

Station wants } not just military bases but
sovereignty all but in nature



SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

Interview
with Wales-
wood Miners
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STALIN FEARS BALKAN FEDERATION

YUGOSLAVS TOO INDEPENDENT Campaign Commences to Liquidate Tito

BY TED GRANT AND JOCK HASTON

THE SENSATIONAL EXPULSION OF THE YUGOSLAVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY FROM THE COMINFORM AND THE OPEN BREACH BETWEEN MOSCOW AND BELGRADE HAS AROUSED A LIVELY DISCUSSION IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS. WHAT LIES BEHIND THESE SENSATIONAL EVENTS? THAT IS THE QUESTION EVERYONE IS ASKING. ONLY POLITICAL CHILDREN ACCEPT THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE COMINFORM AS TO THE BASIS OF THE DISPUTE.

Whatever it is, however, it must be of tremendous importance for the Stalinists to precipitate the open breach which amounts to a considerable diplomatic and political set-back.

The conflict will undoubtedly have wide repercussions in the Communist Parties on an international scale. It marks a new stage in the development of international Stalinism which must be closely followed by revolutionary and militant workers.

The struggle must have been going on behind the scenes for a considerable time. Moscow would only have brought the question out into the open when it had failed to gain control of the Yugoslav Communist Party; when the Russian Secret Police, the N.K.V.D. in Yugoslavia had suffered a decisive defeat; when it was considered no longer possible to win Tito or his supporters; and probably, when Tito was gaining support for his policy against Moscow in the other Balkan Communist Parties. This latter event would be the most potent factor in arousing the hatred and fear of Moscow.

The real issues of the dispute come out only covertly. What appears to be at stake is the demand by the Russian bureaucracy in Moscow for complete and absolute control over the satellite states, even to the smallest detail of internal policy, and Tito's hostility and opposition to complete subjugation to Russia.

groups of states within the Eastern European countries. A key to the conflict is given in the repeated demand from Tito for the Federation of Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia and his reported ambitions for a federation of the Balkan countries. The importance of this policy as an issue in dispute is seen in the fact that the Yugoslav Communist Party has restated its Balkans federation policy immediately following on the heels of its expulsion. It must be remembered that Dimitrov was recently hauled over the coals by Moscow for advocating a federation. In a Federation of the three countries, Yugoslavia would obviously play the dominant role.

up an attitude unworthy of Communists, on the basis of which the Yugoslav leaders began to identify the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. with the foreign policy of the imperialist Powers and behaved towards the Soviet Union in the same manner as toward the bourgeois States. Precisely as a consequence of that anti-Soviet attitude, slanderous propaganda—borrowed from the arsenal of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism—on the degeneration of the All-Union Communist Party, on the "degeneration" of the Soviet Union and so on, has become current in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

Moscow is faced with the two possibilities in the evolution of its policy towards the satellite states in the coming period. The first is to incorporate these states openly into the U.S.S.R. as a means of ensuring complete and undisputed control; the second is to accept the nominal independence of these states but to try so to organise their internal regimes and arrange their relations with each other as to ensure that the real control is centred in Moscow.

Such a federation at the present time would undoubtedly result in a strengthening of the Communist Parties of these countries and their states as against the domination of Moscow. It is, therefore, one policy which Moscow will fight with every weapon it can muster until and unless, it is assured of absolute control through puppet

The same issue of the "Daily Worker" quotes the reply of Tito and Co. to the accusation that Russian "specialists" were shadowed, as follows: "The definite lie that anybody was followed. From the liberation until to-day all members of the

Dockers Struck for A Principle

by Roy Tearse

THE ACTION OF THE PORT AUTHORITIES IN VICTIMISING ELEVEN DOCKERS AND THE FAILURE OF THE TRADE UNION LEADERS AND THE GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT THE WORKERS' JUST DEMANDS, RESULTED IN THE LOSS OF £800,000.



On a question of principle, 20,000 London dockers stayed on strike for two and a half weeks, and secured sympathetic action in the later stages by the dockers in Liverpool and Birkenhead.

On the advice of the militant leadership of the Strike Committee, they decided to return to work. This decision followed the shameful betrayal of their interests by the Trade Union officials and the Labour Government. The Government had brought the entire weight of the State apparatus against them. The Emergency Powers Act of 1920, under which the State of Emergency was declared, had never been invoked since the General Strike. They gave themselves the right to use the armed forces, the police courts, powers of arrest without warrant, and to search the workers to whom they owe their seats in Parliament.

And all the arguments and excuses put forward by Attlee for invoking the Act, followed the same pattern as those of the Tories in 1926. "The Nation was threatened! Supplies were in danger! A Red Plot had been discovered!" Small wonder the capitalist class were quick to applaud the Government's measures.

The "Daily Mail" summed up the situation in its leader on June 29th.

Stating that "the Government will have the support of all loyal citizens" it continued: "A State of Emergency was also declared in the General Strike of 1926 . . . How ironical to reflect that some of the men who protested against the 'brutal' acts of the Government then are taking the very same powers now. . . . These Ministers and their colleagues have obviously changed their minds—in two years. . . . One other point. Those who saw the 'hand of Moscow' in the General Strike of 1926 were laughed to scorn up to about a year ago. But now Mr. Attlee himself says the Communists are making mischief. We welcome this belated conversion to

shipping ever known in the Port of London. Shallow praise! When they have a real grievance, they are contemptuously dismissed.

"A Little Dirty" Cargo

Attlee expressed surprise that the dockers had refused to work a cargo because IT HAPPENED TO BE A "LITTLE DIRTY." What were the facts? The dispute arose out of the handling of a cargo of zinc oxide. Far from being a "little dirty", it is one of the filthiest jobs in dockland. It turns the flesh purple on contact. It gets into the nose, eyes, mouth and hair. The dockers maintain it is generally injurious to the health. It ruins the clothing of those working on it. As one of the dockers involved related: "The stuff penetrates everything.



AFRICANS DEMONSTRATE FOR HOUSES AND FOOD — South African Election — Page 3.

ENGINEERING BOSSES CAN AFFORD TO PAY

Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry can be well met out of the swollen profits of the employers in this industry is amply demonstrated by the figures

dicted against Stalin before he died was precisely to oppose Stalin's bureaucratic policy towards national minorities. But this, like Lenin's last letter to the Bolshevik Party demanding the removal of Stalin from the position of General Secretary of the Party, has been hidden from the rank and file communists until this present day. This tendency against which Lenin fought, became more pronounced after his death when Stalin succeeded in usurping complete control. During the great purges, the entire Governments of National Republics were wiped out, massacred, as part of Stalin's policy of national oppression.

is following a *Stalinist* repression. The Information Bureau regards as disgraceful such facts as the expulsion from the Party and arrest of members of the Central Committee Comrades Zujerich, and Hebrang, because they dared to criticise the anti-Soviet attitude of leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party and to advocate friendship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

Such an ignominious, purely Turkish (!) terrorist regime cannot be tolerated by the Yugoslav Communist Party... the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, infected by excessive ambition, haughtiness and conceit."

even be true that in the circles of the Yugoslav C.P., Marshal Tito, while he does not dare to bring this into the open, has been secretly denouncing the degeneration of the Russian Communist Party and regime.

Purging—Stalin's Method

In the past Moscow succeeded in asserting its will, and removing or destroying the leadership of national sections without a serious crisis. The history of the Comintern is saturated with the bureaucratic elimination of Stalin's opponents and agents who have been sacrificed in the interests of the bureaucracy.

struggle for the overthrow of the Capitalist Governments in Europe and the installation of Workers' Democracy in Russia.

Communism means the widest possible freedom and democracy for the people. Without the participation and control of the workers there can be no transition to socialism. These developments in the Balkans are a symptom of the real situation which exists in Russia and the Eastern States. The sole solution lies in a genuinely democratic Soviet regime with full autonomy and freedom for the national states within the boundaries of a socialist federation of states.

Union Officials Had Majority

The worst aspect of the victimisation was that the Union officials, who are supposed to represent the interests of the men, had a hand in this punishment. This was later publicly admitted. At a meeting of the Watermen's and Lightermen's Union at Tower Hill on June 22nd, Mr. E. Thomas, the Union Secretary reminded the workers that "their strike was not against the 'bosses'. The penalties on the 11 dockers had been inflicted by a board at a meeting

Unable to stand up to the genuine case of the men, conscious of his lack of prestige among the rank and file, he felt the need to indulge in this type of "intrigue" story. However, the very vagueness of his innuendoes branded them for what they were worth. Why did he not come out into the open and supply the public with facts? Because he had none! Nevertheless, Deakin's "plot" set the tone of the propaganda against the dockers. It was taken up by the Press. It was the fulcrum of Atlee's broadcast to the country. It was even utilised by the handful who broke away from the strike committee in the midst of the battle.

The political composition of the Strike Committee was given several times by the strike leaders: 27 non-party, 10 Labour Party, 5 Communist Party. This speaks for itself. But even if it were

lution went on to state that they would tolerate no victimisation. The spokesman of the Committee made it clear that they were "not afraid of a thousand Atlees." The Committee retained the confidence of the rank and file, who passed a vote of thanks for their handling of the struggle.

The dockers are determined to hold Deakin to the promise he was compelled to make in face of the pressure of the strike, that the whole question will be investigated. They must see to it that he is not allowed to crawl out.

The strikers deserve the whole-hearted support of the entire working class movement. By taking the stand they did, the bosses and the Labour Government will think twice in the future before coming down with the heavy hand. They demonstrated a spirit in the best traditions of Trade Unionism. Salute the dock workers!

FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED GERMANY

With the virtual Russian blockade of the Western Occupied parts of Berlin and the counter-measures of the Allies tension rises between Anglo-American Imperialism and its former "ally".

The immediate cause of the friction was the insistence of the Russian Occupation authorities that the "Eastern" mark should be the only valid currency for Berlin. This is being devalued following the currency reform introduced by the Western Allies in the Western Zones without consultation with the Russian occupation authorities.

This is only the latest episode in the conflict, which has been waged with increasing bitterness for the domination of Germany. It follows similar incidents only a few months ago in Berlin, which is the heart of the Eastern Zone, surrounded by Russian-occupied territory and entirely cut off from the sectors dominated by American, British and French Imperialism.

The currency reform was inaugurated as a result of the Six Power Conference which ended in London on June 1, and was devised as a step towards the setting up of a West German State for the Three Allied Zones. The endeavour to establish a base for Western imperialism in Germany is clearly a challenge to the Russians. Its design is to integrate economically Western Germany with Western Europe, as an integral part of the Marshall Plan.

