

POST-WAR PROMISES

During the last world war, the capitalists promised a "land fit for heroes" to live in. The workers know what they got in return for their sacrifices and sorrows—the dole, unemployment, hunger and the Means Test. This time Churchill is repeating the same lies as Lloyd George. He says the workers will have "work, food and homes" when the war is over. This is expressed in the capitalists' promises of "full employment" and social security. This is an even greater deception than what the ruling class told the workers in the last war.

The Government has proposed to adopt the Beveridge report in a much modified form; the Labour leaders hold it up as the be-all and end-all of "social security".

This report recommended that an unemployed single worker should receive 24/-. With his wife and child he should receive 48/-. But this would be granted only on the basis of compulsory attendance at a "training" school, as they used to be known in the old days, slave camp.

During the bad old days of the Means Test, a male worker, providing he had no family to keep him, received 10/- on the dole, with an additional 10/- for his wife and 3/- for each child.

According to the "Economist", of June 1944, the cost of living was then 54 per cent above that of 1938. Thus a single worker would be worse off under the much boosted Beveridge scheme, than he was in 1938 and a married man with children only a little better off.

The workers of S. Wales know what "social security" is like, on the model of the pre-war dole. Too many have had years of living this kind of social security. No need to portray its poverty, misery and degradation here. No worker wants to go back to these terrible days.

But Beveridge calculated that his scheme would only operate if unemployment was reduced below a million and a half! If the number of unemployed rises over that figure the scheme will not work and "social security" will collapse.

Yet on the question of "full employment", Beveridge is reported by the "Times" of Dec. 7th 1943, to have made the following statement:

"If we have mass unemployment we may not be able to carry out the proposals in my report. We may give people the money, but there will not be the goods for them, and so there will be want. I do not know how we shall continue productive employment after the war. When people say we cannot abolish unemployment, however, I say we have abolished it twice in my lifetime—during the last war and during this war. I simply will not believe it is impossible to abolish mass unemployment but I do not know how it is to be done, and I do not know whether anybody else knows."

Thus, he reveals the bankruptcy of ideas in even the most "progressive" of capitalist politicians!

But instead of denouncing Beveridge and all the fake "schemes" of the capitalists, with which they hope to gull the workers and patch up capitalism, the Labour leaders make Beveridge their ideal of social security for after the war. It is well to see that these gentlemen have forgotten what it is like to live like workers and suffer the degradation and demoralisation of the dole.

Instead of supporting these fake schemes, the Labour leaders should be fighting for THE SHARING OUT OF WORK ON THE BASIS OF A REDUCTION IN HOURS, WITHOUT DECREASE IN WAGES.

Instead of supporting fake schemes, the Labour leaders should be demanding WORK OR FULL MAINTENANCE as the minimum to which an unemployed worker is entitled. It is the fault of the capitalists and their system that unemployment exists—let the capitalists bear the burden. If they say capitalism cannot afford it—and they are right—we say, then the workers cannot afford capitalism.

There is only one real basis for social security and that solution is propagated by the Revolutionary Communist Party. It is the overthrow and destruction of capitalism, the nationalisation (without compensating the capitalists) of the means of production, including the banks, the mines, steel works and transport together with all other basic industry and the operation of industry under control of Workers' Committees.

We Trotskyists offer no false illusions: there can be no social security whilst capitalism remains.

GERMAN WORKER IS OUR ALLY

The leaders of the Labour Party, together with the most recent adherent to Churchill, his Majesties' Royal Communist Party—led by Harry Pollitt, echo the capitalists in their campaign and blame the German workers and peasants for the war.

It is a slander and a despicable lie to blame the German people, the German workers. They are just as much to blame for the war, or just as little, as the British workers, no more and no less.

The workers of S. Wales know that the German working class are not, and never have been Nazis. They know that the German working class has a proud record of socialist organisation, second to none. The German workers were the best organised and most class-conscious in the world until their organisations were shattered by the Nazis, when the latter came to power on the votes of the middle class.

How does it come then, some workers ask, that the German workers don't revolt and overthrow Hitler and his gang? It is easy to answer this question if we keep in mind the policy of unconditional surrender which is adhered to by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin alike.

This policy means that Germany is to be carved up into pieces. Chunks are to be hewn off for Poland, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Belgium, France. What is left of German industry is to be largely destroyed and millions of Germans will be deported to Russia and elsewhere to work as slaves, building up what has been destroyed by the war, in which they had no say or no gain.

That the German workers will respond to fraternal greetings is shown by an incident which took place only a few days ago in Lancashire.

