

SUPPLEMENT MID - NOVEMBER, 1945.

TWOPENCE

# GOVT. PROP

IN THE DOCK WORKERS (REGULATION OF EMPLOY-MENT) BILL, THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED MENT) BILL, THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED tralian Air Force personnel would be A BILL, WHICH IN THE WORDS OF A LIBERAL M.P.: "IF asked to serve the Dutch forces in INTRODUCED BY A CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT WOULD Java. 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!

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 Clause. 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

It was to the great credit of S. S. | doring the war. It pretends to decasualise 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 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 decasualisation 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!

# "Workers of All Lands Unite" WITHDRAW THE TROOPS

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 SWEPT 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.

of the passenger services.

had to travel long distances standing

in crowded trams and buses; the

has not said one word about the con-

ditions 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 41

millions of passengers, and that today

there are only 2,500 buses in operation,

with 6,000 workers carrying an aver-

age 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

Neither did the press mention that

because of the profit lust of the L.P.T.B.,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the Busmen suffer from T.B.; that 20 per cent.

health: that hundreds of "clippies'

threequarters, while the average daily

per cent!

as indeed has the accident rate.

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 Aus-

TANKS AND PLANES AGAINST BOWS AND ARROWS

Despite the wave of popular protest and denunciations. British Military headquarters in Java are mare ing ahead with their plans for the brody suppression of the nationalist mavement. With the bombardment of S. ra-

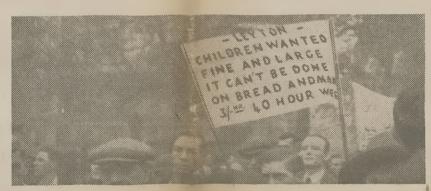
baya and the slaughter of hundreds of defenceless men, women and child-ren, military terror has reached new heights of barbarism. Tanks are being used in large numbers, supported by a formidable array of bombers and fighters. The "Daily Express" reports that fighter pilots have been issued with the order: "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 encounters reported that in some areas Indonesian youth were facing up to the tanks with swords, spears and even bows and arrows. "Only a few had

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, nct excluding the "Daily Heraid", are ready (Continued on Back Page.)

THEM, THE LONDON PASSENGER TRANSPORT WORKERS TOOD FIRM IN THEIR "NO STANDING" STRUGGLE WEALTHY LONDON PASSENGER TRANSPORT BOARD.

Trolleybus and tram workers joined the petrol bus workers in

THE LEYION CONTINGENT



BY ALF SNOREL

ON NOVEMBER 5th. 40,000 BUILDING WORKERS load has increased by more than a 100 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 de-monstration, however, was a flop, Thousands of building workers walked away in disbust 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 apon the workers to support the union demand of 4d. an hour increase, he ex posed his true role. He was shouted One after another, the Stalinist speakers took the microphone to urge the building workers to support 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" suffer from duodenal ulcers because Party held a meeting of its faction in they have no time to look after their the Beaver Hall. Here the plan to sabotage the militant movement was laid down.

FOR A MILITANT LEADERSHIP

The contrast between the two de-monstrations 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 and McLeary. But these members of the Demonstration Committee were ists saw to that.

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 warn-

ings were justified.

The building workers must oust the Stalinists from the Campaign Comthe T.C.L., held in London, Peter atives from Job Shop Stewards Committees must be elected. The Coppocks and Weavers must be replaced the demands of fraternal delegates

their fight against terrible working conditions and the attempts of the L.P.T.B. to increase further the speed and carrying capacity This policy of the L.P.T.B. has made have suffered serious nerve strain and physical illness as a result of the both the transport workers and the general public suffer. The public have sweated conditions These are the facts which the capitalist press

STANDING' FIGHT

**Demand More Buses** 

BY J. JOHNS

IN FACE OF A VICIOUS PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST

possibility of accidents has increased, The Union leaders, by maintaining silence about these conditions, assist The transport workers have had to the campaign of the capitalists. Also, suffer long hours, speeded journeys by attempting to reach a compromise short meal and rest intervals, and the and force the workers to permit four passengers to stand, they actively try strain of pushing and jostling passengers on crowded vehicles. to break the just struggle of the trans-The capitalist press, true to form, port workers.

refuses to publish.

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 re-& G.W.U. leadership is tacing 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 em-

# C.P. VETERANS FRENCH TROTSKYISTS



JEAN RAFFIN.DUGENS

Fourth International.

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

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 inter-

nationalist 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.,

activity, he found himself

elections.



HORACE MARTIN



CHARLES MARTEL

In the Isère Department (Grenoble), | 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

> 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 In their statement; these comrades

and at the time of the liberation he refused to stand for the municipal of the "Old Guard" give their reasons elections together with reactionary for keeping up hope: "In face of the capitulation of the Communist Party elements of the Resistance movement. After 47 years of militant political (amongst whose foundation members we are proud to be reckoned), a new from the C.P. He has now joined the revolutionary Party, the Internationalist Communist Party (P.C.I.), French Chinese workers and peasants in 1930, P.C.I. and stood as a Fourth International candidate in the recent section of the Fourth International, is appearing in an article by Raymond taking up Lenin's tradition of inter- Postgate, the noted British writer nationalism and class struggle, and in the American Magazine "New every day sees its influence growing among the masses." And they conclude by an appeal to the younger followed these native demonstrations Charles MARTEL, a typographer, joined the Socialist Party in 1913 and adopted a revolutionary internationalgeneration: "It is to you, comrades, led to great cruelties. Mass arrests ist attitude from the very beginning of the 1914-18 war. At the front, he that we wish to speak. We are old and took place and tortures according to some of us will not see the victory of press reports were widely applied the Proletariat. But this victory is especially at Thu-Duc, Saigon and certain. We appeal to you to keep Chalon where electrical torture was organised actions of fraternisation between French and German soldiers and published several clandestine papers opposing the war. After the courage, remain steadfastly in the used. According to Andre Viollis, the battle, and to join the International-ist Communist Party, which is today of food, bastinado, pins driven under war, he was one of the foundation members of the C.P. in the Isère. He specialised in peasant problems, and the only revolutionary Party, the only the nails, half-hanging, deprivation of as such visited the kolkhozes in the Party which fights for the establish- water, pincers on the temples (to

## 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-

U.S.S.R. He was struck there by the ment of the dictatorship of the force the eyes outwards) and a numinequality in the conditions of the proletariat by a regime of soviets." ber of others that are not printable. fifty wounded."