However, any "government" set up in the West will be a government in name only. The occupation will continue. At the same time there will be International Control of the Ruhr by the three Western Powers having three representatives on the Controlling Council, with one each from Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, plus three representatives for Germany, these to be nominated temporarily by the Allied Military Governments. Thus, the real base of German industry will be under foreign domination. The Allied authorities will control the distribution of coal, coke and steel. At the same time steps are to be taken to set up a "Constituent Assembly" for

the three zones, not on a unified, but on a federal basis.

While the possibility of a withdrawal from Germany is viewed as being a contingency for the remote future, nevertheless provisions as draconic as Versailles are foreshadowed. This was revealed at the meeting of the Big Three, partly at the insistence of the French Imperialists, who view with nervousness the prospect of a revival of German might which would inevitably follow industrial restoration. "It was affirmed (by the Three Powers) that prior to the general withdrawal of the forces of occupation agreement will be reached among the Governments concerned with respect to necessary measures of demilitarisation, disarmament, and control of industry, and with respect to occupation of key areas..." This means the occupation will continue indefinitely even after "peace" treaties have been signed.

If carried out, the agreement would render Western Germany completely dependent on Anglo-American and French Imperialism. As such, it could not be expected to evoke much enthusiasm among the German masses despite the propaganda campaign of the Western Powers.

The political parties which are to a large extent puppets of the occupation powers did not dare to come forward enthusiastically in favour of the Constituent Assembly under the conditions imposed. Even some of the capitalist politicians of the Christian Democratic Union pointed out in protest, that Germany's fate was being decided without any consultation with the German people whatsoever. Dr. Adenauer, Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union in the British Zone, described it as a "heavy blow for those working to strengthen the spirit of peace and international co-operation among the German people." Declaring that there was "no trace of the promised freedom of self-government," he added that there was "continued discrimination against the German people, with foreign interests covering her key industries and foreign trade" and maintained that neither the "willing collaboration of Germany,

essential to save Western Europe," nor German unity could be achieved by such proposals.

The Social Democratic Party officially commented that the London recommendations were "in many ways an insufficient means of assisting Germany to consolidate herself politically and economically that too restricted a form of federal government was envisaged, that there was a clear implication that territorial changes were contemplated along Germany's western boundaries, and that the German political parties should have been allowed at least a consultative part in the discussions; the statement also pressed once more for the transfer of the Ruhr's heavy industries to public ownership and control."

Naturally, the Stalinists vigorously denounced the manoeuvres of the Western Imperialists. The leader of the C.P. in the Western zones declared that "the only object of the continuing occupation was to maintain monopolistic and capitalist interests and not democratic ideas."

When plunderers and diplomats fall out the truth comes out. But this correct estimate is rendered ludicrous by the statement that the "London decisions (were) a further breach of the Potsdam Agreement." As if the Potsdam Agreement, with its ferocious reparations and limitations of German industry did not represent a grim oppression of the German people!

However, for the first time, and only as a counter-blast to Western diplomacy, the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia and their agents in Germany are raising the question of the withdrawal of the occupation troops. After the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Eastern European States under Russian domination a communique was issued, which, according to the "Daily Worker", declared that "Western Germany would have a puppet Government comprised of German elements to the liking of the occupation authorities, and which are closely bound with American and British capitalist monopolies but not connected with the German people and hostile to the latter's democratic striving." No mention is made of the interests of the French Trusts because

Moscow has not given up hopes of driving a wedge between the French and Anglo-American Imperialists. However, the document goes on to say "a German peace treaty should be formulated providing for withdrawal of occupation troops within one year of signature."

This demagoguery is intended as a threat, as a bid for support of the German masses if the Allies do not come to some sort of agreement with the Russian bureaucracy. The brutal expulsion of Germans and annexation of part of Eastern Germany demonstrates how little the welfare of the German people is a concern of the bureaucracy. That this is so is shown by their demand for Four Power Control of the Ruhr. The addition of the Stalinist bureaucracy apparently turns manure into gold. From being an instrument of Anglo-American repression, with the Stalinists in on the control, it would become an instrument of "democratisation".

What the Stalinists are after was shown in their demand that "Arrangements should be made for Germany to fulfil her reparations obligations to countries which suffered damage from German aggression." Thus, so long as the Allies will allow Russia a share of the booty she would be prepared to compromise with them over the bodies of the German masses.

The policy of Russia, as of the Allies, has nothing in common with real democracy and Socialism. It has not the remotest resemblance to the policy of Marxist internationalism on which Lenin based the foreign policy of Russia. Now that they have firmly totalitarianised their Eastern Zone, and with the expropriation of the capitalists and landowners, have a certain mass support despite the lack of democracy, they think they can play with fire by raising the problem of withdrawal of the occupation forces. Apparently they believe their own apparatus is sufficiently established in the East now to risk this. At the same time they know the Allies will never agree, at any rate for the next period. Thus if necessary they can allow themselves the luxury of this most potent and dynamic demagoguery. The demand for German unity, linked with the former demand undoubtedly would have a powerful appeal for the German masses.

Especially will this be the case if the conflict deepens and the Stalinists demand the expropriation of the monopolies and combines in Germany.

The Stalinists have made all the preparations for the integration of their half of Germany with the economy of the Eastern Bloc. They are preparing to set up an Eastern German State which will claim to speak for the whole of Germany if the Western Allies refuse to come to an agreement. That is why the struggle for Berlin is so important. Traditionally the capital of all Germany, it would be a key position for the capital of such a Reich. At the same time the Russians are very cleverly manoeuvring to place the responsibility for the splitting up of Germany on the shoulders of the Western powers. Thus they will have powerful weapons in their hands.

Both sides use phrases about peace and democracy. The Western powers triumphantly point to the totalitarian terror in the half of Germany dominated by Russia; the Russians point to the role of the monopolies and trusts in the West which are being restored to power by the Allies. The Western imperialists feature the reparations which are being extorted from the Eastern Zone by the Russians; the Russians retort by referring to the aims of domination of the Ruhr by Anglo-American Big Business.

Neither side offers a way out for the German and European masses. The workers in the Western countries have the duty to raise the demand not as a bargaining weapon, but in reality for the unconditional and complete withdrawal of all the troops of occupation! Let the German workers decide their own fate. The division of Germany is only one expression of the division of Europe at the present time. If capitalism remains this can only lead to a new world war.

For an independent Socialist United Germany as part of a Federation of a Socialist United States of Europe. Such a programme can only be based on the repudiation of all treaties of revenge; against all reparations and annexations. For the unity of the German workers with the workers of Europe.

South African Elections

(Continued from Page 3.)

to work on the land and in the mines in order to earn the money to pay their taxes.

Yet these innumerable restrictions are not enough for Malan and the Nationalists. They demand further measures against the "Kaffirs" as they contemptuously term the Negro people.

Natives Will Suffer

Malan will be faced with all sorts of difficulties, apart from his small majority in Parliament. The Nationalist Party is no longer the homogenous body it was when it first took power under General Hertzog in 1924. Then it was almost 100 per cent. the party of the Boer farmers. Since then, and especially of recent years, many Afrikaners have entered the ranks of the industrialists. These industrialists need cheap black labour and they will not relish a native policy which aims at keeping this labour on the land.

Nevertheless, Malan will have to make considerable concessions to the policy of racial hatred which he propagated during the election campaign and which was principally responsible for his victory. Without a doubt, the Natal Indians, so recently the victims of the Smuts regime, will be further attacked. The very limited franchise conceded to them in the "Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act" will probably be lost. In the Cape, the coloured population also stand in danger of losing their vote on the common voters roll. Native trade unions will be banned and no person of colour will be allowed to join the "All White" unions. Already legislation is being drafted which will bar Natives from the skilled and semi-skilled work into which they were allowed to drift during the war years, despite the existence of the Colour Bar Act.

One of the main issues in the election was the need to prevent the further development of a Native Urban proletariat which has increased from half a million to two million in the last few decades. Smuts has admitted the

futility of this. And he saw in further immigration from Europe, principally Britain, the only means to hold the Natives in check in the next decades. Malan will use vicious repressive measures but his campaign for segregation (apartheid) is mainly demagogic, as it will be impossible to hold back this development through the working of economic laws. In a lecture some years ago, Smuts correctly admitted that legislation was powerless to prevent this development. Economic law is always stronger than legal enactments. With the further development of industry the number of Natives in the Urban Areas will be increased.

This process will intensify the present tendency for the formation of a Negro industrial working class. The privileges of the Whites will tend to break down. The standard of living of the White masses will begin to fall. They will begin to understand Marx's dictum that "Labour with a white skin can never be free, while Labour with a black skin is branded."

The decisive struggle for freedom and Socialism will be waged by the oppressed Native masses. The brunt of the struggle will be borne by them.

From none of the White ruling class parties can the native masses expect succour. Only organised under their own banner and programme will they be able to gain the rights which are denied them. Only the unity of the working class, black and white, fighting on a programme of equal rights for all, and working for a United Socialist Republic, can solve the innumerable problems created by the virtual slavery of the Natives and the inevitable fall in the standard of living of the white masses. Their allies, they will find in the ranks of the organised workers of the world and among their brothers in the colonial world.

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INTERVIEW WITH WALESWOOD MINERS

Why Did They Strike? What Is Their Mood?

JOCK HASTON VISITED WALESWOOD, HAD NUMEROUS DISCUSSIONS WITH INDIVIDUAL AND GROUPS OF MINERS. HE WAS INVITED TO ADDRESS THE LODGE. WE PRINT HIS REPORT BELOW.

The miners at Waleswood Colliery, North Derbyshire, are an unhappy and somewhat disillusioned group of workers. Their magnificent stay-down strike—the second—which lasted two weeks, was smashed. The pit has been closed for the production of coal and hundreds of miners have been sent to other pits. More than 100 miners—men over 50—are still working at Waleswood and will be for many months. But they will not be producing coal. They will be drawing off, taking out the machinery and other production gear, and sealing up the pit.

Meanwhile, well over 100 miners, mainly surface workers, are redundant, without hope of alternate work in the district, their homes in danger of being disrupted.

At the same time, a hundred and one anomalies exist. One example: men on compensation or part compensation have been refused work at all the adjoining pits, and since they have all been sacked, they are not receiving their allocation of miners' coal.

The dispute is now some weeks old. But the present mood of the Waleswood miners is of tremendous importance to the organised workers. Scores of pits in the other parts of the country are to be similarly closed and thousands of miners in all parts of the land will shortly be undergoing the same experiences. Joe Hall, in his speech at the Doncaster miners' gala on Saturday, emphasised this point by referring to it again and again.