A British soldier with his wife (both revolutionary communists) were passing a German prisoner of war camp where hundreds of German soldiers, prisoners were watching a football match. The British soldier (in uniform) and his wife gave the Red Front Fighters salute—the clenched fist. Almost every one of the hundreds there clenched their fist in reply and were obviously delighted at the gesture of revolutionary class solidarity. They knew the significance of the clenched fist. And this is what the allies fear. That is why they have adopted the same racial principles as Hitler. Hitler

persecutes Jews, Poles and "foreigners" and propagates the doctrine of race inferiority. Now the Allies have adopted exactly the same methods. American and British soldiers have been forbidden to talk or have any association with German workers, children or families on pain of imprisonment or a heavy fine. But we can be sure that just as in Italy the officers and Generals and the big capitalists will hob-nob with their opposite numbers of Germany—that is with those responsible for Hitler. We can be sure that it will be the German workers who will be made to pay the price for the crimes of the Nazis.

When the miners of Wales and Yorkshire were on strike against the British coalowners, the Nazis did not dare to publish news of this in Germany. They were afraid of the effect this would have on the miners and workers of Germany. Once the German workers again saw that the British workers were not supporting their ruling class it would have resulted in a renewed struggle inside Germany.

Millions of workers believe that Stalin has a different policy from Churchill and Roosevelt for post-war Europe and that he will help the revolutionary movement of the working class. But this is an illusion which will be rudely shattered as the war draws to a close. Stalin fears a communist Germany because it will arouse a response among the Russian masses also, who will demand a return to the programme of Lenin in the Soviet Union. Churchill bluntly warned in the House of Commons that the German people could not escape punishment if they turned to Communism. Indeed, if the German workers were to establish a communist system the British workers would be faced with another war of intervention. Those sincere rank and file members of the Communist Party who believe that Stalin would oppose this counter-revolutionary policy of Churchill need only read the "Daily Worker" hate campaign against the German people.

Even more open than Churchill, Stalin's spokesman, Lya Ehrenburg, in a statement to the "Christian Science Monitor" published on 7th August 1944, made Stalin's position quite clear. Asked what the Russians would do in the event of a revolt in Germany which would "overthrow Hitler and welcome the advancing Red

Army with appropriate banners", he replied: "THESE WOULD BE THE FIRST PEOPLE WE WOULD SHOOT."

The policy of Anglo-American imperialism and of Stalin is not aimed to appeal to the German worker. It is not meant to help the German workers to revolt. They fear a communist Germany.

Their policy of carving Germany up, smashing the factories and deporting millions of workers as slave labour is the same policy as was pursued by the Nazis when they over-ran Europe.

No German worker can relish such a fate. It is impossible to expect him to take his life in his hands and revolt when this is the kind of peace that is promised him.

It is undoubtedly because of this that he still clings to the discipline of the Nazis. Meanwhile, he is seeking, in vain, for a gesture of class solidarity from the workers of Britain and the rest of the world.

The capitalist class and the Tory-Labour Government cannot appeal to the German workers. It is not in their class interests to do so. Only a workers' Britain can make such an appeal. Only a class appeal from the British workers, fighting against their own capitalist class can give the German workers hope and help them to find the courage to strike a blow and destroy the Nazis.

Meanwhile, thousands of British, American and Russian tommies are being slaughtered in the front together with their German class brothers because such an appeal is not and cannot be made by the present Government.

Lenin knew the qualities of the German working class.

"We know another enemy of German imperialism," said Lenin, "which blind people have not noticed—the German workers."

"The German proletariat is the most trustworthy and the most reliable ally of the Russian and the world proletarian revolution."

The German workers are today, as yesterday, our greatest ally.

In the last war the wish workers had a fine record of class solidarity with the German workers. We are confident that you, the workers of Neath, will demonstrate that same spirit of internationalism in the present election.

The Labour-Tory Coalition candidate stands for a Vansittart policy—the policy of his party.

Support the Revolutionary Communist candidate on whose banner is blazoned "WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE."

Vote Against the Coalition

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The masses are tired of this misrule. Everywhere disgust and criticism are manifest. Everywhere the demand to end the coalition is heard. The workers and the middle class are turning to Socialism. And the workers' organisations are turning their backs on Socialism.

The Labour leaders, who could win a majority at the polls now, acquiesce in the Tory plan to wait for a general election till "after the war with Germany". They do not merely acquiesce; they connive at it. Today, Churchill's policy at home and abroad stands exposed in the eyes of the workers. At the end of the war with Germany, Churchill can prepare a coupon election. The Labour leaders are frightened of power. For with power in their hands they can plead no alibi. And they want an alibi—an alibi to maintain the status quo.

But the Labour rank and file are becoming restive. Now is the time to end the truce. Now is the time for a general election. Now is the time to wage a struggle for power on a socialist programme. Labour workers must not allow the Tories to choose the time most suitable to themselves.

The main task of revolutionaries consists in helping to mobilise the masses in the reassertion of their class independence on an independent class programme. Labour workers must force the leaders to take power.

