

Middle East Oil Deal

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different interests: %
Britain 79
U.S.A. 16
France 5
Total 100

There is no doubt that with the increase in the exploitation of the oilfields in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, the weight of the American companies in the production of oil in the Middle East will grow tremendously. Harold Ickes, American Petroleum Administrator during the war, touched on the crux of the matter when he said: "The capital of the oil empire is on the march to the Middle East. The United States had better move in a big way—and fast."

Connected with the question of the oil resources of the Middle East is the problem of refining. There are today five refineries in the Middle East: in Abadan (Iran), Haifa, Tripoli, Bahrain and Suez, besides small refineries in Iraq which work only for local consumption. At the moment 80 per cent. of the refinery capacity is in the hands of the British, but the position will change with the construction of additional American refineries. One of them, the Ras Tanura refinery, is already nearing completion.

U.S. Extension Plans

There is much talk about the extension of the network of pipelines in the Middle East. At the moment only one pipeline exists leading from Kirkuk in Iraq to Haifa. The length of the whole line is 974 miles. There has been talk recently of doubling the carrying capacity of the Iraq-Haifa pipeline by building a line parallel to it. There is also an American plan to construct a new pipeline from Saudi, Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait to the Mediterranean coast—either to Haifa or to Alexandria. The length of the line to Haifa would be 1,000 miles; this would mean a great reduction in the route of the Arabian oil, since the route around the Arabian Peninsula through the Suez Canal is 2,300 miles long.

According to another calculation, if the American plan for constructing this pipeline materializes, it will be necessary to build refineries in Haifa to refine 300-350 thousand barrels a day, i.e., two or three times the output of all the four refineries existing in the Middle East together. The annual output of Haifa will then reach 16 million tons.

The construction of refineries owned by Socony Vacuum, in Tripoli and in the Lebanon is also being spoken about. The new agreement speaks about connecting the oilfields in Iran with the Mediterranean.

Britain On The Decline

For American imperialism Middle East oil can be one of the most important fields of investment. The great development of American capitalism has deepened manifold the contradictions within it, and the capitalists will try to overcome them by imperialist expansion on a terrific scale. After World War I the British military authorities in Palestine arrested a geologist employed by the United States Standard Oil Company who had the audacity to discover a source of oil round the Dead Sea. They confiscated his sketches and deported him; today, after World War II, U.S.A.'s power compared to Britain's is too strong for such actions to be taken against her. Tokes declared in unambiguous terms that the stability of the peace depended on agreement being reached about the division of oil resources, and among the matters to be put before the Peace Conference, there was nothing more important than oil. In the struggle over the question behind the scenes of the Peace Conference, the American capitalists, of course, expect to get the lion's share of the concessions.

Glasgow Winners

The relative weakness of British imperialism compared to American, reveals itself very clearly in all the oil deals in the Middle East. As we have already shown, the American oil companies are taking the biggest part in all the new plans to construct refineries, oil pipelines, etc. The new agreement shows that the American capitalists have entered even the holy of holies of the British Empire, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. This agreement is motivated not only by economic, but also by strategical reasons. The concentration of the refineries in Abadan (which today refines about three-fifths of all the

Middle East oil output) will be a drawback, in case of a war with Russia.

Russia And Oil

Middle East oil, particularly that of Northern Iran, plays a great role in the plans of the Stalinist bureaucracy too. This is the result primarily of the tardiness in the execution of the oil extraction plans in Russia. Thus, for instance, the Second Five Year Plan set the increase in production from 23.3 million tons in 1932 to 47.5 million in 1937. In fact, it increased only to 30.5 million tons. In 1940 production did not reach more than 35 million, although the plan laid down a level of over 50 million tons. With these miscalculations, the new Five Year Plan sets a more moderate aim for 1950—35.4 million tons. On examining the general plan for increasing the production it is clear that oil will be one of the most important bottlenecks in Russia. The Stalinist bureaucracy tries to get over its difficulties—the result of bureaucratic mismanagement, in a simple way: by gaining control of rich new fields.

