

AMERICAN C.P. Packs-Up Socialism

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Twopence

BROWDER OPEN AGENT OF WALL STREET

BY DAVID JAMES

ON MAY THE 22ND, THE "DAILY WORKER" ANNOUNCED THAT THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY IS DISSOLVED. IN ITS PLACE THE STALINIST LEADERS HAVE FORMED A POLITICAL ASSOCIATION, PLEDGED TO DEFEND MONOPOLY CAPITALISM AND EXPLAIN ITS "BENEFITS" TO THE EXPLOITED WORKERS OF AMERICA.

This cynical desertion to the class enemy is the fitting conclusion to more than a decade of degeneration of the American Party under the Stalinist regime. Flowing logically from the dissolution of the Comintern, this event underlines the fact that on a world scale, Stalinism openly and unashamedly acts as a prop for the collapsing capitalist order.

When Browder forecast the dissolution of the Communist Party of America last January, he said that henceforth they would be on the side of the capitalist "democracy" and "free enterprise." Now he has laid bare the ugly reality beneath these fine words. With a cynicism worthy of the most brutal spokesman of Wall Street, he painted a picture of the enslavement of the world by Anglo-American imperialism. Apparently these two powers can live in peace if they arrive at "an agreed economic policy for the joint development of the world markets on a huge scale . . ."

He proposed

"joint industrial development of corporations for the various devastated and undeveloped areas of the world, on the one hand, and the purchasing power of the American working people."

His "solution" of the Anglo-American imperialist antagonism is disarmingly frank:

"In return for the extension of freedom and independence among the colonial peoples, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO A LARGE MARKET, Britain must be compensated by being guaranteed a proportionate share in these markets."

Everything enters his calculations—except the interests of the masses

themselves. They don't count with Browder. Need he have gone on to add that "THIS PROGRAMME HAS NO ELEMENT OF SOCIALISM IN IT?"

This programme is remarkable not only for his blatant acceptance of capitalist imperialism in all its brutality, but also for the unscientific, middle class utopian ideas for the achievement of peace under capitalism. In his book "Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism", which has always served as a textbook in the Communist movement, Lenin showed how imperialism was bound to give rise to insoluble contradictions, crises and wars, and the pathetic futility of all schemes for eliminating them without destroying capitalism.

Browder has discovered nothing new in his "giant corporations". Lenin stated:

"Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has established itself . . . in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun."

LENIN'S POSITION

Lenin, however, clearly established that for the sake of the working class democracy, imperialism represented a heightening of the crisis in capitalism: "At the same time monopoly, which has grown out of free competition, does not abolish the latter, but exists alongside it and hovers over it, as it were, and as a result gives rise to a number of very acute antagonisms, frictions and conflicts."

"The political features of imperialism are reactionary all along the line, and increased national oppression, resulting from the oppression of the

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CAPITALIST PRESS PLAYS DOWN STRIKE CASE

Reported by M. LEE

THE PRESS CAMPAIGN TO HOUND THE TROTSKYISTS, WHICH PRECEDED THE RAIDS ON OUR OFFICE AND THE ARREST OF OUR COMRADES, WAS RUDELY INTERRUPTED WHEN THE CROWN CASE WAS PRESENTED AT NEWCASTLE.

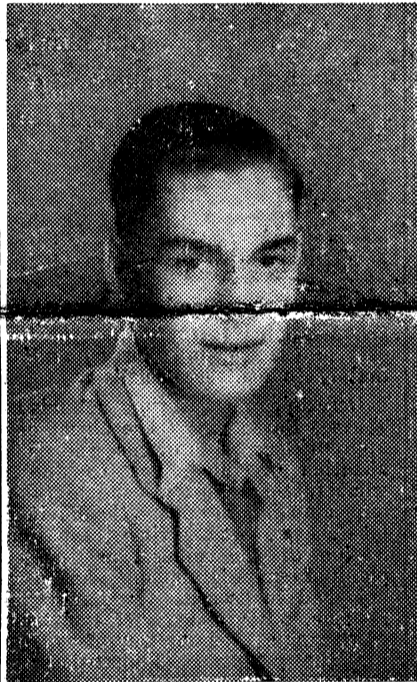
The first day of the trial so completely shattered the high hopes of "sensational disclosures" that the Press was forced to play down what is undoubtedly the most important Labour trial for almost a generation.

The hearing took place at Newcastle-on-Tyne police court on May 18th to May 22nd, where the evidence for the crown was produced as the basis for a committal to the assizes.

Seventeen witnesses were called by the prosecution, including 9 apprentices, 6 police officers a, handwriting expert, and a Ministry of Labour official.

The accused were defended by the well-known firm of solicitors, Messrs. Smithdale, Rutledge & Co., who had been briefed by the Anti-Labour Laws Victims Defence Committee on behalf of the defendants. Mr. Gerald Rutledge was the defending solicitor. He was aided by his colleague Mr. Ernest Silverman, brother of the Labour M.P.

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Bill Davy, 19-year-old Secretary of the Tyne Apprentices Guild, "My association with the accused gave me a lot of satisfaction." See inside page.

CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

Churchill's speech on foreign affairs in the House of Commons on May 24th was an attempt at a sober assessment of the position of British and world capitalism and its perspectives for the next period.

Throwing off the mask donned by British capitalism in the early stages of the war Churchill openly proclaims that "as the war progresses it has become less ideological in character", and in proof of this fact proceeds warmly to embrace the Fascist butcher Franco. Here he shows the real motives of British Imperialism. "I look forward to increasingly good relations with Spain, and to an extremely fertile trade between Spain and this country which will, I trust, grow even during the war and will expand after the peace." In peace and war, as with all other capitalist states it is the struggle for markets and raw materials; the struggle for capitalist interests, which dictates the policy of British Imperialism, its alliances, rivalries and relations with other States.

Thus the imperialist "democracies" on the eve of the decisive struggle

against their German opponent announce in advance the heritage they expect to gain. They will take into the peace the savage rivalries and appetites, the same ruthless policy of plunder and exploitation which has revealed itself in the war. But now on an entirely new basis.

In dealing with the relations of Britain with Russia and pledging support to the 20 years Treaty, Churchill could not but refer with satisfaction and joy to the speedy degeneration of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union. "Surprising changes have taken place in Soviet Russia. The Trotsky form of Communism (i.e. Marxist-Leninism) has been completely wiped out." In detailing the important points of this degeneration—Army, Church, Nationalism, etc.—Churchill stressed "The Comintern has been abolished. That is sometimes forgotten." And it is on this nationalist-bureaucratic degeneration that the Anglo-American Imperialists are banking for the post-war world. They hope, with Stalin's aid to destroy the Socialist revolution in Europe and

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DOCKERS' RAW DEAL

Many problems face the dockers. Problems that are creating mass discontent throughout the whole of Dockland.

Prime among these, is the problem of the Essential Work (Dock Labour) Order, out of which many points arise. Nearly all of the ports up and down the Country are merged in the scheme under the Essential Work Order, with the exception of the Merseyside and Clydeside which are under a different scheme, namely, "The Ministry of War Transport Scheme". Those dockers who come under the Essential Work (Dock Labour) Order, subject to certain conditions, receive a minimum wage of £3 6s. On the other hand, the Merseyside and Clydeside dockers, receive a minimum wage of £4 2. 6d.

So the dockers are divided, nationally, so far as the minimum wage is concerned. They are not only divided nationally but, they are also divided locally. For example, the dockers under the E.W.O. are divided into three categories, namely A, B and C. A men must complete eleven turns per week for which they receive the minimum wage of £3 6s.; B men must complete nine turns per week for which they receive £2 14s.; C men must complete six turns per week for which they receive £1 16s.

According to the scheme, and emphasised, on numerous occasions, by the Trade Union leaders, the reason for the dockers being divided into three categories is because some of them are unable to perform a full week's work,

either because of age or physical incapacity. The farce of this "reason" is clearly shown by another clause, in the scheme, which reads: "Workers in Groups B or C must either work or attend the Control Point to prove availability for work up to the minimum of nine or six half-days respectively. The Manager will determine at which of the morning and/or afternoon calls, the attendance of these men is obligatory." This means, that, if a docker, who is placed in B or C category, works at a heavy job for a day or two, and feels that, because of the strain of the job, accelerated, by his age or physical disability, he is unable to turn out next day. He must report for work if that day is one of the days, the manager determines; he must report, otherwise the docker loses his minimum wage.

Many people, up and down the Country, are under the impression, that the dockers' troubles are practically over, because they receive a guaranteed weekly minimum wage. This impression has been, no doubt, acquired by the reports published, periodically, in the Capitalist press, who, also take great delight in publishing reports of the big wages that the dockers' earn.

Insofar as the minimum wage is concerned, one must study, not only the bare fact that the dockers receive a minimum wage, but also the conditions, upon which the minimum wage is based, and which the dockers must

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Condemned in "Flimsiest Case Conspiracy"

Nationalisation of Mines was our Solution says BILL DAVY

...ve a reputation for being strikes which had happened.

...allenged Donnachie on what and asked him to write strike committee and get account of the role the Mills had played in the strike. ...ay whether he was a member of the Blyth Labour anti-nationalisation, very in speaking, but a fool.

Jan 16th.

That Police Used Third Degree

...ained by Mr. Rutledge, that on the Wednesday the second week of the me home to find six police ed in a search. "I don't the documents that were my house, but they took four letters from the ac- to myself. They also took tten notes from my house e suggestions for the or- of the Tyne Apprentices r the conduct of our pub- gn. Inspector Patterson e taking these," but I had ty of inspecting them."

...e police on the afternoon day. They wanted me to association with Tearse, ee. I volunteered to give explanation and Patterson uestions and he wrote my n. They did not caution ade that statement. I police station at 2 p.m. 4.30 p.m."

...ce came to see me on the ednesday at my place of . They wanted me to go ce Station and elaborate at I had already made. I o the Police Station where id there were other points me to clear up. I went to lice station where I saw e and Inspector Patter- ked me if I was prepared further statement to clear nts."

...the police station seven is occasion. I was ques- hole of this seven hours. time I had an opportunity od, but I did not have it; l inclined to have it when ht in. I was not threat- is interview, but I was coaxed. I was asked who e a job when I came out agree I thought that was as also asked what sort be open to me if I through supporting the I was asked 'How will n the eyes of the appren- hese facts come to light' u want to make all your because of your actions?' 'What about your mother; ak her heart if you go to police also said 'Suppose story to the papers; your mud.' Sergeant Dale said a warrant for my arrest tes, if he wanted to. I it was third degree and seven hours at this inter- alsend Police Station. I after these threats I was o give them another state- but for these threats I

would not have given them another statement."

"At 10 a.m. the following day, I again saw the police. I was there all day: I had a break for dinner, and I left about 5 p.m. On this third visit I saw Inspector Patterson and Sergeant Dale. I did not have my parents or my solicitor at any of these interviews, and I was not told I could have them there if I wished. I signed this third statement, but I am not sure whether I signed it then or on the following day. I saw the police four times in all."

"Asked whether it had taken 24 hours to wheedle or force these statements from him, Davy replied yes."

"The Tyne Apprentices Guild was formed as a result of the Pit Ballot Scheme—there was a feeling of hostility towards the scheme amongst the apprentices which existed before I met the accused. This feeling was very strong. We felt there was no call at all to send us into the mines. I believe that reorganisation of the mining industry is necessary in the national interests, and that is my own belief. My own honest view is that if there was nationalisation of the mines the Pit Ballot Scheme would not be necessary. I arrived at that view myself and the accused never assisted me towards that view."

The Tyne Apprentices Guild was formed because of the apprehension which existed amongst apprentices on Tyneside with regard to the Bevin Ballot Scheme and it was our first intention to organise ourselves to try to withstand what we termed the attack upon us by coming out on strike in an attempt to force the Government to exempt apprentices from being called up to work in the mines. These were our objects before we met the accused."

Replying to questions regarding the propaganda leaflets issued by the Tyne Apprentices Guild, Davy stated that these were "issued under my authority and signature and they express my views."

Replying to Mr. Rutledge, Davy denied that Tearse had advocated strike action. Nor had Haston, Lee or Keen at any time advocated strike action.

On the delegation to London, Davy said that 17 apprentices went to London. The fact that Bevin had not seen the delegation created further hostility to the Pit Ballot Scheme. "The ire which arose through Mr. Bevin's action in not seeing us, precipitated the strike in some degree."

Dealing with the decision to give notice for strike action, when apprentice Martin was called up under the Pit Ballot Scheme, Davy stated that the Executive Committee decided to give three weeks strike notice to Mr. Bevin. At this meeting none of the accused were present.

At the request of Mr. Rutledge, Bill Davy read out an extract from Hansard reporting the debate in the House of Commons on the mine ballot scheme. The extract from Mr. Kirkwood's statement was read out in court as follows:

"I am satisfied that a proper man, with courage, would go and face the workers. I have asked the Minister (Bevin) time and again, and he has said, 'No, I am not going.' I asked him to go to the Tyne but he said 'No.' I said, 'You can take it from me that they will strike.' He said, 'Let them strike. If they want a showdown we are ready for them.' Who I ask, are 'we'? Ready for whom? What a disgrace!"

Mr. Rutledge stated "I will call Mr. Kirkwood later."

Replying to Mr. Rutledge on the reasons for his resignation from the Tyne Apprentice Guild, he said that

the Chairman at the Junior Workers Committee meeting said that the Tyne Apprentices Guild had been proscribed by the A.E.U., and that anyone present who belonged to the Guild must leave the room. He also said that persons who were connected with the Guild must leave the A.E.U. Youth Committee or sever connection with the Guild.

Davy here referred to a leaflet which had been drawn up in conjunction with Lee to all trade union branches in order to explain the position he had been forced into. Extracts read out from this leaflet were as follows:

"Members of the E.C. of the T.A.G. who were also delegates on



ROY TEARSE
Secretary of the Militant Workers Federation and Industrial Organiser of the R.C.P.

the A.E.U. Youth Committee were given the alternative of severing relations with the Guild or of being expelled from the Union. Faced with this ultimatum, the delegates covered their organisational relations with the Guild under strong protest. It is now obvious for all trade unionists to see that this move on the part of the E.C. of the A.E.U. was an attempt to behead the leadership of the Guild. They hoped by using pressure to smash the Guild and our struggle against the "Ballot Scheme."

We give you these facts confident in the knowledge that you will support us in our struggles by moving the following resolution through your union branch, district and factory committees:—

"This Branch of the... vigorously protests against the action of the E.C. of the A.E.U. which has declared the T.A.G., and similar apprentice organisations throughout the country proscribed organisations,



ANN KEEN
N.E. District Secretary of R. C. P.

thereby doing the dirty work of the Minister of Labour in attempting to smash the movement of the apprentice trade unionists; and demands that the T.U. leaders sever their connections with the state and conduct a struggle in the interests of their members and not against them."

In concluding, Davy stated: "I do not believe that I have been influenced by the accused. My association with these people gave me a lot of satisfaction. I do not believe I have been misled or misguided by them. None of the accused has promoted, fomented, or agitated this strike.

The majority of the members were inclined towards taking strike action. Others were indifferent.

There would have been a strike if I had never met any of the accused."

Other Apprentices in the Box

Davy was followed by eight other apprentices, including two from Sunderland and one from Blyth, the rest being from Tyneside.

John Cooper Brown, Provisional Treasurer, a South Shields apprentice stated: "At previous meetings there had been discussions opposing the Bevin Scheme and we decided to arbitrate, and if that did not succeed, to strike. A resolution to that effect was passed at the third or fourth meeting.

Just before we tried to negotiate with Mr. Bevin, we decided to have a strike if necessary. I had the same view as the majority about that.

I don't think it right that apprentices should be sent to work in the mines and so lose their trade.

James Lloyd, journeyman joiner at South Shields, said: "When we did not get any satisfaction after trying to see the Minister of Labour in London and trying to see M.P.s, the question of a strike came into prominence. Just before the delegation went to London, the matter of a strike came up and to prevent a strike they went to London. They got no satisfaction and as a result we decided to come out on strike.

Cross-examined by Mr. Rutledge, Lloyd said: "There was a lot of bitterness against this Scheme, and there definitely still is. The object of our organisation was to use every method of persuasion before strike action was contemplated. This was done even to the extent of sending a deputation to London to Mr. Bevin. I agreed with the contents of the leaflets. Tearse never advocated strike action. I don't know the other accused and have never seen them before."

Hames O'Hagan of Hebburn-on-Tyne stated "I did not like the scheme and was hostile to it. I have always had a strong feeling against going down the mines. I am an apprentice. The apprentices regarded it as detrimental to their employment.

William Landles, apprentice electrician from Northumberland, cross-examined by Mr. Rutledge, said "I was definitely against the Pit Ballot Scheme and this feeling was definitely shared by my colleagues. All of us wanted to take every step by means of propaganda before taking precipitous action. I have never heard Tearse speak at all. Lee and Keen have never advocated strike action. I don't know Haston."

William Patterson, apprentice shipwright, South Shields, asked about his visit to the House of Commons, said that Mr. Sorenson had explained that M.P.s could not be helpful these days. He said he had received advice from Haston and Tearse on the lobbying of M.P.s and also from a policeman. Asked by Mr. Rutledge who had been most helpful he replied "the policeman"! He said that none of the accused had ever advocated strike action. Asked if he agreed with the strike, he replied: "Strike action is the working man's last weapon."

(Continued on next page)

Daniel Donnachie, fitter and turner of Blyth, describing a meeting said: "I asked about the part of the Militant Workers Federation in the Barrow Strike. I said that the Militant Workers Federation lived on strikes, and created strikes, and they were in all the strikes in the country, and it was necessary for us to break away from them, and throw this man out of our meeting. The accused Tearse then challenged me to a public debate to prove the accusations I had made against him. I accused him of being connected with the Barrow strike, and another man asked him if he was a member of the Barrow Strike Committee, and he replied "Yes." The meeting ended in disorder."

Cross-examined by Mr. Rutledge, Donnachie was asked if he was aware if a strike committee was an elected body. He replied that he was not aware of this.

Leslie Britton, a Sunderland apprentice said that he was one of the delegation that visited London. "When we got to Kings Cross we were met by Tearse and Haston... After breakfast Haston arranged lodgings for us for the night. Then we went to Haston's office; Tyne and Wear apprentices attended this meeting. A discussion took place about the procedure for lobbying M.P.s and what our policy was."

James Winter, apprentice fitter of Sunderland said he did not care what they did with the pits as long as he did not have to go down them.

On the lobbying of M.P.s he said he had proposed members from Sunderland, but these were ruled out because they were conservatives. He thought that it was a waste of time going to the House of Commons, and this was confirmed, after what had happened there.

This apprentice opposed nationalisation of the mines.

"After having a discussion with fellow apprentices at Sunderland, I decided we could not support the Tyne Apprentices Guild in the letter to Mr. Bevin. In the first place the apprentices thought Mr. Bevin would not tolerate the apprentices demanding anything from him; and another thing was that an apprentice fitter was not coming out on strike or take action for any errand boy or butcher's boy."

It is worthy of note in passing that Donnachie was quoted at great length in the columns of the "Daily Worker" while not one word of the evidence of the other apprentices on the question of nationalisation was referred to. The "Daily Worker" quoted from the two Wear lads who, as one stated, refused to strike on behalf of any "errand boy or butcher's boy."

This concluded the evidence of the apprentices called by the Crown against the accused. After examining the evidence of the police officers as to the finding of the 98 exhibits, some of which were in the handwriting of the four accused, the case for the prosecution was closed.

Defence Committee Meetings:

- June 4. BIRMINGHAM, Bristol Street Schools, 7.30 p.m.
Speakers: Reg Groves, Will Morris, Ajit Roy
Fred Longden, Chair.
- June 11th. GLASGOW, St. Andrew's Hall, 7.30 p.m.
Speakers: J. Maxton, M.P.,
J. McGovern, M.P., Ajit Roy.
- June 11th. MERTHYR, Miners Hall, 7.30 p.m.
Speakers: S. O. Davies, M.P., C. Stanfield,
J. Lawrence, V. Sastry.
- June 11th. NEWCASTLE, 7.30 p.m.
- June 18th. NOTTINGHAM, 7.30 p.m.

Bevin's Action Provoked Strike

Says RUTLEDGE

(Continued from page 3)

Addressing the bench on behalf of the defendants, Mr. Rutledge said that this was the first case under the Trade Disputes Act of 1927, and he submitted that the section under which it was brought meant that before a person could be charged with acting in furtherance of a strike, there must be in existence a strike at the time the act complained of took place.

Not one of the defendants did any act after the commencement of the strike. Dr. Charlesworth had declared that the accused were not on trial for their political convictions, but he submitted that a great deal of the prosecution's case had been made up of political colour. For example, Davy was asked what kind of literature was found in Lee's house, and much had been made of the lobbying of M.P.s. These things, which had been brought in with the object of covering up the weakness of the case for the prosecution, had nothing whatsoever to do with the charges.

HE DECLARED THAT IT WAS ONE OF THE FLIMSIEST CASES OF CONSPIRACY THAT COULD BE BROUGHT AND CERTAINLY THE FLIMSIEST HE HAD HAD TO DEAL WITH.

The apprentices, who had given evidence were intelligent lads and gave their evidence frankly. All opposed the Bevin Pit Ballot Scheme and all agreed that the main object of the Tyneside Apprentices' Guild was to oppose that scheme by all the means in their power. Their policy was formed before the accused appeared on the scene. They said that if they had never met the defendants the strike would still have occurred.

"Had the Minister of Labour met the lads in London the strike might never have occurred. It was provoked by the Minister's autocratic action in refusing to see the lads."

"If the prosecution ever had a case of conspiracy it exploded like a damp squib when Davy was cross-examined, for it was found in what manner statements had been obtained from them by the police in Wallsend."

"The prosecution had to satisfy the court, first that there was a strike; second, that it was an illegal strike, and thirdly, that these defendants conspired together to further that strike. Not one of them was charged with inciting a strike or inciting others to strike."

When formally charged by the clerk, Mr. Rutledge on behalf of the four defendants, pleaded not guilty. All the accused reserved their defence. Comrade Jock Haston, in a statement, alleged that the charge was a frame-up and that there had been conspiracy on the part of the authorities and not on the part of the accused. He urged that it was a case of political victimisation; in spite of what the prosecution had said, political issues had been introduced. "We four are to be the scapegoats for Mr. Bevin's new reactionary legislation." The three others formally associated themselves with this statement.

The case was committed for trial at the forthcoming assizes. Bail was allowed on condition that none of the

defendants speak at public meetings; that they report daily to the police in Newcastle or London; and that none of the defendants see anyone connected with the case except through their legal advisers.

Since the trial coincided with the introduction of Bevin's anti-working class Regulation 1A(a), and since it was accompanied by a nation-wide campaign against militant miners and apprentices and the Revolutionary Communist Party for supporting them, it has become associated in the minds of the workers with the introduction of this anti-labour law. The accused are regarded by the majority of the organised workers as class war fighters representing the rights of the working class in the dock.

That the Labour leaders in the Government resort to the use of the much hated and much campaigned against Trade Disputes Act, is but a measure of their desperation. And that Bevin has been instrumental in instituting this, the first case under this hated Act is a measure of his degeneracy. The fact that this case has been ineffectual in distracting public attention from the very real hatred of the Bevin Pit Ballot Scheme was amply seen in the evidence of the apprentices. All the poor propaganda at first embarked upon by the capitalist press about how happy the Bevin pit boys were in their work, has been replaced by the real and unassailable hostility of the youth to the pit compulsion scheme. As the court was proceeding, daily cases were being reported of the imprisonment of lads refusing to go down the mines.

The reaction of the mass of the population to the prosecutions of our comrades daily grew more favourable; manifestations of support in one way and another became more evident. Resolutions of support continue to come in from union branches and miner's lodges. As the trial proceeded from day to day the sympathies of the Newcastle people expanded visibly. As the four comrades walked through the streets to the court, they were greeted by well-wishers all along the route. As they sat in the bus, the driver changing his shift, rapped on the side of the coach and clenched his hand in a gesture of solidarity. Taxi drivers, news vendors, shipyard workers, all gave our comrades a "thumbs up" and a good luck greeting. A young rank and file member of the C.P. approached them in the station and said: "I disagree with you, but I'm with you." Sitting in the train compartment, a Yorkshire A.E.U. official stated that there was a great deal of support throughout the A.E.U. Branches in his area. Everywhere workers and soldiers recognised our comrades from their press photographs and were friendly. The workers understand the nature of this anti-working class case and they resent the use of the capitalist courts against worker militants.

Comrades! Fellow Workers! This case is your case! The issue the comrades are fighting is your issue! It is an all important struggle. For the rights of trade unionists hangs in the balance.

Rally to the defence of the four. For a blow against one is a blow against all!

CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

(Continued from page 1)

the rebellions of the colonial masses as well. Furthermore, they are calculating on an even speedier degeneration of the Soviet Union towards capitalism in the post-war world. However they are compelled to concede Russia—temporarily at least—a greater role in the affairs of world power politics, than they had originally foreseen. For the price of Stalin's betrayal of International Socialism, they consider this well worth while.

In dealing with post-war world organization Churchill could not find anything else to offer the tortured peoples of the five continents but a new version of the League of Nations. The only difference being that the dominating powers have shifted and the small Powers and middling Powers are told in advance they are to be satellites of the giants. Such a solution would be far less effectual than

even the Peace of Versailles. The "United Nations" will fall out with each other even more rapidly than did the Entente after the last war.

The outlook is gloomy if we leave out one vital factor: the factor that will reduce all these plans to naught, the inevitable revolutions and insurrectionary movements of the proletariat in Europe, in Britain, and throughout the world. Stalinism has betrayed: so much the worse for Stalinism. Churchill and the ruling class will see that it is not so easy to tame a revolution either in Russia or in Europe. The next period will see the decisive intervention of the proletariat. Given a fighting leadership they will transform the world. That leadership can only be the International of Lenin and Trotsky, of "Trotskyist Communism", the Fourth International.

AMERICAN C.P. PACKS UP

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financial oligarchy and the elimination of free competition . . ."

Browder's idea that Britain and America can reconcile their imperialist antagonisms by "peaceful division" of the world's markets is nothing but a revival of Kautsky's theory of ultra-imperialism, which Lenin scorned as a reactionary utopia:

"Let us consider India, Indo-China and China . . . we will presume that all the imperialist countries conclude an alliance for the peaceful sharing out of these parts of Asia . . . we ask, is it 'conceivable', assuming that the capitalist system remains intact—and this is precisely the assumption that Kautsky does make—that such alliances would be more than temporary, that they would eliminate friction, conflicts and struggle in all and every possible form?"

This question only requires stating clearly enough to make it impossible for any but a negative reply to be given; for there can be no other conceivable basis under capitalism for the sharing out of spheres of influence, of interests, of colonies, etc., than a calculation of the STRENGTH of the participants in the share-out, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc. . . .

Is it 'conceivable' that in ten or twenty years time the relative strengths of the imperialist powers will have remained UNCHANGED? Absolutely inconceivable.

Therefore 'inter-imperialist' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances, in the realities of the capitalist system and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons or of the German 'Marxist' Kautsky . . . are inevitably nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars. . . .

Instead of showing the vital connection between periods of imperialist peace and periods of imperialist war, Kautsky puts before the workers a lifeless abstraction solely in order to reconcile them to their lifeless leaders."

