifesto, INCLUDE ASSISTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE ON THE BASIS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY, wiping out of the Nazi taint in schools, the division of large landed estates among the peasants, and the pay-

ment of reparations.
...INTRODUCTION OF A SOV IET SYSTEM WOULD NOT COR-RESPOND TO THE CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT IN GERMANY AT THE PRESENT TIME."

Thus openly and demonstratively the Stalinists desecrate the teachings of Marx and Lenin, of Liebknecht and Luxembourg. Under the very protection of the Red Army itself the wish to re-entrench the power and privileges of the German capitalists. Significant is the reference to the breaking up of the large landed estates. By this means the Stalinists hope to play off the peasantry as a support for capitalism against the pressure of the working class.

Every capitalist politician will hall with gratified and relief this open.

with gratitude and relief this open support for capitalism, in the very phraseology used by them to disguise their system of exploitation—"private enterprise"!

The demagogy of the Stalinists as to the punishment of Nazis and war criminals is méaningless when it is precisely the capitalists who bear full responsibility for the Nazis and their crimes.

The manifesto says nothing about the dismemberment of Germany (in the "Daily Worker" report) which is to be carried out by the Allies and thus

parations to be imposed on the German people. Thus all the burdens for the crimes of the fascists and capitalists responsible for war, are to be imposed on the German people, with the burden of supporting the German captalist parasites and profiteers into the bargain.

The fall of the Nazis has left a political vacuum in Germany. The capitalists have nothing to offer the German people but further misery and enslavement. With a bold revolutionary lead, the opportunity was there to ary lead, the opportunity was there to transform the situation for Germany and Europe. A Socialist Germany, aided by the Red Army, together with a Socialist Eastern Europe would rapidly spread to Western Europe and Asia. It would offer the possibility of rapid reconstruction in the interests of the toilers of Europe and the world. The British and American capitalists would be paralysed because of the effect this would have on their own working class.

But Stalin and the bureaucracy no more than the Allied imperialists wish to see a Socialist Europe. The bureaucracy is terrified of the consequences of this. It would mean that the Rus-sian masses would take away their power and privileges. Thus, wherever the Red Army has conquered, instead of ushering in communism, it has protected the privileges of the capitalists and the rights of private property in industry, against the working classes, while making concessions to the peasantry in landed property in order to gain a social basis.

But in spite of Stalinism and the Allied imperialists, the German masses have no way out other than through the socialist revolution and communism. The misunderstanding of the German and European masses that the Stalinist Parties stand for Communism will be dissipated by events. The German working class will find the road to Communism, to the programme of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Liebknecht and Luxembourg: to the programme of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Europe. Only the Fourth Inter-national today stands for this pro-

NEW THIEVES KITCHEN FORMED

BY TED GRANT

THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE HAS ENDED. AFTER WEEKS OF BICKERING IN PUBLIC. HORSE DEALS BEHIND THE SCENES, AND MORE THAN A "SCORE OF CRESES", THE NEW LEAGUE OF NATIONS HAS BEEN LAUNCHED.

The inauspicious circumstances under which it was born indicate that there is even less opportunity for success in its pretended objective of "peace between the nations" than its predecessor.

The old League of Nations was created for the purpose of upholding the Treaty of Versailles and the domination of Europe and the world by Britain and France. It was compelled to adopt democratic phraseology and to pretend to stand for the right of self determination of small nations in competition with the revolutionary appeal of the Soviet Union. Above all, this "thieves kitchen" as Lenin called it, was organised as an instrument against the Soviet Union.

The fate of the League of Nations. predicted in advance by Lenin and Trotsky, is well illustrated elsewhere in this issue, by the uninterrupted series of wars in which it was impotent. The only time it showed any real determination was when Russia was expelled at the time of the invasion of Finland. Once the domination of Britain and France had disappeared. it was incapable of preserving the Versailles set-up and led inevitably to World War II. Its main function was to fool the masses and throw dust in their eyes as to the real aims and intentions of the imperialist powers
The present League of Nations is

built on an even more farcical basis than the last. It has been openly pro-claimed at San Francisco that if the Big Powers fall out this new organ-isation could not prevent war! There-fore, it was decided to put all power into the hands of these great powers! Thus, the only powers who can make war, are the very ones who are com-pletely free of any control. This was illustrated by the struggle that raged for weeks over the question of the right of veto. The real power to take action rests in the hands of the Security Council of eleven members which includes the five great powers—Britain France, America, Russia, China—and six of the smaller nations. But in order for any action to be taken all the great powers must vote in favour. Thus in any dispute which affects a great power, or as the newspapers cynically point out—a small under the patronage of a great power. that power merely needs to apply the veto, and no action can be taken. is the most hollow of all mockeries. Obviously at the first great crisis in which the fundamental interests of any of the great powers are concerned this punch and judy show is finished.

The old League of Nations represented Britain and France. The present League of Nations is dominated by America, Russia and to a lesser extent Great Britain.

The veto issue was fought tenaciously by Stalin who threatened to walk out unless he had his way. Brit-ain and America, with the string of the satellite powers behind them-America with the whole South American bloc. and Britain with her dominions an satellites—would have liked to be able to use this League as they did the last as a breeding ground for anti-Soviet plots. It is not at all concerned wit's democracy, of course, or the rights of small nations—but simply with swinging most of the small capitalist states -who hate the Soviet Union-as they did with the League of Nations.

The emergence of Russia from the war as the greatest military power in Europe and Asia provokes nightmares for the British and even American capitalist statesmen. The Eastern menace which was the nightmare of Britain in the last century, has assum-

(Continued on back page)



Bridlington.

Soldiers' Views

Dear Comrade,

If the feeling in the unit is any indication, the overwhelming majority in the forces are anti-Tory and pro-

This feeling shows itself during ABCA lectures. The other day the whole battalion was paraded for a lecture on the San Francisco Confer-The lecturer explained that unless a solution was reached over the Veto question, we might reverse to the old "balance of power" but believed that in spite of that there was "unity of purpose" among the nations and the problem of security would be solved.

The questions from the audience showed that the soldiers were less optimistic. When the lecturer mentioned the anti-Soviet propaganda that was growing in the USA and Britain someone asked: "Who is behind this," and he answered: "I wish I knew." answers came from the hall

"Vested interests", "Churchill and the Tories". And the lecturer replied: "Well if you believe that the Tories are responsible then you should vote against them." A chorus of shouts from the soldiers answered just what we intend to do!'

There is also widespread discontent over the working of the election and the resulting disenfranchisement of thousands of servicemen.

There is no opportunity for the soldiers to take any active part in the election. KRR's (King's Rules and Regulations) state that no soldier shall take an active part in politics. Forces may attend political meetings but must not participate i.e. ask questions, speak etc. The only opportunity for organised political discussion are the ABCA lectures which in most units are usually the first items to be dropped off the training programme. If the authorities were really keen on allowing the soldiers the full use of democratic rights these K.R.R.'s would be cut out and the forces given full political rights.

We are told that "there are no politics in the forces". The trouble is there are too much Tory politics and too little working class politics.

The article in the June "Socialist Appeal" on Burma was right to the points We would welcome more trequent articles on the Far East War. The soldiers do not need convincing that the war in the Far East has nothing to do with democracy and everything to do with capitalist interests. No one is exactly enthusiastic over the prospect of going to the Far East. Not a single soldier's life should be forfeited. A lot of soldiers place their faith in the Labour Party saying: "If Labour gets into power maybe the war with Japan will be ended soon". These hopes will be shattered because the Labour leaders have pledged themselves to continue the capitalist policy in the Far East. The soldiers look to the organised rank and file in the working class movement. Do not fail

Bevin Boys Oust Manager

Wimblebury, Staffs. 27/6/45.

Dear Comrade.

