

NUREMBERG: DEATH TO NAZI CRIMINALS

TRIAL SERVED TO COVER ALLIED WAR GUILT

By BILL HUNTER

SALUTE THE DUTCH SOLDIERS!

Protest at War Against Indonesians

AMSTERDAM — 21st Sept., 1946.

During the second week in September, the soldiers at Harderwijk camp near Amsterdam, Holland, were informed that they were to embark for Indonesia.

Last week, the Committee issued two leaflets, one addressed to their fellow soldiers and the other to the workers of Amsterdam.

WORKERS OF AMSTERDAM

We thank you for the wonderful solidarity with which you supported us today in our struggle against being sent to Indonesia.

DOCKERS, SEAMEN AND RAILWAYMEN

We know that you made great sacrifices in the Dockers' and Seamen's Strike. It's not so easy for you to go on strike again.

We don't call you to a General Strike. With disappointment we read that the National Council of the E.V.C. (Dutch T.U.C.) has

taken a decision to withhold strike pay for action in support of Indonesia. We cannot understand this.

Therefore, we don't ask you to strike. But you can help us by declaring as contaminated, everything intended for use against Indonesia.

We now understand why the Government took such sharp measures against your Strike. They were afraid for the War against Indonesia. You see, you can prevent it.

Thus, we count on your support. Just think that you yourselves will have to serve for two years to fight against the innocent. You can always count on us, the great majority of us don't want to go. Don't let us down.

LONG LIVE THE BROTHERHOOD OF WORKERS AND SOLDIERS. WE DON'T WANT TO FIGHT FOR THE MONEY-BAGS!

Soldiers' Committee.

THE NUREMBERG TRIAL, WHICH BEGAN ON NOVEMBER 20th, 1945, HAS ENDED. GOERING, RIBBENTROP, STREICHER AND OTHERS—LEADERS OF FASCIST GERMANY, SUPPORTED AND ENCOURAGED BY ALLIED STATESMEN IN THEIR DAY—HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO DEATH OR TO LONG TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT.

BUT SHACHT, VON PAPAN AND FRITSCH HAVE BEEN RELEASED. THEIR GUILT, LIKE THAT OF THE BIG FINANCIERS OF GERMANY, IS NO LESS THAN THE GUILT OF THE OTHER NAZI GANGSTERS.

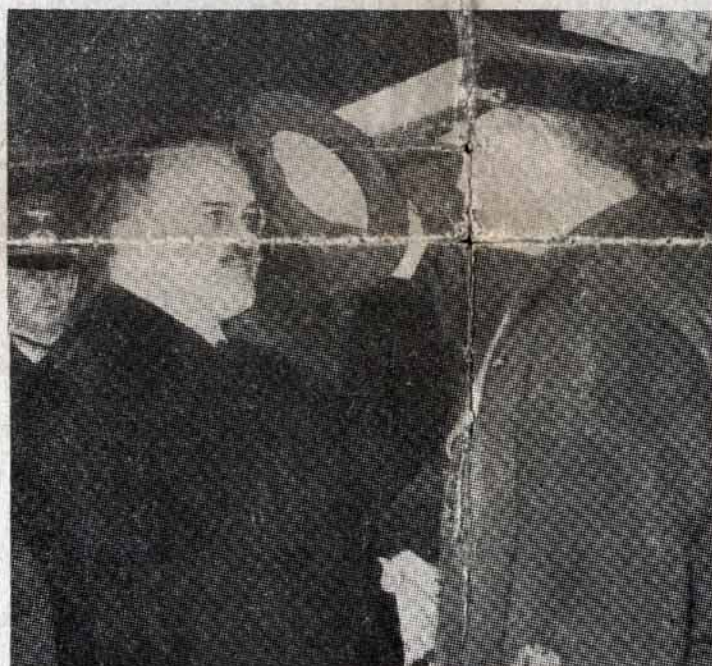
BUT LIKE THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, THE INDUSTRIALISTS AND BIG FINANCIERS WHO PROFITED FROM THE WAR, THEY ARE TO ESCAPE THEIR JUST DESERTS.

Battle Against German Workers

Fascism systematises and accentuates all the repressive brutalities and horrors of capitalism in decay. A harassed and desperate ruling class, utilising the sweepings of human rubbish, reaches ghastly lengths of bestiality. That much was known by the working class of the world, and least of all, of Germany, have no cause for tears over the fate of the Nazi leaders.

The statement of General Von Fritsch, quoted in evidence at Nuremberg, made it clear that one of the major Nazi aims was "to win the battle against the working class".

MOLOTOV DOFFS HIS HAT TO RIBBENTROP, 24th AUG. 1939



The capitalists of Britain, America or France all applauded the Nazis when they smashed the German working class movement and massacred the finest workers.

In November, 1939, Molotov said:

"Today so far as the European great powers are concerned, Germany is in the position of a state which is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, while Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaiming against aggression are in favour of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. Roles you see are changing."

The Real Purpose Of The Trial

For over ten months the Nuremberg trial has run its course. It has focused the attention of a mixed array of international jurors, and the gradually waning interest of the working class.

Nuremberg was an effort, on the part of the Allies, to convince the world working class that once the Nazi leaders pay their reckoning, the account is closed. It was an attempt to shift the blame they share, completely on to the shoulders of the Nazis.

Hypocrisy Of Allies

During this ten months, while the prosecutors of Britain, France, America and the Soviet Union, listed the sickening crimes of Nazism, world events showed the hypocrisy of the prosecuting Allies.

The British prosecutor prated about justice. Meanwhile, Dr. Kiessbach, according to "Tribune" Sept. 6th, declared opponent of de-Nazification—was placed by British Imperialism, in charge of the German "Central Office of Justice."

While the court-room resounded with castigations of Nazi oppression and racial discrimination, American Imperialist suppression was active in the Philippines, and lynch law was rampant in the Southern States.

The prosecutors denounced the occupation methods of the Nazis. Yet, even while the French prosecutor mouthed phrases of indignation, the agents of French Imperialism were torturing the natives of Indo-China and burning their villages.

The miseries of slave labour under the Nazis were related to the court at the same time as ten million Germans were uprooted and wandered homeless as a result of the wholesale expulsion policy of the Soviet Bureaucracy.

In face of world events during the trial, who can deny that at Nuremberg the pot called the kettle black, blackening itself still further even while doing so?

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RELEASE THE PARATROOPERS

Officers Should Have Been on Trial Not Men

BY G. NOSEDA

A storm of protest is sweeping through the organised Labour movement in Britain against the vicious sentences imposed upon the Paratroopers at Kluang, Johore. Of the 255 Paratroopers sentenced at the court-martials, 8 were originally given 5 years plus discharge with "ignominy".

These monstrous sentences have been imposed upon these workers-soldiers for daring to take the only effective course of action open to them, as a protest at the intolerable and degrading camp conditions under which they were expected to live.

The O.C. of the men concerned, claimed in his evidence, that he had warned the men against taking collective action on their complaints, that the only method recognised in the army of presenting grievances, was by individual complaint.

It was this knowledge that was one of the factors in deciding the paratroopers to stand together in their protest. There was no other effective way open to them. A letter sent by this same O.C. to the Area authorities concerned, asking for some action to be taken to improve the terrible and insanitary camp conditions, was not answered, or any radical improvement made.

It is clear that not the 255 paratroopers should have been court-martialled but those officers responsible for allowing the filthy camp conditions to continue.

The evidence at the court-martial revealed a complete disregard for the welfare and humanity of the paratroopers, and the military authorities responsible. Yet this camp had been used by troops for months previously. It was in a shocking state.

For the whole company of men there, as the evidence showed, only four water taps were available and one of those reserved for the use of sergeants. The men complained of "lack of proper washing facilities, shower baths, poor feeding arrangements, and the absence of educational and recreational facilities." The overbearing and unsympathetic attitude of the Regimental Sergeant-Major in

charge was another grievance. The prosecution's evidence was completely unable to refute these charges. Despite this, the military nabobs found the men "guilty".

The same shabby method of collecting prosecuting evidence was carried on as happened in the case of the R.A.F. militants who were court-martialled earlier this year. The investigation Bureau of the army was soon on the spot. Gestapo-like methods were used in an attempt to play the men one against the other. To one of the paratroopers charged, the investigation officer, Lieut. W. A. Savin, said, "I have got dozens of statements of the men. They are all coming clean. Why don't you?"

Intimidation methods were tried on this same paratrooper, the officer threatening him "that he would get 3 years, some of the men would get 5 years, some 10, and others would be shot if necessary." These and similar bullying and fascist methods were used against the lads to frighten them into "confessions".

These vicious sentences are an act of criminal injustice perpetrated upon working class youth conscripted into the armed forces of British imperialism, by a reactionary and anti-labour military caste. The sanity of the bureaucratic and totalitarian capitalist military "discipline" is placed above the welfare and interests of the worker-soldier. The conditions of these 255 victimised paratroopers was that they stood up to and challenged the military autocracy who regard and treat the "other ranks" as cannon-fodder and raw material for their wars.

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B.O.A.C. Strike

A.E.U. Break-Away Responsibility of A.E.U. Leaders

RANK AND FILE MUST WIN BACK A.E.A. WORKERS

BY F. EMMETT

The strike of Air Line workers on September 12th cannot be easily understood unless the background to the dispute is examined. Why should a comparatively unknown organisation—the A.E.A. (Aeronautical Engineers Association) suddenly hit the headlines by striking for recognition? Why should workers join and remain in an unrecognised Union when there are recognised Unions that they could join?