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 works. At Colam, according to an policy of the Stalinist parties. official report, aviators flying low pur-

# Rank & File Want Militant Policy

BY JOCK HASTON

A CRISIS OF SIGNIFICANCE IS ROCKING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRTAIN. IT IS THE MOST not allowed the platform—the Stalin- IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT SINCE THE EXPULSION OF The "Socialist Appeal" along with THE TROTSKYISTS FROM THE COMMUNIST PARY 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.

mittee; a stop must be put to their Kerrigan, spokesman for the Party sabotage of the workers' struggles. A leadership, came in for a measure of new militant committee of represen- sharp criticism from numbers of the delegates who spoke from the floorby militant workers who will repre-(Continued on Back Page.)

from Greece and Spain for a fighting policy against the Labour Governpolicy 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 eadership to sanc tion 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 of the Viet Nam. These include bombing of villages from the air and the tween the Russians, the British and destruction of crops and irrigation the Americans and its reflection in the

As with all previous switches in sued a group of about fifty with Stalin's diplomacy, the leadership of machine-gun fire. Near Vinh a dethe British Stalinists are not sure monstration was dispersed by airplane. which way the conflict is going to In the whirl of spreading smoke . . . resolve itself. Learning from the sad there could be seen bodies piled in experience of their American brothers heaps torn pieces, twisted, while the mob seized by panic, fled howling. For the possibility that they may have Many wounded were taken away by to come out into opposition to the the rebels. . . Exactly 250 corpses policy of the Labour Government. remained on the ground and some 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 salve the conscience of troubled workers.

The questions: "How does the Party come to be pursuing the present policy?" and "Why has the Party policy 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

(Continued on Back Page.)

How the Campaign is Going



### FROM SOLDIER READERS

### Training to Quell Riots

India.

The mood of the chaps is much as it was before, they are more or less waiting for a lead, not so much in the army, but from the people at home. They seem to realise that support in Britain counts a great deal. Watching, waiting and willing can be described as their attitude.

We were informed the other day of It will be mainly concerned with dealing with riot situations. We are to be taught the "apfor dealing with riots, we shall know what to do.

A lot depends on what line the "rioters" take, even if it isn't up to much, it is fairly certain that our reactions will not be of the "reliable"

Enclosed £10 to help with the Expansion Fund. Hope that the target is well reached before the end of the

Best wishes to all, Fraternally,

Iraq, November, 1945.

Dear Comrade,

I would like to confirm some of the points regarding discontent in this command given in F. Cornell's letter published in the October "Appeal."

Until quite recently I was attached to an R.A.F. station in the Persian Cult where there has been widespread.

Gulf where there has been widespread discontent regarding the general conditions (food, accommodation, etc.) and demobilisation for some six months. This condition was intensified months. This condition was intensified when the boys heard Isaac's speech at the beginning of the month and there was much talk of writing petitions and individual letters to M.P.s. The latter course was adopted by many of the lads. Demonstration was considered the best idea but it was thought that they could not unite in order to make they could not unite in order to make the plan successful. The spirit was there, but organisation was lacking. Slogans—"Strike for Demob" (the hammer and sickle chalked at the side)
began to appear on the walls and

week.) Lawson, on his way back from the Far East, got a hot reception when his plane touched down at the same station. He was inundated with meets—first flies, filthy hovels serving queries regarding demob from chaps as shops, brothels and dust. In a land ground from all over the camp.

factory and, according to eve his attitude to the men was insulting. Afterwards the men said: "So, this is a Labour member!" and they made many more remarks besides which were not at all flattering to Lawson. The fact that the Secretary of State for War, a so-called Workers' representative, was drinking that evening with higher officers of the camp was also not looked upon in a very good light.

To take the command in general. The men now take it for granted that the reasons they are kept out here are:

1 Reduction in establishments of

units, necessarily means a proportionate reduction in rank of the officers commanding. 2 To defend private interests abroad.

Comradely yours,
"Ess Grad."

From Left and Right

By 'AGITATOR'

### India-Jewel of **Empire**

Dear Comrade,

I wish to thank you for the mid-October issue of the "Socialist Appeal" which I received yesterday. After reading so much, to use an RAF expression "gaff" in our press here, it was really grand to receive a live, straight-talking paper again. I only hope that this copy is the first of proved" methods of dealing with riots and crowds. "S.S." men is what they wish to make us into, but we shall see what the results are. The general feeling being that when the time comes and I say without hesitation that they are supported by a large number of the politically conscious men in the forces out here. My suppositions were fully borne out by J. Deane's excellent article.

> Java and Indo-China, too seem to be further examples of the British and Allied "liberation", of which Greece was the unfortunate victim,

This is the first time I have been in contact with you personally, although I am in touch with several other com-Demob Discontent rades, who are sharing exile with me, in this 'Jewel of the Empire'. I wish I could describe the conditions of the majority of the native population, the poverty is amazing even to one who studied the matter beforehand. The contrasts too are terrific. I paid a visit to a certain Maharajah's state, where I and several others were entertained as guests. We saw the Maharapjah's palace, his private army, the royal lake, complete with yachts and speedboats. We were conducted around in a Rolls Royce, but when one left the vicinity of the royal domain, poverty and disease immediately fronted you. Although in fairness 1 must say that the ruler has established a hospital and schools, so that in some ways the conditions were not so bad as in British India, where the schools exist only for the wealthy, and hospitals, apart from service ones, are almost non-existent.

Everywhere one goes the same sights meet the eye, squalor and filth, disease and ignorance. It is tragic that in this country, one of the richest in began to appear on the walls and even on the C.O.'s car. (Despite attempts to rub out the lettering on this whicle it remained legible for over a week.)

the world, there should be so many condemned to live in this state. In the cities the contrast is sharper still, in the European and 'burra sahibs' area there are wide boulevards, the most modern shops, big cars (mostly American) and everything else that goes to make life a little more tolerwho made their way to the landing where under a true "democracy" (I ground from all over the camp. fabulously rich and the rest—just exist.

DAY AND A 40 HOUR WEEK.

The strike, which lasted for more

But India is too complex to deal with in a letter of this sort, if you wish I will endeavour to outline the position as I see it, later and keep you informed of the activities of ('ongress, etc., which rarely appear in the British

I hope to hear from you soon, in the meantime you have my sincere support and best wishes. I would like to send a donation to the Expansion Fund, but I don't know how the situation stands with regard to currency exchange. Later, I will definitely send something, but in the meantime my fraternal greetings will have to suffice.

# £213 REACHED

CAMPAIGN

The Forces are magnificent in their response to the Expansion Fund. From all parts of the world we receive donations which have been collected through the tireless efforts of these given by these soldier-workers and in the remaining few weeks every comrades. The following letter from speed the collections. S.E.A.C. is an inspiring example of

Socialist Appeal'. Champion over 10 rounds. Being the winner, he got R's.150.

received the following:

**Branches** 

COVENTRY

SHANDON

EASTBOURNE

CHELTENHAM

WEST LONDON

NOTTINGHAM

BIRMINGHAM

PLYMOUTH ...

ILFORD

OXFORD

HENDON

EDINBURGH

NEWCASTLE ... ...

CENTRAL OFFICE

FORCES COMRADES

SHEFFIELD ... ...

NORTH LONDON ...

LONDON DISTRICT

GWAUN - CAE - GURWEN

CANNOCK ... ... ...

SOUTH EAST LONDON ...

NEATH ... ... ... ...

SOUTH WEST LONDON ...