I am sure that the editors of the "Socialist Appeal" along with all militant workers will be pleased to know that the dispute at our hostel which the S.A. recently published has ended with victory for the Bevin Boys.

Following the general meeting that we held seven weeks ago, an attempt was made to entice the Bevin boys to rescind their previous decision that demanded the immediate resignation of the manager. The lads reaffirmed their demand that the manager goes.

The Residents Committee repeatedly demanded of Head Office that they investigate the state of affairs in the hostel. A meeting with the Regional Controllers did not materialise until five weeks after the revolt in the hostel. The Residents' Committee kept the lads informed all the while negotiations with Head Office were

On VE Day the manager, thinking that he could use this as a means to smooth the trouble over, climbed down from his perch and asked a delegation of the Residents' Committee, who had previously cut off all negotiations with him, to meet him. In the letter he sent, he promised to do everything in his power to rectify all grievances the hostel. Although we obtained a number of minor concessions we broke off negotiations once more

The revolt broke out anew in the week beginning 17th June. The new trouble was over the steady deteriora-

The Death Agony of Capitalism By Leon-Trotsky

tion of the food. This time the manager did not wait for a major explosion. He resigned his position on the 23rd June. Of course, he stated that he had been promoted to a Regional Controller of the Yorkshire

If we continue to maintain that mili tant and united spirit, acting in close union with the miners as we did in this issue, we can go further forward in our battles, not only against the petty dictators, but also the major enemies, the coal tyrants, and their terror machine, the capitalist state.

On behalf of the

Wimblebury Bevin Boys, H. Finch.

A Soldier on Non-Fraternisation

Dear Comrade,

Having defeated German imperialism, the British capitalists are trying to put the responsibility of Nazi crimes onto the German people. part of this ruthless policy they have imposed the rigid non-fraternisation order ,not only as a punishment for the German people, but mainly to prevent the British worker in uniform from learning the true state of affairs by direct contact with the German

The original "non-fraternisation" order said that "ogling with German women or girls is punishable.' ' now seems that the capitalists are finding it necessary to "relax' the ban owing to the enormous feeling which it has caused throughout the army and open violation of it. A few days ago we were given a speech by a colonel on non-fraternisation. Although he stressed that the "rules" are still strictly laid down, he "explained" that the actual meaning of the term 'fraternisation" was "brotherly love.' That any sexual relations with German women should be kept "strict'y business" He made it clear this busińess " came directly from General Montgomery, that noble and devout Christian gentleman! Comment is unpeccess y!"

Fraternally,

From a Soldier in India

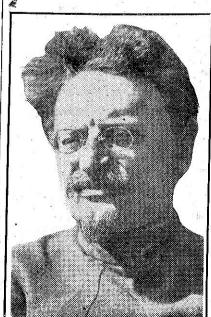
India. 24.6.45

Dear Comrades,

I enclose some cuttings on the Indian situation. When I can read the papers I find that the nationalist press (at least some of it) is becoming more critical of the Wavell Plan. At one time they seemed ready to dive and accept it, but their attitude is changing. The gulf must be widening tremendously between the right and left in the country's political life on the Wavell Plan. Although out of touch I can faint'y see the line up.

The following cutting will demonstrate to you the sell-out of the Indian Communist Party. It is taken from the "Free Press":

"A resolution expressing the opinion that the proposals made by Lord Wavell offer the Indian people an opportunity to take the reins of Government in their hands, if the (Continued foot of next Column.)



GERMANY— The Key to the International Situation

Price 6d.

THE FUTURE OF THE TINPLATE Labour to Power on the following Programme

CONTAINS A STATEMENT WHICH

NOTED BY ALL WORKERS IN THE TINPLATE INDUSTRY. It is included in the Central Office report dealing with the state of trade, under the heading "Tinplate."

"The tinplate trade has been in the public eye a great deal since the last meeting. The merger of the R.T.'s group (Richard Thomas) and Baldwin's Ltd. has created considerable attention particularly in South Wales and Monmouthshire. A pro-visional scheme has been approved by the Board of Trade for the erec-tion of a hot mill rolling strip for tinplate and sheet manufacture in cold reducing plants which may be situated in other districts. Three additional cold-reducing outfits similar to that already established at Ebbw Vale, would result in a total output of cold reduced tinplate of some 18,000,000 boxes per year. This would allow each of these plants 90,000 boxes per week and would not leave any considerable proportion for the hand-rolling process. Wherever these cold-reducing plants may be situated their operation will most certainly reduce the demand for tinplate workers to less than one half of the number employed in this section of the industry under the old method of hand rolling. Further, if electrolyte tinning proves successful, and is introduced into this country, the reduction will be much in excess of this estimate. The hot strip mill will also put out of use the tin bar rolling mills, as the hot strip mill can produce 15,000 tons per week of 16 gauge strip."

This does not paint a very hopeful uture for the tinplate worker whatver difficulties or successes it may portend for the steel magnates.

The tremendous advance in productivity made possible by the introduc-tion of modern plant as at Ebbw Vale can be seen by even a slight examinEmploying about 5,000, the plant comprises blast furnaces, Bessemer and Open Hearth furnaces, Blooming Mill Hot Strip Mill, cold reducing plant and a number of subsidiaries

Output of the strip mill averages 12,000 tons per week, has reached a peak of 14,000 tons and could probably produce the 15,000 tons referred to in

mills. The tinplate output has reached a peak of 50,000 boxes per week with 25 per cent of the tinning plant shut down, the rest working below full possible production. Sheet production

of workers—or less!
B.I.S.A.K.T.A. refers to a production quota of 18,000,000 boxes. We can presume this to be a pre-war figure for the industry, the greater part of which was produced for export, with the out-dated, uneconomical plants. In the post-war competition, the British steel industry will have to compete with the tremendous American steel industry for the world's markets, an industry producing stee 25 per cent more cheaply—while paying double the wages received by British steel workers. In addition strip mills are projected in Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand all pre-war markets likely to be postwar competitors.

BY ROY JENKINS

(1) To have the faintest hope of competing in the post-war world market, to play its proper part in the economic life of the nation, the sheet and tinplate industry will have to be modernised to a tremendous degree.

(2) Presuming the pre-war trade

position prevails, the number of tin-

plate workers required by a modernised

industry to produce the required output, would be reduced by one half.

probably even less than half if the

present conditions for the tinplate workers remain unchallenged! Even if

the demand from the trade was doub-

workers required would still be less

workers required would sem be less than pre-war.

(3) For the timplate workers of South Wales, already affected by the building of the Ebbw Vale plant, it becomes evident that even if the proposed cold reduction plant for that

area is built it is very unlikely that it

What of the proposals for dealing

with this problem that confronts the

It is very noticeable that the leaders of B.I.S.A.K.T.A. are satisfied to state the problem; the solution appears to be of no concern to these

trade union bureaucrats.

The steel magnates, in the guise of

the Conservative Party, can only point the road of more exports. What hopes

have they of increasing pre-war exports by 50 per cent (their figures) in the face of the competition which has

already been referred to in a world of

expanding production and, under cap-

italism where production is solely for profit in a world of contracting mar-kets. The workers know that modern-

isation under capitalism always means

more unemployment and little or no

improvement for those remaining employed. They talk of industrial effi-

ciency but capitalist efficiency exists

only for the benefit of the minority.