Once the workers have been mobilised on this road, they would not easily be prevented by their treacherous leaders from carrying a socialist programme into effect. The struggle to place the Labour programme in power on a socialist programme is the best way of exposing these leaders as lackeys of the capitalist class.

The Revolutionary Communist Party will fight side by side with the working class in every step they take at breaking down the stranglehold of class collaboration. Along this road the majority of the British workers will break with reformism and recognise in our party the only instrument which will lead to the conquest of power by the workers as a class, and which alone can solve their problems and elevate their lives through a socialist society.

POST WAR REALITY

An examination of Britain's position in the field of world economy, will soon dispose of any illusions that some workers might have that the capitalists or Labour leaders can and will operate Beveridge.

In the years from 1936 to 1938, the average export of goods from Britain was approximately £543 million. This included about £65 million of colonial and foreign goods re-exported. But in the meantime Britain imported about £930 million of goods. On the basis of this adverse balance of trade the population of these isles would have starved inside a few years.

But the adverse balance of trade was made up with income from foreign investments, shipping services abroad and profits on banking and insurance loans.

Approximately £220,000,000 a year came into Britain from these foreign investments. About £100,000,000 a year from shipping services and charters to foreign countries and £40,000,000 from banking and insurance loans.

Thus, as the world's super exploiter, British imperialism managed to carry on and maintain the minimum standards of living for the British workers.

According to official government figures recently published as a White Paper, exports have declined to 29 per cent of what they were in 1938. America has gobbled up many British markets which will never be supplied by British goods again.

Canada, one time an important market for British goods is now one of the world's greatest producers and has built numerous industries which will compete with Britain on the world market after the war. South America has also built numerous factories which will completely oust British goods. In Australia, a whole range of products are now produced by Australian labour which used to be imported from Britain. Not only that, but Australia has now more up to date cotton manufacturing equipment than is to be found in Manchester. The Prime Minister of Australia recently pointed out that Britain will have to share the markets in the Far East with the Australian capitalist class.

Even in backward India, held in bondage, modern steel and other works have been erected which will supply the home market and oust British goods.

Tin plate and coal are two of the exports which are likely to be hard hit in the post-war period.

The last world war saw Britain lose her position of domination of the world to America. This war has completed the process.

In the most favourable future circumstances for capitalist Britain, it is crystal clear that as an industrial power Britain is declining fast. And this inevitably means that the standards of the workers will be savagely attacked in the scramble for a declining post-war market.

But this is only a part of the sorry picture. According to Labour research of Jan. 1945, £1,065 million of overseas investments out of a total of £5,000 million have been sold. Meanwhile, British indebtedness abroad now stands at £3,000 million according to the economist, Lord Keynes.

During the war also, Britain has lost more than half her tonnage of ships whilst the U.S. has trebled her merchant navy.

All this means an increasingly heavy adverse balance of trade. To maintain even the pre-war standards, Britain will have to more than double her exports, which is absolutely impossible in a rapidly declining world market.

If there were over 3 million unemployed at the depths of the depression, it is clear that 3 million unemployed will be normal in a short period in post-war Britain.

On this question, one of the most objective Labour economists, G. D. H. Cole writes: "... Long before continental Europe emerges from the difficulties... (of the post-war period) Great Britain will have been ruined... British standards of living will have fallen with a thump, and there will be a flight from Great Britain—if there is anywhere to flee to—as considerable as the flight out of Ireland in the 19th century."

Capitalist Britain is rushing madly towards economic chaos and crisis. Going down, the capitalists will try to drag the workers down as well. They will try to rest the burden of the post-war crisis on the backs of the workers.

Instead of warning the workers and preparing to sweep rotten capitalism into the sea, the Labour leaders are making every preparation to help the capitalists with their plans.

Workers of all lands Unite

On a world scale, capitalism is in its death agony. Its characteristic features are being driven home into the very marrow and bones of the workers of the world: economic crisis in peace time, mass unemployment, misery and starvation amidst plenty. In war time, profits galore for the capitalists and the slaughter and mutilation of the toilers of all lands.

As the war draws to a close and the defeat of the Nazis appears inevitable, the revolutionary movement begins to spread from one country to another. In these areas of Europe now occupied by Anglo-American imperialism and by Stalin, the revolutionary fervour has reached a high pitch.

In all these countries a desperate struggle is commencing between the workers and capitalists. Led by conscious counter-revolutionary capitalist politicians in various disguise, the ruling class is striking at every vestige of workers' power and seeking to re-establish the full authority of the discredited capitalist class. They are receiving the full support of British and American bayonets—and have the backing of the Labour leaders.

Only the blind can close their eyes to this movement which is growing in Europe and which will spread to Britain in the coming period. Just as the capitalists have a conscious counter-revolutionary leadership, so must the working class have a conscious revolutionary party to lead the movement and give it a conscious aim: the victory of the workers and the establishment of socialism.

