



SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Organ of the
Revolutionary
Communist Party
BRITISH SECTION of the
4th INTERNATIONAL

FIGHT CONSCRIPTION of Working Class Youth!

Withdraw the Troops of Occupation! Policy Statement Issued by the Central Committee of the R.C.P.

SUMMONED FOR FRATERNISING

Handed Revolutionary Communist Literature to German P.O.W's

A MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, COMRADE WILLIAM (BILL) CLEMINSON, OF "LOVER'S LEAP", STONEY MIDDLETON, NEAR SHEFFIELD, AN ENGINEER AND WELL-KNOWN MEMBER OF THE A.E.U., HAS BEEN SUMMONED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE COURT FOR DISTRIBUTING ANTI-NAZI REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LITERATURE TO GERMAN PRISONERS OF WAR.

The Charge

William Frankland Cleminson, Engineer 33, charged with: "Conveying printed matter to Prisoners of War contrary to Article 4 of the Prisoners of War Internees (Access and Communication) Order, 1940 (Statutory Rules and Orders, 1940 No. 1289) made under Regulation 18c of the Defence (General) Regulations 1939.

Particulars

On the 28th August at Stoney Middleton in the County of Derby, you did without lawful authority convey to No. D274178 Feldwebel Hugo Huendler, a Prisoner of War of No. 248 POW Hostel, printed matter recording information by words. To appear in the Court of Summary Jurisdiction sitting at the Town Hall in Bakewell at 10.30 a.m. on 29th November, 1946.



BILL CLEMINSON

Interested in democracy and free speech to support us in this campaign and demand that the Prisoners of War have the same access to the workers' press as the capitalist press which is allowed unhampered circulation in P.O.W. camps.

DEMAND that the prosecution be withdrawn and the Regulation lifted!

DEMAND that P.O.W.s be allowed to mix with the workers and attend Labour and anti-fascist meetings!

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO IMPOSE MILITARY CONSCRIPTION ON THE YOUTH OF BRITAIN WITH THE OBJECT OF MAINTAINING A FULL SCALE ARMY AS A PERMANENT PEACE-TIME MEASURE.

The excuse given by the Labour leaders for the introduction of peace-time conscription is that despite the changes and reforms in the forces, voluntary recruitment has not resulted in creating a sufficiently large and stable military force, capable of carrying out the measures necessary for the maintenance of the "security and peace" of the British Empire.

Thus, together with the plums of office which have fallen into the laps of the leaders of His Majesty's Government, responsibilities of protecting His Majesty's Empire have to be carried on the shoulders of the Labour leaders.

Break With Traditions Of The Past

Without a glance back, these former anti-militarists cut the cord that binds them to their "socialist" anti-militarism of the past, and pursue a policy of naked compulsory militarism that delights the Blimps and warms the hearts of the reactionaries, such as Churchill.

It is ironic that this reactionary step, which has aroused considerable opposition in the traditional centres of working militancy, should be carried out by the Labour leaders. Neither the Tories nor the Liberals could have carried out peace time military conscription without widespread and organised movements of protest from the ranks of the working class, including strike movements of vast dimensions. It remains to be seen whether the workers will accept this compulsion imposed by the Labour leaders without protest.

The Revolutionary Communist Party are opposed to the military policy of the Labour Government and urge the workers everywhere

to conduct a vigorous struggle against the imposition of peace-time conscription.

From its inception the socialist movement has opposed and struggled against the militarism of the capitalist class, including conscription. The programme of the Socialist movement invariably contained the demand for the abolition of the standing army, the dissolution of the officer corps, and the formation of a "Citizens' Army", or "People's Army", later to be sharpened and clarified as the "Workers' Militia".

Traditionally to the right of the continental socialist movement, the British Labour Party nevertheless, conducted anti-militarist activity in its early days. Many of the present leaders, including Cabinet Ministers, who now impose conscription upon the working class, were conscientious objectors in the First Imperialist War, which they opposed—although with a typically British socialist pacifism.

This socialist pacifist background, however, did not stop the Labour leaders from carrying out a chauvinist imperialist policy. It has not stopped them from justifying the support of an imperialist war or the suppression of colonial and semi-colonial peoples—in Indonesia, Greece, India and other parts of the world. In taking over the protection of His Majesty's Empire, they are forced to pursue

a policy of naked militarism. Millions of soldiers and their wives voted Labour to power in the belief that British troops would rapidly be brought home and that there would be a speedy demobilisation. Instead, large armies of occupation have been maintained in all parts of the world and the result has been a slowing down of the rate of demobilisation and a growing frustration among serving men who have already spent several years in the forces.

The new conscription plans cannot help but create the belief that the aspirations of the workers have been betrayed.

Protecting His Majesty's Empire

The only reason why Britain needs a large standing army is to suppress the peoples in colonial and semi-colonial lands, and to protect the strategic areas of the British Empire.

The thousands of troops sent into Greece helped the Greek reaction to disarm the Greek workers and to impose a reactionary dictatorial rule. The British forces in Greece conducted a war of intervention, and continue to do so, against the Greek people, massacring the workers in the proletarian districts and foisting upon them the reactionary Greek

(Continued on page 4.)

Manchester Transport Workers Fight Spying and Victimisation

BY BOB ALLEN

THE BIGGEST TRANSPORT STRIKE FOR SEVERAL YEARS FLARED UP IN THE COTTON METROPOLIS AS 6,000 TRANSPORT WORKERS WALKED OUT OF SEVEN BUS AND TRAM DEPOTS.

Starting as a strike in one depot for the reinstatement of Driver Christie, demoted to cleaner on the basis of a secret report of careless driving made by a doctor in the employ of the Corporation, the strike flashed into 100% tie-up. The Transport workers recognised that here was the time for a showdown with the Manchester Corporation.

The men complain of the constant pin-pricking and oppression, and downright Gestapo spying methods which they say is adopted by the (Labour controlled) Transport Committee and its manager, Neal. Staff men travelling on buses are encouraged to submit secret reports on drivers and conductors. No man knows when he has been reported on. A man might be the best driver or conductor in the City, but let him be caught "having a drag" in the cabin, or giving way a little to "rush hour nerves", or overshooting a stop by a few feet—down go the reports in the little black books.

