

# FOR A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME

(Continued from Page 1.)

to grant concessions in India and Burma, which they proudly proclaim as socialist foreign policy. Churchill's policy would have meant two major wars for Britain in those countries.

Their solution for enfeebling British Imperialism is to cut her losses and look elsewhere for a base. Britain should make the best of a bad job in the Far and Middle East, and concentrate on her African Empire.

"When we (it is noteworthy that right throughout the pamphlet when talking of 'we' they never distinguish between the workers and the capitalists) leave India in June, 1948, we shall lose the use of the Indian Army, which provided a substantial reserve in the Far East. Nothing has so far been done to enlist other Empire troops to help us out. The Indian Army, whatever the motives for its formation, was a great educative institution. The same could be done for the West and East Africans as well. The pay and the conditions would be an attractive inducement to join up, and although they might not be able to replace British troops outside Africa, they would definitely ease the burden on our manpower."

Britain cannot hold India anyway—therefore... enlist West and East Africans to 'help us (imperialism!) out.' This is sugar coated as follows:

"Develop the African Colonies—Concentrate, in co-operation with France, on the development of our African colonies so as to create the conditions for African freedom and... to decrease European dependence on America."

The attitude of these "lefts" on the Colonial question is imbued with such petty reformist conception throughout. Unable to grasp any conception outside of a capitalist-imperialist policy, they are incapable of understanding that a genuine socialist government's policy towards the colonial peoples, would be, as its first step, the freeing of the colonial countries from the yoke of British imperialist oppression. The progress towards a socialist system in these backward countries would be arrested.

Worker" and J. R. Campbell would have been justified in their assertion. But the facts are different. And facts are stubborn things.

## Changes Under Stalin

Let us begin with the government officials. According to the decision of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of the 17th January, 1938, the President of the Council of the Union as well as the President of the Council of Nations, as well as their Vice-Presidents, receive an annual income of 300,000 roubles. The President of the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R., as the other members of the Union, with their deputies, will receive 150,000 roubles per year. The deputies to the Supreme Soviets will receive 1,000 roubles per month—i.e., 12,000 roubles per year, besides 150 roubles for each day in session.

Now we must not forget that in the same year the average income according to the official statistics of the Russian Government, including every worker and employee, i.e., from the woman who scrubs the floor to the head of the Government, was in 1938, 3,467 roubles. (Russian Statistical Year Book, 1939).

As regards the income of the managers of industry, heads of

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by reciprocal economic and political interchanges, as between free peoples of a Socialist Britain and a truly free colonial people, upon whose soil there will not remain a single British bayonet.

But instead of demanding the withdrawal of British troops from abroad, their only plea is for the release of an extra 300,000 from the forces by March, 1948, in order to reduce the shortage of labour. They have no principled opposition to the Conscription measures of the Labour Government apart from a mild criticism of the length of service involved. This, before the Labour Government reduced the period of conscript service from 18 to 12 months.

Their home policy contains no more socialism than does their foreign policy. No protest against the lavish compensation to the capitalists. No protest against the state capitalist nationalisations. No demand for the Confiscation of profits, and no call for workers' control of industry. None of these demands are advocated by these self-styled "Lefts", yet they form the first elements of a socialist policy.

If all the measures advocated by the writers are adopted they can no more prevent slump and war than the present programme and policy of the Labour Government. There is no fundamental difference between them. A bit more effort from the workers here, a pruning of British commitments there, an attempt to line up the nations of Western Europe behind Britain; all this is simply utopian as a solution to the problems facing the British and world working class today.

The workers in the Labour Party and Trade Unions must demand a complete break with the policies of the past. Partial measures of nationalisation with lavish compensation will help to make capitalism as a whole work more efficiently, but they cannot solve the problems of decrepit British capitalism. The organisation of a Socialist Britain within a Socialist United States of Europe would lead to the genuine integration of European economy for the benefit of all. But this will be achieved only if capitalism is completely abolished and the workers take their fate firmly into their own hands.