"Magnificent Output"

When in July, 1947, there were rumours in Waleswood that the pit was to be closed, the Pit Production Committee, on the insistence of the miners, promptly sent a resolution to the North Eastern Divisional Coal Board asking if there was any truth in these rumours. They received a reply in August from the Area No. 1 Production Manager, Mr. Ellis, who declared that: "there was no foundation for these rumours and that the men of Waleswood were to be congratulated on the magnificent output they were establishing and looked forward for the continuance of the same."

Pit To Close

to the Secretary of the Waleswood Lodge, was that there had been a mistake in the official published figure of about a million tons. This figure has been repeated since, however, and no correction has ever been issued.

The miners also claimed that their average output was "just over 26 cwt. per manshift for all employed," that this was 3 to 4 cwt. greater than the figure for the Yorkshire area. According to their Plan this could readily have been boosted to 30 cwt. per employed manshift.

In a later leaflet the miners claimed that the loss in November was less than 10d. per ton and that a report given by an N.C.B. expert had declared the life of the pit to be over 62 years. Having blasted every argument of the N.C.B., the miners were then told that the pit was unsafe!

An examination of the pit was then made by leading officials of the Yorkshire and Derbyshire Miners' Union, Joe Hall and Alwyn Machin, who were accompanied by N.C.B. officials. Both miners' officials, technically experienced, declared that if the claim that the pit was unsafe was the reason for the closure, 50% of the pits in both counties would have to be closed.

New Reasons

The N.C.B. then declared the shaft to be unsafe. But this was refuted by the Derbyshire Miners' Inspector who, upon inspecting the shaft, declared it good for 40 to 50 years.

3. At one of the pits, mechanisation was so bad that there were still over 70 ponies in use. Waleswood was completely mechanised.

4. All complained that the system, or lack of system in comparison with Waleswood was evident from the moment they first went into the pit, with a consequent loss of earnings and production.

5. Most of the men were faced with extra travelling expenses which were not made up. Previously they had lived in the village built upon the pit and their expenses were in the neighbourhood of 1/- per week. Now they have to pay 6/-, 7/- and even more in travelling.

A Little Story With A Meaning

One of the miners expressed in a nutshell what they had hoped nationalisation would achieve.

For years, he said, as they assembled in the morning to go down the pit, a little puffing railway engine attached to the colliery started up and passed them, blowing clouds of smoke and grime into their faces as they stood ready by the cage to descend. If the engine had started 10 minutes later or earlier, they could have been spared considerable discomfort. Proposals from them to the management to this effect were of no avail. When nationalisation was under discussion they used to say to each other: one of the first things we will do is to alter the

for Labour in the next election. They will not vote Tory or Liberal, but such is their disgust that they feel strongly against voting for the existing Labour M.P. The leading workers in the pit are combatting these tendencies. They will no doubt succeed because they are advanced socialist workers. But let it be recognised that these moods are the inevitable product of disillusionment with the State capitalist bureaucratic mismanagement which could develop into a dangerous trend in areas where a less capable and less advanced Lodge Committee exists.

What The Miners Want

In a fighting speech made to the Union Branch, the Secretary, A. Chambers, tried to draw the lessons of their experiences. He pointed to the rationalisation which was now taking place in the industry and the introduction of new machinery had as one of its essential aims the reduction of the number of workers employed in the industry. It was being said behind the scenes in the Union, he said, that the labour force would be cut down to about 400,000 miners, the overwhelming bulk of whom would be concentrated at the coal face. The workers did not oppose the introduction of modern technique. Indeed, they were all for it. But, he continued, only the most vigorous would be kept. It was the older, the weaker, the partly maimed and injured as the result of accident who would suffer. These men had to be protected and their future ensured. The experience of redundancy at Waleswood should be an urgent warning to miners elsewhere, as to what would happen on a national scale when the policy of closing pits really got well under way. It should be a warning to the younger and more vigorous face workers not to stand by, but to fight for the miners who were going to suffer.

If nationalisation is to be a success, he said, from the standpoint of production, socialism and the interests of the working class, the whole set-up in the administration and management must be changed. The Trade Unions must fully participate from top to bottom in the selection and appointment of the administrative and managerial personnel. In addition,

ENGINEERS HAVE A JUST WAGE CLAIM

Following the engineering employers' rejection of the wage claim of 13/- per week made by the Engineering Unions, the National Committee of the A.E.U. has called for a Government Inquiry on wage anomalies and profits in the industry.

This decision followed the defeat of a resolution demanding that strike action should be decided upon now. An inquiry has the specific purpose of ascertaining the facts of the situation. But the facts are well known to the Union leadership. Added to this, delegate after delegate to the National Committee cited additional data which proves the justness of the wage claim up to the hilt. There is not a doubt that the employers can afford to pay.

Profits Rose

The statement of Sir Alexander Ramsay, in the negotiations, that engineering profits have declined by 8½% in the past year has been exploded by figures cited by capitalist journals. The "Economist" points out that the net profits of 165 representative engineering and shipbuilding firms rose from £12,296,000 in 1945-6 to £15,070,000 in 1946-7, an increase of 22½%.

Contrast this to the fact that many skilled workers receive little over £5 per week, shipyard labourers about £4 6s. and women even less.

But it must be remembered that the employers' main argument is the wage-freeze policy of the Government.

Why The Delay

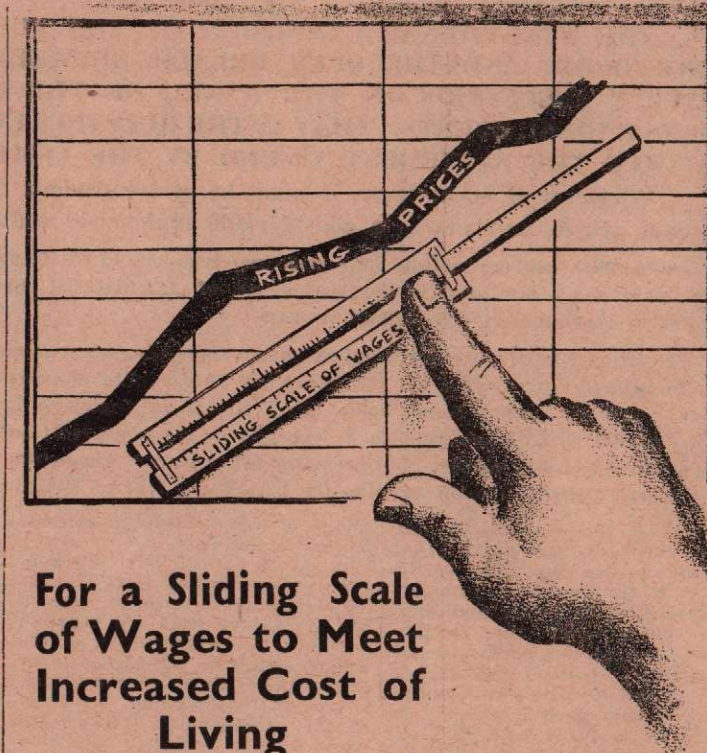
On the question of facts, the Union leaders are well equipped. On the question of the Government's policy, they have been well-informed. Thus, the decision on strike action will not really depend on such an "inquiry". On the contrary, the issue could be decided on now.

The real reason for this "delaying" resolution can be found in the speech of Jack Tanner, the Union's president. "Strike action is a challenge that goes too far," he said. And those who supported him argued against strike action, because they feared it would embarrass the Labour Government.

No Reply from C.P. Peace Conference

now they have been treated to a policy of class collaboration, during which time the leadership of the Engineering Unions have linked arms with the engineering employers, and even broken strikes.

In this respect, the irresponsibility of C.P. spokesmen such as Birch of the A.E.U., is glaringly demonstrated. Stating that "faint heart never won a wage increase" he argued that even a ballot on strike action is unnecessary. Birch and his "Communist" Party colleagues have been in the front ranks of the class-collaborationists until recent times. They have attempted to give "scientific" arguments to show why strikes should not be embarked upon. You cannot pursue such a policy for



For a Sliding Scale of Wages to Meet Increased Cost of Living

"Very Dangerous"—
Tanner

The ground is being prepared for retreat.

In his presidential address, Tanner urged non-interference with private property in the industry, which means non-interference with the basis of profits. He described as "very dangerous" and "very wrong" any industrial action on the part of the rank and file.

Bemoaning the fact that the

years, Bro. Birch, and then, at the first crack on the nose expect to march your battalions into battle, when you have created confusion among your troops.

Struggle Depends On Rank And File

That it is necessary for the Union leadership to give a lead to the rank and file for strike action, no serious socialist would deny.

to be congratulated on the magnificent output they were establishing and looked forward for the continuance of the same."

Pit To Close

The following month, a special meeting was called, where the Branch Union officials and Committee were informed that the pit was to be closed.

The reasons given for this extraordinary step were:

- (1) That there was a loss of upwards of 10/- per ton on coal produced at Waleswood.
- (2) That the life of the pit was only another 8 to 12 years.

Miners' Present Plan

A month later, the leading officials of the Waleswood Union Lodge, together with the Branch Committee, adopted a "Report and Plan" which they had printed, sent to the Area Coal Board and issued as an alternative to the policy of closure of the pit. This was a comprehensive Plan, examining all sides of the short and long term aspects of production at the pit, and was introduced with the statement that: "we hereby submit for your examination our alternative scheme and plan, not just merely in order to offer some justification for the keeping open of Waleswood Colliery, but some practical suggestions which, if vetted by your Technical Advisers, would enable Waleswood Colliery to play an even greater part in its contribution of coal so much needed for National Recovery."

It is not possible to say with certainty, without specialised knowledge, that all the proposals and arguments of the miners in this statement is correct. Sufficient to say that it was never replied to by an authoritative statement from the N.C.B.

From official figures published in "Coal", organ of the Coal Board, the Waleswood miners proved that their average production of coal was higher than that of the N.E. Division (Nov. 1947) and that if their average was produced by the N.E. Division as a whole, there would have been an extra 1,189,490 tons produced in that month.

The only comment made by the officials of the N.C.B., according

Read :

The Rise and Fall of the Comintern

by K. TILAK of India

6/-



ONE OF THE CARTOONS DRAWN BY A MINER WHILE ON STRIKE UNDERGROUND. THE CAPTION OF THE LEAFLET ON WHICH IT WAS ISSUED BY THE COMMITTEE READ: "I AM A WALESWOOD MAN. I HAVE RECEIVED SEVEN DAYS' NOTICE BECAUSE MY MATES DOWN THE PIT ARE NOT ONLY FIGHTING MY BATTLE, BUT YOURS . . ."

The RIGHT TO HAVE A SAY IN INDUSTRY . . ."

When the N.C.B. had refused to negotiate on any pretext, the Waleswood miners struck work and remained down the pit from February 9th to 11th. They came up on a promise that further examination would be given to one of the seams consisting of 200 acres of good coal. The leading officials of the Union who examined this seam declared that the claims of the local Union Committee were completely proved. Despite this the Coal Board were adamant and refused to shift or listen to the pleas of the miners. The pit was to be closed!