It is this kind of terror methods which have become the rule now in Manchester, with the deliberate objective of breaking the men's spirit, and making them slaves to any new schedules or changes of shift and so on, which the Transport Authorities see fit to operate. The fight of the Transport men here is basically aimed to break the dictatorship from above, in the attempt to get some relief from intolerable treatment and get a fair crack of the whip in a job which is a thankless one at the best of times.

Union Must Support Men

Now that the strike is on, the Transport men are coming up against the same activities on the part of their own union leaders, which for years past workers all over the country have been experiencing, and of which they are getting heartily sick.

Apparently the chief activity of Mr. Mackie, Passenger Trade Group area Secretary of the T. & G.W.U., has been to persuade the men to go back to work. In the holy name of "procedure and arbitration" he agrees with the Transport Committee that the men should go back to work "pending negotiations". An example of this type of thing came at the press conference on Monday night, November 18th when, in reply to a question, he stated that he was very sorry that the men had not agreed to a resumption of work, but asked the Press not to quote him as it would prejudice his position with the men.

It is a sad reflection on the "education" provided by the Universities that students from the Manchester University volunteered as blacklegs. Running battles between these scabs and transport strikers took place as they attempted to break through the pickets. Cries of "Back to your books" and "Mind your own business" were hurled at the scab students. There were running scuffles in which all the transport workers joined in to give them well-deserved manhandling. But when the police came on the scene and released some of the students, they rushed into the garage and drove a few buses out at top speed, so anxious were they to scab on the workers on strike.

The pickets stoned these buses and the scabs manning them. The students got the reception they deserved. These gilded youth and snob sons of the upper middle-class, coming from comfortable homes and conditions, discovered that it wasn't such a "jolly rag" participating in the class struggle on the side of the bosses.

After drivers had been hooded and jeered as blacklegs each time their buses passed the Manchester boundary, North-Western Road Car Co. buses on five services entering the city from Urnston, Flixton and Davyholme, were suspended to-night. An official stated: "In view of the reception they were getting from pickets our men refused to go in."

The strikers are demanding, not only that Driver Christie be reinstated, but the setting up of an enquiry committee composed of

equal representation from the employees, management and the transport committee members, to go into all questions of discipline. The position now is that a firm stand on the part of the strike leadership, to match the firmness of the men, and a decisive break with the cowardly policy of union officials like Mackie, can bring a victorious end to the Manchester bus strike.

M.P.s 'REVOLT'

Against Tory Foreign Policy

THE REVOLT IN THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY ON BEVIN'S FOREIGN POLICY IS A REFLECTION OF THE DISCONTENT AMONG LABOUR WORKERS AT THE CONTINUATION OF TORY FOREIGN POLICY.

The amendment tabled by the "rebels" in Parliament demanded a foreign policy independent of both that of the Stalinist bureaucracy and American imperialism which "... would provide a Socialist alternative to an otherwise inevitable conflict between American capitalism and Soviet Communism in which all hope for world Government would be destroyed."

Naturally, the Tories gave full support to the foreign policy of the Government, because it is their foreign policy; the policy of British imperialist capitalism.

However, the Labour dissidents were not prepared to go further than a protest. After making their protest, they abstained on the vote on their amendment, which was lost by 353 to 0. The Conservatives voted solidly with the Government. But the large number of Labour abstentions, is an indication of the hostility of the workers to Tory foreign policy.

What would a real socialist opposition have done? They would have backed words with deeds. Not only would they have voted against the Government's policy; they would have carried the struggle into the local Labour Parties, Trade Unions and factories, in order to mobilise the workers to exert pressure on the Government. Furthermore, they would have explained to the workers that home policy cannot be separated from foreign policy. That it is impossible to operate anything but a capitalist foreign policy, so long as capitalism continues at home.

The fear expressed by the Labour Lefts of a "ganging up" of Anglo-American imperialism in one bloc and the Soviet Union in another bloc, is well founded. This will lead to World War III.

For British socialists the issue must be made plain: "Britain can only give a lead to the world..." if her policy is a Socialist policy at home and abroad. When the workers will begin to see that the Labour Government is not introducing socialism, but is patching up the outworn capitalist system, their discontent will force stronger opposition from the Labour left-wingers than mere hesitant protestations, which merely serve to act as a "safety valve."

There is no middle way between Revisionism and Marxism: between a Revisionist Communist Policy and a Capitalist-Imperialist one. To talk of "World Government" without the overthrow of capitalism, is to delude the working class and assist the capitalist class in preparing a catastrophe.

The Fruits of Potsdam GERMAN WORKERS ARE THE VICTIMS

BY G. NOZEDA

"WE CULTIVATED THE LAND AND WE STARVE. WE STAND AT THE LOOMS AND GO IN RAGS. WE MINE THE COAL AND WE FREEZE. BLOODLESS AND PALE, AND WITH TWISTED BODIES, OUR CHILDREN WALK THE STREETS OF OUR RUINED TOWNS. THESE ARE THE RESULTS OF 18 MONTHS OF RECONSTRUCTION."

These bitter words of denunciation and despair were addressed, in a petition to the Premier recently, by angry workers in the German town of Muenchen-Gladbach, in the British Zone of Germany.

These words sum up the tragic situation to which eighteen months of British occupation has reduced the working class in their zone.

It is unworkable precisely because the plans of the four Powers for Germany are dictated by their particular economic and strategic needs which mutually exclude any rival interests. The rival powers vainly seek a settlement that will guarantee the predominance of their own self interest. And the last factor that enters their calculations are the needs and interests of the German working class.

The Starvation In The British Zone

The food crisis has affected, most of all, the workers in the industrial towns and cities, particularly in the Ruhr and Rhineland areas. A correspondent of the "Times", reporting from the British Zone, writes:

"The general impression one gets after visiting a number of working class homes in the Ruhr and Rhineland is of people already on the verge of starvation, and of a deterioration of health in the last two months... a normal day's food in these homes consists of a breakfast of dry bread and ersatz coffee, dinner of potatoe soup, and supper of potatoe soup. Sometimes turnips are added to the potatoes, but the resulting soup, because of the lack of fat for cooking, is both inadequate and unappetising."

