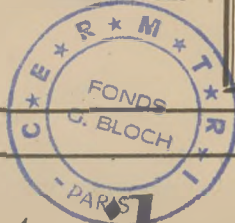


SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

MOSLEY EMERGES UNDER POLICE PROTECTION
See Page Two



No. 53.

DECEMBER, 1947.

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STOP LUXURY BUILDING WHILE WORKERS ARE HOMELESS

Labour M.P. Gives Telling Facts

BY GEORGE NOZEDA

WHILE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKING CLASS FAMILIES ARE SUFFERING FROM THE ACUTE HOUSING SHORTAGE, BUILDING LABOUR AND SCARCE MATERIALS ARE BEING USED UP IN LUXURY BUILDING.

Luxury hotels, shops, restaurants, and beauty parlours catering for a wealthy clientele are being granted licenses enabling them to spend fantastic sums on unessential repairs and re-decorations.

In the City of Westminster alone, licenses at the rate of £4,000,000 a year have been granted in the last few months. The greater part of these have been for the carrying out of unessential luxury building.

Some instances of the type of work that has been licensed in Westminster were cited by Mr. Lever, Labour M.P. for Manchester (Exchange), in the House of Commons recently. Among them a license to the tune of £3,500 for repairs to a ladies hairdresser's shop; £2,575 spent on "redecorating" of a beauty and cosmetic saloon in New Bond Street; almost £4,000 spent on repairs for the salerooms of the Whisky firm, Johnny Walker and Co.; repairs amounting to £2,700 for a bunch of fashionable dressmakers and tailors in Conduit Street; and a Mayfair florist's shop, in Berkeley Square was granted a license for repairs and re-decorating to the tune of £5,900.

£8,000 ON LAVATORIES

The Piccadilly Hotel was licensed to spend £2,734 to clean and re-decorate the outside of its premises. The Ritz Hotel spent, £2,150 for the same purpose.

Mr. Lever instanced the Park Lane Hotel which: "... was apparently distressed because its customers had to suffer from fuel rationing because of the old-fashioned coal-burning method of providing central heating, so they ordered a brand new one burning dollar-costing oil, a little matter of £3,971. While on the job, they also repaired the ballroom for £386. The Criterion Restaurant, on the other hand, apparently suffered from some lack of cold, and put in a nice new cold room, for £1,500, again, with the Minister's permission. While on the job, they got licenses for £3,000 or £4,000 to put in new concrete floors and a particularly choice item, £1,000 to put their staircase in order. ..."

At the office premises of Odeon Cinemas Ltd., at Devonshire House, £2,160 was spent on the repair and re-glazing of the mirrors in their showrooms!

It is the Minister of Labour who grants these licenses to those luxury establishments catering to the comfort of the wealthy. Instead of implementing a socialist plan for housing the workers and for the building industry as a whole, instead of making the needs of the badly-housed and overcrowded workers their first concern, the Labour Government shows more concern for the comfort of the rich than for the well-being of the working class. A policy of Socialist planning—a policy which will give priority to the decent houses that are needed by hundreds of thousands of workers' families—that is what Labour workers expected of the Labour Government. The organised Labour movement must demand that while one worker is living in insanitary or overcrowded conditions, no work on the luxury building for the capitalists be carried out.

But this is only a part of the problem. What is needed is a socialist plan in the building industry which would place the allocation of labour and materials under the control of committees of workers and technicians in the industry, workers' committees which would plan housing and building on the basis of the needs of the working class and in the interests of a socialist economic plan as a whole.

Palestine: Partition Pits Arab Against Jew

The imperialist plan to partition Palestine has already led to bloodshed in Palestine and protest demonstrations throughout the Arab east.

Many have been killed and wounded on either side, following the three day general protest strike announced by the Arabs. Jewish shops have been set on fire and a tremendous bitterness reigns between the two peoples. Demonstrations against British and American imperialism have taken place in Syria, Egypt and Iraq.

Students have issued the call "Down With Russia" because of the support given by the Stalinist bureaucracy to the imperialist plan of partition. The Government representing the Arab capitalists and landowners in Syria have used the situation to ban the Communist Party.

Thus the partition of Palestine has the same calculated effect as the partition of India. In the "Socialist Appeal" this inevitable result was predicted. In the pamphlet "Middle East at the Crossroads" which analyses exhaustively the problems of the Middle East, Comrade T. Cliff wrote:

TROTSKYISTS WARNED

"Even if this 'solution' is arrived at... it will be only a temporary short-lived postponement of Zionism's burial. The Jews of Palestine and the Arabs will only be involved by this plan in terrible sacrifices,

clashes and bloodshed. An immediate step towards the solution for the Jewish workers of Palestine is to bridge the gulf between themselves and the tens of millions of eastern peoples, by renouncing Zionist dreams of domination."

IMPERIALIST SOLUTION

The purpose of the partition is to play off the Arab masses against the Jews in order that imperialism may retain its hold over the Middle East and dominate both. American and British imperialism have joint responsibility for this policy. The Stalinist bureaucracy, playing the game of power politics, has given full support to the vivisection of Palestine. This is in absolute contradiction with the policy of Marxism and even of the policy pursued by the bureaucracy itself in the last decades. Obediently tailing at the heels of the Kremlin, the British "Communist" Party has done another 180 degree somersault, and come out for the partition of Palestine.

DIVERTS REAL STRUGGLE

Partition of Palestine is reactionary from every aspect—neither the Jews nor the Arab masses have anything to gain from it. It pits Jew against Arab, diverts the struggle against imperialism into a struggle between those whose common interest it is to struggle against imperialism. It plays into the hands of the Arab landowners and capitalists by diverting the attention of the Arab peasants and workers from their exploiters.

The only solution to the problem of Palestine and the Middle East is the scrapping of the imperialist plans of partition, the immediate and complete withdrawal of all troops from Palestine and the Middle East. There can be no real independence or safety for the Jews or Arabs in partitioned Palestine.



MARSEILLES—STRIKE-BREAKING TROOPS UNLOADING AT THE DOCKS

make them only purchasable by the wealthy classes, or are rationed in such small amounts as to be almost ineffective.

Bread is mostly composed of corn-flour and potatoes. Fruit (of which France has more than plenty) is too expensive for the workers to buy.

Side by side with the poverty of the workers, one can see luxurious restaurants, where any amount of meat, eggs, butter, cheese, and almost any food desirable, can be obtained. Probably the most luxurious meals in Europe can be

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Union E.C. Strikes Blows at Catering Workers

Arbitration Aids the Employers

BY J. CORBETT

TRADE UNION MILITANTS HAVE BEEN STAGGERED BY THE OUTCOME OF THE SAVOY STRIKE. AFTER NEARLY A MONTH OF MILITANT ACTION—in an official STRIKE, THE WORKERS EMPLOYED AT THE SAVOY GROUP OF HOTELS LOST THEIR FIGHT.

The capitulation of the Union leadership to the Savoy management shocked trade unionists. But this shock was quickly followed by the action of the Union Executive in suspending Arthur Lewis, the Branch Committee, and then the entire District Committee of the Catering Section of the Union, pending an investigation into their actions preceding and during the strike.

The aim of the strikers as stated on the ballot paper and set out in the Report of the Court of Inquiry, was as follows:

"As the Savoy Hotel Ltd., have refused to implement the decision of the National Arbitration Tribunal are you prepared to support an Official Strike sponsored by this Union, in connection with the victimisation of Brother Piazza, and to make certain that decisions arrived at in future by constitutional machinery are honoured."

Not only have the workers failed to achieve this aim—Piazza is out and is to remain out, that is the essence of the question—but, in addition, the Executive Committee of their Union has accepted conditions of a return to work such as have not been accepted in any strike in recent times, more especially following an officially sponsored strike.

The conditions of return as stated by Mr. Crane, a national officer of the Union, and reported in the "Daily Herald," are as follows:

"Fifty per cent. of the workers go back the first week, and twenty-five per cent the second week... Others will go back as and when opportunity affords. Those with longest service will return first."

This "agreement" with the Savoy Management, if one can call it an agreement, is not only a complete victory for the employers on the issue on which the strike was fought; but it seems that the return to work on the part of the strikers will be regulated in such a way as to ensure that the management of the Savoy will be able to select within fairly wide limits, those whom they want back. It appears that many of the most militant trade unionists will not be re-employed, and that scabs will take their jobs.

A question which is being widely asked among trade unionists is: how does it come that after two successful "unofficial" strikes, the first of which took place when only a few hundred members were in the Catering Branch of the Union, and which forced the employers to recognise the trade union, that an "official" strike, backed by the London Trades Council and receiving solid support from London trade unionists, has ended in such an ignominious failure? And well may it be asked. For the effects of the failure of this "official" strike will be felt in the Union for many a day to come.

Why The Defeat?

In our opinion, it is because the top leadership of the Union was forced into support of the strike unwillingly; gave no real support to the strikers once it had broken out, but on the contrary, seized every opportunity to block the militant will to fight of the workers and held them back; and, who, faced with a militant leadership in the district organ of the Union of which they were nervous and to whose policy they were opposed, took the first opportunity afforded by an adverse decision of the Industrial Court to capitulate to the employers and seek sanctions for the failure of the strike.