It is quite clear that the masses in Iran were not very enthusiastic about the Russian-Iranian Agreement, which gave a concession to operate the oilfields in the north of the country to a joint company (Russia to have 51 per cent., the Tudeh Party (Stalinist dominated) suffered a great loss in influence through this agreement. The fact that after the unrest among the workers in the oil fields and refineries of the Anglo-Iranian oil company, British imperialism succeeded in strengthening the Shah's government position, in strengthening the Persian army, in overthrowing the autonomous puppet Stalinist government in Azerbaijan—all go to show that the attitude of the Iranian masses to Stalin's plans as regards their country is by no means sympathetic. The recent Anglo-American agreement is a new point scored for Anglo-American imperialism in their struggle with Russia.

For A Socialist Federation Of The Arab East

In the struggle against the American and British oil octopuses, the toilers of the Middle East cannot rely on any of the great powers. They can rely only on themselves, on their own strength and on the help of the millions of fighters for national and social independence of the East, and the working class of the West.

The struggle for oil reflects the aims of all the great powers. In their desire to dominate the sources of this important raw material which offers new prospects of enormous profits and wealth to the magnates of Anglo-American imperialism, the seeds of a new world war will be sown. It is oil which is determining the importance of all the great powers. And the wealth which will be gained will not benefit the peoples of the Middle East or the masses of the Western powers. It can only lead to the further enslavement of the Arab peoples. Plot and counter-plot, strategic and political manoeuvres round this area will be endless. A Socialist Federation of the Middle East in a Socialist World would be the only means of utilising the tremendous resources of the Middle East, as of the world, for the enrichment and benefit of all.

Xmas Draw Winners

The following are the winning numbers. The names of the winners will be published in the next issue

1st ... 7074	14th ... 6742
2nd ... 4093	15th ... 243
3rd ... 1191	16th ... 5272
4th ... 2931	17th ... 1350
5th ... 2582	18th ... 978
6th ... 5703	19th ... 6140
7th ... 1421	20th ... 5406
8th ... 4004	21st ... 271
9th ... 4372	22nd ... 2457
10th ... 5707	23rd ... 1871
11th ... 4345	24th ... 3701
12th ... 2705	25th ... 1075
13th ... 4010	26th ... 241

Glasgow Winners

1st Prize: No. D 85; T. Frame, Muirhouse Avenue, Motherwell.
2nd Prize: No. A 200; Jenn S. Woods, 42, Ancroft St., Glasgow.
3rd Prize: No. B 131; Mrs. V.M. Walker, 17, Forrest Street, Glasgow, S.E.
4th Prize: No. D 156; V. Dowd, 6, Neptune St., Govan, Glasgow.

Labour's Foreign Policy

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the press, wireless and the most important means of influencing public opinion.

The Paris Commune, which Frederick Engels called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was the most democratic regime of its time. This was also true of Russia in the early days under Lenin and Trotsky. The special measures of suppression undertaken by the Bolsheviks, were the necessary and temporary result of the deliberate economic sabotage by the Russian and international capitalist class, who first waged a civil war against the workers' regime and then became quislings in the war of imperialist intervention. Stalin has succeeded in perpetuating these measures, in converting them into a system and directing them against the democracy of the working class itself. When the dictatorship of the proletariat was exercised in Russia, it freed unconditionally the nations who had been oppressed for centuries by the Czar. It appealed to the international working class to break down the barriers of national hatred and unite their forces against the capitalist class. This foreign policy of the dictatorship of the Russian proletariat, formulated by Lenin and Trotsky, was the most progressive the world has ever known.

Inevitability of Imperialist War

Morgan Phillips knows perfectly well that there is a difference between ancient wars and 20th century imperialist wars. The wars for the destruction of feudalism, for the unification of the principalities and the formation of the modern nations were progressive wars. They led to conditions for the development of modern capitalism and the development of human culture. But the modern world wars of imperialism have no progressive features at all. They do not lead to the progress of mankind but to the destruction of human culture.