In Dusseldorf, only one woman in ten could obtain the daily bread ration.

Distressed British Wives Returning

Wives of British soldiers stationed in Germany are return-

GERMAN MINING FAMILY at their meal of mashed Potatoes and Turnips.



ing to England, distressed at the terrible plight of the German people. One B.O.A.R. wife said on her return to England:

"Most of the English in Germany can feel no bitterness against the Germans now. Many women were generous with their rations when they saw the Germans starving. German women begin to queue before dawn. They wait for hours and hours and invariably there is nothing for them."

Desperate, some Germans have broken into the houses of B.O.A.R. families and taken food. Reports of raids on food-carrying trains increase. And it is not to be

(Continued on page 4.)

Anti-Jewish Scare Exposed

Sensationalist Press Assisted Anti-Semitism

Nothing could have been more calculated to inflate the self importance of the handful of Stern Gang terrorists, than the extravagant and wild stories that held the headlines of the Press in this country for a few days recently. And nothing could have been more encouraging to anti-Semitism than the distinctly anti-Jewish slant of this propaganda.

The threats of the anti-working class, and extremely right wing terrorist Stern Gang, to carry their campaign to London were seized upon by the yellow press as possessing all the ingredients of a good "scare" story. It was all there. Mysterious men seen moving round Whitehall. Three men "of Jewish appearance" seen by somebody "behaving suspiciously" in the back of a car near the War Office. A young Jewish girl, allegedly the fiancée of a member of the Stern Gang, disappearing from her hotel, wearing a red dress... On the basis of these fantastic rumours, police detectives and troops lined almost every yard of the route on the occasion of the

State opening of Parliament, with planes and more troops standing by!

As an illustration of the effect of the scare campaign on the more backward section of the population, a report was made to the police that a "woman in red", described as "Asiatic" was seen to enter the offices of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Harrow Road, London. Hot-foot, though somewhat cynical, detectives came to "check up" on the "woman in red." It turned out that it was an Indian comrade, dressed in a red "sari" (Indian national dress)!

And so it went on, until the tense picture of terrorists rampant

(Continued on page 4.)

1,000 Police 'Protect' Royal Family . . . Part of Scare Campaign



National Arbitration

When in 1943 the Coalition Government took over control of Short Bros., Rochester, due to the inefficient production and wastage on all sides, it offered the existing shareholders 20s. 9d. for each 5/- share.

Not satisfied with 600 per cent. on the original amount, the shareholders took their claim to the Arbitration Court. It has recently been announced that the arbitrator has awarded these shareholders the sum of 41s. 9d.—800 per cent over what they paid in the first instance!

This was certainly worth while taking to arbitration under a Labour Government. But when we come to examine what happens to the workers' wage claims taken to arbitration by the union bureaucrats, we find that a mere few coppers per hour is awarded. The recent women engineers award, a pittance of 1/4 per week, is a complete exposure of the class role of the arbitration tribunals, even under a Labour Government.

The renegade Stalinists and T.U. leadership defend these courts as a means of canalising the wrath of the workers from taking strike action. The whole wartime history of the miserably awarded of these courts have taught us the lesson, that no substantial gain can be achieved for the working class... Even if the Labour Government took heed of the pratings of the Stalinist C.P. and changed the composition of these tribunals, no better results would be achieved.

It is therefore necessary that the working class demand an end to these employer-biased courts and constantly put pressure on the T.U. leadership to rally the workers to direct action against the employers as the only means of securing a wage commensurate with the rising cost of living.

The Quest for Coal

Pneumatic Drills in the Hallow

J. JONES

The sharp staccato throb of pneumatic drills roaring through the sudden earth crust of our valley, shatters the stillness of the early morning.

For the last few months, Government prospectors have persistently punctured the earth of the Hallow which runs parallel with the main street, where the miners of G.C.G. live.

They are searching for—open cast coal! To the South East of these "strange activities", the Yhys Colliery (idle since years) casts its shadow on the efforts of the coal seekers. To the South East, "The Raven", another derelict colliery stands, the screens and toppling buildings an abode of strange shadows, and stray mewing cats.

On the hill, centre west to the Hallow—of this open cast coal searching—stands the Cawder Colliery, idle since 1928, the black ruins shabby and ugly against the skyline.

These good productive pits were doomed to derelicts during the period of over-capitalisation of the West Wales coal pits—when "Mondism", ruthless monopoly philosophy, ran amok in a mad scramble to achieve profits in an over-capitalised industry.

The success of the "prospectors" in this experimental field has been of a mild character, except, perhaps, for the creation of a miniature "Paschendale". Earth heaved and blasted, bespatters the scene, while water in galore trickles from the holes, and mud and clay fight for supremacy to hold tight the boots of the prospectors. The Hallow, trim and a haunt of flowery growth, is now a shambles.

Open mouthed spectators have visited the scene of "bewilderment", gazing speechless at the chaos.

And in the pubs, and even in places of worship in the valley, everyone asks the question: What are they doing? and gaze perplexed. So many and varied are the questions about this "quest for open cast coal" in the Hallow, because no coal has been produced up to the present time.

What is Wrong With the Cossor Strike Policy

The Cossor Strike is a try-out. Behind the arrogant stand of the Radio Kings lurks the mailed fist of the Employers' Federation. By victimising the leadership of the Shop Stewards' Committee, this firm has thrown down the gauntlet to the Trade Union movement. The fact that such an insolent challenge has not yet been defeated, is causing widespread uneasiness in the factories. That is why a thorough investigation of the present strike policy is necessary if victory is to be achieved.

The activity of the strike committee is guided by the Stalinist National Council of Shop Stewards. The policy of this body is twofold. (1) Procedure must be adhered to at all costs. (2) There must be no extension of the strike beyond the token stoppage stage because this might embarrass the Labour Government. It is these fundamentally wrong conceptions that are responsible for the Cossor deadlock.

How Procedure Works Out In Practice

This is how the policy works out in practice. We read in the strike bulletin which deals with the actual workings that "after a three hour fight with the workers who had come out on strike, the stewards persuaded them to return to work, to allow procedure to operate." Valuable days drifted by with the shop stewards still on the streets and the workers waiting for a Works' Conference.