Kolkhoz, etc., Soviet statistics are much harder to obtain, for the simple reason that the real inequalities of Stalinist Russia are so glaring that the bureaucracy takes pains to conceal them under the old capitalist trick of "averages". If the wages are just rewards for services rendered why conceal them by refusing to publish the statistics?

One thing is clear, nevertheless. If, until the end of 1945 there were 384 people in Russia who gave to the Government a loan of at least 1 million roubles, and there were thousands and thousands who gave loans of a hundred thousand roubles, this certainly showed an inequality that cannot be explained only by the more enthusiastic work of the few chosen ones. The existing Five Year Plan promises that at the end of it, the average income of every worker and employee in Russia will be 7,531 roubles. Such an average worker, in order to save a million roubles would have to work a hundred years without spending anything on food, clothing, etc.

When an investor of a loan of 1 million roubles receives 40,000 roubles per annum interest, i.e., many times more than the income of the "average" worker, is it a "true reward for service" to society? Certainly, it is not the fruits of the toil of the one who receives the interest; it is the fruits of the toil of others.

## Equality Of Opportunity

J. R. Campbell does not satisfy himself in saying: "The higher paid worker is making a greater contribution to the wealth of the community."

But he adds: "There must, however, be equality of opportunity, so that everyone can improve their skill."

"As high education becomes more diffused, and as the number of skilled people grows, it may be possible, without destroying incentive, to lessen the gaps between the highest and the lowest incomes."

Perhaps in order to achieve this, the Decree of 4th April, 1940, lays down that no taxes are to be imposed on inheritances, and no income tax is to be levied on incomes from saving bank deposits, state loan bonds, etc.!! Perhaps in order to give "equality of opportunity" to everyone, let him be the son of a manager of industry, or an eminent ballerina on the one hand, or a simple worker or housemaid on the other—perhaps for this, the Decree of the 2nd October, 1940, imposed very high education fees in secondary schools and universities. By the way, this

# Germany: 'Give Us Bread —Or Coffins'

By N. PENTLAND

Within a month of the Ruhr miners demonstrating for food, strikes on an even greater scale have taken place in Hamburg. During the past few weeks, the food rations, far from being honoured or increased, have been lowered.

In the Ruhr, scene of previous strikes, a news ban on the food situation has been imposed by the Allied Control Commission. News that has leaked out describes the situation "as its worst and longest food crisis to date." Public relations officers have been instructed to make no statements before the Control Commission has censured them.

On Friday, May 9th, 150,000 Hamburg workers struck work for several hours, to march in protest against the scale of food rations. Only workers on food production and distribution stayed at work. Headed by the Bloehm and Voss Shipyard workers, carrying banners which proclaimed: "GIVE US BREAD—OR COFFINS", all sections of the working class took part in the general strike—the first since pre-Hitler days. Even circus performers marched in protest with the workers.

The Chairman of the Hamburg Trades Council, addressing a huge demonstration, demanded that the Trade Unions should be given power to seize hoarded food stocks for distribution under their guidance.

A further demand was for the democratisation of the "Nazified" food offices, and administration in general.

## Starvation Level

The bread ration, recently cut to 52½ ozs. from 87½ ozs. per week, has not been restored. The average number of calories per day is between 700 and 800. Even the official 1,500 calories is described by medical authorities as "just sufficient to maintain normal health." In Essen, only 741 calories per day is being provided. This is mainly made up of bread. Miners, who are supposed to receive special food privileges as incentives to reach the 300,000

another form (i.e. articles, services, etc.). At this stage, a worker who works 8 hours will receive double the amount of a worker who works 4 hours. For skilled work, the difference would be according to the difficulty in acquiring the skill. However, because society will give possibilities of education, technical schooling, etc., free of charge, the difference between income of a skilled worker and an unskilled, will be much smaller than the differences existing between those same workers under capitalism. Already in the time of Lenin, the differences were much smaller than under the Czar.

However, the differences in incomes existing in Russia today are growing in the opposite direction. Under Stalin's rule, the system of distribution of the national income, marks a tendency not to socialism or communism, but towards the worst differentiations under capitalism.