MERTHYR and TREDEGAR

GLASGOW & MOTHERWELL ...

LIVERPOOL ... ... ... ...

All comrades should follow the lead

News from branches in the London the revolutionary enthusiasm which area discloses a "go ahead" attitude is so characteristic of the comradea towards collecting donations for the "I enclose R's.50 or 72/- from Fund. West London branch recently George Denholm-a great friend of held a successful gramophone recital As promised, which netted a profit of £2 5s. 0d. this money comes from a boxing Hendon also organised a social which match which he had in Poona when brought in the useful sum of £1 15s, he beat the Burmese Feather Weight whilst the SouthWest and SouthEast London branches have followed their example and socials are being held during the next few weeks. What is George, by the way hails from important about these events is that post. Dalry, Ayrshire, Scotland. He is a apart from proving a successful means splendid working class fighter." of raising money they provide com-Beverley Camp we also of raising money they provide com-rades and friends of our Party with a few hours of enjoyable entertain-"Re the £500 Fund Campaign ment, which cements the bonds of With two or three sympathisers we comradeship. Every branch of the

Paid in

£ s. d.

3 10 0

25 10 0

26 0 0

4 0 0

15 0

39 11 1

10 10 0

4 10 0

8 4 0

21 12 0

10 4 0

7 6 6

13 15 6

8 10 0

8 6 0

1 10 0

1 10 0

5 14 4

1 0 0

4 17 0

3 0 0

15 0

10 0

£5

1162%

102%

80%

75%

70%

68%

52%

51%

49%

45%

42%

33 %

30%

30%

23%

19%

15%

103%

2%

863%

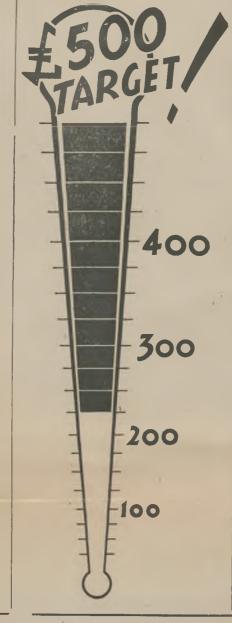
79 1 %

31st so will you please put us down recital, social or dance between now for that. Will send the first and the Christmas Season. Let us donation in a few days time."

Our Fund is now six weeks old and target in record time. We have £287 to collect which means that a conto be undertaken immediately. cannot afford to be over-confident at this stage, and since the achievement of our target is not simply a routine job of collecting money, but an important political task, it is the duly of all comrades to rally as one man

to ensure success by December 31st never before.

> G. Healy, Campaign Organiser. H. Atkinson, National Treasurer.



## DALMUIR R.O.F. VICTORY

BY R. TEARSE

The strike at the Dalmuir Royal effort must be made to reach the Ordnance Factory has ended in complete victory for the workers. The dismissed Convener and sub-Convener, siderable amount of hard work has Bros. McKay and Russell were re-We instated on Thursday, November 8th.

On Thursday, October 25th, the decision of the Appeal Court in favour of Bros. McKay and Russell, was made known. Although they held the dismissals as being unjustified, how ever, they did not recommend that the Convener and sub-Convener be re-Every friend and sympathiser to his instated. This was left to the N.S.O., Let the donations roll in as who in turn refused to direct their re-instatement. But the workers had not said their last word. Due to pressure exerted by the Glasgow A.E.U. District Committee, in their support for the strike, for an immer diate enquiry-representatives of the Ministry of Supply were compelled to meet representativs from the A.E.U. Executive Council, Glasgow District Committee and the Strike Committee.

Efforts of A.E.U. Regional Officer, Sillars, to persuade the Glasgow District Committee to reverse their decision supporting the strike had been of no avail. After a meeting with Sillars on Wednesday, 24th October, the D.C. endorsed their previous decision by 20 votes to 9 (all nine votes being from Stalinist members).

On the basis of the Appeal Court's decision re the "unjustification" of the dismissals, and the pending enquiry, the strikers decided to return to work on Monday, October 29th, after having been on the streets for four weeks. Their ranks were solid, their morale high, and it was clear that there would be further action in the event of the enquiry going against the workers.

Thus at the end of these discussions on November 8th, Bateman instructed that the dismissed Convener and sub-Convener be re-instated.

This victory for the strikers has undoubtedly raised their already high morale to greater heights. The return of McKay and Russell to the factory on November 9th was the occasion for a gala day. Russell's machine was decorated and written all around was the slogan, "Welcome Homd". McKay who is full-time Convener also received a great welcome

Thus ends one of the most important strikes since the advent of the Labour Government Dalmuir was obviously a test case for the employers If the workers had allowed this deliberate wrecking of their factory organisation in a "nationalised" industry, directly under the control of the Labour Government, the path would have been cleared for a wholesale attack on factory organisations for the boss class.

(Continued on Page 3)

# The Stalinists and the Dock Strike

BY J. DEANE

THE DOCK WORKERS HAVE GIVEN THEIR TRADE UNION Of course his answers were unsatisated as the bourgeois use it), everyone could at least have sufficient, a few are could at least have sufficient, a few are fabricated as the property of th

> than five weeks, was part of a move-ment begun by the London Dockers and Stevedores in July this year. Despite the efforts of the Union misleaders and His Maiesty's "Communist" Party to undermine the morale of the dock workers, their feeling and confidence is still very high. They expect, and are prepared, to come out again if the bosses continue to resist their just demands.

Twice, the bosses and Trade Union leaders have reached a deadlock. But these leaders have issued no report to the Strike Committees, or to the rank and file. Instead, they are endeavouring to whitewash the bosses.

The Strike Committees, knowing well the aims of Donovan and Deakin, are counter-acting their efforts to compromise with the bosses, by issuing a resolution which calls upon the trade union leaders to call a national stoppage if the weathy shipowners refuse to grant the demands of 50,000 dock workers. This resolution will go to all Transport and General Workers Union Branches throughout the country PUBLIC SUPPORT GROWING

The action of the Strike Committees in returning to work solid, has impressed the whole Labour movement. The thirty days' truce, which was nec-essary for the Dockers to prepare their organisations and win public support has gained the dock workers the sup port of wide sections of the working class, in whose opinion the Dock work-ers have given the Trade Union leaders every possibility to prove the success or failure of negotiating machorganised workers will consider the dockers thoroughly justified in once again taking strike action.

A great number of Union Branches, District Committees, Trades Councils, and Labour Party Branches have passed resolutions of support and solidarity with the dockers' struggle. The op-

class solidarity, the Strike Committees are contacting other sections of the workers and bringing their case before

£213 0 5

them through leaflets and public meet-STALINIST POLICY EXPOSED

The strike-breaking role of the Comunist Party was exposed from the eginning in its attempts to smash the ockers' strike. The "Daily Worker" f October 9th, printed the following

instead of directly saying "Go Back to work", persistently featured the strike breaking speeches of Isaacs and Donovan. For example, to give a few head-lines during the strike: "GO BACK AND CASE WILL BE CONSIDER. ED", "SOUTHAMPTON DOCKERS
TO URGE KEY PORTS TO RETURN", "DOCKERS AT THREE
PORTS GOING BACK", "TILBURY
MEN WILL GO BACK ON CONDITIONS" DITIONS."

