

# Stop Dismantling German Factories

## Hand Them Over to German Workers

The British and U.S. imperialists have announced their intention to dismantle and remove 682 German factories. The excuse: reduction of Germany's war potential. But war plants can be transformed and used for peaceful production purposes. And there are hundreds of plants scheduled for dismantling which have nothing to do with war production.

Included in the list are many furnaces, foundries and rolling mills, plants for the production of metallurgical and electrical equipment, of small tools and fittings, chlorine and soda, plastics and artificial fibres, soap-powder and many other products of great scarcity.

Germany's only remaining soap-powder plant is to be removed. The meagre soap ration, which is not always honoured, has already affected the health of the German people.

On the background of the misery and the ruin of Germany, this draconic measure constitutes a terrible blow at her already enfeebled economy. It means increased misery to the already starving German people.

In itself it is a proof of the hypocrisy of the Allies in their claim to stand for democratic "re-education" of the German people. These dismantlings show the cold ruthless calculations of naked self-interest which dictates the course of all the Imperialist Powers.

From an economic point of view this vandalism can benefit neither the British, European or German workers. Yet Bevin, against the protests of left-wing Labour M.P.'s, maintained his stand that the countries devastated by German Imperialism during the war should be compensated.

Faced with this cold-blooded cruelty the German workers have, through their Trade Union and Labour organisations, organised a movement of protest. Even the Social-Democratic and Stalinist leaders in Germany, because of the wave of indignation, have been forced to protest to the occupation authorities...

Despite the chronic shortage of machine tools in Britain and in Europe, the production of heavy machinery and machine tools is to be reduced by more than a third. Under a sane economic system, if the production of these tools were to be stepped up in Germany, it could assist in restoring prosperity.

The British workers must support their German class brothers in their struggle against the dismantling programme. If Bevin and the Labour leaders were true socialists, they would hand over the factories to the German working class. These, run for the benefit of the German and European workers, would transform the economic situation of Europe and Britain. **BRITISH WORKERS!** Protest against the reactionary policy of dismantling German factories!

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

No. 51.

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## ABOLISH THE LORDS! And The Monarchy

### Savoy Hotel Sues

#### 'Socialist Appeal'

The Management of the Savoy Hotel have fled a suit for damages alleging libel against Ted Grant, Editor of the "Socialist Appeal."

The case arises out of an article in the October issue of the "Socialist Appeal" written by Comrade Marion Lunt.

At the High Court of Justice on October 27th, the Savoy Management secured an injunction, which as legally advised was not contested, to restrain the Editor and Printer of the "Socialist Appeal" from repeating the allegations complained of by the Management of the Savoy Hotel until the trial.

In consequence of the interim injunction no explanation of the issues complained of by Savoy L.L. can in any way be discussed until after the hearing of the action.

The costs of such a case will be exceptionally heavy. We can only fight it to the end if our sympathisers contribute to meet these legal costs. Give every penny you can, comrades. Raise the issue in Trade Union Branches and workshops. Send in to the Treasurer for a collection sheet to pass around among your work-mates. All donations for this purpose should be sent to:

SAVOY CASE—  
Socialist Appeal  
Defence Fund,  
256, Harrow Road,  
London, W.2.

Savoy Workers Strike—see page 4.

### Churchill Defends Feudal Reaction

The Government's proposal to amend the powers of the House of Lords has raised a howl of wrath from the capitalist class. Especially indignant are the remnants of the aristocracy, the bluebloods, the privileged few who have the hereditary power and privilege of ruling without recourse to the test of popular vote.

The Lords and the Monarchy are legal trenches of the capitalist class in their fight against the workers. The beaches of the reaction, so to speak. When the elected Government expresses the popular will to the disadvantage of the ruling class, the Lords are an effective barrier to popular legislation.

When Parliament is ruled by a Government directly and openly associated with the policy of Big Business, the House of Lords performs the function of a rubber stamp. But the situation is different when the House of Commons is controlled by a Party which rests on the mass of organised Labour, and is therefore forced to bow somewhat to the demands of the masses. The powers of the Lords can be used, and are now being used, to thwart and delay legislation in the interests of organised labour, or against the interests of important groups of monopoly capital with which the majority of the Lords are closely connected. If necessary, the powers of the Lords and Monarchy can be used to provoke a constitutional crisis to the advantage of reaction.

In the parliamentary debate on the King's Speech, Churchill attacked the Government's policy of reforming the Lords as an example of "their reckless and malignant partisanship." What the Government is preparing to do, he alleged, "is to obtain irresponsible power to bring forward any legislation without regard to the will of the people."

"This formidable issue is flung out at this time of economic crisis," he continued "as the result of a cheap, paltry, disreputable deal between jarring nonentities in divided administration."

"The preamble to the Parliament Act (1911) made it perfectly clear that it contemplated the abolition of the hereditary principle. It read: 'And whereas it is intended to substitute for the House of Lords as it at present exists, a Second Chamber constituted on a popular instead of hereditary basis, that such substitution cannot be immediately brought into operation,' and so forth.

"On this we have lived for 36 years. In the face of this unprovoked aggression against the constitutional settlement of 1911 the House of Lords was free to propose any alteration in its composition which it might consider necessary for the stability of the State and use the powers reserved to them by the Parliament Act, which gave it a modern parliamentary title, as it thought fit."

This defence of the reactionary privileges of the Lords contrasts with the hostility of the Churchill of 1911, when he was in the camp of that section of capitalism which suffered from the frustration of their parliamentary activities by the House of Lords. This is what he had to say during the discussions in support of the Parliament Bill:

At that time, the "Powers still left to the House of Lords are formidable and even menacing." He stood "against the Government's moderation!" Reforming the Powers of the House of Lords in 1911 was "territory conquered by the masses from the classes." But today, any reform of the powers of the Lords carried out by the Labour Government is a deliberate "act of social aggression!"

Churchill, the radical demagogue of 1911, is plagued by the reactionary protector of feudal privilege in 1947.

Baldwin once said that the House of Lords is intended to see that in office or out of it, the Conservative Party is permanently in power. And this has been a fact for the last 36 years, despite the Parliament Act.

In Churchill's speech, there is the hint that the Tories may use the Lords to hold up Labour's legislation. It would be a very ticklish and most unpopular issue as a basis on which to conduct a struggle against the Labour Government. It is most likely that the Tories will not settle the issue for class conscious workers. It is not sufficient to limit the power to govern without recourse to popular will, which is the privilege of blueblood and birth. It is necessary to abolish the House of Lords, and with the Lords, the Monarchy with all its legal rights and feudal trappings which are antagonistic to the democratic will.

## ASPIRANT DICTATOR



## France Approaches Civil War

BY TED GRANT

France is approaching Civil War. This has been demonstrated by the result of the Municipal Elections of October 18th. The Dictatorship of De Gaulle, or the Rule of the Working Class: These are the alternatives facing France.

This is the balance sheet of three years of capitalist "democracy" since the collapse of the Petainist dictatorship which existed under the protection of German bayonets during the occupation.

The election shows that France has been polarised rapidly into two camps: the extreme Right Wing camp of the de Gaulleists which obtained 38% of the votes; and the camp of the working class, with the "Communist" Party obtaining just over 30%, and the Socialist Party 20% of the votes.

The so-called middle of the road parties have been almost completely wiped out. The Radical-Socialist Party (the equivalent of the Liberals in this country, although more corrupt), which for decades before the war was the strongest party in France, has emerged with 2 1/2% of the votes. The M.R.P., the Catholic Republican Party which largely replaced the Radicals has been shattered, receiving only 10%. It is less than a year ago since it too, was the strongest Party in France! It has lost about two-thirds of its votes since its

spectacular and meteoric rise out of the Resistance Movement.

In less than two years, de Gaulle has accomplished what it took Hitler 15 in almost completely undermining the capitalist "democratic" parties which relied on the support of the middle class, and gathering the middle class round his reactionary banner.

The open quelling role of French Big Business during the war drove the masses of the middle class, together with the workers, into opposition to the combines and trusts. The victories of the Soviet Union re-awakened the spirit of struggle within the masses. But the Stalinists helped to divert the movement into patriotic and nationalist channels.

With the "liberation" of France it seemed as if the work-

(Continued on Page 4.)

\*The workers comprise 40% of the population; the peasants 40%, and the urban middle class 20%.

## TROTSKYIST IN COURT Refused to Abandon Pitch to Fascists

A case of widespread interest came before the Police Court on October 26th. The case arose out of the action of the Hackney police in allowing the fascists to set up a platform alongside that of the Revolutionary Communist Party, who were holding a meeting in conjunction with Common Wealth, and compelling the R.C.P. to take away its platform on the pretext that two meetings could not be permitted.