And again the bulletin tells us: "At Works Conference the employers refused to permit the sacked shop stewards to be present at the conference or even on the premises. . . . Failure to agree was registered and again we fought to keep the workers in full Local conference."

Thus in the vital stage of the strike the enthusiasm of the workers was dampened down and neighbouring London factories were in a quandary as to what was to be done. During this time the Cossor management was granted a breathing space to prepare its defence. The perniciousness of protracted negotiations is that they serve to take the struggle from the factory floor to the conference room, paying the way for apathy and sidetracking rank and file action. Michelson the Editor of the "Metal Worker" admitted that Bro. Stacey, the Convenor of Napiers Liverpool is still on the streets because of such a policy, yet he and the other Stalinists advocate just this policy for Cossors.

Stalinists' Role

The sacking of the shop stewards was a flagrant breach of the York Memorandum. Everyone agrees that the Employers are behind this, which relieves the trade unions from any responsibility so far as this Agreement is concerned. However, the policy of the National Council of Shop Stewards is that the trade unions cannot and should not recognise the strike until it has been taken to the Central Conference at York. This will take nine months and in the meantime the strike is unofficial. This fantastic position allows a large number of so-called "unionists" to scab on the strike as the strike is unofficial these workers are in order so far as union membership is concerned. Moreover many of the factories, worried about the unofficial character of the strike are holding off support, financial and otherwise. In other words procedure is a weapon which hits at the workers from all sides. By postponing a militant solution it encourages apathy and at the same time splits trade unionists in their attitude towards the strike.

So far as Cossor's is concerned the Stalinists are mainly responsible for the high percentage of al-lout campaign for the Unions After one or two token stoppages workers become apathetic. Just as a ban on overtime may work out all right in some shops for a short time, but in others the workers are divided. Likewise "stunt picketing" of Piccadilly Circus with attractive posters is simply a substitute for real action in the factories. It can only result in a demoralising experience for those who are engaged on it, when they see nothing concrete taking place. The National Council of Shop Stewards had an intention from the outset of building up a serious support to extend the strike, otherwise they would have waged an al-lout campaign for the Unions

Highbury factory. During the war they educated these workers not to support strikes, but to abide by procedure at all costs. Now the chickens have come home to roost, and procedure supplies scabs with an official cover. Similarly with the work that is being done in Holloway jail, Ted Warr, a leading C.P.E. recently stated that they allowed the prisoners to be used as slave labour in war-time in order to produce civilian radio sets "to amuse the public". This criminal relaxation of trade union custom, which continues to day, is now a powerful strike-breaking weapon in the armour of the Cossor management.

The Need For Official Support

This strike-breaking role of procedure is supplemented by an absolutely false attitude towards the extension of the strike. Having deliberately allowed the important early stage of the strike to pass by without any serious attempt to prepare for an extension, the National Council of Shop Stewards now make great play about token stoppages and demonstrations. Experience has always shown that token stoppages and bans on overtime are never really effective, and can amount only to a harmless blowing off of steam.

Token Stoppages Worthless

After one or two token stoppages workers become apathetic. Just as a ban on overtime may work out all right in some shops for a short time, but in others the workers are divided. Likewise "stunt picketing" of Piccadilly Circus with attractive posters is simply a substitute for real action in the factories. It can only result in a demoralising experience for those who are engaged on it, when they see nothing concrete taking place. The National Council of Shop Stewards had an intention from the outset of building up a serious support to extend the strike, otherwise they would have waged an al-lout campaign for the Unions

officially to take action. The tendency has been to run the strike as the "private property" of the Communist Party, and in this way it is being isolated. Whilst the Stalinists talk "left", they they carefully refrain from a real struggle because this might upset their relations with the Labour Government. Scott, their representative on the E.C. of the A.E.U. recently declared himself against all strikes because they impede production. This outlook is steadily defeating the Cossor struggle. No wonder many rank and file members of the C.P. are becoming disgusted with this treacherous policy.

The Only Policy To Aid Cossor's

Whilst it is necessary to oppose an adventurist extension of the strike without proper preparation, nevertheless such preparation can only be brought about by a campaign inside the Unions and not just through hand-picked conferences of the stooge National Council. The important task is to get official Union support, which will increase a hundredfold the effectiveness of the strike inside the T.U. movement and against the employers. Meanwhile full support morally and financially should be given to the strike. The "news blackout" of the Yellow Press must be branded for what it is, a reactionary conspiracy of the capitalists. The object of our criticism is to hasten ultimate victory and we believe the following policy would assist this process.

- (1) Official union recognition to defeat the scabs and strengthen the support from the factories.
- (2) The calling of an immediate conference by the D.C.s of the unions concerned in Cossors, of all trade union branches and factories in the London area to decide on a joint strike policy.
- (3) The unions to officially organise the collection of money for the strike.

Letters

To the Editor

FROM THE Pan-African Federation

Head Office : 58, Oxford Road, Manchester 1. COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF DONALD GERALD NEWTON BEARD, THE JAMAICAN AIR FORCE BOY DETAINED BY THE MANCHESTER POLICE ON A CHARGE OF MURDERING A MAN IN A CLASH BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE PEOPLE IN PICCADILLY, MANCHESTER, ON THE 26th SEPTEMBER.

APPEAL

Those of you who are familiar with the relations existing between Black and White people in this country, will be aware of the background of provocation and hostility that prevails. Sudden outbursts of violence, hatred and resultant tragedy such as this latest happening, are the inevitable result of prejudice and distrust which has come to be accepted as normal whenever large numbers of Colonial people are congregated in a White community. Though the prejudice is not so obvious to the casual observer as in other cities, Manchester expresses its covert hostility to Coloured people in widespread refusal to let rooms to any other than White folk, and in anti-racial conditions of letting rooms to Whites only on the understanding that no Coloured visitors will cross their doors.

Only a small minority of people in this town opened their doors in hospitality to the Black Servicemen, and the Jamaican man in uniform knows the risks he takes in forming any kind of association with a White girl.