The Labour Party, without great

WITH REASONABLE COMPENSA-

TION-and no reference to workers

and steel industry has already robbed the workers of untold wealth; why

even if curtailed, for that is what compensation means, and without the

'risks'' which all capitalists claim to

take.
The only solution to the problems of the industry which can be to the interests of the working class is nationalisation WITHOUT COMPENSA-

TION AND WITH WORKERS' CON **TROL.** Increases in productivity should result in less hours and higher

wages when plants like Ebbw Vale are

built, instead of throwing workers on the dole. The hours of work in the industry should be reduced, with no reduction in wages thus reabsorbing

ete plant, not even producing steel

This was admitted by Sir William Firth ("News Chronicle", 11th June

1945) when he stated that R. Thomas

& Co., paid £3 million to the pool that deals with this. So we say the indus-

ry can and must give the worker

these conditions in the coming period. The workers must demand:

A sliding scale of hours to absorb

"redundant" workers coupled with a

sliding scale of wages to meet the

rising cost of living!

workers' Government.

ation without Compensation.

them to continue the robbery

Why compensation? The iron

will absorb fully the workers previous

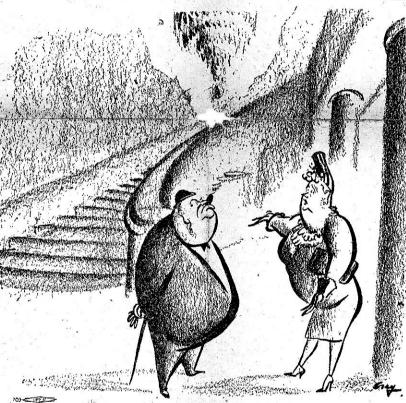
y employed on the older plants.

vorkers?

ed, with modern plant the number of

the above statement.
The cold reducing plant fed by the
Hot Mill comprises sheet and timplate

averages 4,000-4,500 tons per week. Consider these figures where 5,000 are employed. How many workers are needed to produce this output from old type plants? It should be remembered too, that Ebbw Vale is no longer a new plant and reports state that great improvements have been made in the more modern plants in the U.S.A. The improvements will undoubtedly be incorporated in any new strip mill built in this country. Already plans are complete and work has begun on the introduction of electrolytic tinning at Ebbw Vale, tinuing in a continuous strip and not in individual plates as at present. This will result in an increased output with the same number



"BUT WITH THE HOUSING SHORTAGE THIS IS THE BEST I CAN DO."

Congress and League forged a united stand was unanimously passed at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Committee of the Communist Party of India and the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union today. Mr. R. K. Bhogle presided.

LEAD FOR UNITY

The meeting also hoped that the leaders of the Congress and League would take into consideration the critical situation in the country and give a lead for unity and solution of the deadlock.

Mr. B. T. Randive explaining the Wavell plan, said that failure on the part of the Indians to seize this opportunity would mean only a triumph for the dichards and continuation of hunger and famine of the people. It was only through consultations and agreement that points of difference between the two parties concerning the new offer could be solved and national unity maintained."

You will see that B. Desai is in [avour of the liquidation of Congress if acceptance of the Bengal Government's terms are O.K.'ed and that all prisoners convicted or detained for charges of arson, violence and destruction of property were to be dealt with as grave offenders against

During March there were 35 industrial disputes in Bombay Province. The number of workpeople involved in these disputes was 20,439 and 47,190 working days were lost.

There is tremendous bitterness among the lads at being deprived of their vote in the general election. They are overwhelmingly for Labour. Greetings

GLASGOW ENGINEERS FIGHT FOR 4s. 6d.

cation of the 718 Award is well illustrated in Glasgow where about 50 per pay it, with the result that only three quarters of the workers in the district have received any increase.

G. & J. Weirs is being regarded as a test case. For a fortnight after the announcement of the Award, negotiations continued with regard to its application in this factory. Finally, wo days before the Trhunal met again to interpret the award, the manage-ment agreed to pay the increase, irrespective of any decision of the Tribunal.

The management paid the award for three weeks and then intimated to the workers on 31st May, that in a week's time payment of the Award would cease. Immediately, the shop stewards protested, in view of the guarantee given priviously by the management. Negotiations then proceeded, which finally broke down. A mass meeting of 1,400 workers, held in the Kingsway Cinema, decided to place an embargo on all overtime and to limit piece-work earnings to 25 per cent.

On being given the decision of the meeting the management complained to the Shop Stewards that there had not been "sufficient time for negotiation", and asked for the postpone ment of the operation of the ban. The workers refused unless the Award con-tinued to be paid. The management finally agreed to pay it for one week Pte. T. commencing June 11th.

On Sunday, 10th June, a mass meeting, called by the A.E.U. District Committee, demanded the payment of the Award to all workers and demonstrated their support for the Weir workers: The decision of the Tribunal is being

fought vigorously on the Clyde.

The smallness of the Award, and the

discontent over its application underlines the necessity for engineering workers to cut themselves free from the entanglements of the arbitration machinery—the machinery of class col-laboration—and to restore the independence of their organisations.

TROTSKYISTS answer STALINISTS PUBLIC MEETING LESSER WORKMEN'S HALL TREDEGAR MONDAY, JULY 9th at 7 p.m.

Speaker:

John Lawrence.

on the following Programme

Industrial and Economic Policy.

Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, tr sport and all big in-dustry wit...ut compensation, as the prerequisite for a planned economy and the only means of ensuring full employment with adequate standards of living for the workers, and the operation of the means of production under control of workers committees. Confiscation of all war profits, all

company books to be open for trade union inspection, control of pro-duction through workers' committees to end the chaos and mismanagement. Distribution of food, clothes and other consumers commodities under

the control of committees of workers elected from the Co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives' committees, and small shopkeepers, and allocation of housing under the control of tenants' committees.

A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum; the rate for the job; and industrial rates for all members of the armed forces.

Democratic Demands

Repeal of the Essential Works Order, the Emergency Powers Act and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking legislation.

Full electoral and democratic rights for all persons from the age of 18 years. Full democratic and political rights for the men and women in

Immediate freedom and unconditional independence for India, Ireland and all the colonies of Britain; immediate withdrawal of Brifish armed forces from these countries; full economic and military assistance to the Indian and colonial peoples to maintain their inde-pendence against all imperialist at-

Military Policy

Clear out the reactionary, pro-fascist, and anti-labour officer caste in the armed forces; election of officers by the ranks.

Establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of workerofficers; arming of the workers under the control of workers' committees elected in the factories, unions and in the streets for the defence of the democratic rights of the workers.

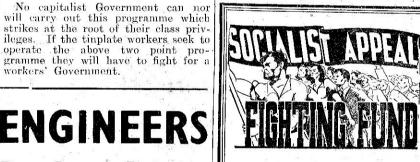
International Policy

10. Against race hatred and discrimination of all forms (Vansittartism, Anti-Semitism and the Columbian; for the fraternisation and co-operation of workers and soldiers of all countries.

the normally displaced labour.

The cry will be "The industry cannot afford this." We know the industry can afford to pay dividends and has paid dividends on the shares of obso-Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all powers; dispatch of imperialist of food and essential materials to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.

> 2. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany. Europe, Japan, and the rest of the world, on the basis of this programme in Britain, to join the socialist struggle against Nazism, Fascism and all forms of capitalist oppression and for a Socialist United States of Europe and a Federation of Asiatic Soviet Socialist Republics.



we have concentrated on an appeal for the Neath Bye-Election Fund. And knowing the limited resources of our worker-readers relaxed the FIGHTING FUND appeal during that time.

The restricted circulation im-posed on SOCIALIST APPEAL by paper restrictions makes it impossible for the income from sales to balance the cost of production. This, despite the fact that all journalistic and editorial services are given free. Unlike other papers, we have no revenue from advertisements.

We are now compelled to make an urgent appeal for money. We have a large outstanding printers' bill which must be paid. Workers Readers! YOUR paper needs YOUR help. SOCIALIST APPEAL—the only advocate of revolutionary communism in Britain, depends on your sup-

Send a regular donation to the FIGHTING FUND. Send for collecting cards. Take collections on the job, in the Trade Union and Shop Stewards meetings.

Get together with other readers of the paper to raise money for the FIGHTING FUND. Run raffles, dances, socials, and work out ways and means of building up the FIGHTING FUND.