It is evident from a study of the Report of the Industrial Court that whereas the representatives of the Savoy fought tooth and nail and took plenty of time before the Tribunal to state and fight for their case, the Trade Union officials took considerably less time, they lacked the fighting spirit that characterised the actions of the employers' representative throughout.

It is freely alleged and generally agreed among the militants who were on strike, and those who supported them in other hotels, that the National Executive "sold out." Confidence in the Union has been considerably undermined. The question of separate recognition by the T.U.C. of the Catering Branch of the N.U.G. & M.W., and in the most extreme cases, even of a separate union, have been raised.

But the policy of setting up a Separate break-away union has no support in the London leadership of the Catering workers, nor yet among a considerable section of the best militants. Such a policy would be both futile and reactionary and could only lead to confusion, splitting and weakening the Catering workers. The task is to fight inside the existing Union for a more militant and democratic policy.

(Continued on Page 4.)

Mussolini and Mosley in Rome



Oxford Fascists Attack R.C.P. Meeting

Trotskyists Call for Labour Defence Guard

Oxford, a pre-war stronghold of Mosley's B.U.F., has been witnessing a considerable revival of Fascist activities during the last few weeks.

The movement draws its main support from the recently demobilised officers and from the "gilded youth," fresh from the "public" schools.

These gentlemen are annoyed at the petty restrictions of post-war student life and irritated at the Labour Government's half-hearted pin-pricks to their class pride and privileges. Emboldened by the prolonged passivity of the local working class organisations and their purely verbal protests, amused at the "appeals" to the capitalist state, with its capitalist courts and police force to "BAN FASCISM", Mosley's thugs launched their most brazen move to date, when on November 27th, they mustered their forces to attack an open Trotskyist meeting.

50 workers and students, assembled in an Oxford hall to commemorate the October Revolution, were being addressed by Comrade Jack Haston, General Secretary of the R.C.P., when the hall lights were suddenly fused from without, fascist hooligans bursting into the premises, upsetting the literature stall and throwing bags of pepper into the audience. In the scuffle that followed one woman trade unionist sustained a slight eye injury.

The fascists were cleared out of the meeting by the audience, several of whom succeeded in locking the outer college gates, preventing an eruption into the hall of several dozen fascists waiting for a signal in the street outside. Cries of "Mosley!" and "Down with the Labour Government!" were heard. Unable to cause further disruption, and frustrated in their attempt to break up the rally, these gentlemen then dispersed singing "Land of Hope and Glory!"

The meeting continued enthusiastically in good order and proved a great success in every respect.

The police, summoned by the capitalist, arrived on the premises towards the conclusion of the meeting. Despite the fact that the leading Oxford fascists are well-known to them, no arrests were effected. We do not doubt, however, that had Mosley been haranguing his cohorts, the "guardians of law and order" would have been present in substantial numbers from the outset, to protect the fascists from the anger of the workers and students.

This last piece of provocation has come as a climax to a whole series of fascist activities—the "highlights" of which have been the passing, through the Tory-jacked Union of the notorious motion deploring any ban on Fascism, the repeated smashing of windows at the local Stalinist book-hop, and the daubing of city walls with anti-semitic slogans. These acts constitute a serious warning to all trade unionists and members of working class and minority political parties or groups in Oxford or elsewhere.

Concrete steps must be taken immediately to protect working class meetings and premises. The fascists cannot be fought effectively with pious protests and milk-and-water resolutions.

An appeal has been issued by the Oxford Trotskyists for the formation of a Joint Defence Guard of all local Labour organisations. This appeal has met with a sympathetic response amongst the best elements of the local Labour and Stalinist parties. The Trade Union students of Ru-kin College have taken the first step in the right direction in setting up an anti-Fascist committee to organise the fight against the Fascists in Oxford.

The Committee has called a mass meeting to which the Trotskyists and all other sections of the Labour movement were officially invited, to protest against the fascist outrages, to educate the local militants in the nature of fascism, and to discuss means of combatting it. A worker-student defence guard protected this meeting.

French Strike: ROLE OF THE WORKERS' PARTIES

After three weeks, the big strike movement of the French working class has been called off by the leadership of the C.G.T.

Whilst the Government's proposals, which were accepted by the National Strike Committee, are not the original demands of the strikers, the workers have won important economic concessions. The Government has delayed its wage-freezing plans until June 1st and will hold an immediate conference to discuss wages and prices. A monthly living allowance of 1,500 francs (£3) is to be given to all workers; family allowances will be increased by 22 per cent.

Though limited by its leadership, this great movement of the French working class shook French capitalist society from top to bottom.

Following the complete collapse of the Ramadier Government in face of the strike movement, the new Schuman Government introduced a series of vicious anti-labour and anti-strike decrees, far worse than those introduced by the Tories following the British General Strike of 1926. By this means, with the arrests of hundreds of strikers, and the creation of a panic atmosphere for the purpose of placing troops in advanced positions, the Government seeks to intimidate the workers and hamstring them for the future. By this same means Schuman prepares the way systematically for the coming of de Gaulle.

Strikers' Demands

The immediate demands of the strikers were for a minimum wage of 10,800 francs per month, and a three-monthly adjustment of wages to the cost of living. They were the demands launched by the National Committee of the Confederation Generale du Travail (French T.U.C.) at its meeting in November.

The present minimum wage of the French workers is 7,000 francs per month (legal equivalent of £14). Faced with prices more than four times higher than in February 1945; with fares increased by 25%; gas and electricity increased by 45% in the last month alone; faced with a systematic rise in the prices of all commodities, the

French worker cannot possibly live on former wage standards. The mass of unskilled workers are starving, and astounding proportions of their children fall victims to T.B. and other diseases.

French Workers' Standards

Although French production has reached, and in recent months surpassed, the level of 1938, the conditions of the French workers have steadily deteriorated.

Children only have been given small amounts of fresh milk—and even this is irregular and in some cases has stopped altogether.

Butter, sugar, wheat, meat, cheese and eggs, hay in some cases disappeared from the market, or are sold at such fantastic prices as to

make them only purchasable by the wealthy classes, or are rationed in such small amounts as to be almost ineffective.

Bread is mostly composed of corn-flour and potatoes. Fruit (of which France has more than plenty) is too expensive for the workers to buy.

£14 Needed For the Van and Loudspeaker

Comrades: We are nearing our target. We have £86 out of the £100 required. We hope that our readers will make a special effort to raise the balance before the end of December. The R.C.P. is playing a leading role in the anti-fascist struggle. To be effective we must have our own van and loudspeaker. Mosley's hole in the corner meetings can be brought to the attention of the working class and mass opposition organised. Donations are urgently required. Send anything you can spare.

Carried forward	£ s. d.
Some North London	54 1 10
Readers	1 0 0
Anti-Fascists in London	25 16 8
Croydon Raffle	1 8 0
Rushcroft Road	3 3 3
H.H.	10 0 0
Betty C.	5 0 0
"Fish and Chips"	2 0 0
Yorkshire Brickie	5 0 0
S. Wales	2 6 0
North London	1 2 0
Total	£86 14 3

COAL PRODUCTION UP

Miners' Loyalty to Government

BY ROY TEARSE



"Last week's coal output of 4,250,000 tons was itself a fine tribute to the effort the British coal miners are already making." ("Daily Herald," 15/11/47).

"That the miners can deliver the goods, if they set their hearts on it, is proved by the coal output figures for last week." ("Economist," 22/11/47).

With words such as this, the entire national press has greeted the recent spurt in production.

The miners are again in the news. On this occasion they are the subject of back-stopping and flattering words of approval from the Government, the Coal Board and the Press. These workers who so recently in Yorkshire, Scotland and South Wales were targets for abuse from these very same people when they were fighting for their rights, are at this moment being held up to the nation as an example in the production drive.

which even gives the possibility of the Government's target of 200,000,000 tons for the year being achieved.

That the miners are making tremendous efforts and sacrifices there can be no doubt. True, the extra hours are making a difference to output, but when balanced against man-power wastage (net recruitment only having recently ceased to diminish), lack of vital equipment and other retarding factors, it is clear that overtime is not the only explanation.

Reason For Miners' Efforts

A reason of first importance is the basic loyalty of the miners to the Labour Government, whose words on the need to work harder "to benefit the working class" they take as good coin, and in whom they still place their confidence to lead the working masses from the miseries of capitalism and towards Socialism. That the Labour "leaders" recognise this loyalty is shown by the statement of Gaitskel, Minister of Fuel, speaking at Gravesend: "Can anyone outside an asylum really believe that the

response of the miners could have been anything like this under a Tory Government led by Churchill?"

