



SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (TROTSKYIST)

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UNO CANNOT PREVENT NEW WORLD WAR

THE AIR IS THICK WITH RUMOURS OF WAR. UNO IS A PLATFORM FOR THE PROPAGANDA OF THE BIG POWERS

VYSHINSKY proposed the cutting down of armaments by one-third and the banning of the atom bomb.

A demand for disarmament could be a means of

Had the Russians demanded that the Trade Union and Workers' Organisations throughout the world should have the right of inspection over the atomic processes and arms production, they would have gained the support of the entire working class of the world. Western imperialism would have been morally disarmed and ideological war on Russia would have suffered a great set-back.

But, because of the situation inside Russia, the slave labour camps, and the conditions of the masses—as well as the fear of imperialist attack—the Russian bureaucracy dare not lay the country open to free inspection by the workers of other lands, or anybody else.

Bevin countered Vyshinsky by pointing to the fact that Russia's armaments potential is a secret. But he endeavoured to lay the blame for America's piling up of atomic bombs on the refusal of the Russians to accept control and inspection in Russia.

Bevin Quotes Lenin

In attempting to place the responsibility of war preparation at the door of Russia, Bevin quoted from the writings of Lenin:

"We are living," says Lenin, "not merely in a State, but in a system of States, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist

States for a long time is unthinkable. One or other must triumph in the end.

"And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois States will be inevitable.

"That means, that if the ruling class—the proletariat—wants to hold sway, it must prove its capacity to do so by a military organisation also."

Bevin is well aware that Leninism is not Stalinism.

Bevin is also well aware what Lenin meant: He did not advocate an aggressive policy for the Soviet Union. What he said was that world capitalism could not, and would not, permit the indefinite existence of a new social system together with the old. In a desperate attempt to preserve their system, the capitalists would launch an assault on the Soviet Union. For that reason, the Soviet Union, while relying on

ing mass, must organise their defence forces, as they did against the armies of intervention. Only the conquest of power by the working class in the advanced countries of the West would prevent war on Russia.

Neither the Labour leaders nor the Stalinists are advocating a programme which can lead to world peace at the present time.

exposing the hypocrisy of the capitalists. But unless the roots and causes of war are explained at the same time, the demand for the reduction of armaments merely tends to throw suspicion on Russian sincerity.



A peasant hut blazing near Kuala Lumpur

MALAYAN HOMES BURNED

IT was recently disclosed in Parliament that more than 200 workers have been killed in Malaya and about the same number captured. As to the number of Union leaders who have been murdered, the Colonial Secretary remains silent.

The sufferers in this colonial war for profits, are the poor workers and peasants, who live in daily terror from the British forces. Into the remotest villages, the war is taken to the poor peasantry.

Whole villages are being destroyed as reprisal measures.

Socialist workers can only read with dismay such reports as appeared in the "Sunday Observer":

"There was no whining or begging. They were given a few minutes to collect what they could. In and out like minnows they darted, collecting a few torn blankets, some pots, and one armful of blind puppies.

"With a ludicrous gesture a Chinese detective stood on his toes and snapped his lighter at the thatch. The hut burst into a slow explosion of flame, and the family stood and watched, ankle-deep in all they had.

"That happened five times. Once a child started to scream. Oothers just stood, their faces marble-cold.

"At the end of the line an old woman waited at the door of her hut. Her son crouched outside his legs and arms like chicken limbs, approaching the slow end of his consumption. Inside was a climax of all poverty. She possessed a large, shapeless earthenware jar with a little rice at the bottom, two eating bowls, a mat, an empty Benedictine bottle, some prayers written on red paper."

British Investments at Stake

Malaya has been for long the El Dorado for capitalist investments. In rubber alone, there are over £200 million invested. Among the firms engaged is Harrison and Crossfield, with a capital of £2,500,000. The directors of Harrison's sit on boards of 56 companies connected with rubber plantations. Harrison's also act as manager for about 5 plantations with a combined capital of £11,500,000.

FORTNIGHTLY SOCIALIST APPEAL

OUR readers are aware that "Socialist Appeal" is run at a great financial sacrifice by the members and sympathisers of the Revolutionary Communist Party. They know that a minimum of £100 per month over and above the revenue from sales are necessary to pay the bills and keep the finances of our paper on an even keel.

Unfortunately, we have failed to meet that target for several months. Meanwhile the costs of paper and printing have risen.

We dropped the printing of the mid-monthly "Appeal" supplement. But readers everywhere are asking for the more frequent appearance of the paper.

In order to meet this, and at the same time keep our publication costs within manageable limits, we have decided that "Socialist Appeal" shall re-appear as from this current issue, October 1st, twice monthly. This is possible only with a reduced size.

We urge all readers to give freely and liberally to our Fighting Fund to ensure that we can keep this bi-monthly publication on a healthy basis.

Send your donations to:

D. Gray, Fighting Fund, Socialist Appeal, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

Ask for a Fighting Fund collecting card, and get your mates and fellow readers to help bridge the gap.

£100 per month is our minimum requirement to keep our fighting socialist paper on a twice monthly basis.

