

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY,  
BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

SUPPLEMENT MID-NOVEMBER, 1945.

TWOPENCE

## GOVT. PROPOSES DOCKS SLAVE BILL

IN THE DOCK WORKERS (REGULATION OF EMPLOYMENT) BILL, THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED A BILL, WHICH IN THE WORDS OF A LIBERAL M.P.: "IF INTRODUCED BY A CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN DENOUNCED THROUGHOUT THE LAND AS A 'SLAVERY BILL.' HOW SHAMEFUL IT IS THAT A BILL INTRODUCED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, CAN THUS CORRECTLY BE DENOUNCED BY A LIBERAL!

It was to the great credit of S. S. Silverman, (Labour M.P.) that he was the first to expose this Bill and denounce Sub-section 4, Clause 1, which states: "Any person who contravenes or fails to comply with any provision shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to a maximum fine of £50, or to both."

In his denunciation of this Clause, S. S. Silverman pointed out that:

"Under this Bill a strike, even an official strike, could be made illegal. Any strike that was a breach of a scheme would be a criminal act, and a striker could be sent to prison for three months."

Labour Members of Parliament revolted and demanded the withdrawal of this anti-union and thoroughly reactionary Cause. So great was the revolt against this attempt to sneak in a Clause which would give the Labour Government power to arrest strikers and strike leaders, that the Government was forced to retreat.

This Bill makes permanent the dock labour schemes devised by the employers and the union leaders

during the war. It pretends to de-casualise dock labour and provide regular employment or guaranteed pay. In recent issues of the "Socialist Appeal" we have shown how these schemes operate; that they are a swindle from beginning to the end. Bevin announced this latest Bill as his great contribution to the dockers—he will be remembered for it!

Every dock worker wants de-casualisation, but he does not want regimentation and slavery. The de-casualisation schemes already in existence give the dockers, not a guaranteed wage, out of which they are cheated, but precisely; regimentation. These schemes have subjected the dockers to the arbitrary power of the bosses and the port labour Managers.

Abolish the National Docks Corporation Board and the Port of London Authority!

For Workers' control of all Labour direction!

Work or full maintenance!

For nationalisation without compensation and workers' control of the shipping and port industries!

# WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM JAVA!

## END LABOUR LEADERS' IMPERIALIST POLICY

WITH BRITISH SAILORS REFUSING TO SAIL DUTCH TROOPS AND AUSTRALIAN WORKERS PICKETING DUTCH SUPPLY SHIPS, WITH 7,000 CHINESE AND INDIAN WORKERS IN SINGAPORE DOWNING TOOLS IN SYMPATHY WITH THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE, AND THE WHOLE OF INDIA, BURMA AND THE COLONIAL EAST SWEEPED INTO A FERMENT OF PROTEST AND INDIGNATION, THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT HAS RAISED HIGH THE BANNER OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST OPPRESSION.

BY AJIT ROY

The entire merchant navy crew of the troopship Moreton Bay walked out of the ship when 1,600 Dutch troops were brought on board. They have appealed to the headquarters of the British Seamen's Union in London for endorsement of their action and for its wholehearted support.

At a mass meeting in Sydney, the seamen's spokesmen pointed out that it was a disgrace that at a period when people at home were suffering from an acute shortage of food and when every available ship should be carrying food to Britain, British ships should be used to carry Dutch troops for the slaughter of the Indonesian peoples.

The action of the British Seamen followed close on the heels of the Australian airmen who refused to lend their services to the Dutch, which has forced the Australian Air Minister, Mr. Drakeford to announce that no Australian Air Force personnel would be asked to serve the Dutch forces in Java.

TANKS AND PLANES AGAINST BOWS AND ARROWS

Despite the wave of popular protest and denunciations, British Military headquarters in Java are marching ahead with their plans for the bloody suppression of the nationalist movement. With the bombardment of Surabaya

and the slaughter of hundreds of defenceless men, women and children, military terror has reached new heights of barbarism. Tanks are being used in large numbers, supported by a formidable array of bombers and fighters. The "Daily Express" reports that fighter pilots have been issued with the order: "Shoot at sight". On the other hand, the mass of the soldiers in the Indonesian Liberation movement are equipped with only the barest of military necessities. A correspondent of the "Times" describing one of the encounters reported that in some areas Indonesian youth were facing up to the tanks with swords, spears and bows and arrows. "Only a few had firearms".