Loyalty To Government

There is no section of the working class more solidly behind the Labour Government than the miners. Less than a year ago, during the fuel crisis of last winter, miners in various parts of the country trudged miles through snow drifts to work voluntary Sunday shifts (unheard of previously in the mining industry, as this is the day when the safety men do their job). The manifestation of their fear of a return to Tory rule, and their loyalty to the present Government which they consider represents the interests of their class, is being emphasised in the present production effort.

Coal Board Seeks Credit

The National Coal Board, the child of the Labour Government, is basking in the sunshine of "success". The miners' efforts are being used to demonstrate its "value". But, let there be no mistake about it, the present level of production has been achieved despite the Coal Board and its activities.

The statement of Bowman, vice-president of the N.U.M., that the "National Coal Board has acted throughout as a model employer," and of the N.C.B. that they "have shown in numerous practical ways their determination to improve the lot of the mineworkers. Only last week new wage improvements were negotiated with the N.U.M.," are shown to be hollow when one discusses this with the miners. In Yorkshire and in Scotland, the miners show the Coal Board the same contempt as they showed the private owners. The phrase, "they are the same old gang in disguise," can be heard in almost any mining village.

N.C.B. Retarded Output

The miners have not forgotten that it was this same Coal Board which was responsible for losing hundreds of thousands of tons of coal through their policy of increasing "strikes", without regard to the miners' conditions. It was this same Board which refused to negotiate with the N.U.M. because the Scottish miners had struck work in desperation against their huckaback handling of their demands.

Wage Increase Forced By Miners

"Model employer", indeed! Bowman conveniently forgot, when he uttered these words after the recent wage settlement, that the Coal Board feared that a refusal of the claim may have resulted in

labour unrest at a time when the efforts of miners were breaking production records. They were still smarting under the sting of the Scottish strike.

An Overhead Expense

Were it not for the confidence of the miners in the Labour Government, the Coal Board would rapidly learn that its prestige is low with the miners. These workers consider that the composition of the coal administration is an overhead expense the Labour Government is forced to bear. But these illusions cannot last indefinitely. The Labour leaders cannot permanently shelter behind this illusion to explain away their policy of state capitalism in the mines.

Hollow Praise

The statement of the "Economist", (22/11/47) that "Unless the extended week results in sustained output well above the present level, it can be argued that the nation is paying heavily in overtime for very little more than the miners could produce in five days if the agreement were fully honoured," gives an indication of the attitude the miners can expect if they decide to demand some returns for their sacrifices.

Like the movement of a weather cock at the slightest breeze, the present congratulations can rapidly change into a campaign of abuse against the mining community. Should the recent drive result in increased accidents, or prove impossible to maintain, the miners will once again be told they are "holding the nation to ransom."

Labour Force Still Low

It is of no use talking about the N.C.B. being a "model employer" when it has to be admitted, on November 15th, that "despite every effort, the labour force to-day is lower than it was at the end of May." This is attributed to the exodus of Bevin Boys. But why this exodus? It is axiomatic that if conditions are good, if the employer is "model", workers usually stick to their jobs. The truth is that mining is still the most arduous of all industries. Workers do not find it attractive to risk death and injury, and sweat their guts out for a wage of little over £5 per week, which is the lot of two-thirds of the mining industry. The miners cannot be reasonably expected to continue indefinitely their present rate of sacrifice, with its effects on health and general condition. But what is being achieved by these sacrifices now, and more, could be obtained very readily by a bold programme of improvement of conditions to such

(Continued on Page 4.)

Letters

Release the I.R.A. Prisoners!

The Editor, "Socialist Appeal," CENTRAL 1184.
4, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.A. 2, 26, 11, 47.

30 I.R.A. Prisoners in British Gaols since 1939.
May I beg of you to work for an Amnesty for these young men; or at least for a reduction of the 22 twenty year sentences which were conditioned by the circumstances of the time and are horribly severe? If nothing be done these boys will remain in gaol until 1953 or 1954. Somehow I feel that Eight years' gaol is enough.

Out of loyalty to their friends all of the prisoners refused to plead, and were found guilty. Five have now sworn affidavits attesting their innocence in English law. If Mr. Chuter Ede, cannot see his way to give an Amnesty he has ample powers to deport the prisoners to Ireland under the Prevention of Violence (Temporary Provisions) Act 1939 which was specially introduced to deal with the I.R.A. Mr. de Valera cannot refuse to receive at least 28 of these 30 men as they are Irish Nationals. 20 want to settle down in the 26 counties where they will make excellent citizens.
Yours very truly,
EOIN O'MAHONY, K.M.

Visit to Austria "Finished with the C.P."

On the 30th of October I was paid a visit by a friend who had returned the previous day, by air, from a visit to Vienna.

Having formerly been a bitter opponent of Trotskyism—which he had termed "a party of splitters", and a keen supporter of Stalinism, it was with a real interest that I asked him to sit down and give an account of the events as he experienced them in Austria.

It was pointed out to him that what he had to say would be of interest to others and might be printed in the "S.A." He earnestly asked that as many as possible be given the real picture of what has happened and is happening in the Russian zone of Europe.

"Well," I asked, "how were you treated by the Russians?"

"My friend, I was in the Communist Youth of Vienna for nine years, and the C.P. (and the 'Schutz-bund') for twenty-one years. Let me tell you right now that I

am finished with the Communist Party—here or on the continent. "Have you fallen out with the Stalinists?" "Listen. I will tell you how I was treated. I see my first Red Army man at the Austrian frontier: I go up to him and proffer a packet of cigarettes. Taking the lot he turns his back on me. I tap him on the shoulder and tell him in German that I was in the Communist Party for twenty-one years.

"I clap him on the shoulder and call him 'Tovarish'. He lays hold of my arm and shores me towards my train and calls after me 'I am no Tovarish of yours, I am a Russian!'"

"Your sister, how did she fare?" "I hardly recognised her, she seemed afraid of her own shadow. She told me that when she and others went out on the streets to welcome the advancing Russians, they were robbed by the Red Army men of all ornaments, watches, and even shoes they were wearing.

"Many years-old Stalinists went onto the streets with flowers in hand to welcome their 'comrades'—to be felled to the ground and in many cases raped.

"Able Stalinists who protested at the way the women comrades were being treated were arrested on the spot and sent to the Soviet Union. The officers spat on the flowers and trampled them underfoot."

"Had your sister any reason to dislike the Stalinists apart from these events?" "Not a bit. She was a foundation member of the Y.C.L. and a life-long Communist. Now she is finished with politics for good. Do you know, she and most of the working people of Vienna do not dare to go out after dark. Men are taken off the streets and disappear without trace; no woman dare go on the streets after dark.

"I was told that only my British Legion badge saved me at the frontier when I spoke to the Russian soldier; no-one dares to hold a Red Army man in conversation."

"Meet any old friends?" "I wanted particularly to see an old friend of my Y.C.L. days. He is too, a foundation member of the C.P. in Austria. I found that he holds a position in the Communist Party.

"He was glad to see me, and asked after my health, and kept on talking about my health until we were alone in the office. Then he said to me: 'Comrade—You can forget the old days, they are gone for ever. All... is in my Party section now—the workers because of the terror police, and the former fascists because they have found there is nothing to stop them using the Party as an alibi. Even I, an official of the Party, dare not open my mouth for fear of transportation to the Soviet Union. I wish to high heaven I was coming back with you out of this nightmare!'"

"Do you mind if this account is sent to the 'S.A.'? As a life-long Stalinist you have a duty to perform. "I am sick of the very name of Communism now—but go ahead and repeat what I have told you; it is the best thing. I suppose, to have the truth put before any who still do not see what the Soviet Union is up to."

GLASGOW STRIKE OF Corporation Tradesmen

BY D. GARBUTT

The strike of 2,500 Corporation Tradesmen has ended with a return to work on the basis that the Corporation Conditions and Service Committee will "consider" their demands for three week's holiday with pay and inclusion in the Sick Benefit scheme.

The strike was recognised by the Vehicle Builders' Union; the Executive of the A.E.U. was due to consider the Glasgow D.C.'s recommendation of recognition on December 2nd. There was a possibility that the other eight unions involved would also have given recognition to the strike. Bus and Tram conductors and drivers had been blacklisting all vehicles repaired by blacklegs, foremen or semi-skilled labour. Picket lines had been maintained on all Transport depots where over 1,200 of the tradesmen work, and there had been a good response to the appeal for funds. The full impact of the strike could have been expected to make itself felt in the second week.

organised in April this year did the Labour Group agree to open up negotiations with the T.U. organisers. Even then, it required the threat of a 24 hour token strike before the negotiations commenced on June 5th. A reply to the claims was promised for July. The T.U. officials were parties to keeping the proceedings secret. No decision was forthcoming and the workers voted for strike at a meeting on October 26th, 21 days' notice being given.

"Economic Suicide" When the strike was imminent the Labour Group on the Town Council first challenged the possibility of conceding these demands on a local basis. They then refused to give any assurances that they would support the holiday demand in the Conditions and Service Committee, and stated that the "Sick Benefit" Scheme was "economic suicide."