CRIPPS AND THE CAKE

WHILE most of the assembled Trade Union leaders and delegates at the Trade Union Congress endorsed the Government's policy of stabilising wages, in practice, almost all of them are in the process of presenting demands upon the employers for an increase in wages, as leaders of individual unions.

National Cake

Cripps' conjuring trick with the "national cake" was a clumsy piece of work. It pleased the capitalists, but did not fool too many workers. Without taking into account gross profits, he compared the distributed profits of the capitalist class to

(continued on page 4)

DE GAULLE THREATENS MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

GENERAL DE GAULLE HAS THREATENED THAT IF POWER IS NOT GIVEN TO HIM SOON HIS MOVEMENT (R.P.F.) WILL TAKE POWER BY A FORCIBLE COUP D'ETAT IN ORDER TO END THE "ANARCHY" IN FRANCE.

Thus, the French workers face the danger of a military dictatorship.

The clique of French Generals and officers, who were helped by the French Stalinists and Socialists to maintain control over the army, are almost to a man co-conspirators or supporters of de Gaulle.

The French Army supplied de Gaulle with 12 cars, 8 motor-cycles and 750 gallons of petrol a month for his campaign.

When, under pressure, the Defence Minister cancelled this in June, according to the admission of Jules Moch, Socialist Minister of Interior, "a week later his order was countermanded by a telephone call from the General Staff."

With the subsidies of the big trusts, de Gaulle has built up

his own armed storm-troopers. M. Moch admits to the figure of at least 5,000 for Paris, and 10,000 in the provinces. These are composed of the same elements as Hitler recruited. They are armed with sub-machine guns and revolvers. And at de Gaulle's demonstrations, uniformed officers of the French

Army, either on active service or on the Reserve, have openly paraded.

In every town where de Gaulle has spoken extra police and security forces have been mobilised for his protection.

In recent clashes with demonstrating unarmed workers a number of Communist Party militants have been killed by de Gaulle's storm-troopers.

Clashes with armed gangsters which are not repelled embolden the fascist elements.

In any attempted coup on the part of de Gaulle, the officers, the police and the State apparatus will support de Gaulle. The only safeguard for the working class is the creation of an independent armed organisation composed of the workers in the Trade Unions and the French Labour movement.



De Gaulle addressing a huge crowd at Nice.

WANT TO JOIN THE REGULAR ARMY?

Both the Government and the chairborne militarists are worried at the lack of response to the recruiting campaign.

All the ballyhoo methods of modern publicity have been used to cajole men into the Regular Army. Advertisements in the daily press present a glowing picture of the opportunities the soldier will get when he finishes his time.

And on being released each man is offered every possible inducement to stay in for a time. If he cannot stomach the idea of twenty-two years he is given the chance to sign on for three, and now even shorter periods of service are permitted.

Yet only a trickle of recruits is coming into the Army. Very few with personal experience of this magnificent institution swallow the bait.

The reason is not far to seek. Despite Government propaganda about the "new" Army and the "new" status of the soldier in it, the Regular Army remains what it has been for generations. The Army was shaken up badly during the late war, and many of its senior officers have successfully adapted themselves to the ideas and aims of the Labour Government. But a few Labour officers do not make a democratic officer class; and the fact that Montgomery and Shinwell are as thick as thieves butters no parsnips in the Barrack rooms.

The "Day Episode"

The real face of what Bernard Shaw once called "the organised refuse of our industrial system" is, to some extent, concealed in England: it shows itself better in the Army abroad. Take Germany, for instance. High Officers in Berlin are now grinding their teeth in chagrin over the R.S.M. Day episode. This soldier told a "Daily Mirror" reporter on the not serving hot meals at lunch-

A SOLDIER IN GERMANY CALLS FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE REGULAR ARMY—

time and that the spirit ration had been cut. This was no secret, but it did not prevent the Army authorities from making utter fools of themselves by bringing a court-martial charge.

The Army Mentality

The idiocy of these proceedings was noticed even in the War Office and the charge was dropped. But it illustrates the Army mentality perfectly. The Army officer hates and fears the Press—any kind of Press—as the Devil fears Holy water. He also hates Labour, and it is doubtful whether there is an Officers' Mess in Germany which does not conduct itself as a branch of the Tory Party.

Hatred of Labour

This hatred of Labour is also widespread in Germany in the rank-and-file, and it has been stepped-up to alarming proportions since British wives started living in the country. Living in conditions they could never hope to attain in England, they are the Herrenvolk, and, unfortunately ever growing numbers conduct themselves as such. In the NAAFI Families' shops, one hears crowing about conditions in England which resemble a rally of the Housewives' League. Their rationalised desire not to go back home and work, as the

less fortunate housewife has to work, expresses itself in rabid anti-Labourism that has to be heard to be believed.

Class Solidarity Withers Away

In this atmosphere of the "herrenfolk" there is no wonder that class-consciousness and a sense of solidarity with the working class movement soon wither away. And there can be little doubt that this sort of thing, with local modifications, is going on all over the world. Those who served in India during the war can only recollect with horror the arrogant racialism and embryonic Fascism which found an ideal breeding ground in the regular Army. The atrocities committed in Palestine during the Mandate period do not need to be emphasised here. The job of an army is to hold in subjection by arms, and the difference between the Wehrmacht in France and the British Army in Malaya or Greece is only one of uniform.