Send all contributions to: ANN KEEN, Business Manager, 246, Harrow Road, London, W.2.



"BUT WITH THE HOUSING SHORTAGE THIS IS THE BEST I CAN DO."



Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International. 256 HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2

Phone: CUN 2526. EDITOR: E. Grant. BUSINESS MANAGER: Ann Keen.

EDITORIAL

Barbarism in the Far East

The ruling class of Britain and America have never ceased to revile the German people for the bestial crimes of the Nazis. With assumed horror they have quoted the statements of Hitler, Goebbels and the other Nazi racialists against Russians, Poles and at the polls. Thus, in typical Stalin-Jews, and condemned them, correctly as emanations of barbarism.

But in the war against Japan the Allied imperialists have raved and frothed in the same filthy language of racial barbarism.

Just read these choice items from the mouth of a leading General:-

"The only way to win the war against Japan is to KILL JAPS — and go on killing them . . . treat them not as human beings, not as animals, but as insects. And stamp on them.'

"I am sorry to keep on about this killing business, but in gressive Government" the whole campaign in Burma we have only picked up 300 able bodied prisoners."

-Lt. General Sir W. J. Slim,

General Officer commanding the 14th Army.

If the Japanese militarists or Nazi Generals had talked in this formed strain about British and Americans, just imagine the fake indignation that would have been expressed! Yet these words have been quoted with delight by our ruling class. To such a level of barbarism can capitalism sink in defence of its profits.

It is well known, and even boasted that the Allies in the Pacific are perpetrating atrocities which equal anything committed by the Nazis in Europe: sending skulls, bones, and even skins of Japanese soldiers to their families as mementoes and souvenirs.

Only with the overthrow of the capitalist system will this foul HOW WILL YOU USE IT?" The racial barbarism of the imperialists be ended.

Only the Fourth International stands for the unity of all workers - Japanese, Chinese, American, British - for the collaboration of the peoples of the world in mutual respect and it friendship in the interests of all mankind, irrespective of colour

Communist Party Policy in the

General Election

BECAUSE OF THE BITTER HOSTILITY OF THE MASS OF THE LABOUR WORKERS TO CHURCHILL AND THE CAPITALIST CLASS, THE COMMUNIST PARTY DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD, WAS FORCED TO HIDE ITS POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR THE LIBERALS AND TORIES (LED BY CHURCHILL AND EDEN) AND DROP THEIR DEMAND FOR A COALITION "NATIONAL" GOVERNMENT AFTER THE ELECTION.

Pollitt and the other leaders of the C.P. were forced to attack Churchill in their election propaganda and they temporarily abandoned their formulation of "Labour and Progressive Government" and replaced it with the more working class one of Labour and Communist Govern-

To have put their real policy before the workers would have courted disaster for every one of their candidates ist fashion, they opportunistically adapted their policy in order to get votes from the workers under false pretences. Once the election is over the Stalinists will return to their old

manifesto, issued by the Executive Committee, is entitled "National Unity after the War". This title, and the contents of the manifesto, should do lot towards dispelling the illusions of the workers who have taken the C.P.'s slogan of a "Labour and Proto mean Labour Government.

The manifesto proposes that the present Conservative majority in the House of Commons be replaced by a Labour "and Progressive" majority. On the basis of this it proposed that

"This new National Government should include representatives of all parties supporting the decisions of the Crimea Conference, international economic co-operation, and an agreed minimum programme of economic and social progress for the people of Britain."

This was vague enough. But it was nade quite clear and precise in a pamphlet issued by the London District Committee of the Communist Party, entitled "YOUR VOTE main article consists of an imaginary conversation between a "Mr. Clever Dick" (who is sceptical about the promises made by capitalist statesmen), and a "Mr. Sensible" (who, as good Stalinist, believes them!). the following passage occurs:

"Mr. Sensible: We've got to change the House of Commons and of Labour, Communist and Liberals. I believe the Labour Party should then form a new National Government and invite others, including Tories like Churchill and Eden, to participate."

The above, which is reproduced the benefit of doubtful C.P.ers, has never been repudiated, in spite of their demagogic "opposition" Churchill, forced upon them by the reaction of the workers to their line. This innocent sounding Labour and Progressive ment" which is just another way of saying "Popular Front", covers up a The Communist Party's election reactionary policy of a coalition government with "good" capitalists.

The programme of the Communist. Party for the election and the postwar period is therefore a continuation of the coalition between Labour and the capitalist class, despite their attempts to cover it up.

WHY DOES THE C.P. WANT A COALITION GOVERNMENT

The mass of workers participated in the election on the side of Labour because they see great class struggles ahead, and regard the fight for a Labour Government as a part of the general struggle, against the plans of the capitalist class to maintain their profits at the cost of low wages and mass unemployment for the workers.

But the Stalinists think that this is all a mistake. In contrast to most workers, and nearly all capitalists, who think the future of British capitalism is very black indeed, they paint a rosy picture. Provided the class and the capitalist class collaborates, both can gain while capitalism remains. Harry Pollitt puts it more blatantly in his the political field, hostile to the

Mr. Sensible: No, of course not. We've got to change the House of Commons and the Government at the next election. But, provided

we get a new House of Commons with a strong

majority of Labour, Communist and Liberals, I

believe the Labour Party should then form a new

National Government and invite others, in-cluding Tories like Churchill and Eden, to par-

ould do! It could isolate the minority who are

ho refuse to modernise the mining industry, the

really holding things back, like the coal owners

Think what a Government like that

of Commons with a strong majority the colonial peoples, having already provoked minor clashes Trieste, Syria), even before the war in the Far East has ended.

leaders, Churchill's election campaign demonstrated to the masses that he is no "progressive" but a black reactionrom the original on this page for the capitalist class is "progressive is rapidly being shattered—and with it, the last remnants of an argument for class-collaboration.

STALINIST LINE ON "ELECTORAL UNITY"

So far we have dealt with the most glaring aspects of the Communist class-collaborationist policy Party's in the election. But there is another aspect, more confusing and therefore more dangerous.

The argument runs as follows. In the last election, the Stalinists point out, in Penryn and Falmouth, the figures were as follows:

Major Petherick (Cons.) 16,126 A. L. Rowse (Labour) 13,105 Sir R. W. Allen (Lib.) 11,537 and the C.P. election statement com-

"The Conservatives got in with a 3,000 majority over his Labour

opponent. But the combined vote against him was over 24,000. If there were an agreed candidate put in the field by the Progressive Parties next time, the Conservative will be soundly beaten." This argument for Progressive Unity,

superficially attractive to workers who are not politically educated but who have a healthy dislike of the Conservatives, belongs in fact to the realms of arithmetic, not politics.

Marxism teaches that political struggles are always class struggles, and that the task of the working class is to organise itself independently on

land owners who hold us up to ransom too housing, and the others. It could do the same

sort of careful planning for housing and industry and health as was put into the Mulberry Harbour

Mr. Clever Dick: I must say you're makin

Mr. Sensible: Well, the first job is clear

me think. But how can you make a distinctio between Churchill and those others when the are all in the same Tory Party?

for the Second Front.

LONDON D.C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

necessary in order to defeat Fascism, which was marching from victory to victory. This excuse, which never had any validity, no longer is even plausible. At a time when the revolutionary tide is rising, this cowardly policy of capitulation to the class enemy will receive very little support

WHY DID THE C.P. PUT UP CANDIDATES AND SPLIT

The Communist Party put up 22 candidates, most of whom opposed Labour Party candidates. The "Daily Worker" is full of homely persona! details of the candidates, exhibiting pictures of Pollitt and others holding

It is clear from an examination of its election statement that their platform was essentially no different from that of the Labour Party, except that it goes further along the road of points of difference it is more reactionary.

For this reason, the Labour workers

WHICH WAY FOR COMMUNIST

There are only two roads open for the rank and file members of the Communist Party.