For persisting to hold on to the right to continue the meeting on the grounds that we were the first Party on the spot with a platform and that a meeting was in progress when the fascists arrived, Comrade Tom Reilly, the Organiser of the R.C.P. was arrested and charged with (a) 'insulting behaviour' at a public meeting whereby a breach of the peace may have occurred, and, (b) wilfully obstructing the inspector in carrying out his duty.

What were the facts? The R.C.P. and Common Wealth Party had set up a joint platform at Ridley Road on Saturday afternoon at 5.0 p.m., and held it throughout the night and until 2.15 p.m. Sunday when a Fascist arrived without a platform, stood on a brick in front of our platform, and started to speak.

A policeman at the corner immediately declared that the fascists had the right to the pitch as they were the only ones speaking. In spite of vigorous protests and ample proof that the R.C.P. and C.W. meeting had been held continuously from Saturday, the Inspector of Police, who had been sent for, ordered the closure of our meeting.

Comrade Reilly was arrested for refusing to abandon the pitch to the Fascists. After 2 1/2 hours in the cells he was allowed out on £25 bail, and ordered to appear in Court the next day.

The following day, Comrade Reilly put a number of questions to the Police Inspector: Did he know that there had been a meeting all through the previous night? Did he know that the fascists had just arrived when we were asked to close our meeting?



TOM REILLY  
Organiser of the R.C.P.

The officer could not answer his questions.

One of the charges made by the Inspector was that the defendant had said: "I know what you policemen are—a lot of bloody fascists." The audience in the gallery evidently agreed by shouting "Hear, hear." Had the case continued Comrade Reilly would have explained that he said the action of the police was to assist the fascists.

No opportunity presented itself to Comrade Reilly to answer the misleading picture of the situation as presented by the police and the prosecutor which received national publicity on the Press and Radio.

Whatever name we call it, it is clear that the action of the police obviously aided the Fascists to hold their meeting at Ridley Road on Sunday 20th, to disseminate their scurrilous propaganda.

However, it is clear, that so weak was the "case" of the Police Inspector against Comrade Reilly, that the Magistrate, Mr. H. Sturg, had no alternative but to dismiss the charges.

## Seamen on Strike For Decent Living Conditions

BY JIM KIELTY

Liverpool, Sat., October 25th.

For two weeks now the "Merseyside Seamen's Rank and File Committee" has been organising and contacting various ports in preparation for today's strike.

Supported by American and coloured seamen a large section of Merseyside seamen have gone on strike; have formed well organised pickets along the Liverpool and Birkenhead docks under the leadership of the Rank and File Committee, which has accomplished an excellent job in face of the absolute opposition of the National Union of Seamen and the generally difficult conditions for organising these workers.

Large sections of workers in other industries, in particular the Transport industry, support the seamen, whose terrible working conditions are notorious in Merseyside.

The demands of the Seamen's Committee are:

Abolition of the present system of hiring labour.  
Establishment of a pool system for all Seamen.  
A system of rotary hiring.  
80% of wages whilst waiting for a ship.

Maximum basic rate for all seamen according to their rating.  
Suspension of the present training scheme.

The present strike is the result of long standing grievances and injustices, not least of which is the hopeless incompetence of the leadership of the N.S.U. and its thoroughly reactionary policies. These have left the seamen at the mercy of the shipowners.

Before the war thousands of seamen, who suffered unemployment and bad wages at sea (about £9 per month) left the industry to seek shore employment. These and thousands of others re-entered the industry during the war and suffered not only bad conditions and official despotism, but also the terrible danger of war and the sailing of ships which should have been scrapped.

These conditions were "accepted" only because of the promises of better conditions, better pay and employment—in short, of a

(Continued on Page 4.)

## Fined £5

For Giving "Solidaritat" to German P.O.W.s

At the Birmingham Police Court, on October 5th, our comrade Bill Ainsworth, was fined £5 after being charged "that he, without lawful authority did convey to a P.O.W. certain printed matter, namely a pamphlet entitled 'Solidaritat'."

Comrade Ainsworth has been a member of the Trotskyist movement since breaking with the Stalinists in June 1941, when the Pollitt and the Dutt enrolled under the Union Jack. He is a delegate to the Birmingham Trades Council, and a Shop Steward in a "Rover" car factory.

In court the prosecutor declared that at a meeting in the Bull Ring, on Sunday, September 7th, a large crowd was listening to R.C.P. speakers. Among the crowd were three German P.O.W.s. Bill Ainsworth said "Good Evening" to them in German, whereupon they asked him where he had learnt their language. He replied that he had been in the B.A.O.R. and had been in contact with Communists in the Ruhr. One of the prisoners stated that he did not think much of the Communist Party as they had heard of many Germans coming out of the Russian zone in a bad condition.

Bill Ainsworth replied: "That is not the right Communist Party. They are of Stalin, we are of Marx. Here is our paper," and handed "Solidaritat" to the German P.O.W.s.

The prosecutor went on to state that while the handing of ordinary newspapers to P.O.W.s could be mitigated, he must draw attention to the contents of "Solidaritat", which he alleged would be likely to "upset" prisoners and undermine discipline. He then read in full, a message from the Annual Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party to the German working class, which was among the contents of this issue of "Solidaritat" and is published on page 3 of this issue.

He drew special attention to the words:

"Conference considers the only guarantee for peace, freedom and bread for the German masses, to be the successful struggle against the occupation powers."

The approach of the prosecution made it clear that this was a case of political discrimination, as all class conscious workers will realise.

The defending lawyer, Mr. Wyszchenk—a Labour Party Municipal candidate—established by means of the police witnesses, that the meeting in the Bull Ring was an Anti-Fascist meeting, specially called by the R.C.P. to protest against the revival of fascist Jew-baiting in Britain, and that a number of pamphlets were handed out, including some with an

article entitled "Fight Fascist Hoogenanism." He pointed out that "Solidaritat" is a legal publication written by German anti-Fascist refugees, and puts forward the Marxist ideas of international solidarity of the workers, and that immediate repatriation of P.O.W.s is a demand that wide sections of the community are now putting forward.

Fining Comrade Ainsworth £5, the Stipendiary said that "Solidaritat" was not a suitable pamphlet to hand to P.O.W.s.

Comrade Ainsworth made a statement to the press afterwards, in which he made the following points:

"Who is to be protected by the continued use of this wartime regulation? Is it to protect P.O.W.s from the ideas of Marxism, of Trotskyism? We are told that the German people, including P.O.W.s, are being re-educated in the principles of democracy, but it is clear that a democracy which sieves the ideas it allows the P.O.W.s to read will soon be exposed as a fraud.

It is to be noted that the "Daily Herald" of October 2nd, reports that the leader of the British Ex-Servicemen's League, Mr. Jeffrey Haman, addressed a group of P.O.W.s in Germany at a so-called "Garden Fete" in Essex. Records of Sir Oswald Mosley, speaking in 1937 at the Albert Hall meeting of fascists were played to the P.O.W.s and relayed by loudspeakers.

My "crime" stands out in direct contrast to these attempts to revive any fascist remnants amongst the P.O.W.s. I feel no shame at having committed this technical offence. On the contrary, I would have had cause for shame only if I had not used this opportunity of acting according to my principles, of demonstrating my international class solidarity with all workers."

Donations to assist the Birmingham Branch of the R.C.P. in paying the expenses of our comrade in this case, should be sent to P. Atkinson, 45 Shenstone Valley Road, Quinton, Birmingham 32.



# BISAKTA OFFICIALS REYROLLES STRIKE BLUDGEON UNION MEMBERS Victory

## The Object of the Agreement

IN AN EFFORT TO PUT ACROSS THE UNION MEMBERSHIP A CONTINUOUS WORKING WEEK AGREEMENT ARRIVED AT WITH THE STEEL BOSSES, THE LEADERSHIP OF THE BRITISH IRON, STEEL AND KINDRED TRADES ASSOCIATION (B.I.S.A.K.T.A.) ISSUED EXPULSION NOTICES TO 2,700 RANK AND FILE MEMBERS WHO REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE AGREEMENT. AN ACTION OF SUCH MAGNITUDE AGAINST RANK AND FILE TRADE UNIONISTS IS PROBABLY WITHOUT PARALLEL IN THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

Four Branches in the Sheffield-Rotherham area were told they would be disbanded. Consett No. 1 Branch was similarly affected. Two Branches in South Wales were also given expulsion notices, but under this threat, according to the Union leaders, they decided to work the agreement.

