

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party
BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

Interview
with Wales-
wood Miners

See page 2

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STALIN FEARS BALKAN FEDERATION

YUGOSLAVS TOO INDEPENDENT

Campaign Commences to Liquidate Tito

BY TED GRANT AND JOCK HASTON

THE SENSATIONAL EXPULSION OF THE YUGOSLAVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY FROM THE COMINFORM AND THE OPEN BREACH BETWEEN MOSCOW AND BELGRADE HAS AROUSED A LIVELY DISCUSSION IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS. WHAT LIES BEHIND THESE SENSATIONAL EVENTS? THAT IS THE QUESTION EVERYONE IS ASKING. ONLY POLITICAL CHILDREN ACCEPT THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE COMINFORM AS TO THE BASIS OF THE DISPUTE.

Whatever it is, however, it must be of tremendous importance for the Stalinists to precipitate the open breach which amounts to a considerable diplomatic and political set-back.

The conflict will undoubtedly have wide repercussions in the Communist Parties on an international scale. It marks a new stage in the development of international Stalinism which must be closely followed by revolutionary and militant workers.

The struggle must have been going on behind the scenes for a considerable time. Moscow would only have brought the question out into the open when it had failed to gain control of the Yugoslav Communist Party; when the Russian Secret Police, the N.K.V.D. in Yugoslavia had suffered a decisive defeat; when it was considered no longer possible to win Tito or his supporters; and probably, when Tito was gaining support for his policy against Moscow in the other Balkan Communist Parties. This latter event would be the most potent factor in arousing the hatred and fear of Moscow.

The real issues of the dispute come out only covertly. What appears to be at stake is the demand by the Russian bureaucracy in Moscow for complete and absolute control over the satellite states, even to the smallest detail of internal policy, and Tito's hostility and opposition to complete subjugation to Russia.

Moscow is faced with the two possibilities in the evolution of its policy towards the satellite states in the coming period.

The first is to incorporate these states openly into the U.S.S.R. as a means of ensuring complete and undisputed control; the second is to accept the nominal independence of these states but to try so to organise their internal regimes and arrange their relations with each other as to ensure that the real control is centred in Moscow.

The first policy has considerable advantages in that it would violate the national aspirations of the people of the border states and meet with widespread opposition not only from the broad mass of the people, but even from the ranks of the Communist Parties themselves.

It could only be carried out after long preparation and the assurance of one hundred per cent. state domination centrally and in the localities by the Russian Stalinists. To carry it out with any measure of force would arouse the hostility of the whole of the European working class.

The second policy would not ensure such complete subjugation and control of the border states but it has certain advantages in that real control would rest in Moscow while the nominal independence of these countries could be used to diplomatic and economic advantage. It would still be possible to prevent the federation of the border states in such a way as to strengthen their relative independence in relation to Moscow.

Stalin's Great Russian Chauvinism

The whole history of Stalinism—of Great Russian chauvinism—and especially the most recent conflicts of policy, indicate that Stalin will fight with every possible weapon to prevent the creation of independent

groups of states within the Eastern European countries.

A key to the conflict is given in the repeated demand from Tito for the Federation of Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia and his reported ambitions for a federation of the Balkan countries. The importance of this policy as an issue in dispute is seen in the fact that the Yugoslav Communist Party has restated its Balkan federation policy immediately following on the heels of its expulsion. It must be remembered that Dimitroff was recently hauled over the coals by Moscow for advocating a federation. In a Federation of the three countries, Yugoslavia would obviously play the dominant role.

Such a federation at the present time would undoubtedly result in a strengthening of the Communist Parties of these countries and their states as against the domination of Moscow. It is, therefore, one policy which Moscow will fight with every weapon it can muster until and unless, it is assured of absolute control through puppets.

Cominform Statement

In the statement of the Cominform, as quoted in the "Daily Worker" of June 30th, they say: "The leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party is carrying out a policy unfriendly toward the Soviet Union and to the All-Union Communist Party."

