

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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SUPPORT THE SQUATTERS

TAKE OVER THE EMPTY MANSIONS
End the Prosecutions in Defence of Landlord Property

LABOUR MUST OPERATE ITS MANDATE

Policy Statement by the R.C.P. Political Bureau

THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY WELCOMES THE INITIATIVE SHOWN BY THE SQUATTERS IN THEIR ACTION, AS A STEP TOWARDS SOLVING THE HOUSING PROBLEM. IT CONSIDERS THAT THE ACTIVITY OF THE SQUATTERS, WHICH PLACES THE HOUSING NEEDS OF THE HOMELESS FAMILIES ABOVE THE REACTIONARY RIGHTS OF LANDLORD PROPERTY OWNERS, IS ENTIRELY A PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT, IN LINE WITH THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SOCIALIST EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The Revolutionary Communist Party pledges full support to this movement by all means at its disposal, and will aid in the extension of the squatters movement locally and nationally.

We protest against the police assistance and protection given by the Labour Government to the landlords against the homeless workers and consider that this action is a violation of the mandate given to the Government by the mass of the organised working class, which included the finding of homes for the homeless. We also protest against the prosecution of the members of the Squatters Committees, or those trade unionists or workers who political activists who have assisted the squatters in finding homes.

The R.C.P. regards the fact that the Labour Government should seek to formulate new legislation to protect the reactionary property owners, instead of legislating to aid the homeless and thus helping to solve their problems as a monstrous betrayal of the socialist workers' mandate.

It calls upon all sections of the organised working class to bring pressure to bear upon the Labour Government to put a stop to the prosecution already commenced; to reverse its role as protector of landlord property against worker homeless; to heed the voice of the mass of the organised workers and (Continued on page 4.)

THE OCCUPATION BY HOMELESS WORKERS OF MANY OF THE EMPTY LUXURY FLATS AND DEREGISTERED HOTELS OF THE RICH, IS A MEASURE OF THE DESPERATE NEEDS OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKING CLASS FAMILIES. THIS DETERMINED AND WELL ORGANISED ACTION OF THE "SQUATTERS" IS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION: THE TAKING OVER OF EMPTY HOUSING PROPERTY OF THE CAPITALIST LANDLORDS.

The landlords are concerned only with protecting their profit interests at the expense of the needs of the working class. The Labour Government is to be condemned for its refusal to aid the squatters and rallying to the assistance of the capitalists and landlords.

ANEURIN BEVAN APES TORIES

Aneurin Bevan, Labour Minister of Health, recently returned from his holiday in Switzerland, blatantly attacked the disciplined and organised occupation of the luxury flats as "a campaign of violence and organised lawlessness". He sent the police to stand guard on other empty capitalist-owned property, and instructed the local authorities to cut off supplies of light, heat and water to the "squatters".

A Tory Minister of Health could not have shown more concern for the protection of reactionary property rights of the wealthy landlords!

Bevan further accused the squatters of queue-jumping in an attempt to create hostility towards them on the part of homeless workers, waiting for houses. This is a falsification of the real position. The occupied flats and hotels were to be handed back to their wealthy owners and let to those who could afford to pay as many guineas as the working class family can pay shillings.

Profits Before Workers' Needs

The Duchess of Bedford Flats at Kensington, London was offered to the Kensington Borough Council for requisitioning to house urgent cases. But the Tory dominated Borough Council preferred to return it to the owners, the fabulously wealthy Prudential Assurance Company in order that the flats could be let to rich tenants at from 10 to 15 guineas per week. This scandalous state of affairs was tolerated and condoned by the Labour Government, who made no attempt to enforce the requisitioning of this and similar luxury places for the provision of homes for workers' families. Under such conditions the actions of the "squatters" in occupying such places is a hundred times justified.

As we go to press the news comes that as a result of the Government's court action, the squatters have been given notice to quit or threatened with eviction. As a consequence, the squatters announced their intention to vacate the Duchess of Bedford Flats.

In evidence before Justice Wynne-Parry the horrible conditions under which the squatters had been living, were revealed. One woman reported that she had to take her children to hospital 50 times over the past year for rat bites and illness caused by the housing conditions.

Others reported of leaking roofs, overflowing lavatories, and unhygienic overcrowding.

The Judge expressed deep sympathy. But great as was his sorrow, the rights of private property come first. The homeless workers were "trespassers" and must vacate the luxury flats, so that the very foundations of capitalist society should not be undermined!

Thus, the Government which could not take emergency measures to house the people, has acted very speedily in defence of the capitalist landlords. This is a slap in the face for the working class who swept Labour into power in order to take action against the capitalists and the landowners, not to protect them.

The Labour Government waxes indignant about the "rights" of private property in the best Tory style, and uses Tory methods to evict the workers from the houses of the rich. This lick-spittle to the capitalist tradition is covered by accusations of "agitators" and "anarchy" levelled against the leaders of this movement.

The arrest of five members of the Communist Party is an attempt on the part of the Labour Government to break down the determination of the squatters to continue their occupation of the luxury buildings.

The working class is in no mood to tolerate any further refusal to requisition capitalist property. The initiative of the squatters is to be welcomed and supported by every working class organisation.

Workers! Rally to the Support of the Squatters! Demand that all Charges Against Members of the Communist Party be Withdrawn.

ANTI-LABOUR,
ANTI-NEGRO
KLU - KLUX - KLAN



TAKE OVER THE MANSIONS!

NEW LYNCH WAVE IN U.S.A.

Reactionary Whites Terrorise Negroes

LYNCH LAW IS ON THE MARCH IN THE UNITED STATES. ALMOST EVERY DAY THE AMERICAN PRESS PUBLISHES NEWS OF FRESH ATROCITIES AGAINST NEGRO CITIZENS BY REACTIONARY ELEMENTS UNDER THE DIRECT LEADERSHIP AND OPEN INCITEMENT TO MOB VIOLENCE FROM THE FLOOR OF CONGRESS BY SUCH PEOPLE AS SENATORS TALMADGE, BILBO, AND RANKIN — ALL MEMBERS OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S "DEMOCRATIC" PARTY.

The chief instigators of this wave of violence against the Negro people are the big corporations. Their purpose: to set the stage for an anti-labour offensive in all parts of the country.

An ugly feature of the present wave of lynchings is that it is no longer confined to the reactionary South, as in the past. Tennessee, New York, Chicago, California, Georgia, Mississippi—all have been the scenes of brutal acts of terror against Negroes. In not a single case has the law taken action against the lynchings and their instigators in high places. In fact, in many instances, the police have themselves been guilty of these heinous assaults upon innocent negroes.

We give the following extract from the "Militant", organ of the American Trotskyists, who have issued a call to the Labour movement to "Halt the Lynchings":

Arson and Murder

"On the floor of Congress the Bilbo and Rankins openly incite mob violence against Negroes. Both Republican and Democratic administrations have consistently refused to enact anti-lynching legislation. Federal and state investigations have uniformly failed to bring a single culprit to justice.

In Columbia, Tenn., where



REACTIONARY SENATOR TALMADGE "Save Georgia for the white man."

lynchers aided by state troops murdered Negroes and terrorized the whole Negro community, the victims are being prosecuted while the criminals go scot-free. In Freeport, N.Y., the killer of two Negro veterans walks the streets in police uniform. Dewey's "investigation" of these murders is an outrageous farce. In Aiken, S.C., officials refuse even to discuss the fiendish

atrocities of the police who gouged out the eyes of Isaac Woodward, Negro veteran with five-years service.

