

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY  
BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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# LEASE-LEND CRISIS

## Burdens to Fall on Working Class

By TED GRANT

THE AMERICAN CAPITALISTS HAVE ABRUPTLY AND RUDELY, WITHOUT CONSULTATION OR WARNING, ENDED LEND-LEASE. THE SUGARY PHRASES ABOUT "CO-OPERATION" IN THE GREAT "BATTLE OF DEMOCRACY" IS SHOWN TO HAVE BEEN BUT A COVER FOR THE REAL INTERESTS OF IMPERIALISM.

No sooner had Germany and Japan been knocked out, than the scramble for the markets of the world has been intensified among the Allied victors.

Despite the official lies about the reasons for Lend Lease, it was only granted in the first place by the Americans after they had stripped British imperialism of the major part of her investments, markets and interests abroad.

The "Observer" of August 26th, complains in its editorial columns:

"Could anybody suggest that Britain has devoted too small a fraction of her national production to the war? Yet other nations have already grown rich at our expense to the tune of £4,000 millions. Before Pearl Harbour we handed over to America some £1,000 millions in gold and securities. Without Lend Lease we are likely to pile up a dollar debt of at least a further £1,000 millions. This is financial lunacy. The whole concept of war 'debts' is a false one. They must not be allowed to bedevil world trade and disrupt international relations after this war as they did after the last one."

The whole of the press unanimously bleats about the difficult position in which British imperialism finds itself.

When the capitalist politicians and their Labour and Stalinist lackeys were painting a glowing picture of the glorious vistas of plenty and prosperity which would follow the victory of the Allies, the "Socialist Appeal" warned the workers that Britain, though nominally on the side of the victors, was in fact a defeated power. She had become a satellite, in effect, of American imperialism and Wall Street would call the tune.

Now, in common with the rest of the press, the "Daily Mail" gives this picture in an article by the Tory M.P. Captain L. D. Gammans:

"We must import all (or a large part) of our cotton, wool, timber, iron ore, oil, tin, rubber, hides, and most of the rare metals. Otherwise, our factory wheels will not turn.

In 1938 our total imports were £920,000,000. But we did not ex-

port an equivalent value. Our exports were only £530,000,000.

The difference was made up partly by the interest on those foreign investments made by our Victorian and Edwardian ancestors; partly by the profits of British shipping companies, which carried not only British but foreign goods all over the world; and partly by the insurance business and other similar activities which resulted from the fact that the City of London was the financial centre of the world.

Even with these "invisible exports" we were not breaking even before the war, and were starting to live on our capital abroad to make up the difference.

Since 1939 our economic position has deteriorated catastrophically in four respects:

(a) Most of our export trade has been sacrificed to the war. In the meantime some of our best customers have learnt to make for themselves the things they previously bought from us.

(b) A large part of our overseas investments were liquidated in the early part of the war, when the U.S.A. was prepared to supply us only on a "cash-and-carry" basis.

(c) We are now a debtor nation and owe the staggering sum of more than £3,500,000,000. Even if this debt is "funded" at a low rate of interest, i.e., the repayments spread over a number of years, it will mean that we must increase our exports by about £200,000,000 a year, for which we receive no corresponding imports in exchange.

(d) Our co-efficient of industrial efficiency is lagging behind that of the U.S.A. even more than before the war, and it is with America that we have to compete in the neutral markets of the world. For example, an American coalminer turns out nearly four times as much per shift as a British miner: in some branches of the textile industry the difference is nearly 25 per cent.

On the basis of Britain's bankruptcy, Wall Street is exerting pressure to (Continued on page 4.)

## TROTSKYIST CANDIDATE

TO FIGHT WALLSEND



HERBERT BELL

The Newcastle comrades have chosen Comrade Herbert Bell as their candidate for the Wallsend Municipal Election. Comrade Bell has behind him a life time of service to the working class movement. He played a primary role in the building of the Labour Party and I.L.P. in several areas being the founding member. He was one of the first Labour Councilors at Newbiggin. At Scarborough in 1929 he was Labour Party agent and increased the vote from 800 to 7,600. Today he is a leading member of the R.C.P. in the North East. Having lived and suffered on Tyneside as a worker between the two world wars he is familiar with the problems of the Tyne workers.

In their first leaflet to Wallsend workers, our Newcastle comrades state:—

"During the General Election, the R.C.P. threw its organisation into the fight for a Labour Government, while reserving full rights of criticism of the Labour Party policy. Now we fight side by side with the workers to endeavour to ensure the full implementation of the Labour Party policy, and to prevent sabotage by the capitalist class. WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, BELIEVE THAT

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# SOLDIERS ANGRY

## Government Holds Up Demobilisation

— WRITTEN BY A SOLDIER ON LEAVE FROM MIDDLE EAST

SINCE THE CAPITULATION OF GERMANY, THE QUESTION OF DEMOBILISATION HAS BEEN FOREMOST IN THE MINDS OF EVERY MAN AND WOMAN IN THE FORCES. THERE IS ONE TOPIC OF CONVERSATION IN EVERY UNIT, EVERY CAMP, EVERY BARRACK ROOM: "HOW SOON DO WE GET OUT OF THIS RACKET?"

The soldiers, sailors and airmen have watched with disgust the slow and meagre trickle through the Demob Centres of the first few release groups. Everywhere it was known that the Demob Centres, capable of handling 1,400 men a day, were in fact dealing with less than a quarter of that number, and soldiers pinned their hopes on the improvement that would follow the advent of a Labour Government.

Less than one month after the Labour Government took office this illusion was rudely shattered.

On August 22, Attlee made the pronouncement that a million men were to be released by the end of the year. The following day George Isaacs, Minister for Labour and National Services, announced that Group 23 would be demobilised by December 1945. Simultaneously, the War Office officially stated that Group 23 would be released between December 24th and January 20th, an even more conservative estimate than that of Mr. Isaacs. In other words, the present farce of demobilisation, the miserable trickle of war weary veterans through the Demob Centres is to continue, despite Labour's election pledges as to the speed up of demobilisation.

Every soldier, sailor or airman, at home or overseas, knows full well that the service chiefs have fought hard to keep the rate of release at its present snail-slow tempo. The reason is not far to seek—the rank, and therefore the pay of these senior officers depends upon Establishments. If Establishments are revised it will mean a reduction of hundreds of high ranking officers to a lower rank—such people will hardly be among those to advocate a speedier demobilisation.

Any soldier from the Middle East, Parforce or C.M.F. knows of the enormous administrative units that are being maintained in idleness in these commands. He knows that unnecessary

work is being invented, rather than allow Establishments to be reduced. He knows of the futile parades, fatigues and duties that have been used to cover up the fact that entire commands have become redundant.

The workers in uniform have, in the past, blamed the officer caste and their Conservative friends in Churchill's Government for the slow rate of demobilisation. But they pinned their faith on the Labour Ministers to make a clean-up of these Establishments and speed demobilisation accordingly. It is not surprising that the recent pronouncements have raised a storm: a storm that will gather force. Already the M.P.'s and the press have been inundated with correspondence from service people—the soldiers and airmen at Gibraltar have demonstrated in no uncertain manner their dissatisfaction with the so-called "speed-up".

The Labour leaders protest that "the Government's policy as stated in the House of Commons, is to secure the maximum speed-up in demobilisation consistent with our military commitments and fairness to all who have served". This protest will not deceive any man or woman capable of the most elementary understanding of arithmetic. Our military commitments have been estimated at 500,000. At the end of the war in Germany, there were some 5 millions in the armed forces. If a million are to be released by the close of 1945, a surplus of three and a quarter million will remain.

Why does the Labour Government propose to maintain this enormous force? Let Mr. Attlee answer this question:

"It would be folly," he says, "to think that we could at once disband our forces. It was one of the weaknesses at the end of the last war that there were not forces in hand to prevent disturbances all over Europe." (House of Commons, 16th August.)

somehow, sometime would be done for them. They are past helping themselves . . .

"They have no money, no valuables, nothing with which they can barter or buy a crust of bread. And the mother's only thought is food for the children. I spoke to many. One woman, emaciated, with dark rings under her eyes and sores breaking out all over her face, could only mutter self-condemnation because she was unable to feed her two whimpering babies. I watched her trying desperately to force milk from her milkless breasts—a pitiful effort that only left her crying at her failure. . . .