When the Nazis were bombarding the defenceless people of Warsaw and other defenceless European cities, what a howl of protest and indignation was raised by the capitalist press in Britain! To-day, the same press, not excluding the "Daily Herald", are ready (Continued on Back Page.)

## SUPPORT 'NO STANDING' FIGHT Demand More Buses

BY J. JOHNS

IN FACE OF A VICIOUS PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THEM, THE LONDON PASSENGER TRANSPORT WORKERS STOOD FIRM IN THEIR "NO STANDING" STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WEALTHY LONDON PASSENGER TRANSPORT BOARD.

Trolleybus and tram workers joined the petrol bus workers in their fight against terrible working conditions and the attempts of the L.P.T.B. to increase further the speed and carrying capacity of the passenger services.

This policy of the L.P.T.B. has made both the transport workers and the general public suffer. The public have had to travel long distances standing in crowded trams and buses; the possibility of accidents has increased, as indeed has the accident rate.

The transport workers have had to suffer long hours, speeded journeys short meal and rest intervals, and the strain of pushing and jostling passengers on crowded vehicles.

The capitalist press, true to form, has not said one word about the conditions suffered by the transport workers. They did not mention, for example, that before the war there were 4,800 buses with 26,000 workers carrying an average daily load of 4 1/2 millions of passengers, and that today there are only 2,500 buses in operation, with 6,000 workers carrying an average daily load of 10 millions. In other words, the number of buses has been reduced by half, and the number of transport workers has been reduced by three-quarters, while the average daily load has increased by more than a 100 per cent!

Neither did the press mention that because of the profit lust of the L.P.T.B., 31 per cent. of the Busesmen suffer from T.B.; that 20 per cent. suffer from duodenal ulcers because they have no time to look after their health: that hundreds of "clippies"

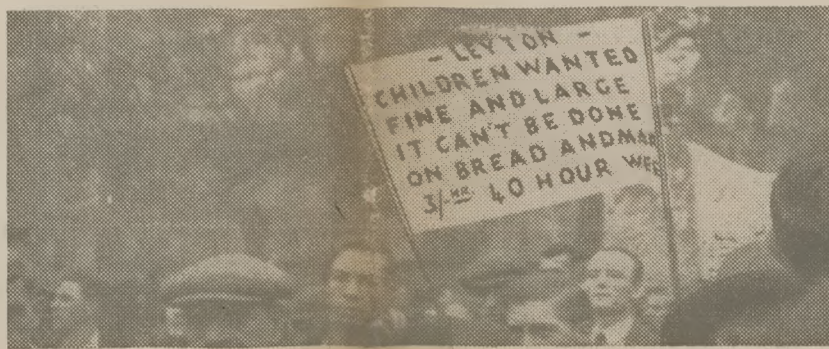
have suffered serious nerve strain and physical illness as a result of the sweated conditions. These are the facts which the capitalist press refuses to publish.

The Union leaders, by maintaining silence about these conditions, assist the campaign of the capitalists. Also, by attempting to reach a compromise and force the workers to permit four passengers to stand, they actively try to break the just struggle of the transport workers.

Following upon the experience of the dockers' strike, the transport workers have organised their struggle through the union committees nearest the rank and file. Further attempts by the union leaders to break the "no standing" struggle, can only lead to a movement to replace these T. & G.W.U. bureaucrats with militant representatives. The whole of the T. & G.W.U. leadership is facing a situation which is the beginning of the end for these chairwarmers.

Workers: Support the struggle of the transport workers! Help them to remove scabs and anti-union elements! The fight of the transport workers is in your interest. Their conditions and your safety are at stake! Their fight is your fight—against the callous and profit seeking policies of the employers

### THE LEYTON CONTINGENT



## BUILDERS' DEMO. ENDS IN FIASCO

BY ALF SNOOKEL

ON NOVEMBER 5th, 40,000 BUILDING WORKERS MARCHED FROM HYDE PARK TO BEDFORD SQUARE TO DEMONSTRATE BEFORE THE OFFICES OF THE MASTERS' FEDERATION.