These extensive quotations are given in order to show that Browder's desertion from Communism follows a well trodden road, which has been travelled by innumerable traitors to the working class, such as Kautsky. Browder's purpose in 1944 is the same as Kautsky's in 1916—to reconcile the workers to their 'lifeless leaders.' The difference between the two is that Browder outdoes Kautsky in the nakedness of his sell-out and the fervour of his reactionary statements. This desertion is at root, only a reflection of the degeneration of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union. The American Stalinists are, after all, only loud-speakers relaying Moscow. The fact that Browder could use the Teheran

URGENT!

PLEASE SEND DONATIONS TO the Defence Committee, V. Sastry, 318, Regents Park Road, Finchley, London, N.3.

Agreement to "justify" his policy shows that the Stalinist Government of the Soviet Union has reached a definite understanding with its imperialist "allies" to use its influence in betraying and crushing the world communist revolution in the attempt to stabilise world capitalism.

Browder bases his policy on the perspective of a stable, peaceful development of capitalism "after the war." Illusion! Even in America, which, of all capitalist countries has the brightest economic prospects (as a result of exploiting the rest of the world), the figure for post-war unemployment estimated recently by a Senate Commission, is 19,000,000.

The class struggle is sharpening. Lenin's analysis is correct: worsened conditions, political oppression and born of imperialism, and are provoking militant reactions from the workers, such as the great strikes in the American mining, railway and engineering industries. Politically, too, the workers are losing faith in the capitalist politicians. Browder's reference to "a sweeping demand for Roosevelt's reelection" is quite unreal. The "Economist" of 13.5.44 exposes the apathy

of the American workers about this question:

"By and large, the average American industrial worker is a political supporter of President Roosevelt, in an apathetic sort of way . . . if the weather is not too inclement on the November election day they will probably go to the polls, and if they go, they will probably vote for F.D.R."

This lack of interest in the fortunes of the capitalist parties is the prelude to the emergence of labour as an independent political force. This can only be in spite of, and against Browder and his association.

"America and the world must choose between Teheran and Hitler." This statement of Browder's, revealing the mind of a capitalist lackey who does not believe in the capacity of the workers to act independently of their exploiters, is belied every day by events. There is a third choice—the world Communist Revolution, which is even now growing and beginning to disintegrate the imperialist camps. The spectre of Communism is once again haunting the world.

The significance of the collapse of the American Communist Party reaches far beyond the frontiers of America. International Stalinism is now openly an appendage of capitalism, confirming the analysis made in the "Transitional Programme of the Fourth International" 1938, which spoke of the "definite passing over of the Communist to the side of the bourgeois order, its cynical counter-revolutionary role throughout the world." The Fourth International alone has correctly traced the process of decay of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in the world as a whole. It alone can provide an alternative revolutionary leadership for the toilers.

To the honest revolutionary workers who still cling to the Communist Party we say: The capitulation of the American Communist Party foreshadows the fate of your own Party. Stalinism the world over has abandoned the "elements of Socialism." There is no future for this tendency which has embraced capitalism at the very moment of its death agony. Your place is in the ranks of those who are undergoing persecution for their OPPOSITION to the capitalist order, both in America and in this country—the Fourth Internationalists—the true communists.

DOCKERS' RAW DEAL

(Continued from page 1)

fulfil before they can earn it. Here are some of the conditions:—

The dockers must report at such Control Points and at such times as required; he must carry out his duties in accordance with the rules of the port or place; complete the employment for which he was engaged, and work as and when required including overtime periods. In addition, if he is an A man, he must travel to other ports or places as and when required by the local Manager. In short, he must be a perfect wage-slave. In regards to the so-called big wages that the dockers earn, which the Capitalist press, from time to time has endeavoured to impress on the people, is prevalent throughout Dockland. In reality, what does happen is, that cognisance is taken of where two or three gangs of men may be working on a special job, such as salvage jobs etc., where the men may be getting extra money for working on jobs of this abnormal character. The men's wages are noted and published in the press for the express purpose of causing dissension in the men's homes. In their deliberations, the Capitalist Press fluently and with great magnitude, report on the big wages the dockers earn, but what they do not report in their press, is the enormous profits that are being raked in by all the ship-owners and master Stevedores, which is prevalent throughout Dockland.

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