Put simply—perhaps over simply—the answer is that these workers have lost confidence in the established Unions (A.E.U., E.T.U., T.G.W.U., etc.). These Unions were parties to the original B.O.A.C. agreement and it is from this agreement that the more recent happenings have developed.

The agreement allowed for a "Works Committee" to be set up in each of the Corporation's bases which would consist of delegates from the shops, elected irrespective of Union membership. Nons could vote and could be elected. This ruled out the traditional form of representation by Shop Stewards.

The agreement also fixed wages at a comparatively low scale (skilled rate is even now only 2/3d per hour), and laid down that wage rates could only be altered by negotiation between the Union Executives and the Corporation.

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began to organise, the question of shop stewards was raised, and in at least one district (Croydon) the District Committee of the A.E.U. decided to advise its members in B.O.A.C. to appoint shop stewards and not participate in the Works Committee. This line was carried and the Works Committee was shown to have no basis among the workers. Nevertheless, the Corporation, shielding behind the terms of the national agreement refused to recognise the shop stewards.

The stage was set for a show-down. The A.E.U. had to choose between leading an advance, which would have broken down the "agreement", or leading a retreat. Hamstrung by its policy of no strikes at any price during the war, it led the retreat. Union officials talked the workers into accepting the agreement, and on the basis of this fait accompli the District Committee was able to change its position.

Even with the agreement in operation the workers concerned still showed their readiness to struggle. Within the very narrow limits which the agreement set, they obtained by action on the job small improvements in conditions; but any move to make any basic alterations were lost in the welter of bureaucratic negotiations at the top far-removed from the rank and file.

Consequently, offered an alternative organisation which promised them a "democratic" Union, catering specifically for Civil Aviation, with direct representation on the Executive body from the bases, many of the best elements among the B.O.A.C. workers decided that here was a way of solving their problems; they broke

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LESSONS OF THE SQUATTERS MOVEMENT

Statement Issued by the London District Committee, R.C.P.

The squatters had to leave their new houses, forced out by the State acting on behalf of the rich property-owners. But the fight for housing the homeless and overcrowded continues. To bring this fight to a victorious conclusion, we must learn the lessons of the Squatters' Movement.

Effect of the Movement

This movement has had some "great efforts. First of all, it has brought the reality of the housing problem sharply before the eyes of the people of this country. It has shown up the plight to which millions of people are condemned, as a result of capitalist rule. Building has been carried out for the profit of private builders, speculators and landlords, not for the needs of the people. Those who can pay have the good homes, the mass of workers are condemned to slums or homelessness.

It has shown that housing is a class question. The workers driven to desperation, attempt to satisfy their needs by invading the empty luxury houses of the rich. The owners of these properties, backed up by the Capitalist state, drive them out in the name of the "sacred rights of property". Only

the working class, in mortal struggle with the capitalist class, can show the way to solve the housing crisis.

These are the positive achievements of the Movement. The Squatters deserve the gratitude of the whole working class for taking the struggle for homes a step forward.

Role of Labour Leaders

And the movement has done a great job of educating the working class itself. It has shown that when the Labour Government is faced by a revolutionary threat to capitalism, it rallies to Capitalism's defence. Aneurin Bevan's vicious circular, attacking the squatters, shows that even the most "Left Wing" reformist Labour Leader is nothing more than a "Labour Lieutenant of the Capitalist Class." They are afraid to take real measures against Capitalism, even

in order to meet the most elementary needs of the workers.

The Government follows in the footsteps of all capitalist politicians and the Yellow Press. Instead of attacking the cause of the problem, and taking vigorous measures to solve it, they immediately scream that "agitators" are responsible. It is the same method as they employ when the workers go on strike.

Protest Arrests

We denounce the Government's action in arresting Communist Party Leaders, and call for the immediate withdrawal of all charges against them. A Broad Defence Committee must be set up, representative of all sections of the Labour Movement and of those who defend civil liberties, with the task of campaigning for this demand.

For An Honest Accounting

But if we are to make an honest accounting, it must be admitted that the movement failed to achieve the desired result. The threat of eviction has succeeded, and the luxury houses will return to the "rightful" owners.

The squatters found themselves in a hopeless position. With the whole power of the State against them, only a great mass movement of the working class could have defended them. But it did not come in time. As a result, the squatters had no alternative but to leave.

This was not an accident. Those who led the movement, namely the Communist Party Leadership, bear the responsibility.

Lack of Political Preparation

The movement should have been preceded by a wide political cam-

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# DON'T LEAVE IT TO THE FEW

KEEP YOUR PAPER GOING  
AN APPEAL TO EVERY READER  
BY HAROLD ATKINSON  
(National Treasurer, R.C.P.)

THIS entreaty is directed to every reader of "Socialist Appeal" who sympathises with our ideas. It is prompted by the bad state of the Fighting Fund, as revealed in the list of September donations. Money is the very life blood of our publishing activities. Without it we cannot carry on. Yet over the past couple of months the flow seems to be drying up.

The purchasing power, the real wages of the workers, is declining. This we recognise. But we don't accept it as a reason for a decline in our revenue. With the masses bearing the brunt of the aftermath of the imperialist war; as they shouldered the cost, and made all the sacrifices, of the war itself, the need increases for the voice of sanity in a world made mad by capitalism; for a call to revolutionary struggle for the establishment of a socialist system of society in which poverty and want, fascism and war, will find no place. Let us, therefore, face the issue as a challenge. Let us find a broader following for our socialist message; an ever-increasing circle of friends and sympathisers.

We have confidence that we only need to call to your attention, the conditions in which we are compelled to struggle, and you will rally to the aid of your paper. Have you stopped to think of the burden voluntarily undertaken by the small group of pioneers, struggling in face of every obstacle, to show the need for socialist revolution?

Twice a month our paper appears. It is the collective effort of voluntary workers, and a tiny regular staff underpaid and with totally inadequate facilities. Our half-year's telephone bill totals less than the cost of a couple of foreign cables to a bourgeois newspaper. Twice a month, in rain or shine, the small and valiant band of comrades distribute the paper in the localities; see that it gets into your hands, comrade reader. All the time we are faced with a growing burden of debt. That is, where we can obtain credit. The money for our paper quota, for example, must be found before we get delivery. The big capitalist combines are not anxious to help the production of a revolutionary journal.

All this falls on the shoulders of a very small group of comrades. Yet there are thousands of readers of "Socialist Appeal" most of whom are in sympathy with our revolutionary communist aims, most of whom are concerned to publicise and support the struggles of the workers. It is to these readers that we make this appeal.

Throughout history all progressive movements have been inaugurated by small groups of self-sacrificing pioneers. It is the same with our movement today. Yet the need for revolutionary propaganda, agitation and organisation grows with each passing day. Help in every way you can to broaden the circle of socialist pathfinders by spreading the influence of "Socialist Appeal" and building up the Fighting Fund.

Don't leave it to the few!

# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

BY N. PENTLAND

## Dockland - Defend the 29!

### Some Questions to Frank Campbell

NO SPLITS! FOR DEMOCRATISATION OF THE TRADE UNIONS. DEFEND THE 29 MILITANT LIVERPOOL DOCKERS

The reactionary attack by the leadership of the Transport & General Workers' Union against the 29 former leaders of the Liverpool dockers strike movement has provoked national bitterness and disgust. Every dock worker will rally to the defence of the 28 militants; every dock worker will consider this attack by the Donovans and Deakins as an attack upon his rights and his struggle.

For playing a leading role in the national strike of the dockers, in which the overwhelming majority participated, and which was opposed only by the top officials, these 29 militants are charged with carrying out acts contrary to union policy! Thus union policy appears as something opposed to the great mass of union members; something decided by a small clique of top officials.

### Some Questions to Campbell

The natural anger and disgust of the Liverpool ex-strike Committee (now the Merseyside Area Dockers' Welfare Committee) took the form of proposing a split from the union and the formation of a more democratic one. For two weeks Frank Campbell, Chairman of the dockers' committee, and P. Callanan, Secretary, carried on intensive agitation for a split.

Thus the dockers were faced with a most serious question. The Revolutionary Communist Party, immediately produced a leaflet opposing the proposed break-away.

Following on this, the leaders of the Dockers' Committee announced a change in this policy. At a meeting of 2,000 dockers in Liverpool, P. Callanan stated: "I am absolutely and unequivocally opposed to any break-away from the Transport and General Workers Union. We will fight on only one front, and this within the union. If the union men don't do their jobs we will get rid of them." This excellent statement of

policy was welcomed by all experienced militant workers.

After this meeting Frank Campbell made a most amazing statement to the "Daily Mail": "The policy of this organisation has been changed but I am not making any statement as to why. We have no connection with the Revolutionary Communist Party, who came to distribute leaflets outside our meeting thinking our policy was to break-away. We laid a trap for them and they fell into it."

What is the meaning of this statement? Does Frank Campbell wish to say that his two weeks campaign for a break-away was to fool somebody? The only people he fooled, if this is the case, were the rank and file dockers. This is the truth of the matter. Perhaps he wished to compromise the position of our party?