Faced with an ultimatum, the miners of Waleswood went on their second stay-down strike. This time it lasted two weeks. Although there were deficiencies in their campaign for support among the other pits in the area which are recognised by the miners themselves, the principal reason for their failure to gain support was that the rest of the Yorkshire miners, who would have probably supported them on another issue, could not see the logic in fighting to keep the pit open if there was work elsewhere.

Experiences

In Other Pits

I heard reports from the Waleswood miners regarding their experiences in other pits to which they had been drafted. Here are some:

1. The furthest they had to travel at Waleswood took 17½ minutes from pit bottom to coal face. But at the adjoining pits to which numbers of them had been drafted, 1 hour and 5 minutes was usual and in some cases much more time was taken up in walking to the place of work with subsequent loss of production. In some parts they travelled 15 minutes on the mechanical conveyance and then walked for 45 minutes.

2. Although one of the statements of the Coal Board was that the airways were bad and one of the reasons for the closing of the pit, the airways at the adjoining colliery to which they had been sent were at best no better than those at Waleswood.

time of passing of the puffing billy to ten minutes later. But after nationalisation, everything went on as before. The smoke and grime still blew into their faces for no earthly reason. The wishes of the miners were not even considered.

Their Hopes Shattered

For two generations these miners at Waleswood have been campaigners for the Labour Party. When the Labour Government came to power, they thought here was what they had worked for all their lives: a government of workers' representatives, responsive to the needs of the working class, and responding to well founded criticism of the working class.

Because they firmly believed this, they put their backs into getting coal. They turned out as high an average as the best pits for many miles around. They participated fully in the Joint Production Committee, making hundreds of concrete proposals to improve output, conceding to the management in the face of what they thought were reasonable propositions to speed up the production of coal.

But Waleswood pit has been closed and their hopes have been shattered by the bureaucratic handling of their dispute with the National Coal Board over the closing of the pit.

The Political Effects

The political effects of the Waleswood experience are of great importance. The workers are bitterly resentful of the bureaucratic mishandling of the dispute by the Labour Government, the Trade Union leadership, and their local M.P. The latter did not even reply to the letters they sent him. He did not turn up at a single meeting, even if only to oppose their point of view. The reaction among the rank and file is said to be: reluctance to pay into central Union funds. A considerable number say they will not vote

who set-up in the industry, and management must be changed. The Trade Unions must fully participate from top to bottom in the selection and appointment of the administrative and managerial personnel. In addition, the workers' representatives at the pit level should have complete access to all accounts, administration plans and proposals and be consulted before final decisions are arrived at, which alter the conditions of work at the pits.

In view of the fact that the former non-productive coal owners are being compensated, in the most liberal manner, as also are managers and directors, it is absolutely essential, he said, that all displaced producers, the workers, should be fully compensated for any change in their conditions of life or work which are to their financial and physical disadvantage. This would apply especially to the older workers in the pits "displaced" and "redundant" as the result of nationalisation.

Their struggle was of a unique character. These workers were not fighting for an extra bob. They were fighting to keep the pit open, or more correctly, to be fully consulted before it was closed; to have their own ideas of an alternative and more productive plan of coal getting discussed and seriously considered. This is the importance of the dispute. This is really one of the roads upon which the fight for socialism must be carried forward in the coming years. This is the road towards workers' control over the state administration; it is the road by which workers will strive to go forward towards real workers' management of nationalised enterprises.

No Reply from C.P. Peace Conference

28th June, 1948.

Conference Secretary,
Room 20, "Daily Worker,"
234, Gray's In Road,
London, W.C.1.

Dear Comrade,

On June 4th we sent you a registered letter requesting credentials for the forthcoming Peace Conference to which you have invited all organisations interested in peace. O daTe we have not yet received an acknowledgement.

As we are anxious to attend this conference, will you please issue the Revolutionary Communist Party with credentials so that the following delegates will be able to participate in the deliberations: Ted Grant, Roy Tearse, Harold Atkinson, Jock Haston. If there is a limit to the number of delegates please inform us.

Yours fraternally,
J. HASTON,
General Secretary.

4th June, 1948.

Secretary,
"Peace Conference,"
"Daily Worker,"
London, W.C.1.

Dear Comrade,

We herewith formally make application for two credential cards for the forthcoming Peace Conference.

Yours fraternally,
J. HASTON,
General Secretary.

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

CAPITALIST POLITICS IN U.S.A.

THE Philadelphia Conference of the American Republican Party has made news over here. To those who nurture illusions about the idealist character of the dollar-loaning, and aid-giving financiers and politicians of the Western Hemisphere, the moronish performances of the principal capitalist parties must come as something of a shock.

And not least, the clowning and corruption in the camp of John Dewey who looks like getting elected President. Even the "Times" correspondent was compelled to hide his embarrassment behind a veil of cynicism. He reported:-

"Most to be regretted, perhaps, are the methods used by the Dewey machine in collecting support. There is no doubt, for instance, that Representative Halleck believed he had been promised the Vice-Presidency for taking the

Indiana delegation into the Dewey camp at an important psychological moment. . . . Such instances are so numerous that most observers are convinced that they are not caused by a sudden attack of inefficiency in an otherwise ruthlessly efficient machine. Never before in recorded history, it was remarked, had so few jobs been offered to so many, and the Alsop brothers suggested this morning that the Federal Government should be reorganized on the basis of the Chase National Bank—with 15 Vice-Presidents. In that case they think it would be possible to redeem all the pledges made since Saturday."

RELIGIOUS "COMMUNISTS"

When Gottwald became Czechoslovakian President the first thing he did was to attend high mass! Thus reports the "Times", June 15: "A more mysterious innovation about which there is much

speculation was that immediately after the ceremony the new President and his wife attended a special Te Deum service in the Cathedral at St. Vitus at which Archbishop Beran officiated. Neither President Masaryk nor President Benes did this."

On June 27, the "Observer" reported: "The patriarch of the Orthodox Church of Rumania, as well as the Archbishops of Bukovina and Moldavia have been dismissed. The new Patriarch is a young Communist village priest named Justinian."

A timely reminder of Lenin's attitude, which was maintained right until his death, is contained in some comments which we quote from his articles on Socialism and Religion.

"Its (the proletarian) Party must be the ideological leader in the fight against every form of mediocrity, including the old official religion and every attempt to renovate it or provide it with a new and different base."

However, even a decision for strike action is not sufficient in the present situation. The rank and file cannot be expected to line themselves up for a struggle at a moment's notice, when for years

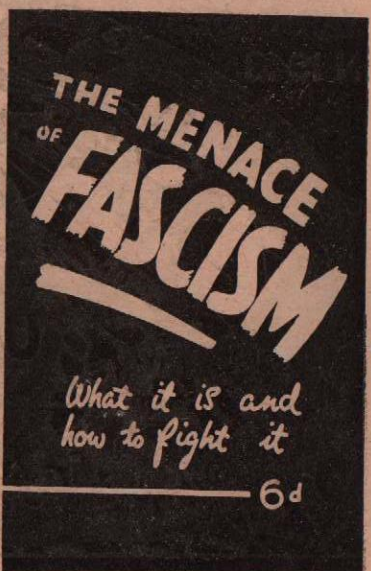
Rank And File

That it is necessary for the Union leadership to give a lead to the rank and file for strike action, no serious socialist would deny. But such action requires the firmest leadership, it requires the highest morale born out of an absolutely clear understanding of the need for such action by the rank and file of the Union. It is the ordinary worker, the rank and file in industry who must carry the burden of the struggle. The strength of the fight will depend upon him.

Demonstrations are being called by some District Committees to protest against the employers' refusal; protests are being registered from factories and Union branches. But demonstrations will be of little consequence unless followed up by broader activity. To be effective, demonstrations, token strikes, and the like must constitute a show of strength which, failing the necessary results, will be backed up by more effective action. Unless the Unions have this perspective, the employers will merely sit back and hold tight, while the energies of the rank and file will be dissipated and while they are lulled to sleep by talk of an "inquiry."

The militants must demand a bold lead from their leading committees. The demonstrations must form the beginnings of a campaign, crowned by the demand that the Executives ballot the membership for strike action. They must see that the demand for an inquiry is not utilised to drop the whole struggle.

Essential To Every Worker A New Pamphlet



SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2
Phone: CUN 2526

EDITOR: E. GRANT.

BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

Socialist Leadership! Not Bureaucratic Dictation

For decades the dockers, together with other sections of the organised working class, looked to the day when they would place the Labour Party in power. They confidently anticipated that when they achieved this they would put an end to their exploitation in the interests of the profits of the employers. But as important in their eyes as of all workers was the desire to end the arbitrary tyranny of the employers, who held the whip of victimisation, unmerited suspension and sacking over their heads.

The dockers confidently anticipated that "their" Government would support them in any battle for their rights which they might be forced to embark upon. They have been bitterly disillusioned. The Labour Government had the power to end the dispute immediately by ordering the penalties against the men to be cancelled. There was no need for any fuss and bother. A simple declaration that the penalties were cancelled would have been sufficient to prevent the development of an "emergency".

But while the tenderest consideration is given to capitalists when they howl against any measures adopted by the Government, the Labour leaders were prepared to turn the country upside down rather than give consideration for a moment to the demands of the dockers, or even give them a hearing by going and meeting the Strike Committee, who, contrary to Attlee's statement were DIRECTLY ELECTED by the dockers themselves.

To anyone with an iota of Socialist or even Trade Union consciousness surely it would be obvious that men do not strike for weeks if there were not an important trade union and working class principle at stake! And as though he were acting in a comic opera, Attlee, on the very day when the Government was invoking Emergency Powers against the strikers, said that he wouldn't meet the strike leaders because he did not "propose to interfere in the strike"! The use of blacklegs and troops to break the strike is apparently not "interference"!

Any workers' leader worthy of the name would be only too willing to discuss with members of his class who think they have a grievance, whether justified or not, and thus settle it in the MOST DEMOCRATIC way possible.

If the Labour leaders adopted one-tenth of the intransigence they display to the workers against the capitalists the Socialist solution of the problems of the workers would be simple.

Attlee, Deakin, and all the Labour leaders resent the "interference" of the workers in the sacred preserve of control and management. By this they defend not the interests of production, or the "nation", but the interests

Peace Conference Adopts Trotskyist Resolution

A CONFERENCE on Socialism and Peace was held at Friends Meeting House in London, on June 26. It was convened by the 1948 Research Group and attended by some 40 to 50 delegates and individuals from various Left-wing organisations including the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers, Peace Pledge Union, Divisional Labour Parties, Divisional Co-operative Parties, Women's Co-op Guilds, I.L.P., World Government Crusade, Anarchists, Common Wealth, Revolutionary Communist Party, Social Science Association.