"In a closed cattle truck were the dead and dying, removed each night to make room for more who were certain to be on the next train to arrive."

This refers to the evacuees driven from the areas of Germany that are being annexed by Poland. They make for Berlin, but are sent away from the city the next day.

Allied-occupied Germany reproduces the horrors of Nazi-occupied Europe, to an even more terrible degree.

These conditions are not a mere temporary dislocation of society due to war and defeat. Far from improving during the months of Allied occupation, they have steadily worsened. They are the direct result of the Allied

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## Negro Boys in Chains



Atrocities occur in America too. Here are two 15-year-old Negro boys who a couple of weeks ago were found in heavy shackles at the Fulton County Industrial Farm, near Atlanta, Georgia. E. J. Waits, farm superintendent, explained he used these cruel methods on Negro youngsters to keep them from escaping.

A. P. Photo

Reproduced from "The Militant", U.S.A.

# RAILWORKERS Not Satisfied

SID BIDWELL

There can be little doubt that what concessions have been granted to the rail workers from the negotiations, still going on at the time of writing, have been won because of the Sunday strike movement commenced by the workers in the Liverpool area, and which threatened to engulf the country.

As it is, 12 days holiday has been conceded to commence in 1946. But the Union representatives have agreed that if manpower doesn't allow for relief, a week only will be taken and an extra week's pay made. The wage increases amount to 7s. on the adult minimum wages and, as far as can be gathered, the differential adjustments on the wages of other grades will result in some cases in more than 7s. being given.

The Union programmes set out to abolish payment according to rural and industrial areas, but in the new agreements concluded without any test of the feeling of the workers, this method of payment emerges intact. The minimum rates will now be 84s. rural, 85s. industrial, and 87s. London. These are composite rates, inclusive of war wage with a certain portion now consolidated into the base rates.

Wherever Union representatives present themselves today and the closer they get to the workers on the job, the more hostile their reception. Most of them triumphantly flaunt the results of the negotiations as a wonderful achievement. The fact that the NUR programme calls for a 90s. minimum as a base rate, doesn't seem to worry them very much. They go into the negotiations not with the object of fighting for the programme, but for as much as they can get without trouble and without impairing their jobs.

Mr. E. G. Bowers, speaking to the August meeting of the London D.G. of the NUR in his capacity as London E.C. member, disclosed that representatives of the companies had stated the Labour Government was opposed to further increases for rail workers until after 1946. Mr. Isaacs the new Labour Minister denied this when confronted by the N.U.R. representatives. Mr. Bowers was peeved that the R.C.A. and A.S.L.E.&F. went on with negotiations in their absence.

Mr. Bowers met with bitter opposi-

tion when he condemned the Liverpool workers. He proclaimed that the Sunday strikes were against the abolition of a Sunday turn, and not originally for the programme. The extent to which he cannot see the link-up, is a measure of the extent to which union officials not dependent on rail wages for many years, are removed from the conditions of the workers. Under the existing circumstances with wages so low, curtailment of Sunday work means reducing living standards. Hence the link-up at Liverpool.

The cutting down of Sunday work, consequent upon the curtailment of war traffic sharpens the necessity for a steep upswing in basic wage rates. If the Union officials think the present settlement is sufficient they have another think coming.

Any insistence on the part of the rail workers for a fair share of the nation's resources is to be dressed up as "standing the Labour Government in the back".

If the presence of a Labour Government is to be any advantage to the rail workers, who gave generously of time and trade union funds in assisting it to power, it must be forced to nationalise transport, without compensation, and hand over control to the elected representatives of the workers and the technicians.

To turn the Unions into fighting organisations, it is necessary to re-empower them for the members by ensuring the election of all officials every two years and paying them railway-men's wages.

The Edge Hill (Liverpool) Branch of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen have given a lead on this. The Branch passed a resolution expressing no confidence in their executive committee and called for a recall of the annual assembly of delegates to discuss the advisability of removing them from office.

# GERMANY UNDER ALLIED CONTROL

D. JAMES

"There are plenty of people in Berlin trying to sustain life on no more than a slice or two of dry bread a day. There are women who take to the streets and offer themselves with a kind of casual hopelessness to anybody who cares to give them a few scraps of food . . ."

"The Berlin district of Charlottenburg in the British zone has an estimated present population of 168,000. The week before last, milk distribution in Charlottenburg averaged 1,800 pints daily. . . .

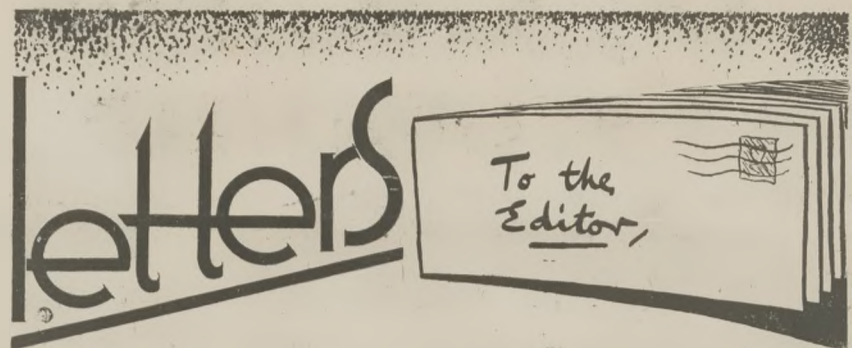
"The meat supply for Berlin is already extremely difficult. It is beginning to be necessary to face the appalling economic choice of slaughtering milk cows in Germany to provide meat or of doing still more without meat in order that some milk production can continue."

In these simple words a correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" sums up the condition of the people of Berlin today. Every day the press carries similar reports from all parts of Germany. Even the capitalist journalists, who yesterday were gloating over the complete collapse of that country, are horrified by the results.

The "Daily Herald" (24.8.45) reports:

"I saw at the Stettiner Station (Berlin) miserable remnants of humanity, with death already shining out of their eyes—with that awful, wide-eyed stare. Four were dead already, another five or six were lying alongside them, given up as hopeless by the doctor, and just being allowed to die. The rest sat or lay about, whimpering, crying or just waiting, hanging on to the slenderest hope that something,

# Nationalise the Pits Without Compensation to Coal Bosses!



### Support from India

Dear Comrade,  
Thanks a lot for the papers and mags.

The "Free Press" of August 5th devotes nearly a page to articles from "Socialist Appeal". I am sending it on. This paper gives quite often space to such articles. Last Sunday, August 5th Naidu's article on the Levant. One on the Greeks being sent to Abyssinia, and the table dealing with the League of Nations results were published.

A friend here—a good boxer suggested that to help the "S.A." Fund he shall try and get a fight at a professional boxing booth and devote the proceeds to this cause. We will get him in good fettle to win or else he better get new digs! A fair has started and a boxing ring is being erected.

Please report any sums of money that come from such a collective effort as it helps a lot.

Great decisions are expected from the Labour Government such as speedy demobilisation, something concrete in housing and jobs. "The old gang has gone," they say. Grigg, the ex-secretary of State for War has to the delight of everyone here got kicked out.

My two "wall newspapers" are going quite well. Last week another incident happened in relation to them. The Orderly Officer, a newcomer, wanted to know who looked after them. He was instrumental in getting the boards torn down from the wall. I was sent for by my Company commander and told my cuttings were too one-sided. When I explained that I was before the CO on the same theme, and given the option of discontinuing the job or putting forward right and left opinions, I was told to carry on!

At the moment I am out doing exercises and as there are no newspapers I started another "wall newspaper" mailed to a tree—and its success was a foregone conclusion.

Best wishes to Conference,  
Tom.

### Greeting from Malta

Malta,  
10th August, 1945.

Dear Comrades,  
Just a few lines to inform you of my new address in order that I may receive your enlightening and knowledgeable communications each month. I have enjoyed and learnt so very much from them in the past, and I know I shall do in the future.

There were great acclamations here by the majority of the chaps when it was learned that the Labour Party had won the General Election with a big majority. Now I await for the great deception by the Labour Party leaders, and it is our job to explain why this will happen and what can be done to right the situation.

May the Party continue to expand with greater rapidity than it has in the past for the sake of the future generations.