Modern imperialist war is the result of the struggle for markets, for sources of raw material and for fields of investment for finance capital. The over-production of industrial goods for which modern capitalism can find no market leads, inevitably, to a cut-throat export drive and competition between the imperialist powers. Just as inevitably, it leads at a certain stage to a new war for the control of these markets. Foreign policy is the diplomatic negotiations and manoeuvrings that the government carries on with the object of protecting these economic interests of the dominating class and extending these interests to the best of its ability.

When this idea is penetrating the consciousness of large sections of the working class and even the middle class, and when the capitalist politicians have themselves begun to openly admit it, Phillips chooses this time to say that capitalism may lead to war. No, Phillips, capitalism must lead to war!

To end modern imperialist war is not possible without destroying the capitalist system of competitive production. To end war, imperialist export of finance capital must be ended. Whether U.N.O. operates with Britain working in conjunction with Russia as Spethorne urges or whatever the line up there on the part of the Labour leaders, U.N.O. will not be capable

of stopping the atomic war any more than the robber League of Nations stopped the Blitzkrieg.

The foreign policy of the Labour Government must be challenged. But it cannot be done with the policy of Spethorne. Both create illusions that U.N.O., with or without the shift of Britain into the Russian orbit, can end imperialist war; both disarm the workers in their struggle to overthrow the capitalist system, which if continued, must lead to the Third, Atomic War.

WHY BRITISH TROOPS WITHDRAW FROM EGYPT

Phillips quotes the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt and the concessions granted to the Indians as proof of the progressive policy of the Labour Government. We must say that these actions have had an important effect upon the mass of the workers in Britain. They believe these acts to be inspired by genuine social democratic aims. The facts, however, are somewhat different.

The rising discontent of the mass of the population and of the "national" capitalist class of Egypt and the Middle East has resulted in the development of a powerful national consciousness in these areas. The masses are demanding that the British must go! To maintain the old military occupation, the British Government would have to conduct a fairly large scale war. This is also true of India. In the present state of mind of the British workers it is most unlikely that they would allow such a war to take place without protest. Of course if the Tories were in power they would hang on even more grimly than the Labour leaders, and would possibly have asked a war. But after all, it is their Empire! After the Labour leaders, while seeking to protect the Empire as effectively as Churchill himself, suffer from the pressure of the working class. It is this conflict of interests and pressures that leads to partial retreats and gives Labour's foreign policy a slightly more liberal colour than that of the Tories.

GERMANY—Russian and British Policy

The Spethorne document claims: "Britain's policy towards Germany, conditioned by the fear of socialism, has so far blocked any hope of agreement with the Soviet Union on Germany's economic future."

In reply to this, Morgan Phillips argued that: "Mr. Bevin has announced that Britain proposes to nationalise German industry and to reconstruct German economy along Socialist lines. In fact, one of the main causes of conflict between Britain and Russia has been the encouragement given by Britain to the German Social Democrats."

In both statements there is a kernel of truth, but this kernel is used for the purpose of furthering a lie. It is true that the Labour leaders do not want to see the creation of a Socialist Germany. But the Russian bureaucracy under Stalin are no less interested in preventing such a step. What is so progressive in the Russian policy that Bevin should follow it? The Russians have expropriated all the large Junker land estates and

DEMAND ACTION AGST. FRANCO

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act as a bulwark of the capitalists and landlords.

Trotskyist Policy

The Fourth Internationalists while supporting the demand for the overthrow of Franco and the convening of a Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage, put forward this slogan to mobilise the workers in the fight for the Socialist revolution. At the same time they warn that it was the capitalist Republic which shielded the army conspirators and that it was under its protection that the generals prepared their insurrection in order to crush the organization of the working class. The advanced workers must understand that unless they organise under their own class banner and class organizations and take power into their own hands, they can fall into a new frightful impasse which will prepare the way for a new Franco.