The agreement has one object only: to further sweat the steel smelters. Just as in the case of the miners, these workers are now receiving the back-wash of the cries for increased production. There is a shortage of steel, say the Government, employers and Trade Union officials, and at the same time the industry is under-manned. Thus, an agreement is reached, not to improve the arduous conditions in the steel industry and attract more labour, not to improve the technical efficiency of the plants to any appreciable degree, but to sweat the already over-worked steel-workers.

The agreement means an increase of working hours from the present week of 143 hours, up to 168 hours, and reads: "As a primary consideration in arriving at agreement has been that additional output shall be obtained as nearly as possible proportionate to the weekly additional hours of work, it is an undertaking that all workers concerned shall work as a team and do all they can to produce such increased output." "In melting shops which cannot work a continuous work of 21 shifts, overtime shall be worked as required."

The agreement means that with the continuous week a 10% increase of tonnage is expected, and under the scheme only seven clear Sundays a year would be free for the workers.

### A Sweated Industry

Anyone who has the remotest idea of conditions in this basic industry can readily understand the opposition of the workers to this agreement. The conditions have always been among the worst in British industry. Antiquated plants, lacking the most elementary health and sanitation facilities, long arduous hours with the workers dripping in sweat, breathing foul dusty air. Their wage increases since 1938 have been among the lowest of all industries. Nor do these workers forget that this whole history of filthy conditions and low wages was supplemented in the pre-war years by large-scale unemployment and casual labour.

Nor do the workers forget that side by side with this miserable picture of the steel workers' life, the steel industry is one of the most profitable of all industries for the employing class. The "Economist" (3.10.40) described the industry as "one of the tightest and most parasitic monopolies the country has ever known." To take but two examples of the fabulous profits wrung out of the workers, in the financial year ending 1946, the trading profits of Richard Thomas were £4,153,453, and United Steel—£2,430,312.

Looking at these conditions, it is small wonder that the Government and the employers are hemoaning the fact that they cannot get sufficient labour for this industry. They ignore the simple solution: spend the money now going into the pockets of the parasitic coupon-clippers in the form of profits on improving the conditions of the men and installing new equipment. No! This would undermine the only purpose for which the bosses run the industry—to obtain a fat living off the backs of the workers. Instead, they say to the present workers who are almost at the end of their tether with exhaustion when they leave the plants: "You are not working hard enough, we are going to drive you even further."

## Jock Haston in Neath

Public Meeting  
TOWN HALL  
NEATH

Sunday, 9th Nov.  
7.45 p.m.

"THE TROTSKYIST  
SOLUTION TO  
THE CRISIS"

### A Blot On The T.U. Movement

And parties to this agreement were the bureaucratic leaders of B.I.S.A.K.T.A. The views of the rank and file smelters, whose interests are those most immediately affected, were not even consulted. To the T.U. "leaders" this was an unimportant detail, because when the workers said they would not work this agreement and stood in defence of their already miserable conditions, these "leaders" stated: "Out of the Union with you!" Not only that, but their arrogance took them to the amazing position of asking the employers to lock these "recalcitrants" out of the industry. Rarely has there been a bigger blot on the Trade Union movement. The Unions would be well rid of such "leaders", who live well, with large salaries and expense accounts, and line themselves up with the steel monopolists, from the comfort of their well-airied offices, against the worker who spends the major part of his life in the sweat and grime of the steel plants.

The workers' reaction to this bureaucratic dictation was made quite clear in the statement submitted to the Union journal, "Man & Metal", by Consett No. 1 Branch, which reads: "We claim we are being badly led, indeed we are not being led at all but driven."

However, it is clear that the bureaucrats have suffered from "nerves" since they issued the expulsion notices. They recognise that they may go too far in such a step and provoke a widespread revolt of the rank and file. On Monday and Tuesday, October 20th and 21st, the workers have been holding a series of meetings. The Consett men made it clear that they would even cease the overtime they are now working if the agreement is not revised at the end of three months. Yet, the bureaucrats withdrew the notices affecting those men on the plea that by working the present overtime they were satisfying the terms of the agreement. So far as the Sheffield-Rotherham men are concerned, they have postponed the date of expulsions from October 25th to November 8th.

The rank and file of B.I.S.A.K.T.A. must strike while the iron is hot. They must say to Lincoln Evans and the other bureaucrats: "Postponement of expulsion is not good enough. Withdraw the notices altogether!" In this manner they will stand by the affected smelters in the best traditions of Trade Union democracy.

The rank and file members of B.I.S.A.K.T.A. must stand by the smelters who have received expulsion notices. And the urgent need of the moment is a nationwide campaign throughout the Union by these smelters to gain the widest possible support among the rank and file against the leadership. Care must be taken to combat any tendencies, arising from the disgust of the members, towards the formation of break-away organisations. Such tendencies would play right into the hands of the bureaucrats and strengthen their stranglehold on the organisation.

The answer is an intense struggle for democracy in the organisation. There already exists solidarity with the smelters. Press reports state that Scottish workers in B.I.S.A.K.T.A., when they heard of the expulsion notices, were "up in arms". A struggle must be waged to clean up the Union from top to bottom.

### Demand A National Conference

Resolutions must be passed by every branch against the expulsions. There must be an immediate nationwide demand for a National Conference to discuss the whole Union set-up. It is a travesty of Trade Union democracy that this Union has never held a National Conference in the whole of its existence. There must be an immediate re-election of all officials.

At the same time there must be an organised campaign waged by the rank and file for the alteration of the rules and constitution, which at the moment allows officials to maintain office for three years, most of them appointed, not elected, and with certain positions being life jobs. All officials must be elected by democratic ballot of the rank and file, at least once every year, and they must be subject to recall at any time. They must be paid exactly the same wages as the men who work at the point of production, receiving an increase only when the men receive one, and getting a cut if wages go down. These measures will ensure that the rank and file would be represented by militant fighters, who would, instead of being parties to agreements against the interests of the men, defend the men against the steel barons and wage a constant fight for better conditions.

A.R.

1,000 workers at A. Reyrolle & Co. Ltd., Hebburn-on-Tyne, one of the largest manufacturers of electrical switch-gear in the country, have won a significant victory by militant action.

Faced with a speed-up in production and a rising cost of living, while their wage claims were constantly ignored, they struck work on October 8th.

### Workers Dissatisfied with Fruitless Negotiations

These workers, who are on plain time rates, demanded an increase in wages to bring them in line with the minimum piece-work earnings. Eighteen months ago, a claim for some form of bonus to this effect was made on behalf of storemen, crane-men, slingers, and general labourers.

### Maintenance Men Set a Militant Example

In the meantime, the electricians and millwrights engaged on maintenance work, had decided to take strike action. By a militant walk-out during working hours, they forced the bosses to grant a collective bonus to improve their meagre time rates. This bonus included labourers and apprentices on the job and gave the skilled men (on the minimum basis of 27½% on the basic rate) an increase of 12/6. The other workers received a corresponding increase, proportionate to their wage rate. Although not a large increase, this was a complete victory for the workers.

### Bosses Capitulate In Face Of Strike

The employers attempted to stem the movement by making a sectional offer. The men refused to accept this attempt to split their ranks, and decided on strike action at a meeting of over 1,000 workers, including clerks, storemen, packers, crane-men, maintenance grades, all categories of female labour, etc. A strike organisation was immediately established and the strikers contributed £10 for propaganda purposes.

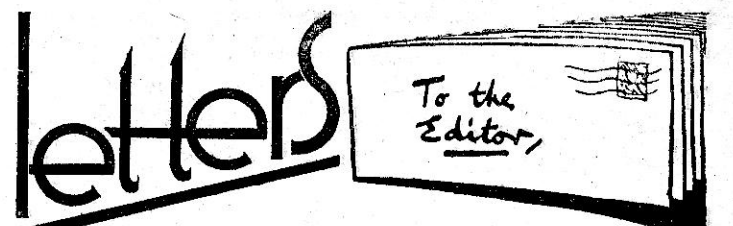
The remaining 5,000 workers in the factory decided immediately to set up a fund for financial aid, and to take instant action in the event of any victimisation manoeuvres on the part of the management. Nevertheless, foremen were brought on overtime and nightshift to move finished work from the bench and provide further work in its place. The entire factory answered this by an immediate sit-down strike.

A week later, the employers called in the Strike Committee for discussions and signed a statement that they would grant bonuses for all the workers concerned, the details to be fixed by immediate negotiation. The workers returned having gained a victory.

### Equality Of Sacrifice

The justice of the workers' claims can be seen by the fact that the labourers affected in this strike take home £3 18s. 0d. per week in their pay packets, or if they are "fortunate" enough to be married, £4 3s. 0d. Their demands mean an increase of 8/-.