Thanking you for all the great service you are doing for humanity's cause. May it soon succeed in its objects.

I remain always,  
One of your adherents,  
RAF., Malta.

### Solidarity with German Workers

Dear Comrade,  
We now have about 50 German ex-soldiers working with us in the workshop. Relations between them and the British soldiers are excellent and amicable. They seem surprised and grateful at the friendly attitude of the lads. Only the officers maintain hostility towards the rank and file German soldier.

The wage they receive is very poor. In talking to some of them they told me their pay in the army was 250 marks per month. The rate they are paid in our workshop is 100 marks per month. No food is given them they

bring their midday meal, such as it is, from home. It consists usually of black bread and a bottle of water or weak beer. They are very hungry. At our dinner time they wait in knots around the pig swill bin for leavings, which they eat avidly. It is a humiliating experience for us both. Many small kindnesses are done for them by the "Tommy" which creates a bond of understanding.

The people dread the coming of the winter months with its bitter cold. There seems no likelihood of coal in any useful quantity being produced for domestic use. Any fuel must be the wood and twigs scrounged from the woods, which means a daily trek of 6 miles.

One sees of an evening, groups of 3 or 4 German ex-soldiers disconsolately and rather hopelessly wandering along the roads picking up the cigarette ends of their more fortunate brothers, the Canadian and British soldiers. Many a time I have seen the troops pass out a cigarette in sympathy to a German soldier. Such actions and understanding exposes the attempts of the Allied imperialists to divide as "racial inferiors" the German soldier-worker from his English or Canadian counterpart.

To give an example of what the troops really think of this sort of stuff the Military Government try to put over: On our detail the other day appeared the astonishing crude ruling:

"It has been noticed that troops when out walking and having to pass German males on a narrow path, the British soldier invariably stands aside to allow the German to pass. This attitude is misunderstood by the German male as a sign of weakness. In future when such occasions arise the British troops will insist on the German male either standing aside while he passes, or that he allows you to pass on the path."

Expressions of disgust were heard from us when we read that choice piece. It will, of course, make no difference to the boys' good manners and politeness. Apparently that brain which thought that up is anxious to inherit the mantle of "racial mania" which was one of the Nazi regime's chief characteristics.

I was talking to two young lads the other evening when out for a walk. They were 21 and 20 years old. Had been in the Eastern Front Army for 2½ years. They expressed a dread and fear for the Red Army and a positive hatred for Stalin. Yet, as they said, the Russian system was good, no capitalists! This is a very common attitude among the demobbed German soldiers. Indicative of the tremendous harm the downright betrayal of international communism by Stalin's counter-revolutionary policies has done and how it has affected the masses of Europe. Yet notice! They admired these lads did, the achievements of the October Revolution. If Trotskyist ideas can only reach the German youth I am sure the richest cadres and supporters of the Fourth International will come from them.

These same lads expressed delight that England had a Labour Government and were glad that Churchill had gone and was replaced by Attlee. Well, I couldn't let that go by without explaining our attitude and warn them of the coming great betrayal.

Revolutionary greetings,  
Pte. G.

### From the Middle East

Middle East Forces,  
20.8.45.

Dear Comrade,  
It is difficult for me to express my pleasure at receiving the papers you have sent me. Up to date I have only been able to get occasional and very old copies, and still these are eagerly perused by my friends and myself. You may rest assured that these up to date copies will be very thoroughly read and passed on—re-read till they almost fall to pieces, and even then as long as sticky paper will hold them together, they will still "go the rounds."

I am on a course at present—which is all to the good as I am making new friends, interesting and grand hearted lads—and one finds this so wherever we go. Upon my return I shall send off a postal order so that you might send further copies as they appear.

You have filled a great gap for us—Thank you.  
LAC., R.A.F.

### GLASGOW CENTRAL STUDY CLASS

Every Thursday at 7.45 p.m.,  
R.C.P. Rooms,  
2nd Floor,  
47 Oswald Street, Glasgow, C.I.  
(opposite Zoo)

.....All Glasgow readers are.....  
.....especially invited.....

# U.S. Trotskyists Run Candidates in New York

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, Trotskyists, which is running two candidates in the forthcoming New York City municipal elections, this week issued a statement defining the broad issues around which the party's official campaign platform will be built. The S.W.P. is running Farrell Dobbs, editor of "The Militant", for mayor, and Louise Simpson, militant Negro trade unionist, for City Council. Following is a section of the election statement:—

## Text of the Election Programme:

Wall Street's political parties are equally responsible for plunging the United States into the catastrophe of the Second World War. In the post-war period now before us, they have no perspective but continued warfare and unending bloodshed. That is why both Republicans and Democrats support peacetime conscription and the Prussianization of American youth.

The American Labour Party and the Liberal Party are simply shadows of the Democrats and Republicans. They have taken as their major task the collection of working class votes for capitalist candidates.

To solve the burning problems of the postwar period, labour must begin by opposing these reactionary and perfidious political machines in the service of all Wall Street.

### 1. For working class political action!

The modern battles of labour are being fought out more and more on the political field. To support any of the boss politicians or boss parties is to stab labour in the back. Build an independent labour party! Take labour's fight into the halls of the legislatures and Congress! Establish a workers' and farmers' government!

### 2. Continue to operate the government-built plants!

War production expanded industry enormously. Now the Wall Street politicians are turning government-built plants over to capitalists or closing them down indefinitely. These plants could produce peace-time goods in vast quantities. Let them continue to operate! To protect them from the predatory capitalists who want to continue the economy of scarcity, place them under control of the workers!

During conversion to peace-time production, the government protects the profits of the bosses. But the workers are left to starve. The workers' income must be insured during the critical period! Keep every worker on the payroll at his full rate of pay!

### 3. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

Wall Street politicians promised 60,000,000 jobs after the war. But even before the return of millions of men in the armed forces, unemployment is growing by leaps and bounds. To provide jobs for everyone, institute a sliding scale of hours! Spread the work by reducing the number of hours each man spends on the job—but with no reduction in take-home pay!

### 4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! Down with Jim Crow!

The bosses and their politicians hope to divide the workers by setting

nationalities and colours against each other. Despite all their election promises to institute fair employment practices, they continue the vicious Jim Crow system. Defend the Negroes' right to decent jobs at decent wages! Unite the labour movement by fighting segregation and discrimination everywhere!

### 5. Safeguard the American workers' standard of living!

The Washington bureaucrats promised to keep down the cost of living. But prices have sky-rocketed beyond reach of the average family. To preserve the standard of living, institute a sliding scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

### 6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

During the war, Big Business has rolled up the most phenomenal profits in all history. Yet the staggering burden of taxation to pay for the war has been placed on the backs of the poor. Confiscate all war profits! An end to all taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

### 7. Make New York 100 per cent union!

Government bureaucrats and trade union officials carrying out the no-strike pledge have paralyzed the labour movement. Without the no-strike pledge the Bosses could not have maintained the wage freeze. Rescind the no-strike pledge! Withdraw union representatives from the employer-dominated War Labour Board! Put union men in office who will represent the workers in labour disputes! Free the trade unions from the shackles forged by Big Business.

### 8. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

The forces of native fascism are lying in wait for the veterans. They want to turn them against racial minorities, poison them against the labour movement, organize them into fighting detachments and establish fascism in America. The trade unions must act in time to save the people from this fate. Make the struggle for the veterans' rights a union fight!

### 9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Under the pretext of providing military training for the citizenry, Wall Street wants to Prussianize the United States. Give them a working class answer! Let military training be placed under the strict control of the trade unions. Counteract the hate propaganda of the mushrooming military caste through trade union supervision of military education

### Provide trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

10. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!

Wall Street intends to put down working class revolutions wherever they appear. That is why they want to continue polling countries overseas indefinitely. Withdraw the Allied occupation troops! Support the revolutionary struggles of the workers in other lands!

### 11. For a socialist society!

Only a planned world economy can end capitalist wars and depressions. Vote against postwar hunger and misery! Vote against the profit system! Vote against a Third World War!

Vote for revolutionary socialism! Vote for the Trotskyist candidates! Vote for Dobbs and Simpson!