For International Class Action

The gesture of the withdrawal of the British ambassador from Madrid is mere hypocrisy if it is not supplemented by actions which will strike real blows against the fascist regime. It is not sufficient for the Trade Union leaders to send deputations to the Cabinet

demanding action from the Labour Government. The failure of the Labour Government to take such action is a blot on the whole of the Labour movement. The workers must demand that the Labour Government and the Union leaders declare an embargo on all goods coming to or from Spain to Britain!

In the past the British workers have not waited for governments to take action on issues of this nature. The railwaymen transport the goods, the dockers load them, the seamen carry them abroad. They have the power to stop all goods coming to and from Spain! The workers in the Union branches must demand that the Union leaders organise such a campaign throughout the country, in conjunction with the international trade unions abroad to declare all goods to or from Spain black until the overthrow of the Franco regime.

Such a movement of international class solidarity would stir and encourage the oppressed Spanish people! Franco would fall within months if not even weeks or days under the combined blows of the International and Spanish working class.

No reliance on cheap and demagogic gestures from U.N.O. Independent class action on the part of the world working class can destroy Franco!

The Policy of the R.C.P.

1. Nationalisation of the land, of all atomic processes, of all large financial, insurance, industrial, distributive and transport enterprises without compensation, and the operation of these enterprises on the basis of an overall production plan under control of workers' and technicians' committees.
2. Abolition of business secrets. All company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers committees.
3. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers goods in short supply under the control of committees elected from the co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shopkeepers which will eliminate the black market.
4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants committees; a state financed national house-building plan to be directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum and a falling scale of hours to absorb the unemployed, who must be fully maintained while not working; a 40-hour week maximum without loss of earnings.
6. Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords; full electoral rights for all from the age of 18; and full political and civil rights for men and women in the forces; the immediate repeal of all strike-breaking and anti-labour laws.
7. Abolish Conscription; For the dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia.
8. For the abolition of military law; clear out the reactionary anti-labour officer caste from the armed forces; for the election of officers from the ranks. For the establishment of military schools by the trade unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker officers.
9. Full and immediate freedom for India and the other colonies to choose their own form of government; the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.
10. End secret diplomacy and a peace of vengeance and plunder; end race hatred, anti-semitism, Vanities and the colour bar; the withdrawal of British troops from Europe and Asia and a peace based upon the self-determination of the peoples of Europe, Asia and the world.
11. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; for the overthrow of the privileged Stalinist bureaucracy and the re-introduction of workers' democracy in Russia.
12. Full support and active co-operation with the European workers against all occupying forces, for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a United Socialist States of Europe; unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for world socialism.

Party and to widen that split from the right, hopefully predicted that Bevin, on his return from U.N.O., would flay his critics and launch an all-out attack against them. But this wishful-thinking has not been fulfilled. The speech made by Bevin on the radio was not a trenchant attack upon his critics. On the contrary, it was a mild defence of his policy. Despite this, the action of the Labour leaders in circulating the Phillips letter and opening the campaign on foreign policy, is a clear indication that at the moment they feel this to be one of their weakest points.

Every Labour worker who is hostile to the imperialist foreign policy of the Labour leaders and its assistance to reaction, will seize this opportunity to further weaken this policy and strengthen the pressure to end the present foreign policy and replace it with a socialist foreign policy which will reflect the aspirations and interests of the British and international working class.

CORRECTION

In the November issue of "Socialist Appeal" in reporting the elections in the United States, there appeared the following sentence: "The S.W.P. has appealed to all the Parties involved (the Stalinist C.P., the Workers' Party, the Socialist Party), to make a joint defence. Not merely has no response to the appeal... but the S.P. etc." The Workers' Party have protested that this is an incorrect statement of fact that the S.W.P. did not appeal to the W.P., but the contrary, the W.P. appealed to the S.W.P. but received no response. This is correct.

TROTSKYIST PAPER IN GERMANY

The following item concerning the Trotskyist paper "SOLIDARITAT" published by the R.C.P. in the German language, appeared in the "New York Times", December 15th. Readers of the "Socialist Appeal" are already familiar with "Solidaritat". It was one of the publications which Comrade Bill Cleminson of Sheffield gave to the German Prisoners of War and for which he was brought to court and fined £10.