The firm, on the other hand, in common with nearly every firm in the country, have increased their profits since the Labour Government took power. In the financial year ended 1947, Reyrolle's made a net profit of £100,000 compared with £75,000 in the previous year.



## FROM AJIT ROY

We are sure our readers will be eager to read of news from Comrade Ajit Roy, who is now in India, working with the Indian Section of the Fourth International. The following are extracts from letters to his wife Comrade Annie Roy, who is soon to follow him.

Bombay.

14 October, 1947.

It is two days since I landed in Bombay. London seems so far away from here and so unreal. Here is an entirely new world. I have taken to it like a fish takes to water but only because I like the political atmosphere. I think we have great possibilities in this immense sub-continent. Yesterday the group here gave me a public reception and the meeting was organised efficiently with big hand-written posters on trains and trams. This was the first public meeting organised by the group here and it was very successful. The hall was nearly full with about 200 people, mostly young lower middle class people—clerks, college youths, etc. I spoke for one hour and then dealt with many questions for another 45 minutes. What I liked best was the youthful composition of the audience and their interest. The group here were greatly elated. Many contacts were obtained for the study circle.

In Bombay, the most modern city in India, the prestige of Stalinism has sunk very low indeed. It is not so in Calcutta. The group has organised another public meeting next Friday. After that I shall go to Calcutta.

Life is going to be pretty tough. The comrades here live under great hardships. For the majority of the Party professionals there is no normal life. They are very good comrades. There is quite a good feeling among the comrades.

The Press has given a lot of publicity to me and to our meeting. We have great prospects in

Madras where Comrade Pillai has been released from prison and has once again taken on his position as the President of Madras Labour Union. We are going full speed ahead to spread out politically among the youth and the students and build cadres. I expect I shall go there soon to put our political position with Comrade Pillai chairing for me.

Bombay—18th October.

Yesterday we organised a meeting in another part of Bombay and it was a huge success. The hall which seats 400 people, was completely packed out and the corridors all round were crowded out. The Bombay comrades are pleased as punch. This is the first time that they are coming out as an open party boldly before the public. I launched a forthright attack on the Congress, the C.S.P., and the Stalinists and there was no hostility from the audience, mostly youth with a sprinkling of workers. There were some Stalinists but they were overawed. In Bombay the C.P. is very discredited and don't have the strength which they have in Bengal. We sold a lot of literature and got many names for study circles. The worker comrades who had shouldered the main burden of publishing and advertising the meeting were happy. One of them had taken a day off from the mills to distribute leaflets. In India taking a day off is a real sacrifice.

Today I am going to speak to a wool-textile workers' gathering to discuss the formation of a Union with them. We have real prospects here. I am leaving for



## From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

### CHAMELEONS HAVE NOTHING ON SHINWELL!

THE working class in Britain see the Labour leaders on one occasion after the other hobnobbing freely with the bosses, at meetings, dinners and other social "do's". No doubt, they have often wondered how it was that the bosses got along so well with these Labour leaders, and vice versa. Shinwell has now let us into the secret. It seems, you keep in with the bosses and the workers by simply "adapting" yourself to your company. (Although, unfortunately, in deeds the "adaptation" seems to be to the bosses.)

In a speech in Blackhall, Durham, on October 12th, Shinwell, complaining of the treatment accorded many of his speeches in the Press said:

"I have had to address some hundreds of meetings. At whose request? Sometimes at the Government's request, sometimes the miners' leaders', miners' lodges', Labour parties, or local authorities'. I never spared myself. And when you go to a meeting you have to adapt yourself to the conditions. If I went

to a meeting of mine managers it was not always advisable to praise the miners, if you understand what I mean. On the other hand, if I went to a meeting of miners it was not advisable to praise the mine managers, if you understand what I mean... If I addressed a meeting of electricity committees and there was some difficulty about plant for which I certainly was not responsible, they could not pin that on me whatever else they did. If that had to be done I had to adapt myself to the kind of people at the meeting. Sometimes it was a dinner, and you know what happens when you make an after-dinner speech. You have to be nice to the people, particularly when they provide you with a dinner, and so I had to adapt myself right throughout the two years..."

This little gem of cynicism, recalls to mind, that Shinwell attended dinners at two of London's luxury hotels last year, when the workers employed in those hotels were on strike for trade union recognition. Finding himself in the company of the "upper class" on these occasions, Shinwell preferred to forget the fact that the workers employed in the hotels were on strike and "thoroughly enjoyed" the

hospitality of his strike-breaking hosts.

It will now become clearer to the miners also, why the bureaucrats on the National Coal Board continued to act on very much their old reactionary lines towards the miners, when Shinwell was Minister of Fuel. As Shinwell said: "... when I went to a meeting of mine managers, it was not always advisable to praise the miners," etc. . . .

Here speaks the clearest voice of opportunism: of adaptation to the class needs of the enemy. What has it got to do with the struggle for Socialism when a "leader" of the working class in effect tells one story to the workers in the effort to be "popular", and the opposite story when he is with the bosses and their representatives! Thus, his speeches to the workers can only be regarded as sheer demagoguery.

What Shinwell does—and let it be remembered that he is one of the "lefts"—the other Labour leaders also do as a matter of course. Only Shinwell happens to have "let the cat out of the bag"!

The workers must teach these Labour chameleons a lesson. The workers need representatives who both in word and deed do not "adapt" themselves to the company or interests of the bosses.

## A Welsh Miner Speaks

Abertillery, Mon.

How many people outside of the South Wales Coalfield are aware that here in the Welsh mines, there operates a caste system? Maybe it will come as a shock to some, to learn that the majority of Welsh miners do not receive £5 per week, especially after reading the N.C.B.'s exhortation to "join the ranks of a well-paid industry."

By far, in the majority, these men are known as day-wage men, the Cinderella men of mining who are "Working AND WANTING". Engaged upon such vital occupations as haulage, repair, and maintenance, key men of the collieries manning the nation's mines for a pittance well below £5 per week—these then, are the "untouchables" in the great Welsh "caste" system operating here.

At the other end of the scale is the collier (the minority) the men who actually shovel the coal on the conveyors, coal which incidentally has been cut for him by a Day-Wage man. Financially he is ahead of his fellow worker for he does get something like the N.C.B. posters would have the nation believe all miners get.

Now, between the lowest untouchable, the surface worker who gets a basic £4 10s. 0d. before stoppages, and the collier, come various other sects, one getting a copper or so more than the other, according to their status in the social scale, all part of a vicious complex system of wages that could never be understood by the outsider, and forming the greatest field of exploitation ever witnessed in any industry.

How does this pernicious system operate? Since within living memory, collier has been pitted against collier, day-wage man against day-wage man. They have been expertly juggled with these various grades paying secret monies through innumerable loopholes, and prevents any union of action based upon this evil structure. For the benefit of the layman, let us quote an example. "A" and "B" are two labourers working in the same district. Their wage is £4 18s. 6d. before stoppages. The "Fireman" takes "B" aside and says: "Look, I'm going to put you in a bonus of half a shift a week, but keep your trap shut." And so, though each performing the same duties, "B" now leaves "A" and puts his boot upon the first rung of the "caste" ladder. "A" does not know this.

The Porter Award gave the underground worker a £5 minimum. This he never got! Is. 6d. is stopped for coal, and his pay-docket to this day is marked "Total Earnings £4 18s. 6d. The "Amount Payable" of course, is below this again. All day-wage men come under this heading under the Award, but the "divide and rule" boys immediately got to work. They stopped the timber-men an extra 1/- a day. They have brought various grades onto a sort of "make-up" resembling piece-work, in every case totally inadequate to the task performed and the status quo has been maintained.

And let it here be miserably said that all the divide and rule boys are not on the managerial side. Many N.U.M. leaders look upon the day-wage problem through Brahmin glasses.

But things are beginning to move. The day-wage man is becoming militant. A new wage structure has been promised him in January. Bewildered, he reads the Government announcement not to press for a wage increase. He sees all the old officials around him. He cannot understand the policy of collaboration undertaken by his leaders, the exhortations and threats of the bureaucratic Coal Board. But he knows he has a case! A case crying out aloud for readjustment. And he looks for a lead. That will come! Not through "communist" Horner but from the ranks of his own comrades.

The fake of capitalist nationalisation is being analysed. The day-wage man of South Wales may in the near future toss your bureaucratic chatter back in your face with the words: "Workers' control or nothing!"

