

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

Power Politics in Paris

The future map of Europe, the Mediterranean and the Middle East is being drawn in Paris by the big four powers. The Conference started in the same atmosphere as all the others—high hopes and unity between the Allies; but it develops along the now familiar lines—disunity and disagreement on every point.

POWER POLITICS

Behind the pious hypocritical appeals for peace, can be discerned the naked power politics which dominates the participants.

Anglo-American imperialism is united against the Soviet Union. Britain struggles to maintain her control of the Mediterranean and of Italy; America wishes to gain trade access to the Balkans. The Stalinist bureaucracy wants above all, Trieste as a gateway to the Mediterranean and to guard her stranglehold on the Balkans.

STALINISM ALIENATES MASSES

Instead of countering the imperialists with a revolutionary internationalist policy, Molotov apes imperialism. Disregarding the wishes of the Italian majority in Trieste, demanding enormous reparations from Italy, the Stalinist policy serves only to alienate the Italian masses from the Soviet Union and drive them towards the imperialist powers.

ARMS RACE PROCEEDS

All seek, of course, for the highest "moral" considerations, a different solution of the future of the Italian colonies. Coincidental, of course, is the fact that the proposals of Britain coincide with her strategic interests; and the proposals of France suit her interests in dominating the Arabs in Morocco. And backing up the negotiators is the greatest armaments race in the history of mankind. The antagonisms engendered by World War II are even more menacing for the peoples than after the first world imperialist war.

If war between Anglo-American imperialism and the Soviet Union is not imminent, it is only because of the fear of the reactions of the masses. The troops of the imperialist armies are crying all over the world "We want to go home."

NEW WAR — OR SOCIALISM

The pattern of the world being moulded by the victors is even crazier than the pattern of Versailles. Marxists will never tire of repeating: the boundaries which divide the peoples into artificial national states is an outmoded system which can and will only lead to economic and military struggles. Break the artificial barriers which separate nation from nation! Build a new world based on the Socialist United States in which there will be plenty for all. Only on the basis of plenty organised on a communist basis, can there be freedom and security for mankind.

Resurgence

All over the world tremendous May Day demonstrations were held. Hundreds of thousands demonstrated in Paris, Rome, Prague and the other capitals of the world.

In Berlin and Tokio, former citadels of fascist and militarist reaction, three hundred and fifty thousand demonstrated in the former, and half a million in the latter.

The amazing resilience and powers of recovery of the working class movement was shown in the demonstrations of the German workers throughout the main cities of Germany. After 13 years of Hitler terror, after the destruction and collapse resulting from the war and the brutal Allied domination of Germany; despite starvation and want, the Socialist aspirations of the German workers are not dimmed. This was the answer of the German masses to their traducers and slanderers—the capitalists and their Stalinist and Labour lackeys—who preached that they were "Huns" with a lust for Nazi brutality and would require to be "re-educated" by the Allies.

There was one blot on the international celebrations of May Day. That was that the Labour Government neither proclaimed it a holiday, nor attempted to organise demonstrations on May 1st. The British workers were not called out on May 1st, but on the following Sunday, May 5th. In London, because of a petty dispute with the Stalinists, the Labour leaders refused to participate in the demonstration at all.

This sabotaging of the great traditions of the international working class movement is not an isolated episode. It is symbolic of the abandonment of the real socialist aspirations of the workers.

The masses are girding themselves for the overthrow of capitalism. The May Day demonstrations are a portent of the future. In the coming months and years these workers will find their way to the programme and policy of the Fourth International, the only international organisation which carries on the traditions of May Day.

Famine—Why? FRENCH TURN

Capitalist Greed for Profit

BY BILL HUNTER

The prospect of starvation has become a stark reality for millions. Already in certain areas of Europe and Asia the population is forced to eat grass in an effort to sustain life. In India it is estimated that the toll of deaths during the next twelve months will be between 5 and 15 millions far higher than the deaths from starvation during the terrible famine of 1943. In Germany, French experts estimate that by 1949, 3 to 4 millions of the population will be wiped out by starvation.