### The Policy of the R.C.P.

The policy of the Revolutionary Communist Party is known to all militant dock workers throughout the country. The London dockers in particular know that our party has consistently opposed irresponsible splits and break-aways of the type proposed by Campbell. When, during the dock strike of last year, the question of split was raised by the Glasgow break-away union, the strike committees of London and Liverpool (the latter on the insistence of the London Committee) both declared themselves against such a policy. In summing-up the gains of the strike against the

Stalinists who tried to belittle and minimise the struggle, we stated in the "Socialist Appeal" editorial (November 1945):

"Both in Liverpool and London the Strike Committees have explained the fate that would await those dockers who tampered with the ideas of splits from the unions. At this stage they explained, such splits would play into the hands of the Donovans and Deakins. No splits, but a struggle within the union to oust the present leadership has been the programme of the Strike Committees. In this the dockers have made a very important contribution to the Labour and Trade Union movement."

This has always been the policy of revolutionary communists. "Not only is Frank Campbell's statement inexplicable, but it reveals dishonesty and irresponsibility. As with his attacks upon our Party during the dockers' strike—the only party to stand with and aid the dockers—his attacks today can only aid the bosses and their agents. All militant dockers must demand an end to such methods, which can only hinder the dockers' struggle for better conditions and union democracy."

The dockers are bitterly opposed to the Donovans and Deakins, they are determined to defend the 29 and the correctness of their past struggles. But they are also opposed to any suggestion of break-away, knowing that these can only lead to disorganisation of the struggle and the strengthening of the official leaders. P. Callanan expresses this view clearly and correctly.

### For a Militant Programme

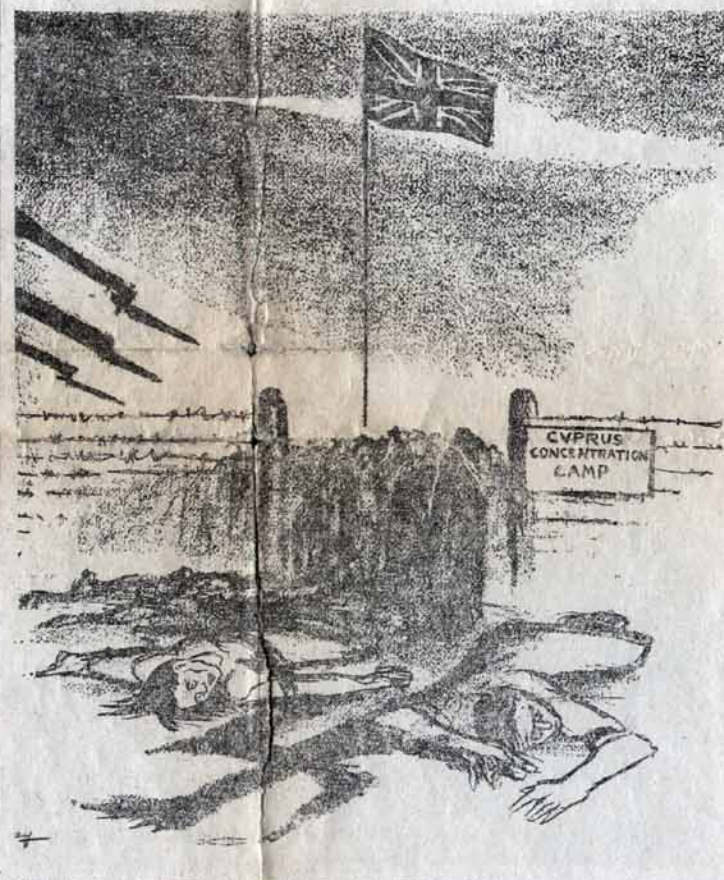
The defence of the 29 militants from the attack of the corrupt leadership, the preparation for future struggles, all this is only possible if the lessons of the strike are understood clearly. As we stated in the above quoted issue of the Socialist Appeal:

"However, it is not sufficient to know that one must fight the union leaders on their own ground; it is necessary to advance a programme of struggle against the present constitution and structure of the trade unions. This programme can only be: For union democracy, for annual re-election of all officials, who will be paid the average wages of the workers. If the unions are to be converted into militant organisations of the working-class then these must be the slogans of a national dockers' movement."

Without such a programme, without consciously preparing and training the workers for these tasks the Merseyside Welfare Committee, as with all other committees, will degenerate into an obstacle to the dockers' struggles against the bosses and their agents.

Defend the 29!

For a militant Workers' Programme—Build Job Committees. No splits—For Union Democracy!



## From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

### Mrs. Tennant ... Landlady

Mrs. Eleanora Tennant, Chairman of the ultra-Vansittartist "Face the Facts Association" has been in the news again, this time in the rôle of racketeer landlady. For one "furnished" room, in which "the beds were mattresses on springs, supported by wooden blocks and flower pots", she was charging no less than £3 7s. per week! The Chelsea Rent Tribunal reduced this to £1 18s. 6d. a week. This decision Mrs. Tennant declared "savoured of the Gestapo". The mild actions of the Tribunals in checking some of the most blatant profiteering scandals is described by this anti-working class crusader as an "infringement of British liberties."

Mrs. Tennant and her reactionary outfit have been busy during the past months running anti-alien, anti-semitic campaigns; meetings at which she provided a platform for such notorious fascists as John Beckett.

It is not the Rent Tribunals or bodies (of which there are far too few), which act in some measure against the grosser racketeering exploiters, that endanger democratic liberties, but from precisely such gangrenous growths of the "Face the Facts Association" calibre. And it is the duty of the organised workers to show their recognition of this fact in a very positive fashion whenever and wherever these reactionaries show their faces in public.

### Socialist Jazz

The attempts of the Stalinist bureaucracy to "explain away and expose" decadent and "superficial" western bourgeois culture,

are extending into some weird fields. The Moscow Correspondent of "The Times" recently wrote:

"A commission has been appointed to investigate charges of vulgarity and paucity of ideas made against the Soviet music-hall. There is, it is asserted, too little material performed reflecting the mood in which the Soviet people are expected to set about fulfilling the Five Year Plan. Exception is also taken to the quality of the repertory of the Russian State Jazz-Band, directed by Leonid Yutesov, who according to most of his critics, has recently made unsatisfactory headway in evolving a Soviet type of Jazz different from western European forms."

Someone should explain to the Commission that music-hall and Jazz (and in passing they might note that the latter is a product of America not western Europe) reflect the level of education of the masses, which in turn is conditioned by the economic base of society. It is a peculiar commentary on Stalin's recent claim of building "Communism" in Russia and leaving capitalism in the rest of the world, that the cultural level of the Soviet Union calls for de-westernised music-hall performances and Jazz adapted to Russian tastes.

### ... and Mayfair Tea Parties

By way of contrast we learn from the London "Star" of September 21, that:

"Madam Gusev, wife of the Soviet Ambassador, has been saying good-bye to her London friends, in a milieu where she would not have to bother about the quality of music-hall programmes. "She

# Letters

To the Editor,

## From A Soldier Abroad ON A TRAIN IN GERMANY

Cuxhaven, 10th August 1946.

The outstanding thing here is the crowds of children, all ages—and all begging, begging, begging. It's pretty horrible, I can assure you, for obviously one can give to a few, even with the best will in the world.

Lovely kiddies, too—some are really beautiful. Some are thin but some seem quite normal. They follow for ten minutes or so in order to pick up one's cigarette ends. Time after time, one is approached by men who wish to buy cigarettes—the accepted rate apparently is 4 marks each, which is about 2/-.

The housing is mainly flats and as Cuxhaven is a smallish fishing port, it is not far to land free from buildings—result: plenty of allotments which are quite obviously well tended.

The girls are friendly—for practical reasons, of course.

We are waiting for a train bound for Bielefeld. It is now about 1 p.m. and we have recently passed through Luneburg and before that the outskirts of Hamburg.

### Kiddies From Nowhere

Whenever the train stops the kiddies seem to spring from nowhere to start begging. The lads respond very well to these children, and when the train leaves all have had something—they rarely eat the food given—it's usually carefully carried home. Just think, we have a N.A.A.F.I. on the train and can buy fancy cakes, etc., enough to make ourselves ill for a week. By the way, we have had nothing but white bread, and yet the bread I have seen in the civilian shops looks really grim.

3 p.m. We are waiting at Hanover just now. This area is terribly damaged from air-raids, rather like Battersea.

4 p.m. Minden, Westphalia.

Another full-scale meal plus another parcel of sandwiches—I think the way we are being overfed is a degree more than disgusting.

Bielefeld, 11th August. The kiddies I've seen usually go barefoot. One of the last youngsters I saw begging on the railway lines was a little girl about 7 with a leg off—trying to wave standing on crutches. Do I need to comment?

14th August. Since I have been in Germany I haven't seen any factories at work, and most of those I have seen are just in ruins.

### "A Rotten Affair"

17th August. En route to somewhere in the Ruhr, we passed through Osnabruck—or what was left of it, for if anything it was the most badly damaged place I have seen. The only houses that I saw that might be said to be still standing, were usually short of at least one wall—and people were living in those.

This business of B.A.O.R. wives is a rotten affair—did I tell you that I heard of a street in Bielefeld where the people had notice to quit complete with a list of furniture to be left for use by these British families. About 10 days notice, I believe, and if you can imagine what that would mean to you, and try to picture yourself finding accommodation in conditions about 100 times worse than in Birmingham, then you may have some idea how these people must feel about this infernal scheme of our Socialist Government.

1st September.... Did I ever mention the shock I got when I first noticed that folks were living in cellars of ruined houses, (and I mean ruined—completely wrecked) and in makeshift shelters rigged up—perhaps by fixing some kind of roofing.