Remembering the militant demonstration of October 8th, and the fighting speeches of members of the Shop Stewards Committee which organised that demonstration, the building workers marched with a high spirit of determination and militancy. But this was not to last long.

The October 8th demonstration, despite its failure to bring action, revealed the determination of the building workers' fight for 3/- an hour and a 40-hour week. The November 5th demonstration, however, was a flop. Thousands of building workers walked away in disgust at the speeches of the Stalinist Committee which steam-rolled the meeting.

Instead of a fighting lead, the C.P. controlled Committee gave the platform to the very union officials who have opposed and sabotaged the struggle of the builders for 3/- an hour.

The first speaker was Weaver, Stalinist Divisional Secretary of the A.U.B.T.W. At first, the building workers thought that here was an official supporting their struggle. But when Weaver attacked, in a veiled form, the militant shop stewards and "Subversive elements"; when he called upon the workers to support the union demand of 4d. an hour increase, he exposed his true role. He was shouted down. One after another, the Stalinist speakers took the microphone to urge the building workers to support the policies of their union officials, whose negotiating policy after nine months has produced nothing!

The building workers' demonstration was doomed in advance. The day before

it took place the "Communist" Party held a meeting of its faction in the Beaver Hall. Here the plan to sabotage the militant movement was laid down.

### FOR A MILITANT LEADERSHIP

The contrast between the two demonstrations is tremendous and of great importance to all building workers. The militant Shop Stewards Committee which aroused the fighting spirit of the building workers has been ousted by the Stalinists, who seized control by flooding it from the unrepresentative Progress Committee. Remembered from October 8th were the fighting speeches of Brothers Milligan and McLeary. But these members of the Demonstration Committee were not allowed the platform—the Stalinists saw to that.

The "Socialist Appeal" along with leading building workers warned against Stalinist sabotage. Now it has become clear to thousands of building workers and rank and file members of the "Communist" Party that our warnings were based upon a correct understanding of the policies and methods of Stalinism; that our warnings were justified.

The building workers must oust the Stalinists from the Campaign Committee; a stop must be put to their sabotage of the workers' struggles. A new militant committee of representatives from Job Shop Stewards Committees must be elected. The Coppocks and Weavers must be replaced by militant workers who will represent (Continued on Back Page.)

## C.P. VETERANS JOIN FRENCH TROTSKYISTS



JEAN RAFFIN-DUGENS

HORACE MARTIN

CHARLES MARTEL

In the Isère Department (Grenoble), three prominent former members of the Communist Party, disgusted by the opportunist policies of Stalinism, have issued a statement giving their reasons for joining the P.C.I. and the Fourth International.

Jean RAFFIN-DUGENS entered the Socialist Party in 1898. A teacher, he was persecuted for his political ideas and deported to a small village in the Isère. Elected to Parliament in 1910, he with two other Socialist deputies alone voted against the war credits. During the war, he adopted an internationalist position and was with Lenin at the Kienthal Conference. In 1920 he founded the Communist Party in the Isère, leading the majority of the Socialist Party into the C.P. During the occupation, he disapproved of the chauvinist policy of the C.P., and at the time of the liberation he refused to stand for the municipal elections together with reactionary elements of the Resistance movement. After 47 years of militant political activity, he found himself expelled from the C.P. He has now joined the P.C.I. and stood as a Fourth International candidate in the recent elections.

Charles MARTEL, a typographer, joined the Socialist Party in 1913 and adopted a revolutionary internationalist attitude from the very beginning of the 1914-18 war. At the front, he organised actions of fraternisation between French and German soldiers and published several clandestine papers opposing the war. After the war, he was one of the foundation members of the C.P. in the Isère. He specialised in peasant problems, and as such visited the kolkhozes in the U.S.S.R. He was struck there by the inequality in the conditions of the

leaders and the workers, and by the arrogant manner of life of the bureaucracy. On his return he was expelled from the C.P. on account of his criticism of the U.S.S.R. and of the political line adopted by the C.P. in Germany. He has now joined the P.C.I.

Horace MARTIN, a railway worker, came to the Socialist Party in 1895 and joined its Communist fraction as early as 1918. A militant trade union leader, he was active in the underground C.P. during the whole period of the 1939-45 war. Unable to subscribe any longer to the C.P. policy of capitulation, he voluntarily resigned from the C.P. and enters the French section of the Fourth International after 50 years of political activity.