With the black market rampant in every country where there is scarcity, the sacrifices will be borne by the poor, the oppressed classes, by the workers and peasants.

That the world calamity is inevitable, is a fallacy fostered by those who know that the measures against famine must infringe on the profits of the landowners and capitalists, and strike at the very roots of imperialist society.

The ravages of imperialist war, the harnessing of the world's manpower to destruction, the direction of chemicals away from the production of fertilisers to the production of explosives, of steel away from implements of agriculture to weapons of war; all have stamped their inevitable mark on world agriculture. But today vast stocks

of food are kept from the starving by the financial, military, commercial and oppressive needs of the great powers.

On September 18th, Truman states that the problem of feeding Europe was "mainly financial." On October 26th, in the Food Debate, Bevin drew the conclusion that the problem was a "political" one, and gave the graphic illustration of "politics" intervening to prevent the supply of heavy oil and fuel to the Argentine, where maize was being used as fuel; "politics" preventing the utilisation of Argentine maize to feed American livestock, thus freeing grain which American livestock is consuming, for Europe.

Thus, the imperialist spokesmen and apologists themselves are forced to lay the blame for the famine, not on the world shortage of food, but primarily on their imperialist antagonisms and the breakdown of their monetary systems.

The meaning of Truman's statement is shown when we consider the reasons for the cuts which bring the German workers in the British zone down to Belsen level. These cuts are the result, not of a shortage of supplies, but flow from the declaration of the American ruling class that they "are not going to finance the occupation of Germany by the Allies", and the unwillingness of the British Government to utilise dollar reserves to make up grain deficits.

Today, the distribution of the world's foodstuffs to the world's population is determined, not in accordance with their needs, but planlessly, on a world market under the rule of the dollar and with the great powers utilising food as a weapon to serve their capitalist interests. The *Economist* of November 3rd, 1945, stated this when it declared:

"All the delays and short-ages flow from this—the failure to allocate military transport and civilian reserves of food and textiles to relief, the failure to supply cargo ships irrespective of the return in dollars."

Appeals To United Nations Fruitless

A multi-coloured united front of Tories, Liberals, Labourites, Pacifists and I.L.P. leaders are today appealing to the United Nations to plan the distribution of the world's food. These requests are utopian, futile and impotent. The "United Nations" are incapable of preparing the beginnings of a plan, incapable of taking the first steps of co-operation necessary to solve the world famine.

In attempting the first necessary step—the assessing of the world's needs and stocks of food—they are brought up sharply against the antagonisms among themselves. When reproached for secrecy on the state of Britain's food stocks, Sir Ben Smith stated on February 5th, that he had to be careful in giving

information as he was "operating on a sellers market". Thus, their fear, that enhanced demand means enhanced prices, prevents the capitalist governments from taking the first step in drawing up a plan to meet the catastrophe—a free discussion of needs and requirements.

Further, there can be no estimate of stocks available in a world where capitalist and landlord will profiteer, speculate, and hide their profits in order to force up prices of the starving people. Even within its own boundaries, American imperialism finds difficulty in assessing stocks. Arthur Webb, writing in the *Daily Herald*, March 11th, from Kansas reveals that:

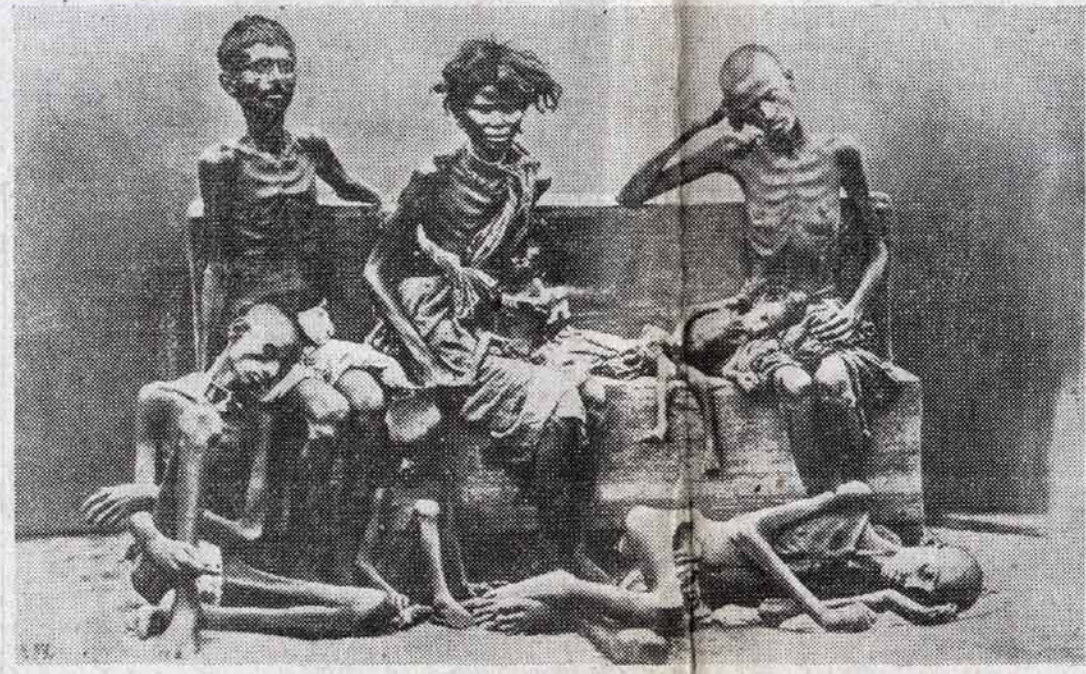
"Most of the wheat from last year's harvest is still on

learn from the *Sunday Times* of March 10th, that:

"To obtain greater profits many countries have reduced their wheat acreage during the last few years. The acreage which grain exporting countries (United States, Canada, Australia, Argentina) are planning to cultivate is less than their 1938 acreage by the equivalent of the whole of Canada's present acreage."

It is evident that the planting of larger areas, which, according to John Hynd, British Minister in Germany and Austria, was urgently necessary to prevent acute shortage next year, is not determined by the needs of the hungry people, but by the relative profit of livestock or grain production, and the flow of

Not Nazi Germany—But British India!



Indian Famine 1942.—This picture shows the condition to which millions of Indian workers and peasants were reduced in the last famine in which millions died of hunger. According to the "Daily Mail", 100,000,000, one quarter of the entire population of India are threatened with starvation. These are the benefits of British rule.

the farms. It was kept back because farmers expected the ceiling price to come off, but largely because they didn't want to return their sales in last year's income tax assessments, as this year the rates are considerably lower and excess profits are not taxed.

80 MILLIONS OF BUSHELS OF WHEAT HAVE BEEN HIDDEN FROM VIEW.

Not only are the "United" Nations incapable of meeting the immediate famine by transferring the surpluses from the granaries and warehouses to the starving of Europe, Asia and Africa, but the capitalist mode of production and the international rivalries of the Allies cut across any real measures of increasing agricultural production. These rivalries are hastening the catastrophe of the future. By their oppression of the colonial peoples, by their armies of occupation, by the forced transfer of populations, by the intolerable burdens imposed upon the defeated nations, the imperialists paralyse European economy and prevent the utilisation of vital manpower in agriculture.

Profits First

While European grain and sugar beet suffer from shortage of labour, farm implements, coal, fertilisers and transport, the Allies wrangle over the steel production of Germany which is stagnating at 100,000 tons a month, smash her potash industry, uproot the population, maintain the army of occupation, and divide the country into zones with no uniform prices, currency, wages or transport.

While politicians prate about the measures that are being taken to stave off the coming disaster, we

have led to a public clash around the figure of Tan Malakka, the Indonesian Communist leader arrested by the Sjahrir government and denounced by the Stalinists as a Trotskyist. The Dutch Opposition has addressed the following telegram to the Indonesian government:

The Opposition in the Communist Party of the Netherlands (Waarheid) protests vigorously against the arrest of Tan Malakka Yoesoef and other Indonesian revolutionaries. We demand their immediate liberation.