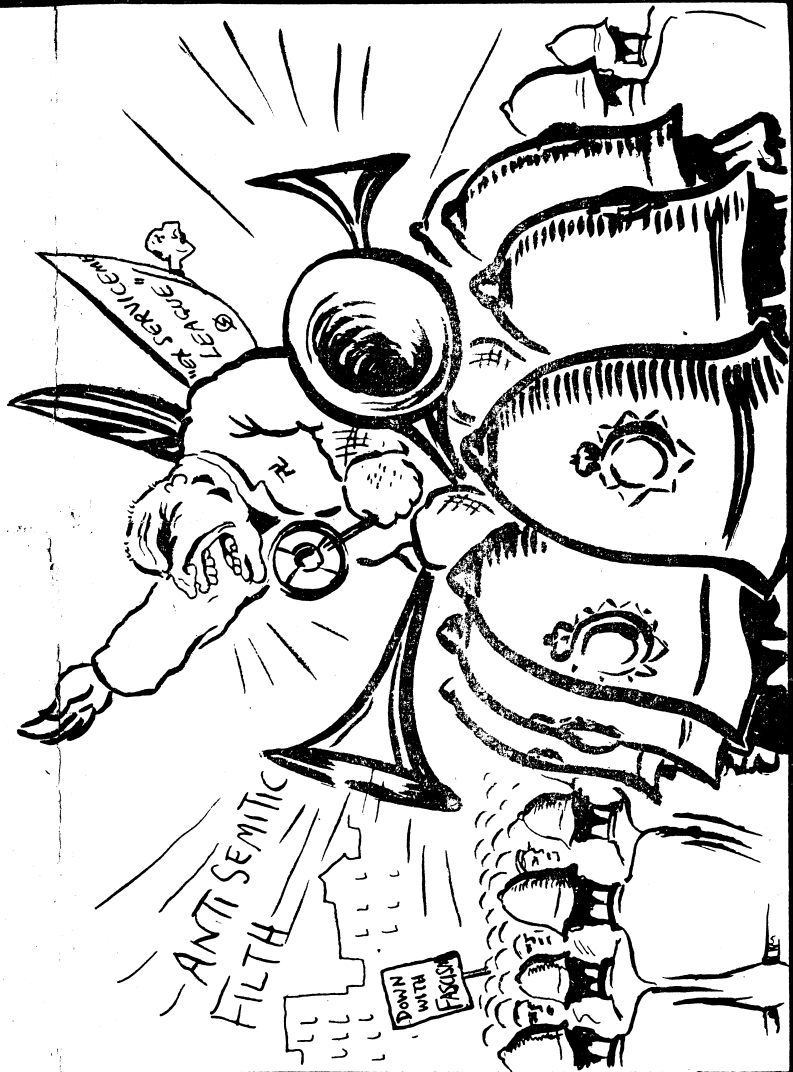
Constant friction between the day-wage and piece-workers in the pits is one of the results of this crazy hierarchical wages system.

The more anxious workers among both groups recognise the evil and fight against it maintaining the essential unity of the miners as a whole. With this unity we must go to the Lodges with the demand: A New Wage Structure Now!

Immediate readjustment of wages to bring the day-wage men into line with the collier, and the smashing of the evil system of secret payments once and for all. Let neither pantries nor piffle hinder the call of the "untouchables." "ABOLISH CASTE!"

T. BAYLISS







SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

Editorial

The King's Speech

CALL A HALT!

Coming soon after Cripps' 'crisis' speech in which he announced further cuts in food, consumption goods, housing and other building projects, the King's Speech contained nothing to indicate that the many problems facing the working class in Britain today, would be met by any real socialist measures or planning.

Under the pressure of the capitalists, a halt has been called by the Labour leaders to the trend of their first two years in power, when numerous small reforms in the interests of the workers were carried through.

The speech outlined legislation to be carried through on the House of Lords reform, nationalisation of the gas industry, and some reforms affecting criminal justice.

The 'Daily Mail', praising Cripps, urges further attacks upon the standards of living of the workers and comments: 'We shall have less food, tobacco, petrol, goods, but we can do it. We must do it.'

Under discussion at the moment between the Trade Union leaders and the Labour Government is the question of abolishing or cutting the food subsidies, which will mean an increased cost of living for the workers.

Evidence Against Bill Ainsworth

R.C.P. CONGRESS RESOLUTION READ IN COURT

MESSAGE TO THE GERMAN WORKERS FROM THE R.C.P. CONGRESS

This Annual Congress (August, 1947) of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International, expresses its sympathy and solidarity with the millions of German people who suffer the oppression of the Allied armies of occupation.

Conference unconditionally reiterates the fundamental socialist principle regarding the right of every people to determine their own form of government.

the interests of British capitalism. Conference considers as the only guarantee for peace, freedom and bread for the German masses to be the successful struggle against the occupation powers, which must be led by the German working class in the spirit of internationalism and linked to the overthrow of German capitalism and for workers' control of the German state and of the means of production.

Conference calls upon all sections of the working class movement to give their full support to the starving German masses in their fight for self-determination and socialism.

COMINFORM IS NOT A WORKMEN'S INTERNATIONAL

The Need for an International was Never Greater

THE MEETING OF THE NINE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN POLAND AND THE SETTING UP OF THE 'COMMUNIST INFORMATION BUREAU', THE SO-CALED 'COMINFORM', HAS RAISED HOPES IN THE HEARTS OF MILITANT MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY - HOPES THAT THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL OF LENIN IS BEING REVIVED.

Vyshinsky and Stalin Assure Capitalists

But is this 'Information Bureau' a revival of the international Comintern of Lenin? Vyshinsky was entirely correct when he assured the U.N.O. Assembly that those who thought so were suffering from delusions and nightmares.

'To attempt to form a Communist International would be a Utopian enterprise, and Communists are not Utopians.'

The Third International

It would be utopian for the Stalinists because they have abandoned the world socialist revolution. The Third Communist International was established with the purpose of overthrowing world capitalism and establishing world socialism.

In March 1919, a Congress was held in Moscow composed of delegates from all countries of the world to form the new 'Communist' International. The Third International was set up as a revolutionary general staff, to lead and guide the workers of the world in the international struggle against capitalism-imperialism and for the socialist revolution.

'Justification' Of Dissolution

Workers will recall the cynicism with which the Stalinist leadership justified the dissolution of the Third Communist International. The official announcement read:

'The deep differences in the historic paths of development of the various countries of the world, the differences of character and even of the contradiction in the level and tempo of their economic and political development, and finally differences in the degree of consciousness and organisation of their workers, conditioned the different problems which faced the working class of each particular country.'

The entire course of events for the past quarter of a century as well as the accumulated experiences of the Communist International, have convincingly shown that the organisational form for uniting the workers, chosen by the First Congress of the Communist International and which corresponds to the needs of the initial period of the rebirth of the working class movement, has more and more become outgrown by the movement's development and by the increasing complexity of its problems in the separate countries, and has even become a hindrance to the strengthening of the national working class parties.'

Within this hotch-potch of lies there is contained a single kernel of truth. The Communist International under the leadership of Stalin had indeed 'become a hindrance' to the growth of the revolutionary movement everywhere. When Hitler came to power without a lead from the Comintern for a united front of the workers against fascism the Trotskyist Left Opposition denounced this as a betrayal and proclaimed the need for a new international, the Fourth International, the banner of internationalism. The Fourth International was organised in 1938 on the programmatic foundations laid down by the Communist International in its First Four Congresses. The tasks of the Fourth International will not be completed, the International will not have 'become outgrown' until capital has everywhere been destroyed and the workers have taken power.

The Manifesto Of The Cominform

The Manifesto issued by the Information Bureau is proof enough that the aim of this new body is not to reorganise the Communist International on the basis of world revolution against capitalism.

The Manifesto blandly states that Anglo-American imperialism participated in World War II for imperialist reasons, and that today, 'America and England aim at the strengthening of imperialism and choking democracy.'

At first glance, this appears to be a more radical line than the one followed by the Stalinists during the course of the last imperialist war. Then, the war was a 'just, anti-Fascist' war, and those who opposed it as imperialists, were labelled 'fascists' and 'traitors.'

'WORKERS! You who have read the Manifesto issued by the Bureau, remember along what lines the Stalinist leadership proposed that you struggle during the whole of the imperialist war, and even after its termination.'

'Remember that those people who are today uncovering the war aims of the United States and Britain during the last conflict, and the division of the world into two opposing camps—the U.S.S.R. and its satellites—are the very same people who throughout the last war advocated the policy of holy alliance with the imperialist allies. They sabotaged all class action against these allies.'