"Merseyside area committee of the C.P. has pointed out that the dockers have achieved public recognition but that to continue attack-



COMRADE JIMMY DEANE addressing a meeting called by the R.C.P. in support of the Dockers, at Hyde Park on Sunday, November 4th. In the audience were many Dockers who maintained order against a small group of Stalinists, who opposed the strike and came to wreck the meeting.

into the employers' hands and weakening their own unity.'

This slanderous and strike-breaking statement received great prominence in the capitalist press. Between and the C.P. there was no difference. By saying that 50,000 dock workers were "attacking the Union" the C.P. was playing Don-

ing the Union would mean playing | Worker" reported for a few issues only, dockers' meetings. But rank and file members of the C.P. were soon to learn that the policy had not changed. Barratt and Dickens, two Stalinist union officials continued their policy of strike-breaking.

The dockers must be on their guard. The Communist Party is trying to

morale of the dock workers by stating that the strike has won nothing, exes for the dockers and their families! They claim that negotiations could have achieved more for the workers. ers, the national rank and file movement forged during the strike; the unity and confidence of this important section of workers; the fear struck into the hearts of the cowardly Labour and Trade Union leaders; and the defeat of the capitalists who had hoped to smash the dockers' organisations and worsen their conditions-to these strike-breakers, all this means nothing!

In actual fact, the present struggle of the Dock workers is distinct from all other industrial movements of recent times, insofar as it has established the basis for a permanent national rank and file movement; has raised the struggle against the conservative Union leadership to a new and higher level; has raised the most fundamental political questions facing the working class. If the unity and the national movement of the dockers were the only gains from the five weeks' strike, in themselves, they are entirely sufficient to justify the action of the dock workers. These gains mark a tremendous victory against the sabotage of the Donovaus and Deakins, Isaacs' and Wilkinsons, the Pollitts and Gallachers.

#### WE STOOD WITH THE DOCKERS

The class conscious and politically minded dockworkers recognise that the only Party which came to their aid is Revolutionary Communist Party. the Revolutionary Communist Party. In discussions with the dock workers and the leading militants among them, they have said time and again that the "Socialist Appeal" is the only truthful workers' paper. As one leading dock worker put it: "The Labour Party has replaced the Liberal Party; the Communist Party has replaced the Communist Party has replaced the Labour Party; and the Trotskyists are the only real Communists."

and Labour Party Branches have passed resolutions of support and solidarity with the dockers' struggle. The opposition to these resolutions has come mainly from His Majesty's Communist Party.

The lying press reports and statements of Labour Ministers could not deceive the public for long. Apart from the growing sympathy and working the Union' the C.P. was playing Donovana game. This statement issued by the Mersey area Committee of the confidence of the dock workers and the "Socialist Appeal" rendered invaluable aid to the real policy of the Communist Party is trying to sabotage their national movement, and it will spare no effort to undermine the sabotage their national movement, and it will spare no effort to undermine the sabotage their national movement, and it will spare no effort to undermine the sabotage their national movement, and it will spare no effort to undermine the subject to undermine the sabotage their national movement, and it will spare no effort to undermine the sabotage their national movement, and it will spare no effort to undermine the sabotage their national movement, and it will spare no effort to undermine the sabotage their national movement, and it will spare no effort to undermine the subject to the confidence of the dock workers that the Revolutionary Communist Party is trying to sabotage their national movement, and dock workers that the Revolutionary Communist Party is trying to sabotage their national movement, and dock workers that the Revolutionary Communist Party is trying to sabotage their national movement, and dock workers that the Revolutionary Communist Party is trying to sabotage their national movement, and dock workers that the Revolutionary Communist Party is trying to sabotage their national movement, and dock workers that the Revolutionary Communist Party is trying to sabotage their national movement, and dock workers that the Revolutionary Communist Party is trying to sabotage their national movement and the sabotage their national movement and the sabotage their

#### are being plumbed by the bureaucracy can be got from the following report let no one pretend that the ruling in the "Daily Express" on November the principles of Lenin! 9th.

BUREAUCRATIC CYNICISM

A struggle for power is, without

doubt, going on in the top ranks of the

Soviet Bureaucracy. A large section

of the ruling caste, particularly the

Red Army tops, has no interest in paying even lip service to Socialism.

In this stratum are open military ex-

pansionists, anti-semites and down-

right reactionaries. Some idea of the

"Major Randolph Churchill, who is here to write a series of articles, drank toasts to his father with Mr. Molotov, who gave a reception for the Diplomatic Corps last night.

Mr. Molotov told Major Churchill with great verve how, at the last meeting with Mr. Churchill at Potsdam, Churchill humorously inquired

when he was going to receive a

Soviet decoration. Mr. Molotov said he did not know, and asked why Mr. Churchill thought he deserved

Mr. Churchill replied: 'Because by my despatch of British troops in the war of intervention against the Soviets in 1918 I compelled you to build up your splendid army.'

When such gross historical referdepths of bureaucratic cynicism which ences can become the subject of wine party chit-chat in the Soviet Union. from Moscow, which was published clique have anything in common with

> The Death Agony of Capitalism By Leon-Trotaky



Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International. 256 HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2 Phone: CUN 2526

EDITOR: E. Grant. BUSINESS MANAGER: Ann Keen. 

#### **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

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 TAIKS. 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 Brftish 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 PRETENCE FOR A GUIDING ROLE IN INTER-NATIONAL 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 monolopy 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 REVOLU-TION. 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

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 "international ising" 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

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 Stallnist 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.

# COLONIAL REVOLUTIONS

Appeal by the European Executive Committee of the 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 re-lations, the colonial peoples are rising one after the other in order to sweep away the infamous tyranny of the imperialist "civilizers". The Indochinese 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 Phillippines 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 militar ism", do not hesitate to use this Japanese militarism in order to crush the colonial masses in revolt. It is upon the Japan. ese 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 to-morrow prepare a bloody intervention if some colonial country

succeeded in temporarily con-solidating its independence.

Thus, one revolutionary spark has sufficied 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 INDEPEND-

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 colon-ial revolution can achieve final victory: it must draw behind it the great mass of the poor peas-ants in order to abolish both the domination of foreign imperialism and of its own capitalists, solve the agrarian problem, aside feudal remnants, abolish frontiers and erect the great Socialist Federation of the Peoples of Asia. But the strug-gle of the colonial peoples for their immediate independence is in itself, from its very conception, a highly progressive struggle which the metropolitan work ers 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 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 BAR-BAROUS SYSTEM OF EX-PLOITATION 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 uncompromis-ing revolutionary struggle, by the regrouping and union of all, around the banner of Commun-ism, around the Fourth Inter-

WORKERS OF EUROPE!