In Yugoslavia an unworthy policy of belittling Soviet military experts and discrediting the Soviet Army has been permitted. Soviet civilian specialists in Yugoslavia have been subjected to a special regime, on the basis of which they were put under the surveillance of State security organs and subjected to shadowing.

A representative of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) at the Information Bureau, Comrade Yudin, in a number of official representatives of the Soviet Union in Yugoslavia, were subjected to the same shadowing and supervision on the part of the State security organs of Yugoslavia.

Unworthy Attitude

All these and other similar facts prove that the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party have taken

up an attitude unworthy of Communists, on the basis of which the Yugoslav leaders began to identify the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. with the foreign policy of the imperialist Powers and behaved towards the Soviet Union in the same manner as toward the bourgeois States.

Precisely as a consequence of that anti-Soviet attitude, slanderous propaganda—borrowed from the arsenal of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism—on the degeneration of the All-Union Communist Party, on the "degeneration" of the Soviet Union and so on, has become current in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The same issue of the "Daily Worker" quotes the reply of Tito and Co. to the accusation that Russian "specialists" were shadowed, as follows: "This is a definite lie... it is a definite lie that anybody was followed. From the liberation until to-day all members of the party have given full co-operation to Soviet citizens."

What "Daily Worker" Did Not Report

The "Daily Worker" did not finish the quote and in this it both deliberately misinformed its readers, and indicated that its editors were not prepared to state the case for the Yugoslavs fairly and objectively. Already they had taken sides in the dispute as mere Russian hacks. The Yugoslav Communist Party statement went on to declare that: "On the contrary, it is absolutely true, as pointed out in our letter of April 13, that from the time of the liberation until to-day members of the Soviet intelligence service attempted without consideration to recruit Yugoslavs."

Let the editors of the "Daily Worker" explain to its readers the omission of this fundamental part of its brother Party's reply.

Extra Territorial Rights Demanded

The facts are that the Stalinist military and "civil" specialists in Yugoslavia, as in all other satellite

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Dockers Struck for A Principle

by Roy Tearse

THE ACTION OF THE GOVT AUTHORITIES IN VICTIMISING ELEVEN DOCKERS AND THE FAILURE OF THE TRADE UNION LEADERS AND THE GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT THE WORKERS' JUST DEMANDS, RESULTED IN THE LOSS OF £800,000.



On a question of principle, 20,000 London dockers stayed on strike for two and a half weeks, and secured sympathetic action in the later stages by the dockers in Liverpool and Birkenhead.

On the advice of the militant leadership of the Strike Committee, they decided to return to work. This decision followed the shameful betrayal of their interests by the Trade Union officials and the Labour Government. The Government had brought the entire weight of the State apparatus against them. The Emergency Powers Act of 1920, under which the State of Emergency was declared, had never been invoked since the General Strike. They gave themselves the right to use the armed forces, the police courts, powers of arrest without warrant, and to search the workers to whom they owe their seats in Parliament.

And all the arguments and excuses put forward by Attlee for invoking the Act, followed the same pattern as those of the Tories in 1926. "The Nation was threatened! Supplies were in danger! A Red Plot had been discovered!" Small wonder the capitalist class were quick to applaud the Government's measures.

The "Daily Mail" summed up the situation in its leader on June 29th.

Stating that "the Government will have the support of all loyal citizens" it continued: "A State of Emergency was also declared in the General Strike of 1926... How ironical to reflect that some of the men who protested against the 'brutal' acts of the Government then are taking the very same powers now... These Ministers and their colleagues have obviously changed their minds—in two years... One other point. Those who saw the hand of Moscow in the General Strike... Mr. Attlee himself says the Communists are making mischief. We welcome this belated conversion to reality and common sense..."

"What an Irresponsible" No Protective Clothing But the men did not refuse to handle it. They merely asked for certain reasonable conditions. They wanted protective clothing. The employers, who talk about millions of dollars worth of export trade being lost, who weep about food going rotten, said they could not provide such clothing for these eleven men.