Many Communist and Socialist workers are obviously shocked and perplexed by the stories published in the capitalist press about the tremendous inequalities in Russia. Instinctively they realise that there must be something wrong with a society which calls itself socialist, and yet where the differences between the managements and workers are greater than under capitalism. And this, it will be noticed, is not denied by Campbell and the others.

It is to try and counteract this growing perplexity that the "Daily Worker" has published the series of articles. But communist workers will not be reassured by the "Daily Worker."

The Stalinist press is compelled to lie in order to justify the anti-socialist, anti-Marxist policies of Stalinism. Campbell pretends that the differentiation is strictly in accordance with the practice of Lenin. In reality Lenin and Marx had anticipated a rapid disappearance of differences, which would in any case be strictly limited with the coming to power of the working class, and would gradually disappear with the passing over to communism.

When the differences between specialists and workers were introduced, Lenin called these differences by their right name: capitalist. At that time the difference was 4 to 1. He openly called this a concession to capitalism imposed on Russia by her isolation and backwardness. He anticipated that as time passed the Bolsheviks would abolish this "capitalist inequality" more and more moving in the direction of equality. But the differences have now reached almost incredible proportions, and the "Daily Worker" wants us to believe that this is all according to the laws of socialism. Even the rawest worker would smell something wrong with this.

So much for the "equality of opportunity" under Stalin which Campbell wants to pass off under the title of Socialism!

## Towards Communism Or Capitalism?

The editors of the "Daily Worker" want the workers to believe that Russia is in the transitional stage from socialism to communism. Under communism, Marx declared, the law of distribution will be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." In this stage, the material wealth of society will be so high, and the moral and intellectual level such, that labour will cease to be a burden and will come a necessity to the individual, just as recreation, etc. Certainly, humanity cannot reach this stage immediately after overthrowing capitalism. The inheritances from capitalist society prevent the passage immediately to this stage. The law applying to the transitional stage would be that the same amount of labour which an individual will give to society in one form, he will receive from it in

# STALIN—STASSEN

(Continued from Page 3.)

power of the proletariat in one country, does not mean to guarantee the complete victory of socialism. The chief task of socialism—the organisation of socialist production—lies still ahead. Can this task still be accomplished? Is it possible to attain the final victory of socialism in one country, without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several countries? No it is not. The efforts of one country are enough for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie—this is what the history of our revolution tells us. For the final victory of socialism, for the organisation of socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially a peasant country like Russia, are not enough—for this we must have the efforts of the proletarians of several countries. Such in general are the characteristic features of the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution." (Emphasis ours).

It is Not A Question Of Changed Circumstances

The above excerpts are sufficient to expose the hollow argument that we are living in a different period from that of Lenin, "circumstances have changed." The counterposing of Stalin's two positions in a few short months shows clearly how he broke with the "characteristic features of the Leninist theory."

Nor is there any more Leninism in the method of "diplomatic" formulae to conceal the real aims of the revolutionary leadership. In this only the workers could be deceived, never the bourgeoisie. And in any case it is impermissible to proclaim one set of aims to conceal one's real aims. It is a tragedy that there are still so many fine militants in all countries who still believe that the Communist Parties, i.e., international Stalinism, has the socialist revolution for an objective. The reformist conception that British capitalism can evolve peacefully into socialism under the leadership of the Social Democrats must, however, cause some heart-searching among those with any knowledge of the traditions of the communist movement. In its implication it can mean no less than that there is no longer any need for a communist party. This is, in fact, in line with Stalin's dissolution of the Communist International and, following it, the dissolution of the American C.P. for which Browder was made the scapegoat.

Bolshevism Always Says What Is

Nowhere in the arsenal of Leninism can opportunist deception be found. The opposite is true.

## Woolwich Arsenal: Workers Fight Sackings

About 1,500 Woolwich Arsenal workers met at an overflow meeting on 13th May to demand that the Government stop all sackings at this factory, and that plants should be used for making mining machinery and other basic equipment for nationalised industries.

The latest number to be notified of dismissal at Whitsun involves 60 skilled and 100 semi-skilled workers. It is expected that more will follow.