In their statement, these comrades of the "Old Guard" give their reasons for keeping up hope: "In face of the capitulation of the Communist Party (amongst whose foundation members we are proud to be reckoned), a new revolutionary Party, the International Communist Party (P.C.I.), French section of the Fourth International, is taking up Lenin's tradition of internationalism and class struggle, and every day sees its influence growing among the masses." And they conclude by an appeal to the younger generation: "It is to you, comrades, that we wish to speak. We are old and some of us will not see the victory of the Proletariat. But this victory is certain. We appeal to you to keep courage, remain steadfastly in the battle, and to join the International Communist Party, which is today the only revolutionary Party, the only Party which fights for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a regime of soviets."

## French Rule in Indo-China

The following is a description of some of the methods used by French imperialism in suppressing the anti-imperialist uprising of the Indo-Chinese workers and peasants in 1930, appearing in an article by Raymond Postgate, the noted British writer in the American Magazine "New Republic".

The hysterical repression that followed these native demonstrations led to great cruelties. Mass arrests took place and tortures according to press reports were widely applied especially at Thu-Duc, Saigon and Chalou where electrical torture was used. According to Andre Violis, the methods used included: Deprivation of food, bastinado, pins driven under the nails, half-hanging, deprivation of water, pincers on the temples (to force the eyes outwards) and a number of others that are not printable.

One may be quoted: 'with a razor blade, to cut the skin of the legs in long furrows, to fill the wound with cotton and then burn the cotton.'

"Perhaps even more interesting than these events are the measures of open war taken to ensure the defeat of the Viet Nam. These include bombing of villages from the air and the destruction of crops and irrigation works. At Colam, according to an official report, aviators flying low pursued a group of about fifty with machine-gun fire. Near Vinh a demonstration was dispersed by airplane. 'In the whirl of spreading smoke... there could be seen bodies piled in heaps torn pieces, twisted, while the mob seized by panic, fled howling. Many wounded were taken away by the rebels... Exactly 250 corpses remained on the ground and some fifty wounded.'

## CRISIS in the C.P. Rank & File Want Militant Policy

BY JOCK HASTON

A CRISIS OF SIGNIFICANCE IS ROCKING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN. IT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT SINCE THE EXPULSION OF THE TROTSKYISTS FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY AT THE BATTERSEA CONFERENCE IN 1932.

In Party Branches, and district organisations, there is a growing criticism of the policy, particularly since the debacle of their line on the General Election when they called for a coalition with the capitalists.

Even at the recent Conference of the Y.C.L., held in London, Peter Kerrigan, spokesman for the Party leadership, came in for a measure of sharp criticism from numbers of the delegates who spoke from the floor—which criticism was strengthened by the demands of fraternal delegates from Greece and Spain for a fighting policy against the Labour Government.

The pressure of criticism from the rank and file, and from the most conscientious local functionaries and factory leaders (in touch with the workers and the real desires of the membership), all this has finally compelled the leadership to sanction a small measure of internal democracy, and even public criticism in the columns of their periodical "World News and Views".

The background to the crisis is the growing conflict in foreign policy between the Russians, the British and the Americans and its reflection in the policy of the Stalinist parties.

As with all previous switches in Stalin's diplomacy, the leadership of the British Stalinists are not sure which way the conflict is going to resolve itself. Learning from the sad experience of their American brothers—Browder and Co. they are prepared for the possibility that they may have to come out into opposition to the policy of the Labour Government. Thus, while making concessions to the militant aspirations of the rank

and file, they are also preparing a bridge which they can cross over into downright opposition to the Labour Government, in the event that such a policy fits in with the needs of Stalinist diplomacy.

As yet no serious theoretical political opposition has found expression. In the main, it is an instinctive opposition arising out of the pressure of the workers upon the Party militants, and the unhappy experiences these latter are going through in putting the "line" over on their fellow workers who are to the Left of the C.P.

The distortion and debasement of Marxism, which for so many years has been palmed off under the "mysterious" yet simple guise of "tactics", no longer suffices to save the conscience of troubled workers.

The questions: "How does the Party come to be pursuing the present policy?" and "Why has the Party suddenly switched so often, without preparation, catching the leaders and members unawares?" are being asked by the uneasy rank and file.

At the last Annual Conference of the C.P., the delegate from Abertillery, Morgan, opposed the policy of an electoral agreement with the Churchill, "Teheran" progressive Tories advocated by the leadership. The Abertillery delegate moved an amendment that progressive unity should exclude any section of the Tories. Summing up for the executive, John Gollan asked the delegates to reject the Abertillery amendment because the C.P. could not afford to turn their

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# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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## EDITORIAL

# POWER POLITICS AND THE ATOMIC BOMB

When the news of Hiroshima and Nagasaki first became known, many well-meaning people believed that the atomic bomb would make war too terrible for any nation to embark upon. The first shock has died down. The world can see that this was wishful thinking. The issue of war or peace depends, not on the existence or non-existence of any weapon, no matter how terrible, but on the economic and political relations of the Powers which are governed by the insoluble contradictions of capitalist imperialism. The atomic bomb has not changed or mitigated this one iota.

Attlee and Truman have only begun to confer, and no news of their progress is available. Nevertheless, one thing can be said with complete certainty: **NO CONTRIBUTION OF ANY VALUE TO WORLD PEACE WILL COME OUT OF THESE TALKS.** For confirmation, it is only necessary to consider the recent speeches of Truman, Molotov and Bevin.

Truman's 12 Points of U.S. foreign policy were in the American tradition of Big Business "idealism", in line of succession from Wilson's 14 points and the Atlantic Charter (of sad memory). The British newspapers, not slow to expose the game of an imperialist rival, have shown its real meaning adequately. That section dealing with non-recognition of "Governments imposed by force" was clearly directed against Russia in Eastern Europe. (The Indians and Javanese have already asked some pertinent questions about this clause but have received no reply). For the rest: the U.S. will maintain her exclusive domination of the Western Hemisphere; will seize such bases as are necessary for her protection (against whom?); and will retain the atomic bomb as a "sacred trust". This programme means: **AMERICAN IMPERIALISM WILL STRIVE TO MAINTAIN WORLD DOMINATION.**

Molotov's speech was equally clearly aimed against America. After paying the customary homage to the principle of "Big Three co-operation", he said:

**"THE NEW ORGANISATION (U.N.O.) MUST NOT BECOME A WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF SOME POWER OR A PRETEXT FOR A GUIDING ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BY ANY ONE POWER, OR A PRETEXT FOR WORLD DOMINATION."**

He denounced the attempts at a coalition of States aimed against the U.S.S.R. He warned the United States that their monopoly of atomic bombs would not last long. Molotov's whole speech was in the customary terms of power politics. **NOT A SINGLE APPEAL TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF THE WORLD TO ACT IN A REVOLUTIONARY FASHION AGAINST THE IMPERIALISTS; NOT AN ECHO OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADITION OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.** Instead, his speech ended with a sinister recounting of the strategic territories and bases acquired by Russia during the war. The Stalinist bureaucracy sees that a clash with American imperialism is inevitable, in spite of all attempts at co-operation, and pursues a purely nationalist policy.

The debate in the House of Commons revealed a purely tactical difference between Labour and the Tories. Churchill urged that Britain should recognise the predominant position of America, and subordinate herself to her, in a bloc directed against the Soviet Union.

Bevin was at one with Churchill in directing his fire against Russia. These differences reflect the great contradictions in the position of British imperialism, a second-rate Power, whose policy is governed by its class antagonism to Soviet Russia, its imperialist antagonism to the U.S.A., and its desperate attempts to play an independent rôle in world politics for which its economic basis is insufficient. The policy of British imperialism is therefore one of the greatest factors of uncertainty in the world political situation.

In spite of all these complications, one thing is plain. Far from the causes of war having been removed, they remain and are extremely acute. The statesmen bow before the ikon of "world co-operation," but in reality they are preparing for eventual war. Churchill, demands that Britain immediately get a stock of atomic bombs, and Chuter Ede, wants A.R.P. to continue. Thus is expressed the helplessness of capitalist politicians before the contradictions of the social system.

The existence of these basic inter-imperialist and class antagonisms makes the proposals for "outlawing" and "internationalising" atomic bombs, either Utopian or useless. Professor Einstein, whose genius in mathematical physics does not extend to politics, proposes that the bomb be put in the hands of the United Nations Organisation. But what use is this, when the members of this same organisation themselves are the most likely protagonists in a new war?