Deadly Atmosphere

Here we are concerned only with the deadly atmosphere which such an oppressive role creates inside an army, an atmosphere which explains why no class conscious worker would dream of sticking it out for a

second longer than they were forced to by conscription.

All that any Socialist needs to know about the dangers of militarism was written years before most of us were born by Karl Liebknecht. Yet, by degrees, all the poisonous paraphernalia of militarism is being introduced into Labour Britain. The Tory diehards would have us all square-bashing again next week if they had their way; and instead of denouncing them as a menace the Government only apologises to them for not being able to go any faster with recruiting.

Disband the Regular Army

It is time that all this reactionary rubbish was swept away and the regular Army disbanded. For it is not even useful on its own ground. Major Woodrow Wyatt got into hot water soon after the war ended by pointing out that the cream of the officer class—the Guards officers—were largely military nimcompoops; and the Army was so corroded by conservatism at the beginning of the war that the Germans carved it up like a chicken without any difficulty at all. It was hopelessly outclassed, outmanoeuvred and outfought until the influx of conscripted officers and men evened things up a little.

Concentration of Reactionaries

Few workers realise that the Imperialist re-groupment which has taken place since 1945—disguised as the liberation of India, Egypt and other places—has concentrated a large body of military reactionaries who were formerly scattered all over the world. Once the capitalists start to show fight—as they will—they no longer need to send to India for their Prætorian Guards; they are right here on their doorsteps.

The worker who refuses to be trapped by the promises on recruiting posters is guided by a healthy instinct. But healthy instincts are not enough. The regular Army is a militarised wing of the Tory Party. It must go. It must be replaced by a Workers' Militia before it gets a chance to bare its ugly teeth.

A.M.

HATFIELD MEN ASK 3d. PER TON

DISCONTENT is growing amongst the miners at Hatfield Main Colliery because of the slow response to their demand of 3d. per ton extra for colliers.

Cost of Living

The demand, made on June 18th, arose out of the failure of a previous demand for an increase of 1d. per ton to bring wages to a satisfactory level, and although the threat of a strike accompanied the demand, it has not been dropped, there still remains a strong determination to struggle.

A leading official of the Hatfield Branch of the N.U.M. made the following statement:

"The feeling of the men is that if the N.U.M. is strong enough to negotiate speedy wage increases for non-productive elements in the industry, whose wages are in the region of £12 to £14 per week, then it is strong enough to negotiate a speedy increase of 3d. per ton for coal face workers. The men are getting very impatient and won't wait much longer.

"There are other matters, however, which are causing discontent in the colliery no less than the wage dispute.

"One point is the circulation of threatening notices to the older men in the colliery, who, because of advancing years, have been working a little irregularly.

"We intend to put a stop to this kind of thing and will not allow Pit Production Committees to become bodies for disciplining the workers.

"There is indignation too as a result of Lawther accepting the Government's policy of pegging wages. We do not accept that policy and our present struggle for a wage increase is an answer to it."

The Hatfield miners are becoming sick of the campaign for more production, less absenteeism, pegging wages, etc. Their mood is further irritated when a short visit to Doncaster by Their Majesties is sufficient to stop production for a day in every pit in the area.

BILL DAVY.

MEETINGS

MARXIST LECTURES to be held in London

Sunday Evenings at 7.30 p.m.
October 17th: De Gaulle's Menace.
October 24th: India Today.
October 31st: Real Situation in Russia (1917-1948).
National Trade Union Club,
12, Great Newport Street, London W.C.2 (opp. Leicester Sq. Station).

LECTURE Hear the Facts BEHIND THE STALIN-TITO CLASH

Speaker: Jack Haston. Questions and Discussion. Thursday, Oct. 7th, at 7.45 p.m. Workers' Circle, 22, Alie Street, E.1 (Near Aldgate East Underground).



PIE IN THE SKY ?

The Coal Board watching the National Coal Board Flag being hoisted at the pit-top on take-over day. Their policy: Work and Pray.

STATE INDUSTRY AND WORKERS' CONTROL

EXPERIENCE is teaching the miners that the Coal Board is capitalist—not only in its composition, but in its practices.

They are increasingly demanding changes in its composition and full representative workers' participation in the control and administration of the industry from top to bottom.

THE resolution on workers' participation in the control of nationalised industries, which was carried at the T.U.C. without opposition, declared that persons given the task of administering the nationalised industries should be of proved ability and believers in the policy of nationalisation. In addition, it called for extensive training schemes to develop the administrative ability of the type which would ensure the success of nationalisation.

Sir George Chester, on behalf of the National Council, said that the appointments should be on the basis of proved ability which was already the policy of the T.U.C.; the resolution added that persons appointed must have belief in nationalisation. They were not seeking to establish a political test. The General Council would accept the resolution, subject to the reservation that Ministers must be allowed the right of full responsibility, and that there was no challenge to the integrity and efficiency of those now holding office in nationalised industries.