'Remember that those people who are today uncovering the war aims of the United States and Britain during the last conflict, and the division of the world into two opposing camps—the U.S.S.R. and its satellites—are the very same people who throughout the last war advocated the policy of holy alliance with the imperialist allies. They sabotaged all class action against these allies.'

Popular Front Again

The new line has nothing to do with workers' struggle or revolution. This is clearly seen in the elaboration of the Manifesto as to the aims the Stalinist parties are to pursue. It is the programme of 'national independence and sovereignty, independence and self-determination.'

The American 'Daily Worker' applying this to the United States, declared that the 'nation urgently needs a strong anti-monopoly, anti-Roosevelt-Wallace line.'

Nothing about socialism and the struggle of the working class against the capitalist system. All the Stalinists want is a non-aggression pact from Wall Street plus dollar credits. As the American Stalinists put it in their paper: 'The way to ease the tension... is to revive the Roosevelt-Stalin plan for world co-operation and mutual aid.'

Here is the Popular Front with the 'good' capitalists: the policy which prepared the way for 'national unity' with the class enemy during the imperialist war. The Manifesto talks of 'defending national honour and independence'—this, at a period when the national frontiers, like the privately owned means of production, have outlived their usefulness and become an obstacle to future progress.

Algeria remain within the 'French Union', namely the French Empire. The British C.P. advocates imperialist expansionist measures for 'our' Empire, thus assisting in the exploitation of the colonial people.

The Fourth International The Only Road

This is not a call to struggle against imperialism. It is only part of the Stalinists' manoeuvres against their former 'allies' in order to bring pressure for a new pact. Tomorrow, if the conflict between the Anglo-American bloc and the U.S.S.R. can be ameliorated for a time, the Belgrade Bureau will disappear from the scene.

'Communist Workers! The 'Information Bureau' of Nine Parties, by the very wording of their Manifesto, denies the need for revolutionary class action. But history has proved that only through the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism can the workers embark on the road to socialism.'

FOR THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD! BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!



Lenin and Trotsky, 1918

'The inspirer of the revolution from beginning to end was the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Lenin. Vladimir Ilych was then living in Petrograd in a conspirative apartment in the Vyborg district. On the evening of October 24th, he was summoned to Smolny for the general leadership of the movement. All the work of practical organisation of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the skilful direction of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and first of all to Comrade Trotsky.'

— Stalin in 'Pravda', 6th November, 1918.

For a Marxist understanding of the Spanish situation, read:

'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain' by Felix Morrow

5/- Obtainable from: Business Manager, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

30 YEARS

The Russian Revolution and Since...

BY ROY TEARSE

Thirty years ago in November 1917, the world held its breath at the news that came from Russia. With the Bolsheviks at their head, the Russian workers and peasants had seized power.

Beyond the frontiers of Russia, the rank and file soldier, surrounded by the blood and filth of the trenches, the worker in industry, the toiler on the land, became filled with hope in a world seemingly gone mad.

The divisions between the warring nations—Germany and the Central Powers on the one side, Britain, America and the Allies on the other—were pushed into the background by this new development.

But just as the capitalists of both sides made their joint attack against the Russian Revolution, so the workers of the warring states saw in this mighty historical event a step in the interests of their class, irrespective of nation.

What was the significance of that event 30 years ago? Just this. That for the first time in the history of mankind the common people, the workers and peasants, had overthrown the capitalists and landlords and established their own regime.

In a frenzy of hate and fear, the ruling class of the world waged war for three years against the young Soviet Republic. In the van of the organisation of this war of intervention was Winston Churchill. But all their attempts were in vain.

Bolshevik Struggle Was Internationalist

It was the strike of the dockers and the threat of a general strike in Britain, the mutiny of the French Fleet, the class solidarity demonstrated by the workers in every capitalist country, which played an important role in defeating the capitalist war of intervention.

'But even to-day, when we are engaged in a bitter fight with Yudenich, the hiring of England, I demand that you never forget that there are two England's. Besides the England of profits, of violence, bribery and bloodthirstiness, there is the England of labour, of spiritual power, of high ideals of international solidarity. It is the base and dishonest England of the Stock Exchange manipulators that is fighting us.'

Throughout their entire struggle, the Bolsheviks tirelessly differentiated between the workers and the ruling classes. This was the granite foundation of their policy, which triumphed against the forces of reaction. Without such an internationalist working class policy there could never have been a revolution. Without such a policy, the young workers' republic would never have survived.

The essential aim of the revolution was to place power solidly in the hands of the working class, to abolish all privilege and rank, to control the economy in the interests of the toilers and to establish a...

(Continued on Page 4.)





**Lenin and Trotsky, 1918**



# Anti-Fascist Fight

## C.P. Claims Credit

BY T. REILLY

While the Home Secretary and the Labour leaders keep assuring delegations from Trades Councils that the Fascist movement is nothing to worry about, fascist activity is on the increase and they become more emboldened.

The recent attack made on the premises of the Bristol C.P., and the nightly dissemination of anti-Labour propaganda are a danger signal for all militant trade unionists and political workers.

What is alarming large sections of workers is the increase of fascist activity since the end of the war. Mr. M. Orbach, M.P., said at a meeting that there were now 22 national organisations publishing 30 papers avowedly devoted to racial and religious hatred, with a membership of 10,000.

In London, many Trades Councils have held public meetings and demonstrations have been and are being held to swell the demand that Fascism must be destroyed at birth. We understand that the Camden Town Branch of the A.E.U. are organising the local workers on November 1st, to march to 10 Downing Street to demand action against the fascists.

Delegates representing 30,000 members of the British Legion in the N.E. District of London passed a resolution denouncing the hate propaganda of the fascists. Of particular concern to workers is the way in which the State machine is used to protect the fascist movement. For instance, heavy police protection is provided at fascist meetings against angry workers.

In this struggle the Revolutionary Communist Party is playing a prominent part. Wherever the fascists rear their heads, the Trotskyists put forward the idea of a united front of all workers organisations to smash fascism. At Ridley Road, we have been active in taking the pitch from the fascists and holding united front meetings with Common Wealth Party and militant trade unionists. The C.P. leadership has deserted the struggle against the fascists at Ridley Road and elsewhere. The "Hackney and Kingsland Gazette" on Wednesday, 22nd October, reported that the only papers on sale at Ridley Road were the League's and the R.C.P.'s. "This appeared to confirm reports that this Party (the Communist Party) had instructed its members to stay away from these meetings." This was never challenged by the Communist Party.

It was, therefore with amazement that we read in "Challenge", the organ of the Young Communist League printed in its October issue in two articles:

"In the last two months, Ridley Road has become a by-word among London's workers. For here the Labour movement, led by the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, has week after week given the workers' answer to a form of fascism just as murderous as the bombs which laid waste to so much of our great city."

Every active militant who has participated in these struggles during the past few weeks—and many are rank and file members of

the C.P.—is aware that the Communist Party has been conspicuous only by its absence. The Party has had no official platform in opposition to the fascists since last month, when an all-London Y.C.L. meeting which was due to be held at Ridley Road was suddenly cancelled without any explanation being given to the members. It soon became obvious that a new line had been decided upon. From then on members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. were dissuaded from going to Ridley Road and at best told not to go as an organised body.

This has caused considerable discontent both in the ranks of the C.P. and Y.C.L. in the London and East London area and this discontent has been expressed in numerous branches.

One thing only is certain: that the active and militant C.P.ers find common ground with other militants of Common Wealth and the Trotskyists who are the only political organisations that carry an organised platform and struggle against the fascists.

Below is a copy of a resolution passed at a meeting in Ridley Road, London, held by the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Common Wealth party about 2,000 workers took part. We have circulated this resolution to over 300 Trade Union Branches and a number of Trades Councils in London. We ask all trade unionists to press this resolution in their branches and force the Union leaders to take up the demands. Ask for an R.C.P. representative to speak to your branch on the menace of fascism.

"This united front meeting held at Ridley Road calls upon all working class organisations to unite their forces against the fascists and to organise common platforms and defence organisations with the object of destroying fascism. It calls upon all workers to refuse to print, transport or handle fascist propaganda of any sort, and upon the Union Executives to make this a rule. It calls upon the Government to make illegal the propagation of anti-semitism or race-hatred in any form, and to protect any section of the population which enforces this law or which is involved in any activity against the fascists."

— Passed unanimously.