Over the past 12 months there have been clashes of a more or less serious nature in Manchester and Liverpool between Jamaican servicemen and civilians. An increasing and dangerous tension is felt by all of us whose skins are not white, and if some attempt is not made to bring into the open the circumstances leading up to and surrounding the disorders, then the streets of English cities will be less safe to us than were

the battlefields of Europe, where we fought for freedom and tolerance. The above Committee has been formed primarily for the defence of Donald Gerald Newton Beard, but much more than the trial of a Jamaican boy is involved. We intend to bring the searchlight of publicity into the whole question of Colour Bar existing in this country.

In regard to this case, there are questions to which we shall demand an answer. How was it that such large numbers of people were congregated at 1 o'clock in the morning on Manchester's Piccadilly? How far were the Police aware of previous disturbances at this particular place, and what steps were taken to prevent the clash? There are many other matters which we shall investigate.

We have set up a Defence Fund for the briefing of an able Barrister in the case, and we are appealing for financial help from all who believe in the principles of freedom and justice.

Please act quickly and generously in your response to this appeal. The Pan-African Federation, 58, Oxford Road, is open each day to accept donations, or, if you cannot call, the attached slip can be posted to us, and an acknowledgment will be sent to you.

DEFENCE COMMITTEE FOR DONALD GERALD NEWTON BEARD, JAMAICAN SERVICEMAN

PATTERN MAKERS

Prepare for Strike Action

BY H. RATNER

THE PATTERN MAKERS ARE ON THE MOVE

The United Pattern Makers' Association has handed in 14 days strike notice to the Engineering Employers' Federation due to expire on November 23rd. The Association's demand is for 3s. per hour guaranteed minimum on the present 47 hour week. From Monday the 11th November a national ban on overtime has been instituted.

Pattern makers—some of the most highly skilled workers in engineering—are at present on a basic rate of 76/6 plus 23/6 cost of living bonus for a 47 hour week. Average earnings vary from 25 6s. in such places as Rugby where there is little piece work, to 27 in areas like Coventry, where piece-work is prevalent.

Rank and File Militancy

Mass meetings were held on Sunday, 10th November, in Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield and Glasgow. The packed meeting at the Co-op. Hall, Downing Street, Manchester, addressed by Ellis Smith, Labour M.P. for Stoke, reflected the militant mood of the workers. The militancy of

the rank and file, however, was unfortunately not reflected from the platform. The 3s. demand was interpreted by Ellis Smith to mean 3s. inclusive of piece work bonus. This is in contradiction to the demand expressed by large sections of the rank and file for 3s. per hour minimum basic rate exclusive of piece-work bonus. In answer to a demand from the floor for a definite pronouncement against payment by results Ellis Smith reiterated that while the "long term" demand of the Association was the abolition of piece-work, the workers were weak and must be realistic. In fact, as Ellis Smith admitted in other parts of his speech, the workers are on the contrary in a very strong position, stronger than they have ever been, due to the present period of full employment. The employers are short of labour and in a weak position. Now is the time to push demands, or never.

While we naturally come out solidly for the present, in our opinion, insufficient demand, it is to be hoped that the militant rank and file among the Pattern makers will continue to press for the incorporation of the whole 3s. in the basic rate.

Arbitration No Solution in

The employers' answer to the 14 day strike notice has been to refer the dispute to the Minister of Labour for arbitration. As every

militant trade unionist knows, arbitration procedure has only one result, i.e., to side track the workers' demands and put them in cold storage. As one member put it from the floor of the meeting, "What guarantee is there that arbitration won't drag out for months?"

The only guarantee is that the workers do not allow themselves to be entangled in the meshes of arbitration. Ellis Smith, when asked whether the Union would accept arbitration, replied that "they would have to obtain legal advice as to how the Union stood." In other words the door is being left open for the withdrawal of the strike notice, and by the time this appears in print the pattern makers' demands may be thus sidetracked—unless the rank and file stand firm for strike action as the only means of forcing the employers to accept these terms.

Necessity of United Struggle

The present struggle of the pattern makers is but the first of a series of battles that must take place in engineering, and industry generally. With the mounting cost of living, all sections of the workers will be faced with the need to struggle to maintain their real wages. The victory of the pattern makers will strengthen the other sections of the workers. A defeat would strengthen the resistance of the employers.

HOOIGANISM IN JARROW

The following letter was sent to the local North East Press. Our comrades are making efforts to give wide publicity to this hooliganism. People who indulge in acts of this character must be driven from the Labour movement. We appeal to the rank and file members of the Labour and Communist Parties to see to it that such methods are not tolerated. Despite these hooligan attempts our comrades will continue to sell "Socialist Appeal" in Jarrow and spread the message of revolutionary communism.

90, Laburnum Avenue, Walsend-on-Tyne. 3rd November, 1946.

Dear Sir, In the interests of "freedom of the Press" which principle you claim to uphold, may we request the use of your columns to make the following statement. On Saturday, 2nd November, Mr. H. Bell, a shop steward in the

N.E.M. Walsend, and a worker with a long tradition of militancy in the working-class movement, while engaged in selling our paper the "Socialist Appeal" in Jarrow, was assaulted by about eight men claiming to be "communists" who manhandled him and tore up all his papers; one of them threatening him with a knife; and accused him and our organisation of being fascists.

In view of the continued slanders thrown at us by the Communist Party of Great Britain (which find expression in such cowardly actions of hooliganism) we wish to renew our repeated challenge to that Party to debate Party to debate our respective our respective policies in public.

Yours faithfully, (sgd.) D. BINAH, Secretary (North East District Committee) Revolutionary Communist (Trotskyist) Party.

WAR CRIMINALS TO BE REWARDED

The Polish Provisional Government will "consider sympathetically" claims of British financiers holding shares in German enterprises now nationalised in Poland. British investors or their nominees will be allowed to attend when the nationalisation committee discusses compensation claims.

No precise figure is available but it is estimated that several millions of pounds of British capital are involved. American investments are said to amount to 100,000,000 dollars. The commercial attaché of the British Embassy in Warsaw has filed reservations with the Polish Government in all cases where British capital is known to be involved and steps are being taken to notify the investors.

So British and American capitalists who drew profits from production of German war material which was used to kill British and American people—servicemen and civilians—are now to be compensated for their lost investments in this bloody traffic. Only the representatives of German capitalism qualify for Nuremberg!

Advert. in the "Socialist Leader", weekly paper of the I.L.P.;

"My Talks With The Dead" Psychic Booklet by Hannen Swaffer.