5/- Ton "Dirty Money" The men demanded "dirty money" to replace their ruined clothing. (Ruined health cannot be replaced!) They asked for an all-in rate of 5/- per ton, there being no established price "in the book" for this job. This was refused and they were offered 3/4d per ton, the price of lampblack and ochre, which, bad as it is, is nowhere near as filthy a cargo as zinc oxide.

Men Showed Restraint Far from acting "impudently", these men showed considerable restraint. They went on working and appealed against the price. They asked for a View Committee (Continued on Page 4.)



Americans demonstrate for houses and food — South African Election — Page 3.

ENGINEERING BOSSES CAN AFFORD TO PAY

The Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry can be well met out of the swollen profits of the employers in this industry is amply demonstrated by the figures below which show how well they are doing.

The "Economist" recently reported that: 99 engineering firms made a gross profit of £6,143,000 in 1945-46, £7,442,000 in 1946-47; Net profits were, £3,331,000 in 1945-46, £3,875,000 in 1946-47.

55 firms in motors, cycles and aircraft made gross profits of £15,204,000 in 1945-46, and £18,259,000 in 1946-47; Net profits, £6,945,000 in 1945-46 and £8,801,000 in 1946-47.

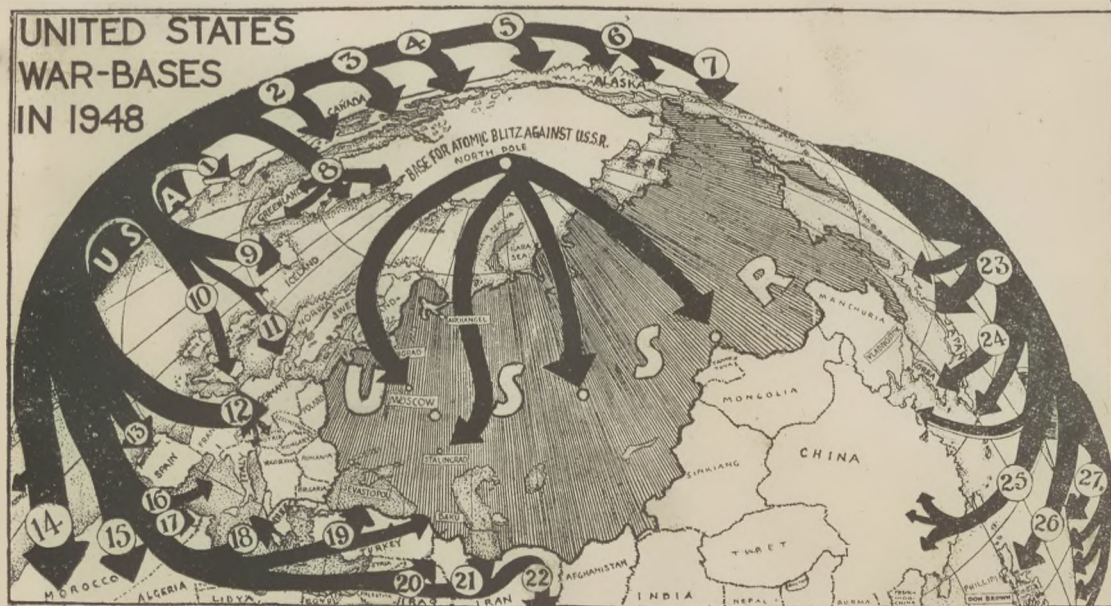
11 shipbuilding firms made gross profits of £3,801,000 in 1945-46, £4,138,000 in 1946-47; Net profits were, £2,020,000 in 1945-46 and £2,391,000 in 1946-7.