# FRANCE APPROACHES CIVIL WAR

(Continued from Page 1.)

ing class would sweep away capitalism and establish a French Workers' Socialist Republic in the wave of revolutionary enthusiasm which took hold of the French masses. Such was the indignation of the masses against the 60 families who owned the combines and trusts and who ruled France that the M.R.P. had to demagogically adopt nationalisation of big industry and the Trusts as a plank in their platform in order to retain mass support. Even de Gaulle himself had to pretend to stand for some measures of nationalisation. De Gaulle, who had connections with the Fascist Hooded Men, the "Cagoulards", who conspired to overthrow the French Republic in the pre-war days, was systematically built up as an "anti-Fascist" hero by the Stalinists and Socialists during the war, in spite of the fact that he had surrounded himself with a staff of some shifty and shady characters during the war, many reactionaries and fascists among them. His opposition to the Nazis was not at all based on a hatred of fascism but on the calculation that the interests of French capitalism would be better served by throwing in his lot with American-British Imperialism rather than German Imperialism. Essentially, he belonged to the same grouping as the Pétain-Weygand reactionaries. Yet the leaders of the workers' parties helped to create the legend of de Gaulle as the Leader of "Fighting France."

Throughout the war, de Gaulle had been conspiring and plotting in pursuance of his aim of establishing a "strong France" with himself as a Bonaparte after the war. After "liberation" he immediately set about achieving this object. But he found, by sad experience, that it would be necessary to bide his time. Despite his popularity through the myth of the new Joan of Arc who had rallied France in the hour of her defeat, he did not have the necessary social basis. While the middle class regarded him as a hero, any attempt to establish a personal dictatorship at that stage would have received little support even from the middle class. The middle class was swinging Left. Only the impasse of the present regime, which has left the old social structure of France in-

fact, has created the conditions which have made them swing in desperation violently in the opposite direction. Without mass support, de Gaulle was paralysed. He bowed before the storm. The workers in their overwhelming majority voted for the Communists who captured the French Trade Unions whose membership reached from 7 to 8 millions. The big majority of the French workers became organised in the Unions. The middle class looked to the workers' organisations to end the ruin to which capitalism had brought them. **POWER WAS AGAIN WITHIN THE GRASP OF THE FRENCH MASSES.** The working class was in a strong position to make an assault on the trusts and combines and would have received the support of the middle class.

In the recent past, the Stalinists were forced out of the Government by a change in the foreign policy of Stalin and the pressure of the French workers. However, the policies of class collaboration have borne their bitter fruits. French Big Business has gradually re-established its position. The monopolies as usual have unloaded the burden of their crimes, of the catastrophe of the war and the burdens of the rebuilding of the economy on to the shoulders of the workers and the middle class. Meanwhile, their profits have continued to mount. The Black Market rules supreme in France. Conditions there are far worse than anything experienced by the British people.

### CONDITIONS OF MASSES

William Forrest in an article in the "News Chronicle" as recently as October 17th, described the starvation conditions of the masses as follows:

"Meat at 400 francs the kilo (about 8/- the lb.) and 21.50 francs for a single egg (10½d.). Butter at 14/- per lb. on the black market... when it can be obtained... Before the war", said the Deputy Mayor of Joazeu in the Briey Basin, the 'Black Country' of Lorraine... 'I found the worker would eat 400 or 500 grammes of bread a day and at the time he had lots of other things as well. To-day, when the other things are lacking, the bread ration is only 200 grammes a day, and there are some of them who sacrifice even

part of that for their children. All they take before they go off to the foundry in the morning is a cup of miserable ersatz coffee."

"He took me down the Rue de Goppre, a long street of squalid hovels owned—to their eternal shame—by the de Wendt family of industrial magnates. 'Go into any one of these houses,' he said, 'and see what they have in the way of potatoes or coal for the coming winter. You will find precious little, if any. A skilled foundry worker gets 8,000 francs a month. A ton of coal costs 4,000 francs, and 1,000 kilos of potatoes—which won't take a family very far—cost 12,000 francs. What are they going to do?'"

The conditions of the middle class are not much better; in the case of the lower middle class particularly in the civil service, even worse.

### MIDDLE CLASS SWINGS RIGHT

The middle class is seeking some way of escape from the unbearable conditions which obtain in France. Meanwhile, scoundals and swindlers which involve parliamentary leaders have again come before the public eye. Illusions in the parliamentary regime are rapidly fading. The Fourth Republic is revealed as corrupt and effete as its predecessors. The middle class is becoming impatient. The workers are not showing a way out of the present situation. De Gaulle, with his halo of the "strong man" who led the "liberation" of France, steps forward with his propaganda for the "strong state." Duped and betrayed by the Radicals and the M.R.P., the middle class in despair, have swung over to the side of the General.

However, the working class has remained firm in its support for Communism and Socialism. The spirit of the workers has not been broken. Despite the efforts of the C.P. leadership to hold the workers back, the recent strikes demonstrate their militancy and will to struggle. Only the lack of a

### SAVOY WORKERS VOTE FOR STRIKE ACTION

The workers at the Savoy group of Hotels have balloted by an overwhelming majority in favour of strike action. The strike, if it takes place, will be an official strike with the full backing of the Union, which will seek the support of other unions to ensure its success. As we go to press the date for the strike which is originally over the alleged victimisation of Frank Piana a waiter who was previously employed at the Savoy.

If the Savoy bosses know what is good for them they will chuck in the towel rather than face the most thoroughgoing and unified strike that any London employer has faced for years.

### SCOTTISH MINERS FIGHT FOR £1 RISE

BY D. GARBUTT

On Monday, October 20th, three weeks after they had ended their previous strike, onest workers in the Scottish Coalfield struck again. They resumed work after the first strike on the understanding that their demands for increased wages would be taken up immediately. Finding that no action had been taken, and considering they had been tricked into ending their struggle they once again resorted to their only real weapon and withdrew their labour a second time.

The rising temper of the Scottish miners over the manner in which their claims were being treated is demonstrated by the fact that although the first strike involved 48 pits and 16,000 men, in this second strike 93 pits, involving 25,000 men, were affected. The demands of the onest workers (all underground workers except coal getters) is simple indeed. They earn £5 per week, but after deductions for income tax, health and unemployment insurance, pit lamp charges, medical service, welfare and (for those who qualify) supplies of coal, the average wage packet of the onest men contains only £4 15s. per week. And this, only if they cover every shift, and don't make themselves subject to the "Penalty Clause."

They are demanding £1 per week increase, which would bring them somewhat in line with the demands of the other miners, and would bring their wages up to a reasonable level.

The miner is getting a bit fed up with the fact that when he takes militant action to force some recognition of his just claims, the Union leaders are prepared to make all sorts of promises of what will be done for them if only they will go back to work. And when they go back, their claims are treated as something that can wait indefinitely.

True to form, Abe Moffatt and Pearson, Stalinist officials of the Scottish Area N.U.M., have done all they can to break the strike. Instead of saying to the Coal Board: "The men are right, get down to it and do something about their demands", they have stood by the Coal Board's dawdling over the miners' claims.

But the Scottish miners were determined to treat this betrayal for what it was worth. Within a day or two after Moffatt had boasted that the strike was confined to only a small part of Lanarkshire and that 97% of the Scottish miners remained loyal, the strike had spread throughout the entire Scottish Coalfield and involved over 90 pits.

The contempt and arrogance of the N.C.B. towards the just de-

# Russian Revolution

(Continued from Page 3.)

genuine democracy for them. These aims were furthered by certain conditions laid down as laws of the regime: The workers' rule was based on the broad mass through the Soviets of workers, peasants' and soldiers' committees, which were elected directly by the masses and subject to immediate recall; the old standing army was abolished and in its place stood the armed people; no officials were to receive a higher wage than that earned by the average workman, and there was to be no permanent bureaucracy.

The struggle for world socialism by the Bolsheviks, with Lenin and Trotsky at their head, was not an idle gesture. It was no accident that they laid the greatest stress in their struggle to defend the revolution, on the need to rally the support of the international working class. They saw quite clearly, and Lenin repeated time and again, that the state power of the workers that had been established would stand or fall with the world revolution, and that to establish socialism in one country was an impossibility. Lenin pointed out that a continuation of the isolation of the workers' state in the sea of the capitalist world would lead to an eventual overthrow of the revolution.

### Where Stalinism Has Led

It is clear to-day where the Stalinist policy of 'socialism in one country' has led the workers' republic. Under the regime of Stalin the Soviets have long since been abolished and in their place stands a parliament based on totalitarianism. The term "minister", described by Lenin as a reactionary

with the Gaullist offensive, they ineffectively hope to maintain the status quo against both Stalinists and Gaullists. Their last hope is the support and bounty of Wall St. The decision does not only rest with De Gaulle and French imperialism. Civil war in France would have immediate repercussions in the rest of Europe. This would not suit the interests of American imperialism.