No details are given indicating whether it is a report of secret negotiations with the I.L.P. leadership to bring them and their organisation over to the Labour Party!

What's on

LIVERPOOL Lectures every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. Commencing November 28th Coopers Hall, (opposite Islington Square) Commencing Lecture: WHAT IS TROTSKYISM?

BIRMINGHAM Study Class every Tuesday at 7.45 p.m. 36, Holloway Head, On Marxist Economics and Topical Events.

HEAR JOCK HASTON IN WALES

Miners Welfare Hall G.C.G Sunday, 8th December at 7.30 p.m. GWYN HALL, NEATH Sunday, 15th December at 7.45 p.m.

Fight Conscription of Working Class Youth

THE KREMLIN AND THE CATHOLICS

In the Moscow "New Times", No. 19, an attack is launched on "The Vatican's Black Guard". This Stalinist journal tells its readers that:

"Information that has appeared in the press indicates that the Jesuit order, whose origin goes back to the gloomy Middle Ages, has no intention of giving up the ghost. On the contrary, hidden from the human eye, it is carrying on vigorous activities and is the instrument of the most far-reaching schemes of militant Catholic reaction. "Don Basilio", the Rome weekly, characterizes the order as the "secret political staff of the Vatican." . . .

"The author of the article recalls that in the period between the two world wars the Jesuits were among the most

active abettors of fascism. In Italy they were instrumental in securing the conclusion of the Lateran treaty between the Vatican and Mussolini. In Germany they insisted that the clergy submit to Hitler. They also placed the Catholic Centre Party at Hitler's service. In Spain they supported Franco's rebellion, and later his butcher regime. In France they inspire the fight of the reactionaries against the republic."

For anyone claiming allegiance to the Marxian conception of religion as "the opium of the people", that should be enough to condemn the Vatican and all its works as the "focal point of obscurantism and hatred", as Trotsky described it. The Jesuits are the most militantly reactionary wing of the Vatican. The vanguard of the vanguard, in fact. Yet at the same time as this is written in the Moscow "New Times", reports come through from Eastern Europe that:

"The Catholic Church has been attacked by local (Lun-

garian) Communists, but not by the Russians. The same day last August on which the local Communists secured a Russian signature to a decree dissolving Catholic youth organisations, the latter's leaders were invited to Moscow. . . .

"Marshal Voroshilov last year gave a magnificent banquet to the Jesuits. . . . In Poland, while the local Communist Party attacks the Catholic Church, Marshal Zymierski, Moscow trained head of the Polish Army, in which a large number of officers are still Russians, opens every ceremony with a Mass."

Such is Stalinist diplomacy. Principles and the interests of the world working class have no place in it. The Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union are the less opportunist than the basest capitalist "statesmen" and diplomats. But that gives nobody the right to condemn Bolshevism—Leninism—which has nothing in common with Stalinism.

(Continued in next Column.)

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

Italian Labour

● Since the beginnings of Capitalism, workers have migrated from one country to another. Thus, Flemish weavers who settled in England in the 12th and 14th Centuries laid the basis of Britain's textile industries. Later, in the 17th Century, came the Huguenots from France, bringing with them the arts of silk-spinning, paper-making, glass-making, watch-making and other industries. Workers from Britain, in their turn, have gone out to America, the Dominions, and countries on the Continent, taking with them their crafts and their skill and becoming an integral part of the working-class in the countries where they established their homes.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

● This interchange of workers helped greatly to create that internationalism which is the greatest strength of the working class and which strikes the greatest terror into the hearts of the bosses. Foreign workers have enriched the life of the British working class and many of them have played a noble role in the struggles through which the great Labour and Trade Union movement we know today was built up.

● From various parts of the country come reports of increased propaganda directed against "foreign workers". This is particularly true of parts of Scotland and the industrial North, where 3,000 Italian foundry workers are due to arrive shortly.

● Many workers fear that when the present period of comparatively full-employment comes to an end, when labour once again becomes "surplus to requirements", the presence of a large body of foreign workers here would make it more difficult to obtain employment. There would be more hands than jobs. This is a perfectly natural fear, but it is based on a false line of thought.

WORKERS AND THE WORLD MARKET

● Due to the existence of a world market, British workers have to "compete" with foreign workers, whether they are working in their own countries or in Britain. British goods have to meet the competition of goods from other countries and when there is a "surplus"—when the capitalists have more goods on their hands than they can sell at a profit—we have a slump, bringing with it wage-cuts, speed-ups and unemployment.

● It is capitalism which is the direct cause of unemployment and slump and not the presence of a few thousand foreign workers. Those who blame the foreign workers do so deliberately to deceive the workers so that they should not direct their blows in the right direction—against capitalism. Today, when the capitalists are confronted with a shortage of labour, they import foreign workers; tomorrow, when the slump comes, they will attempt to create a breach in the ranks of the working class by using the low paid foreign workers against the "native-born" workers.

● Workers must demand strict guarantees that all foreign labour brought into Britain should receive the same pay and conditions as other workers on the job. These workers must receive trade union rates and must become members of the appropriate unions. With these safeguards, the foreign workers should be welcomed as comrades and fellow fighters in the struggle against capitalism.

WITHDRAW THE TROOPS

Huge armies of occupation running into millions are holding down a great part of the world, fifteen months after the end of the Second World War. They are not there for philanthropic purposes, but to plunder and exploit these countries in the interests of their rulers.

These occupation forces, and the armaments and supplies which are maintained to keep them in the field, represent a tremendous burden to the peoples of the "victor" nations. The grim reality is that far greater armies are to be maintained than before the Second World War, already enormously swollen in comparison with the "peace" period before World War One.

They are maintained after the utter routing and collapse of Japanese, German and Italian militarism, which were pictured as the only obstacles in the path of a peaceful world, without aggression and exploitation of smaller and weaker nations.

Thus the myth that the so-called "aggressor" states were the sole cause of the war, and that peace and security would be achieved with their defeat, is revealed in all its fraudulence.

For the first time in a period of "peace", the British and American rulers impose conscription as a long-term perspective. They do not trouble to disguise any longer that this is a measure directed against Russia; they do disguise, however, that it is also a measure to dominate and exploit the subject peoples of the world.