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

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

DOCKERS OF MARSEILLES, NAPLES, LIVERPOOL, ANT-WERP AND ROTTERDAM!

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

FRENCH, DUTCH AND BEL-GIAN RAILWAY WORKERS! Refuse to transport soldiers and war material to the embar-cation 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. 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 in-ternational solidarity of the workers into an effective reality, instead of an empty and dema-gogical formula.

NOT ONE MAN, NOT ONE GUN AGAINST THE COLON-IAL PEOPLES!

DOWN WITH IMPERIAL-ISM! LONG LIVE THE COL-ONIAL REVOLUTION! IMMEDIATE AND COM-PLETE INDEPENDENCE FOR ALL THE COLONIES! LONG LIVE THE INTER-NATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKERS!

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.

# LONDON CONFERENCE

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

CHIANG KAI SHEK

Leninist Party of India (Trotskyist) and brutal suppression suffered, Party is continuing to develop. 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 cerlayers 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 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 REVOLU-TION " which gives Indian readers, for the first time, a clear Marxist analysis. of recent developments in Europe.

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

Against the Gandhian "Constructive Programme": for revolutionary mass

bourgeois control or domination.

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.

(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 Conveners of other R.O.F.s, is to be found in the past isolationist policy of apathy of the R.O.F.s in general as a result of wide-spread redundancy.

But the lessons of this strike must to disguise itself as "socialist". drive against working class standards, and destroy it as decisively as the ganda. to decapitate the factory leadership Radical Socialists have been destroyed. 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 Against the attempt to bring Trade district to district, can this menace measures on the lines advocated by under the leadership of our French Unions and Kisan Sabhas under facing the workers be met and our French comrades the situation in comrades, will march towards the defeated.

has gained the votes of the over-would follow the lead of a Socialist whelming majority of the working France. 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.

Socialists secured 4,350,000

third place.

The traditional Parties of French capitalism, the Radical Socialists (French Liberals), also the Conservative Parties were practically wiped 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.

on the Catholic Popular Republican cracy. Instead of putting forward a movement, a new Party which grew up during the Resistance Movement. But this Party, in order to gain sup- capitalism in order to prepare the port even among the more backward workers to take power, they are strata of the population, was com- bargaining for terms to enter pelled to fight on a similar programme Government together with De Gaulle that of the Communists and and the Socialists! demagogically attacked the Big Trusts and com- ceived nearly a third of the votes; it bines, and called for the nationalis-ation of big industry, etc. Thus, they Unions. The bulk of the working

They have demonstrated that they look towards the Soviet bureaucracy and corrupt Third Republic forever. do his dirty work at home.

capitalist platform.

In the referendum on the Constitution, only 890,000 voted "NO" to the C.P. was a demonstration in favour first question as against 19,000,000 of Communism. the masses will dethose who-such as the Radicalswished to return to the old system.

towards socialism, the reactionaries united round the "Left" capitalist party of the Constitutional Democrats lack of initiative demonstrated by the a party in favour of capitalism and without any coalition with the capitalagainst "socialist utopias". the Dalmuir workers and the present ary forces round itself in France, the ting up only two candidates in working M.R.P., is shot through and through class with such contradictions, that in order 10,817 votes. This vote on an be heeded by all workers in general, revolutionary programme on the part present circumstances. Now that the and the R.O.F. workers in particular, of the Communist Party would expose S.P. and C.P. have a majority, our Preparations are being made, in the the contradictions within its ranks comrades will intensify their propa-

France, and the whole of Europe conquest of Power.

made with this discredited relic of

the past.

The French "Communist" Party would be transformed. All Europe

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. approximately, dropping from first to 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 Seeing the writing on the wall, the reaction concentrated in desperation the diplomacy of the Stalinist bureaufighting revolutionary policy, explain-

The French Communist Party re-"socialist" and anti- class voted FOR COMMUNISM. But the Stalinists endeavour to push them The overwhelming majority of the onto the road of "national unity French people have voted against with the representatives of the capitalcapitalism and expressed their desire ists. So long as De Gaulle will stand to achieve a new system of society. on his "Western" orientation and wish to turn their backs on the rotten in foreign policy, they are willing to

The great election victory of the YES", thus decisively repudiating mand deeds from the Stalinists in the coming period. A new epoch opens out. This is just the beginning in In a certain sense, the situation is of the second world war. The Commore favourable than in the munist Party will in the coming days Revolution in Russia in 1917. There be faced with a series of crises and too, faced with a swing of the masses splits within its own ranks under the pressure of the workers.

The Trotskyists of France have con-(Liberals) in the elections. But the ducted a campaign for a Socialist-Constitutional Democrats were frankly Communist Government in France The ist parties. They gave critical support Party which now unites the reaction- in the elections to these parties, putstrongholds and receiving to retain its support it is compelled uncompromising revolutionary programme is magnificent, under the

In the coming days, in spite of the despite the alliance which the C.P. Stalinists, clashes between the workers and the bosses are inevitable. France faces big struggles and even civil war The Communists and Socialists in the coming months and years. In together, have the majority. If they these struggles the masses will learn in firm bonds from factory to factory, formed a Government and took to reject the Stalinist counterfeit and

# from Java

(Continued from page 1.) to cheer and applaud, when the same methods are used by British imperialism against the even more defenceless colonial peoples.

CAMPAIGN OF CALUMNY AGAINST INDONESIANS

For the past few weeks, in psychological preparation for the full-dress warfare which is now in swing, the capitalist press has been conducting a campaign of calumny and slander against the nationalist forces in Java. The main burden of the propaganda is that the Indonesian freedom move ment is inspired by Japanese imperialism. The yellow press would like us to forget that it was only yesterday that British and Dutch Generals were working side by side with the Japanese Generals and secret police in restoring 'law and order' among the native population. It is only during the last few days with the arrival of sufficient reinforcements that they have stopped using Japanese troops.

Even now, the British and Dutch

authorities are too exclusively busy with disarming the Indonesians to have had time to disarm the Japanese troops. According to Mr. Lawson, Labour Secretary of State for War there are 50,000 Japanese troops in Java whose disarmament has not been completed as our troops "are occupied in maintaining order".