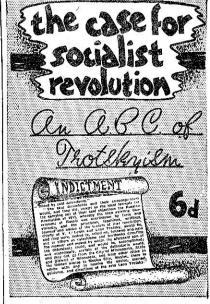
between Stalin and the

This process is one of complete abandonment of the class struggle and subordination to capitalism. forces Communist workers to appear before their fellow workers advocating policies more backward than those the most backward Labour Instead of the vanguard, they become the rearguard of the working class.

communism. up, had become such a fetter on must be considered from this class collaboration, striving always to production, that the capitalists point of view. What is the class basis develop every partial class struggle capitalist system as a whole represents light industry today. It stands for maintaining private propriation of the capitalist class has solution to the problem by smashing

> Today this programme is put forward only by the Trotskyists, the Revolutionary Communist Party. The The experience of the 1924 best sections of the Communist Party rank and file will find their road to the Revolutionary Communist

vour leaders to use you as political



OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS

We publish below a letter from Comrade Bill Hartley, of London which speaks for itself and a statement from the Central Committee of the R.C.P. supplementing the General Election Statement of the Political Bureau published in the June issue of "Socialist Appeal" and referred to by Comrade Hartley.

COMMON WEALTH

In your P.B. General Election statement published in the columns of the "Socialist Appeal". June 1945, you say that you are for a united front between the

mass organisations of Labour and the middle class party of Common Wealth: You also indicate that you favour some kind of electoral bloc. Can you please elucidate somewhat on this ques-

> Yours fraternally, Bill Hartley.

the Central Committee Statement of

The Common Wealth is a middle class organisation, or more precisely an organisation of the ower middle class.

It represents the break of this strata of the population from big business and its progressive evolution and turn towards organised labour. The Middle class by its very nature cannot have an independent policy of its own but must lean towards big business or towards organised labour.

The fact that this tendency found expression in a separate organisation and pseudo independent policy is largely due to the coalition policy pursued by the Labour leaders, to the frustra-tion of the middle class who were unable to find expression for their criticism of Toryism, to the fear of the middle class and trepidation at linking itself directly with organised labour and its discipline, together with the es-sentially opportunist nature of the middle class. In the period of the coalition, Common Wealth seized a favourable opportunity to push itself into the fore-ground of national political life.

Had the Labour leaders and Labour movement pursued a militant and independent policy, these middle class elements who now constitute Common Wealth would have come directly over to the organisation of the working class.

We have always opposed the false characterisation of Common Wealth at one time made by the Stalinists, that it was a fascist organisation. We have explained, however, that such a tendency would almost certainly be-

come a fascist tendency in its separate parts as the result of splits, or even as an organisation maintaining a large measof cohesion, in the event of the failure of the workers to give a militant lead in the coming days which would draw Common Wealth and its elements directly over to organised Labour, and following on a defeat for the workers and a period of reaction.

At this stage, however, the evolution of Common Wealth is in an entirely progressive direction and we have the duty to try and help it find its way into the ranks of the working class. During the war in Europe,

Common Wealth supported the war; supported the coalition, and wished only for a measure of electoral freedom. We op-posed Common Wealth therefore in elections, or rather, took a negative attitude when it contested against the Tories. But we had a united front with Common Wealth, of a very limited character on the Anti-Labour Laws Victims Defence Committee, and Freedom of the Press, etc. We are prepared to have a united front on similar specific issues if and when such issues arise.

In our General Election statement we indicated that we fav-oured an electoral bloc—an extension of our previous position in the changed conditions, being arrived at with Common Wealth.

It is permissible and obligatory for the working class to make an alliance with the middle class—for example, with the farmers, provided that such an

alliance is directed against Big Business. So too, it is necessary to form an alliance in capitalist Britain with the middle class and lower middle class, managers, technicians, small shop-keepers directed against Big Otherwise Big Busi-Business. ness will make an alliance with this strata against the working

We believe, therefore, that in view of the class character of the Common Wealth as the organisation of a section of the lower middle class, and in face of its progressive evolution and turn towards organised labour, that it is not only permissible, but necessary to urge the Labour Party to make an electoral agreement or bloc with the Common Wealth. Where, however, such an agreement is not arrived at. and in the event of the Common Wealth opposing the Labour Party we would advocate critical support of Labour against the Common Wealth.

While explaining the class character of the Common Wealth movement, making our political criticisms of it known to its members as well as to the working class, we have also the task of helping to integrate it where possible, with the mass organisations of the working class. This tactical position, if correctly tactical position, if correctly carried out by the Labour movement, and with our assistance, eliminate the Common Wealth as a separate tendency, and integrate it with the movement of the working class.

> Central Committee. 17th June, 1945.

"Capitalism, in the pre-1939 set-

themselves find these very fetters of the Liberal Party? A full employment policy will increase profits (by increasing sales) and give them some measure of certainty in planning their production programmes, at the same time as it creates more employment and earnings for the workers. Hence, there is, up to a point, a common interest between all progressive sections of nation, labour and capitalist alike. in finding a common solution."

(Page 44). Moreover peace can be made per manent under capitalism, as long as class collaboration on the international plane (between Russia and the imperialist states) is maintained through the Crimea Agreement.

Thus, following in the footsteps of Earl Browder, Pollitt and the C.P. leadership have become convinced that the problems of capitalism can be solved by collaboration between the working class and the "progressive section" of the capitalist class (which is, according to them, a majority).

in the workers' revolution, but of class collaboration—that leads them to propose a post-war coalition between the working class and the capitalists.

AN OLD STORY

This perspective and policy is by no means a new discovery. It smells no better than it did in 1931, when the renegade Ramsay MacDonald peddled it after breaking with the Labour Party to enter the National Govern-

And even now events are proving t to be false in every respect.

Instead of better conditions, the employers have opened up a bitter attack on the workers' wages, and are declaring thousands redundant. What is happening in engineering today will spread to the whole of industry

new pamphlet "QUESTIONS AND capitalist parties, with the aim overthrowing the capitalist class. Any alliance, electoral or otherwise,

> It is the representative of that section of the capitalist class which supported Free Trade in the past and

perty in the means of production

Whenever the question of exproarisen, the Liberals always put the general interests of their class before the particular policy which they advocate within that class; thus, in times of crisis they always unite with the Conservatives against the working class. and 1929 Labour Governments, which depended upon Liberal support and therefore could not introduce any real Party, which is continuing the policies measures against property or in the of the great Marxist teachers. interests of the workers (even had the Labour leaders wanted to!) is

"Progressive unity" between Labour and Liberals is therefore possible only if Labour abandons all socialist measures

conclusive proof of this.

The Communist Party proposes a It is this perspective: not of in programme which does not face up creasing contradictions in capitalism at all to the problem of destroying in the period of its decline, but of a capitalism. It calls for nationalisation new blossoming; not of sharper class of the Bank of England, coal, iron and struggles which must find a solution steel and transport. It does not even mention the question of compensation. In all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the Labour Party. But let us recall that the Labour Party's programme is itself a violation of the decision of the January Conference, which passed a resolution calling for public ownership of the land, large scale building, heavy industry and all forms of banking, transport and fuel and power, and its control by workers' and consumers representatievs. THEREFORE, THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S PRO-GRAMME IS FAR BEHIND THE WISHES OF THE OVERWHELM-ING MAJORITY OF THE LABOUR RANK AND FILE.

Beneath the innocent sounding talk about "progressive unity" lies the ugly reality of capitulation to the capitalists, abandonment of the class struggle, a National Government. . Instead of peace, inter-imperialist Before the war this policy ,under the rivalries and the struggle between name of the Popular Front, could gain

But, provided we get a new House the imperialists and the U.S.S.R. and support because it was pictured as And saddest of all for the Stalinist The myth that the majority of from the workers.