FARRELL DOBBS



# A Memory of the Ammanford Riots

BY JOHNNY JONES (CROWN)

"Do you remember the Ammanford riots?" The old miner to whom I addressed this inquiry looked about 65 years old. His face, dotted with little blue marks, showed plainly the nature of his calling. His gnarled hands were covered with hundreds of these ocean blue marks, leaving little to be seen of the white skin which had once been his. He continually toyed with the pint measure in his hands and his eyes gazed into space. There were only two other men in the bar and they were deep in low-toned conversation. The clock on the wall ticked the seconds gently away—the pendulum going back and fro like the tide on a peaceful day.

"Do I remember the riots?" He whispered to himself, laying emphasis on each word—"Twenty years ago". His voice came to me softly as from the past and I leaned closer to hear the words.

"The trouble began at No. 1 Red Vein in the Amman Colliery. The management tried to smash the Seniority Rule. I was working there not very far from Wilson, the man who was victimised. All the anthracite miners came out on strike. It was decided to withdraw all safety men which, in my opinion, increased the high feeling from a spark into a flame which swept up the valley. But you want to hear of the riots?"

"The riots took place on August Bank Holiday 1925—the same day as the Royal Agricultural Show in Carmarthen. The feeling had been pretty high in the town all day because Aubrey, an electrician, was doing work outside his sphere in No. 2 Colliery. When light came things looked rather ugly. Hundreds had gathered by the 'New Inn' and it was from there we finally decided to demonstrate up to No. 2 colliery."

"It was a fine night and as we walked we sang the hymns which are sung every Sunday in churches in the valleys. When we reached the colliery everything was silent. The stars flickering in the sky was the only light in the darkness. Everything was calm and then—sheets of flame. A massive hayrick had been set on fire and hell was let loose. The police came at us in hundreds—their helmets in the glare of the flames shining like stars in the night. I got a stinging blow on my arm and I ran. The screams of those that were caught made me run faster up the mountain side. My arm was like lead with the feeling of it."

"I was shivering but I stayed for hours where I was until the streaks of dawn gave way to a clear morning sky. I wondered about the others and how they had fared. Because of the terrible pain in my arm, I bucked up courage to go and bathe my injured arm in the river Amman. And there on the banks of the river I met some of my comrades. One or two were badly injured. We decided to separate and return home."

The old miner was silent for a while and took a deep draught of the refreshment I had replenished. He continued.

"It was days before I knew what took place to all the others. Many

(Continued in next column.)

# The Only Programme for the Workers!

DEMAND THE LABOUR LEADERS CARRY OUT THEIR PROMISES. ON GUARD AGAINST CAPITALIST SABOTAGE.

URGE STRONG MEASURES AGAINST BIG BUSINESS AND THE MONOPOLISTS.

FIGHT FOR OUR PROGRAMME:

1. Immediate repeal of the Trade Disputes Act; the Emergency Powers Act; E.W.O., and all Tory-made anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, transport and all big industry without 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.
3. Nationalisation of the Bank of England together with the Big Five and all financial institutions without compensation, confiscation of all war profits, all company books to be open for trade union inspection; control of production by workers' committees to deal with the financial and economic sabotage by Big Business and vested interests.
4. Distribution of food, clothes and other consumer commodities under the control of committee of workers elected from the Co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives' committees, and small shop keepers and allocation of housing under the control of tenants' committees.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum; sliding scale of hours to guarantee employment for all; the rate for the job; and industrial rates for all members of the armed forces.
6. Abolition of the House of Lords and the Monarchy. 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 uniform.
7. Clear out the reactionary, pro-fascist, and anti-Labour officer caste in the armed forces; election of officers by the ranks.
8. Abolish conscription; for the establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker-officers; 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 from reactionary attacks by the enemies of the working class at home and abroad.
9. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; full economic co-operation with Russia, grants of credit and all necessary aid for the reconstruction of Soviet economy.
10. Withdrawal of British troops from Burma and the Far East; full economic and military aid to the Chinese people and a socialist appeal to the workers and peasants of Japan to join in the struggle against militarism and imperialism and for a socialist federation of Asiatic Republics.
11. Full freedom for India and the Colonies withdraw British troops and allow the colonial peoples to choose their own government through freely-elected Constituent Assemblies; and full economic and military co-operation with the colonial peoples in upholding the standard of living and in defence of their freedom against all imperialist attacks.
12. Against secret Diplomacy; against a peace of vengeance and plunder; for a democratic peace based on the self-determination of nations; full and active support for the German and the European working-class in their struggles against imperialism and fascism, monarchism and reaction for the withdrawal of British troops and a united struggle with the workers and peasants of Europe for a United Socialist States of Europe and for the fraternisation and co-operation of the workers and soldiers of all lands for a Socialist World.

had been badly injured—like Joe Rainford, and Jones, the Deputy Chief Constable. At the Assizes many were found guilty—Joe Rainford, Henry Fees, Evan Llewellyn, Arthur Thomas, Will Davies, and many others,—and all received prison sentences from 3 to 12 months. No. 1 pit has never worked a shift since. Wilson, the victimised man, is now working in a garage of the South Wales Bus Company. Rainford has a wireless shop in College Street. Many others have not worked since. I am one. I had enough."

The bar room was filling gradually and the old miner without any apology, took his pint to a table across the room to play dominoes.

Walking down the steep gradient from the pub, I could see the derelict No. 1 Colliery now surrounded by unsurpassed beauty. Green foliage on the banks of the gently flowing Amman. I thought of what the old miner had said. They had fought well for their customs at Ammanford and I resolved that we younger men would fight even harder until all miners are free from the brutal whip of the employing class.

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**SOCIALIST APPEAL**

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International.

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EDITORIAL

# Labour's Foreign Policy

**B**EVIN'S speech on foreign policy in the House of Commons on August 20th demonstrates that the Labour leaders intend as far as possible to maintain, unchanged, the policy of their Tory predecessors. So far as Bevin & Co. are concerned the General Election might never have taken place. The decisive rejection of Tory capitalist policy both at home and abroad by the masses is thus cynically flouted by the Labour leaders who claim to speak in their name.

The "Daily Express", organ of Lord Beaverbrook reports the scene in the House with gratification:

"For it was all a case of Mr. Bevin looking across to the late Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, and saying, 'I always agreed with him.'

And later, of Mr. Eden looking over to Mr. Bevin and saying, 'I cannot recall any important issue of foreign politics on which we differed in four years in the War Cabinet.

I hope I do not embarrass Mr. Bevin by saying so'."

Churchill, arch representative of Toryism approved wholeheartedly of Bevin's speech. He would not have made any different speech.

Bevin made a justified criticism of the totalitarian puppet Governments established by Stalin in the Balkans. He showed the farce of the so-called "democratic elections" conducted under "the auspices" of the G.P.U.

But this criticism was not at all motivated by Bevin's love of democracy or free, democratic elections. In this too, there was "continuity" of Tory policy. It was because these elections were dominated by the Soviet bureaucracy, rather than by British imperialism, that Bevin made these remarkable discoveries. We notice, for example, that for India and the colonies, Bevin evinces no great zeal to ensure democratic elections and the free choice of representatives elected by the people. In relation to Hong Kong, Bevin says in effect: 'What we have, we hold. In the same way, the Soviet bureaucrats, who are "managing" the elections in the Balkans, when the British imperialists did not see eye to eye with them at San Francisco, discovered that India was not an independent country.

In line with the policy of British imperialism Bevin condemned the annexation by Poland of too large stretches of Eastern Germany. This is not at all because Bevin is opposed to annexations. But because of his imperialist masters' desire to curtail Russia's sphere of influence in Central Europe. He stands four square for the peace of revenge against the German people.

The hypocrisy of Bevin's position was shown by his attitude towards Greece and Spain. He supported, in retrospect, the criminal war of intervention of British imperialism against the Greek people. He openly supported the counter-revolutionary Government of Voulgaris. Here apparently, it is not a question of standing out and assuring the restoration of democracy. This became even clearer with Bevin's remarks on the Fascist, Franco. Here Bevin said: "The regime in Spain is one for the Spanish people to decide. Any intervention by a foreign power would have the effect of probably strengthening General Franco's position." Thus, Bevin is quite prepared to wave the big stick in the Balkans but in Spain, merely to wag his finger. Both policies, curiously enough, coincide with the interests of British imperialism.