So far as the Sick Pay scheme goes, out of about 40,000 employed by the Corporation only these 2,500 tradesmen do not benefit. The holiday demand arises out of the National Agreement of the A.E.U. and Shipbuilders Federation in April 1946, which gave six days holiday with pay for statutory holidays. The demand is for these six days and for two days which were deducted from the usual 12



LONDON—250 copies of our "Open Letter to the C.P. and Y.C.L." were distributed at a large Y.C.L. meeting at the Kingsway Hall, and the reception was excellent. More replies have been received from Trade Union branches asking for speakers to deal with the menace of Fascism. London comrades have been active in their Trade Union Branches and Trades Councils in rousing the workers to the dangers of anti-semitism and the growth of fascism. Shop-keepers and factory workers in North and East London have contributed over £35 to our anti-Fascist fund for the loudspeaker van. Mineworkers in Yorkshire gave 25%.

At Brixton our open air meetings have been a success. Some of our London comrades were active in preventing the fascists from holding a meeting at Hyde Park. Despite heavy police protection, the fascists could not hold their meeting. Ridley Road, where the fascists continue to hold meetings, though diminished in number, is covered regularly by our comrades selling literature and distributing leaflets.

Our York-hire comrades are very active in covering the most important conflicts in the area despite bitterly cold weather. Over 1,000 copies of the "Socialist Appeal" are sold in the area by the comrades.

LIVERPOOL—Branch active during the sea-

men's strike. Open air meetings of dockers and seamen have been held. Our slogans were chalked in dockland. The "Socialist Appeal" was well received. The "Catholic Herald" carried a leading article "Seamen: Good Cause was Exploited by Trotskyists."

OXFORD—The fascist attack on our meeting in Oxford was featured in the "Oxford Mail." The fascist activity in Oxford has interested a student group in Nottingham in anti-fascist work. Copies of our "Open Letter to the C.P." appealing for a united front have been asked for.

MANCHESTER—Comrade Frank Ward spoke to an audience of 75 at a local meeting on the Russian Revolution. Over 120 attended our debate with the S.P.G.B. Members of the C.P. supported our comrades in the discussion.

GLASGOW—Comrades are taking an active part in the local Youth Parliament. One comrade has written an article for their journal putting forward our policy for government. Comrade Douglas Garbutt is now working in Glasgow as Scottish organiser.

SAVOY STRIKE—London comrades aided the workers involved in the strike of the Savoy Group. All night picket duty was carried out and support was obtained in union

branches to back the strike. All meetings of London catering workers were covered with "Socialist Appeals" which were well received.

What's on

SUNDAY, December 21st at 7 p.m. "THE DIALECTIC OF REVOLUTION"

3rd Lecture in a series on Marxist Philosophy, held at R.C.P. Centre, 256, Harrow Road, W.2. Lecturer: E. Grant, Editor, "Socialist Appeal" A charge of 6d. will be made at the door. All welcome.

WEST LONDON BRANCH: Study Circle—Tuesday, December 16th, at 7.30 p.m. Subject: "R.C.P. POLICY AND THE THIRD LABOUR GOVERNMENT" at the Chiswick A.E.U. and Trades Hall, 66, High Road, Chiswick, W.4.

Study Circles also held in Kilburn, North London, Ilford, East London, Croydon, Southall, East End, Hampstead. For particulars of these write to T. Reilly, London Organiser, R.C.P., 256, Harrow Road, W.2.

Mosley Emerges With Police Protection

After testing the reaction to the emergence of numerous fascist groupings disguised under different names, encouraged by police protection, Mosley is openly revivind the British Union of Fascists under the name of the "Union Movement."

The announcement of the formation of the "new" party, to be launched in the new year, was made at a conference of journalists on November 28th, at which Mosley elaborated on his "programme".

It is no different to the fascist demagoguery of Mussolini and Hitler whom Mosley apes. The same Jew-baiting; the same totalitarian slavery with the destruction of the Trade Unions and Labour organisations and rights won by the British working class.

Slavery Of Africans Whereas before Mosley emphasised the idea that Britain and the Empire must isolate itself for economic "autarchy", today he advocates the "union of capitalist Europe!" Recognising the weakness of British capitalism and the danger of economic collapse on the continent of Europe, Mosley puts forward the idea of a union of Europe based on the enslavement of the African peoples. In the Mosley "plan" "there will be no nonsense about 'trusteeship for the natives'" and "negroes are to have no parity with their white 'superiors'."

War On Russia One of Mosley's main planks is for war against Russia. If he were in power, he would "send to Russia an ultimatum that she must accept the American offer to scrap atomic weapons and submit to inspection," which would be followed by a preventive war, if unaccepted.

No Opposition Tolerated Mosley promised to suppress communism. Of course, like Hitler and Mussolini, starting with the Communists, all working class organisations would be destroyed.

The Trade Unions would be obsolete, if they did not "co-operate" with the fascists. The present Parliament would be replaced by the corporate state modelled on Mussolini's two chambers. Instead of elections, there would be plebiscites like those run by Hitler where the voters would have the privilege of recording "yes" or "no". His Government would "resign" if defeated, but this of course, was most unlikely! Mosley's whole programme is directed against the working class, and their rights won in a hundred years of struggle. His aim is to suppress freedom of speech, freedom of organisation and association of his opponents in the Labour movement.



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

Kashmir Solution

No Aid to the Maharajah of Kashmir Freedom for the Kashmiri People!

BY D. DUTT

Reprinted from "The Spark," Indian Trotskyist Paper.

Kashmir once again proves that outside of the ending of the princely order there is no solution of the problem of the States' peoples.

Once again the League and the Congress, the Pakistan and India Governments, are entangled in a fight—this time not a wordy fight, but a real one on a miniature scale—much to the advantage of British imperialism.

The ground is now prepared for the appearance of imperialism once again in the role of an arbiter, a mediator, a court of "justice."

The Government of Pakistan and India, as well as the Pakistan and the Congress press, have successfully obscured the real issues. Through the iron curtain of press censorship, it has come to light that there took place a revolt in the regions along the Pakistan border and in Gilgit Province against the Maharajah. The League and the Pakistan government sent an official army to divert the popular revolt into communal channels. The Maharajah, who had been sitting on the fence all the while, at once acceded to the Indian Union and asked for military help.

Troops were rushed by plane for the restoration of "law and order", for driving out the invaders, for the restoration of the collapsing rule of the Maharajah.

Whatever may be the outcome of the fight in Kashmir between the armies of Pakistan and India, one thing is certain that the people's revolt has been defeated for the time being, thanks to the intervention of the governments of Pakistan and India.

Even though the methods of the Pakistan and India governments are different, the goal is the same: the defeat of the peasant revolt, the smothering of the class struggle, the continuation of the feudal monarchy.

The League methods are the disruction of the ranks of the peasants in revolt by channelising the popular discontent along communal lines. The Congress method is to crush the popular revolt in the name of the defence of the minority, in the name of law and order, in the name of expelling the invaders.

Notwithstanding the difference in methods, the common objective has been secured. The popular revolt is defeated, the Maharajah is safe.

But the quarrel of the two governments—Pakistan and the Indian Union—will continue over the question of Kashmir's accession. And for this the poor Kashmiris will be saddled with a new burden of taxes to meet the expenditure incurred for the military operations. The people, who have no right to choose the form of government they wish to live under, will continue to be crushed under the weight not only of the feudal monarchy and its camarilla, but also of the modern military machine of the India Government.

The question of accession can be decided only by the people of Kashmir. This decision can be arrived at freely, only when the Dogra rule is eliminated. Within the framework of the Dogra rule, under the aegis of the Maharajah, the people cannot have the right to decide freely their fate.

The talk of a responsible government under the aegis of the Maharajah is a sham. It is really meant to cover the betrayal of the popular movement to the Maharajah by Sheikh Abdullah. From the slogan of "Quit Kashmir" to that of a Responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharajah. What a fall!

The road to freedom from the feudal incubus lies only through a consistent struggle against the invading troops both of Pakistan and the Indian Union. Only when these invaders have been expelled and the despotic rule of the Maharajah has been ended, can the question of accession arise.

Compel the Withdrawal of all Invading Troops (Indian and Pakistani) from Kashmir!

For the Ending of the Despotic Rule of the Maharajah! Full Freedom for the Kashmiri People!

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Haggling Over Germany

The Big Four meeting in London reveals the familiar pattern: struggle between Anglo-American Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy for domination over Germany and Austria. That is the reason for the so-called ultimatum of Malotoff and the skillful use of this by the capitalist press in Britain and America in order to line up the masses behind their own foreign policy.

Malotoff showed that the Western Powers wish to turn Germany into a semi-colony and base for a future war against Russia, while backing the old Junker landlords and capitalists who organised the Nazis. Typically, he pointed to the ruin and chaos which are the result of the policies of the Allies in the Western zones of Germany. The dismantling of consumer and other industries which could not be remotely connected with armaments, he charged, were dictated by the fear of German competition on the markets of the world once Germany had recovered from her present collapse.