In Fontana, Calif., local authorities refused to investigate the arson murders of O'Day Short and his family who resisted efforts to drive them from their home.

In Chicago, Ill., 59 separate arson bombings and shootings have taken the lives of 27 Negroes during the last 27 months. Only four of the terrorists were apprehended, and not one convicted.

And now in Georgia and Mississippi five more lives have been brutally snuffed out, with no sign of effective federal or local action against the lynchings.

American Trotskyists' Call to Action

For these reasons the labour movement should demand of President Truman:

1. Immediate and vigorous steps to apprehend and prosecute the lynchings in Georgia and Mississippi.
 2. Immediate indictment and prosecution of Bilbo, Talmadge, Rankin, Eastland and the others who instigated these lynchings.
 3. Reconvene Congress for the express purpose of enacting effective federal anti-lynching legislation.
- To back up these demands, the unions should take independent

action along the following lines:

1. Set up a broad committee composed of representatives of the unions, Negro and veteran organizations. This committee should conduct its own investigation of the lynchings at the scene of the crimes. It should offer a large reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the lynchings.
2. Set up Defence Guards to protect the lives and homes of Negroes and other minorities in danger of attacks by the terrorists.

National Committee Socialist Workers Party."



British Trotskyist Conference

The Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International met in Annual Conference in London on September 7th, 8th and 9th. 35 delegates from the national branches and 13 consultative delegates assembled to debate a heavy agenda which included numerous resolutions on international and national problems facing the working class.

The Conference hall was crowded with workers from all parts of the country, who listened to the discussions and debates which took place in an atmosphere of complete democracy.

The principal resolution under discussion is reproduced in this issue of the "Socialist Appeal", edited for publication. It is a review of the economic and political perspectives of Great Britain, and a statement of the tactics to be adopted by the Revolutionary Communist Party in the coming year. Every regular reader of the "Socialist Appeal" will study this resolution with the object of gaining a clear and comprehensive picture of the attitude of the R.C.P. towards the Labour Government and its future.

A representative of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International was present and conveyed fraternal greeting. He gave a report on the work and progress of the various national sections of the Fourth International, which in no less than 30 countries owe allegiance and are in direct contact with the International. Of especial interest was an encouraging report of the re-formation of our German section inside Germany despite the years of terror under the Nazi regime.

A resolution demanding the repatriation of the German P.O.W.'s to their homes was adopted with acclamation. Resolutions of condemnation of the Labour Government's activities in the colonies, Palestine and Greece were also adopted.

Much of the discussion at the Conference centred around the amendments presented by the Central Committee of the British Party to the international resolution adopted by the recent International Congress of the Fourth International party embracing sections in all countries, which are enabled to freely discuss and participate in the adoption of a Bolshevik policy for the national and international working class. The British Party, fulfilling its international obligations adopted a series of amendments to be presented for international discussion dealing with economic perspectives in Europe, the role of Stalinism and Social Democracy and the tactics of the Fourth International; the economic, military and diplomatic situation of Russia as a result of the outcome of the war. These will be issued for publication in our theoretical organ "Workers' International News."

After full and lengthy discussions in the Party, the Conference ended with a spirit of determination to carry the banner of the Fourth International to the widest possible sections of the working class, to participate actively in the class struggles of the working class and win the most advanced sections of the British workers to the banner of Trotskyism.

Long Live the Revolutionary Communist Party!
Long Live the Fourth International!

BEVIN ENTHRONES GREEK KING

By means of terror and intimidation against the Greek masses, and with the direct assistance of the military forces of the British Labour Government, King George of the Hellenes has regained the throne of Greece.

The result is no more a reflection of the real feeling in Greece than the Royalist plebiscite of 1935 when the restoration of the Monarchy was carried with 97.5 per cent. in favour. This too, was achieved under the shadow of the bayonets and revolvers of the army and police controlled by General Kondylis. Yet three months later in a genuine parliamentary election, the Republican Parties together with the working class parties obtained a majority!

Thousands and tens of thousands of the most militant workers and peasants have had to flee to the mountains to escape the terror and conditions bordering on civil war exist in the mountains, especially in the districts of Macedonia.

Meanwhile it should be remembered that nearly half the officers of even the Regular Army were members of the Security battalions—the Greek S.S. which served under Hitler. The conditions under which the elections were conducted are indicated by the fact that the

Deputy Prime Minister, Gonatas, declared openly to a delegation of E.A.M. that he could not guarantee their lives if they conducted election propaganda for the plebiscite in the provinces.

Since the announcement of the plebiscite result, despite hypocritical appeals for unity, the terror has been intensified. Emergency "security" measures have now been proclaimed throughout the mainland of Greece. Conditions similar to martial law have been established. On the other hand, step by step, the suppression of the working class increases.

The latest news is of the raiding of the Stalinist headquarters, and the arrest of 25 of the leaders of the C.P. The unions are being forced into a virtual "Labour Front" under the control of the Government. All the genuine workers' leaders go in fear of their lives.

The Greek masses cannot achieve their liberation while the Labour Government in Britain backs Greek reaction with the armed might of British Imperialism. This stain on the British Labour movement must be wiped away.

The British workers must assist the Greek workers in their struggles by forcing the Labour leaders to end their war of intervention against the Greek people.

END THE BETRAYAL OF THE GREEK MASSES!
WITHDRAW THE TROOPS!

Witton James Strike Ends

As a result of the sell out of the Union leaders concerned, the Witton James strikers went back to work a couple of weeks ago after being out for three months. They returned on condition that negotiations be started immediately.

These took place at the Ministry of Labour. The employers offered to give the dismissed girl a job in the office if she applied for it through the Labour Exchange, but they refused to recognise the right of the shop stewards to negotiate on redundancy questions. When the final offer was made by the management, the six representatives of the Witton James workers turned it down, but the three organisers of the unions, Berridge of the A.E.U., Benson of the I.T.U. and Curtis of the Transport and General Workers Union accepted it over their heads.

After this sell-out Brother Aplin, the convenor, refused to go back in the Conference room. As a result of this refusal the District Committee are threatening to withdraw their credentials.

700 Branches Supported Strike

The strike failed because of the sabotage of the Union leadership, not for any lack of militancy on the part of the strikers or support from the rank and file. This is shown by the fact that over 700 A.E.U. branches supported the strike, and £2,000 was contributed to strike funds by collections in factories and union branches.

Members of the strike committee have expressed appreciation of the reports of the strike in "Socialist Appeal" and of a leaflet supporting the strike which was issued by the North West London branch of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and distributed to a number of factories in Hendon.

Lessons of the Strike

Four of the strikers went back to work before the general decision to return was taken, these four have been expelled from the union by their branch.

Three of the workers have torn up their union cards out of disgust for the sell-out of the leadership. As the struggle against the employers sharpens these break-away tendencies will grow. The only way to combat them is to fight for a more militant leadership.

The A.E.U. members in North London have an important job which must be carried out as soon as possible, that is to clean up their own District Committee. Those people on the District Committee and in the factories and branches who slandered the strikers and tried to undermine support for them, are anti-working class elements, in spite of Left speeches they may make about wages or the Government's foreign policy. They should be thrown out of all positions where they can do harm to the interests of their fellow members. Militants who have shown their loyalty in deeds as well as in words must be put in their place.

(Continued from previous Column.)

At the same time the rank and file of the T.G.W.U. must oppose all recriminations against N.P.W.U. workers who are prepared to assist in solving this problem. The imposition of heavy fines for re-entry can do nothing but prolong the struggle, and even if such fines are paid they can be a source of "bad feeling" in the future and thus an obstacle to that solid unity in action which is the real aim. Such a unity can be forged for united action against the employers, and united struggle against all "misleaders" and reactionary officials.

Correct Approach to N.P.W.U. Workers

It must be recognised that some of the best fighters among the busmen, embittered at the repeated betrayals of the T. & G.W.U. officials have gone over to the breakaway union. The method of solving this problem is entirely reactionary. They wish to bludgeon the N.P.W.U. members back to the union only in order to reinforce their stranglehold over the rank and file. The statements of the Union leaders that this will help them in restoring "discipline" and prevent unofficial strikes in order to assist in the smooth running of transport—a condition demanded by the L.P.T.B.—has sinister implications. It indicates that the Union leaders refuse to acknowledge their responsibility for the break-away, and only wish to utilise the desire for unity for their own reactionary ends.

Their solution can only further embitter the members of the break-away and keep the rank and file at loggerheads. This will play into the hands of the Transport Board and of the Union bureaucrats. The best method of integrating the dissidents into the union is by proposing that all time spent in the N.P.W.U. should count as membership of the T. & G.W.U., all dues and benefits on the same basis, etc. Such a policy would assist in restoring harmony as well as unity within the ranks. Any other policy would give the appearance of unity, but would threaten a split at the first attack of the employers.

In this the London bus and tram men have a common interest and a common responsibility to the working class movement as a whole.

F.E.

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

BY N. PENTLAND

Co-Op. Milk Workers Angry

Justified resentment by the Co-op. Milk workers in London at the inadequate secret agreement drawn up by their Union, N.U.D.A.W. and the Co-operative Society regarding hours and wages, led to a seven-day strike involving roundsmen and processors from Woolwich, Battersea, Mitcham to Manor Park in East London and Stowmarket in Suffolk.

Milk Workers, Prepare Now!

The fact that the Co-op, which was originally founded a hundred years ago by the Rochdale pioneers to benefit the working-class, has degenerated to such an extent that it pays its workers less than private enterprise, is a disgrace to the working class movement.

Transport Workers and L.P.T.B.

Latest move in this direction is that, because of the constant threat of strike action by London bus drivers and conductors, the T.G.W.U. have arrived at an

agreement with the L.P.T.B. to operate a "closed shop".

Closed Shop Principle

Campaign Continues

As mentioned in these notes a few issues ago, many workers in various industries, having fought six years of "war against fascism", which took away many of their hard-won democratic T.U. rights, are on the move to establish 100% T.U. closed shops: this being done with the object of, primarily, safeguarding themselves from future attacks by the employing class.

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Closed Shop and the "Independent" Unions

While the process of demanding a closed shop gathers speed from municipal employees to railway shopmen, miners and engineers, the executives of breakaway Unions have launched a campaign to combat this measure, in fear of its extension, and have recently formed the Federation of Independent T.U.s, which is not affiliated to the T.U.C.

Closed Shop and the "Independent" Unions

In view of the dire necessity for working class unity, it is impermissible for workers to support such a move, as it only strengthens the employing class, but weakens and splits the workers' ranks.

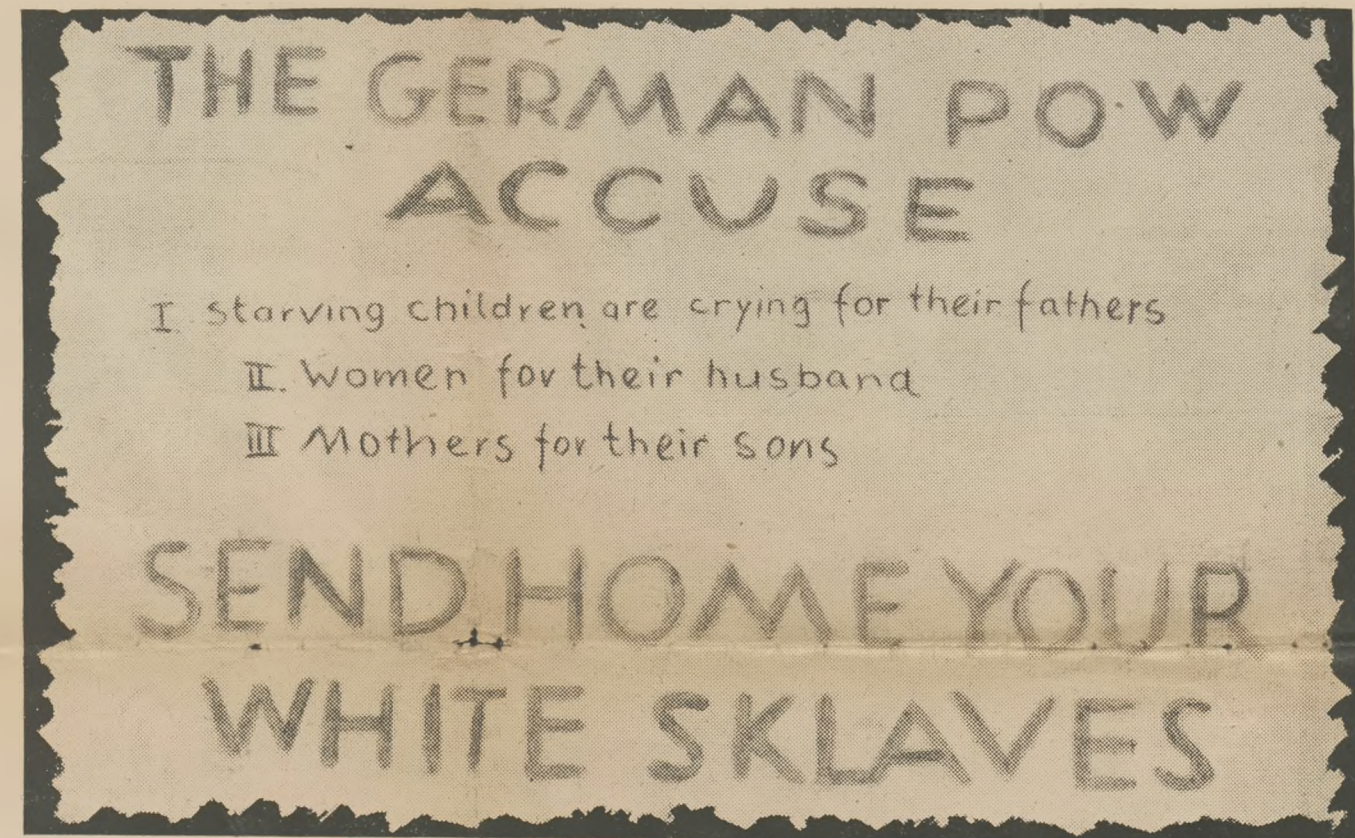
Bureaucracy the Cause

While we condemn this action of independent T.U.s, we must look to the cause, which is the sell-out policies of the present T.U. and Labour bureaucracy. Workers, disillusioned with the constant lackeying to the employers by the Deakins and Donovans, seek to put an end to this by tearing up their cards and forming fresh Unions, which is a completely wrong method of tackling the problem.

The correct method for workers who realise the role of the official leadership of the T.U. movement, is for them to stay in the official Unions and constantly and patiently explain to the vast numbers of rank and file, that if the T.U. movement is to go forward, they must throw out and remove all paid executives who are not conducting a real fight against the employers, and in their place elect shop stewards and workers from the factory floor, who understand just what the genuine aspirations of the workers they represent are.

It is the duty of workers in these breakaway Unions to resume their place in the official movement in order to strengthen the ranks of the working class organisations: to attend the Branches and advocate and demand that no official be paid more than a skilled workman's wage; that they be elected by ballot for a period of three years, with the right of recall in the hands of those who elect them.

A GERMAN P.O.W. LEAFLET FOUND IN OXFORDSHIRE



A feeling of disillusionment and anger at the British "Socialist" Government is growing in the German P.O.W. Camps. Leaflets similar to the one reproduced above are being distributed in various parts of the country. A resolution of solidarity with the imprisoned German worker-soldiers was passed with acclamation at the Conference of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International (Trotskyists).

R.C.P. RESOLUTION

This Annual Conference of the R.C.P., meeting in session on Sept. 7th, 8th and 9th, 1946, expresses its sympathy and class solidarity with the hundreds of thousands of German working men who are prisoners of war in Great Britain or under the control of the British Government and its allies in other parts of the World.

Conference declares that the forced imprisonment, confinement and maintenance of these soldier workers who are being used for the purposes of slave labour is contrary

to the principles of Socialism, which the Labour Government claims to embrace, and even to the principles of liberal capitalist democracy, and casts a dark shadow over the organised Labour and Trade Union movement.

Conference condemns the Labour Government for its continued imprisonment of these soldier workers. It calls upon the organised Labour movement to remember the spirit of internationalism that impregnated the organised working class movement in the past and to protest against the continuation of this monstrous violation of socialist and democratic principles by a Government which claims to represent organised Labour. Conference declares that the organised working class must demand the right to immediate and unconditional repatriation of the prisoners in the hands of the British Government to whatever part of Germany they wish to be repatriated; meanwhile all German worker-prisoners participating in productive employment must be paid trade union wages for the job.

Conference demands that the present Government policy of using ex-Nazi officers to discipline radical and left-wing German soldiers be ended and that the German prisoners be allowed to set up their own organisations of democracy and discipline.

Conference demands that the policy of segregating the German prisoners from the British population and the chauvinist policy of non-fraternisation at present being enforced by the Government must be ended, and the German and British workers be allowed to fraternise together in all aspects of social life.

Conference further declares its opinion that all sections of the British working class must seek the widest possible contact with the German prisoners through the local and district organisations, with the object of fraternisation to help the German workers to re-establish socialist ideas and forms of organisation and to combat reactionary Nazi and nationalist propaganda and influences.

FOR THE CLOSED SHOP

One of the lesser known, but nevertheless reactionary, clauses of the Trades Disputes Act made a "closed shop" in a public service undertaking illegal. Now that the Act has been repealed the London Transport Workers are taking steps to "close" the L.P.T.B.—a move that will be welcomed by the working class movement generally.

As a first step, the workers in several depots notified the L.P.T.B. that they will refuse to work with anyone not members of their Union—the T.G.W.U.

As the E.W.O. is now lifted there will be no legal compulsion on the part of the Transport Board to employ these men. Then, unless the L.P.T.B. sacks them, thus conceding the closed shop to the T.G.W.U., or the men concerned join the T.G.W.U., the Transport workers will be faced with the question of joint action over the whole of London or a retreat.

Unity The Real Issue The basic issue however, is not only the simple one of forcing a few "nobbies" to join the Union. The real issue is to unify the Transport workers, and bring to an end the anomalous position created by the

breakaway from the T.G.W.U. of a section of the bus workers in 1937 to found the National Passenger Workers Union.

The working class as a whole will welcome a solution of this nine year old problem and will support the demand for a closed shop in the L.P.T.B.

Origin Of The Break-Away

Nevertheless the problem of the N.P.W.U. will not be easily solved. It was a product of the defeat of the 1937 bus strike. So keen was the feeling among the London Busmen that their Executive officials had sold the pass, that many tore up their cards in disgust. A few of the leading elements among the busmen, appalled by the difficult task of shifting the bureaucratic officials, fell for the seemingly easier path of organising a new "Busmen's Union". With the assistance of W. J. Brown, then Secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association, and at present "Independent" M.P. for Rugby, the National Passenger Workers Union was founded.

The Break-Away Solved Nothing

During the nine years of its existence it has not, as its sponsors optimistically forecast, replaced the T.G.W.U. It has not even won for itself a decisive influence with the L.P.T.B. or the Transport workers at large. Nine years of

disunity among the Transport Workers has not only failed to solve a single one of the problems that brought it into existence, but has, on the contrary, only added another problem which must be tackled before the others—how to re-unite the Transport workers and bring an end to what can at best be called a very costly experiment.

It has no separate militant programme around which it could organise the bus and tram workers. Its points of difference have been largely of negative criticism of the T.G.W.U.—that it is bureaucratic, etc.

Reactionary Arguments

Under these circumstances the leadership of the N.P.W.U. has now developed a vested interest in "independence", and in order to justify their separate existence now attack the principle of the closed shop as a manifestation of Fascism, and as an attack on the "Freedom of the individual". This has always been the argument of the bosses. Now it is trotted out by Frank Snelling as the National Organiser of the N.P.W.U.

Frank Snelling's nine years of "independence" allegedly fighting against the misleaders of the work-class movement has finally landed him in—the camp of the misleaders.

A definite interest in unifying their ranks on a principled basis.

In this drive for a principled unification the rank and file of the T.G.W.U. as the dominant Union, carry the larger measure of responsibility. To run the N.P.W.U. out of a few depots, whilst leaving it organisationally intact would be no solution at all.

For A United Front Against The Bureaucrats

The rank and file however, have

(Continued in next Column.)



From Soldiers Abroad Conditions in Lahore

INDIA

I think you might be interested in this description of a night spent on Lahore Railway Station—one of the most modern of India's stations.

We were en route for Kashmir, via Lahore, and during the first stage of our journey we were compelled to travel 150 miles in a Guard's compartment, as the rest of the train was crowded. Indian trains always are crowded: swarms of people have to travel miles hanging on to the outside of the third class coaches, and frequently there are cases of old men losing their grip and falling off, whereupon the train stops long enough to enable the train crew to remove the body from the permanent way.

To return to our train, all the first class compartments were reserved mainly for officers, and one compartment, with room for six, was reserved for P. C. Joshi, leader of the C.P. of India.

Our compartment was reasonably comfortable, being about half the size of an English Guard's compartment—until we found that we had to share it with a score of Indian railway workers. The resultant crush was indescribable, since everyone travelling here carries his baggage with him. By the time we arrived at Lahore, we could not stand the heat (102 deg. F.) and discomfort any longer and so shifted to await the next train 10 hours later.