This is all up to date. A British Soldier

## To Harry Pollitt from the R.C.P.

THE FOLLOWING LETTER HAS BEEN SENT TO HARRY POLLITT, SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY FROM THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY.

Dear Comrade,

The Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist Party, at its last session, discussed the question of the attack launched by the Labour Government against the squatters, and especially against the Communist Party and its members for the assistance given to the movement of the squatters.

The Political Bureau decided: "That in view of the progressive character of the actions of the Communist Party and its members in their aid given to the squatters, and whatever divergences of programme and policy separate us and other working class bodies from the Communist Party, it is the duty of all organised workers and working class bodies to rally to the assistance and defence of the Communist Party while the Government attacks it for the support given to the squatters."

The P.B. of the R.C.P. decided, therefore, to issue a statement pledging full support to your Party while it remains under attack in defence of your actions in aiding the squatters. The P.B. also decided to appeal to all other bodies of the working class to do likewise, and to form a united front on this practical issue of the class struggle.

We need not remind you of the differences on principle, programme, and policy that exist between our organisations. These are fundamental differences and have caused many bitter clashes and conflicts between our organisations and its leading members in the past. Nevertheless, and without slurring over these differences or giving up the right to criticise the policy of your Party, we believe that on this practical and progressive action we can find a basis for a united and common front of struggle. With this end in view, the P.B. of the R.C.P. is prepared to place its forces side by side with the Communist Party forces in defence of the squatters and members of the C.P. who are under attack.

With the object of bringing about a speedy concentration and maximum unity of all militant forces in the country, we propose that a deputation from the Political Committee of the R.C.P. meet a deputation of your organisation to find the maximum field of agreement in defence of your members and of the squatters and to seek to extend that agreement to other sections of the working class.

I am enclosing with this letter a resolution of our Political Bureau which explains our policy on the squatters movement and trust that we will receive a speedy and favourable reply to our proposals.

Yours Fraternally,  
JOCK HASTON,  
General Secretary,  
Revolutionary Communist Party.



# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

## New Purges in Russia

BY TED GRANT

In the last few weeks, news reaches us of the new wave of purges in Russia which is affecting all strata of the lower strata of the bureaucracy. Managers in industry are being dismissed and replaced in thousands on charges of graft and corruption, bureaucratism, incompetence, swindling and misuse of funds of the state.

In agriculture the collective farms are being purged. And a tremendous campaign against "ideological" backsliding in a capitalist and nationalist direction in literature, the arts, the press, cinema, science, the schools, the army, has been begun at a signal from the Kremlin.

These convulsions have shaken the political superstructure in the Soviet Union. They are a reflection of the discontent of the population after the great efforts and exertions of the masses during the war. The Soviet population put up with greater hardships and endured greater privations than any of the other main belligerents. Now, after the war is over they see that the bureaucrats still intend to maintain their inflated standards of life, while the Soviet people continue to exist on a level of hunger and privation not much higher than their incredibly low standards during the war. The corruption and degeneracy of the officials with whom the masses come in contact—that is, the lower ranks of the bureaucracy who ape their superiors in the hierarchy of officialdom right up to the Kremlin bosses—arouses their disgust and antagonism.

Stalin and his bureaucratic clique are, to a certain extent, leaning on the masses in order to restore the pre-war equilibrium within the bureaucracy. The usual Stalinist method is being employed: making scapegoats of the lower ranks for carrying out a policy decided by the Kremlin. The nationalistic and middle class ideology put forward during the war, glorifying the Czarist past of Russia and deifying such oppressors of the Russian people as Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, of such Czarist hangmen as the Generals Kutuzov and Suvorov, this chauvinist ideology was ordered and encouraged by the Kremlin in order to serve the needs and interests of the bureaucracy itself.

But while the masses could be reconciled to such chauvinistic and racial outpourings about the superiority of the Slavs at a time when they were directly menaced by the threats of German Fascism, they could not be inspired to make further sacrifices for the Five Year Plan under this banner once peace had been restored. The fruits of victory for the workers in Russia has been the perspective of harder and harder toil under the regime of Stalin for the indefinite future, in order to rebuild and expand the power and industry of the Soviet Union. Thus, in the endeavour to reconcile the workers and peasants to this, the bureaucracy has had to resurrect phrases about Socialism and the society of the future. This also serves to lull the workers abroad, who have become alarmed at the inequalities and sumptuous standards of the bureaucracy, and by the iron dictatorial regime established by Stalinism. But in reality nothing fundamental is changed. Only a different varnish is used.

A few quotations will illustrate the process taking place. The foreign press reports "Drastic purges" in the Communist Party of the Ukraine for "failure to make careful selections of party and administrative personnel, a prevalence of 'bourgeois-nationalist ideology' among the intelligentsia and widespread bribery."

According to "Bolshhevik" the "theoretical" journal of the Russian C.P., the Stalinogorsk Coal Trust "never fulfilled its plan," but simply inflated its figures to make up monthly quotas, e.g. reported a daily production of 544 tons when the real production was only 150 tons. (Quoted from "Time" Magazine Sept. 9th).

"Le Monde" reports on September 13th, that Gorechenine, Soviet Attorney-General, has started investigations, and "Pravda" comments: "The Party must play a preponderant role in the re-establishment of national discipline."

The Union of Writers of the U.S.S.R. has expelled the novelist Mikhail Zoshchenko and poetess Anna Akhmatova, on charges of "apoliticalism." The Central Committee has attacked the entire cinema industry, particularly singling out the Cinema Minister Bolchakov and Eisenstein, world-famous producer. The Arts Committee which produced Soviet plays is accused "of having tried to poison the consciousness of Soviet citizens with an ideology hostile to Soviet society, to revive the residues of capitalism in people's minds and customs."

The purge has been very extensive in agriculture. The "Times" of September 24th, reports a Decree of the Council of Ministers and of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union, signed by Stalin and Zhdanov jointly: "The decree calls attention to the inflation of the managerial staff to the detriment of the

collective farms' distributable income; to misappropriation of public lands on a mass scale through the extension of private allotments beyond the legal limit and the allocation of common land to various local organizations; to the pilfering of collective farm property by local State and party officials, some of whom, it is stated, are dipping their hands into collective property as if it were in their own pockets; and, finally to slowness on many farms in holding general meetings and electing leaders, a habit which is debarring workers from taking part in the farms' affairs.

The decree calls for a decisive end to these violations of the collective farm charter and threatens offenders with prosecution under the criminal code. It demands an immediate correction of abuses, including the expulsion from the collective farms of all 'drones' who fail to contribute a minimum quota of labour, and, by cancelling a war-time measure, it brings to an end the practice by which local authorities are empowered to take over common land for their own subsidiary enterprises."

This indicates how far the collective farms had disintegrated under the pressure of the war, the destruction of tractors and other agricultural implements, the destruction of the land and the transforming of industry into producing almost entirely war material. Under these conditions having to fall back on old primitive methods and the individual plough, individualistic and small capitalist tendencies were inevitably produced. More and more the most energetic and grasping of the peasants began to seize tracts of land from the collective and operate them as their own individual property. The manager-bureaucrats on the land, in return for bribes, turned a blind eye upon this development and many participated in it themselves.

But the bureaucracy does not desire to share power with such elements. Moreover, individual production is very uneconomic in comparison with giant collective farms. The moment that the bureaucracy were in a position to do so, they have turned upon the neo-kulaks. They were compelled to turn a blind eye while industry was not producing sufficient tractors to serve the needs of the collective farms. With the restoration of a certain measure of production, of tractors combines and other mechanical agricultural implements, they have launched a new campaign to restore the collective farms. All petty capitalist tendencies within agriculture (it has not assumed any great importance for industry) are to be ruthlessly crushed, as they were during the first Five Year Plan. And in this, undoubtedly the bureaucracy will gain the support of the big majority of the workers and peasants.

But this does not mean that capitalist tendencies will be eliminated or curtailed. On the contrary they will receive an impetus during the new Five Year Plan, but in a different direction. Far from moving in a Socialist direction; towards greater and greater equality and the abolition of privilege for the favoured officialdom: this is to be increased during the next few years.

As Lenin ceaselessly hammered, differences of this character are capitalist differences which have nothing in common with Socialism. Yet "Labour Research" controlled by the Communist Party, blatantly declares in its issue of July, 1946: "Certain developments in Soviet organisation apparent before the war are emphasised in this plan. Wage differentiation, a stimulus to efficiency and exhibition of skill, is to increase within each industry. . . . There is greater cash stimulus for good work by technicians and organisers."

The sharpness of the measures in the Soviet Union demonstrate that even under the totalitarian regime of Stalin the class struggle still goes on. The discontent of the masses, particularly the soldiers, who have seen the lies and propaganda of the bureaucracy exposed by the fact that the standard of living in the countries they have invaded is higher than that in the Soviet Union; the shortages and hunger, the further sacrifices for the building up of industry while the difference between the masses and the bureaucrats becomes greater and greater, produces a mood of bitterness and antagonism among the workers and peasants. The repercussions of this social antagonism will have great consequences in the long run. But meanwhile, (Continued on Back Page.)

# DUTCH SOLDIERS AND WORKERS SUPPORT INDONESIAN TRIESTE

As the Dutch Imperialists, assisted by the Labour Government, prepares for a renewed offensive to crush the Indonesian masses, the workers and soldiers of Holland are showing, through militant action, their solidarity with the oppressed Indonesian people. On Tuesday, September 24th, dock workers, transport, public service and factory workers of Amsterdam staged a 24-hour strike as a protest against the embarkation of fresh troops for Indonesia.