The aims of the Allies have nothing to do with peace or democracy or the unity of Germany in the interests of the masses. But the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy too is one of naked power politics. No more are they concerned with the interests of the German people. The cruel demand for reparations to the extent of £2,500,000,000 would impose enormous burdens on the already burdened German people.

Neither grouping is in the least concerned with the interests of the German and European peoples. Whether they succeed in arriving at a compromise, or whether this Conference breaks down as have its fore-runners, on the rocks of the antagonistic interests, cannot be in the interests of the peoples of Europe.

The working class must demand the withdrawal of all the armies of occupation in Germany. The German and European workers will fight for a United Socialist Germany as part of a United States of Socialist Europe as the only solution to the problems facing the German and European working class. Instead of restricting German production, it would be enormously increased for the benefit of all the peoples.

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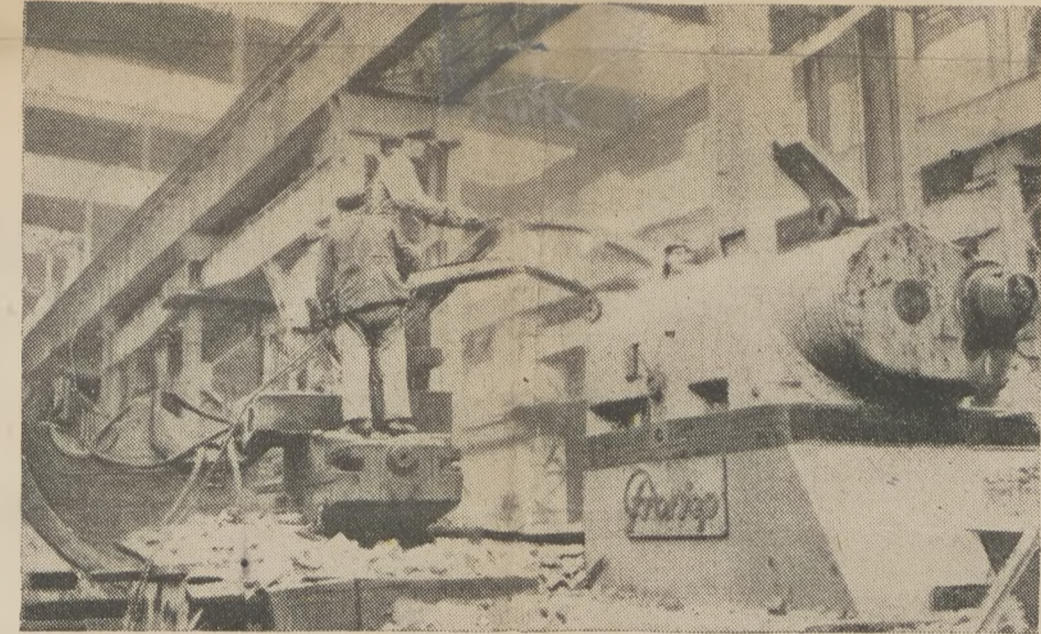
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German Workers Dismantling the Vast Machinery of Krupps' Factory, Essen

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

CAMPBELL THE ARTIST

ONE of the most embarrassing chapters of the history of international Stalinism is the role of the German Communist Party in relation to Hitler's triumph. The C.P. leaders, in consequence, seize every opportunity to obscure the real facts. Just such an opportunity is provided by a characteristically confused and irresponsible editorial in the "Socialist Leader" of November 29th.

In a contribution headed "Distortion in an art," in the "Daily Worker" of 2nd December, J. R. Campbell complains that the "Socialist Leader" "prefers to spread the legend that the slogan of the German Communists in the struggle against Fascism was 'After Hitler, our Turn.'" Such statements, says J. R. Campbell, can "deceive many young workers who have recently come into the movement." He then proceeds to advance his own particular brand of distortion.

The German C.P. did not put this forward in the form of a slogan. But the content of the policies pursued by the Comintern was precisely: "After Hitler, our turn." What other meaning can be given, for example, to the words

of Remmele, one of the three top C.P. leaders, in the Reichstag, on October 14, 1931:

"We are not afraid of the Fascist gentlemen. They will shoot their bolt quicker than any other government."

Campbell continues: "The burden of all those articles and manifestos was how the workers by correct tactics, could prevent Hitler from coming to power." Here is a sample of these "correct tactics" as laid down by Manuilsky in his report to the Eleventh Plenum of the Comintern:

"The social democrats," he explained, "in order to deceive the masses, deliberately proclaim that the chief enemy of the working class is Fascism. . . . It is not true that the whole theory of the 'lesser evil' rests on the presupposition that Fascism of the Hitler type represents the 'chief enemy'?"

For the Comintern at the time the "chief enemy" was not the "Fascism of the Hitler type," it was the Social Democrats whom they branded as "social fascists," the moderate wing of Fascism!" Only six months before Hitler came to power the 12th Plenum declared: "The C.I. must therefore direct the chief blow against social

democracy." And this theme was played in every key by the leaders of the German C.P. who went to the extent of joining with the Nazis in Russia in a Referendum to oust the Russian Social Democratic Government.

Trotsky, on the other hand, who called for a united front of the C.P. and Social Democrats against the Hitlerites, was for this himself denounced as a "fascist." Thus, Thaelmann, in a speech to the 13th Plenum of the C.I., September, 1932:

"In his pamphlet on the question, How will National Socialism be Defeated? Trotsky gives always but one reply: 'The German C.P. must make a bloc with Social Democracy. . . . In framing this bloc, Trotsky sees the only way for completely saving the German working class against fascism. Either the C.P. will make a bloc with the Social Democracy or the German working class is lost for 10-20 years.'

This is the theory of a completely ruined fascist and counter-revolutionary."

All this, and much more, is known to, but obscured by J. R. Campbell. How well he has learned that . . . distortion is an art!

STALIN

by TROTSKY

REVIEWED BY C. VAN GELDEREN

STALIN by Leon Trotsky: An appraisal of the Man and his influence. (London: Hollis Carter, Ltd., 25/- net.)

Stalin's emergence from obscurity to his present position of power is a phenomenon which never fails to puzzle the bourgeois observer. Gifted neither with exceptional intellectual gifts nor with a marked ability as organiser and orator, how did this son of a Georgian cobbler succeed in taking the place of Lenin as head of the Soviet State, and moreover, with such power concentrated in his hands as Lenin neither enjoyed nor aspired after? The most complete answer to this political conundrum is contained in Trotsky's biography of Stalin.



LEON TROTSKY

Carefully documented, we have here a picture of Stalin as the representative of the rising bureaucratic caste in Soviet society. The reaction that set in after the war and the civil war, and the failure of the revolution to extend outside the borders of the Soviet Union, led to a strengthening of the conservative and right wing element in the Bolshevik Party and the weakening of the left wing.

Self-Sacrifice To Self-Betterment

"In 1923 the situation began to stabilise. The civil war, like the war with Poland, was definitely in the past. The most horrible consequences of the famine had been overcome, the N.E.P. had given impetus to a vitalising revival of national economy.

The constant shifting of the communists from post to post, from one sphere of activity to another, soon became the exception rather than the rule. Communists began to acquire permanent positions. . . . The question of appointments came to have more and more to do with the question of personal life, living conditions of the appointee's family, his career.

It was then that Stalin began to emerge with increasing prominence as the organiser, the assigner of power, the dispenser of jobs, the trainer and master of the bureaucracy. . . . Stalin and others like him, whose role in the civil war had been secondary, came now to the fore and headed the tacit but nonetheless powerful transition movement from war to peace from self sacrifice, to self betterment."

Thus, we saw the beginning of the rise of the bureaucracy and its crystallisation into a caste whose privileged material conditions of life became the basis of an entirely new political orientation in the Soviet Union and in foreign policy.

Stalin Murdered Trotsky

To get his picture into true focus, Trotsky not only had to devote years of painstaking historical research, but he had to hack his way through volumes of official legends which have been created round the person of Stalin by the Stalinist bureaucracy. He was never able to complete the work. In May, 1940, a machine-gun squad attacked Trotsky's home on the outskirts of Mexico City, led by a well-known member of the Mexican Communist Party, Siqueiros, and in which 25 members of the Mexican Communist Party were implicated in the evidence brought forward in the trial of the assassin. This attempt to murder the exiled revolutionary leader proved abortive, but in August of the same year another hired assassin of Stalin struck him a mortal blow with an icepick, while he was actually at work on the manuscript. In the recently published book "Return To The Cross" written by the ex-Editor of the American "Daily Worker", Louis Budenz, he makes reference to his own part, as a member of the American Communist Party, in the preparations to murder Trotsky.

Natalia Trotsky has informed us that Trotsky had no inclination to write this book. He was planning to write a biography of Lenin and the history of the civil war. But because of his poor financial circumstances, he was forced to put this aside and accept the condition laid down by the publisher, Harper Bros., to write a biography of Stalin.