We arrived at 8.30 p.m. and struggled out of the "Black Hole" in time to see Joshi "chained" and garlanded, carried away by a mass of students.

Hose Pipes and Tear Gas Against Jewish Refugees

Sept. 5th, 1946 Haifa, M.E.F. Dear Comrade, Yesterday we were out on the docks. We had to transfer some illegal Jewish emigrants, from their own boats to a large cargo vessel that had been barb-wired off for the purpose.

Terrible Suffering The Jews were in a very bad way; they were all dirty and ill clad, most of them were sick and many of the women were pregnant. Our boys had to carry some of them off the boat.

The Jews arrived in very small vessels, ridiculously overcrowded; it was amazing to us how they managed such a voyage in such a cramped position. Their suffering whilst at sea, what with all the disease and sickness, must have been terrible. I heard it said and I can well believe it, that a Naval destroyer rammed one of the Jewish vessels. I don't know for certain if this is true, but the men who told me were very serious enough. Anything like that is easy to believe.

and starvation. There was hardly room to move for fear of treading on one of these wretches, and the air was full of smells and the inevitable flies.

The place was British India, but it looked exactly like the photographs of Belsen, so indignantly published in the capitalist press. I cannot portray the utter degradation of these unfortunate subjects of the "Socialist" British Empire (probably, Joshi was enjoying a sound sleep in his hotel by this time). These were representative of millions of the subject peoples of India—"The Jewel of the Empire": these were the people whose interests were so deeply engraved upon the heart of Attlee! These people knew nothing of the political manoeuvres or the diplomatic events of the world; they knew only starvation, poverty, filth and disease. There were children lying naked with every bone in their bodies sticking through the thin covering of flesh, whose thighs were about as thick as broomsticks, many of them covered in sores or deformed through lack of nutritious food.

I have travelled from North to South in this unfortunate land, but nowhere have I seen greater poverty. I have seen mothers with their children, exhausted, and unable to move, lying in the middle of the road waiting for death; either a slow one from starvation or, actually in one case, in which I was concerned, in the hope that a car or truck would run them over.

Whilst on duty here last week, my driver was forced to put the truck in a ditch to avoid a mass of rags and bones in the road, which was a woman and child. She literally could not move and we had to carry her off the road. I gave her money and an apple which was in my pocket, but it was probably too late...

But Lahore station sickened me more than any other sight I have yet witnessed; I felt like murdering the money-grubbing landlords and scheming politicians individually, and I would have felt great pleasure in doing it. Never have I been so glad to see daylight. I only wish the people at home who laugh at the idea of the exploitation of India could see it for themselves.

"Blood Trap"

I have been reading Trotsky's article on the Jewish question; in which he says Palestine will become a "blood trap" for the Jews. He was perfectly correct. The country is nothing more than a huge concentration camp, with all the attendant miseries, it will become worse as time goes on if things carry on in the way they are going now. The struggle is not between the Arabs and Jews, as some people think, but between the Jews and the British.

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Comrades! Help YOUR Paper!

FIGHTING FUND

Despite our appeal not to let the holidays cut across the Fund, this, unfortunately happened. We fell nearly £30 short of our monthly target.

August has been one of our worst months, financially, for a long time. Bills have been piling up whilst we have been waiting for money to cover them which never arrived. Instead of a holiday, we've had a constant headache!

Comrades! Sympathisers! We make an appeal to you not to let the Fund Down in September. To the guilty branches who are missing from the list we make a special appeal to make an extra effort to try and overcome the August deficit as well as clear the September target. It can be done. It will be done, if we all put our backs into it. Let's go all out to raise £150 for September.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Total for August - £90 4 0

PERSPECTIVES IN BRITAIN AND THE ORIENTATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY

Resolution Adopted at the 1946 Conference of the R.C.P.

R.C.P. CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS, 1946.

The result of the Second World War was a veritable disaster for the British imperialists. In Europe, having defeated the Frankenstein which they helped to create in the shape of Nazi imperialism, the British capitalists are faced with an even greater menace in the domination of half Europe by the Soviet Union. The immediate cause of Britain's declaration of war on Germany was to prevent her domination of the Balkans and Eastern Europe—which could only be a stepping stone to the Empire. Now, not only in this region, but in the Middle East and Asia, Britain is faced with a refurbished version of her nineteenth century nightmare—a Balkans dominated by Russia with control of the Middle East and India at her mercy. She is today faced with a power, not only stronger than Czarism, but an even greater threat than either the Kaiser's Germany or Hitler's Third Reich. A power, which, because of its revolutionary traditions and an economy based on state ownership of the means of production has a social

appeal to the Asiatic peoples oppressed by British imperialism.

Britain is compelled for this reason alone, to try and arrive at a compromise with sections of the colonial bourgeoisie. That is the significance of the treaties Britain is attempting to negotiate in Egypt and in India. She is faced, however, with a development of national consciousness and a ferment on the part of the masses far greater and more profound in its implications than after World War I, and this is the principal reason why she must make concessions to the colonies.

In addition, the masses of Britain have lost all zest for the glories of Empire and could not be relied on in a long and protracted struggle against the uprisings of the colonial peoples.

Another factor is the pressure of American imperialism which seeks to break the bonds of Empire in order to gain a freer channel of trade and to make Britain absolutely dependent upon her. Britain's economy is not strong enough to maintain her hold on the Empire by the old methods of economic control, nor has she the military force to guarantee and maintain her old colonial military oppression. Thus, while preserving the formal framework of the Empire, in reality the liquidation of the Empire is taking place.

The tame acceptance by the Tories of the policy of the Labour Government is dictated by their recognition of the real changes in world relations. Thus, by concessions the bourgeoisie hope to disguise the process of empire disintegration and by some miracle, to delay it. The sun is setting on the British Empire. It can look forward only to further disturbances and decline. Insofar as it continues to exist, it will do so largely by the gracious consent of Wall Street.

Long-Term Economic Perspective

The economic basis of this process was long ago analysed and foreseen by Marxism. Britain's acquisition of wealth and power and her domination of half the world was gained at the period of the rise of capitalism and at a time when there were no real challengers in the race for world supremacy. Her advantages, as Trotsky has shown in his book "Where Is Britain Going", have become her disadvantages. Her technique fell behind that of Germany and the United States. Because of her incapacity to compete, the British capitalist class—above all the monopolists—deliberately sabotaged the development of technique hoping to entrench themselves, like the Empire of France, on their huge resources and their own backwardness. Basing themselves on a semi-closed-in system of the sterling bloc, with assured markets, British capitalism had no incentive to begin a large scale rationalisation of industry, which could only lead to increased production without the possibility of finding increased markets.

This privileged position has been lost for ever by the war. The vampire economy of Britain, which through her investments abroad, extracted tribute from her Empire and semi-colonies and spheres of influence, has been undermined through the loss of foreign investments through the war. The unfavourable balance of trade, which was formerly a weapon in the

hands of British imperialism, now becomes a dreaded threat to the standard of living of the masses because of the existence of British capitalism. What was the greatest stability in the system, has now become the source of the greatest instability. Britain is more than ever dependent on the markets of the world, with the result that her economy will be even more affected by economic slumps than in the past. Britain is compelled to launch a struggle for markets with a greater ferocity and intensity than German imperialism launched the struggle for exports under the Nazis. The character of British world trade has changed. Her privileged economic position which cushioned the full impact of world slump, as in the crisis of 1931, now changes into its opposite. The export of coal, which was her staple export, has dropped to almost nothing. The weakness of her economy is expressed in the fact that today she has not sufficient coal for her own needs. Meaningful, because of the industrialisation of formerly backward areas of the world—above all of the Dominions and the Empire, Britain is no longer exporting the same type of goods. There is a transformation of Britain's exports, which in turn, has resulted in a change in the industrial structure of the country.

In the long run this makes Britain more vulnerable than ever in the fluctuations of the world market. Exposed to the vagaries of the world market, no longer able to protect herself on the basis of a closed-in Empire from competition, above all from America, Britain is compelled to abandon the policy of maintaining antiquated equipment in order to ensure profits. She is forced to modernise her equipment in order to enter into competition against American production.

However, all these measures of British capitalism will be in vain. It is too late to catch up with the colossus across the Atlantic. Senile British capitalism cannot rejuvenate itself and capture new positions in a world market—which is shrinking in relation to world productivity. The long-term outlook for British imperialism is one of certain catastrophe.

Short-Term Economic Perspective

This long term perspective of British imperialism is indisputable and has been long foreseen in the documents of the Fourth International and the Conference documents of the R.C.P. However, a mistake in conjuncture which was made by the Party at its last Conference was the telescoping of the inevitable long-term crisis with the immediate perspective for Britain.

We anticipated that British imperialism would be faced with a crisis as soon as the war was ended. However, the concatenation of circumstances has served to screen the disastrous results of the war for Britain: the huge markets created by the destruction of the war can be utilised, because of the temporary quiescence of the proletariat; what was an unfavourable relationship of forces has been turned into a temporarily favourable one: Germany has, for the time being, collapsed as a competitor; America has been faced with a series of unprecedented strike struggles in basic industry; Europe and the world need tremendous quantities of capital goods, above all, machinery.



The desperation of British imperialism compels the introduction of new capital equipment into the coal mines and steel industry. Rationalisation and streamlining of cotton and other industries is being pressed as a measure of survival. The housing shortage and the destruction in the blitz creates a boom in the building industry. The fusion of finance capital and the State inevitably results in increasing measures of regulation, and of "planning". The tendency towards State capitalism and State control is shown by the projected nationalisation of the mines, steel, transport and fuel and by the blocking of export of capital and partial control of investment. At home, six years of war has created a huge market for consumers' goods. These measures will undoubtedly temporarily aid the capitalist economy as a whole in the economic upswing. The lavish subsidies of the State, directly and indirectly, rebates of excess profits

tax, subsidies to the cotton barons, subsidies to the food and chemical trusts, etc., help to prop up the structure. All these burdens of course, will be carried basically at the expense of the British masses. In addition, U.S. imperialism, anxious to use Britain as a future base against the U.S.S.R., has granted a huge loan. This will tide Britain over the next few years. Even without it, her export-import position has improved with amazing rapidity. The export rate now exceeds pre-war levels and is reaching record figures. The loan, however, will be swallowed up by the needs of capitalist economy. Despite the increase in exports, it is impossible to bridge the unfavourable balance of trade.

Politics of the Capitalist Class

The perplexity of the capitalist class and lack of confidence in the future was reflected in their policy during the war and during the General Election. While the "Times", organ of the basic section of the British bourgeoisie, regarded the election with an air of impartiality, the Tory Party tried desperately to make use of the Churchill mascot, and to frighten the more backward workers and the petty bourgeoisie with the spectre of a Gestapo-like dictatorship under the Labour Party. But the change in the psychology of the workers was too deep seated for the success of such tricks. This was also true even for the petit bourgeoisie.

However, the result of the election indicates that capitalism still has many heavy reserves in the backward sections of the population, who still live in the past. The Tories and Liberals together received a vote equal to that of the combined working class parties. It was the peculiar electoral system of Britain which gave the tremendous majority at the polls to the Labour Party. Nevertheless, 12 million votes for the Labour Party is a sign of the tremendous radicalisation that has taken place.

The Tories are seeking to gain agreement for the defeat of the Labour Government. But such an agreement and such a defeat is not

a perspective which is likely to materialise without a crisis. At present, the ruling class, through the Tory Party, prepares to bide its time, and, whilst utilising every opportunity to discredit the Labour leaders, it relies upon them to carry the burdens of imperialism. Both at home and abroad, in the present relationship of forces, it is more suitable to have Labour leaders do the dirty work of capitalism. At this stage they have no intention of disturbing the present relationship of forces and thereby rousing the anger of the masses, who tolerate the present standards under a Labour Government, but would not accept these under the Tories.

At this stage the bourgeoisie has no need for the fascist bands, even as an auxiliary weapon to discipline the proletariat. Nor, it must be added, could they immediately succeed in forming such bands. But moods within the Tory reformers and the Right wing of the Tory Party indicate the possibility, at a later stage, of a swing towards the formation of Royalist-dictatorial or fascist movements.

The Liberal section of the capitalist class tends, at this stage, to lean towards the Labour Government and to support the reforms or semi-reforms which it is introducing. But the Liberals, already a dwindling and vanishing force, have only a perspective of further decline. Of course, in the event of a serious crisis, all the forces of the bourgeoisie will gather together, with a big section of the Labour M.P.s—a majority of whom are petty bourgeois, even bourgeois in origins and outlook—to try and re-furbish a new version of the national government.

However, such development is not an immediate perspective. The Labour Government of 1929-31 was a government of crisis right from the start, having come to power at

experienced in the whole of her history.

The inevitable crisis, however, will not be immediate. It will be delayed for a time. The orientation and strategy of the Revolutionary Communist Party is firmly based on the long-term perspective of crisis and decline; but its eyes are also wide open to the immediate conjunctural upswing and its meaning. For it is on the basis of the economic upswing and the political and industrial moods it will engender, that the immediate evolution of the proletariat will depend. Before a new radicalisation takes place which will lift the workers onto new and higher levels of struggle, deep economic and political transformations will come into being. The growth and building of the Revolutionary Party, the strengthening of its ties with the advanced sections of the working class will depend to a considerable extent, on a correct prognosis of this period.

The Labour Government

Despite the difficulties at home and abroad, the Labour Party has attained power at a favourable period from the standpoint of short-term perspective. At our last Conference we anticipated that the coming to power of the Labour Government would precipitate tremendous struggles on the part of the

working class. We anticipated large scale battles on the industrial field, with tremendous pressure on the Labour Government. Had Labour come to power under conditions of industrial crisis and slump, the pressure of the workers for measures in their interests, would undoubtedly have been insistent

and immediate. Political developments would have been speeded up inside and outside the Labour Party.

It is necessary to make a correction in this short-term prognosis. As in the economic field, where the long-term perspectives were telescoped with the short-term, so this was reflected in our political prognosis. We anticipated that the coming to power of the Labour Government would almost immediately open up a situation of

political crisis in the country. On the international and national arena, the class struggle has developed on a slower tempo and the decisive clashes have not yet taken place. Consequently political trends have developed in a somewhat different fashion from what we expected. Because of the circumstances outlined above, the crisis in fact, will have a more drawn out and delayed character.