The imperialist rulers of Britain and Holland have always hated and feared their colonial peoples more than their Japanese rivals. In Java, the Dutch imperialists failed even to make a show of resistance against Japanese invas-ion. Rather than put arms into the hands of the Indonesian masses, the Dutch rulers chose to run away, relying on the final victory of Anglo-American imperialism for the eventual restoration of their colonial loot. The Indonesian masses have no illusions about Japanese imperialism. They want to be rid of all imperialisms the establishment of a government

of their own choice.
The Press has also attempted to whip up hatred against the Indonesians by exploiting the "murder" of Brigadier Mallarby. But who can tell how many Indonesians have been butchered for the death of a single British Officer? When the British troops first landed in Java they met with a warm welcome from the native population, who looked upon them as friends and liberators. In those days, their hatred and anger were directed exclusively against the Dutch rulers. who are as much a part of the capital-It was only when they began to realise ist political set-up as the Tories. The that the brass hats of British imperial- opposition sprang rather from the inism were seeking not to establish there independence—but to re-etablish the of any bloc with the Tories, than hated Dutch regime, that their atti- from a principled understanding of the tude towards the British forces changed. If they are guilty at all, their guilt consists in not having understood early enough the real role of the British Army, and in not realising that the imperialists will always defend each other's interest, against the colonial

#### POVERTY UNDER DUTCH RULE

After two and a half centuries of ference and make a really principled Dutch rule, the condition of the Indotill today this rich and resourceful nation reperesents a pitiable picture of almost universal poverty, ignorance and misery. Among other things, the CP "Foreste the Palitics" ship that has caused these mistakes."

ship that has caused these mistakes."
The root cause goes much deeper than the contract of the cause goes much deeper than that the caused in the spirit of International imm. The newer members of the party did not even know what the committee where the caused these mistakes."

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The root cause goes much deeper than that the caused these mistakes."

The root cause goes much deeper than the caused the caused these mistakes." Indonesia produces 90 per cent of the world's quinine, 37 per cent of its rubber, 31 per cent of its copra, 29 per cent of its palm oil, and 20 per cent its fin. Its oil wells are some of he richest in the world. But the chaple are one of the poorest. "About 79 per cent of the people live by cultivating tiny rice plots, fishing and hunting," writes a correspondent in "Reynolds News"

the C.P.

unionists."

the branch discussions.

(Continued from previous Column)

impunity. To the prison colony of Boven Digul, in the wild interior of New Guinea went the individual Indo-

nesians who had openly challenged the

In fighting against these conditions

and for the right to determine their own destiny, the Indonesian masses have the right to call upon the support

and solidarity of the workers of every nation. A great responsibility lies on the shoulders of the workers in Brit-

in and Holland. The socialist workers of Holland have a long tradition of. anti-imperialism. The name of Sneev-

Nazis, symbolises to the Dutch work-

nas to be brought to life, and the

entire Dutch working-class mobilised to assist the Indonesian masses in

their struggle againt Dutch imperial-

represented the interests of the British

working class, they would have intervened, not on the side of the Dutch

imperialists but on the side of the

Indonesian masses. The action of the

Labour Ministers clearly reveal them

as the lackeys and agents of the British imperialists who are shaking in their

shoes lest the fires of colonial revolt

spread beyond Java, into Burma, India

and other British territories.

If the Labour Government in Britain

the colonial peoples.

sanctity of Dutch imperialism".

"A bowl of rice sprinkled with dried fish or sauce twice a day is their un-Their homes are huts of hamboo situated in none too hygienic villages. The annual income of the neasants is about £3.

Over 90 per cent of them are illiterate and higher education among the natives is discouraged in a variety of ways. For the Dutch planters and capitalists, these unsavoury conditions in the village have provided an ideal reservoir of cheap and tractable labour. From the villages came the remaining 30 per cent of the Indonesians who, before the war worked as labourers in the big plantations, mines and oil wells. Their individual earnings averaged under £13 a year.

By way of contrast, the Europeans who made up 0.5 per cent of the popu-lation received 65 per cent of the income subject to tax. Since Dutch cap ital practically monopolised the econ life of the country, it was naturally Dutch big business which took most of the loot. Nearly all the government bonds are held by Dutch capitalists and some £40 million was sent out of Indonesia annually as interest

on these investments". To guard this system of barefaced robbery and plunder, Dutch imperialism built a political regime based upon the limitless autocracy of the Gover-nor. Army and Police. Every attempt on the part of the masses to assert their national rights was met with violence and terror. In 1926-27, under the inspiration of the Chinese Revolution a serious revolt broke out in Indonesia. It was stamped out only with the use of Nazi methods. "In Western Sumatra," writes a correspondent, "the charred remains of native villages were left as exhibits until 1931 to rewere left as exhibits until 1931 to remind the seditious Indonesians that the Dutch in the exploitation of the Indonesian masses, they have dis-

# Withdraw R.C.P. ELECTION RESULTS Compensation Scandal the Troops The Revolutionary Communist Party "reply" before the Stalinists finished Labour Party. is on the political map in Wallsend-on-distributing the original!

s on the political map in Wallsend-on-distributing the original! Tyne as a result of the magnificant | Each home in the Ward was canvassed the lion's share of the publicity. real electioneering was carried out in esting contest in Wallsend.

Our candidate polled over 10% of in the other Wards. the winning vote, which was 2,149. Comrade Bell polled 265.

Election Agent, and it aroused tre- Party Campaign Fund. mendous local interest, particularly among th youth. The local Party organisation threw its whole weight and energy into the fight and the ran its own candidate. Charlie amount of propaganda work done was Martinson ("Mazo") as he is known

they withdrew was to be seen during dockers' struggle. Comrade "Mazo" campaign. Communist Party, on their own in for his activities on behalf of the itiative, got out a leaflet attacking R.C.P. in the recent dock strike. Comrade Bell on the usual slanderous chagrin of the Stalinists, our Comvote which was 1,458. There were four rades completed the canvass of their seats vacant and all were won by the selves into a branch of our Party.

election fight conducted in the Buddle four times: with an introductory From the commencement of the Ward by Comrade Herbert Bell, who leaflet; with the Election Manifesto, campaign the Trotskyists drew the tions on an all-out Trotskyist programme. Even the Town Hall staff of "Socialist Appeal" were sold on Roman Catholic Church, and as this

the Buddle Ward, and the local Ward and throughout the campaign the Poll. The school halls, which Kemsley press grudgingly admitted our Comrades urged the workers to candidates have the legal right to use that it was the best and most inter- vote for Bell and cast their second for election meetings free of charge, vote for Labour, also to vote Labour are for the most part the property of

Comrade Bell polled 265.

election not only in experience but rades that they would use the halls
The real significance of Comrade also in support for the Party. Several only when they forced the Church to Bell's vote lies in the fact that it is militants have been won over from give them permission! And for ina conscious revolutionary communist the Stalinist "Communist" Party to sisting on their legal rights in this vote. No vote-catching tactics or Trotskyism. Sales of "Socialist connection, the local organisation was electioneering promises were em- Appeal" have been increased, and a large number of supporters won for "threatened the Priest"! Every other The contest was led by the Candi- revolutionary communism, many of obstruction was put in the way of date and Ball Landells, his 20-year-old whom hae given donations to the Comrade Martinson's campaign, and it

In Bootle, Liverpool, the R.C.P. also to the local workers conducted a fine The Stalinists had originally in struggle in the face of all the forces tended to run a candidate but with of reaction ranged against him. The drew when the R.C.P. put Comrade axis of our Party's propaganda during Bell into the field. The reason why the election was support for the Our organisation it will be remembered, was widely literally swamped them! The local attacked in the national yellow press