THE VOTE?

he babies, but never dealt with the platform on which they stand.

collaboration. In the only

have every right to condemn the C.P. for having put up candidates against the Labour Party at all; particularly in view of the propaganda about "electoral unity." Certainly in doing so, they should have made it known that they opposed the Labour Party from the right. But this was not the case. The C.P. leadership always try to give the impression that they are to the left of the Labour Party

PARTY RANK AND FILERS?

leadership, the road of Browder in America, which Pollitt is treading now. Even if a diplomatic break Allies should temporarily put the Stalinists once more into opposition A PHOTOSTAT OF THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE to British imperialism (and this is not excluded) this would only be

would not change the basic process

The other road is that of struggle for the programme and policy of Marx and Lenin, of revolutionary means standing always at the head of the working class, putting an independent class position against all attempts at class into a general battle against the present time it means advocating an end to the industrial truce, putting Labour into power with a majority on the political plane; and from every indecision and failure of the Labour leadership, drawing the conclusion of the necessity for a revolutionary the capitalist state and replacing it by a state based on workers' committees.

Communist Workers! Don't allow

Follow the programme of Marx and

New Thieves 1942 STRUGGLE IN TORY SCARE-

(Continued from page 1)

ed new and more formidable propor tions. Not trusting their "Allies", the Soviet bureaucrats desire to extend a chain of friendly states and bases under its domination both in Asia and in Europe. Of course, in the mean-time extending the privileges and power of the bureaucracy by the ruthless exploitation and suppression of the peoples in these areas—the Bal-kans, Turkey, the Middle East, China, Central Europe and Germany.

The Russian bureaucracy has the whip hand over the imperialists at this stage because of the threat of revolution in Europe and in Asia. That is why Molotov dominated the scene at San Francisco. And that is the reason why, for the time being, the Allied powers have had to come to terms and try and patch up an agreement. This organisation, even more than the old League of Nations is a conspiracy against socialism and against the workers' revolution. That is the one common bond that unites the imper-ialists with Stalin and forces the imperialists to come to an agreement with the greatly strengthened Russia.

Of course, small conflicts which do not impinge on the fundamental interests of the great powers may be regulated. But where the great powers are involved, like the last League of Nations, conflicts will take place in exactly the same way. Already the small nations, Syria and the Lebanon who are demanding the right to independence have appealed in vain to the United Nations. As if an appeal could have done any good anyway, since France could veto it. And Britain was only interested in using the Syrians and Lebanese to snatch British chestnuts out of the fire in the Middle East. It is symbolic that before this organ-isation was born, already conflicts have broken out and which were settled behind the scenes between the Big Powers and not by the United Nations.

weeks the great powers have been snarling and mandeuvring against one another. Because of Britain's attitude on Poland, etc., Molotov warned and threatened: India is not represented here as an independent nation. But when the horse deal was made, Molotov forgot about India. The Soviet bureaucrats came out for the right of independence of all the colonial nations. But once they had received concessions they had demanded, they conveniently forgot this. But as a threat for the future, and in order to extend their power and influence, Russia is to be a member of the new Mandates Commission which deals with the territories seized by the imperialists in the last war and in this war, where the so-called backward nations are placed under the trusteeship of the benevolent rule of the imperialist gangsters!

The ugly reality behind the pious pretences was illustrated by the fact that the semi-fascist and brutal dic-tatorship of the Argentine which has backed Hitler and Mussolini throughout this war-was admitted to the United Nations. As usual Eden gave the dirty work to the leader of the Labour Party to introduce the motion, which he did.

1,700 Miners Strike at G.C.G.

(Continued from page 1)

the strike and advised a return to work, the payment of the outstanding damages, and negotiating the sum-monses which were still pending. Strong opposition to this position was expressed in the meeting by those who felt that to accept such a position was. to return to work under the same threat which had originally caused the strike. A resolution to continue the strike was then put to the vote. voted for the resolution to remain out. 207 voted against, whilst a large number abstained from voting at all

Immediately after the return to work was decided upon, a further batch of summonses were issued, this time to miners in the Mardy pit, who had resisted the attempt of the owners to depress wages through the abolition of the hard-won system of allowances which exist in the Anthracite coalfield.

It is therefore quite clear that unless the miners put up a resolute and stiff resistance, the colliery owners will not hesitate to drive down the miners' standards and to call in the assistance of reactionary legislation and the capitalist court in so doing. This is the lesson of the G.C.G. strike.

The miners have shown their readiness to struggle. What is needed now is a fighting leadership which will give a real lead in the struggles that lie ahead. A leadership that understands that under the present system the capitalist courts and state combine to protect the exploitation of the miners by the owners under the guise of determining what constitutes a "fair day's work". "Fair" only to the owners and not to the miners. A leadership that understands that only the solidarity, strength and militancy of the miners, banded together in their organisations and prepared to defend their rights and conditions, can protect

and improve the position of the miners. Such a leadership can and must be built; not only in West Wales but throughout the country.

Contract of the second of the

However, even when it comes to pretences, the different gangsters could not altogether agree on this either. Territories which are vital to the "security" of the nations controlling the mandate are not to be subject to the decisions of the Mandates Commission. Not that this Commission has any real power anyway. Remember the vetos! But of course, the great powers themselves are to decide which bases are to be regarded as "security bases".

The United Nations came forward with new phrases which smelt no better than the old: of freedom and tolerance, of all races, creeds, religions, food and plenty for all. Taking into account the persecution of the negroes in America, of the Indians by the British, of the monstrous regime of Smuts of oppression and discrimination against the South African natives, of the famine and starvation conditions which prevail in the different parts of the world under the imperialist domination, this is indeed a mockery.

President Truman admitted the real causes of war in his speech:

economic rivalry and social injustice. The charter recognises this fact for it has provided for economic and social co-operation as well . . .

Nonesense! Rivalries not only continue, but have been intensified a thousand fold. One purpose of the United Nations will be to keep in subjection the weaker and beaten imin English newsreels. perialist powers of Japan and Germany. But it will not prevent or in any way regulate the inevitable savage competition between all the impercontradictions between the capitalist world and the degenerate workers' state under Stalin.

One of the provisions of the old League of Nations was for disarmament. It prepared the way for the greatest armaments race ever seen in history. This time there is a similar provision. Yet an armaments race is taking place even before the war is ended. This new Thieves' Kitchen can This new Thieves' Kitchen can solve secondary problems, but cannot solve a single one of the fundamental contradictions which face world capitalism and world imperialism.

of the nations puts their own nation first. This League is based on a recognition of this fact which the other League pretended did not exist. By "nations" of course, they mean the interests of the rulers in the different countries. erent countries.

The only way to a real peace, to a realisation of the four freedoms, lies in the overthrow of capitalism and the organisation of a Socialist United States of the World. The Fourth international warns the working class: the United Nations set-up will prepare for World War III. Only the taking of power by the working class can end mind war for profit and the horrors that it with

Kitchen Formed MDA An Eye-witness Report

mission to India failed, Viceroy Wavell ing to throw off the ever-tightening chains of Imperialism. Imperialist repression, whether in Buchenwald or Bihar, is a bloody business and even so staunch a pillar of British rule as C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, ex-member of the Viceroy's executive council, was constrained to say during August 1942: India was now passing through some horrors of warfare without those manifestations and uprisings of spirit that might make war worth while".

It is still fashionable in "progressive" circles to adopt a schoolmasterly "Experience has shown how deep-ly the seeds of war are planted by called "friend" of Indian freedom. Hadn't the Mahatma told them not to? Wasn't the Congress committed to non-violent passive resistance and the winning of concessions. The answer to these questions is to be found in the terrible economic conditions under

No wonder that when the American journalist Louis Fischer toured villages in the Bombay Presidency and asked the peasants how they felt about the war all they had to say to him was: war all they had "We're hungry."