Out of the last war, the workers of Russia took power under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. They set up the Third International, whose aim was to unite the workers of the world and lead them to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe and the world.

It is not popular to criticise Stalin today because of the victories of the Red Army. But we tell the truth to the Working class. Stalin has deserted the policy of world communism, of world revolution. Instead of equality in Russia, a bureaucracy with special privileges of its own has grown up. It is not interested in socialism in other parts of the world but in the pro-

servation of these special privileges. Instead of international socialism, it propagates race hatred. Similar to the Bevins, the Citrines and Morrisons in this country the Stalinist bureaucracy is quite satisfied with things as they are and is hostile to communist revolution. While we defend unconditionally the Soviet Union and the Red Army from all capitalist attack, we oppose Stalin's policy which is leading the Soviet Union and the workers of the world to disaster. Just as we defend the Trade Unions as organs of the working class against all capitalist attack, we oppose the policy of the Trade Union and Labour leadership as being detrimental to the interests of these organisations. We fight to transform the Trade Unions into fighting organs of the working class, so we fight to restore in the Soviet Union the same rights and conditions which existed in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

As a result of Stalin's policy today the "Communist" Party of Great Britain led by Pollitt and Horner acts as an agency of the boss class, strike-breaking, sowing false hopes and illusions in capitalism, and demoralising the best militant fighters in the working class movement. As in America and other countries, the Communist Parties of the world want to continue the policy for 20 and more years.

In a speech by Earl Browder, leader of the American Stalinist Party, delivered on the occasion of the dissolution of the American Communist Party, the "News Chronicle" reports the substance of his speech as follows:

"They, (Communists) were to embrace the doctrine of free enterprise and co-operate in making this capitalism work effectively in the post-war world."

"Class warfare was over; there must now be compromise between classes, groups and tendencies. There must be no strikes. The investment of American capital in foreign markets hitherto condemned as imperialism was to be accepted and encouraged."

17th January, 1944. The leaders of the French Communist Party, like Browder made the following statements, reported in the "Evening Standard", of the 15th September, 1944:

"French capitalists are 'idiots' if they are afraid of Communism, according to Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the French Communist Party who outlined to me today the post-war programme of his Party.

He went on to say that far from his party insisting on a Communist Government for France they will even refrain from putting forward a programme for radical social reform."

But the problems of Europe and Britain cannot be solved without the destruction of capitalism. A capitalist Europe will lead to another world war and would inevitably herald the attack on Russia by America and Britain by military and economic means.

In the last 25 years there have been many opportunities for the working class to take power—Spain, France, Germany, Britain, China—but the workers have been defeated by the reaction because there was no revolutionary party to give the leadership to the movement. The Greek, German or any other working class is no less courageous or no less heroic than the workers of Russia. The workers of Russia are no better or no worse than the workers of other lands. The Russian workers were successful because they had a revolutionary party, a revolutionary communist leadership and policy.

The only solution for Europe is Lenin's solution—the international socialist revolution. The destruction of capitalism and the establishment of the United Socialist States of the world as the beginning of a socialist world and a new hope and future for mankind.

In 1938, the revolutionary communist—the Fourth International was formed by revolutionary communists from all parts of the world because of the betrayals of the Second and Third International. Its programme is the continuation of the ideas, principles and methods of Lenin and Trotsky in the revolutionary days of the Communist International: its aim: the unity of the workers of all lands for the establishment of a world communist order. Our Party now making this appeal to you at Neath is part of that Fourth International, its British Section.

No Illusions In Parliament

We do not believe that the workers will be able to take power in this country or any other country through parliament.

We believe that to bring about socialism, the workers will have to sweep parliament aside and set up a Soviet Britain. The history of capitalism, and in particular the history of Churchillism shows that the capitalists will not allow the workers to take power peacefully and democratically and without a fight. They will try to do to us what they are doing to our brothers in Greece. We do not tell the workers lies about what we expect to do through parliament if the Revolutionary Communist candidate is returned. We will, however, use parliament as a tribunal to fight for socialism and expose it to the British working class. We will defend the existing conditions of the workers when they are attacked and fight to better these conditions even within the framework of capitalism so far as that is possible.

We will demand from the leaders of the Labour and Trade Union movement that they end this disastrous coalition with the Tories; that they match their socialist name, their election speeches, with socialist deeds we will demand that they give a lead to the workers of Britain and the whole world by rousing the masses to overthrow capitalism and take power on a socialist programme.

But above all, we will utilise this election campaign and the parliamentary arena for the purpose of raising the call to the workers of this country and the world:

DOWN WITH THE BARRIERS OF NATIONAL AND RACE HATRED WHICH THE CAPITALISTS CREATE WITH THEIR LYING ATROCIOUS STORIES AND PROPAGANDA!

DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT OF PROFITS AND WAR!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE; YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS!