

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International. 256 HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2. Phone: CUN 2528. EDITOR: E. Grant. BUSINESS MANAGER: J. Graham.

EDITORIAL

Five Years of War!

Five years of war! — Five years of unparalleled destruction, slaughter, starvation and disease — of blood, sweat and tears. The massacre of the masses, the impoverishment of the toilers of the world. Meanwhile the enriching of the few has proceeded apace.

These are the fruits of the social system, rotten with decay.

Five years of war! Over the bones of the masses the pendulum swings back. Nazism—yesterday triumphant, brutal, boastful, is shattered to-day. Its Far Eastern Ally trembles at the writing on the wall.

No need to tell the organised workers of the world that the victory of the forces of Nazism would have led to world-wide reaction and an epoch of human decay.

Victory is for the Anglo-American "democracies" and for Stalinism—but democracy is not ensured. No less surely than the Nazis, will their programme lead to an epoch of social decay. Stalin appeals, not to the German proletariat but to the German Generals; Churchill and Roosevelt to the Quisling Kings and "noble" families, flunkies of the capitalist class.

The war of 1914-1918 was called the "war to end wars". But the Versailles Treaty created by the victors led direct to the Second World War. And to-day, openly the prospective victors promise to impose a super-Versailles on Germany which in turn must inevitably lead to a third world blood bath. Already behind the scenes, the carve up of all Europe is almost completed. Cynical, secret diplomatic horse deals are being negotiated behind the backs of the working classes of the world in which Cain Stalin plays his part.

In preparation for the "peace" a hate campaign is under way in the capitalist and Stalinist press unequalled in this war. The criminal characteristics of Nazism are painted as the character of the German people as a whole.

Race and social oppression, the destruction of Labour's rights—these are not peculiar to the fascists. In "democratic" Africa, Churchill and Smuts oppress the black masses as viciously as Hitler does the Jews. In America the Ghetto of the Nazis finds parallel in the Ghettos of the negroes. In India, 400,000,000 people are starved and denied the most elementary democratic rights by the cynical "democratic" British capitalists. But this foul oppression is no more characteristic of the British masses than are the foul deeds of the Nazis, a characteristic of the German workers and peasants.

Those who create illusions in the programme of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin either do not understand the lessons of history, or in the case of the workers' leaders, are out and out traitors to the working class.

Capitalism is an outlived social system, in its fascist or democratic political form. Only class victories in Europe can lead to a new future for humanity. The task of genuine leaders of the working class is to break through the hate campaign against the German people, demonstrate a class solidarity with the German working class, and fraternise with the defeated German soldiers.

In five years of war, the Fourth International has consistently striven to break through the barriers of censorship to bring the message of international socialism to the masses of the world.

Against the new Versailles of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, the programme of the Fourth International is for the Socialist United States of Europe, and a socialist world.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING

On August 21st 1944, fourth anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky, a packed meeting of London workers was held at the Conway Hall to pay tribute to his memory and to the strength of the ideas with which he armed the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

The meeting was held despite the interruption of the drone of buzz-bombs overhead, as if to make open challenge on behalf of the Old Man to these latest foul excesses of the decaying Imperialist system against which he fought for over 40 years.

On the platform were comrades David James, Ajit Roy, Millie Lee and Ted Grant, the chair being ably taken by comrade Gerry Healy.

Comrade James of the London District Committee dealt with Trotsky's struggle against the betrayals of Stalinism. Comrade Roy dealt with Trotsky and the colonial workers. While Comrade Lee gave conclusive proof of the responsibility of Stalin's G.P.U. murder machine, for the

assassination of the Old Man and again warned the working class against this terrorist and monstrous weapon of the Soviet bureaucracy. Comrade Grant dealt with Trotsky's monumental contributions to Marxian theory, the theory of Permanent Revolution; the analysis of the German defeat of 1923, the growth of Stalinism, the nature of Fascism, as well as his searching analysis of every victory and defeat of the working class over the last decades. But Trotsky's greatest contribution to the world working class was the founding of the Fourth International. The hall was decorated with revolutionary slogans and banners. A collection produced £12, while sales of our literature went well. In many ways this was the most enthusiastic and successful Trotsky Memorial meeting held in London, with an audience composed mainly of sympathisers and contacts. After the meeting a group of worker-members of the Communist Party made application to join the R.C.P. as they were disgusted with the crawling policy of Stalinism and looked to the Trotskyists as the continuers of the old revolutionary traditions of the Communist International. F. W.

STALINIST QUISLINGS IN INDIA

By M. Naidu

India is facing a second famine. Already epidemics resulting from dreadful sanitary conditions and malnutrition are taking a heavy toll. Inflation and mounting prices have forced down the standards of living to sub-human levels. Unable to bear their monstrous conditions, in an attempt to maintain even the low standards from falling lower, the workers have repeatedly resorted to strikes.

The present chaos and misery are the result of two hundred years of exploitation by British Imperialism. It is to overthrow British Imperialism, the root cause of hunger and starvation in India, that the Indian masses waged a struggle in 1942. All this is elementary A.B.C. to serious Socialist workers all over the world. But it is important to restate them, because a document issued by the Indian C.P. which has just reached us, makes no mention of these facts. The document is called Working Class and National Defence. Submitted by B. T. Ranadive and adopted by the Congress of the Communist Party of India on 28th May, 1943.

The British Workers have experienced the strike-breaking pro-boss class role of the C.P. The American workers have seen the dissolution of the C.P., and heard Browder advocating a stabilisation of Capitalism in the post-war period. But no-where has the supreme cynicism on the part of C.P. been so manifest, alongside the lowest depths of misery to which the workers have been reduced, as in India. Ranadive, the renegade, starts off with an accurate description of what is taking place in India:

"There were strikes for food and for dearness allowances. There were strikes in railway workshops producing for war; in textile factories, in engineering shops, working for war; in dockyards and godyards in the train services. Workers in backward industries on strike; workers in organised industries on strike."

What did the Communist Party of India do? Did it lead the workers to a victorious end? Did it inspire the workers with a will to power? Ranadive answers: "We prevented strikes from spreading or intervened in spontaneous strikes and speedily settled them."

Let any one may misunderstand what this "intervention" meant he adds later: "The workers were per-

suaded to go back without any change for the better."

This energetic intervention of the C.P., it seems, is not appreciated by the workers. They had genuine grievances. They had a bitter experience in the past. Persuasion of the C.P. through its paid propagandists and its Government rag "Peoples War", made no impression on the workers. Ranadive himself admits:

"Consider his condition of work which are hellish to-day. Consider his past experience which has only shown that every advance made in his skill has been exploited by the employers; that nothing is to be secured from employers without a fight; that Government is an alien government which suppresses his nation, his people and his rights."

The result is that the C.P. could not prevent strikes. Ranadive is quite self-critical. This state of affairs he attributes to a failure of the Communist Party. The source of this failure is so breath-taking that his words are worth quoting.

"We failed to whip up anti-Japanese hatred, failed to whip up anti-fascist hatred, even though a bald account of the atrocities committed by the Axis Powers would have roused the hatred of any man."

Leaving aside the stupid "anti-Japanese" chauvinism without an attempt to explain the difference between the capitalist and military caste, and the masses of Japan—the workers of Bombay, Sholapur and Cawnpore may very well ask: why should we look beyond the borders of India for "atrocities"? Amritsar is not somewhere in Europe occupied by Germany, or in those parts of Asia occupied by Japan. The very benevolent British Imperialists whom you want us to support, shot down unarmed people like dogs. We have witnessed the atrocities of Sholapur and Chittagong. A Whipping Act is still in force. Villages have been razed to the ground; witness the village of Chimur. Hostages have been shot. Bombs are dropped from the air and the machine gunning of unarmed crowds is a common occurrence. Why not a word of protest against these? This C.P. hack

has no word of protest against the atrocities committed by British Imperialism in a pamphlet of 34 pages, produced to whip up support for British Imperialism.

Apparently the members of the Indian C.P. itself could not grasp the full significance of this ban on strikes. Some of them felt that, after all, increased production should result in increased wages. Vice versa, higher wages and better conditions would increase production. This deviation from the Party line of unconditional support to the bosses and the British Imperialists receives an admonition from Ranadive:

"Gradually, step by step, economic demands are put forward as conditions of increasing production. Not that our comrades crudely formulate them as conditions... The result is that economic demands do operate as conditions."

"This," he concludes sternly, "is not patriotism; it is the same wrong policy of the national leadership, which landed our country in this crisis."

For the crisis, economic, political and social, the responsibility is placed on the shoulders of the national leaders of Congress. Not a word about British Imperialism and its exploitation of India. Not a mention of the deliberate policy of inflation and exports of foodstuffs resulting in mass hunger and millions of deaths from starvation. Don't even ask for increased wages for intensified exploitation resulting in greater production; this is the counsel of betrayal that Ranadive offers.

Some of the members of the C.P., some of the old militants dazed by this policy, seemed to have expressed dissatisfaction with giving up the right to strike. Even though strikes are banned, can't we keep it as a last reserve weapon, as an instrument of threat against the boss class? Ranadive thinks of every cause which might contain the danger of strike and proceeds sternly:

"They (Party members) think that by banning strikes we are removing our only sanction to enforce economic demands. They would like at least the threat of a strike to be kept to ward production for ransom." Here is a gem of wisdom as a reply to these Party members.

"When the role of every strike, no matter what its cause, is to stop production why should there be such confusion?"

Of course, none of these pep talks to Party members stop the strikes. The Indian workers have struggled heroically in the past and will continue to do so. Ranadive, having failed in his mission to bolster up the rotten structure of British Imperialism, turns sternly to the Indian workers and says it is necessary to issue:

"A clear warning to the workers that immediate demands cannot be won through strikes; that strikes only disrupt their unity and strength and make them helpless before the employers and bureaucracy; a straight appeal to them in the name of the soldiers, their brothers..." (more rhetoric not worth quoting).

Ranadive does not forget to besmirch the heroic masses who attempted to deal a death blow to British Imperialism in 1942. More than 15,000 of them were shot in a few days. Thousands of them were whipped and flung into the concentration camps. He reserves his choice adjectives for them as "the Fifth Column," "the advanced guard of the Japanese militarists."

"On the political front we defeated the fifth column and foiled its game of sabotage and anarchy!"

No wonder the enraged workers burnt down the C.P. offices and pelted stones at their speakers and broke up their meetings. No wonder some of their leaders were murdered by the workers in Bengal where the C.P. concluded an agreement with the riff-raff to create strike-breaking, black-leg organisations.

In the coming period, the Indian masses will face stern struggles. In the last twenty-five years, repeatedly, they have displayed magnificent courage and fighting qualities. Once again in the near future they will prepare to overthrow the monstrous regime of Imperialism which reduces them to physical starvation, mental stagnation, and spiritual degradation. In those struggles, these renegades who are agents of the enemy will be thrust into the dust heap of history. In the meanwhile, closing their ranks, with a fighting programme, purging the movement of such treacherous elements, they should go forward, ready for future battles. The Indian Bolshevik-Leninists, Indian section of the Fourth International, operating illegally, persecuted by British imperialism, present such a fighting programme.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

By Frank Ward

URUGUAY.

From two South American Republics, Uruguay and Paraguay, come reports of sweeping Labour struggles and—of particular significance to members and sympathisers of the R.C.P.—also reports of the active participation in these struggles by the national sections of the Fourth International. These reports show not only the growing resistance of the Latin American workers to the dictators and quislings of Wall-Street, but are also indicative of the growing fear amongst the ruling classes of the whole world, at the spread of Trotskyist influence in the working class movement.

A campaign of fierce attacks and slanders led by the Minister of the Interior has been launched against the Uruguayan Trotskyists and against the Fourth International as a whole—making particular reference to the police raids on the British section, the R.C.P.

The attack was launched in the Chamber of Deputies during the four day debate on the reactionary anti-labour policy of the Government in recent strikes. There are many striking resemblances to the method which Ernest Bevin used in this country to introduce anti-Labour measures.

There had been a strike in the National Frigorifico, the large Swift meat-packing plant. However, instead of introducing legislation equivalent to Bevin's reactionary IA(a), the Government took the step of extending by decree, the status of a "public service" to this undertaking, with the implied threat of doing this in every strike. Under the Penal Code, striking in any "public service" becomes a criminal offence punishable with 3 to 18 months imprisonment. Thus as with IA(a) here almost all strikes become potentially illegal. The only "left" elements to support this reactionary measure were the two Stalinist deputies.

During the debate, early last June, the decree was attacked by the Social-Democrat, Cardozo who condemned it as a reactionary attack on the elementary democratic rights of the workers.

The Minister of the Interior led off a violent attack on the Trotskyists which in its content is identical with that of Bevin's speech in the House of Commons.