The dilemma of the General Council, which would have stood in danger of defeat had it op-

posed this resolution, was expressed in this speech. Despite Sir George's reservation, it is clear that the resolution implies a criticism of the majority of the existing administrators. The insistence that administrators should believe in nationalisation is in essence a demand for a political test.

Where else is it possible to draw capable technicians and administrators from, among people who believe in nationalisation, except from the ranks of the Labour and trade union movement: from the ranks of the working class? Certain capitalists and anti-Labour specialists favour the nationalisation of this or that industry. But the overwhelming majority are fervid supporters of private capitalist property as against large scale nationalisation as a step towards Socialism in Britain.

Nevertheless, it was clear from all the participants in support of the resolution that they did not visualise any radical change: merely an extension of the process of selecting one or two more Trade Union leaders to sit on the Boards. It is certain that the General Council will not break its neck

trying to implement the resolution.

To be really effective from a Socialist point of view, the majority of the administrators must be from the ranks of the working class and its organisations. They must retain the closest connections with the mass organisations, and be subject to recall by the workers to whom they should be compelled to make regular reports. The exact forms of this connection are for the workers' organisations to work out.

The failure of this debate rested in the fact that each industry was treated more or less as a separate unit. It was not linked up and made an integral part of a campaign for a planned and unified economy which necessitates the rapid extension of nationalisation and the elimination of the profit motive in industry as a whole. It must be stressed that without such a unified and planned economy, so long as the nationalised sectors of industry operate as props for private industry, there can be no Socialism, and nationalisation—and Socialism—will be discredited among wide sections of the population who are not antagonistic to Socialism.

A.E.U. Stewards Discuss Award

ON Sunday, 19th September, the London District Committee of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Confederation called a meeting of Shop Stewards to ascertain the views of the rank and file on the recent 5s. wage award.

About 350 attended.

A resolution calling for the rejection of the Award and urging the E.C. to continue negotiations through the constitutional machinery was moved by a Labour supporter of the Government.

An amendment was moved calling for a strike ballot of the members.

The supporters of the amendment, prominent among them Claude Berridge, divisional organiser and well-known Stalinist, in addition to calling for strike ballot, also called for token strikes and a more vigorous anti-capitalist campaign.

The usual demagoguery about Wall Street's domination of Britain was brought forth, incidentally creating the impression that the British capitalists would be democrats if only the American pressure was removed.

There was one speaker who put forward a good, class-conscious position. This was Bro. B. Elliott, Convenor of the Enfield R.O.F., who gave critical support to the amendment. He condemned the supporters of the resolution, their "constitutionalism" which only hamstrung the workers. But in supporting the amendment, he clearly differentiated himself from the adventurism of the Stalinists. He made it clear that he was supporting the amendment because he believed that the rank and file should be consulted on such an important issue, and that a ballot is the most democratic way of doing this.

A sharp division was shown by the vote. 155 for the amendment; 103 against. The amendment became the substantive motion and was accepted.

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256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.
Phone: CUN 2526.
EDITOR: E. GRANT.
BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

STALIN DISSIPATES GOODWILL OF WORKERS

The strong current of pro-Russian opinion which was widespread throughout the ranks of the working class at the end of the war has been largely dissipated. It is being replaced by a growing anti-Russian sentiment which has become particularly pronounced during the past few months.

The systematic and concentrated anti-Russian campaign in the capitalist press has been largely responsible for guiding this mood. But the principal factor in the transformation has been the policies and actions of the Stalinists themselves. Especially in Germany and more particularly Berlin, the anti-socialist, non-communist totalitarian policy of the Stalinists has alarmed and shocked workers everywhere.

IN CAMERA

The most recent was the trial and sentence of five Germans to 25 years forced labour. These Germans, aged 18, 18, 22 and 40 respectively, were arrested following the anti-Russian demonstration of September 9th, and charged with a series of crimes against the Russian occupation administration.

The "trial" was held in camera, only Russian press representatives were present, all others being shut out. Even representatives of the German C.P. press were excluded. The demand made by the leader of the German Social Democratic Party, Schumacher, for legal representation, or even an observer on behalf of the accused, was denied.

Even if it is assumed that these people were actually Nazis—and no public proof of this was advanced by the Russians—to sentence boys of 16 and 18 to

25 years' forced labour is a monstrous and vindictive act which has nothing in common with socialist or communist theory or practice.

It is interesting to note that in reporting and supporting the sentences, the "Daily Worker" said that the political parties of Western Germany, backed and encouraged by the Western occupying Powers, were seeking to whip up popular indignation over the sentences. But the "Daily Worker" did not give their ages.

Hundreds of thousands of trade unionists in the Western Zone have protested against the savage sentences and demanded that a new and public trial be heard. Every socialist worker, every worker who genuinely strives for communism will support this attitude of the members of the German working class.

As a result of this popular pressure, which was also felt in the Russian Zone, and even in the Communist Party—the Russian Commander has reduced the sentences to 8 years, 6 years and less, the youngest lad being released on probation. These are still monstrous sentences for participation in a demonstration, handed out in camera. Anti-Russian propagandists have been given a golden gift.

Communism represents the most democratic form of working class organisation. The trial of these Germans not only had nothing in common with communism, it did not even come up to the standards of capitalist democracy where the prisoner is allowed legal representation, of his own choice, witnesses and a public hearing.