It was this mass misery that provided the dynamic of the August struggle; it was the growing realisation that the whole edifice of exploitation ation in India is maintained in existence by British Imperialism that drove it was the awful fear of the consequences of their independent action that sent shivers down the spines of the Congress leaders and caused panic in New Delhi.

Gandhi's conception of the "Quit India" resolution was vastly different italism and world imperialism.

After the last world war Lenin and Trotsky showed that though the imperialist and their Leagues of Nations could recognise the problems, they could not solve them. As one newspaper cynically commented: every one of the nations puts their own nation first. This League is based on a recognition of this fact which the lic man and a Viceroy can be so-called." And anxious to assure jour-nalists that he really meant no harm to the Allied war effort he said on the same occasion: "This struggle has been conceived in order to avoid a catastrophe. At the critical moment an unfree India is likely to become an hindrance rather than a help. The Congress resolution itself hints at the possibility of a large number of Indians going over to the Japs if they effect a landing on Indian shores.'

There is no doubt whatever in the mind of the writer, after discussion with several leading Congressmen, that Gandhi's idea of struggle was to

Just over four years since Cripps', scare the Government with the threat dission to India failed. Viceroy Wavell of a mass movement, meet the Viceroy is returning to New Delhi with a set of fresh proposals designed to effect a working compromise between British Such has been Gandhi's method since Imperialism and Indian nationalism. 1921. More than anything he fears Whether he will have more success the independent action of the masses, than Cripps had remains to be seen.
But what is certain is that he will never be able to wipe out the bitter memory of what took place in India in 1942, when the whole machinery of Imperialist violence was set in motion against the unarmed people of India and seems 15,000 of them were shot in the Mugust 16th issue of "Harijan" (the last before its suppression). Counselling them to put up with violence against themagainst the unarmed people of India in the Mugust 16th issue of "Rules of Conduct" read like Sunday school sermonising. One and some 15,000 of them were shot rule, however, is very important. down like dogs for the crime of wantlence against persons or property. Violence against property in this context, of course, clearly means expropriation of property owners. In previous campaigns, the oppressed peasantry have invariably tried to solve their economic problems in a manner characteristic of all peasant rebellions

-smoking out the landlord.

To maintain the illusion that Congress had learned something from past struggles and really meant business time, however, other sections of the Congress leadership provided a screen of revolutionary phrases. Right wing Congressman Sardar Patel, Gandhi's town crier, declared on August 7th: "The fight is going to be a tough one, and, as Mahatma Gandhi has emphasised will be short and swift. It will not be a jail-going type of move-ment." Nehru, who was for some kind of compromise right from the beginning, was nevertheless as sen-sitive as Gandhi to mass pressure from below and insisted "...it is gong to be a fight to the finish. The Congress has now burned its boats and is to embark on a desperate campaign." Brave words, these! Yet how lightmindedly uttered. At one swoop the Government of India were able to whip all the Congress leaders into jail-indeed, their actions on the evening after the resolution was passed gave the impression that most of them were glad to be relieved of responsibility by

But in spite of the lack of leadership, in spite of the political and or-ganisational bankruptcy of the Congress, in spite of their own illusions about Gandhi and his colleagues the masses recognised in the arrests the opening phase of an Imperialist offensive and prepared to meet it in their own way. While the few Congressown way. While the few Congress-men left out of jail dithered like old women, barricades were going up in the working class areas of Bombay and other cities. Whatever Gandhi may have said about converting the Viceroy by love and non-violence, the people had few illustons on that secre-Everywhere they showed a remarkable capacity for spontaneous organisation. They knew that Imperialism was based on organised violence and couldn't be destroyed by a barrage of ethical maxims culled from the Gita; despite their political backwardness and resultant confusion they wanted arms and

the opportunities to use them.

The Government of India, ably as sisted by the Stalinist leaders of the Indian T.U.C. attempted to win over large sections of the workers by grantlast-minute wage increases in key industries. In this way, cost of living (dearness) allowances for railway employees were increased at a cost of Rs 5½ crores per annum as against Rs 2 crores spent under the previous scale. These concessions were largely paper ones of course (mounting in-flation soon rendered them almost valueless) but the Stalinist strike breakers were assisted in their work-by the reactionary record of the Congress ministries during their period of office in the Provinces.

In spite of this, however, the workers did go into the August struggle and even in the columns of the conand even in the continus of the con-servative 'Statesman' it is possible to discern their use of the classic weapon of the political strike. On August 11th, the paper reports of Bombay: "As the day advanced the situation in the north of the city (the mill area) went from bad to worse. Most of the millworkers were out . . . All the roads were barricaded and bonfires were burning. The police opened fire at four different places."

On August 23rd, it is reported from Delhi: "The strike situation continues to improve. At the Birla mills over a thousand millands resumed work and at the Delhi Cloth Mills . . . approximately three quarters of the total labour employed."

Yes, the workers did go back. They were faced with starvation if they didn't, for the financial backers of the Congress never allowed their solicitude for the workers to take concrete form as strike pay. Political strikes, even though only an expression of indig-nation at the arrest of the Congress leaders, were too dangerous a form of

struggle to be encouraged.

The most important strike of all took place at the Tata Iron and Steel works at Jamshedpur, the largest in-dustrial undertaking in India. News of this strike leaked out through a censor's error and was printed in the Lahore "Civil and Military Gazette" on August 21st. All the workers were out, and the "C. and M." reported that "... the strike is being conducted by the foremen of the various workshops." After this one leakage the heavy blanket of censorship was re-imposed, but I learned from participants in the strike that Imperialist 'order'' was restored only after water

and food supplies had been cut off. Naturally, the Congress directors of fallen into their trembling hands. the struggle were dumbfounded at Without perspectives, without a clear these manifestations of independent working class activity. I had personal of an organisation, the movement experience in Delhi of the complete began to disintegrate. One signpost

MONGERING

came out with the fairy tale of "permanent peace" under capitalism.

Instead of showing the mockery of the Tory promises of "work, food,

while the capitalist system remains, they presented the same programme of sham reforms, such as Beveridge, just as the Tories did.

Instead of accepting and welcoming Churchill's challenge of "Socialism versus the Rest", the Labour Party shadow boxed with the Tories on the meaningless issue of "controls versus". free enterprise". Controls act in the interest of capitalism as they have acted during the whole period of the coalition. It is not controls the captalists worry about, which merely regulates the profits of the whole gang of capitalists, instead of the free-for-all scramble, but the expropriation of their enterprises and the nationalisation of all big industry in the interests of the workers and the middle class. Nationalisation of one or two industries, even were they to be carried out with the burdens imposed by com-pensation to the capitalists, and the demands of the capitalists in other industries for cheap coal, etc. in order that they can more effectively compete, would result in lower standards for the workers in these industries. As the Post Office worker complained at a Labour meeting, nationalisation under capitalism had meant lower

wages and bad conditions for the post office workers rather than the reverse.

Morrison mentioned in one speech that there had been a prodigious increase in production in Russia under state ownership during the war. But neither Morrison nor the Labour leaders pointed out that the overthrow of capitalism was the only means of pre-venting chaos and the only means of venting chaos and the only means of increasing the productive forces to guarantee a high standard of living and decent conditions for all. A systematic campaign explaining what was acheved by the Russian revolution literature have been higher than at under Leniu and Trotsky, even in a backward country like Russia; and what could be achieved in Britain by under Leniu and Trotsky, even in a backward country like Russia; and what could be achieved in Britain by a planned production would have completely shattered all the phoney arguments of the Tories.