Wall Street prefers to back the "middle road" of Ramadier, at least at this stage—rather than stake everything on the victory of De Gaulle because of the dangers involved in such a transition. But De Gaulle's demand for an immediate general election and the dissolution of the Assembly in violation of the Constitution, indicates his intention to conduct an

offensive to get control of the state in his hands. The adventurer hungers for the mantle of power. To smash the French workers' organisations would be no easy task. The French masses have the lesson of Germany, Italy and Spain in their memory. On the electoral field, they have about half the votes. The issues will not be settled by votes. And in the struggle, the workers are far more formidable a force than the weak scattered forces of the middle class. They have the experience of the Resistance movement, of which the working class was the backbone. According to the report of Ambassador Bullitt, the working class is armed with the material seized from the Germans and dropped by the Allies into France during the war.

"In a trial of force the Communists would have not only their control of the C.G.T., but also their underground army of approximately 150,000 men, well organised and armed with grenades, rifles, revolvers, Tommy guns and machine guns. They are ready to seize arsenals and airfields. Perhaps 40,000 of the Communist underground army are in the Paris area. If they should lead a march of the Red suburbs on Paris, who would oppose them? The Paris police force before the war was a superbly efficient organisation and entirely non-political (i.e., completely loyal to the ruling class—B.G.) every member being forbidden to join any political party under penalty of dismissal. Today it is ridden with politics. Approximately 25% of the force are members of the Communist Party, perhaps another 25% are Communist sympathisers, approximately 15% are definitely anti-Communist, and the rest have no particular political convictions..."

### CAPITALISTS HESITATE

It is this situation which makes finance capital hesitate! But the elections are already proof that the situation cannot stand still. In his attitude towards the workers De Gaulle is adopting very similar tactics to those of his spiritual forerunner, Louis Bonaparte.

Elected to the Presidency by the votes of the people, Bonaparte after careful preparation and manoeuvring, utilised the army and his thugs organised in his 'Society of December 10th' to execute a coup d'état and establish a military, or Bonapartist dictatorship in France. De Gaulle plans to be elected to the Presidency by a plebiscite of the people, and then, step by step, organise a coup d'état to crush the workers. That is the real meaning of his campaign to get the Constitution changed in order to give the real power to the President instead of to the Assembly.

In the social crisis which racks France, the Stalinists have acted as the Social Democrats did in 1849 so sternly criticised by Karl

bourgeois label, has returned. Ranks abolished by the revolution have been re-introduced; in the Red Army the differences in wages between a Marshal and a private are even greater than in the American Army, the greatest capitalist army in the world. "Instead of representatives, paid at workmen's wages, and subject to immediate recall, a caste of bureaucrats has installed itself, living like millionaires, having raised itself far above the level of the mass."

Internationally, this development has transformed the Communist Parties of the various countries from organs of revolutionary struggle, as they were conceived in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, into appendages of the Soviet Foreign Office, acting according to the interests of the bureaucracy.

These "communists" have long since abandoned the path of international working class struggle. They only copy the support of sections of the world working class because they still shroud themselves in the cloak of the Russian Revolution of 1917. But that cloak is becoming somewhat threadbare; every day they move further away from its principles.

Their lip-service to the great days of 1917 is a hollow mockery of the heroic sacrifice of the Russian masses which made that great event possible. Deeds, not words, is the test that must be applied to them.

We are confident that in the future battles of the working class, the exploited masses will come to learn that the true inheritors of the theory and traditions of the Russian Revolution of November 1917, is the Fourth International, the world party of Trotskyism.

Marx. Instead of driving forward the struggle for power, they have temporised and held back the workers. It is their activity which is entirely responsible for the victory of the Gaullists in the present elections. A state of revolutionary tension does not last forever. If the workers do not take advantage of such situations when history presents them, the middle class look elsewhere for leadership. And the reaction becomes emboldened by the failure of the workers and takes advantage to recover its balance, then to launch the assault on the workers.

### NEED FOR FIGHTING PROGRAMME

The Stalinists continue to dissipate the revolutionary energies of their followers by appeals for collaboration with the remnants of the bourgeois republicans and Liberals, now without power or influence. If the situation depended only on the leaderships of the mass organisations of the workers, the future dictatorship of De Gaulle would be assured. And France today is the key to Western Europe—in many respects the key to world developments.

Given an inspired revolutionary lead, the rabble gathered round De Gaulle would soon be put to flight by the workers. But petty burocrats, which leaves the masses who are enduring such privations at the present time. The problem of State Power is the one with which all are concerned. It is the dominating idea of all strata of the population. The struggle for workers' power is on the order of the day. Yet the Stalinists give the bourgeois time to collect their forces and make preparations.

The campaign for the workers' parties to break with the capitalist class and take power, for a Communist-Socialist Government, is clearly the key slogan for the next period. And the programme of the French revolutionary workers must be: for the expropriation of the trusts and combines; for the control of production by the workers; for a real socialist plan; for measures in the interests of the small peasants and small shopkeepers, the civil servants, professional people and technicians.

The advanced workers have to show in action that they mean business. The Trotskyists have already issued a call for Committees of Action, uniting all the workers in the factories and localities around the slogan of defence of their rights and organisations. These Committees would draw up a plan of production, of genuine rationing and distribution under the control of the workers and middle class. At the same time, these Committees would openly begin the arming and organising of defence guards as a guarantee against Gaullist plots, and as one of the steps necessary to prepare for the conquest of power.

The political future of France is in the melting pot. The denouement may be delayed for a few months, or even years if the Marshall Plan goes through! But this would only be a respite. The decision would then be posed by the economic slump which will affect France as well as other countries in Western Europe.

There are many alternatives. De Gaulle may wait too long and his heterogeneous following tend to disintegrate. The Stalinists may succeed in holding back the struggle for power on the part of the workers. But the Fourth Republic is doomed. Either the workers take power and begin the Socialist Revolution, which would rapidly spread throughout Europe, or the capitalist class will establish a Bonapartist or even a fascist military dictatorship in France.

## Special Appeal to Readers

### We Need a Further £70 for the Loudspeaker and Van

Comrades: In the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal" we appealed for money to help us buy equipment to combat the fascists who have tremendous resources. Already readers have subscribed £35 15s. 6d. Of this we have spent £25 on a loudspeaker, £70 is needed to buy a small motor van. We appeal to all anti-fascists to send in donations; and aid such anti-fascist work.	J.S. (London) .....	10	0	0
	J.C. (N.1.) .....	1	0	0
	G.L. (Birmingham) .....	1	0	0
	Hampstead .....	1	10	0
	London Social .....	7	18	8
	Anon .....	1	0	0
	Cheltenham .....	4	6	
	"Floor" .....	10	0	0
	Tom N. (Glasgow) .....	5	0	0
	A. and J. (South Bucks) .....	3	0	0
	B.F. .....	1	0	0
	Tea Shop .....	3	3	
	Collection at Ridley Road .....	1	2	6
Collection at Ridley Road (5.10.47) .....		2	6	7
Jock .....		10	0	
				£35 15 6

## What's on

**WALES TOUR.**—Jock Haston will be at the following places in November:  
6th.—Swansea, Elysium Buildings, High Street, at 7 p.m.  
7th.—G.C.G., Welfare Hall, Communist Room, at 7 p.m.  
8th.—Neath, Open Air Meeting in afternoon.  
9th.—Neath Town Hall, at 7.45 p.m.  
10th.—Ystalyfera.  
11th.—Contact meeting.  
It is hoped to fit in a meeting at Tredegar.

**DEBATE.**—Between the R.C.P. and S.P.G.B., Wednesday, 19th November, at 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Hampton Wood (just over Kingston Bridge), Kingston. "WHICH PARTY SHOULD THE WORKING CLASS SUPPORT?"

## SEAMEN ON STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1.)

All sections of the working class, particularly the dockers, tug-boat men, ship repair workers, shoremen, all must aid the seamen in their completely just fight.

This fight is not only for the reform of labour conditions; it goes much further. It is against the whole policy of the shipowners—their apparent unconcern for life and the safety of ships; their barbaric treatment of coloured seamen, and the foul conditions forced upon British seamen. It is a fight against the notoriously bureaucratic and reactionary leadership of the N.S.U., and for the transformation of the Seamen's Union into a live, militant and fighting organisation led by militants, democratically elected and paid no more than the average wage of a seaman.

Workers: Touch no ship. Do not aid the Shipowners. Demand that your trade union act in support of the strikers. Seamen: Make the strike 100 per cent. No scabbing. Full support to the Rank and File Committees.

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