Many scientists concerned in developing the bomb, threaten to break down the wall of secrecy by publishing their researches openly. While applauding the courage of these scientists who are willing to take personal risks in the interests of humanity, it is necessary to say that this would be a useless gesture. In any event, the secret will not remain a secret for long. Publication now would only mean the armaments race would start so much the sooner.

War—and with it, the probable destruction of the civilised world—is inevitable unless its political and economic causes are removed. All the rulers, and included with them the Labour and Stalinist leaders, are helpless to prevent it because they are, each in their own way, tools of the decaying capitalist system, and have no alternative to offer.

Only the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class, destroying the outlived system of antagonistic national states and the imperialist struggle for markets, can bring about a co-operative world, free from the threat of war.

Only the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist revolution can lead the way to the era of peace and the harnessing of the forces of atomic energy for the benefit of humanity.

# DEFEND THE COLONIAL REVOLUTIONS

Appeal by the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International to the Workers of Europe

Colonial domination, one of the mainstays of world imperialism, is on the point of collapsing, whereas the capitalist class encounters increasing difficulties in maintaining its domination in the metropolitan countries and in settling its international relations, the colonial peoples are rising one after the other in order to sweep away the infamous tyranny of the imperialist "civilizers". The Indonesians and the Indonesians are standing up in revolt against the domination of their French and Dutch masters, who have brought them nothing but uttermost exploitation based upon a bloody police and military dictatorship. In Burma, in India, in Ceylon, in the Philippines and in Korea, the masses are also organising in order to launch themselves in the struggle for their emancipation.

Scared and raging at the scope of these popular movements, the capitalist and social-patriotic slanderers are setting up their united front. Throughout the world, the press of all tendencies has been mobilised against the revolutionary movement in the Far East. The cynical defenders of "democracy" who called for the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of men upon the altar of the defeat of "Japanese militarism", do not hesitate to use this same Japanese militarism in order to crush the colonial masses in revolt. It is upon the Japanese army that the British generals are calling in order to re-establish "law and order". It is with the help of the Japanese police and the "irregular French forces" that British troops have attempted to stifle the Annamite uprising. Together, in spite of all their individual and contradictory interests and appetites, all the imperialisms would tomorrow prepare a bloody intervention if some colonial country

succeeded in temporarily consolidating its independence.

Thus, one revolutionary spark has sufficed to show up in their true light, capitalist imperialism and its agents. "The defence of freedom" to them, means the defence of the bankers' right to live from the blood and sweat of millions of colonial slaves; "the defence of the rights of small nations" means denying the colonial nations the most elementary democratic right: **THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE!**

Against the united front of the slave drivers must be raised the united front of the exploited peoples throughout the world!

True, the working class in the colonies still has colossal tasks to accomplish, before the colonial revolution can achieve final victory: it must draw behind it the great mass of the poor peasants in order to abolish both the domination of foreign imperialism and of its own capitalists, solve the agrarian problem, sweep aside feudal remnants, abolish frontiers and erect the great Socialist Federation of the Peoples of Asia. But the struggle of the colonial peoples for their immediate independence is in itself, from its very conception, a highly progressive struggle which the metropolitan workers must support with all its might. This struggle constitutes a death-threat to imperialist domination over the world, it deprives the decadent European bourgeoisie of its very last reserves and contributes decisively to the class struggle of the working class in the metropolitan countries. This struggle places the working class organisations and masses of the whole world before the inescapable alternative: **EITHER TO GO WITH THE IMPERIALIST BANDITS AND PERPETUATE THEIR OWN ENSLAVEMENT, OR TO**

**GO WITH THE PEOPLES IN REVOLT AGAINST A BARBAROUS SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION OF WHICH THEY ARE THEMSELVES THE VICTIMS.**

**"COMPLETE AND FULL SOLIDARITY WITH THE MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL EMANCIPATION!"** That is the slogan of the Fourth International; that must be the rallying cry of all the workers in Europe. The cause of the colonial peoples is their cause. They all have one common enemy: blood-drenched imperialism which is precipitating humanity towards barbarism. That is the enemy which must be overthrown, by an uncompromising revolutionary struggle, by the regrouping and union of all, around the banner of Communism, around the Fourth International!

**WORKERS OF EUROPE!**

Do not allow the colonial revolution to be crushed! Its defeat would only herald your own defeat. Its victory will be a decisive step towards your victory.

Follow the example of the Australian workers, who by their actions, have shown their solidarity with their colonial brothers.

**DOCKERS OF MARSEILLES, NAPLES, LIVERPOOL, ANTWERP AND ROTTERDAM!**

Refuse to load the ships carrying arms and troops for the fight against the colonial peoples.

**FRENCH, DUTCH AND BELGIAN RAILWAY WORKERS!**

Refuse to transport soldiers and war material to the embarkation ports for the Far East.

**SOVIET MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS!**

Oppose the Kremlin's abandonment of the Leninist policy of complete support for the colonial revolution. The defence of the USSR is at stake today in

Saigon, Hanoi and Java. **BRITISH MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS!**

Demonstrate, cease work to protest against the infamous collusion between your "Labour" government and the slave drivers of Paris, Amsterdam, London and Tokio.

**WORKERS IN EVERY COUNTRY!**

Unite in the struggle against imperialism, for the defence of the threatened colonial revolution. Demand that all the working class organisations, parties and trade unions make the international solidarity of the workers into an effective reality, instead of an empty and demagogical formula.

**NOT ONE MAN, NOT ONE GUN AGAINST THE COLONIAL PEOPLES!**

**DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM! LONG LIVE THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION! IMMEDIATE AND COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE FOR ALL THE COLONIES!**

**LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKERS!**

- The European Executive Committee of the IVth International.
- The PCI, French section of the IVth International.
- The RCP, British section of the IVth International.
- The PCR, Belgian section of the IVth International.
- The PCO, Italian section of the IVth International.
- The PCI, Greek section of the IVth International.
- The OKI, German section of the IVth International.
- The CRM, Dutch section of the IVth International.
- The GCI, Spanish section of the IVth International.
- The RSP, Irish section of the IVth International.
- The MAS, Swiss section of the IVth International.



**"LET'S NEGOTIATE, GENTLEMEN!"**  
From the American "Militant" (Trotskyist)

## INDIAN TROTSKYISM

Despite the imprisonment of the leading members of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (Trotskyist) and brutal suppression suffered, that Party is continuing to develop. This is evident from the recent batch of their publications which we have received.

Under conditions of illegality our Indian section has maintained the high standard of "Permanent Revolution", its theoretical organ, and at the same time has published many valuable pamphlets and books. Through these, they have been able to penetrate certain layers of the Indian students' organisations.

They include a book of some 200 pages by Comrade K. Tilak entitled "FROM THE FIRST TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL" which is a brief history of the international working class movement.

Also a hundred page booklet by Comrade C. R. Govindan entitled "THE FIRST ROUND OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION" which gives Indian readers, for the first time, a clear Marxist analysis of recent developments in Europe.

An agitational pamphlet entitled "FOR AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEFT FRONT" in which the B.L.P. calls upon all anti-imperialist organisations for a united front on the following programme:

Against the Gandhian "Constructive Programme": for revolutionary mass struggle.

Against the attempt to bring Trade Unions and Kisan Sabhas under bourgeois control or domination.

The immediate release of all political prisoners.

The immediate repeal of all repressive legislation.  
No compromise with Imperialism.

We send our fraternal greetings to our Indian comrades, who have done such excellent work and stood firm in face of such odds.

## Dalmuir Victory

(Continued from Page 2)

It is clear that the Committees of other R.O.F.s did not rally to the aid of Dalmuir as they should have done. The reasons for this, apart from the lack of initiative demonstrated by the Conveners of other R.O.F.s, is to be found in the past isolationist policy of the Dalmuir workers and the present apathy of the R.O.F.s in general as a result of wide-spread redundancy.

But the lessons of this strike must be heeded by all workers in general, and the R.O.F. workers in particular. Preparations are being made, in the drive against working class standards, to decapitate the factory leadership of the workers. No amount of collaboration with the boss will prevent this. Only by a fighting struggle, such as that put up by the Dalmuir workers, and by linking that struggle in firm bonds from factory to factory, district to district, can this menace facing the workers be met and defeated.