The Chairman opened by indicating the sponsors' intention of seeking broad lines of agreement between the various organisations and not dwelling on disagreements. And the heterogeneous character of the Conference and the proposed resolutions was attested by the fact that the opening speakers were Mr. George Rogers, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Supply, who advocated the Crusade for World Government, and Miss Sybil Morrison of the P.P.U., who put forward an outright pacifist case.

Attitude Of The R.C.P.

The delegates from the R.C.P., Jock Haston and Harold Atkinson, sought to bring the Conference to a realisation of the very limited character of its representation and function. Trotskyists were prepared to unite with other working class and Left-wing organisations on specific issue on which joint action was possible, they said. But the only basis for such a conference was to discover how far agreement between those assembled was possible—agreement which could be translated into action. It was no use glossing over fundamental differences and going away, having made only pious declarations of faith.

The Conference adopted, often by minority vote of those present, a number of very vague and often contradictory resolutions—mostly of a broad, general character which committed no one to any specific course of action. A resolution moved by the R.C.P. delegates, supported by Commonwealth and the I.L.P., received the highest number of votes of any. It reads as follows:—

socialist and communist system of society.

To this end, without giving up our separate programmes and fundamental policies, the assembled delegates of organisations and individuals, pledge themselves to find the maximum possible unity of action to prevent the ruling class of this country or any part of that ruling class, from preparing a third world war.

This requires that in our own country we carry on a campaign against the present policy of the Labour Government which continues to utilise military might to hold down colonial peoples as well as the people of Germany through the military occupation of that country.

On the international scale it requires that we assist the

workers and socialist intellectuals to carry on a struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. It also recognises the anti-Communist, anti-Socialist character of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the need for the re-establishment of Soviet democracy in Russia, but will oppose any attempts of the capitalist powers to destroy the nationalised and planned economy of Russia and Eastern Europe."

The main value of conference of this nature is to bring together the most active political elements of the various Left-wing forces to thrash out an attitude towards problems facing the working class.

Discussion On Russia

A motion presented by Comrade Haston was accepted, authorising the sponsors to convene a further conference to discuss the nature of Soviet Russia and Stalinism generally, and the attitude of the various organisations towards it.

H.A.

A New Industry In Hiroshima

From the atomised ruins of Hiroshima arises a new "industry"—the commercialisation of the horrors of this most "famous" of Japan's 261 bomb-blasted cities.

For months past, the number of wooden shacks selling "atom bomb souvenirs" in the city, has been increasing. Guides have steered visitors through the rubble, finishing up at an "atom bomb teashop" for refreshments.

In this new industry is the tiny Ninoshima Island. Here recently, Japanese officials visiting the island to choose a site for a memorial to nearby Hiroshima, were met with the horrifying spectacle of 600 putrefying bodies of atom-bomb victims, which had lain there unburied for more than two years.

After the atom bomb fell on Hiroshima in August 1945, thousands of injured sought refuge on Ninoshima Island, which had

FREEDOM FOR MALAYA!

BY T. REILLY

T. Reilly was stationed in Malaya during the war and worked closely with the Malayan Trade Union Movement.

On the pretext that the country is in danger from Communist armies, the British authorities illegalised all the effective Trade Unions in Malaya. The Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions and ten other federations of trade unions have been dissolved. Hundreds of arrests have been made and dozens of workers shot dead by the police.

Bill To Be Rushed Through

Sir Edward Gent, the High Commissioner, said that a Bill will be rushed through the Legislative Council early in July, which will give the most extensive powers to administration and police. Both Communist and non-Communist organisations will be banned by this Bill if they do not toe the line.

The Facts

As a dyed-in-the-wool representative of the rubber planters, Sir John Hay, admitted recently that the cost of the labourers staple diet rice, has multiplied ninefold since 1941. And yet, the recent recommendations of the Joint Wages Commission for increases, are only three times greater than pre-war in lower grades and less in the higher. The result is that the working population is desperately undernourished. In Singapore alone, one in five suffers from tuberculosis, and large numbers die each month from the effect of starvation.

In Malaya, when the worker gets sacked from the plantation he and his whole family are evicted from their home (which is an insanitary shack) and left to starve on the roadside.

The workers moved into action for increased wages and better working conditions.

Examples Of Terror

On one estate in Johore during a strike the police indiscriminately fired and shot dead seven workers. In one Dunlop estate 72 labourers and their families were sacked and thrown out of their homes during a wage dispute.

The position now seems that 12,000 of their fellow workers have also been evicted.

In the Malayan Federation 19 estates and 5 tin mines are idle because of strikes.

Revolutionary Demands

In some instances demands were

British Imperialists from Malaya." "Establish a Malayan democratic party."

United In Unions

The linking up of the Chinese, Indian and Malay workers in Malaya through the Trade Unions has undermined the employers' old tactic of playing off workers of different racial origin, one against another. The Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions, in fighting on behalf of the working class, has engendered the hatred of the planters and the employers as a whole. The Labour Government's efforts to get trade union emissaries to curb the Unions failed. Their efforts to form breakaway unions also failed. In desperation, the Government turned to brutal suppression.

Imperialist Exploitation

Not the petty gangster is dominating developments in Malaya, but the big gangsters of British imperialism, who are bartering the broken lives of their labourers to sell the "dollar-getter", rubber.

In 1947, Malaya supplied over half the world's total rubber output, with America as the biggest buyer. Last year's exports were £150 million, double the pre-war figure.

The Dunlop Rubber Company, which made a profit of over £9 million in 1947, a million pounds more than the 1946 figure, is too interested in increasing profits, to raise the wages of its workers.

Fake Constitution

In demanding that the British Imperialists be chased out of Malaya, the workers are only too well aware that the so-called "liberal Constitution" recently imposed on them, did not represent the interests of the toilers. The Federation Legislature at Kuala Lumpur, which met for the first time in February, consists of 75 members, all of them appointed. In the March elections in Singapore which were boycotted by the Left-wing parties, only 4,300 people voted out of a

workers would be simple. Attlee, Deakin, and all the Labour leaders resent the "interference" of the workers in the sacred preserve of control and management. By this they defend not the interests of production, or the "nation", but the interests of the employers. The workers have the right under a Government claiming to introduce Socialism, and, moreover, one which is appealing for greater production efforts, to examine how production is organised and to directly elect their representatives on to the controlling boards. These representatives must be subject to immediate recall if the workers are dissatisfied with their actions. Only in this way will the farcical situation be avoided whereby a Deakin can claim to speak in the name of thousands of men, yet retain not the slightest confidence of the men he claims to represent.

specific course of action. A resolution moved by the R.C.P. delegates, supported by Commonwealth and the I.L.P., received the highest number of votes of any. It reads as follows:—

R.C.P. Resolution

"Conference considers that the struggle against the outbreak of a new world war is inseparable from the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism nationally and internationally and the establishment of a democratic

For months past, selling "atom bomb souvenirs" in the city, has been increasing. Guides have steered visitors through the rubble, finishing up at an "atom bomb teashop" for refreshments. Last month, reports "News Review," this commercialisation of the horrors of Hiroshima, became an organised business, with the blessing of Hiroshima's Mayor and the local Municipal Sight-Seeing Association.

Announcing the inauguration of municipal bus tours for tourists, the Japanese Travel Bureau stated that the route will include "the ten grimmest piles of atom rubble" in Hiroshima. Buses will carry guide-girls who will give a running commentary during the journey.

One spot not likely to be included

spectacle of 600 putrefying bodies of atom-bomb victims, which had lain there unburied for more than two years.

After the atom bomb fell on Hiroshima in August 1945, thousands of injured sought refuge on Ninoshima. There they died at the rate of 500-600 daily. Ninoshima became a great funeral pyre as the Japanese frantically attempted a mass cremation. When the fuel ran out, the bodies were buried, but as conditions deteriorated survivors abandoned the island, leaving the bodies on the open beaches.

Profits from the sight-seeing tours of Hiroshima, will be used, it is stated, to promote further facilities for sight seeing tourists, which it is hoped will attract one million yearly to the world's foremost horror Exhibit.

In the Malayan Federation 19 estates and 5 tin mines are idle because of strikes.

Revolutionary Demands

In some instances demands were made that employees on the estates should not be dismissed except with the consent of the unions; that estate conductors and contractors and European assistant managers who are not accepted by the unions should be dismissed. On a number of properties, the workers have threatened to take over the administration and to work the properties themselves.

According to the "Financial Times" slogans are appearing, such as: "Long live the Communist Party," "No labour friends should come here and work," "Chase the

Kuala Lumpur, which met for the first time in February, consists of 75 members, all of them appointed. In the March elections in Singapore which were boycotted by the Left-wing parties, only 4,300 people voted out of a population of over half a million.

British Workers Must Protest

British workers must condemn the Labour Government's suppression of the trade union and political organisations of the working class in Malaya.

Demand that the Government stop helping the reactionary planters. Hands off the Malayan Trade Union and Labour Movement. Let the people of Malaya democratically decide their own fate.

South African Election — Its Meaning

BY VINCENT CHARLES

2½ Million Whites Rule Over 9 Million Negroes, Coloured and Indians, who are Disfranchised in this "Democratic" Land. What are the Implications of Malan's Victory?

The defeat of General Smuts in the South African elections and the return to power of Malan and the Nationalists, came as a violent shock to British capitalism. Smuts had for so long faithfully served British imperialism, had for so many years been the foremost champion of the capitalist order of things, that he was more or less taken for granted in his position of authority.

British capital has a great stake in South Africa. Last year 3,721 new companies were registered with a total capital of £98,000,000 and 1,012 companies increased their capital by £68,000,000. In the last two years it is estimated that £300,000,000 of British capital has gone to South Africa as "funk" money.

American capital to a smaller extent has also penetrated South Africa. According to American unofficial estimates in 1946-1947 American companies invested about 19,000,000 dollars, most of it in mining projects. 14 American companies were registered in South Africa with a nominal capital of 9,500,000 dollars. South Africa is the largest dollar paying customer at the present time. American sales to the Union rose from 29,000,000 dollars in 1939 to 414,000,000 in 1947. Ford, Studebaker, General Motors and Chrysler have all built Assembly Plants in the Union.

The immediate reaction to Smuts' fall was a panic on the Stock Exchange. According to the Financial Editor of the "Cape Times", the value of Johannesburg Stock Exchange shares has fallen by £200 million.