In an attempt to break up a demonstration organized by the strikers, the police opened fire several times and charged the demonstrators with drawn swords. The 24-hour strike was the culmination of growing resentment on the part of the Dutch workers against the war against the Indonesian people.

Hundreds of young workers are today languishing in Dutch jails because they refuse to go out to the Far East to fight against the Indonesians. The father of a conscript who had refused service met the police who came to arrest him with the following words:

"I am convinced that you are coming to arrest my son to place him in the hands of your superiors. They will place him, against his will, in a struggle against those who are not our enemies. My son does not serve the cause of the capitalist-owners. There is no difference between this and murder, for our people are menaced neither from Indonesia nor by any other people. Like many more, my son will under these circumstances, refuse to serve in the army."

(From "De Tribune" Dutch Trotskyist paper).

For nearly a year now, the Revolutionary Communist Party, Dutch Section of the Fourth International has been foremost in mobilizing the workers of Holland into action on behalf of their class brothers in Indonesia. Shortly before the outbreak of the 24-hour strike, they issued a leaflet, addressed "TO THE DOCKERS AND SEAMEN OF AMSTERDAM" from which we publish the following extract:

"On many occasions the Amsterdam dockers and seamen have been to the fore when it came to defending the interests of the Dutch proletariat against the Dutch exploiters. During the February strike in 1941, directed against the crimes of German capitalism, the dockworkers stood at the head of the struggle. Now it is once again necessary, through action to prevent a new crime by Dutch capitalism. This crime is the war against the Indonesian workers and peasants. To regain its stranglehold on this people, already squeezed for 300 years, Dutch imperialism seeks to bloodily suppress the Indonesian revolution. The exploiters, who live only on the blood and sweat of the workers, want to compel thousands of Dutch workers to break the resistance of their class-brothers in Indonesia."

"... The leaders of the Big Trade Union organizations, the N.V.V. and the E.V.C. have often declared in the past that work in the docks and on the ships would come to a standstill if it actually became a question of violence being used against the Indonesians. That moment has now arrived. Now that it is a question of deeds, however, these gentlemen have openly betrayed the cause and declared that the sending of tens of thousands of working-class youths to the slaughter is a POLITICAL QUESTION. . . . The Dutch workers have made it implicitly clear, through resolutions, that they have no desire to suppress the Indonesian Republic or to restore colonial exploitation. . . . At this critical moment, the leaders of the big working class parties, the Labour Party (Party van de Arbeid) and the Communist Party of Holland (Stalinists), also remain silent. By paper action they attempt to divert the militancy of the workers. Neither petition nor protest meeting can prevent the Dutch bourgeoisie from commencing their war against the Indonesian Republic. Only the united struggle of the working class can achieve this."

"Dockers, Seamen, the lives of thousands of Dutch and Indonesian comrades are in danger. The Dutch capitalists demand sacrifices from us, so that they

will be able to haul in their profits in the near future again. Only the working class has the power to prevent it."

NOT A MAN NOT A CENT FOR THE OPPRESSORS' WAR AGAINST INDONESIA!

NO TROOPS AND ARMS FOR INDONESIA!

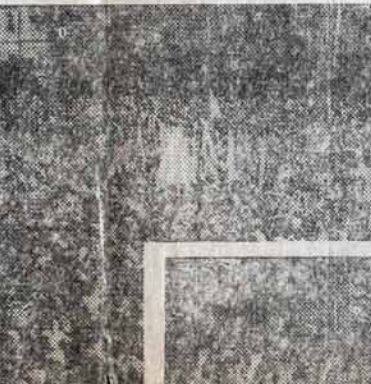
NOT A DROP OF BLOOD FOR THE OIL AND RUBBER CAPITALISTS!

COMRADE DOCKERS AND SEAMEN, INTO ACTION!

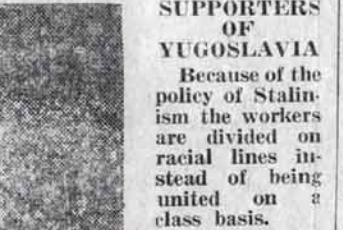
The Dutch workers, through their 24-hour strike, have given a great lead. Only class action can call a halt to the great offensive in which a great number of British troops will be involved. The organized Labour Movement in this country must follow the example of their Dutch comrades and take action against any future shipment of men or munitions to Indonesia. Pressure must be brought on the Government, through the Trade Unions, Co-operatives and other working class organizations to withdraw all British troops from Indonesia. The Labour Government must be compelled to recognize the Indonesian Republic.

END THE WAR OF AGGRESSION AGAINST THE INDONESIAN REPUBLIC!  
WITHDRAW THE TROOPS!  
ALL AID TO THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION!

SUPPORTERS OF YUGOSLAVIA  
Because of the policy of Stalinism the workers are divided on racial lines instead of being united on a class basis.



SUPPORTERS OF ITALY  
In Trieste hardly a day passes by without a demonstration or a clash. . . .



BY ENRICO

Towards the end of the first world imperialist conflict, the spirit of international solidarity was in great evidence. climaxed with the international actions of the first workers' state, the Soviet Union. To-day, this spirit is sadly lacking. The Soviet Union is not the spearhead of the struggle. The Stalinists, alongside the reformists, are turning the workers' struggle away from their real enemies, to the national defence of their 'own' capitalist state on the one hand, or to the defence of Stalin's reactionary foreign policy on the other. Only when the working class realises this, will they understand and reject these politics of betrayal. It is for this reason that we, of the Fourth International, appeal to the militants in the Labour and Communist Parties to examine the role of their leaders in the disputed territories in general, and Trieste in particular.

Intense National Hatred in Trieste

It goes without saying that Trieste is of the utmost importance to the contending powers, Russia and the Anglo-American bloc.

The walls and streets of Trieste and other disputed cities of Venezia Giulia are covered with anti-Tito and anti-Italian slogans. High on the hills overlooking Trieste itself, supporters of Tito have written "We want Tito" and slogans demanding the inclusion of Venezia Giulia in the Yugo-Slav republic. Far below, in the busy streets, the uneasy peace is disturbed by mass demonstrations and counter demonstrations, the battle of words being transformed into actions, both sides spilling blood. Both sides are racial hatred, with an intense of blind nationalism, rousing the ends

For many years, the workers of Venezia Giulia, Italian and Yugo-Slav alike, lived in peace realising common desires and interests. Even when Mussolini compelled the Slavs to accept the Italian language as the only language taught in Venezia Giulia schools; even with the oppression of the Slavs as a minority, the workers remained united in their hatred towards Fascism. Both the Italian and Yugo-Slav workers were imprisoned for anti-Fascist activity. Together in the Partisan movement they conducted a bloody struggle, first against Fascism and then against the German occupation under the red flag of internationalism, not as today under the nationalistic flags of Yugo-Slavia and Italy.

Why The Change?

Why then, this change of heart? Why then this terrible split in the ranks of the workers? The responsibility can be laid directly at the doors of the "Communist" and reformist leaderships. We will go further, and say at the doors of the Stalinists alone, for the working class have grown accustomed to the betrayals of Social Democracy and have long believed Stalin's policy to be communist, due to the traditions of the October Revolution.

Four months ago, the Stalinists in Italy, in line with their international degeneration, split on the issue of Trieste, and they had to split. But as we now see, both sections serve their Muscovite master. The pro-Tito, Venezia Giulia Communist Party, aided by Yugo-Slav officers are behind many acts of terrorism against the minority of Italian nationalists. In Trieste, Manfoncone, Gorizia and Pola, they and their controlled trade union "Sindicati Uniti" have led, and are leading strikes which are in fact reactionary in the extreme. Not one class issue is involved, not one demand for higher wages to meet the terrible cost of living. The one demand that is in evidence is that Venezia Giulia must be included in the Yugo-Slav Republic.

Meanwhile, the capitalist Christian Democrats, Italian Socialist Party and Camera-del-Lavoro (Italian T.U.C.) are not idle. They in turn conduct strikes and demonstrations in the interests of Italian capitalism, the pawn of British and American imperialism.

Role Of Stalinism In Italy

What then, is the role of the Stalinists in Italy proper? We have seen that the Stalinists in

Venezia Giulia serve the Soviet Bureaucracy alone. We claim that the Italian Communist Party serves the same bureaucracy.

Togliatti, not daring to condemn the reactionary role of Tito, speaks of "Justice" and urges the working class to believe that the problem can be solved by U.N.O. His party does not conduct a struggle against the Italian capitalist class. On the contrary, his party participates in that government, Togliatti being a minister himself, in that very Government which is called imperialistic and Fascist by both the Soviet Delegation in Paris and the Venezia Giulia Communist Party.

Togliatti, carrying out the orders of Stalin knows that his task is to maintain Stalinist influence in Italy proper, and needless to say to speak for Venezia Giulia being included in the Yugo-Slav Republic will antagonise the Italian working class, who feel strongly on this issue. Already thousands of militants are demanding to know why Togliatti supports Stalin's claim of \$25 millions in reparations. They know, as all class conscious workers know, that capitalism was responsible for the war and that these reparations will not be squeezed from the Italian capitalist class, but from the workers and in this case with the aid of the Stalinist leadership in Italy.

There is no doubt, Togliatti is not in an admirable position. Who knows, the Soviet delegation may yet come to an agreement with Britain and the U.S.A. on Trieste. The Venezia Giulia Stalinists may yet be the next scapegoats of Moscow's power politics.