Bourgeois Morality

An interesting example of the morality of the bourgeois democrats was provided by the events relating to this book before it was finally published. In its present form, it was printed and bound ready for distribution, when the war and Government entered the American scene. The book was suppressed at the instigation of the U.S. Government, only one copy being available in the Congressional Library. It remained suppressed during the whole period of the alliance with Russia, and is only now released when U.S.

foreign policy has again come into collision with that of Stalinist Russia.

On Guard Against The Interpolations

Two-thirds of the book had been completed. Large sections have been interpolated, between brackets, by the translator, Charles Malamuth, who has allowed himself quite a few political liberties against which the reader should be on his guard. Natalia Trotsky protested against this. Thus he writes of the "vaunted democracy of the Soviets" and of "the trend toward centralization, that sure precursor of totalitarianism," in order to prove that Stalinism is the inevitable outcome of Bolshevism, its legitimate child. Needless to say, Trotsky goes to great lengths to prove precisely the opposite and succeeds in establishing the illegitimacy of Stalinism as the successor to Leninism. Before Stalinism could evolve, Stalin had to cease being a revolutionary; Bolshevism had to be destroyed.

Legend And Truth

Trotsky devotes the greater part of his book to the period before Stalin reached his position of pre-eminence. Stalin's activities in the present and immediate past is well-known. They have been enacted in full view of the world. But of his more distant past little is known except in the falsified and garbled versions of the official Kremlin biographers—in many instances drawn from sources supplied by Stalin himself.

All the official legends purport to show Stalin as the Old Bolshevik who supported Lenin from the very first and who has held steadfast to the Leninist course ever since. They paint Stalin as the real hero of the October Revolution, the Civil War and the early years of Socialist construction. What the official biographies fail to explain is the fact that during the heroic period of the October Revolution, from 1917 to 1924, Stalin's name was practically unknown to the great mass of the Russian workers and even to the rank-and-file of the Bolshevik Party. The great world outside Russia never suspected his existence if Stalin had only accomplished one-third of the tasks accredited to him by the official historians in Moscow and by their imitators in other lands, he would have shared the legendary fame of Lenin and Trotsky; John Reed would never have been able to write his "Ten Days That Shook The World" with only a passing reference to Stalin.

Stalin joined the ranks of the revolutionary movement at the age of 18, when he was a Seminary student in Tiflis, Georgia. In 1904, a year after he split in the Social Democratic Party of Russia, he joined Lenin and the professional revolutionaries, working under illegal conditions organising party units in various towns, editing party periodicals, writing popular leaflets and the hundred and one other tasks which fell to the lot of the revolutionary in those pioneer days of Russian Socialism. He spent many years in exile and in the dungeons of Czarism.

Contempt For Theory

With all his activities and devotion to the movement, Stalin never rose to the position of an outstanding leader of the Party. He was incapable of theoretical thinking, and indeed, had a marked contempt for theory. He was the "practical man", the man who felt at home on Committees, away from the masses whom he feared and for whom he held no attraction.

Co-opted To C.C.

Yet Stalin, at Lenin's instigation was co-opted onto the first independent Bolshevik Central Committee in 1912. True, records show that Lenin's original proposal to have him co-opted met with strong opposition but eventually Lenin had his way. To the superficial observer there is a great deal to puzzle over in this move of Lenin's. Why should he insist on having this mediocrity seive on the highest body of the Party? To understand this it is necessary to be acquainted with the social and political background of Czarist Russia at the time. Here it is possible to deal with it only in outline.

(Continued on Page 4.)



Morrison Recalls Catering Militants Suspended His Youth

One has heard often enough that Churchill, although opposed to any restrictions of the power of the House of Lords, suggested such measures in 1911. But while Churchill has never deviated from his support of British Imperialism, the Labour leaders have betrayed the principles they affected to maintain in those days, as was further borne out by the debates on the Parliament Bill restricting the Lords' veto.

On November 11th, there were two amendments by Labour backbenchers: one by Ellis Smith (Stoke) calling for an elected House of Lords with representatives from Employers' Organisations, the T.U.C., etc.; the other by Emrys Hughes (S. Ayrshire) stated: "That this House declines to give a Second Reading to a Bill

which merely slightly limits the power of the House of Lords and does not declare it to be a feudal anachronism, and a needless and useless encumbrance to a free community which ought to be abolished."

This was, of course, the traditional policy of the Labour movement, and the proposer quoted Ramsay MacDonald, who said in 1911: "We stand against a Second Chamber because it is incompatible with democracy."

However, both amendments were dropped by the movers, and Emrys Hughes substituted another, on December 4th, which called for a restriction of the Lords' veto to one month.

Another amendment was put forward by Messrs. Parker (Dagenham) and Mikardo (Reading) for a six months restriction.

It was left to Herbert Morrison to explain away any change of line, and this episode is a characteristic example of the hypocrisy dressed up in honeyed phrases in the best parliamentary tradition:

"Then (1911) the fairly small Labour Party in this House voted for the complete abolition

of the House of Lords," he said, adding, "We all enjoyed ourselves in those days." (!) He continued:

"I say frankly that while in my younger days I advocated the abolition of the House of Lords—I have no clear memory upon it, but I had not—I am bound to say, in the light of my parliamentary experience, that I am doubtful whether it would work. . . . Having uttered these reactionary observations, though they embrace the realities of the situation (!) we come to the point of whether this delay is to be one month or six months." The movers of the latter were, he said "Mensheviks," but Emrys Hughes he called "the Bolshevik in the case" and described his amendment as "Bolshevism gone mad." (!!)

He appealed to them, in a "spirit of sweet reasonableness" to withdraw their amendments. And sure enough, one gentle wave of the parental wand sufficed to make the "lefts" capitulate. One amendment was withdrawn, and the other was not pressed to the vote.

(Continued from Page 1)

A feeling of disillusionment is widespread, especially so as a consequence of the action of the Executive in suspending the officials of the Catering Branch who have been primarily responsible for building that section of the Union up from two to three hundred members into a membership of several thousands in the course of the last few years.

Arthur Lewis

The witch-hunting campaign against Lewis, the Branch officials and the District Committee by the National Executive clearly represents an attack by the Right wing against the Left wing officials, who are prepared to align themselves in militant action with the best sections of the Union membership.

In the past 12 months Arthur Lewis has won considerable publicity and a wide measure of popularity among London trade unionists as a result of his militant leadership and participation in the strike action of the catering workers. Lewis's leadership is to be contrasted to his favour with that of officials in his own and other unions. The attacks upon him by the General Secretary of

his own Union at the very moment when he was appearing before the Bow Street magistrate for his militant strike leadership, could only be interpreted as a stab in the back by militant trade unionists.

The Report clearly establishes that Lewis attempted to negotiate and find the basis of agreement with the Savoy, but was rebuffed on every occasion. Although the Court criticises him and other London District Union officials, for leading unofficial strike action, it was clearly established that until the workers had come out on strike, Lewis put the official Union line. But once the workers rejected further negotiation and insisted on strike action, however, Lewis aligned himself with the workers who were fighting, and sought to bring victory for the workers and the Union.

The rank and file must see that this attack on the militant London officials does not succeed by bringing pressure to bear on the National Executive, not only through the Catering section, but through all sections of the Union, by resolution. Although in the opinion of the writer, the Report of the Industrial Court is a biased one, every class conscious worker should buy a copy and study it carefully.

How Arbitration Favours The Employers

An examination of the Report confirms the repeated arguments of the "Socialist Appeal" that arbitration favours the employers. Here was a dispute commencing in March, dragging through various stages of the arbitration machinery over a period of about eight months before the workers had the legal right to go on strike. The employer had suspended and sacked a worker and disrupted the status quo. Although the decision of the District Council and the National Arbitration Tribunal favoured the reinstatement of the worker, the employer had a perfectly legal right to sack him and to refuse his reinstatement. The law protected the employer.

Meanwhile, it was illegal for the workers to go on strike without going through this whole arbitration machinery, and at the end, though the decision was in their favour, there was no legal means of enforcing it upon the employer. Even had the Court of Inquiry confirmed the finding of the District Council and of the National Arbitration Tribunal, there was still no legal means of ensuring that the Savoy would carry out the decision. The fact that they withdrew their undertaking, given to the Minister of Labour, at the last moment, to accept any recommendation from the Court, taking into account all their earlier actions, indicates that they were prepared to keep Piazza out even if the decision of the Industrial Court was against them.

The Industrial Court established that in a recent judgment given by the High Court in the so-called "Crowther case," the National Arbitration had no power . . . to direct the reinstatement of a workman in any circumstances, and further: "Since the High Court judgment . . . it is no longer possible for any Tribunal to direct that the Savoy shall reinstate Mr. Piazza . . ." (our emphasis). The scandalous discrimination of the legal provisions of this Order in favour of the employers is shown clearly in the Report. The effects of the Crowther Case are such that the Industrial Court was forced to draw the attention of the Government to this fact:

At the conclusion of their Report they say: "It must be left to be determined as a question of Government policy whether it is proper to leave disputes involving questions which can arouse the bitterest feelings, and uncovered by machinery for compulsory arbitration."