As in Wallsend, the most interesting lines employed against the Trotskyists. contest was that in the Mersey Ward They started delivering it one evening. which "Mazo" fought. He polled the following evening Comrade Bell 148 votes, over 10% of the votes cast had a leaflet out in reply, and to the for the candidate with the highest

Crisis in the C.P.

smallest share of the votes we had

commented on the fact that the only the doorsteps during the campaign. is largely a Catholic Ward, it had a There were two seats vacant in the considerable effect on the result of the Church, whose local represent-Much has been gained from this atives politely intimated to our Comwas only towards the end of the campaign that Committee Rooms were obtained. The vote, under these circumstances, is all the more solid and decisive, for the issues and forces involved were clear cut. The Church, the Torles, Labour Party and Stalinists united in a bloc against the Trotskyists. It is from this fact that we take confidence for the future. That such a barrage of reaction should be turned against our Party in this important working class area is a clear indication of the direction in which the fears of the capitalist class and their agents lie. As Lenin had occasion to remark, when the bosses are attacking the revolutionary party it is a good thing, when they are not, examine your propaganda and see

what is wrong with it! Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming them-

ist parties have become puppets of Soviet diplomacy. How else is it pos

sible to gain a clear understanding

of this theory?

gesture to Wall Street.

the fantastic turns of Pollitt Erowder & Co., except on the basis

When the Anglo-Russian American

sections, it was decided that the

This caused the first serious search

The best members of the C.P. have

British capitalists helped the

Soviet Union, that kept them support-

They compensated themselves with

the idea that once the Nazis were

ation of the policy of class collabor-

offensive, sacking militants as re-

dundant and while wages have tended

to drop with the end of overtime etc.,

member who has not become com-

evol; against the present policy.

eletely corrupted and cynical, is in

But if this revolt is to lead to a great

step forward for the best members of

the C.P. and of the working class, the

gramme. The militants must study

the lessons of October, why the rise

of the bureaucracy in Russia, why

the end of the Comintern, why the

clavishly plods behind the Soviet foreign policy, why no extension of

critical grouping in the C.P., many of

the best elements will find their way

From the midst of this growing

ation whilst the capitalists are on the

Without a

WITH THE PASSING OF THE NEW WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT, THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT HAS PRESENTED ITS FIRST INSTALMENT OF WHAT fought in the recent Municipal Elec- with the Reply to the Stalinists; and fire of every reactionary force within Mr. GREENWOOD, M.P., HAS TERMED "THE BIGGEST CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIAL EXPERIMENT THIS COUNTRY HAS EVER SEEN."

The daily press has painted glowing pictures of the concessions which have been granted, of the new increased benefits and allowances On the surface it appears a real step forward— BUT ONLY ON THE SURFACE. In FACT, this represents one of the worst examples of TORY legislation yet foisted onto the backs of the working class, with all the "con-cessions" being paid for by the workers, and incredible though it may seem, WITH THE EMPLOYERS AS THE GREATEST BENEFICIARIES!

Neither can those workers who desire "to give the Labour Government a chance", consider this as a "destructive" or "exaggeroted" statement. WE WILL DEAL ONLY
WITH THE UNASSAILABLE

#### TORIES LIKE IT!

Under the old scheme of Workmen's Compensation, the employers paid over £17 millions in benefits plus £4 millions administrative costs, making a total of £21 millions. Under the new scheme, the employers will pay net 21 millions - BUT ONLY £111 millions. The workers on the other other hand, who paid NOTHING under the old scheme, will now pay the same amount -£111 millions. No wonder the Tories are pleased, and through their spokesman, Mr. Peake, M.P., express their pleasure and

"I do not want to antagonise hon. members opposite, but I can hardly refrain from saying that, in my view, there is very little of what I term as Sociálism about this Bill."

leaders are now operating their version what they consider to be

One of the more glaring inequalities of the scheme consists in its treatment young miners. The following figures speak for themselves.

Age.	Wage.	Old Scheme (Benefits)	New Scheme (Benefits)	Loss to worker.
14	38/6d.	27/1½d.	20/-	7/11d.
15	43/-	28/5d.	22/6d.	5/11d.
16	48/-	30/9d.	22/6d.	8/3d.
17	54/-	40/-	33/9d.	6/3d.

(The benefits quoted are average illusory "concessions" under conover a six months' period.)

What is the reason for this? In case you didn't know, it is due to the 'abnormal" wages of these workers! Yes, indeed, as Mr. Lindgren, M.P.,

"Let us fact facts. Present wages for these youths are abnormal. One might say that they are too abnormal and that the youths will suffer for it in the years to come . . . We cannot cover everything so that everybody is no worse off... I am not so concerned about the youngster under 18 unless he has depend-

So the Labour leaders are "not so concerned" about the young worker 3s. 82d. a day according to the Labour Government leaders-who incidently will struggle along on £96 a week when THEY retire! Such treachery-for there is no other word-could hardly

#### SAFEGUARDS AGAINST "LAZINESS"

In case the workers are tempted to become too "lazy" on their 45/week, plus the allowance if married (16/-), and the children's allowances, (7/6 for the first child, 5/- for every other), 10- per week is deducted if either the man or woman is in hospital free of charge. This is called "home saving". Here we have meanness reaching new depths, for it is precisely when the worker is ill that such money is mostly needed. Is it necessary to emphasise the need for those "luxuries" which help so much in the recovery of a patient?

Tory predecessors, the Labour Governis continuing to grant the workers less and less in ACTUAL benefits. It is necessary, when considering the amounts granted, to also make allowance for the cost-of-living, and the actual buying power of the money. Thus the Labour Party's demands in 1938 for a £3 a week minimum for those 100% incapacitated, is policy of the Communist Parties now equal to at least £4, at present

The first Act passed in 1897 by a Tory Government gave compensation

The Labour Government is granting £2 5s. 0d. — AND FOR THE FIRST TIME—UNPRECEDENTED IN HIS-TORY — THE WORKERS ARE PAYING AT LEAST HALF OF IT! The Russian Revolution The following picture of "progress is then received:

(1) Labour's programme

1945 .....

TUNE The startling difference between the

LABOUR'S LEADERS CHANGE

WORDS of the Labour leaders when they are in opposition, and their DEEDS when they have power, is seen in a most striking manner when we examine their record. When the Tory M.P., Mr. Peake, stated in the House of Commons on Ooctober 10th

"There will be no danger to the passage of this Bill from this side of the House. Indeed most of the critics of this scheme, when it was debated in November 1944, are now to be found inside the ranks of His Majesty's Government."

-he was referring to past criticisms of such Labour M.P.s as Mr. Buchanan, Mr. D. Grenfell, the present Minister of Labour, Mr. Isaacs and many others. Dare we recall, for instance, the words of Mr. Isaacs which he uttered in November of last year?-

"It is proposed to collect from the workers about £8½ millions" (it is now £111 millions) "they never paid anything before . . . In other words these proposals will hand back to the employers somewhere about £9,000,000,

His protests have been transformed into approval What has been "unfair" one day has become equality" the next!