But the British Press soon

recovered from the shock and assured big business that no fundamental changes could be expected in nationalist South Africa's relationship with the outside world. Malan himself, not unaffected by the demonstration of "No confidence" in him on the part of the British imperialists, hastened to assure the world in his broadcast on June 4th, that he "unreservedly recognised our relationship to the community of nations," and acknowledged "the uniquely friendly relations existing between South Africa and the United Kingdom."

Significantly, in this, his first broadcast to the nation after his election, Malan spoke in the English language for the first time in 15 years.

The "Financial Times" prominently featured the official opening up of the railway to the Orange Free State Goldfields by the Nationalist Minister of Transport together with the prominent mine magnate, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer.

This, after the attack on the Chamber of Mines, Jewish finance, etc., by the Nationalists indicates the demagogic character of their election campaign.

Farmers Want Native Labour

It is in home affairs, in the attitude towards the vast majority of oppressed native population that the greatest changes will be felt. The election was fought on the racial issue. There were no fundamental differences dividing Smuts from Malan on how the "native

question" should be handled apart from one of degree. Smuts' United Party is largely dependent on the older established South African industries and on the all-powerful Chamber of Mines, which controls the destinies of the fabulous gold fields of the Rand. As such, it was compelled to recognise that a policy of racial segregation, aiming at keeping the African out of the towns, was not practical policies.

Malan, however, depends for most of his votes on the Afrikaner farmer, who wants an abundance of native labour available in the countryside. His urban support comes from Afrikaner elements who fear that their privileged positions would be lost, if the barriers to Native employment in skilled and semi-skilled occupations were lifted. "Apartheid" (separation), was his main election cry and in a country where only the white minority (plus a very small proportion of the coloured people of mixed ancestry) enjoy the vote, "apartheid" won the day.

Malan's Demagogy

A South African wrote to us on the elections:

"With the growth of secondary industry, the Africans were brought into the towns and had to be paid minimum living wages according to their standards. This negligible advantage helped them to find their feet. It also had repercussions in the rural districts; the farm workers became restive and demanded better conditions. The wealthy landowners became alarmed. They also got the ex-service men's vote, who were

thoroughly disgruntled. While the nationalist propaganda was fabulous, the United Party sat smug and confident and kept on harping on the past misdeeds of the Nationalists. The Nationalists told the ignorant backvelders that if they voted for Smuts, their sisters and daughters would soon have to sleep with "niggers." No-one was more surprised at the election results than Malan himself—and he was totally unprepared. They promised the people white bread and mutton, neither of which can be granted. A woman in Pietersburg refused to accept a brown loaf, because she said she was promised white bread as soon as the election was over! There has been a scarcity of meat and already they announced in their newspapers that the shortage will have to continue for at least another month. But the most serious of all is the dwindling of gold reserves, and they are talking of introducing import permits again, which is going to do away with the importation of luxury goods."

Race Hatred Inflamed

The mass basis of the Nationalists is provided by the rural population, both farmers and poor whites. These poor whites have been forced to a position of destitution by the inevitable concentration of landed property and the impossibility of competing with cheap Native labour on the land. A great part of those who have drifted to the towns, particularly those who have not been absorbed in industry and have become de-classed, form a mass basis

for the Nationalists there. The bulk of them are of Dutch or Afrikaner descent who look back longingly to the traditions of the good old days when their forefathers conquered the country and enslaved the native inhabitants. Hence the reactionary demagogy which the demagogues of the Nationalist Party inflame.

It is to gain the support of the most reactionary elements that the Nationalists whip up colour prejudice and at the same time indulge in anti-capitalist, anti-Semitic and anti-English Imperialist demagogy.

In his election programme Malan demanded that not only intercourse between black and white, which is illegal, but even marriage between coloured and white, must be prohibited by law.

The Nationalists and their Afrikaner allies together received 447,719 votes. The United Party got 524,230 votes and the Labour Party 27,360. The constituencies are so weighted that 8,000 votes in a rural constituency elect a member, whereas it requires 10,000 votes for an urban area. The Government, together with their Allies, represents only a minority of the voters.

Malan's Supporters

The Afrikaner Party represent a more moderate wing of the Big landowners. Havenga their leader has been made Finance Minister as an additional placatory gesture to the Mining and imperialist interests. He occupied the same post under both Hertzog and Smuts when they united to form the United Party, and previously under

the Nationalist Ministry of Hertzog. He is regarded as safe and orthodox by the capitalists in both South Africa and Britain.

To the Right of the Nationalists are the open fascist New Order Party of Oswald Pirow, the semi-fascist Ossewabrandwag and the Grey Shirts. These all supported the Nationalists in the elections and did not put up candidates of their own.

"Labour" Party Discriminates

The South African "Labour" Party made a pact with Smuts in order to "keep out the Nationalists." This party, which the British Labour Party regards as a brother Party has nothing in common with Socialism. It is a party of the White aristocracy of Labour, does not allow membership to Natives or coloured people, and stands for the privileges of the Whites as against the suppressed Negro majority.

C.P. Appealed to Smuts

A notable feature of the election campaign was the role of the Communist (Stalinist) Party. Persecuted by the Smuts' regime, it licked the hand of Smuts. Its main slogan was "Keep the Nationalists Out," and except in the three constituencies where it ran its own candidates, the Communist Party urged support for Smuts and the United Party. Shortly before the elections, the Communist Party addressed an abject appeal to Smuts, begging him to ban the Ossewabrandwag

the Grey Shirts and other organisations. Smuts' reply was short and to the point: "The Prime Minister is pleased to note your appeal, and assumes that your organisation will also be placed on the list."

Worst Treated Subject Race

The South African Negroes are the most oppressed of the Native peoples in Africa. In fact it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the exploitation and discriminatory measures make them the worst treated and subject race in the world. The laws restricting their rights number hundreds. They are not allowed out at nights after 9 p.m. in the towns without a permit from their employer; they are not allowed to live in "white" areas but are confined in hovels in special "locations" or ghettos; anything from 10 to 15 miles from where they work. Insanitary and filthy, they are not fit for human beings to live in. They have to have special permits to move from one town to another. They are compelled to carry a special pass and tax receipts for poll taxes which are not paid by whites earning five or ten times as much.

Failure to produce any of these passes or tax documents on demand by any policeman means instant arrest. They are not allowed to own land, in their own country, except in special reserves. Here, in land which is not particularly fertile, they are crowded in a tiny part of South Africa. The poll tax, especially designed for this purpose, forces them out

(Continued on Page 4.)

Stalin's Method of Liquidating Leaders

(Continued from Page 1.)

countries have, or seek, what amounts to extra-territorial rights. The apparatus of the N.K.V.D. is built to ensure the carrying out of Russian policies and the elimination of anti-Stalinist elements. But it seems that Tito was not prepared to give Stalin freedom to build an independent military and police apparatus which could be used against himself and the other members of the Yugoslav Communist Party who supported the orientation of achieving a large measure of independence from Moscow.

The "Daily Worker" was guilty of a further distortion. In printing Tito's protest against the accusation that there had been no elections in Yugoslav C.P., they failed to print the reply of Tito that Stalin's Party was no better. "As for the fact that in a few sections there have been no elections, this was caused only by war-time post-war conditions. It has been the case in many parties including the Russian Bolshevik Party."

Defeat Of N.K.V.D.

That the Stalinist Secret Police have been defeated is indicated by the complaints in the Comintern statement both as regards the supervision of Russian "specialists" and by the demands for democracy in the Yugoslav C.P.

The Yugoslav pupils seem to have learned too well from the Russian master. They got in first and expelled Stalin's stooges from the Party. It cannot be excluded that the recent execution of leading members of the Yugoslav Communist Party as "British agents" was another example of the Stalinist method of eliminating political opponents. A little Balkan version of the Moscow Trials.

The Cominform declaration that the "Yugoslav leaders began to identify the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. with the foreign policy of the imperialist powers. . . ." is clear evidence that the Yugoslavs were objecting to the demands of the Russians, which they considered to be in violation of the interests and national aspirations of the Yugoslavs.

Lenin Opposed Stalin On National Question

The tendency of Stalin to Great Russian chauvinism is nothing new. He has been built up as the great "Leninist authority" on the National Question. In fact, one of the last struggles which Lenin conducted against Stalin before he died was precisely to oppose Stalin's bureaucratic policy towards national minorities. But this, like Lenin's last letter to the Bolshevik Party demanding the removal of Stalin from the position

Tito appears to have learned some lessons from the purges.

Tito Massacred Trotskyists

If the leaders of the Yugoslavian Party have indeed criticised Moscow as the Cominform statement alleges, with arguments "borrowed from the arsenal of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism—on the degeneration of the All-Union Communist Party, on the degeneration of the Soviet Union and so on. . .", we can only hope that some spark of light has penetrated the ranks of the Yugoslav Communist Party. One thing we know. Tito is no Trotskyist. Organisationally and ideologically he is the enemy of Trotskyism. At the period of the liberation of Yugoslavia, Tito was responsible for the physical annihilation of the Trotskyist cadres both inside and outside the Communist Party.

If the pressure fails to take effect and Tito refuses to capitulate, Stalin may be compelled to come to some agreement.

Even now, far from attacking the real crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy, it appears that Tito will try to arrive at some compromise. Experience teaches that Stalin will stop at nothing to wipe out the opposition of the character with which he is now faced in Yugoslavia. The whole monstrous apparatus of Russian propaganda will be turned against the leaders of the Yugoslav regime. The miserable Stalinist hacks in this country, who only yesterday were blazoning Yugoslavia, Tito and his achievements in their press, will now turn their pens against the regime to undermine it and denigrate its leaders.

"No Internal Democracy" —Cominform

For the first time, and only in order to discredit the dissident Tito and his regime, the Stalinists now blurt out some truths. Criticisms that Trotskyists have made of the regime in Yugoslavia, are now revealed as true by the Stalinists themselves. The Cominform statement says:

Inside Yugoslavia "The Party does not have any internal party democracy, elections are not held, there is no criticism or self criticism.

The Central Committee of the Party . . . consists in its majority not of elected but co-opted members. . . . It is quite intolerable that in the Yugoslav Communist Party the most elementary rights of party members are being trampled upon, that the slightest criticism of the incorrect way in which things are run in the Party is followed by grave repressions.

The Information Bureau regards as disgraceful such facts as the expulsion from the Party and arrest of members of the Central Committee Comrades Zujevich, and Hebrang, because they dared to

Pot Calls Kettle Black

If ever there was a case of a pot calling the kettle black, here it is! Tongue in cheek, the Moscow bureaucracy attacks Tito for the lack of democracy. This bureaucracy which murdered practically all the leaders of the October Revolution, which killed and exiled millions to Siberia for opposition to their regime, which is so contemptuous of the rights of the rank and file, that in violation of the Constitution, they have not bothered to hold a Party Conference in Russia for nearly ten years. The last Congress of the Russian Communist Party was held in October 1938. In Lenin's time the Congress was held at least once a year, even during the Civil War.