TROTSKYIST POLICY RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY A. E. U.

THE September issue of "The Monthly Journal" of the A.E.U. contains the resolutions adopted by the National Committee. There are among them a number of excellent resolutions. An important Trotskyist policy resolution was adopted on the Nationalisation of Industry, No. 44:

Nationalisation of Industries

"This National Committee considers that the nationalisation of the engineering, shipbuilding, ship-repairing and other basic industries is an urgent necessity. It recognises, however, that the payment of compensation, as in the coal and railway industries, places a crippling burden on such industries at the expense of the working class. Further, this Committee recognises that in so far as the nationalised industries are controlled by Boards composed of trusted capitalist representatives, these industries will not function basically in the workers' interests, and lacking workers' control, as in the R.O.F.'s the workers in these industries will suffer the ills of capitalist society. This Committee demands, therefore, from the Labour Government that it nationalises the engineering and all basic industries, without compensation, and that these industries are placed under the control of democratically elected committees of workers and technicians."

FRENCH ECONOMY WRACKED BY CAPITALIST CRISIS

DESPITE considerable recovery of French industry and of reconstruction since the end of the war, only the capitalists and monopolists have benefited. The workers and middle class have suffered a considerable fall in their standards of life. The industrial production index is 115 per cent. of 1938.

The electricity production, for example, has been increased from 20,000,000,000 kilowatts in 1938 to 30,000,000,000 in 1948. The 1948 power construction costs 60,000,000,000 francs (about £700 millions), and requires 600,000 tons of cement, 150,000 tons of iron and steel, 2,800 tons of copper, and a labour force of 50,000.

Since the liberation French hydro-electric output has increased by over 2,500,000,000 kilowatt hours per year. This is a 10% increase of the total electricity production.

At the present rate of recovery, it is expected that all the destruction of the French ports, roads, railways and canals, will be restored in 1949, and merchant marine regain its pre-war position.

Despite the fact that the production of the necessities of life—food, etc., is either as high or not far below what it was pre-war, the consumption of the masses has dropped steeply.

At the same time, according to President Auriol, the hours of work have been increased from 39 in 1938 to 45 per week. And there has been a chronic inflation with a constant tendency for prices to increase. Wages are much higher than at the outbreak of the war but they lag far behind the breakneck rise of prices. The price of bread in 1939 was 3 francs per kilo (about 2lbs.) In May, 1944, during the war it was 3 francs 70 centimes. In September, 1945, it reached 7 francs 40 centimes. In August, 1947, 19 francs 20

centimes. In September of last year it was fixed at 24 francs per kilo. Under the Marie Cabinet the price of bread was raised to 35 francs.

The price of meat, milk, eggs, has been constantly rising. Even during the last month the price of horse-meat (the workers can hardly afford anything else) has increased 35%, eggs, 100%, cheese 30%, milk 60%, wine 25%. Coal costs £8 per ton. The price of electricity and now even rent, which is cheap in France, is going up.

Only the black marketeers and the capitalists have benefited from this situation. The workers and the middle class are being ruined by the constant rise in prices and all the burdens of the crisis which have been placed on their shoulders. Even the official cost-of-living index which is not a faithful reflection, has risen from 1,437 points in January, to 1,559 in July, and 1,716 in August.

...Even the low standard of living which followed the war could not be maintained, were it not for the assistance which American imperialism has extended to France through the Marshall Plan. In reply to the French Stalinist agitation on this question M. Bidault, then Foreign Minister, pointed out on July 7th in the French National Assembly "that without Marshall aid the French standard of living would have to be cut by half."

The capitalists are spending enormous sums of money on the war in Indo-China, in holding

down the masses in Madagascar and other colonial areas. The military budget of 1947 amounted to 310,000,000,000 francs and absorbed more than half a million men in the armed forces.

M. Rene Mayer, who in presenting his Budget of July this year, said: "American aid and European co-operation must be accompanied in France by a rigorous economic policy, budgetary equilibrium, reduction of military credits, a drop in the price level, and an effort at industrial re-equipment." He stated "that French dollar resources alone, excluding Marshall aid would hardly cover France's non-commercial dollar expenditure; that in the first five months of 1948 French imports had been nine times larger than exports..."

The extent of American aid was 300,000,000,000 francs.

All the Ministers of Finance—both preceding and succeeding M. Mayer, have proclaimed the same policy. But each in turn has viciously attacked the standards of the workers and has utterly failed to curb the leaping prices. In a statement which indicated a naked attack on the workers, M. Queuille, asking for discipline and sacrifices, said he was following on the same road as his predecessors. "The essential measures already recommended by them were substantial retrenchment, revision of subsidies, reorganisation of national enterprises, the elimination of all investment

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LEGLESS TROTSKYIST VICTIM OF U.S. PURGE

AMONG the more recent victims of the anti-red campaign in America is a Trotskyist, James Kutcher, a member of our brother party, the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade Kutcher, a war veteran, entered the armed forces in 1941, and participated in the North African, Sicilian and Italian campaigns. He lost both legs in the latter campaign. Since he learned to use his artificial legs, he has worked to support his aged parents as a clerk in the War Veterans Administration office, Newark.