22 engineering firms which issued their statements of account this year showed £1,000,000 more earned in 1947 than in 1946. Some examples of the latest reported profits:

	1946	1947
	£	£
Jaguar Cars	22,102	113,446
Aveling-Barford	23,583	111,866
Bristol Airplanes	346,721	407,786
North British Locom	118,513	121,845
Brown Bros.	112,091	168,114
Vauxhall Motors	817,096	853,649
Boulton and Pauls	24,690	100,219
Broom and Wade	54,368	113,713
Raleigh Industries	165,224	171,793
Harland and Wolff	2,320,000	1,911,000
Vickers	2,399,000	1,225,000
Ford's Motors	1,099,000	614,940

TWO YEARS AFTER WORLD II AMERICA HAS 434 FOREIGN WAR BASES

Arrows 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 on map shows Bases in Canada; 6 and 7 Alaska and the Aleutians; 8 Greenland; 9 Iceland; 10 Britain; 11 Denmark; 12 Germany; 13 Portugal and Spain; 14 Antarctic; 15 Belgian Congo; 16 Italy, Mediterranean; 17 North Africa; 18 Greece; 19 Turkey; 20 Iraq; 21 Iran; 22 Arabia; 23 Japan; 24 South Korea; 25 China; 26 Philippines; 27 Pacific Islands.



From "Blitz," India.

U.S. Imperialism Prepares War

C.P. PEACE CONFERENCE SIDETRACKS ISSUE

"I believe war to be immoral, un-Christian and silly, and no true civilisation would include war as part of its organisation."

This is what Dame Sybil Thorndike states in an interview with the "Daily Worker" as propaganda for the "Daily Worker" Peace Conference on July 17th.

Sincere, though this may be, such sentimental observations do not form a programme upon which to fight the pending imperialist war.

The above quotation does, however, show clearly the character of the Communist Party campaign, as do the various interviews with dignitaries of the Church, including Bishops and vicars.

The problem of war and peace

is a class question which can only be solved on class lines. War does not arise from ill-will or immorality on the part of the ruling class. It arises out of the contradictions of capitalism; it is a necessity of the system.

"Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world and not only of one country, will wars become impossible," wrote Lenin in "War and the Workers."

At the present time American Imperialism is planning a war of aggression against Russia, which, while degenerated to a very great extent, still has a regime which rests on the social foundations created by the October Revolution; a system which is in mortal antagonism with the capitalist system of private property. If capitalism remains in America and Western Europe, it will be absolutely impossible to avoid war.

As the map on this page shows, America's war machine spreads from the Arctic wastes to South Sea atolls until today it has 434 bases outside America.

The Air Policy Commission calls for preparation for atom and bacterial warfare.

The War Department keeps 60 Government-owned industrial plants ready for war work. 2,745 new airports are to be built.

Tailing behind America, Britain is spending vast sums far exceeding former preparations.

To combat the war preparations of the American-Anglo imperialists will require not pacifist peace conferences which bind no-one to any policy, but a ruthless class struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist class. No amount of humanitarian sentiments can counter the atom bomb and flying missiles which are being produced by the thousands.

The best sections of the middle class can be won to a genuine struggle against war only on the basis of proclaiming the truth: that the struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism, and that only the working class through its mass organisations, can lead this struggle.

Before World War II, the Communist Parties of the world organised similar anti-war conferences and parades on the basis of a broad popular front which included so-called "progressive" elements among the capitalist class. Their only result was to delude

militant sections of the workers that it was possible to avoid war under capitalism.

In the first World War, Lenin proclaimed it a crime to the cause of the working class and socialism to pretend that anything less than a series of successful socialist revolutions could prevent war. If the first world war did not result in the destruction of capitalism, Lenin forecast it would be followed by a Second, and a Third, and even a Tenth imperialist war, till civilisation itself would be destroyed. After the terrible Second World War, this should be clear to anyone with the faintest knowledge of Marxism.

Conferences of this nature which do not mobilise the masses for action against capitalism can only sow illusions and lead the masses into a false sense of security.

THEIR CAN BE NO PERMANENT PEACE UNDER CAPITALISM. Only workers' organisations drawing behind them the masses of the middle class for a programme of struggle for workers' power and for the international solidarity of the working class can really fight for peace. Only the setting up of a Socialist United States of Europe and the world can put an end to the danger of war.