## FRENCH ELECTIONS

By TED GRANT

The French "Communist" Party has gained the votes of the overwhelming majority of the working class, increasing their vote from 1,500,000 (women did not have the vote then) to nearly 4,900,000, and becoming the strongest single party in France both in votes and seats. The Socialists secured 4,350,000 approximately, dropping from first to third place.

The traditional Parties of French capitalism, the Radical Socialists (French Liberals), also the Conservative Parties were practically wiped out. The Radicals gained only 9 seats after being for decades the strongest Party in France and having declined to second place at the last election.

Seeing the writing on the wall, the reaction concentrated in desperation on the Catholic Popular Republican movement, a new Party which grew up during the Resistance Movement. But this Party, in order to gain support even among the more backward strata of the population, was compelled to fight on a similar programme to that of the Communists and Socialists. They demagogically attacked the Big Trusts and combines, and called for the nationalisation of big industry, etc. Thus, they stood on a "socialist" and anti-capitalist platform.

The overwhelming majority of the French people have voted against capitalism and expressed their desire to achieve a new system of society. They have demonstrated that they wish to turn their backs on the rotten and corrupt Third Republic forever.

In the referendum on the Constitution, only 800,000 voted "NO" to the first question as against 19,000,000 "YES", thus decisively repudiating those who—such as the Radicals—wished to return to the old system.

In a certain sense, the situation is even more favourable than in the Revolution in Russia in 1917. There too, faced with a swing of the masses towards socialism, the reactionaries united round the "Left" capitalist party of the Constitutional Democrats (Liberals) in the elections. But the Constitutional Democrats were frankly a party in favour of capitalism and against "socialist utopias". The Party which now unites the reactionary forces round itself in France, the M.R.P., is shot through and through with such contradictions, that in order to retain its support it is compelled to disguise itself as "socialist". A revolutionary programme on the part of the Communist Party would expose the contradictions within its ranks and destroy it as decisively as the Radical Socialists have been destroyed, despite the alliance which the C.P. made with this discredited relic of the past.

The Communists and Socialists together, have the majority. If they formed a Government and took measures on the lines advocated by our French comrades the situation in France, and the whole of Europe

would be transformed. All Europe would follow the lead of a Socialist France.

But the leadership of the Socialist Party has become terrified by the radicalisation of the French masses. They supported De Gaulle and were instrumental in achieving a favourable vote for him on the second ballot. They have lost most of their former worker supporters, and try to base themselves now on sections of the middle class and the M.R.P. Thus they wish to avoid a Government of Socialists-Communists, but are afraid of a coalition alone with the M.R.P., for fear that their support would swing to the Communist Party.

The Stalinists wish to use their position as a bargaining weapon of the diplomacy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Instead of putting forward a fighting revolutionary policy, explaining the complete breakdown of French capitalism in order to prepare the workers to take power, they are bargaining for terms to enter the Government together with De Gaulle and the Socialists!

The French Communist Party received nearly a third of the votes; it practically controls the French Trade Unions. The bulk of the working class voted FOR COMMUNISM. But the Stalinists endeavour to push them onto the road of "national unity" with the representatives of the capitalists. So long as De Gaulle will stand on his "Western" orientation and look towards the Soviet bureaucracy in foreign policy, they are willing to do his dirty work at home.

The great election victory of the C.P. was a demonstration in favour of Communism. The masses will demand deeds from the Stalinists in the coming period. A new epoch opens out. This is just the beginning in France of the revolutionary aftermath of the second world war. The Communist Party will in the coming days be faced with a series of crises and splits within its own ranks under the pressure of the workers.

The Trotskyists of France have conducted a campaign for a Socialist-Communist Government in France without any coalition with the capitalist parties. They gave critical support in the elections to these parties, putting up only two candidates in working class strongholds and receiving 10,817 votes. This vote on an uncompromising revolutionary programme is magnificent, under the present circumstances. Now that the S.P. and C.P. have a majority, our comrades will intensify their propaganda.

In the coming days, in spite of the Stalinists, clashes between the workers and the bosses are inevitable. France faces big struggles and even civil war in the coming months and years. In these struggles the masses will learn to reject the Stalinist counterfeit and under the leadership of our French comrades, will march towards the conquest of Power.