The world working class wants an end to militarism and counter-militarism... And an end to the exploitation of the peoples of Asia and Europe. Socialists and communists worthy of the name will demand that the occupation of Europe and Asia be ended. Withdraw all the troops of occupation! Bring the boys back home and demobilise them! Let the peoples of Europe and Asia decide their own fate and live in peace and fraternity through a Socialist Europe and a Socialist Asia.

FRENCH ELECTIONS: 30% VOTE FOR C.P. 60,000 Votes for Trotskyist Party

BY J. DEANE

THE RESULTS OF THE FRENCH ELECTION AGAIN DEMONSTRATE THE DESIRE OF THE FRENCH WORKERS TO END THE POLICY OF CLASS COLLABORATION WITH THE CAPITALIST PARTIES.

The Communist Party was compelled to demagogically denounce the M.R.P. and to pretend that it will not enter into a coalition with it in the future, at the same time painting up the rotten Radical Socialist (Liberals), who are fundamentally no different to the M.R.P., as possible partners in a new government.

30 per cent. of the electorate (in the industrial areas 60 per cent. voted for the Communist and Socialist Parties), have demonstrated by their vote for the C.P., their desire for a communist solution.

The Communist Party has gained half a million votes more than in October 1946, and a quarter of a million votes more than in June 1946, which makes it today the strongest single party in France, with just less than a third of the parliamentary seats.

The Socialists (S.F.I.O.), the equivalent to the British Labour Party, has suffered a serious defeat, losing more than a million and a half votes compared to October 1945, and a million votes compared to June 1946, and is reduced to one-sixth of the parliamentary seats.

The Radical Socialists (Rassemblement des Gauches), along with the Moderates has gained 32 seats. The M.R.P. (Catholic Republicans) lost more than half a million votes compared to June 1946.

The P.R.L., and the arch-reactionaries, who in general support de Gaulle's reactionary schemes, have gained more than half a million votes over June 1946.

The Results of the Three-Party Coalition

After "liberation" the Communist and Socialist parties had the overwhelming mass of the workers and petty-bourgeois behind them. French capitalism had its feet in mid-air, and with the devastation of its State and police apparatus, was incapable of resisting the desires of the masses. The official workers' parties, however, instead of taking power and carrying out a programme in the interest of the workers and

peasants, combined in a coalition with the capitalist M.R.P. which, suited to the present needs, had a liberal capitalist programme.

The so-called "Communist" Party, pursuing the needs and desires of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy, and not at all the desires of the French workers, used their power precisely to save capitalism.



LEADERS OF THE FRENCH C.P. DUCLOS AND THOREZ

The paralysis of the French working-class permitted the capitalists to begin the reestablishment of the forces of suppression—its police and army—and its State apparatus. The capitalists were also able to employ the breathing space given it by the official workers' parties for the reestablishment of its productive forces and a partial revival—but at the expense of the workers' conditions and demands.

Betraying every principle of Socialism and Communism, the Communist Party, with the Socialists tailing miserably behind, elaborated along with the M.R.P. a constitution which not only defended capitalist private property and the suppression of the colonial masses, but which foisted upon the workers a compromise with de Gaulle's reactionary demands. An upper-house, like the British House of Lords, and special Presidential powers, which could be used in a state of "emergency" were included.

De Gaulle's Plans

Since October 1945 the Socialist Party has suffered a steady decline, leading to the present defeat. Between the hammer of the Communist Party and the anvil of the M.R.P. this miserable centre party found most issues behind the Communist Party, whilst maintaining close and sinister relations with the M.R.P. Its last Congress at Paris, revealed the extent of the discontent and opposition of the proletarian element with its right-wing reformist policies. Leon Blum was defeated by a "left-wing" led by Guy Mollet. Today, the traditional pre-war place of the social reformists is occupied by the "Communist" parties, whose actual programme is to the right of pre-war Social-Democracy.

Polarisation of Class Forces

As yet de Gaulle, the candidate-bourgeois, has not given his open blessings to any grouping. His attitude is dictated by a sober calculation of the time factor, and a desire not to be compromised in the experience of the coalition, the continuation of which can only send the vacillating middle class in the direction of a "strong government." Who better than an "unsold" de Gaulle could enter as a "Saviour"? Such an event, however, could only be decided by civil war, the initiative for which is given by the policies of the workers' parties, to the big capitalists—De Gaulle apparently understands that in the final analysis the streets decide.

Stalinists Will Betray

The election campaign of the C.P. and the S.P. had nothing in it to inspire the masses. Their whole campaign, and particularly that of the C.P., was conducted in terms that would not frighten the petty-bourgeoisie. "Defence of private property," "For the Republic," "For the Constitution." It was in spite of this capitalist programme that the workers voted for the C.P. For the working-class the Communist Party means a Communist alternative to the right-wing reformist policies of the Socialists and the capitalist policies of the M.R.P. For the (Continued on Page 4.)

ALLIED OCCUPATION FORCES

"The 'New York Times' of September 29 published the following estimates of the number of troops of the major Powers now in foreign countries. Since this Stalin has stated that Russia has withdrawn her troops from Yugoslavia."—"Manchester Guardian."

This list does not include the countries of the British Empire formerly under British control (i.e. occupation), such as India and the colonies. This would considerably swell the number of British occupation forces (as well as American if semi-colonies such as Panama were added), but is not included so that the disparity between the estimated numbers of Russian troops and those of Anglo-American imperialism are widened.

	U.S.S.R.	U.K.	U.S.A.	France
Germany	725,000	350,000	290,000	60,000
Austria	60,000	28,000	15,000	12,000
Italy		45,000	28,000	
Greece		50,000		
Poland	425,000			
Czechoslovakia	5,000			
Hungary	60,000			
Rumania	275,000			
Bulgaria	85,000			
Albania	3,000			
Yugoslavia	8,000			
Finland	15,000			
Japan		38,000	140,000	
Korea	100,000		50,000	
China (and Manchuria)	75,000		29,000	
Philippines &c.			50,000	
Dutch East Indies		20,000		
Palestine		110,000		
Transjordan		2,000		
Iraq		12,000		
Eritrea and Somaliland		6,000		
Egypt		100,000		
Libya		4,000		
Iceland			200	
Greenland			1,000	
Totals	1,926,000	765,000	603,200	72,000

U.S. WORKERS NEED AN INDEPENDENT PARTY

NEW YORK—

The election in the United States, resulting in substantial majorities for the Republican Parties in both houses of the Federal Legislature, as well as in the contest for State (provincial) posts, signifies a turn to the right of the American capitalist class in both domestic and foreign policy. It signifies also the rejection by the masses of the hesitant policies of the Democratic Party, which has attempted to cover up the aggressive character of the American ruling class by a class collaboration veneer.