A resolution was unanimously carried which demands the immediate withdrawal of the impending reductions in labour strength.

Spokesmen hit the Labour Government for pandering to private enterprise.

Brother Bill Elliott, Convenor from Enfield Royal Ordnance Factory said that the two factories should link together in this struggle.

A resolution was put to the meeting which called for a ballot vote to be held within 2 days in support of a mass demonstration on Tuesday, 20th May, at 3 p.m. (during working hours) to march to Parliament. This was also carried unanimously. Other R.O.F.'s are asked to give support.

A special conference of factory representatives of all R.O.F.'s should be convened to prepare immediate action against redundancy. The Government must be forced to utilise the R.O.F.'s solely for peace-time products as part of a socialist economic plan.

All Trade Unionists should support these 9,000 Arsenal workers.

## Whats on

CROYDON BRANCH R.C.P. COME AND HEAR THE POLICY OF THE PARTY AT OUR OPEN AIR MEETINGS!

Every Saturday at 6.30 p.m. KATHARINE STREET Outside Town Hall CROYDON

DISCUSSION Group, Wednesday May 26th, at 7.30 p.m., at 263, Wunsted Park Road, Ilford. "Nationalisation." Speaker: Ted Grant. All Welcome.

For example, The "Declaration of the Rights of the Toilers and the Exploited Peoples"—the fundamental state programme introduced in the name of the soviet power into the Constituent Assembly—proclaimed the task of the new structure to be "the establishment of a socialist organisation of society and the victory of socialism in all countries. . . . The soviet power will proceed resolutely along this road until the complete victory of the international workers' insurrection against the yoke of capital." And in those days the soviet state had just come into being. It was terribly weak and bore a very different relationship to world imperialism than does the Soviet Union of Stalin which seeks to leave the regimes of the capitalist countries intact in return for pacts.

The Leninist conception that the revolution could survive only as part of the world revolution is being vindicated. For whilst the stratified property and the planned economy made possible by it have not been destroyed either by inner convulsions or by outside intervention, all else which the October Revolution of 1917 ushered in has been destroyed by the Stalinist regime.

"We are only one of the revolutionary detachments of the working class", Lenin told a session of the Moscow Soviet in April 1918, "advanced to the front not because we are better than others, but precisely because we were one of the most backward countries in the world. . . . we will arrive at complete victory only together with all the workers of other countries, the workers of the whole world."

Indeed, without the aid of the toilers of other lands, the Russian revolution would most likely have been destroyed by imperialist intervention in its early months and years. It was the revolts of the French sailors in the Black Sea, the German revolution which overthrew the Hohenzollern dynasty, the "Hands Off Russia" campaign of the British workers, and similar actions of the workers which prevented the international capitalist reaction, led by Churchill, from strangling the young Workers' Republic.

Stalinism Perpetuates The Betrayals Of Social-Democracy

The betrayal of the German re-

volution after the first world war by the leadership of the reformist social-democracy the German Axtelles and Bevin of that time—was a tragedy for the international working class. Today it is the Stalinised "communist" leadership of Germany, France and all Europe which is responsible for a tragic repetition of the betrayal of the struggle for socialism. It is they who are the foremost opponents of Soviet regimes and seek only class harmony and class collaboration. In return they ask only the reward of a turn toward Moscow in the foreign policies of the respective capitalist ruling classes. From the discourse between Stalin and Stassen it would seem that the Kremlin even has hopes of "neutralising" the American Republic representatives of big business! Certainly they are willing for any deal, no matter at what cost to the working class.

## Revolution: Romanticism Or Realism?

Pollitt and the Stalinist leaders here, seek to counter our criticisms with cheap sneers about revolutionary "romanticism". But it is not we who are the dreamers. The world revolution is not an utopian ideal but a material necessity. The proletarian revolution is directed both against private property in the means of production and against the splitting-up of world economy on a national basis. The creation of "national" socialist regimes, such as Stalin envisages when he talks with British Labour leaders, is unattainable. Internationalism is not an abstract principle. It is the expression of an economic need. As capitalism is national, so socialism is international. Socialism, proceeding from the world-wide division of labour, has as its task and its mission the carrying through of international exchange of goods and services to its highest development. It is just this which Trotskyism stands for.