The farcical situation was such that after going through all the stages of negotiation and arbitration, by law the workers had to give 21 days' notice of strike action. Meanwhile, the Savoy were making every preparation for the strike. Every inch of available space was alleged to have been filled with additional stocks; additional staff, the strikers claim, were brought into the hotels. Seabs were being contacted and strike-breaking connections established.

The reactionary class character of the arbitration laws are clearly exposed in this case. The Trade Unions must insist that legislation be introduced preventing any employer from dismissing a worker or suspending him where there is allegation of victimisation made by the workers, pending an inquiry, and until the conclusion of such inquiry. In other words, the rule of the status quo must apply to the employers no less than it applies to the workers before a final decision is arrived at. At the same time, an end must be made to arbitration procedure which drags on month after month. Compulsory decisions must be made in all minor disputed questions within 21 days, six weeks as a maximum time to arrive at decisions on major questions must be imposed.

An end must be made to the so-called "impartial" courts which are in reality heavily weighted from a class point of view in favour of the employers. Since the workers are the overwhelming majority of the population, a decisive majority in any industrial court must consist of representatives of the working class.

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After the defeat of the 1905 Revolution a period of deepest reaction set in. The entire Socialist movement, the Bolsheviks not excluded, began to disintegrate.

"We Have No People"

Describing the situation, Trotsky writes:

"Desertions took place not only among the intellectuals, not only among those who were here today and gone tomorrow, and to whom the movement was but a halfway house, but even among the advanced workers, who had been part and parcel of the Party for years. . . ."

"We have no people at all! Krupskaya (Lenin's widow—C.V.G.) wrote in invisible ink to (Odess, at the beginning of 1909. 'All are scattered in prisons and places of exile. . . . The scantiness of revolutionary ranks led unavoidably to the lowering of the Committee's standards. . . ."

Part Of The Machine

With no first-rate leaders available, Lenin turned of necessity, to the second-raters. Of these Joseph Djugashvili, the future Stalin, was undoubtedly the first. In periods of reaction, when the masses are temporarily off the stage of history, the importance of the Committee is comparatively increased. Within the Committee, Stalin felt sure of himself, in his element. He was part of the machine. Later, as the creature of that machine, he was to rise to the dizzy heights of power.

Stalin's Role In October

Stalin's record in 1917, before the arrival of Lenin in Petrograd in April, destroys finally the current myth of his staunch and unflinching Leninism. As a leading member of the editorial board of "Pravda", the official Bolshevik organ, he placed himself unreservedly on the side of those who gave unconditional support to the Provisional Government. He also raised no criticism of an article by Knaevnev which called on the Russian soldier to "staunchly stand at his post, answering bullet for bullet and salvo for salvo." This defencist stand of "Pravda" seriously confused the advanced workers. Needless to say, this episode—a not accidental one—in Stalin's career—has been carefully concealed by the Party chroniclers of the present day.

In a closely documented account, Trotsky demolishes the current fairy tales about Stalin's role during the October Revolution and his record during the Civil War.

Less Than One Per Cent

The background of Stalin's rise to power has been dealt with in numerous articles and books of Trotsky. He first emerged out of the shadows when Lenin was lying on his deathbed in 1923. Together with Zinoviev and Kamenev, he formed the "Troika", the triumvirate who took over the direction of the Bolshevik Party.

Trotsky points out that by 1923, three-fourths of the members of the Communist Party, consisted of those who had joined after 1917.

"The number of Party members with a pre-revolutionary record—that is, revolutionists of the underground—became less than one per cent.

By packing the Party organisation with his closest supporters, Stalin increased his own power and prestige within the machine. As yet, he remained almost unknown to the great masses outside.

Lenin Sounds Alarm

From his sick bed, Lenin sounded the alarm against the growing bureaucratisation within the Party. But already it was too late. Stalin's grip on the machine was too secure for a dying Lenin to dislodge. The Twelfth Congress of the Party, which met in April, 1923, and where Stalin dealt a resounding blow at his fellow "triumvir", Zinoviev set him firmly in the saddle. Only a Lenin in full health and vigour, could have waged anything like a successful fight against the usurper, and even a Lenin, with all his prestige and unrivalled influence might have gone down before the forces of history. Without the revolution breaking out of its isolation by the conquest of power by the workers in some other major capitalist country, Lenin too, would have been defeated in his struggle against the bureaucracy, Stalin.

COAL OUTPUT UP

(Continued from Page 2.)

an extent that labour would readily be attracted and thus overcome the problem of man-power, and of technical re-equipment. This would require an end to the Labour Government's policy of defence of the employers' interests and the development of a plan based on the needs of the working class.

£6 Minimum "Too Costly"

Prior to the recent wage negotiations, the Government argued that they could not afford the £6 minimum wage (and they still have not granted this) because it would be too "costly". Yet this would have cost only £45 million per year, which is little indeed when compared with the "relief" of £500 million a year from E.P.T. granted to the employers.

And, so long as the imperialist interests make nearly half a million workers produce £900 millions in munitions a year; so long as private capitalists control the engineering industry as well as the munition factories, the production

was triumphant because he represented a trend, a historical trend, and not because of any personal reasons.

Lenin never recovered from that illness. His last act was to break off all personal and comradely relations with Stalin and to urge his removal from the post of General Secretary of the Party.

Did Stalin Poison Lenin?

Lenin never recovered . . . Trotsky puts forward the theory that Stalin poisoned Lenin. No documentary evidence exists and this charge has aroused incredulity in the circles of bourgeois reviewers. But is it far-fetched?

Old Guard Wiped Out

Of Lenin's Central Committee, the Central Committee which led the Russian workers to victory in 1917, only two remain alive today—Stalin himself, and Kollontai, former Soviet Ambassador to Stockholm. Some of these died natural deaths. The majority were either murdered by the G.P.U., in the monstrous purges, or driven to their death or, as in the case of Trotsky himself, fell to the blows of Stalin's assassin. Is it so incredible that Stalin, who disposed of the entire Bolshevik Old Guard, who sent to their death his closest comrades in arms, would have hesitated to remove Lenin from his path to power?

Lenin's wife, Krupskaya, who was in the Trotskyist opposition to Stalin and the bureaucracy in 1926, said that had Lenin lived, he too, would have been in one of Stalin's jails.

However, in a book which in every other respect is documented and historically proven, this inference regarding Stalin poisoning Lenin might have been better left out. It is the one point which has been seized upon by all the bourgeois critics to detract from the historical and theoretical content of the work, and to give a "personal" and "psychological" explanation for the conflict between Stalin and Trotsky.

Not A Personal Squabble

Historical conditions gave Stalin the victory over Trotsky. Bourgeois critics like to think of this as a personal squabble for power. In fact, it was a political struggle, a fight to the finish between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. Stalin represented the interests of the rising bureaucracy which thrust aside the proletariat and asserted the control of the millions of officials. They sprang up from the economic backwardness of Russia, and the fact that the revolution was isolated in one country. Their aim was to consolidate their rule over the masses and to guarantee their own social position. For the moment, the counter-revolution in the person of Stalin was triumphant. But the struggle did not cease with the death of Trotsky. This means, the ideas of communism and the revolution, live on in the Fourth International. Stalin enjoys his brief moment of triumph. The future belongs to Trotskyism, the continuation of Lenin's ideas of world Socialist revolution.

Sordid Subject — Brilliantly Written

Trotsky's biography deals with a sordid subject but it is enlivened by the author's brilliant writing and it contains invaluable material—some of it available for the first time in English—on the history of the Bolshevik Party, the October Revolution, the Civil War and the building of the Red Army.

Despite his exceptionally close personal part in the struggle against Stalin, Trotsky succeeds in maintaining a remarkable objectivity. In his own words: ". . . During the more than 10 years of my present exile the Kremlin's literary agents have systematically relieved themselves of the need to answer pertinently anything I write about the U.S.S.R. by contentedly alluding to my 'hatred' of Stalin. The late Freud regarded this cheap sort of psycho-analysis most disapprovingly. In hatred there is an element of envy. Yet to me, in mind and feeling, Stalin's unprecedented elevation represents the very deepest fall. . . ."

Trotsky remained to the end, faithful to the ideas of Marx's international communism. Stalin betrayed these ideas, and his elevation represented his deepest fall from the great principles of Bolshevism.

FRENCH STRIKES: ROLE OF THE WORKERS' PARTIES

(Continued from Page 1.)

obtained in France—provided one has the money. Speculators and black-marketeers function openly with callous indifference to the poverty of the workers and poor peasants, and without regard to the police and the Government (who, in reality aid them).

"Strike Is Weapon Of The Trusts"

It is against these conditions that the striking workers of France were fighting. For three years the "Communist" and "Socialist" leaderships of the working-class movement have tied the hands of the workers in their struggles to improve conditions. For three years the C.P. has told the workers that the "strike is a weapon of the trusts", that the first task of the French workers was to sacrifice and "increase production first of all."