"REDS ASK GERMANS TO JOIN IN REVOLT"

Pamphlet Issued in London urges New Internationale and Denounces Stalin

Berlin, Dec. 14—A mimeographed pamphlet entitled "Solidarity," announcing the formation of a German section of the Fourth Internationale, has been circulated recently in Berlin. The publication was definitely old line revolutionary Communist policy or what has come to be known as "Trotskyite." It strongly attacked Stalin's policy for Germany and invited German workers to organize revolutionary groups within the Socialist and Communist parties.

The editors of the publication were listed not by name but the pamphlet was attributed to the "Revolutionary Communist Party" with offices at 256 Harrow Road, London, W.2.

The lead article denounced reparations, demanding instead the expropriation of the property of the capitalist class through and for the proletariat. It argued that the policy of nationalization in the Soviet zone would benefit only the Russian economy not the German masses.

workers' parties are inseparable from the traditions of the Socialist and Communist parties, the article continues: "These parties were unable to avert the Hitler catastrophe in 1933. On the contrary they were responsible for it."

From today's speeches and today's programs by these people we see they have learned nothing from that catastrophe. Consequently we intend to build up an independent revolutionary party, the German section of the Fourth Internationale.

The officer class in the Soviet Union has a strong interest in remaining as occupation troops in Germany. With their enormous salaries, their officer clubs and all their privileges they live at the expense of the working class.

The Soviet soldier is used to defending the privileges of the officers. He cannot have any interest in this.

A Germany under the control of the working class will be happy to exchange the excess of its industrial products first of all with the Soviet Union. An exchange of goods on an equal basis will strengthen both countries enormously and will be the first step to end the isolation of Russian workers from the world proletariat.

The reactionary activities of the Labour Government, especially in Greece and in relation to Franco Spain, has aroused considerable protest in the ranks of the working class.

The demand of the Spethorne Division to throw out the old Tory officials from the Foreign Office is one which will receive unconditional support. But history teaches that Labour leaders are no less reactionary in the same Foreign Office as Tories. The whole movement must not be side-tracked into one of "Bevin Must Go" but must be concentrated on ending the policy of maintaining capitalism and the inevitable foreign policy which follows from it.

The Tory press, anxious to exaggerate the split in the Labour (Continued in next column.)



Despite the difficulties caused by the cold weather, some Party branches have managed to maintain "Socialist Appeal" sales, and in some cases, to extend them. Considering the branch reports as a whole, the sales show a slight upward trend. The efforts of the comrades can be seen from reports such as the following from LONDON: "Literature sales are going well. 140 'S.A.'s' were sold at Building Workers Hostels last week..." and from MOTHERWELL who report that "a canvass was held at Law Junction, a mining area, where seven dozen were sold by three comrades in 1 1/2 hours."

Selling the "Socialist Appeal" in this way is not the only method, however. MOTHERWELL continue to report that: "A Public meeting of the 'Communist' Party, featuring Harry Pollitt was held on December 1st, and was covered by four comrades. Among the literature sold were 5 'I Stake My Life' by Leon Trotsky, which was good considering that the bulk of the attendance consisted of C.P. members."

EAST LONDON too, remark in an earlier report that "Two Stalinist meetings have been covered, one on the Soviet Union. No questions were allowed, and we distributed the Nuremberg leaflet

as widely as possible." The task of spreading our circulation among wider sections of the workers has also received the serious consideration of the CROYDON Branch. They report: "We are not content with our 'S.A.' sales and have decided to attempt to double them within the next two months," and in addition report that "Prior to November, most of our work was done through the Trade Union movement and in contrast work, but we decided to hold a series of meetings on important issues which affect the workers."

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SMASH FRANCO

PUBLIC MEETING

Holborn Hall
Grays Inn Road, W.C.1

on Monday, Jan. 27th,
at 7.30 p.m.

Speakers: TED GRANT
F. Jackson, J. Lawrence.

Questions & Discussion

Organised by the London District Committee
Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist)
256 Harrow Road, London, W.2.