We have written much on the role of official working class leaders but this could not be complete unless we begin to realise the policy of the Allied imperialists through A.M.G., a policy for which the British Labour Government must be held responsible. A.M.G. has a huge police force of British trained, pro-Italian, nationalists, also the British 1st Armoured Division, 56th London Division, and the American 88 Division to keep "law and order". But they serve the interests of Western imperialism against Russia. This occupation only tends to antagonise Tito's followers further, resulting in terrorist attacks against British and American troops. This serves to widen the gaps already existing between the workers and occupying troops.

Workers! Unite Against Capitalism

We have appealed to the mill-Communist Labour Party and once again we say in the past; out for our class and in a way. The monstrous politics of the present day working class leadership can only end in further defeats of our class and the third world war. The Fourth International declares, and our Italian Section, the Workers' Communist Party (P.O.C.) carries forward the only programme for the workers in Venezia Giulia and Italy itself. A united front of all workers against both Tito and the Italian capitalist class, a programme of economic and political demands to raise the standard of living and to enable the workers to choose their own future. The guarantee of civil rights to all minorities, for a struggle against the racial hatred of Stalinism and Italian nationalism. The withdrawal of all Allied troops. We do not claim that even this will solve the problem of Trieste but it is the only way forward to internationalism and the only solution: A Socialist Federation of the Balkans within the United Socialist States of Europe and a Socialist world.

## Seamen's Solidarity

FRENCH SEAMEN IN NEW YORK JOIN AMERICAN SEAMEN'S STRIKE

New York, 19th September.

1,000 French seamen in New York, members of the World Federation of Trade Unions, joined the strike of the American seamen, members of the National Maritime Union, C.I.O.

A resolution from the French seamen states:

"We salute the American seamen. We want to express the solidarity of the international working class, whose ties are bound closely in common struggles for emancipation from exploitation and wage slavery."

The "Militant" (organ of the Socialist Workers' Party (Trotskyist)), gives in its issue of 14th September, more examples of this excellent demonstration of international solidarity. It reports that Swedish, Danish and Norwegian seamen's union instructed their union branches to do everything in their power to aid the American striking seamen.

## 4 Y.C.L.'ers JOIN R.C.P.

Statement to the C.P.

In view of the recent expulsion of Comrade O'Donoghue from the Hanwell Branch of the Communist Party, we, the undersigned members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. have decided to issue this statement to Party members and sympathisers.

Comrade O'Donoghue, a Party member of several years standing, recently raised for discussion within the Branch, on a notice of motion a question of great Political importance, namely, the speech of the Chief of the Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the C.P. of the Soviet Union—Alexandrov (Feb. 1st, 1946). In this speech the entire Marxist-Leninist Theory of the State is openly revised. Instead of this matter being discussed in a democratic manner, Comrade O'Donoghue was immediately called before a meeting of the Branch Committee.

At this meeting, after being questioned for more than an hour, charges of disruption and distributing Trotskyist literature to Party members were made against him. These charges, which were sent to the London District Committee were so stupid and baseless that they were never pursued. The additional charge that he was in contact with Trotskyists, which he had never concealed and which was in fact known to leading and rank and file Party members, was the only reason given for his subsequent expulsion.

In view of, Comrade O'Donoghue's good record as an active Party member, this expulsion bears all the hall marks of a heresy hunt and political victimisation. The refusal of the local leadership to accept for discussion in the Branch a matter raised in a correct and democratic manner, clearly exposes the claim of our Party to be a democratic Party as utter humbug and hypocrisy. A full discussion around Alexandrov's speech, would clearly show all honest Party members—as it has shown us—that the principles of Marxism in dealing with the State has been rejected by Stalin. No wonder that the local leadership recoiled from a discussion on this theoretical question, for not a word in speech or print has been given by the leadership of the British C.P. on this matter. There was, and still is, no "line" on it.

The expulsion of this active member for contact with the Trotskyists, and the demand that Comrade O'Donoghue break off such contact—a demand that no genuine Party claiming to be based on democratic Centralism can defend—demonstrates quite clearly that the C.P. Leadership is fearful of the impact and strength of Trotskyist ideas. This expediency has led us to seriously study past and present C.P. policy. The unprincipled belly-crawling manner in which the affiliation campaign was conducted, its terrific defeat and the subsequent attack on the Labour Government, show the dishonest non-Marxist character of the so-called Communist Party. The somersaults of the Party for many years have no relation to the emancipation of the workers in their struggles, but are dictated by the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy. The Third International, which was founded by the Bolsheviks to assist the World Revolution, was rendered impotent by the policies of Stalin and then dissolved by him overnight with no discussion among its various sections. The failure to produce at the Nuremberg Trial any documentary or other evidence from the captured Nazi archives, to prove the allegations that Trotsky was linked with the Nazis, exposes the whole campaign against Trotskyism as a monstrous falsification. For these reasons we are convinced that the "Communist" Party is Communist in name only, and that the traditions and principles of Communism are now carried by the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International. Many ex-C.P.'ers, disgusted by the opportunism of the Pollitts and Gallaghers—and the local satellites—have found their way into its ranks and we intend to take our place by its side.

FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION!  
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Signed:

- J. O'DONOGHUE, (Late Sec. Hanwell C.P.)
- E. GEORGE, (Late Sec. Hanwell, Y.C.L.)
- B. JOHNSON, (Late Lit. Sec. Hanwell C.P.)
- B. GRIMES, (Sec. Hanwell Y.C.L.)

The above statement was sent to every local member of the C.P. and Y.C.L. together with a notice of a meeting to be held with Comrades E. George and J. O'Donoghue among the speakers. This meeting, on Monday, September 23rd, was picketed by three prominent local members of the C.P. for the purpose of (1) Preventing their members from attending, and (2) Reporting those members who did attend for the purpose of taking action against them.

These Stalinist pickets were approached by local R.C.P. members and offered ample time from the floor of the meeting in which to put forward their own case and to denounce the ideas of the platform. Needless to say, this democratic offer was rejected.

G. Chapman, a member of the London E.C. of the Y.C.L., hotly criticised them for not accepting this offer and their refusal to defend their ideas when challenged; making it quite clear that he was attending the meeting in order to hear the case of those comrades who had joined the R.C.P. There can be no possible doubt that in defying the ban, this comrade will be on the carpet.

5 or 6 other Y.C.L.'ers accepted the dictates of the pickets, in spite of our appeal to them to listen to us and defend their Party. 2 ex-Y.C.L. members attended the meeting.

COMMUNIST WORKERS! Link up with us! FOR A SOVIET BRITAIN! FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION!  
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Signed:

- J. O'DONOGHUE, (Late Sec. Hanwell C.P.)
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COMMUNIST WORKERS! Link up with us! FOR A SOVIET BRITAIN! FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!



# NEW PURGES

(Continued from Page 3.)

The Stalinist regime will survive the immediate crisis, and far from weakening the bureaucracy will strengthen the hold which it has over the country temporarily. The masses do not see any alternative in Russia at the present time, and are fearful of intervention from the capitalist states in the West.

The Soviet economy will make giant strides despite the abuses of the bureaucracy, because of the superiority of state ownership and planned economy in comparison with the private ownership of capitalist countries. Consequently, these measures taken to eliminate private ownership on the land, and the weeding out of certain inefficiencies in production will assist the bureaucracy in overcoming the difficulties inherited by the war and the excesses of the bureaucracy itself.

But even great economic advances cannot solve the problems of the Soviet Union. The menace of the capitalist differentiation within Soviet society; the uncontrolled domination over the lives and destinies of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. by the despotism of the Kremlin; the bureaucratic graft and privileges; these arise out of the Stalinist system and will still remain. This is not socialism. Only by the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the restoration of control by the workers within the Soviet Union, will these capitalistic tendencies be curtailed and eliminated. But in this task the workers will require the assistance and support of the international working class.

The real dilemma of the Bureaucracy and their method of overcoming it, is indicated by the new position now outlined by Stalin in his interview with Alexander Werth the correspondent of the "Sunday Times". In a series of questions obviously arranged by Stalin himself, he asked:

"Do you believe that with the further progress of the Soviet Union towards Communism the possibilities of peaceful co-operation with the outside world will not decrease as far as the Soviet Union is concerned? Is Communism in one country possible?"

Answer: "I do not doubt that the possibilities of peaceful co-operation far from decreasing, may even grow. Communism in one country is perfectly possible, especially in a country like the Soviet Union."

This is a complete revision not only of Leninism, but the position held by the Stalinists in the past. Stalin put forward the theory of "Socialism in one country" as the way out in his "Foundations of Leninism" for the first time in 1924 throwing overboard all that Marx and Lenin, and what he himself had put forward in the past.

Now, according to Stalin, not Socialism, Communism can be achieved in a single country. This conception has a dual purpose. On the one hand it is intended as a re-assurance to Anglo-American Imperialism that the Soviet Bureaucracy has not gone back to the programme of "Trotskyism", and does not threaten the overthrow of world imperialism but still wishes to compromise with it and is still opposed to the proletarian revolution in the West. At the same time, it re-assures the Imperialists that the attacks on capitalism and the re-furbished phrases about Socialism are only intended to fool the world and Russian working class. On the other hand, simultaneously, a new means of reconciling the Russian masses to their lot can be accomplished by this method.

The fiction that socialism has been achieved in Russia sounds very hollow to the overburdened Russian masses. Consequently, Stalin and the bureaucracy must hold out some other perspective for the future. Having abandoned the perspective of world revolution, the Stalinists cannot hold out any hopes to the Russian masses of revolution in the West to come to their aid and assist in building a new world for all. Stalin must develop "Communism" as the perspective before the Soviet masses in order to try and get them to accept new sacrifices and new hardships after the uninterrupted efforts and exertions of the last two decades.

But the workers of the West, and the Russian workers, will have the last say. For there is no solution other than world communism. Without aid from the workers of other lands, without the extension of the October Revolution, Russia cannot achieve a socialist system of society in isolation. That is what Marx taught. That is what Lenin taught. That is what the Trotskyists teach.

EVERY WORKERS' LIBRARY SHOULD CONTAIN:

The First Five Years of the Comintern

By LEON TROTSKY (Recently Published)

10/-

# Nuremberg: Our Rulers Assisted the Nazis

(Continued from Page 1.)

## Our Rulers Assisted Nazis

As the trial dragged on, the crimes of the Nazis since 1933 were catalogued by the prosecution. That the British, French and American ruling class held up their hands in horror at the war preparations of the Nazis was a blatant hypocrisy which must have

## B.O.A.C. STRIKE

(Continued from Front Page.)

from the A.E.U. and joined the A.E.A.

Militant workers throughout the country will readily understand the frustration felt by these workers and their desire to get things done. It is necessary, however, to point out and emphasise again and again that break-aways cannot solve, but on the contrary can only hinder the solution of these problems. "Independence" from the mass working class movement can only lead to "dependence" on the boss class.

Already the A.E.A., and the Transport Breakaway the N.P.W.U. are being used by the capitalist class as a point of support in their fight against the inroads being made by the workers in the struggle for the closed shop.

A great responsibility therefore rests on the rank and file of the "affiliated" Unions in the B.O.A.C. to win back to their ranks the workers in the A.E.A. But this cannot be done by mere talk. Deeds not words must be the slogan. They must show in action that they are prepared to struggle both against the employers and against all and every undemocratic practice in their own organisations. Only in this way can they renew confidence among all the B.O.A.C. workers.

To this end they have the responsibility of taking the lead in concreting out a programme of concrete demands around which can be mobilised all the workers in civil aviation, and which can form the basis of linking the workers in civil aviation to those in the Aircraft Industry as a whole. A programme which would not only deal with wages, hours and conditions, but also with the fight for speedier negotiations, democracy in the Unions, rank and file representation, etc.

In this way the inter-Union strife can be ended, and a united movement securely based on the rank and file throughout the country and on the mass working class movement be forged, which would be a real step forward for the whole movement.

# SQUATTERS' MOVEMENT

## The Lessons:

Labour Government's programme, aimed at exposing the scandal of empty properties, the role of the Labour Leaders as defenders of Private property, and the need for sharing out of available housing space. Such a campaign, if successful in winning mass support, would have meant that the squatters would have had behind them a vast power and would have been in a position to challenge the Government.

But the Communist Party did not conduct such a campaign. As a result, the moves had the character of an isolated adventure. The squatters were keyed up to fight and were then let down. On Sept. 12th, Harry Pollitt declared: "Who does not remember the great fight of the Poplar Councilors in 1921, led by the late George Lansbury. That Council was not intimidated by threats and neither shall we be." Two days earlier, Stanley Henderson, said that tear gas could not move them. A week later, the Communist Party leaders were leading them out, and the "Daily Worker" was admitting that they have "nowhere to go".

In spite of the lack of political preparation, there was instinctive mass sympathy for the squatters. Given a bold lead, this could have been organised into a great movement of support. But the C.P. Leadership deliberately held the movements back: for example, on the London Trades Council, a motion of "strong support" was opposed by leading C.P. delegates, in favour of a motion of "sympathy". The fact is that Pollitt and Co. feared that a mass movement of a revolutionary character might arise and get out of their control.

This failure of the C.P. Leadership to prepare seriously for a struggle brands their action as irresponsibility. If they had not prepared to fight, they should not have led the squatters in. The squatter and C.P. worker militants expected to fight, but the leadership betrayed them. That is the ugly truth.

### Reformist Outlook

This failure is not merely an accident. It was inevitable, because the C.P. leadership has the same reformist outlook as the Labour leaders. Their programme is no different. Instead of a revolutionary alternative to the

been evident to every politically conscious worker.

It is common knowledge in the Labour movement—the facts have been repeated from a thousand platforms—that the British, American and French rulers gave political, financial and moral support to Hitler, regarding the Nazi barbarians as the saviours of civilisation from the menace of Bolshevism. They assisted Hitler to strengthen himself by the seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia for the purpose of making war on the Soviet Union.

Goering taunted them for their role during this period when he declared that "all foreign governments had recognised the Hitler regime and the entire diplomatic corps came to the Nuremberg rallies."

Before the war, the chemical, plastic, oil and rubber monopolists of America aided their German counterparts and divided the world up between them. That was shown in a recent Government anti-trust enquiry in America. Gunter Reiman in his "Patents for Hitler", disclosing that Sir Henri Deterding of Royal Dutch Shell was one of the earliest financial backers of the Nazis, gives as his reasons that "he was interested in discovering those forces which would eliminate once and for all the dangers of social or colonial revolutions". This sums up the attitude of the British ruling class. Part of the profits of Royal Dutch Shell together with a stream of political and financial aid went to bolster up Hitler as a barrier against revolution and for war on the Soviet Union. It was only when it became evident to the rulers of Britain and America that the German Imperialism had decided to match its strength against them first, that this policy was ended. Hitler's greatest crime in their eyes was that he double-crossed them.

### Stalinists Stand Guilty Too

The Soviet Bureaucracy also stands guilty of aiding the Nazis. Stalin's cynical disregard for the world working class, led him into the pact with Hitler. In violation of the Leninist principle of self-determination for all nations, and open diplomacy, he made a secret agreement for the division of Eastern Europe. It was revealed at the trial that, in this Pact, Hitler and Stalin defined their spheres of influence in Poland, Finland, the Baltic countries and Bessarabia. Stalin agreed, not to permit an active hostile position to be taken up by Turkey, or permit the passage of British or French warships through the Dardanelles. We can comment, in passing, that recently Soviet propaganda against Turkey attacked her for remaining neutral during the war and taking up the very position which Stalin in 1939 guaranteed Hitler he would ensure.

During the first world war Lenin was a consistent and bitter opponent of secret diplomacy.

When the Russian workers and peasants made their revolution, the Bolsheviks immediately opened the Czarist archives and published the secret international agreements to the consternation of world imperialism. That the Soviet Bureaucracy felt the same consternation when reminded of this Pact with the Nazis, was shown at Nuremberg when the Soviet prosecutor objected to it being taken as evidence as "the court was investigating the case of the major German war criminals and not the foreign policy of the Allies."

This secret agreement divided up Eastern Europe and the Soviet bureaucracy thus covertly agreed to the invasion of Poland by Nazi imperialism. At Nuremberg, the Nazis ironically introduced evidence to justify this invasion by quoting the approving telegram which Stalin sent Ribbentrop when the pact was signed. "The friendship of Germany and the Soviet Union is based on blood commonly shed and has all the prospects of being enduring and steadfast."

Later in 1939, Molotov could talk of the permanent friendship with Germany and sharply attack the British blockade for violating international law.

### "I Shall Shake Hands With Stalin"—Hitler

Today, it is the Nazis whom the Soviet Bureaucracy accuse of violating international law. However, it was with these same Nazis that the counter-revolutionaries of the Kremlin negotiated their secret agreement. On Aug. 22nd, 1939, Hitler spoke to his commanders, stating "Our economic position is such because of our restrictions that we cannot hold out more than a few years", then he declared, in triumph, "within a few weeks I shall shake hands with Stalin, and undertake with him a new distribution of the world."

It was that handshake, that secret pact, hidden from the masses, which let loose the second world slaughter.

### Embarrassing Evidence

#### Hidden

Had all the war criminals been on trial in Nuremberg, prosecuting and prosecuted alike would have been in the dock. In his concluding speech, General Rudenko, with almost lyrical hypocrisy, declared that, on the battlefield the Allies "had determined the sublime and noble principle of international co-operation, morality of mankind and the human rules of social community." The iron sledge, the recriminations at the new thieves kitchen of U.N.O., which were a continuous background to the trial, were giving the lie to this state-

ment even while it was being uttered.

The tribunal at Nuremberg steered a wary course, trying its utmost to prevent any echo from the squabbles at U.N.O. entering the court room. At the same time it kept a quick eye for any revelations embarrassing to those in high places in Britain, America and the Soviet Union. The contents of the German-Soviet pact were refused as evidence. Likewise, a statement of Rosenberg's relations with the Hearst press and his connections with members of the ruling class of Britain, was ruled out as irrelevant.

### Purpose Of Nuremberg: To Whitewash Allies

It is evident, that, during the ten months of Nuremberg, there was no real attempt to sift out those guilty of the monstrous crime against the working class, which the past six years of slaughter represent. How could there be when those responsible for the indictment were as guilty as those indicted? The Nuremberg trials were not meant to create a basis for future peace, their purpose was to whitewash the Allied criminals.

Yet the workers can learn from Nuremberg. From the recital of the crimes and atrocities of fascism they can learn that there is no brutality or horror to which capitalism will not stoop in defending its decadent system. And let no worker believe those brutalities could not happen here. The thin veneer of capitalist civilisation soon disappears in a capitalist state rendered desperate and endeavouring to find a way out by crushing the working class.

We must learn also that the genuine struggle against the war criminals is a struggle against imperialism the world over, and the counter-revolutionary Soviet Bureaucracy.

As war criminals, responsible for the suffering of millions of the world's workers, we must indict, not only the Nazis and the ruling class of Germany, but the landlords, financiers, monopolists and their politicians, ruling the Allied capitalist nations and with them the Bureaucrats in control of the Soviet Union.

### NUREMBERG TRIAL

#### EXPOSES

#### MOSCOW TRIALS

#### AS FRAME-UPS

in next issue

## Release the Paratroopers

(Continued from Page 1.)

and for an investigation into the intolerable conditions in this and other camps. This step of Nally's is one that the entire Labour movement will support. The Labour Government must be forced to face up to these demands and take action in the interests of the conscripted workers.

Under the Labour Government, hundreds of thousands of working class youth, conscripted into the armed forces, are being trained and shipped overseas to police and serve as the unwilling oppressors of workers and toilers in other countries. In Greece, Germany, India, Palestine, Indonesia, Malaya, Japan and elsewhere, worker-conscript armies of British imperialism, are being forced to play a reactionary role in the interests of British imperialist strategy and profits.

It is clear that the paratroopers recently court-martialled, and hundreds of thousands like them, forced to exist in unhealthy camp conditions abroad want no part or share in oppressing Indonesian and Malayan masses. The workers conscripted into these armed forces have more in common with the oppressed and starving peoples of these countries than they have with the interests of British imperialism. But the Labour Government acting as the agents of British capitalism, continues to enforce conscripted working class youth to play the role of an oppressing force overseas.

NOT FOR THIS was the Labour Government returned to overwhelming power by the working class in Britain—NOT for the continuation of imperialist oppression abroad! NOT so that reactionary militarists could drag on and penalise worker-militants in the forces who seek to voice just grievances against bad conditions! The voice of the organised Labour movement in Britain must be raised against the shameful and capitulatory policies of the Labour Government and their continued subservience to imperialist interests.

The entire organised working class movement in Britain must take up a struggle to exert pressure on the Labour Government and demand—The Immediate and Unconditional Release of the 255 Victimised Paratroopers.

The Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal of All British Armed Forces Abroad.  
**BRING THE TROOPS HOME!**

# WAGE LABOUR, and CAPITAL

BY KARL MARX

## PART 2. CHAPTER III BY WHAT IS THE PRICE OF A COMMODITY DETERMINED?

By what is the price of a commodity determined?

By the competition between buyers and sellers, by the relation of the demand to the supply, of the call to the offer. The competition by which the price of a commodity is determined is threefold.

The same commodity is offered for sale by various sellers. Whoever sells commodities of the same quality most cheaply, is sure to drive the other sellers from the field and to secure the greatest market for himself. The sellers therefore fight among themselves for the sales, for the market. Each one of them wishes to sell, and to sell as much as possible, and if possible to sell alone, to the exclusion of all other sellers. Each one sells cheaper than the other. Thus there takes place a competition among the sellers which forces down the price of the commodities offered by them.

But there is also a competition among the buyers; this upon its side causes the price of the proffered commodities to rise.

Finally, there is competition between the buyers and the sellers; these wish to purchase as cheaply as possible, those to sell as dearly as possible. The result of this competition between buyers and sellers will depend upon the relations between the two above-mentioned camps of competitors, i.e., upon whether the competition in the army of buyers or the competition in the army of sellers is stronger. Industry leads two great armies into the field against each other, and each of these again is engaged in a battle among its own troops in its own ranks. The army among whose troops there is less fighting carries off the victory over the opposing host.

Let us suppose that there are one hundred bales of cotton in the market and at the same time purchasers for one thousand bales of cotton. In this case the demand is ten times greater than the supply. Competition among the buyers, then, will be very strong; each of them tries to get hold of one bale, if possible, of the whole one hundred bales. This example is no arbitrary supposition. In the history of commerce we have experienced periods of scarcity of cotton, when some capitalists united together and sought to buy up not one hundred bales, but the whole cotton supply of the world. In the given case, then, one buyer seeks to drive the others from the field by offering a relatively higher price for the bales of cotton. The cotton sellers, who perceive the troops of the enemy in the most violent contention among themselves, and who therefore are fully assured of the sale of their whole one hundred bales, will beware of falling into one another's hair in order to force down the price of cotton at a very moment in which their opponents race with one another to screw it up high. So, all of a sudden, peace reigns in the army of sellers. They stand opposed to the buyers like one man, fold their arms in philosophic content, and their claims would find no limit did not the offers of even the most importunate of buyers have a very definite limit.

If, then, the supply of a commodity is less than the demand for it, competition among the sellers is very slight, or there may be none at all among them. In the same proportion in which this competition decreases, the competition among the buyers increases. Result: a more or less considerable rise in the prices of commodities.

It is well known that the opposite case, with opposite result, happens more frequently. Great excess of supply over demand; desperate competition among the sellers, and a lack of buyers; forced sales of commodities at ridiculously low prices.

But what is a rise, and what is a fall of prices? What is a high, and what is a low? A grain of sand is high when examined through a microscope, and a tower is low when compared with a mountain. And if the price is determined by the relation of supply and demand, by what is the relation of supply and demand determined?

Let us turn to the first worthy citizen we meet. He will not hesitate one moment, but, like another Alexander the Great, will cut this metaphysical knot with his multiplication table. He will say to us: "If the production of the commodities which I sell has cost me one hundred pounds, and out of the sale of those goods I make one hundred and ten pounds—within the year, you understand that's an honest, sound, reasonable profit. But if in the exchange I receive one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty pounds, that's a higher profit; and if I should get as much as two hundred pounds, that would be an extraordinary, an enormous profit." What is it, then, that serves this citizen as the standard of his profit? The cost of the production of his commodities. If in exchange for these goods he receives a quantity of other goods whose production has cost less, he has lost.

The determination of price by the cost of production is not to be understood in the sense of the bourgeois economists. The economists say that the average price of commodities equals the cost of production; and this is the law. The anarchic movement, in which the rise is compensated for by a fall and the fall by a rise, they regard as an accident. We might just as well consider the fluctuations as the law, and the determination of the price by cost of production as an accident—as is, in fact, done by certain other economists. But it is precisely these fluctuations which, viewed more closely, carry the most frightful devastation in their train, and, like an earthquake, cause bourgeois society to shake to its very foundations—that is precisely these fluctuations that force the price to conform to the cost of production. In the totality of this disorderly movement is to be found its order. In the total course of this industrial anarchy, in this circular movement, competition balances, as it were, the one extravagance by the other.

We thus see that the price of a commodity is indeed determined by its cost of production, but in such wise that the periods in which the price of these commodities rises above the cost of production are balanced by the periods in which it sinks below the cost of production, and vice versa. Of course this does not hold good for a single given product of an industry, but only for that branch of industry. So also it does not hold good for an individual manufacturer, but only for the whole class of manufacturers.

The determination of price by cost of production is tantamount to the determination of price by the labour-time requisite to the production of a commodity, for the cost of production consists, first of raw materials and wear and tear of tools, etc., i.e., of industrial products whose production has cost a certain amount of labour-time, and, secondly, of direct labour, which is also measured by its duration.

If he receives in exchange for his goods a quantity of other goods whose production has cost more, he has gained. And he reckons the falling or rising of the profit according to the degree at which the exchange value of his goods stands, whether above or below his zero—the cost of production.

We have seen how the changing relation of supply and demand causes now a rise, now a fall of prices; now high, now low prices. If the price of a commodity rises considerably owing to a falling supply or a disproportionately growing demand, then the price of some other commodity must have fallen in proportion; for of course the price of a commodity only expresses in money the proportion in which other commodities will be given in exchange for it. If, for example, the price of a yard of silk rises from two to three shillings, the price of silver has fallen in relation to the silk, and in the same way the prices of all other commodities whose prices have remained stationary have fallen in relation to the price of silk. A larger quantity of them must be given in exchange in order to obtain the same amount of silk. Now, what will be the consequence of a rise in the price of a particular commodity? A mass of capital will be thrown into the prosperous branch of industry, and this immigration of capital into the provinces of the favoured industry will continue until it yields no more than the customary profits, or rather until the price of its products, owing to overproduction, sinks below the cost of production.

Conversely: if the price of a commodity falls below its cost of production, then capital will be withdrawn from the production of this commodity. Except in the case of a branch of industry which has become obsolete and is therefore doomed to disappear, the production of such a commodity (that is, its supply), will, owing to this fight of capital, continue to decrease until it corresponds to the demand, and the price of the commodity rises again to the level of its cost of production; or, rather, until the supply has fallen below the demand and its price has again risen above its cost of production, for the current price of a commodity is always either above or below its cost of production.

We see how capital continually emigrates out of the province of one industry and immigrates into that of another. The high price produces an excessive immigration, and the low price an excessive emigration.

We could show, from another point of view, how not only the supply, but also the demand, is determined by the cost of production. But this would lead us too far away from our subject.

We have just seen how the fluctuations of supply and demand always bring the price of commodity back to its cost of production. The actual price of a commodity, indeed, stands always above or below the cost of production; but the rise and fall reciprocally balance each other, so that, within a certain period of time, if the ebbs and flows of the industry are reckoned up together, the commodities will be exchanged for one another in accordance with their cost of production. Their price is thus determined by their cost of production.

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