Harold Russell

Harold Russell, handless World War II veteran and star of the Academy Award motion picture, "The Best Years of Our Lives," has accepted the national Chairmanship of the Defence Committee for James Kutcher. Mr. Russell, whose portrayal of the disabled Navy veteran in this film won him national acclaim, is a hospital mate of Kutcher. They occupied adjoining beds for 5 months in the Walter Reed Hospital. When informed of the purge action against Kutcher, he immediately offered his services in Kutcher's defence.

Other nationally famous ex-servicemen have also joined the defence Committee. They include Bill Mauldin, outstanding World War II cartoonist, Pulitzer Prize winner and author of best selling books, "Up Front" and "Back Home"; and Merle Miller, former executive editor of "Yank," author of "That Winter," now editor of "Harper's Magazine" and a member of the National Planning Board of the American Veterans Committee.

Among leading Union spokesmen on Kutcher Civil Rights Committee is Carl Holderman, President of the New Jersey C.I.O. Council.

In a letter to the Chairman of the Loyalty Board, Veterans Administration, Kutcher has strongly defended his right to be a member of the Socialist

Workers Party and attacked the whole undemocratic procedure as illegal and unconstitutional.

"I make no secret of my views or those of the Socialist Workers Party, which have been publicly expressed for many years over the radio and in the press. I believe that Socialism is the only system that can bring humanity peace and freedom, and in support of that belief I propose next November, whether employed by the government or not, to vote for the Socialist Workers Party national ticket, Farrell Dobbs for President and Dr. Grace Carlson for Vice-President."

"I did not believe that the recent war was a war to eradicate fascism and to establish the 'four freedoms,' and everything that has happened since the end of the war strengthens me in that belief. Furthermore, I am opposed to the preparations for a new war. I am opposed to restrictive legislation against labour, and minority groups. I am opposed to racial discrimination in every form, I am opposed to witch hunts and attacks on civil rights. And I am in favour of political organisation and action by the working people, who represent the great majority of the population, to put an end to these evils.

"You have the right to disagree with my views, but not

to deprive me of my job for holding them, or for belonging to a party and associating with people who share them, or contributing my money to support of a newspaper that defends them. I contend that I have the same right to a government job as you or any other American, and that not a single shred of real liberty will remain for anyone in this country if I and other political opponents of the administration in Washington are to be hounded out of our jobs because of the principles we believe in. I have already been deprived of both my legs and my freedom of movement. I do not propose to have any government official deprive me of my freedom of thought and expression and my right to earn a living. The methods employed against me are those of totalitarianism and not of democracy."

Kutcher has determined to make his case the symbol of resistance to the witch-hunts, purges and political black-lists that make a mockery of civil rights in America. There have been hundreds of government workers fired in the "loyalty" purge because of their political views; but here is the first case where one of them stood up and said, "Yes, I hold these views. I have a right to hold these views. And the Government has no right to fire me because of them."

FRENCH CRISIS

(continued from page 3)

programmes which did not contribute to enabling France to pay her way by 1952, and finally, taxation to bring in 80,000 millions of new taxes."

We have seen the phenomenal rise of de Gaulle who in a few months was enabled to build a mass basis among the middle class on a vague programme of denunciation of the corrupt parliamentary regime. The scandals which have involved many ministers in the last few years have aided de Gaulle.

With the growing conflict between Russia and the West the introduction of the Marshall Plan, the Stalinists swung into opposition while the Socialists announced the formation of a "Third Force" coalition government which stood for democracy as against the "personal dictatorship of de Gaulle" and the "totalitarianism of communism" (Stalinism). The succession of governments—each one more reactionary and tending towards the right, till today sympathisers of de Gaulle are in the Government together with the Socialists—provides a striking parallel with the situation in Germany before Hitler came to power.

But while there are many resemblances, the differences too are striking. In Germany mass unemployment, together with the ultra-left policy of the Communist Party, resulted in a feeling of frustration among the German masses. The Communist Party was largely composed of unemployed, while the trade unions and the employed workers largely supported the German Social Democrats. Today in France, the Communist Party has the support of the big majority of the working class and has a dominating position in the trade unions through control of the C.G.T.

Masses in Fighting Mood

Because of the existence of full employment, accompanied with the low standards of living, the workers are in a combative mood, given the leadership.

All observers agree that the masses are in a bitter and aggressive mood. However, none of the mass organisations of the workers have put forward a clear cut solution. The Socialists are angering their supporters by their policy of coalition with the capitalists. Even "Force Ouvriere," the Socialist split-away unions from the C.G.T. and the Christian Trade Unions, have been compelled to make similar demands to the C.G.T. for the sliding scale of wages and a guaranteed minimum of about 13,000 to 15,000 francs per month (about £14 16s. to £17). Had they not done so, the small forces they still possess would have gone over to the Communist Party. It is this pressure of the masses that initiated the series of ministerial crises. The Socialists overthrew the Schumann Cabinet by demanding a reduction in military expenditure and a bonus to the workers and civil servants to compensate for the high cost of living. A niggardly 2,500 francs for July and August has been granted to the workers. Nothing to compensate for the ever increasing prices.

There is a universal feeling that this situation cannot continue. The capitalists would like to solve the problem by handing over to de Gaulle. But they are afraid of the consequences. Not only the French capitalists, but the British and American capitalists fear the outcome. A clash between the workers and de Gaulle would destroy the plans for the building of the Western Bloc. The Marshall Plan would be disrupted—even if the capitalists emerged victorious which is not at all a certainty.

Frittering Away Energies

Meanwhile, Stalinists are frittering away the best energies of the workers in a whole series of little strikes. The railway workers, the miners, the engineers, the civil servants, nearly every section of the French workers in the past few months have been out on "token" strikes. Instead of forming committees in the areas and factories linked on a national scale, patiently explain-

ing to the workers that France's destiny is being decided, they are calling for a new "democratic coalition" which will include themselves. Their policy in France has only one objective: to strengthen Stalin's position in the world tug-of-forces between East and West. There is no real perspective. If Stalin arrives at an agreement with Anglo-American imperialism, tomorrow they will act the part of strike breakers as they did formerly.

In a speech delivered on September 9th, Thorez declared: "As far as the Government itself is concerned, it is demanding, as we say, all power for itself. Contrary to the lies of the S.P., we have simply asked for such responsibility in the Government to which we were entitled by reason of support of 6 millions of people in metropolitan France and territories overseas."

Instead of showing the workers that it is not possible to overcome this crisis except by overthrowing the capitalist class and organising a Socialist state, the Stalinists delude the workers that a new and different combination of capitalist and working class forces in coalition will solve the problem. Thus the capitalists have the advantage both ways. If the mass struggle threatens to get out of hand, they can reorganise the "Peoples Front" till the revolutionary wave has broken, as they did after the liberation. On the other hand, with the disillusionment of the masses, de Gaulle will be pushed forward at a time most suitable to themselves.

De Gaulle is making speeches attacking the unions and the political parties:

"We are going to power so that an end may be put to the sterile game of the political parties, to the feudal privileges of the trade unions, and the press which are driving France to anarchy."

His programme is that of naked rule of finance capital, with the eventual destruction of the organisations of the working class.

WAR PREPARATIONS

THE Government has announced new defence measures. The release of conscripts is to be deferred. An estimated extra £50 millions are to be spent on re-arming, although already larger amounts than in pre-war years are already being spent.

The numbers retained in the Armed Forces will be increased from a planned 716,000 to 825,000 on January 1, 1949, and 790,000 on April 1. A lengthening of the period of call-up of National Service conscripts is already being threatened. Plans for speedy recalls to the Services and mobilisation of reservists have been prepared. Civil Defence is to be kept in a state of readiness for immediate action.

Vicious Circle

The vicious circle is almost complete: War, sacrifices, war, sacrifices. . . . With the alteration of a slogan here, an incident there, and the propaganda to suit the new "enemy," the process is the same. International incidents and clashes with the Russians are being featured to build up war psychology. Since the end of the war, every incident in international diplomacy, every disagreement with the Russians, has resulted in tension.

Always the Same

The propaganda of the Western Powers that they stand for the defence of peace, democracy, freedom and honour among nations, is the same as that used against Nazi Germany. Always it is for the best of motives that the imperialists spill the blood of the workers, and dissipate the wealth created by the workers. Always lasting peace is promised when this aggressor and that aggressor has been finally dealt with. And always the last war sows the seeds for the next.

Imperialist Expansion

Wars take place because of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system, and for no other reason; the impossibility for the great imperialist

"The Great Conspiracy"

By V. CHARLES

"The Great Conspiracy Against Russia," by Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn. Lawrence and Wishart. 2/6.

The British Communist Party is renewing its campaign against Trotskyism with the publication of this book. It has been re-issued in Britain at the ridiculously low price of 2/6, and according to reports pressure is being exerted on the rank and file of the Party to read the book and push its sales.

The book sets out to show a continuous link between the real and proved agents of imperialism like Bruce Lockhart and Sidney Reilly, and the Old Bolsheviks, victims of Stalin's frame-ups, and Leon Trotsky. The counter-revolutionary White Guard armies of Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel and Yudenitch are amalgamated with the Trotskyist Left Opposition. Thus, with a small dose of truth, mixed into a huge cauldron of lies, the authors seek to disarm the overwhelming section of world opinion who refused to accept the colossal fraud of the Moscow Trials, and to deceive the working class about the true nature of the Stalinist regime and the real content of Trotsky's opposition to that regime.

Documentary Evidence

The authors claim that "None of the incidents or dialogue in the 'Great Conspiracy Against Russia' has been invented. . . . Their documentary 'evidence' is not only worthless, but has been proved false by independent investigation. If we take the official documents, which the authors ignore, we can judge their integrity. For example, it would have completely destroyed their portrait of a Trotsky consumed with hatred of Lenin, and plotting the overthrow of the Bolshevik Government, whilst occupying the important post of Commissar for War, if they had published the document signed by Lenin, which read:

"Comrades. Knowing the strict character of Comrade Trotsky's orders, I am so convinced, so absolutely convinced, of the correctness, expediency and necessity for the success of

the cause of the order given by Comrade Trotsky that I unreservedly endorse this order."