The long term perspective remains that of crisis and collapse for the Labour Government. But unless we correct our previous analysis and prognosis, the Party will be disoriented in the coming period. While a series of minor and even important crises are inevitable, these political crises will not be of such a fundamental character as to shake the Labour Party from top to bottom, or pose the question of the downfall of the Labour Government because of the movement of the masses in a revolutionary direction in the next immediate period. Consequently there cannot and will not be a speedy polarisation within the Labour Party.

That the masses—especially the advanced elements—are critical of the Labour Government is undoubted. But they are tolerant and are prepared to extend a large credit of time to the Labour Government. The British masses are traditionally slow to change. Only big events will cause them to break with reformism. The masses feel keenly the burden of food shortages and rationing, the vagaries of the Black Market, etc., and they are well aware that the bourgeoisie are still doing quite well under the Labour Government. But they largely accept the argument of the Labour leaders that these conditions cannot immediately be alleviated because of the inheritance of the war and its aftermath.

Despite new restrictions which cause grumbings and a certain exasperation with the Labour Government, these are not sufficient to provoke a real movement of revolt against the Labour leadership. Meanwhile, the acute shortages can only be temporary. Conditions will undoubtedly improve over what they have been in the war years. Already, clothing, household utensils, other consumers' goods are appearing on the market in increasing quantities. This process will be accelerated in the next few years. Notwithstanding the decrease of wartime earnings, the conditions of the British working class remain on a bearable level.

The undoubted economic boom masks the fact that no fundamental measures against capitalism are being taken by the Labour Government. We are in a classic period of reformist illusions—a

reformist government coming to power at a period of economic boom. Small reforms and semi-reforms tend to lull the masses with the perspective of a slow but steady improvement in their conditions.

In 1929, the Labour Government operated in a period of slump and could not carry out anything of its declared programme, but on the contrary was forced to initiate counter-reforms on the pretext that it was not in a majority. Today, the Labour Government rides in power at the crest of a tremendous wave of radicalisation seldom seen in British history; when the bourgeoisie lack confidence in their own future. The Labour Government, with the agreement of sections of the capitalist class, is proceeding to nationalise coal and other industries for the purpose of modernising and preserving the structure of British capitalism. It is actually carrying out in part, its declared election programme. In the eyes of the masses, this reconciles them to sacrifices because they have illusions in the "theory" of a gradual and painless transition to socialism.

The fact that the illusion of "full employment" can be maintained in the present period of boom; that, apart from the nationalisation measures other reforms and semi-reforms have been introduced by the Labour Government—National Health Bill, Old Age Pensions, the Housing Plan, abolition of the Trade Disputes Act—these have served to assure the masses that the Government is making a serious effort to do the job for which it was elected.

The policy in Greece and Indonesia aroused trepidation and misgivings among the workers. But the weakness of British imperialism which dictates concessions to the colonial bourgeoisie in Egypt and India, enables the Labour leaders to cover their reactionary policy as though it was a genuine liberation of these peoples and a blow against imperialism. This is especially the case, since the Tories have in words, greeted with criticism and dismay, this "liquidation of the Empire."

Because mass unemployment will only begin towards the end of Labour's term in office, and because of all the other factors referred to above, it is quite likely that not only will the Labour Government see through its term of office, but that we may see a second Labour Government.

The most likely course of events, therefore, would appear to be a slow tempo of development. But this is partly dependent upon events abroad. The development of the class struggle in France to the point of civil war, or the outbreak of revolution in India, could speed the process in Britain.

Swing to the Right in the Labour Party

The conjunction of circumstances has resulted in a deep political lull among the masses. This is reflected in the Labour Party as a political swing to the right.

The Labour organisations, which tended to revive after the election, are largely quiescent or dormant. The Left wing leadership has fused with the Right wing, the most prominent leaders taken into the Cabinet and given government posts. Even the incipient Left wing has been dispersed at this stage. The "Victory for Socialism" group has collapsed. The circulation of left Labour publications such as "Tribune" and "Forward" has sharply declined. There is much less political life in the Labour Parties than before the war. This is the general tendency while there are exceptions mainly in the rural areas. Until the economic situation changes and a Left wing with prominent Labour figures develops inside the Labour Party, the general tendency will be for political life in the Labour Party not to increase but to remain at a low level.

This is the honeymoon period for the Labour bureaucracy. A symptom of the processes within the Labour Party was the overwhelming defeat of the Stalinist application for affiliation, largely

on the grounds that it stood for "red revolution and communism." It was not mainly because of the reactionary features of Stalinism that the swing against C.P. affiliation took place, although this undoubtedly assisted the Labour leaders; it was because of the reactionary campaign of the Labour leaders against communism and the renewed illusions in reformism. Only a handful of Labour Party branches throughout the whole country supported affiliation resolutions.

In our last Conference document, we stated: "It is quite likely that the leaders of the Left wing such as American Roberts will go over directly to the side of the Right wing, accepting posts in the Government. Thus the Left wing completely scattered and disorganised will get even less of a national expression in the immediate period ahead. However, events will lead to the crystallisation of a new Left wing in which sections of the newer and younger M.P.s in Parliament will play a leading role."

Such a crystallisation is inevitable and will most likely take place at a time of political crisis of the whole regime which will come with the development of the economic slump.

* Undoubtedly the anti-Russian campaign had a gain effect which was helped by Stalin's policy in the occupied areas.

Class Struggle on the Industrial Field

Meanwhile, the struggle between the workers and the employers will largely take place on the industrial field. These struggles will, in the long run, reflect themselves in the political field, inside the Labour Party. But not immediately; not as a direct and automatic process. The most important industrial struggles for many years—the Dock Strike, the movement of the London Building Trades Workers, the Engineers, and more recently, the Tin-Plate Strike in South Wales—all of these movements passed by without affecting the

internal life of the Labour Parties on a local or national scale. While tolerating the Labour Government in the hope of benefits to come, and satisfied that nearly all have work, the economic boom will invest the workers with confidence. They will attempt to improve their hours and conditions by a direct struggle against the employers. The epidemic of little strikes, even in those industries where no strike struggles have taken place for a generation, (template workers), and among the most exploited sections (dairy workers), is an indication that hitherto, unaffected strata of the workers will pass by without affecting the

(Continued on Back Page.)

WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM INDONESIA

INTRODUCTION

We publish the following article at the request of a British soldier in Indonesia and with the permission of the Editors of "The Voice of Free Indonesia", a Left wing nationalist publication of the Indonesian people. We do so because the article gives a splendid picture of the miserable capitulation of the arrogant Dutch Imperialists to the Japanese invaders. A cowardly capitulation which in colonial history, is paralleled only by that of the British Imperialists in Burma and Malaya.

The splendid feeling of hatred for the imperialist oppressors runs through the body of the article.

On the other hand the hatred for the 'cowardice' of the Dutch exploiters is offset by illusions in

the 'courage' and fighting spirit of the Australians and Americans which mars the article and shows its emotional base and lack of scientific content. The Americans, British and Australians as also the Japanese are no different under the skin when faced up to a similar situation. The Dutch are no more 'cowardly' and no less 'brave' than the Imperialists of other nations. This was especially shown by the miserable capitulation of a similar character to that of the Dutch in Burma, Singapore and Malaya as a whole.