Reports from reliable sources indicate that even within the ranks of the Labour M.P.s there is tremendous dissatisfaction and discontent. The most honest and sincere members are utterly disgusted with the reactionary anti-socialist policy put forward in their name. If this is the attitude in the House, the feeling in the Trade Union Branches and the Labour movement generally, can well be visualised.

The working classes of the whole world rejoiced at the defeat of Tory reaction and the victory of Labour in Britain. They thought this would mean a change in policy both in Europe and Asia. With what rapidity their illusions are being shattered! In ranting about "law and order" in Greece, Bevin made it clear that he will support capitalist reaction wherever the workers raise their heads in the coming struggles, as he did in the past.

The Labour movement cannot tolerate this either in domestic policy or foreign policy. For, of course, the one is the continuation of the other. A reactionary policy abroad is always based upon a reactionary policy at home, and vice versa. The two go hand in hand.

Pressure must be brought by the working class organisations against this infamous policy of Tory imperialism. This policy must be repudiated by workers' organisations and by the Labour M.P.s in parliament who oppose it.

# LIFE IN GREECE

BY D. BRAND

A few general impressions of life in Greece to-day. The economic situation is very tense. The shops in the big towns, Athens, Salonika etc., are crammed with foodstuffs, brought in by UNRRA, and at prices that only the wealthy can afford. It's just one huge black market, with no attempt at price control or rationing.

Prevailing wage rates at the moment vary from 200 Drachmas (for the lower paid labourers) to 500 Drachmas for the higher paid workers etc. The present exchange rate is 2,000 Drachmas to the pound sterling—100 D. to the 1/-.

Contrast these wage levels with prevailing prices of essentials! The Greek standard of measurement is the "Oka"—approximately 2 and 4/5ths English lbs.

Bread ..... 140D. per Oka  
Sugar ..... 1200D. per Oka  
Meat ..... 350D. per Oka  
Potatoes ..... 100D. per Oka  
Milk ..... 120D. per Oka  
Soap ..... 360/400D. per bar  
Various fruits ..... 70/200D. per Oka  
Coffee ..... 800D. per Oka

Chocolate and cigarettes are unheard of luxuries for the mass of the workers, costing 200D. per bar or packet of twenty—a full day's pay for many. A great proportion of the working class live thus, just over the starvation line—existing on a handful of fruit, apricots, plums etc.

A good suit of clothes costs 70,000D. (£35)—or the equivalent of seven months' pay. A shirt alone will cost 2,500 to 7,500D., and a pair of shoes 12,000-25,000D.

This great disparity between prices and wage levels has created a great wave of unofficial strikes. During the last few weeks there have been strikes of tramway-men, ice-factory workers, shoemakers and electricity and power workers. This, in spite of the fact that, following in the Metaxas and German occupation tradition, the workers are organised in a single Government controlled "trade-union"—a Greek version of the Labour Front of Dr. Ley. The tramway-men's strike was very solid. The Greek police ran a skeleton black-legging service very inefficiently for a few days, but completely failed to affect the issue, and the strikers obtained their demands. An interesting sidelight on this strike was that most trams driven by these police had pictures of the Greek king plastered on them—a reflection of the "impartiality" of this notably reactionary force.

Democracy, freedom of speech etc., just don't exist. The newspapers of the E.A.M. (Nat. Lib. Front), the K.K.E. (C.P.) are just tolerated by the Government, but only because the Government is well aware of the treacherous and cowardly role played by these Stalinist funkneys. Papers of the International Communist Party (Fourth International), the only revolutionary party in Greece, are illegal.

Members of that party are persecuted, hounded and quite frequently killed by both the Government and the Stalinists.

An indication of the present lick-spittle role played by the K.K.E. is the fact that, during the latter part of June, the head newspaper offices of both E.A.M. and the K.K.E. were wrecked, the issues all burned and the staff beaten up by the gangs of hoodlums, semi-Fascist in nature, that exist under the benevolent eyes of the Greek Government. On the same evening that the K.K.E. offices were wrecked in Salonika by a few dozen hoodlums, the K.K.E. held a demonstration 30,000 strong! To this open baiting and provocation against the working class, their only reply is a mild protest to the Government. In contrast to this treacherous position, the I.C.P. (Trotskyists) issued a call to the workers to form Workers' Defence Guards for resistance to the fascist gangs.

A trip through the interior of Greece was very revealing. It is a country of mountains and valleys, some of the latter very fertile but in great need of development. Agriculture is carried on by very primitive methods, and the peasantry on the land are incredibly primitive. I saw quite a few villages—composed entirely of small round huts made of thatch, similar to those popularly associated with tropical coloured peoples. Communications are in a very bad way. Good roads hardly exist, and the few railway lines have been so thoroughly wrecked that it will take years to restore them to working order.

Seeing the country as it is, one can understand the backwardness of the people and conditions. Poor enough in the first place in natural resources, such surplus of wealth as could be dragged from the people has gone in the past few score years to British investors and their Greek hirelings. This tribute accounted for one third of the whole Greek budget during one period.

The problems of Greece are the problems of Europe itself! There can be no solution within its own "national" boundaries. Primary economic needs are—the introduction of scientific agricultural methods—new irrigation projects—and decent communication, roads, railways, etc. These cannot be achieved, either while Greece is economically and politically enslaved to British Imperialism, or whilst the wretched gang of Greek capitalists remain in power.

Greece needs the help of outside resources in developing its economy, and this only a Socialist Europe can provide. It is this self assertive reality that gives the emphasis to the demands of the International Communist Party of Greece, whose programme concludes with the call for "A United Socialist Balkans to become part of the United Socialist States of Europe."

## EUROPEAN COMRADES RELIEF FUND

The first bundles of clothing have been sent off to our European comrades this week. We thank all our sympathisers and members who have helped to make this possible. Particular recognition must go to our Welsh and Scottish comrades.

**MORE CLOTHES AND MONEY ARE STILL URGENTLY NEEDED.**

Will all comrades make it their duty to express this form of solidarity with their fellow comrades on the Continent by sending their parcels to:—

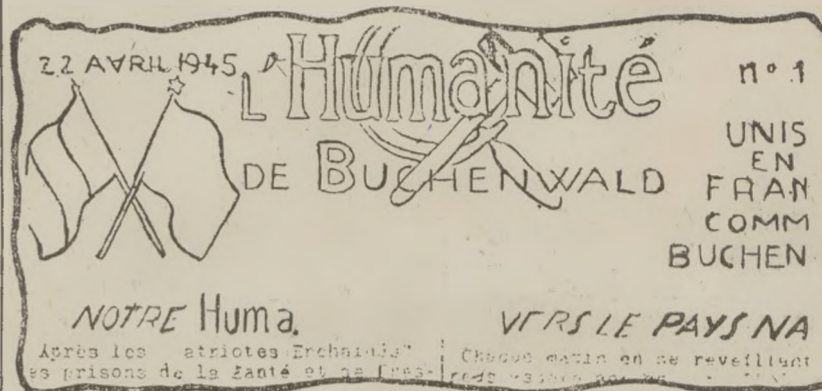
V. E. PEVALIN,  
256, Harrow Road,  
London, W.2.

clearly marked "European Comrades Relief Fund".

# INTERNATIONALISM AT BUCHENWALD

The following declaration was published in the concentration camp at Buchenwald by some French Stalinists, who obviously had lost contact with their Party's policy.

Instinctively they took an Internationalist position entirely opposed to the ravings and rantings of the Stalinists in France and the chauvanist mouthings of the Ilya Ehrenburgs, Pollitts, Dutts and Thorezs.



Translation from "Libertes"; 23rd June, 1945. Edited by a group of political deportees and militant workers, under the editorship of FLORENT GALLOY (freed from Buchenwald) and GASTON MAES (freed from Dachau).

### COMMUNISTS IN BUCHENWALD RAISE THE BANNER OF INTERNATIONALISM

We have received the one and only number of "L'Humanité", issued by the members of the French Communist Party deported to Buchenwald, after their liberation. We reproduce from it the following article:

#### "THE TRUTH ABOUT BUCHENWALD"

They have lost no time, the journalists who came to visit the camp and who yesterday were interned with us; they fled at great speed and marketed their stuff. They lost no time in flooding the ether with their impressions and recollections. And what impressions! What recollections!