The Democratic Party came to power under Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, at the time of the Great Depression, when the threatening radicalization of the masses made it impossible for Wall Street to continue to rule without substantial concessions to the workers.

Roosevelt's New Deal inaugurated a policy of deliberate class collaboration on the part of the American capitalist class—in its most conscious ruling strata.

Roosevelt, by means of considerable concessions in social legislation (vast unemployment relief programmes, laws facilitating large

scale trade union organisation, abolition of restrictions on the right to strike), successfully applied this policy and won over the greatest part of the Trade Union bureaucracy to his class collaboration programme.

The Trade Union bureaucracy tied the political fortunes of the organised working class to the New Deal chariot.

With the entry into the war, when a roll-back of all the progressive social legislation became necessary to the capitalist class, Roosevelt had succeeded in tying

BOOK REVIEW

DEATH OF A CITY HIROSHIMA—JOHN HERSEY

(Penguin Books, 1/-.)

Radiation Sickness

On the morning of August 6th, 1945, a lone B-29 bomber circled high over the city of Hiroshima. Pedestrians in the streets cast frightened glances skywards and shouted to each other "There goes Mr. B." In the offices and factories men and women were settling down to the day's work, whilst in the homes anxious mothers prepared their children for school. Suddenly "a tremendous flash of light cut across the sky: the second atomic bomb had started its deadly work in which 100,000 people lost their lives.

Following an interview with survivors, John Hersey, American war correspondent, describes the most frightful scenes the world has ever seen. At the centre of the explosion. The bomb had in some places left prints of the shadows cast by its light. Scientists exploring the wreckage of buildings discovered vague human silhouettes.

Here the effects of the bomb were merciful. The frail bodies of these humble victims monumentalise in stone the destructive progress of imperialism. For them at least the end was quick.

Asano Park

In the Asano Park horror knew no bounds. Thousands of human wretches, whose homes had been blasted to smithereens, crammed together as their lives slowly ebbed away. Women with their breasts sheared away mingled with men whose bodies were raw masses of flesh from the intense heat. All were terribly thirsty and when they drank the water from the river that flowed through the park they felt nauseated and began vomiting.

Relief workers describe that even in this inferno a certain dignity prevailed. "The hurt ones were quiet, no one wept, much less screamed in pain; no one complained; none of the many who died did so noisily; not even the children cried; very few people even spoke." When given water "some whose faces had been almost blotted out by flash burns, took their share, raised themselves a little and bowed in thanks."

Towards nightfall a relief worker came across twenty-year-old Mrs. Kamai, whose husband had been called up in the Army. "She was crouching on the ground" with the body of her infant daughter (who had been dead all day) in her arms. "Please try to locate my husband" she pleaded. "You've got to find him. . . . He loved our baby so much I want him to see her once more."

Four days later, crazy from the terrible experience, she still had the small corpse in her arms "even though it began smelling bad on the second day." Hersey explains that once when the relief worker "tried to suggest that perhaps it was time to cremate the baby, Mrs. Kamai only held it tighter. He began to keep away from her, but whenever he looked at her, she was staring at him and her eyes asked the same question."

This is the choice which faces mankind, and the time left in which to make up our minds is limited. Capitalism, by its very nature, is driving toward a new war in which the atomic cataclysm will be unleashed on the thickly populated cities of the world. The only way out is in the hands of the workers—to rise up in their might and destroy capitalism before the whole fabric of our civilization is blasted to smithereens.

While the other working class parties are playing about with idealistic phrases about "international control", only the Fourth International points the way to the one realistic solution—the conquest of power by the workers and a Socialist Europe in a Socialist world.

J. KELLY

Greek Debate

Athens, 14th October. On Sunday, 13 October in a public hall in Athens the first joint discussion between the Internationalist Communist Party (Fourth International) and the Greek Communist Party took place. About 750 workers attended.

The discussion began in a polemical atmosphere with the two first speakers.

The second speaker of the Communist Party started then a slanderous attack, and was answered by the representative of

the P.C.I. who denounced the attempt to divert the political discussion into empty talk.

Questions were posed at the end of the discussion and answered by the speakers. The results of the votes after the debates were the following: 189 votes for the P.C.I. and 542 votes for the P.C.—G.

The discussion has been taken in shorthand and will be published in pamphlet form, issued in common by both Parties. Other joint discussions are expected.

part of the workers' organisations, has been exploited to the full by the Republican Party and the most reactionary sections of traditional American political organisations. That is the significance of the elections results.

With the hesitant and undecided capitalist policy of Truman, the workers have moved from strike to strike, and by the great force of their economic strength and militancy, have won every struggle since the conclusion of the war.

With the aggressive capitalist policy which the Republicans will now introduce in the Government, it can be expected that the economic struggles of the workers—which are bound to continue in view of the inflationary trend—will find a challenge on the part of the Government in a form to which they have not recently been accustomed to.

Clashes with the Government in the coming period will thus sharpen the class lines in America, and pose the question of transforming militancy in the economic field into political action. In other words, the election results, revealing utter bankruptcy of the class collaboration policy of the trade union bureaucracy, will more seriously than ever pose the question of the formation of an independent Labour Party as a practical problem before the American workers. The formation of such a party, based on the militant industrial mass unions of the C.I.O. in the main, could very well reverse the whole trend revealed in the recent elections.

While the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists were doing everything in their power to uphold the Truman administration, constantly moving to the right, the workers, becoming repelled by this policy, produced a general indifference to the Democratic Party previously supported among wide strata of the population.

This indifference, spreading for years particularly among the middle class layers of society, both on the farms as well as in the city, in the absence of a resolute independent labour policy on the