Any who dare offer a criticism of Stalin are soon on the road to Siberia or destined to die at the hands of a hired assassin. Tito's regime is probably a model of democracy compared to the Russian regime which is the most totalitarian and bureaucratic in the whole of history.

Some of the economic criticisms are undoubtedly correct. They repeat in a distorted way, the criticism which Trotsky made of Stalin's policy from 1923 to 1927. First that Tito underestimated the danger which arises from this; then, after criticism reversed his policy and proceeded to nationalise small shops and other small industries and to take action in the villages before the economic basis had been prepared. Precisely the way Stalin proceeded! From opposing collectivisation to "liquidating the Kulaks as class" and introducing 100% collectivisation. The bureaucrats in Moscow and in the Cominform must have necks of brass to make the criticism that there is no nationalisation of the land in Yugoslavia. This is a correct criticism. But it happens that they have not nationalised the land in a single one of the other satellite states either.

Tito Has Mass Base

The question immediately springs to mind: Why were the facts now enumerated by the Cominform concealed for years? Why is it revealed only when Tito refuses to bow the knee to Stalin and uses Stalin's tricks against him? In place of Stalin's N.K.V.D., Tito has an efficient instrument of his own and is arresting Stalin's stooges, apparently on charges of being in the pay of British and American imperialism! It may even be true that in the circles of the Yugoslav C.P., Marshal Tito, while he does not dare to bring this into the open, has been secretly denouncing the degeneration of the Russian Communist Party and regime.

In Russia, every member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party who was in the leadership of the revolution from 1917 to 1921—every member other than those who died at the hands of the counter-revolution or by natural means, has been shot or otherwise driven to death. Madame Kollontai and Stalin are the sole survivors of the 24 members.

The Central Committees of the Polish Communist Party and Young Communist League, were massacred to a man when living in Russia because of illegal conditions, not once but twice during the late 1930's. These purges took place without great disturbances. But once the national parties have control of their own state apparatus, all the levers of finance, economy, the military and the police, the inevitable effect of such a transformation is to strengthen the position of the national leadership and to create conditions of independence from Moscow.

The Beginning Of A Process

The importance of the present conflict lies in the fact that it is the first important crack in the international front of Stalinism since the end of the war. It is bound to have profound effects on the rank and file members of the Communist Party throughout the world, especially in Western Europe and Britain. It is the beginning of a process of differentiation within the ranks of the Communist Parties, which in the long run will lead to splits.

The extension of the power of the Russian bureaucracy further west from the Russian borders creates new problems for them. While temporarily strengthening them, in the long run it will undermine their position.

It is clear that any Leninist must support the right of any small country to national liberation and freedom if it so desires. All socialists will give critical support to the movement in Yugoslavia to federate with Bulgaria and to gain freedom from direct Moscow domination. At the same time, the workers in Yugoslavia and these countries will fight for the installation of genuine workers' democracy, of the control of the administration of the state and of industry as in the days of Lenin and Trotsky in Russia. This is impossible under the present Tito regime.

For an Independent Socialist Soviet Yugoslavia within an Independent Socialist Soviet Balkans. This can only be part of the struggle for the overthrow of the Capitalist Governments in Europe and the installation of Workers' Democracy in Russia.

Communism means the widest possible freedom and democracy for the people. Without the par-

DOCKERS: The Issues at Stake

(Continued from Page 1.)

to investigate the position. The View Committee confirmed the 3/4d. price without even seeing the job. They had several such committees after this, and only one saw the job; it saw three "sets" lifted. The men's appeals against this miserable price were in vain.

The Ship Sailed

Receiving no satisfaction they were reluctant to continue and said they would work another cargo on the same ship while the whole question was being investigated. But the Port Authorities would not have this and brought in another gang to work the other cargo. After discussing the matter with their mates "on the stones" the eleven men involved voted to finish the zinc oxide cargo and then have the matter looked into. The job was completed and the ship sailed on time.

"A Smack In The Ear"

But the employers were not satisfied. Their arrogance knew no bounds. They decided to "teach" these dockers a lesson for daring to dispute the price. They embarked on a vicious policy of victimisation.

The consternation of the men was aptly summed up by Conn Clancey, one of the eleven involved, in an interview with the "News Chronicle": "Everyone thought the affair was finished, but in the morning I had a letter saying I was suspended. The penalty was like a smack in the ear when the fight was over. We finished all the zinc oxide. There was no time lost. While there was work to do, we worked."

Safeguard The Future

The punishment meted out was one week's suspension and thirteen weeks' deprivation of attendance money. How did the dockers view this? They were justly angered by the argument of the Union bureaucrats, that the deprivation of attendance money to-day means no financial hardship because there is plenty of work in any case. They saw that to accept this victimisation meant to accept the right of the Port Employers to wield the stick of forcible unemployment in any future dispute over price. And they have no guarantee that work will always be plentiful on the docks. They realise the possibilities of unemployment in the future, when this weapon will be used, not only to throw dockers out of a job, but to drive prices down. Their anger was easily understood.

Union Officials Had Majority

The worst aspect of the victimisation was that the Union officials, at the moment they

at which the Union representatives had been in a majority." ("Daily Mail," 23/6/48).

A Question Of T.U. Principle

The dockers gave the only possible answer.

Their solid fighting front undoubtedly led to the establishment of a Tribunal, with an "independent" chairman, which recommended the reduction of the 13 weeks' deprivation of attendance money to two weeks. Had the strike ended there the dockers could have rightly claimed that the bosses had been compelled to climb down. But they were not concerned with shallow prestige. To them it was a question of principle which had to be settled. It made no difference if the penalty was one week, two weeks or a hundred weeks. The precedent was there whatever the duration of the sentence. Their demand was simple: complete withdrawal of the penalties against the eleven men and the clarification of the clause in the Docks Agreement which gave rise to them.

Why Government Refused

Why did the Government and the employers not end the strike immediately by granting these elementary demands of the dockers? Because, they too recognised the significance of the dispute.

Instead, they chose to hold the nation up to ransom. They chose to invoke Emergency Powers. They chose to spend taxpayers' money on troop movements. They chose to do all these things, and more, rather than withdraw the unjust penalties.

The "Times" gave the game away when it stated that to give way to the dockers would "spell the end of the efficient ordering of dock work," which should read: "spell the end of the efficient ordering about of the dock worker."

Deakin — Misleader

Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, is rapidly becoming one of the most hated figures in the Trade Union movement. Not content with making public statements supporting the sentences on the eleven men, it was he who began to discover a "Red Plot."

The "docker is being made a political pawn" and "the spread of the strike has been according to careful instructions," he said. Unable to stand up to the genuine case of the men, conscious of his lack of prestige among the rank and file, he felt the need to indulge in this type of "intrinsic" story. However, the very vagueness of his innuendoes led to the suggestion that they were

correct that members of the "Communist" Party had been in a majority, that does not alter the situation.

To suggest that the dockers would take such action, which brought hardship to themselves and their families, because "agitators" urged them to do so, is nothing short of a slander on the intelligence of the working class. That Deakin should use such arguments merely underlines his contempt for the rank and file who pay his wages. Afraid of the high standing of the Strike Committee in the eyes of the rank and file, he chose to use these despicable methods.

A Warning

The conduct of the Union officials during this strike and previous strikes must sound a note of warning to the rank and file. Deakin and the others, with their fat salaries and expense accounts, having long forgotten what it is like to do a hard day's work under filthy conditions, have become so far removed from the interests of the rank and file, that they no longer represent those interests.

Safely saddled in their jobs, owing to the bureaucratic structure of this octopus union, they commit these crimes against the working class and continue in their jobs, thumbing their noses at the rank and file.

There will be repeat performances, getting worse each time, if the rank and file of the Union does not take the matter in hand.

The dockers must take the fighting spirit of their strike right into the heart of the Union apparatus. They must fight to establish the position where no official receives more than the average wage of the worker on the job, and where each one of them is subject to regular election every twelve months and recall at a moment's notice. In this way the basis can be laid for the establishment of a fighting leadership. Deakin and his ilk would soon relinquish their posts under these conditions.

The dockers returned to work on the basis of the holding of a public inquiry into the Dock Scheme, with special reference to Clause 16 (the punishment clause). The Strike Committee recommended this step "in view of the complete line-up of reactionary forces against us and the considerable complacency of the respective factions—employers, higher trade union officials and the Government." The resolution went on to state that they would tolerate no victimisation. The spokesman of the Committee made it clear that they were "not afraid of a thousand Atlees." The Committee retained the confidence of the rank and file, who passed a vote of thanks for their handling

arrange their relations with each other as to ensure that the real control is centred in Moscow.

The first policy has considerable disadvantages in that it would violate the national aspirations of the people of the border states and meet with widespread opposition not only from the broad mass of the people, but even from the ranks of the Communist Parties themselves. It could only be carried out after long preparation and the assurance of one hundred per cent. state domination centrally and in the localities by the Russian Stalinists. To carry it out with any measure of force would arouse the hostility of the whole of the European working class.

The second policy would not ensure such complete subjugation and control of the border states but it has certain advantages in that real control would rest in Moscow while the nominal independence of these countries could be used to diplomatic and economic advantage. It would still be possible to prevent the federation of the border states in such a way as to strengthen their relative independence in relation to Moscow.

Stalin's Great Russian Chauvinism

The whole history of Stalinism—of Great Russian chauvinism—and especially the most recent conflicts of policy, indicate that Stalin will fight with every possible weapon to prevent the creation of independent

a strengthening of the Communist Parties of these countries and their states as against the domination of Moscow. It is, therefore, one policy which Moscow will fight with every weapon it can muster until and unless, it is assured of absolute control through puppets.

Cominform Statement

In the statement of the Cominform, as quoted in the "Daily Worker" of June 30th, they say:

"The leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party is carrying out a policy unfriendly toward the Soviet Union and to the All-Union Communist Party."

In Yugoslavia an unworthy policy of belittling Soviet military experts and discrediting the Soviet Army has been permitted. Soviet civilian specialists in Yugoslavia have been subjected to a special regime, on the basis of which they were put under the surveillance of State security organs and subjected to shadowing.

The representative of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) at the Information Bureau, Comrade Yudin, and a number of official representatives of the Soviet Union in Yugoslavia, were subjected to the same shadowing and supervision on the part of the State security organs of Yugoslavia.

Unworthy Attitude

All these and other similar facts prove that the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party have taken

Tito and Co. to the accusation that Russian "specialists" were shadowed, as follows:

"This is a definite lie. It is a definite lie that anybody was followed. From the liberation until to-day all members of the party have given full co-operation to Soviet citizens."