Is it not true, comrades of blocks 34, 4, 31 and 37, that you expressed your stupefaction and distress when you heard the stupidities, the lies, the distortions, the tendentious and biased appreciations following one another on the radio? Because you well know some of the 'leaders' who claim to speak in your name—you know them well because you lived with them for months, you know well their pettyness, their lack of honour, their eternal, miserable and habitual personal and egotistical preoccupations—you at least held yourselves in check but these journalists must have no self-control or shame at all. Do they think then that nothing has changed in the last six years that they permit themselves such conduct—and do these gentlemen think that we shall not return to France or have a right to speak, that they disfigure the truth so?

Yes, we denounce before the world the nameless horrors of

murderous fascism—we who for years before the war were alone in denouncing the crimes of Hitler. Yes, we will explain how necessary it is to do everything to ensure that such a regime of shame and filth shall never again see the light; we who alone since 1933 have fought against Hitler the war-maker; but we will not permit another VERSAILLES to be prepared, we will not permit the conditions for a new world war to be prepared which in 30 or 50 years will come to spatter the world with blood.

In accord with the solemn declarations of President Roosevelt and Churchill, we demand for the German people—we the communists who have had the most to suffer from fascism—the right freely to decide its own fate.

When the Hitlerites are crushed, when the very roots of Fascism are extirpated in Germany, when the German people is once again conscious of what justice, liberty and fraternity are, we shall be with them to help them recover their political and economic independence—for we know, M. SIMONIN, that there are two Germany's—one, that of Hitler which we must exterminate, and the other, the anti-Fascist Germany, which we must help—just as there were for four years two Frances, one that of Petain and his collaborators and the other that of all the people of our fatherland."

We are completely in agreement with these comrades. At all costs we must prevent another regime as barbarous as that of Hitler from seeing the day. We must help the German people to decide freely their own fate and avoid the repetition of another Versailles, or rather of a super-Versailles.

But these comrades still have illusions about the declarations of a Roosevelt or a Churchill and do not yet understand the reactionary significance of the capitalist "fatherland." To dig out the roots of Hitlerism, we must fight for Workers' Power, for the United Socialist States of Europe, for the root of fascism is capitalism. And if we only cut down the branches, these roots will give again the same fruits, war and fascism.

# FOURTH INTERNATIONAL NOTES

## CHILE

Under such slogans as "Workers, let us unite against the offensive of the bosses and government!" and "Down with 'national unity' and class collaboration!" the Chilean Trotskyists, Partido Obrero Revolucionario campaigned to elect a parliamentary deputy to represent the city of Concepcion, second largest industrial city in the country.

They fought against a candidate put forward by the Democratic Alliance (Socialist and Communist Parties) who have formed the Government since 1938 and have held a majority since 1941. So strong is the feeling of the rank and file against the leadership of this Alliance, that they refused to support the first candidate, a blatant reactionary, put forward by the leadership, forcing them to substitute him with one more acceptable to them. Even so, the second candidate who was also supported by the Falange Nacional, a reactionary split-off from the conservatives, only succeeded in polling 1,900 votes against 321 polled by the Trotskyist.

The policy of the Democratic Alliance, which has been reflected in

## BY NORAH HILL

the steady fall in the standard of living of the workers, the outstanding depreciation of the currency and the growing unemployment in the mining area of the North, has produced an apathy amongst the workers against which our comrades were obliged to struggle throughout the campaign and which resulted in a total poll of 50% only of the total electorate.

## CEYLON

From the "Times of India" of 15/8/45, we learn that the Ceylon Government has decided to withdraw the conditions imposed upon a number of Sama Samaj Trotskyist detenus, who had been released on parole before the unconditional release of the last detenus recently.

Some of these men, who were released from time to time on grounds of health, were forced to sign a security bond before their release. They were ordered to report to the police once a week, were debarred from taking part in any political activity and from leaving their area of residence without informing the

police. These conditions will now be withdrawn and they will be treated on a par with the detenus who were released recently.

The Executive Committee of home affairs is stated to be considering the question of lifting the ban on the Sama Samaj Party and its organ the "Sama Samajist".

## ITALY

Reports from our Italian comrades state that Mangano, famous Labour leader in the province of Puglia and member of the Italian Section of the Fourth International, is being slandered and viciously attacked by the Stalinists.

His name is being deliberately linked up by them with Girone, notorious agent of OVRA (Mussolini's police) and he is being termed a "paid agent of Fascism".

It is no accident that the Stalinists are forced to resort to these methods of slander in order to deal with the support the Trotskyists received during the recent riots in that area. It is reported that Mangano disappeared during these riots and the wave of arrests that followed them, and it is feared that he has been murdered by the Stalinists.



S. O. S.

### COMRADES AND FRIENDS!

The "Socialist Appeal" is in bad financial straits. We need the help of our readers. Please regard it your duty—if you look upon the "Socialist Appeal" as the revolutionary voice speaking out in the interests of the working class—to send a regular contribution to the Fighting Fund. All monies to be sent to:

ANN KEEN,

256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

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Previously acknowledged	10	0	0
Southall Branch	...	1	4
M. Riley	...	5	0
West London	...	1	9
Ray	...	6	6
Napier worker	...	1	0
Polish squadron	...	5	0
Paddington Branch	...	3	8
Hendon	...	2	6
Plymouth	...	3	6
S.W. Branch	...	2	11
MacCallum	...	10	0
U.S.A. Comrade	...	10	0
Edinburgh Branch	...	11	11
Enfield Branch	...	13	3
K.W.	...	5	0
B.L.A. Comrade	...	5	0
C. White	...	2	0
American Soldier	...	2	0

# Zionist Conference

BY C. R. BROOKS

The acceptance of the Biltmore Programme by the recent world Zionist Conference, held in London during the first two weeks of August, was a distorted reflection of the deep crisis facing Jewry.

## ZIONISM

The Biltmore-Jerusalem Programme of 1942 endorsed by the Conference called for unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine under the control of the Jewish Agency, and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth.

The Conference also issues a political declaration which included the following demands:

"That the reparations in kind from Germany be granted to the Jewish people for the upbuilding of Palestine, and—as a first instalment—all the German property in Palestine be used for the re-settlement of Jews from Europe."

It is incontestable that the Jewish masses in Europe have suffered unprecedented torture and degradation since the advent of Hitler, and particularly during the war years. The Zionist programme offers itself as a solution to the problems confronting Jewry and as a guarantee against further tragedy.

In this connection, it is significant to note that the Hashomir Hatzair and Poale Zion groupings, middle class semi-socialists who favour an Arab-Jewish state in Palestine, received no support worth mentioning at the Conference. They had 4 votes out of 100 delegates present.

Dr. A. H. Silver, the American delegate, who set the tone at the Conference, came out strongly for a completely Jewish state, a unified programme, and an appeal to the notorious "Revisionists" to return to the Zionist movement. The Revisionists, adherents of the late Jabotinsky, are the most energetic proponents of a military struggle for the conquest of Palestine and are rabidly anti-Arab.

The urgency of the Jewish problem has thus driven the Zionist movement further along the road of exclusive nationalism. The old Weitzman leadership only managed to maintain itself albeit with a strong infusion of the Silver tendency by the return of a Labour Government in Britain. As is known, the Labour Party has not committed itself to the White Paper in Palestine. The Conference still places some hopes in the Labour Government for a pro-Zionist Palestine policy. It therefore hesitated to overthrow the Weitzman leadership which hopes to achieve its programme by negotiations with the British Government.

The general mood of the Conference was to achieve as much as possible through the Weitzman leadership, to subject it to pressure from the Silver Group and to maintain friendly relations with the "Revisionists" as a threat, should Weitzman's efforts prove fruitless.

## BRITAIN'S INTEREST IN PALESTINE

In their deliberations, the Zionist leaders completely ignored the real basis of British interest in Palestine. For British imperialism Palestine serves a two-fold purpose. It is in the first place a necessary link between the Metropolitan country and subject India. Secondly, it is a base for British domination of the Middle East.

In the interest of the oil companies and of British trade. This is the real reason why Britain, with a Labour Government or a Tory Government in power, cannot and will not give up her stranglehold on Palestine. This is the reason why Britain subjugates the masses and represses any movement towards national independence on the part of the Arab people.