The Opposition in the C.P.N., contrary to the official leadership, supports the point of view of absolute independence for Indonesia.

For the Dutch Opposition, (Signed) Maurice Ferarez.

dollars and profit on the world market.

Struggle Against Imperialism

Any attempts to aid the famine stricken without a struggle against imperialism and the oppressive peace of the Allies can only touch the surface of the problem. The workers of Britain have a class duty to their fellow workers in the starving countries. The organised Labour movement must demand that the Labour Government provides supplies and facilities for the workers' organisations here to aid the suffering toilers in the famine stricken countries. To provide the supplies it is not necessary to cut the rations of the British workers.

A Labour Government really anxious to aid the suffering peoples would call on the workers' organisations of America, Canada and the other food exporting countries to wage a joint campaign against the landlords and capitalists to release the stocks of food now in the elevators and the warehouses, and to utilise America's vast transport reserves—including the Liberty ships which now go over to Europe empty to bring back American soldiers.

Such a government, by struggling against imperialism, by withdrawing the troops, granting independence to India and the colonies, by fighting against the imperialist peace of plunder, could lay the basis for a permanent solution of the food problem. Only by struggling for such a policy can the British workers fulfil their duty to their fellow workers and advance towards a solution of their own problems.

Opposition in Dutch Communist Party

HOLLAND

AMSTERDAM, APRIL.—An organised opposition, which showed considerable strength at the last national congress of the party and has since grown, is challenging the Stalinist leadership within the ranks of the Dutch Communist Party itself. The fact alone that the Stalinists have had to tolerate this opposition is testimony to its strength and deep roots. Such a phenomenon has not been known inside the Comintern in more than a decade and a half. Very likely it foreshadows similar developments in other countries.

One of the main issues dividing the opposition from the Stalinist leadership is the question of Indonesia. The opposition takes a firm stand along the lines of traditional communist anti-imperial policy. Recently this issue

The defeat of the proposed Constitution in the referendum in France shows the changes in class relationships which have taken place since the collapse of Nazi domination. At that stage the big majority of the population, not only the workers but the bulk of the peasants and the middle class in the towns, were prepared to support the most drastic measures against the big trusts and combines. They wished to destroy the rule of Big Business over the nation because its character had been exposed in its collaboration with the Nazi conquerors.

The tremendous swing to the Left was shown in the victory of the Socialists and Communists at the general election when for the first time the C.P. became the strongest party in France, with a majority of the workers supporting it. The two parties together obtained a majority of the seats in Parliament, as well as the votes at the polls.

Had the Stalinists and Socialists really desired, to prepare the basis for a new society, not only in France but in all Europe, they had the power to do so. They could have mobilised the masses by organising the seizure of the factories, banks, mines and big industries generally to take measures in the interests of the workers and middle classes against a handful of monopoly capitalists who control France. The power of the working class could have been established firmly and without possibility of any challenge by reaction. But instead of sharply differentiating themselves from the capitalist parties the Stalinists and Socialists made a compromise with the M.R.P.

The Stalinists and Socialists merely tinkered with the problems facing the workers. Together with the M.R.P. they nationalised one or two industries with generous compensation for the capitalists. The capitalists continued to profiteer and live well amidst the general misery of the mass of the population. The black market profiteers and swindlers continued to flourish because there was no control on the part of the working class.

The Constitution Issue

The main task of the Constituent Assembly was supposed to be the provision of a constitution to

be submitted for approval to a referendum. The provisions were those of a capitalist parliamentary republic, elaborated jointly by the three parties in the government. But the Constitution finally agreed on between the Communists and Socialists provided for a single Chamber. At the last moment the M.R.P. changed their stand and decided to oppose the Constitution because it did not have a reactionary senate, and the powers of the President were curtailed and strictly limited. They wished for additional safeguards in the event of revolutionary upsurge on the part of the masses.