What "Daily Worker" Did Not Report

The "Daily Worker" did not finish the quote and in this it both deliberately misinformed its readers, and indicated that its editors were not prepared to state the case for the Yugoslavs fairly and objectively. Already they had taken sides in the dispute as mere Russian hacks. The Yugoslavian Communist Party statement went on to declare that: "On the contrary, it is absolutely true, as pointed out in our letter of April 13, that from the time of the liberation until to-day members of the Soviet intelligence service attempted without consideration to recruit Yugoslavs."

Let the editors of the "Daily Worker" explain to its readers the omission of this fundamental part of its brother Party's reply.

Extra Territorial Rights Demanded

The facts are that the Stalinist military and "civil" specialists in Yugoslavia, as in all other satellite

(Continued on Page 4.)

CAN AFFORD TO PAY

That the wage claims of the workers in the Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry can be well met out of the swollen profits of the employers in this industry is amply demonstrated by the figures below which show how well they are doing.

The "Economist" recently reported that: 99 engineering firms made a gross profit of £6,143,000 in 1945-46, £7,442,000 in 1946-47; Net profits were, £3,331,000 in 1945-46, £3,875,000 in 1946-47.

55 firms in motors, cycles and aircraft made gross profits of £15,204,000 in 1945-46, and £18,259,000 in 1946-47; Net profits, £6,945,000 in 1945-46 and £8,801,000 in 1946-47.

11 shipbuilding firms made gross profits of £3,801,000 in 1945-46, £4,438,000 in 1946-47; Net profits were, £2,020,000 in 1945-46 and £2,394,000 in 1946-7.

22 engineering firms which issued their statements of account this year showed £1,000,000 more earned in 1947 than in 1946. Some examples of the latest reported profits:

	NET PROFIT	
	1946	1947
	£	£
Jaguar Cars	22,102	113,446
Aveling-Barford	23,583	111,866
Bristol Airplanes	346,721	407,786
North British Locos	118,513	124,845
Brown Bros.	112,094	168,144
Vauxhall Motors	817,096	853,649
Boulton and Pauls	24,690	100,219
Broom and Wade	51,368	113,713
Raleigh Industries	165,224	171,793
Harland and Wolff	2,320,000	1,911,000
Vickers	2,399,000	1,225,000
Fords Motors	1,099,000	614,940

point. Those who saw the 'hand of Moscow' in the General Strike of 1926 were laughed to scorn up to about a year ago. But now Mr. Attlee himself says the Communists are making mischief. We welcome this belated conversion to reality and common sense . . ."

"Wanton, Irresponsible"

No trick was too scurvy for the pen-hacks of Fleet Street in an effort to work up public opinion against the strikers. The "Daily Mail", which praises the Labour leaders had described the strike as "wanton, irresponsible, unnecessary—everything everyone has called it." The "Daily Telegraph", (19/6/48) wailed: "On a baseless grievance the strikers are holding up no fewer than 117 ships", and in one of the most vicious articles of all, the "Daily Mirror", (24/6/48), calling to women to drive the strikers back to work, had the temerity to state: "the dockers have no real grievances at all."

Who are these dockers who were being slandered? They are the same workers who, during the war were so loudly praised by Churchill, Bevin, Attlee and all for sticking to their task of maintaining supplies in the midst of the heaviest bombing that was experienced throughout Britain. They are the same workers who, during the Fuel Crisis, were held up by everyone as saviours because they effected the quickest turn-round of

contact. It gets into the nose, eyes, mouth and hair. The dockers maintain it is generally injurious to the health. It ruins the clothing of those working on it. As one of the dockers involved related: "The stuff penetrates everything. . . . Down the hatch it was impossible to see."

No Protective Clothing

But the men did not refuse to handle it. They merely asked for certain reasonable conditions. They wanted protective clothing. The employers, who talk about millions of dollars worth of export trade being lost, who weep about food going rotten, said they could not provide such clothing for these eleven men.

5/- Ton "Dirty Money"

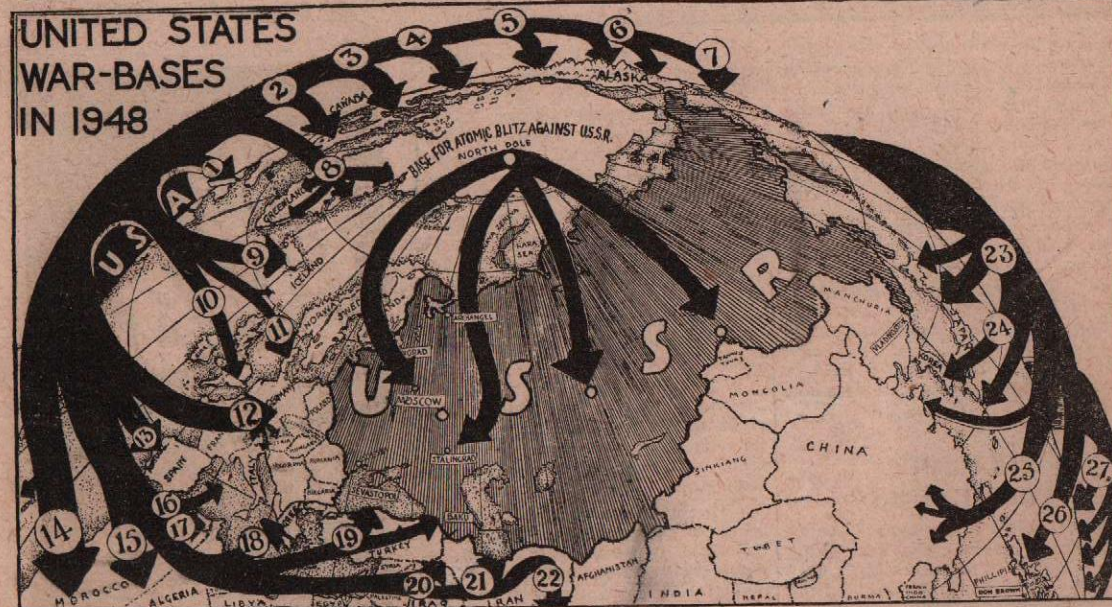
The men demanded "dirty money" to replace their ruined clothing. (Ruined health cannot be replaced!) They asked for an all-in rate of 5/- per ton, there being no established price "in the book" for this job. This was refused and they were offered 3/4d. per ton, the price of lampblack and ochre, which, bad as it is, is nowhere near as filthy a cargo as zinc oxide.

Men Showed Restraint

Far from acting "impetuously", these men showed considerable restraint. They went on working and appealed against the price. They asked for a View Committee (Continued on Page 4.)

TWO YEARS AFTER WORLD II AMERICA HAS 434 FOREIGN WAR BASES

Arrows 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 on map shows Bases in Canada; 6 and 7 Alaska and the Aleutians; 8 Greenland; 9 Iceland; 10 Britain; 11 Denmark; 12 Germany; 13 Portugal and Spain; 14 Antarctic; 15 Belgian Congo; 16 Italy, Mediterranean; 17 North Africa; 18 Greece; 19 Turkey; 20 Iraq; 21 Iran; 22 Arabia; 23 Japan; 24 South Korea; 25 China; 26 Phillipines; 27 Pacific Islands.



From "Blitz," India.

U.S. Imperialism Prepares War

C.P. PEACE CONFERENCE SIDETRACKS ISSUE

"I believe war to be immoral, un-Christian and silly, and no true civilisation would include war as part of its organisation."

This is what Dame Sybil Thorndike states in an interview with the "Daily Worker" as propaganda for the "Daily Worker" Peace Conference on July 17th.

Sincere, though this may be, such sentimental observations do not form a programme upon which to fight the pending imperialist war.

The above quotation does, however, show clearly the character of the Communist Party campaign, as do the various interviews with dignitaries of the Church, including Bishops and vicars.

In the original appeal published in the "Daily Worker" of April 10th, can be seen the keynote of the Conference:—

"... it is not intended to adopt resolutions or to commit the organisations represented to views that may be expressed."

This is obviously intended to reassure the middle class and "progressive" capitalist organisations taking part.

The problem of war and peace

is a class question which can only be solved on class lines. War does not arise from ill-will or immorality on the part of the ruling class. It arises out of the contradictions of capitalism; it is a necessity of the system.

"Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world and not only of one country, will wars become impossible," wrote Lenin in "War and the Workers."

At the present time American Imperialism is planning a war of aggression against Russia, which, while degenerated to a very great extent, still has a regime which rests on the social foundations created by the October Revolution; a system which is in mortal antagonism with the capitalist system of private property. If capitalism remains in America and Western Europe, it will be absolutely impossible to avoid war.

As the map on this page shows, America's war machine spreads from the Arctic wastes to South Sea atolls until today it has 434 bases outside America.

President Truman presented Congress with America's largest peace-time budget, 70 per cent. of which goes to war.

£614,500,000 has been spent on the development of the atom bomb.

The Air Policy Commission calls for preparation for atom and bacterial warfare.

The War Department keeps 60 Government-owned industrial plants ready for war work. 2,745 new airports are to be built.

Tailing behind America, Britain is spending vast sums far exceeding former preparations.

To combat the war preparations of the American-Anglo imperialists will require not pacifist peace conferences which bind no-one to any policy, but a ruthless class struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist class. No amount of humanitarian sentiments can counter the atom bomb and flying missiles which are being produced by the thugsmen. The best sections of the middle class can be won to a genuine struggle against war only on the basis of proclaiming the harsh truth: that the struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism, and that only the working class through its mass organisations, can lead this struggle.

Before World War II, the Communist Parties of the world organised similar anti-war Conferences and parades on the basis of a broad popular front which included so-called "progressive" elements among the capitalist class. Their only result was to delude

militant sections of the workers that it was possible to avoid war under capitalism.

In the first World War, Lenin proclaimed it a crime to the cause of the working class and socialism to pretend that anything less than a series of successful socialist revolutions could prevent war. If the first world war did not result in the destruction of capitalism, Lenin forecast it would be followed by a Second, and a Third, and even a Tenth imperialist war, till civilisation itself would be destroyed. After the terrible Second World War, this should be clear to anyone with the faintest knowledge of Marxism.

Conferences of this nature which do not mobilise the masses for action against capitalism can only sow illusions and lull the masses into a false sense of security. THERE CAN BE NO PERMANENT PEACE UNDER CAPITALISM.

Only workers' organisations drawing behind them the masses of the middle class for a programme of struggle for workers' power and for the international solidarity of the working class can really fight for peace. Only the setting up of a Socialist United States of Europe and the world can put an end to the danger of war.