Ignoring these fundamental facts, the leaders of the Zionist movement delude their supporters with hopes that Britain will assist in the establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine. British imperialism, according to the needs of the moment, makes use, first of the Arabs then of the Zionists. Under no circumstances would it leave the Arab and Jewish inhabitants of Palestine a free hand in the working out of their own destiny. Any British project for a Jewish state in Palestine would immediately arouse the justified opposition of the Arab peoples and embroil the Jewish masses in a new slaughter. They would find themselves the unwitting tools and victims of British imperialism's interests. Even if the Jewish state were proclaimed, this state would look nothing like the "Promised Land" of the Zionist prophets. It would be an impotent puppet of British imperialism in a desert of Arab hostility. It is not to be seriously expected, however, that British imperialism will embark upon such an ill-fated adventure with the inevitable dangers of stirring up a gigantic anti-imperialist movement in the Middle East.

Those Zionists who comfort themselves with the illusion of benevolent American intervention are likewise deluding themselves. American concern for the Jews in Palestine is only a cover for the very real material interests of the American oil barons who covet British loot. If the Zionist movement can be used to embarrass their British rivals, the American imperialists will use Zionism. Their intervention does not go beyond this point.

## THE ONLY ROAD FOR JEWRY

Allied imperialism indicts the entire German people for the crimes of the Nazi tyrants in order the better to carry out its programme of enslavement in Germany. Dr. Weitzman adds his quota to the general stream of chauvinistic abuse. He said:

"I make no difference between the Germans and the Nazis. They are all directly and indirectly responsible for what has happened to the Jews and we will not forget it."

He was followed by two representatives of the Jewish Brigade who bitterly assured their listeners that they found nothing but hatred in their hearts for all Germans. They further distinguished themselves by opposing the lifting of the non-Fraternalisation in Germany. Thus, the people who should have learned more than anyone else that no nation is responsible for the crimes of its rulers, went on record as the most rabid exponents of a policy of race hatred, identical in all its essentials with Hitler's programme against the Jews.

While it is true that the Jewish masses have suffered untold misery, in this they are by no means alone. Europe's millions have likewise suffered and are still suffering the terrible consequences of an outworn system. Capitalism in decline capable only of stripping the masses of all material, social and cultural gains of a century of struggle.

The tragedy of the Jews is therefore, part and parcel of the tragedy of society in general and can only be solved in concert with the problems that confront the oppressed peoples. Zionism diverts the aims and energies of the Jews from their real interests and from the real struggle. It offers them the consolation of a utopian destiny and national existence.

Intelligent Jewish workers will turn with disgust from the intrigues of Zionism and will find their place in the general struggle for democratic rights in the building of a Socialist movement and for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The Jewish population in Palestine must likewise find its place in the struggle for national independence, and in doing so it must finish with its position of Jewish exclusiveness and fuse with the Arab masses industrially and politically. Instead of demanding German reparations in kind from the British imperialists, it must join with the Arab masses and demand that British imperialism clear out of Palestine and leave its inhabitants to decide their own fate in a spirit of fraternal co-operation.

# Dockers' Struggle Undermined by T.U. Officials

BY J. DEANE

Despite their militancy and desire to struggle, the London dockers and stevedores have returned to piece-work on the pre-Second Front rates of pay. In accordance with their wartime agreement they have given 28 days' notice to the employers terminating all piece-work agreements.

This return to work postpones the struggle of the London dock workers for 25/- a day guaranteed pay. In the meantime, however, a national delegate conference of the T. & G.W.U. Docks Section, which was forced by the actions of the London dock workers, has instructed the Union leadership to go forward for 25/- a day and support the demands of the London dockers.

The feeling of the dockers and stevedores at the moment is one of frustration and bitterness. For weeks the union officials had tried to get the men back to work. Each time their strike-breaking policy was mouthed they were howled down. But after more than two months of struggle the very committee which was formed to replace the reactionary strike-breaking Union leadership, the Progressive Committee, supported the plausible back-to-work formula of Barratt, the Stalinist General Secretary of the Stevedores' Union.

The real nature of this back-to-work agreement is already making itself clear. The employers have suspended more than 1,500 men for refusing to work piece-work during the dispute. Though the suspensions have been lifted in the East India dock, the main body of the men will be forced to take their suspensions. The dock workers ask: If we had defeated the bosses is it possible that they would dare provoke us with these vicious acts? It is clear to them that the return to work on the bosses' conditions was a victory for the bosses.

What Donovan, the General Secretary of the T.G.W.U. Docks Section, could not do, Barratt—who claims to be a "Communist"—and the hesitancy of the Progressive Committee succeeded in doing: they got the men back to work knowing that this would break the back of the dock workers' struggle.

The case for the return to piece-work was presented by the Progressive

# Lease - Lend Crisis

(Continued from page 1.)

force Britain to follow a policy in her interests just as Britain used her dominant position in the past—during and after wars—to force her "allies" to bow to her policy.

Not content with having driven Britain out of her former markets in South America and other areas, American imperialism which has enormously expanded production in the war years—in fact doubled it—intends to force her way into the British Empire and the former "sterling bloc." The "Daily Mail" correspondent in New York, writes on August 27th:

"Those officials who are prepared to discuss an alternative to Lease-Lend say it might consist of continuing shipments of food and raw materials, with an agreement that Britain would settle the bill at a later date without paying any interest on the amount due."

IN RETURN BRITAIN MIGHT BE ASKED TO AGREE TO OPEN UP ALL HER MARKETS TO THE INFLOW OF AMERICAN GOODS.

"OPEN MARKETS"

"Representative Celler, of New York hinted at such an agreement over the week-end by saying that a 'proper substitute' will be found for the Lease-Lend agreement if England opens up her markets to U.S. exports in foreign lands."

He said Britain is not 'playing croquet' by keeping India and other sterling bloc areas from buying American products."

This is the underlying motive of all the deals between the capitalist gangsters. Churchill's pitiful supplications in parliament about the "unsordid" acts of American imperialism are so much eye-wash. America may extend further aid to Britain, as she did in the war, but inevitably it will be at a price. All the attempts at dignified editorials that Britain is not a supplicant and cannot become a helpless satellite, cannot mend or alter the hard economic facts.

Britain cannot even rely with any certainty upon the continued domination of her own Empire.

Unfortunately for the capitalist class, as the "Observer" points out in the same article quoted above, Britain is not in a position to stand up to a trade war with America because America exports enormous quantities of goods on credit, which the British capitalists are unable to do. Not only that, but America can export goods cheaper than Britain can owing to more modern technique and thus greater productivity of labour. At best, even if the British manage to patch up some sort of compromise with the grasping financial overlords of America, the outlook for the masses is indeed a bleak one.

The whole of the press, including the so-called Labour press is demanding a

programme of "austerity and sacrifice" in order to rebuild British industry. The "Daily Mail" of August 25th warns:

"If the talks fail, the British Government, forced to buy outside the dollar area, will launch an all out export drive. This would mean big cuts at home in food, clothing—especially cotton goods, tobacco, petrol and luxury goods."

Thus, even the meagre standard of living of the British workers during the war will not be maintained, but will sink to lower levels.

Whatever the results of the talks, the ruling class in Britain is preparing the greatest onslaught on the standards of living of the masses that they have known for generations. Because of the mood of the British workers, the capitalists and the Labour leaders have not dared to speak openly of wage cuts. But in effect, with the cutting down of overtime, maintenance of crippling taxation on necessities, income tax, speed up, and price increases by disguised inflation—real wages will be cut disastrously, if the capitalists have their way.

Not only to get British imperialism to toe the line, but to keep the Labour leaders in order, has American imperialism struck this blow. It is a warning to the Labour leaders not to take any measures against private enterprise because of their fear of the reactions this would have on the workers in the rest of the world. Capt. L. D. Gammans, gives a broad hint in the same article quoted above, of the necessity to negotiate some financial agreement with America:

"Will the advent of a Labour Government make that task easier or otherwise?"

It is impossible to say at the moment. It will largely depend upon the extent to which Mr. Attlee can control his own extremists and be prepared to swallow some of his more extravagant election promises.

One thing is quite certain: American financial aid will not be forthcoming to bolster up schemes of nationalisation which in themselves are not economically sound."