Thus, the policy of the Stalinists and Socialists played into the hands of the capitalist class. The referendum, so far as the capitalists were concerned, was a game of heads we win and tails the workers lose. The victory of the referendum would have left the Constitution with sufficient safeguards for the ruling class. Defeat could prepare the way for an even more reactionary constitution. The Socialists and Stalinists, by not putting forward the constitution of a workers democracy, but an out-and-out capitalist one, led the masses into an impasse.

Test Of Class Forces

The capitalists used the referendum as a means of mobilising the forces of reaction and to test out the class relationship of forces. Every means of demagoguery was brought into play for the purpose of insuring a reactionary victory. The very crimes of the Socialists and Stalinists in capitulating to the representatives of Big Business, were used by them in order to discredit the idea of socialism and communism. The bogey of a red dictatorship was raised for the purpose of panicking and scaring the middle class voters.

The result of the referendum was a narrow vote against the Constitution. Ten million voting against nine million for. The issue was decided by the 5% of the backward elements who had not voted at the general election but who were stampeded into voting against the Constitution. The capitalist class interpreted this as a defeat for the workers. They were jubilant and the stock exchange reflected the election results.

(Continued on page 4.)

PALESTINE STRIKE

Arabs and Jews Unite

BY T. CLIFF
Our Middle East Correspondent.

The biggest strikes in the history of Palestine far surpassing any other which have taken place, broke out last month. 32,000 workers came out, of which 26,000 were Arabs and 6,000 Jews.

On the 9th April 500 Arab and Jewish workers in the Post and Telegraph Services in Tel Aviv and Jaffa came out on strike. On the 10th the strike spread to the Post and Telegraph Services in all other parts of the country, encompassing altogether 2,000 workers and employees. On the 15th Government employees of the 2nd Division—the lower paid employees constituting 20,000 strong, which is more than 90% of all Civil Servants, came out on strike. On the same day the railway workers of the whole country and the workers of Haifa and Jaffa ports joined the strike.

The strike awakened response in many other places and workers of three big factories came out on strike with tens of thousands of workers and employees standing solidly behind the strikers, waiting to join them if they should be called upon to do so.

To understand what gave the impetus to this wave of strikes one must know the conditions and the low standard of living forced upon the workers and government employees through the low wages in face of a constantly rising cost of living. According to the Government index, the cost of living rose to 258 in comparison with 100 before the war; but the cost of living allowances of the workers and employees did not rise anywhere near this figure.

To give an indication of the cost of living, butter is 6/- a lb., a cake 30/-, a suit £45, shoes £5. The postal employees get from £6 to £16 per month!

2/7d. a Day

The daily workers in the Post and Telegraph Services receive about 2s. 7d. a day. The employees receive a basic salary of £6 a month and the maximum of £15 after 14 years of service. The maximum wages for a postman is £9. The basic wages in the railways is 3/- a day; in the ports 2/6; and in the Public Works Dept. 2/6. A family of 5 or 6 have to live on £3 to £4 a month.

The most important demands of the Railway Workers were an increase of the basic minimum wage of 6s. 5d. a day and a proportional increase for all other grades; annual holiday with pay, cost of living allowances on the whole basic wage; 8 hours a day and payment for overtime. The demand of the 2nd Division Civil Servants was similar to those of the Post and Telegraph Employees but somewhat greater.

Arab And Jewish Workers Unite

The Government attempted to break the strike by recruiting

High Commissioner Demands 'No Strike' Pledge

Three days after the resumption of work, the High Commissioner declared that he "cannot consider the matter further until he is given adequate safeguards by the Association that the 2nd Division Civil Service will in future use the machinery which exists within the government for the adjustment of grievances." In other words, until they pledge not to strike in future. But the government will not find it so easy to break its promises.

The strike gave the lie to the fable which imperialism, Zionism and the reactionary Arab leadership try to bolster up that unity of the Arab and Jewish masses is impossible to achieve. It proved that while there are not a dozen Arabs who support Zionism, there are tens of thousands of Arab workers who are ready to stand shoulder to shoulder with their Jewish class fellows for the defence of their common class interests.