Instead of exposing Churchill as the arch representative of monopoly capital, the Labour leaders issued special instructions to their election workers that he was not to be attacked! What a lead to the workers! No bold proclamation of the alternatives facing the workers: workers' power or dis-aster. No inspiring lead which would have mobilised the mass of the working class for the struggle for power and the overthrow of the capitalist

Morrison to Ulster, who said that the Tories were the people who believe in violence, the Labour Party was on the defensive. Instead of stating that if the capitalists conspired against the people as they inevitably will, they would be prepared to use violence against the capitalists if it became necessary, as it was necessary in the case of Germany, of Italy, and Spain where the Tories backed the fascists. Had it been explained to them boldly and clearly in propaganda by the Lab-our leaders that the capitalists have used violence always for their own ends, the workers in uniform and earthy, would have responded enthys

leaders had made themselves jointly workers power shall rule in Britain responsible for the regime in India.

MOOD

The workers are undoubtedly in a more critical mood than they have ever been in history. The "Daily Mail" estimated that of the soldiers in Germany, 90 per cent were going to vote Labour! The general mood of the workers is one of cynicism and apathy. The "Times" and other serious organs of Big Business have commented on the complete lack of enthusiasm on the election. The masses have regarded with a certain scepticism the uninspiring and dull promises of the Labour leaders. The last 25 years record of the Labour Party, and particularly the last 5 years of coalition, have had their effect in the attitude of the workers. It is true that in the rural areas, and formerly extremely backward areas such as Birmingham there has been a big swing towards Labour. But while in the advanced areas the workers will vote solid for the Labour Party, they have not the same illusions as they had in 1929 and 1935. The basic mood of these workers is "Give Labour a Chance—Put them in with a Majority". There were not, as in 1929 or 1935 the hundreds of Labour workers actively participating in Labour's compaign. Over the whole electorate a mood of apathy prevailed because there was no real struggle, no clearly defined issues

It is significant that all over the country at street corner meetings the speakers of the Revolutionary Communist Party gained attentive audiences and received a sympathetic response when we explained our policy of Labour to Power on a socialist programme, and at the same time explained our criticisms of the Labour Party's policy and programme. In not

There has been a tremendous swing to the left in spite of the lack of a class lead from any of the mass organsations of the working class. This election is entirely different from the election of 1918. This election is just the beginning. If the Tories manage to gain a narrow majority their hollow deception will soon be exposed. The deception will soon be exposed. The terrible conditions which impend for the workers, will lead to the same awakening in the rest of the populaton as has already begun within the armed forces. The most bitter industrial struggles in the history of Britain loom ahead. If the Labour Party should gain a majority, that would be the most sociafuctory result. would be the most set sfactory sesult for the working class. It would accel-erate the education of the workers. The workers would demand, and our Party would assist them in their demands, that the Labour leaders take real measures against the capitalists and in the interests of the working class. The workers would begin to see that only real revolutionary measures can solve the crisis that faces Britain, which is doomed as a major imperialoveralls would have responded enthusiastically. But instead of this, Harold Laski issued a writ for slander!

and testing itself, drawing the advanced workers into its ranks, and build itself as the Marxist-Leninist Party Laski issued a writ for slander!

It was hardly possible to answer the Gestapo nonsense by exposing Churchill's actions in India, when the Labour whether capitalism in a brutal form or

gress Committee, turned out mimeo- the prevailing bewilderment made it graphed bulletins filled with highly easier than was expected. coloured reports of the progress of the struggle in other parts of India. Never Indian workers and peasants that it once was any kind of lead given to the people of Delhi. Any hoodlum or adventurer who could guarantee to smash up shop windows in New Delhi on poverty stricken villages. On Sept. ground Congress Socialist Party, whose

The struggle assumed different forms in different areas. In Bihar and Midnapore, the highest peak of organised struggle was achieved by the peasantry. In many places the machinery of Government completely collapsed. But running through the widely differing experiences is a fairly consistent pattern. The masses turned to the Congress and invariably found an empty shell. The Congress, bourgeois through and through, was terrified by success. and through, was terrified by success. And even those Congressmen who were honest enough to go with the masses all the way were so hopelessly confused politically that they did not know what to do with the limited power that had of an organisation, the movement began to disintegrate. One signpost experience in Delhi of the complete lack of political and organisational understanding displayed by the heroes of orthodox nationalism. Mrs. Asaf Ali, chief of the Delhi Provincial Continued in next Column.)

began to disintegrate. One signpost had been followed. But there were no others to point the way forward. When the military machine moved in to complete the job of repression at which the police had failed it was found that the police ha

was encouraged to do so and liberally 5th the Associated Press of India refinanced. One revolutionary exhibit- ported a total of Rs 55,000 exterted financed. One revolutionary exhibitionist—a common type among the Indian petit-bourgeoisie—came from Jaipur State with wild stories of a successful insurrection there. His stories were swallowed and more cash was supplied. Meanwhile, the workers was supplied. Meanwhile, the workers of Delhi, dispirited and to some extent disillusioned, were drifting back into the factories. Politically immature student members of the Congress were student members of the Congress were charging away in all directions at once sembly that unarmed crowds had been defiance of the Raj. But the orthodox Congress workers, carrying out the directive to behave as though the British Government had ceased to exist, went peacefully to jail. All that was left after a time was the underword Congress Socialist Perty, when streets of Delhi, while the little town position and record will be dealt with later.

The struggle assumed different forms in different areas. In Bihar and Midnapore, the highest peak of organised Southern India the the fittle town of Chimur was turned into a shambles. In some places troops got completely out of hand. An underground Congress publication "Ravaged India" gave details of atrocities committed in Southern India that the fittle town of Chimur was turned into a shambles. In some places troops got completely out of hand. An underground Congress publication "Ravaged India" gave details of atrocities committed in Southern India the fittle town of Chimur was turned into a shambles. In some places troops got completely out of hand. An underground Congress publication "Ravaged India" gave details of atrocities committee town of Chimur was turned into a shambles. In some places troops got completely out of hand. An underground Congress publication "Ravaged India" gave details of atrocities committee town of Chimur was turned into a shambles.

> broken finally by the Bengal famine, which decimated Bengal and had serious effects all over India. But though defeated in the first round of the struggle, the Indian masses can and will rise again. The August bloodbath destroyed provides the struggle of the destroyed many of the illusions of Gandhism that have held them back for so long. In India, as elsewhere, what must be built is conscious revol-

Southern India that compare with anything done by the Nazis in Europe. The hard core of the British forces in

How the League of Nations Kept Peace after, the last War...

1919, Intervention of the Czechs, Rumanians and the South Slavs against Soviet Hungary.

1919-20, Intervention of Poland and the border states against Soviet

1919-25, The Spanish War against the Riffs in North Africa. 1920, Poland occupies Vilna.

1921-23, Greek-Turkish War.

1921-25, British War against the Wahabites in Arabia.

1922, Japan occupies Vladivostok; the Irish rising against Englandi 1923, Lithuania occupies the Memel region; the Entente occupies the

1925-26, French War against the Jebel Druses in Syria.

1925-26, Spanish-French punitive expedition in North Africa. 1926, U.S.A. intervenes in Nicaragua.

1927, Italy's temporary seizure of Corfu; Dutch régime of terror in

Indonesia. 1927-34, Seven expeditions against Soviet China. 1930, French punitive expedition against the Annamites in Indo-China.

1930-31, British colonial war in Burma and Northwest India. 1931; Italy occupies Tripoli region.

1931-32, Japan occupies Manchuria; fighting at Shanghai; French war 1932-33, Japan-Chinese war; war between Peru and Colombia; war

between Bolivia and Paraguay. 1933, France occupies Yunnan and nine South Sea islands; Britain advances into Tibet.

1934. Spanish-French war against North African tribes; war in Arabia; Japanese advance into Mongolia; Ethiopia invaded by Italy. 1936-38, Spanish Civil War.

1939, German invasion of Poland; declaration of Second World War; Russian invasion of Poland. 1941, U.S. and Japan declare war; U.S. enters Second World War.

The United Nations' World Security Council is based on the same principles