Workmen's Compensation is an issue which affects the vast majority of the workers in this country. In the mines, over six million have been injured during this century and over 50,000 have been sent to a premature grave. WITH EVERY PASSING MINUTE A WORKER IS EITHER INJURED OR KILLED ON THIS PEACE OR WAR BATTLE FRONT. As can be clearly seen, the Labour Far from the Labour leaders even fulfilling their 1938 promises, they are imitating the worst characteristics of the Tories by conceding small

SOME ARE WORSE OFF!

enefits)	(Benefits)	worker.	
7/1½d.	20/-	7/11d.	
8/5d.	22/6d.	5/11d.	
0/9d.	22/6d.	8/3d.	
0/-	33/9 <b>d</b> ,	6/3d.	
1			

siderable pressure from the masses.

demands.

with their paltry "concessions

unanimous agreement of all the said

be equalled.

Following in the footsteps o ftheir day values.

of £1, now worth at least £2 7s. 0d. a week.

in 1938 ......£4 0 0 == (2) 1897 Tory Act benefit... £2 7 0 Published by E. Grant, 256, Harrow (3) Labour's DEEDS in

The workers must not rest content

They must exert pressure upon the

Government to carry out Labour's

original programme; to demand that

every worker be entitled to work or

full maintenance; that their wives

and children be granted full and

ample allowances. Labour now has no

excuse for not operating such a programme the workers must agitate

through every Labour and Trade Union

channel for the implementing of these

sent, and fight for the interests of the rank and file. This struggle can only take place within the trade unions. The building workers' fight will not be against the unions but against the reactionary union leadership and their

agents, the Stalinists.
BUILDING WORKERS! BUILD A GENUINE AND REPRESENTATIVE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE! DOWN WITH THE CLASS COLLABORATIONIST PROGRESS COMMITTEES! CONDUCT A MASS STRUGGLE FOR 3/- AN HOUR AND 40-HOUR WEEK!



**Editorial Notes:** 

The Significance of the

Dockers' Strikes. Where is the Communist

Religion in the Soviet Union - - Paul Dixon

Leon Trotsky

November 1945

Party Going? David James

Road, London, W.2.

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79 Southern Row, W.10.

branch criticism explains "the Poli- Stalin traded the Comintern to backs on any allies, no matter from tical Letter does not analyse the cause American imperialism for a military what source they came. There was one solitary vote for the Abertillery to the necessity of fighting against every liquidationist tendency, but it is not explained how such tendencies

That is the key to the hope to the liquidation of the changes in the Party "line".

From being parties of international motion. The opposition at that conference have come to exist in our party . . . was not a principled opposition. It the mere stating that errors have been did not reject the "progressive" front as such, or counterpose to it a up to the errors, causes confusion to the made without an analysis of what led up to the errors, causes confusion to the errors of the made without an analysis of what led up to the errors causes confusion to the errors of the made without an analysis of what led up to the errors are confusion. working class revolution, the Stalinworkers' front. It was prepared to have an agreement with the Liberals, a lack of confidence in the Party and

stinctive hatred of the Welsh miners of any bloc with the Tories, than position of the American Party are tern was ditched by Stalin as a further examples of this." for the independence of the This theme is repeated in other murmur of protest or criticism from a working class, organisations. But letters from various individual memers and the even that was a healthy sign. It was bers in different parts of the country. bers in different parts of the country. the first time for many years that opposition of such a character to the Unfortunately, neither the Marylebone Branch, nor any of the critics, workers don't need an international, leadership had been voiced from the try to 'explain how such tendencies that the Third International had ful-C.P. Conference floor. It is to be hoped have come to exist in our Party", nor that the Abertillery delegates will be to make an "analysis of what led up been brought into being.

who are as much a part of the capital- a reluctance to play a full part in the

opposition sprang rather from the in- both the question of the post-war

able to go forward from the last Con- to the errors" It is not incidental errors "of ing of souls on the part of the older criticism of the development of the judgment on the part of the leader-C.P. in the course of the war.

C.P. in the course of the war.

C.P. in the course of the war. . rejects the Political and ideology of the class struggle, of Letter of the Executive Committee of communist internationalism and of Churchill as the "leader of the Churchill as the "leader" of the Churchill as the "leader of the Churchill as the "leader" of the "leader" of the Churchill as the Following the Churchill as the "leader August 8th," and issued a summary of Stalinised C.P. of Russia, and its nation" or breaking strikes of their brother parties in other countries, it fellow workers during the war. It was Interesting are the comments and has turned its back on all the funda- only their loyalty to the October criticisms made by the branch directed mental teachings of Marx and Lenin, Revolution, their fear that Russia against tendencies to "bureaucracy" in the Party and the "stifling" of the although some of the phrases of might be defeated by the Nazls unless

Marxism have been maintained as a the nolitical life of the branches": and blind. the social composition of the Party The cynical disbandment of the ing the Party during the blackest is unsatisfactory when a large propor-Comintern was not an "error", com- days of the production committee tion of the members are non-traderades! Lenin and Trotsky founded campaign and breaking of any and the Third International as the World

equired to carry out these demands.

The Austrialian workers who refused leaders will try to stem and stifle this

Like the leaders of ti-imperialism. The name of Sneev-speeches and gestures, while washing in Holland, since murdered by the their hands of any effective action.

the Indonesian people.
All possible pressure must

allow the Indonesians to choose their own form of government. But at

While earning the eternal gratitude of the British capitalists, who like the in practice.

Under these conditions, it is neces

(Continued at foot of next Column.) graced the British working class move- | gle for freedom!

"Although admitting errors", the Party of communist revolution. But clenched their teeth and hung on. every strike. The militants who did ment in the eves of the entire world. It is not enough merely to utter a few meek words in protest, as some 60 defeated, then we would really tackle Labour M.P.s in Parliament have done. the boss class here. But the continu-If these Labour members in Parliament were really serious in their support of the Indonesian people they would demand the immediate withdrawal of all British troops. They would prove their seriousness by coming before the mass has been the last straw. Every party of the workers and help in mobilising their strength to force the Cabinet to the Communist Party, they are playing the safe game of sympathising with the indignation of the workers by mild militants have to work out a revolutionary and internationalist pro-

ng class its tradition of solidarity with sary for the workers to take independ-he colonial peoples. That tradition entaction in defence of their interests, ent action in defence of their interests. which are the same as the interests of

> brought to bear on the government through the working class organis-ations, to end the slaughter in the East, to withdraw British troops and the same time the workers must be out of the Stalinist morass into the prepared to take whatever action is ranks of the R.C.P. in the coming

to handle supplies for the Dutch, British seamen who refused to sail Dutch troops have set a noble and inspiring example to the workers of Britain. is our task now to follow that example

movement. But as the struggle of the workers grows into open battles, the militants and working class fighters, thousands of whom still owe allegiance to the C.P., will form a common front with their Trotskyists comrades against the capitalist class. This will be the cement that Pollitt will find it

the revolution in Europe.