This exceptional declaration of confidence, given to Trotsky at the foot of a blank page, was never used by Trotsky. But it is enough to refute once and for all the desperate efforts on the part of Stalin to besmirch the name of Lenin's closest collaborator in the heroic days of the Russian Revolution.

Lenin's Testament

Another example of the veracity of Messrs. Sayers and Kahn is sufficient to establish to any honest investigator that these men are not concerned with the truth. Writing about what has come to be known as "Lenin's Testament," they deny the existence of such a document.

But, unfortunately for the authors, the "highest authority" has established the existence of the Testament. Stalin was unguarded enough to allow a speech of his to be printed in "International Press Correspondence" (now "World News and Views"), No. 64, 17th November, 1927. This can be had at the British Museum, Marx House, or at the R.C.P. Office. This is what Stalin said:

"It is said that in the 'Testament' in question Lenin suggested to the Party Congress that it should deliberate on the question of replacing Stalin and appointing another comrade in his place as General Secretary of the Party. THIS IS PERFECTLY TRUE. . . ." (Our emphasis.)

Why has this document never been published in Lenin's selected works for study by members of the working class? Obviously, because it shatters

the edifice they have erected regarding Lenin's attitude and relations to Stalin.

Plotted with All

If one follows closely the picture of Trotsky as it emerges from the pages of this book, one finds him to be truly a fantastic creature. At the same time that he was plotting with Bruce Lockhart and Reilly, the agents of British imperialism, he was acting as a German stool-pigeon at Brest-Litovsk. He is continually joining conspiracies—now with Bukharin and Rykov, then with Zinoviev, Kamenev and Radek, combining all this with plots with the Social Revolutionaries, White Guards and Mensheviks.

After his exile from the Soviet Union, if Sayers and Kahn are to be believed, every capitalist Power in the world, every counter-revolutionary group, sought his aid. Polish Secret Police vied with Mussolini's OVRA; Yugo-Slavia and Hungary competed with the British Intelligence Service and the French Deuxieme Bureau to enlist the support of "his conspiratorial apparatus inside Soviet Russia." "Funds, assistants, a network of espionage and courier services were at Trotsky's disposal. . . ."

No Right of Asylum

All this he was able to get from the capitalist world, indeed they pressed their gifts upon him. Only one thing was denied him—the right of asylum! In vain did he seek entry into Britain and the U.S.A. Weimar Germany shut their doors to him. He was ejected from France and Norway after short stays. Only Mexico, under the exceptional conditions of the Cardenas regime permitted him to reside within its borders. All his life Trotsky remained the one man whom world reaction feared and hated more than any other. In the capitalist mind he was ever linked with the October Revolution. Nothing Stalin has done or said, can refute that fact, a fact which destroys the whole incredible case they try to build up against Trotsky.

Silence at Nuremberg

Contemporary with the publication of the American edition of the book in February, 1946, there was taking place at Nuremberg the trial of the Nazi leaders. In the dock were Rudolf Hess and Alfred Rosenberg, with whom Trotsky was alleged to have had direct dealings during the Pyatakoff-Radek Trial. Messrs. Sayers and Kahn quote the "evidence" of the Moscow Trials of Trotsky's connections with the Nazis through Hess:

"It was Alfred Rosenberg, the one-time Czarist emigre from Reval, who first established secret official Nazi relations with Leon Trotsky. It was Rudolph Hess, Hitler's deputy, who cemented them. . . ."

Here was an opportunity for the Russian Prosecutor to prove Trotsky's guilt once and for all before the whole world. All he had to do was to cross-examine the two Nazi leaders; all he had to do was to produce the relevant documents from the carefully preserved Nazi files.

Despite a challenge to cross-examine Hess and produce evidence made by the R.C.P. and by public figures such as H. G. Wells and a number of Labour M.P.s, they failed to do so. Nor could they—for the simple reason that there was no evidence. No one knew this better than the Soviet prosecutor. His silence testifies to this.

Frame-up! That is the verdict which the civilised world passed on the Moscow Trials, and as such they will characterise this latest effort on the part of Stalinism to vilify the men who led the October Revolution to victory.

imperialism is building up for the inevitable conflict.

The only way out of the blind alley in which imperialism and Stalinism are leading mankind is for the workers, as a class, to take control of their own destiny. The Russian working class must overthrow Stalin by revolutionary action and introduce a policy of workers' democracy at home and internationalism abroad; the workers of the West must expropriate the capitalist class and institute a socialist democratic system. Either would transform the world situation.

CRIPPS

(continued from page 1)

the total wages of the workers, plus the salaries of the middle class and lush directors' fees which the capitalists draw in the form of salaries. He argued that a 25 per cent. tax on these distributed profits would increase the wages and salaries only fourpence in the pound. By this he inflated the part of the cake which allegedly went to the workers, and deflated the portion which allegedly went to the capitalists.

The real increase of wealth on the part of the capitalist class, the extension of their property in the means of production, was not even taken into consideration, but only that part which, as a rule, they consume in good living.

The White Paper on national income produced by his own office proves conclusively that the portion of the national cake which goes to the capitalists is approximately the same as dished out by Churchill.

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