Carefully clearing the Uruguayan Stalinists and reformists of responsibility—they had been slavishly carrying out their international policy of betrayal of the workers and support for the bosses)—the Minister of the Interior tried to place the responsibility for the strike movement almost exclusively on the Trotskyists making it an attack on the whole Fourth International.

"This group which has appeared in our country," the Minister declared, "is not restricted to Uruguay. It has appeared simultaneously in Great Brit-

ain, the United States, South Africa and our country."

He then referred to the police raids and arrests of the comrades of the R.C.P., and lyingly stated that the British Police "were able to establish the existence of an organisation to instigate strikes in order to impede the second front of the Allied Nations..."

The victory of our struggle here and the release of our comrades is a stinging reply to the slanders of the reactionaries not only at home but in far away Uruguay!

The Minister then excitedly brandished copies of the Uruguayan Trotskyist paper "Contra la Corriente" (Against the Stream) and shouted: "These people are amongst us. They say that this is actually an Imperialist war; that the working class must not believe in the vote!"

Yes we do say that this is an imperialist war, and in so doing we strip the false mask of "democratic" and "freedom-loving" phrases from the rapacious Allied Imperialists and their no less rapacious hangers-on. It is for speaking the truth that the Trotskyists, as the most vigilant defenders of working class rights, are being attacked by the Uruguayan ruling class. Their attempt to strike at the ideas and cadres of the world revolutionary movement must be met with determined resistance by the workers of Uruguay and the whole world.

ARRESTED IN ALGERIA.

ALGERIA, May 31—A number of Jewish refugees from Austria have been arrested in Algeria and Morocco for organizing Trotskyist cells in co-operation with the Arabs, in various localities.

(From special dispatch to the "Jewish Morning Journal.")

GERMANY.

According to the "New York Times" "Following earlier reports of organised Communist activity in Germany, stories of the first underground Communist convention 'somewhere in Germany' have been heard."

"The convention's aim was to establish a Communist trade union central body. This is reported to have been done. Communist 'cells' have been formed in many German industrial centres... the German Communists are said to be internationalists, or as they would be called in Moscow, Trotskyists."

FRANCE

In a survey of underground papers published in Nazi-occupied France, a writer in the "New Yorker" includes a reference to "a little sheet called 'Le Soviet', which carries at its masthead the line 'Long Live Trotsky and Lenin! Down with Stalin, grave-digger of the Third International!'"

"Le Soviet" has been appearing at more or less regular intervals during the past two years, perhaps longer. It is the organ of the Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste (Workers' Internationalist Party), French section of the Fourth International.

PARAGUAY.

Early this year Paraguay was paralysed by a general strike of the workers in industry, transport and public utilities. The workers were demanding the restoration of democratic rights, the removal of fascists from public office, restoration of the right to strike, repeal of a decree disbanding their trade unions and for wage increases to meet the soaring cost of living. By using troops to establish a brutal reign of terror the Government defeated the workers after a four week struggle. No word of the strike was reported in the "free" press of the Allies. Paraguay with a population of little more than one million, entered the "democratic" camp of the competing Imperialists and broke relations with the Axis in January 1942. To show its love for "democracy" the reactionary dictatorship of Moringo, a puppet Government of Wall Street, ordered the disbandment of the trade unions and the suppression of all other democratic rights.

On February 14th last, the workers fought back against these reactionary decrees and against the starvation level at which wages were being kept.

have demonstrated a spirit which will lead ultimately to the removal of the puppet-dictator-quisling of Wall Street from the backs of the South American workers and peasants.

All transport was halted—printing workers struck; industry was at a standstill.

Despite magnificent solidarity the workers were eventually beaten back to work some three to four weeks later. The use of troops, the threats of punitive action against strikers' wives and the arresting and herding into concentration camps of more than 600 workers and union officials—and hunger, eventually defeated the Paraguayan working class.

The American "Militant" reports on the activities of the Paraguayan section of the Fourth International in this struggle:

"During the strike, members... issued several leaflets and participated as delegates in the strike committees at Asuncion and Pilar. Two members of the International Communists of Germany, now in exile, were arrested while collecting contributions for the strike fund."

The ruling class of Paraguay may congratulate themselves on having secured a victory over the workers—but the rising tide of revolt against Allied and Axis Imperialists will make their victory empty and uneasy. By the magnificent solidarity in this general strike the Paraguayan workers have demonstrated a spirit which will

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