That the Labour leaders should accept such blackmail is intolerable.

It is possible, and most likely that America will make some concessions to British imperialism. Not out of kind heartedness but out of fear of revolution in Britain and the repercussions this would have in ruined Europe and Asia. America has achieved world domination, but it is a domination of ruins, as Trotsky said, with the danger of explosions all over the world. In order to maintain a fairly stable base against Russia, America will keep Britain going. But only on rations, like Britain rations her colonies or semi-colonies.

To try and solve this problem on a capitalist basis is hopeless. It can only mean further misery and insecurity for the masses in Britain and throughout the world. It will solve nothing, even if the masses surrendered to the blackmail of the capitalists. It could not alter the declining position of British imperialism. A trade war, with or without agreement with America, is still inevitable because of the monstrous contradictions between increased productivity and the purchasing power of the masses. It can only prepare the way for a new world-wide slump which will make the slump of 1929-1933 seem the height of prosperity.

On this road there is no way out. Yet instead of giving a clear call of anti-capitalist struggle, against the City of London as well as against Wall Street, the Labour Government is proclaiming the necessity for the British people to tighten their belts and work harder. Even before the Lease-Lend crisis they had announced cuts in clothing and other commodities.

## DEBATE

WHICH PARTY SHOULD THE WORKING CLASS SUPPORT  
R. C. P. or S. P. G. B. ?

TONY TURNER — Socialist Party of Great Britain  
TED GRANT — Revolutionary Communist Party  
LARGE HOLBORN HALL  
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23rd, at 7 p.m.

# His Majesty's Loyal Communist

As His Majesty's Communist Party has inadvertently failed to report the brilliant speech of Mr. William Gallacher, M.P., in the House of Commons, we will oblige them by giving it the necessary publicity in the interests of the people.

In associating himself with the remarks of the Tories and others on the King's Speech, His Majesty's loyal servant, Mr. Gallacher stated:

"On such an occasion as this I would like to associate myself with the remarks that have been made. Whatever the future may hold—and with the coming of atomic energy some of us who hitherto considered ourselves quite dynamic figures may find ourselves well in the background—everybody must recognise the fact that as a constitutional Monarch, the King has, at all times, sought to serve the best interests of the country. Not only so, but he has commendably accepted and applied himself to the new Government, and he will, I am certain, assist in carry-

This road can only lead to the rapid disillusionment of the masses and the strengthening of reaction.

The British workers would be quite willing to make sacrifices if it was really to build a new world. But they cannot and they will not tolerate the same old vicious circle of wage cuts, unemployment and then a new war which the present "continuity of policy" means.

Let the Labour leaders take warning. The masses voted Labour in power because they wanted a sharp break with the old rotten system of capitalist exploitation. If the Labour leaders took real measures against the capitalists, the crisis could be overcome. When the Labour leaders in Russia were in power after the first revolution of February 1917, the same Wall Street and the same City of London exerted pressure upon them to tread the path of "continuity of policy" of capitalism. This resulted in chaos and misery for the Russian masses. But the Bolsheviks made a clean break when the Labour leaders failed and they seized control. They took over the land, the mines, banks, factories, the railways—without compensation to the capitalists and placed them under the control of the working class. Even a backward country like Russia with its feeble industrial economy achieved marvels on this basis. Britain would achieve even greater marvels. This is the road out in the interests of the workers.

The Labour leaders are capitulating to the blackmail of Big Finance. This is the road to disaster. As Lenin said: Either with capital or with the working masses; there is no middle road. Through the Local Labour Parties and Trade Union Branches and mass meetings the workers must demand real measures against the capitalists.

The only road out lies in working class internationalism. Capitalism has turned the world into a mad-house of conflicting economic rivalries, state boundaries, tariff walls, culminating in military conflicts. On the basis of a decisive stand against capitalism in Britain, the workers could appeal to the European, Asiatic and the American masses to assist them in a joint plan of building a new world of socialist peace and plenty on the basis of a socialist planned economy.

Sacrifices in the interests of a planned socialist economy would be worth while because they would rapidly guarantee a rising standard of living on the basis of an abundance of goods produced in the interests of the many and not for the profit of the few.

Demand the Labour leaders take action against the capitalists, not capitulation to them!

## Trotskyist Candidate

(Continued from page 1)

THE LABOUR PARTY PROGRAMME IS, OR EVER CAN BE ADEQUATE TO SOLVE THE MAJOR CRISES WHICH LIE AHEAD, AND WHILE WE WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORT EVERY ACTION AGAINST THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM WHICH THE LABOUR PARTY TAKES, WE WILL AT EVERY STAGE ADVANCE OUR OWN INDEPENDENT PROGRAMME. We shall do this in the coming weeks in leaflet form, and while throughout the whole of the North East the R.C.P. will urge support for the Labour Party against moderate and other Tory candidates, in this Ward we have decided to place our programme before the electors in order (a) to popularise it, and (b) to test the feeling of the electors."

# GERMANY UNDER ALLIED CONTROL

(Continued from page 1.)

policy of destroying German industry and allowing its remnants to stagnate and rot.

Germany is the central coal producer in Europe. The depth of the crisis can be seen from the fact that the Ruhr produced, during the first three months of Allied occupation, only a little more than one-tenth of its normal output of hard coal. Mr. Harold Ickes, U.S. Secretary of the Interior, was moved to say on July 20th, that "the race in Europe is one between coal and anarchy."

## DRIVE AGAINST GERMAN MINERS

So serious is the position that articles in such responsible papers as the "Economist" and "Manchester Guardian" have quite seriously proposed the mass employment of human muscle-power, through a system of cycles seating 20-30 men, in order to pull the trains for which coal is lacking! It is a tragic symbol of the degeneration of capitalism, which built up mighty industries on a foundation of coal, that capitalist Europe should be facing ruin and collapse into prehistoric conditions for lack of this commodity.

We have said that the major responsibility for these conditions lies on Allied policy, in particular their policy towards Germany. It contains not a single constructive idea: its one aim has been destruction, politically and economically. Economically, the policy of refusing all material aid for Germany means that the coal problem cannot be solved. Starving masses cannot produce. Draconic laws against absentees are being threatened including eviction of miners from their houses, withdrawal of supplementary ration cards, and courts martial (a glorified Essential Work Order). But they will be no more successful there than they were in this country, or in German-occupied countries: the miners stay away in order to repair their shattered homes and search for food for their starving families. And the will to work is further destroyed by the Allied policy of retaining the Nazi managing personnel intact in the mines.

## NAZI'S STILL IN POWER

At the pithead of the mine I visited I talked to a recently elected spokesman of the miners. He is a

Social Democrat, and had been several times thrown into concentration camps. He drew my attention to a political factor in the coal crisis. Nazis, he said, are still kept on their previous jobs, which causes disillusionment, apathy and resentment among the miners. A soldier who, after five years, comes back from the army, goes to the labour office in a nearby town, and finds there all the Nazis who were previously the bosses. It is they, again, who decide about his job, his living, and housing conditions. The police chief in that same town is still the same Nazi captain who organised the concentration camp here as a sort of subsidiary branch of the mine to which restive miners used to be sent. The German manager of the mine has his own worries. He is, above all, interested in strengthening the authority of the management. He speaks about a 'revolution' which broke out here last April. Miners then gave short shrift to the strongly Nazified managing and administrative personnel. Americans, when they were here, helped to restore the authority of the management"

(Observer, 26.8.45)

This is the real meaning and the fruit of the Potsdam agreement. But many of those who were saying, "the Germans deserve it", are beginning to realise that it is not as simple as that. And those who really deserve to pay for the crimes of Nazism, receive Allied protection: but those who suffer, are the workers and lower middle class, and above all their children. But the problem is not that of Germany alone. The shadow of famine and unemployment hangs over the whole of Europe. The Allied policy of destroying and stifling German production spells ruin for all the countries of Europe.

It is the duty of the British working-class to force the Labour Government to repudiate the imperialist Potsdam agreement, break with the capitalist international politics, withdraw the troops from Europe and allow the German and European workers to settle accounts with their own oppressors. An end to the continuity of Tory foreign policy! An end to propping up of the capitalist regimes in Germany! Fraternal co-operation between the British and German workers in the fight for a Socialist United States of Europe.