To deceive the toilers into believing that capitalism and socialism can live peacefully side by side is a criminal betrayal of the working class and the struggle for socialism. The lines of divergence between Stalinism and revolutionary communism—Trotskyism—are clearly exposed by the Stalin-Stassen talks.

## 4th International Manifesto

(Continued from Page 3.)

Will you allow those who drew you into five years of war "for the four freedoms" to deny the most elementary democratic right, that of self-determination, to the German masses? The fusion of the Atlee government's German policy with Truman's will definitely lead you on the road towards the Third World War which in one way or another, will certainly reduce your country to ruin. The road towards a stable peace, towards the elimination of the reactionary bureaucracy of the Labour ministers, towards the expropriation of the monopolists towards all those goals for which you realise you so ardently hope, is the road of struggle against the continued occupation of Germany and against annexations and reparations!

French Workers!

Your capitalist bosses and their reformist and Stalinist collaborators tell you that without the Ruhr coal reconstruction of the economy of your country is impossible. In reality the obstacle to this reconstruction is the greediness of your Two Hundred Families, the sordid egoism of your capitalist masters, the rotten corruption of their government apparatus, the complete decadence of French capitalism. Those who hope to distract your attention towards the Ruhr coal only hope in that way to perpetuate their own bloody filthy rule, your own growing misery and the violent domination of the French and colonial masses. You who have under the Nazi occupation, felt the weight of imperialist oppression cannot tolerate the extension of the same slavery over the German workers!

Communist Workers of All Countries!

During the occupation of the Ruhr by Poincare's troops in 1923 the Communist Parties of all lands gave a magnificent example of working class solidarity and thus furnished striking proof of the realism of international united action of the working class in the face of the bloody quarrels of its imperialist masters. Today the Stalinist parties in every country carry out an ultra-chauvinist policy and oppose each other by defending the particular interests of "their" country side by side with their rulers.

The Fourth International, which fights with all its strength against the Stalinist bureaucracy's vile prostitution of the ideas of Communism, proudly lays claim to the revolutionary tradition of Lenin's Comintern. It calls upon you, in the spirit of that tradition, in the spirit of the militant fraternity that was forged in the concentration camps between your German comrades and yourselves, to join

your efforts to those of the German workers in combatting the occupation of Germany, the annexation of its provinces and all the reparations plans.

German Workers!

This appeal of the Fourth International to the workers of the entire world is at the same time a message of hope to the German workers. It reminds you that in 30 countries there are organizations that reject with disgust the mud-slinging campaign against you, that hold higher than ever the banner of world proletarian solidarity, the banner of the revolutionary, communist, workers' international.

In the spirit of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg it calls upon you, the workers of Germany, to struggle against the occupation, plunder and dismemberment of your country. You have only one enemy: the German and world exploiters. Only one ally: the oppressed masses of the entire world!

The crimes committed by the occupying powers in Germany equal those committed by Hitler in Europe. They are unanswerable proof of the sordid barbarism towards which the outlived capitalist regime is dragging us. Today the struggle for elementary human dignity, for the most simple democratic rights can only succeed by the victory of the proletarian revolution. Only a Socialist Germany in a Socialist Europe can liquidate the remains of Fascism, clear away the ruins, heal the wounds, preserve and elevate human culture and technique. Unprecedented levels and transform your present Calvary into a life at least worthy of Man. We, the Internationalist Communists of 30 countries, have the firm conviction that with the fraternal aid of the workers of the entire world you, the workers of the country where Scientific Socialism was born, will find the road towards the Socialist revolution. Hitler threw Europe and his own country into the abyss of destruction. The German working class will show humanity that it is capable of lifting its country and the whole continent to a new and wondrous level of peace and well-being!

Long Live the International Solidarity of the Working Class!

Long Live the German Revolution!

Long Live the United Socialist Soviet States of Europe and the World!

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, April 1947. The Sections of the International:

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