Workers Ahead Of Leaders

Instinctively, the most advanced elements of the working-class, and particularly the rank and file members of the C.P., have understood that the struggle against these conditions is the struggle against the capitalist government and its replacement by a workers' and peasants' government. They have understood that not only are the elementary needs of the workers at stake but, above all, the whole future of French society is at stake; that once a struggle against the Government is commenced on the present scale, it can only be victorious by drawing in the entire working class. They are forced by the logic of events to struggle to make themselves masters of society.

This was shown by the seizure of mines, factories, post-offices and in some cases whole villages, where the strikers formed their own committees for food distribution, maintenance of order and control of the life of the town. Even in Paris, the area strike committees had begun to organise the distribution of food to the families of the strikers.

In St. Etienne the workers, with the assistance of the miners, sealed all roads and occupied the most important factories.

In Marseilles the workers erected barricades and flew the red flag over factories and docks.

All these incidents are symptomatic of the desire of the vanguard of the French working class to smash the policies of class collaboration and to begin the struggle for workers' power and socialism.

Socialist Party Policy

In this situation, the policy of the Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.) is one of complete betrayal of the interests of the working class. Following the support of its right-wing leadership for de Gaulle candidates in the Municipal elections, its national leadership and parliamentary faction have perpetrated an even greater betrayal. They united with the capitalists to pass the vicious Schuman anti-labour legislation.

With all the power and resources at their disposal the leadership of the Socialist Party and its tendency in trade unions (led by Jouhaux) organised strike-breaking and attempted to break the strike movement. Without the support of Jouhaux and Blum, the capitalists would never have

succeeded in maintaining their opposition and would have been compelled to surrender to the legitimate demands of the workers.

Afraid of the totalitarian policies of Stalinism, and incapable of developing a revolutionary alternative themselves, they have miserably collaborated with the capitalists and de Gaulle agents in a united front against the working class under cover of the so-called "Third Force". Utilising the Stalinist exploitation of strike movements as weapons in Russian foreign policy, the reformist leaders attempted to discredit the great strike movement of nearly half of the French working class.

The socialist tendency in the trade unions led by Jouhaux (pre-war leader of the C.G.T.) played the most disgraceful and treacherous role. This "Force Ouvriere" (Workers' Strength) tendency, as it is called, was one of the chief agents in organising back-to-work movements. It is from this so-called "Socialist" tendency that the Government obtained its ingenious "Freedom to Work" slogan, with which it tries to cover blacklegging and strike-breaking. Reality has shown that under the guise of "No Politics"—which was the policy recently adopted by a special conference of the "Force Ouvriere"—Jouhaux carries out the politics of the capitalist class.

Split Of Socialist Youth

This persistent policy of the leadership of the Socialist Party has already led to a split away of the Socialist Youth, who are discussing fusion with the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French Section of the Fourth International). It has also led to a group of 34 leading members of the S.P. circulating a Manifesto against the policy of class collaboration and betrayal, and the formation of a left-wing, called the "Revolutionary Socialist Action" group.

Stalinist Adventurism

Stalinism has played the most adventurist and irresponsible role in these events. They have played with the working class as a tool to exert pressure in the interest of the Stalinist bureaucracy in its struggle to obtain concessions from American imperialism.

They extended the movement without preparation, without real leadership, and without any real concrete aims.

Instead of calling a general Strike simultaneously throughout France, with concrete and clear objectives and with careful preparation, the Stalinist leadership of the C.G.T. have wasted and exhausted the energy of the workers by guerrilla activity—where each trade union controlled by the C.P. called out its membership halfheartedly and in a completely unorganised manner. In nearly every case a minority (in some cases a majority) of the workers took to strike action long before the union officially called for it.

Had the C.G.T. organised a general strike, with thorough preparation and objectives clear to all workers, the capitalists would have been completely paralysed. It would have been impossible to move troops and police on a large scale, and the capitalists could not have relied upon the small forces at their disposal in the cities.

A co-ordinated campaign to win the worker-soldiers and the police to the side of the strikers would have won big sections. Despite the complete absence of any real appeal, or any objective which could appeal to the troops and the police, out of sheer class instinct sections of the troops refused to take action against the workers. Sections of the police are actually on strike, and other sections threatened to take strike action. Far greater sections would have risked violating the police and army code with it.

threats of victimisation and imprisonment, if they had seen the possibility of a real alternative.

Stalinists Limit The Movement

In addition to this complete absence of leadership (a National Strike Committee was formed two weeks after the strike had become general), the Stalinists limited the movement to purely economic demands, when the logic of the situation posed the problem of power before the workers. By this policy the Stalinists have prevented the working class from waging a decisive struggle under the most favourable conditions for success. It is this policy of Stalinism and its former policies of treachery, which explain the confusion and disorientation of the workers in the present strike. Large sections of the workers, though in support of the strike demands, have no confidence in the Stalinist leadership, which only yesterday opposed strike action.

The British "Daily Worker", (December 8, 1947), in big headlines state: "Battle is For Food, Not For Power." Under this follows the report of an interview with Benoit Frachon, joint secretary of the C.G.T., in which Frachon states clearly that the struggle is limited to economic demands: "One of the Government's unscrupulous moves has been to claim that this strike has not been organised to win economic demands but as part of an insurrection." That which they should be proudly proclaiming they reject as a calumny!

No deliberate and conscious policy of sabotage could play so well into the hands of the capitalists, and so undermine the struggle of the workers as the policy of Stalinism. The capitalists have reacted cleverly in face of a situation for which they were not in the least prepared. They have split the workers by using the "Socialists" against the "Communists". While the Stalinist leadership talks only of economic concessions, the capitalists make counter-proposals and gain a respite and prepare to crush the workers at the first opportunity. This possibility is given to the capitalists only by the policies of Stalinism, which could rally the whole of the working class and poor peasantry in a struggle for power if it so desired.

De Gaulle Stands By

The capitalists have kept de Gaulle and his reactionary bands in the background. They understood that to introduce de Gaulle on the scene at this moment would have pushed the socialist and non-party workers and trade unionists to the side of the strikers, making a complete general strike and an uprising on the part of the workers inevitable. Such an uprising would, because of the lack of control over its own state apparatus, police and army, have all the objective conditions for an easy success. In the most terrified fashion, the serious journals of the capitalist class were actually calculating the military and social forces at their disposal.

The Schuman government, like that of Bruning in Germany, with its anti-working class economic and political decrees, is merely a transitional one, for French capitalism and its Wall Street masters. It is a step towards handing over the power to de Gaulle.

Capitalists Bide Their Time

Having learned nothing from the strategy of the capitalists in Germany and Italy the Stalinists and reformists repeat the suicidal policies which led to the crushing of the workers' organisation in those countries. Far from avoiding battle to the death, the policies of the official leaderships of the working class organisations merely ensure that the time and conditions

for the test of forces will be determined by the capitalists, at a moment considered most favourable to them.

Depending upon the way in which the movement develops the capitalists will change their strategy. In the meantime, with the draconic anti-labour legislation at their disposal, the capitalists will push further and further in a reactionary direction—perhaps exchanging Schuman for someone even more to the right, and closer to de Gaulle.

In the next few months they will purge the State apparatus, the police and the army of all elements who show the slightest sympathy for the working-class; they will strengthen the reactionary bands of de Gaulle and more than ever supply him with the necessary funds and materials for an offensive against the masses. That is the meaning of the visit of J. F. Dulles, Adviser to Marshall, the American Secretary of State. Dulles is vetting and priming de Gaulle for his coming to power in the next period.

Middle Class Move Right

The failure of the working-class organisations to show a way out of the intolerable situation in France has driven the middle class into the camp of reaction. Ruined by French capitalism, rendered desperate by the conditions under the Fourth Republic, the middle classes look to de Gaulle as the saviour who will bring order out of chaos. The constant reiteration by the Stalinists and the reformists that they want the maintenance of the present "democratic" Republic only adds grist to the mill of de Gaulle. Whatever the middle class believe they want, they do not want the continuation of the present regime.

Period Of Struggle

The capitalists prefer a peaceful transition to de Gaulleism and the destruction of the workers' organisations as in Italy and Germany. They calculate that the disillusionment arising out of the Stalinist and reformist policies will help them to break the back of the C.G.T., which will be so demoralised and worn out by the last struggle as to be unable to offer any resistance. But they are mistaken. The workers will fight. Far from entering a period of class peace based upon the results of the recent strikes; even if followed by temporary reaction, the massive strike wave is the first round in a new period of intensified class struggles.

The P.C.I. Shows Revolutionary Road

The Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French Trotskyists) offers the workers the road towards the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' Government. This party has been in the forefront of the strike struggles, seeking to direct the workers to compel the official leaders of the mass organisations to organise and call a General Strike. Only the P.C.I. has brought before the workers the real question of political power, posed in these struggles: a Government of big business, or a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

The success or failure of the French working class in these struggles is of immediate importance to the British workers. The victory of capitalist reaction would strengthen the reactionary elements in Britain, it would be a set-back for the whole international working-class. The victory for the French workers would be a victory for the whole international working-class and a set-back to capitalist reaction. Every class conscious worker in Britain must solidarise himself with the struggles of his French class brothers.