The latter part of the article is addressed to the British troops who although they were conscripted to fight for 'democracy', were sent into Indonesia to put the Dutch back into power, and to deny democracy to millions of Indonesian

people. The British working class must give its answer.

The British troops are not in Indonesia for progressive purposes, they are there only for the purpose of putting the Dutch imperialist gangsters once again into the seat of power. It is time these troops were withdrawn.

On the other hand the Indonesian people must shed their illusion in the other, non-Dutch, imperialist gangsters. For they too will only be too ready to replace the Dutch as masters of Indonesia, and live as parasites on the wealth created by the Indonesian workers.

The hatred of the Dutch capitalist imperialist oppressors must be tempered by an appeal to the Dutch working class to help in the job of freeing the Indonesian people.

Dutch Betrayal of Indonesia

Eye Witness Report

LEST THEY FORGET BY KETOET TANTRI

During this present struggle, we read about the determination of the Dutch to fight their way into Indonesia again, so let us cast our minds back to four years ago and have a look at their cowardly behaviour then, when they were determined NOT to fight the Japanese.

Unparalleled Cowardice

I am among the Indonesian people who will never forget the month of March 1942, a day when we witnessed to our horror the shameful and degrading conduct of the Dutch armed forces, an army in complete disorder fleeing for their lives, unprincipled cowardly officers running from an enemy they formerly professed to disdain.

Imagine the thoughts of the people when they saw the great white Dutch Tuans, the former conquerors of Indonesia, fleeing like chaff before the wind from the Japanese invaders who had not then fired a shot in Java or even made a landing. Imagine the Indonesian peoples' feelings of contempt when they saw the once swaggering Dutch officers and N.C.O.s throwing away their uniforms in rice-fields and ditches as they ran, saw them hiding in kampongs and dress themselves in sarong's showing absolutely no more respect for their uniforms, the symbol of their country's honour, than they would for a piece of rag. Truck-load after truck-load of Dutch uniforms were collected from the rice-fields and stacked 20 feet high outside the former government buildings in Sourabaya, for the display and for the amusement of the Japanese.

Gone With The Wind

It is difficult for anybody to realise the feelings of utter helplessness that the Indonesian people felt, or realise the absolute loathing and contempt that they had for the Dutch, when they heard them screaming over the radio, their willingness to surrender 3 or 4 days before the official capitulation, and to see Batavia, the seat and government stronghold of the Netherlands East Indies, fall to 30 Japanese on bicycles without a Dutchman in sight.

Three days before the Japanese landed in Bali, the Dutch Army had fled, and not a single shot was fired in the defence of Bali, even though the Dutch had spent thousands of guilders in building up air and coastal defences, the only white men to be wounded being two American pilots, who were shot down by the Japanese.

Where were the Dutch airmen? They had gone with the wind. In Bali I saw Dutch military captains, who were doctors in private life, hiding in air-raid shelters in Den Pasar during a Japanese raid on the port, 15 kilometres distant. They were trembling with fear, had rubber stuck in their mouths, and cotton stuffed in their ears. Their duty was to be at the airport helping the wounded, not hiding in holes in the ground. But were there any Dutch airmen in those air raids? No. Many Indonesians however, went to their death.

Capitalists—Collaborators

Also, what about the conduct of the Dutch business men in Indonesia at the time of the capitulation to the Japanese? Was their conduct any better? No. It was a thousand times worse. Can you imagine what the Indonesians thought, when they saw the Dutch Tuans, who always treated them so condescendingly and as inferiors, now ready and how to the Japanese? Well-known Dutch business men running

around the streets of Sourabaya and other towns in Indonesia with the Japanese flag wrapped in cellophane around their arms, to show they were willing to cooperate with the Japanese. Many were the Dutch business men who showed the Japs how to run their factories and offices, and sat playing cards, drinking with them, and displaying friendship in general.

After the Japanese Capitulation

The scene now moves on to the capitulation of the Japanese.

The Indonesians declared themselves a Republic, and refused for all time to be again dominated or ruled by the Dutch. They had lost all respect for the Dutch as a nation, who after 350 years in Indonesia, draining the country dry of its wealth, could not protect the country from foreign invaders for even 30 hours. The Indonesians realised that the Dutch had deserted them in their first hour of need, not caring what happened to them or their country as long as they could save their own miserable skins. The Indonesians accepted their fate then with grim bitterness, but knew that some day their time would come. At the capitulation of the Japanese, the Dutchmen came back, once again strutting around the streets as though they were conquering heroes with no thought of shame for their past conduct, and with no excuse.

The Dutch declared that the Indonesians were playing at "cowboys and Indians," and once again would have to be taught a lesson by their Dutch masters. The behaviour of the Dutch was nauseating to behold. They had all their former arrogance and conceit, the war had taught them nothing, and they still wished to remain the great white Tuans. It never occurred to them that they had no further claim on Indonesia, and that they had the Australians, and the Americans to thank for their lives and freedom. They had lost all rights to Indonesia at the time they fled from the country, instead of staying and fighting.

Under-estimating the Indonesians

The Dutch make one big mistake, they insist on under-estimating the intelligence, the capabilities, and the courage of the Indonesians. Let us compare the Indonesians and the Dutch of to-day.

Although the Indonesian Republic is only 8 months old, it has not only been able to defend itself against the British, Indian, Dutch,



and Japanese soldiers, but also against spies and lying propaganda. That in itself shows the Indonesians not only to be a more courageous people than the Dutch, but also more capable in defending their country's interests. Against the Japanese, the Dutch could not defend Java for one week even though they had tanks, planes, artillery, etc., yet the Indonesians are still going strong with practically nothing other than FAITH and COURAGE, a weapon that the Dutch KNOW NOTHING of.

In defence of their rights, the Indonesians will fight to the last, not run away like the Dutch did four years ago.

An Appeal

To the British in Batavia, Sourabaya, and other Indonesian towns, I ask you this: Are you going to be instrumental in helping a lot of cowards, a decadent, unworthy, lot of Dutchmen to once again enter Indonesia in order to dominate and suppress the Indonesian people and once again exploit them for their own selfish, greedy gains? Once the British withdraw from Indonesia, taking with them their Indian troops, you can rest assured that the Dutch will present no problem to the Indonesians. They will finally run, just as they did from the Japanese. The Dutch are only here because the Australians, the Americans, and the British, won the war in the Pacific, they can only stay in Indonesia as long as the British remain, hiding behind the backs of the British and fighting bravely to the last Briton.

In the interest of the many lives that may yet be lost, it is to be hoped that the Dutch will realise that their reign in Indonesia is finished forever. The Indonesians will never become a dominion of Holland. It is to be hoped that the Dutch will sink what is left of their national pride, and withdraw peacefully and gracefully. Instead of shouting their threats to the world, that they intend to fight in Indonesia, they would be better advised to indulge in something a little more beneficial to their people, namely the production of HIGGER and BETTER "CHEESE".

There will always be a Republic of Indonesia. There will never again be a Dutch East Indies!!

Free — Once Free — Forever Free!!!

Labour Must Operate Its Mandate

(Continued from Front Page.) learn from the initiative of the squatters. The Government must be forced by the organised Labour movement to call upon the mass of the homeless in every part of the country to follow the initiative of the pioneer squatters to set up local and national tenants' committees to work in conjunction with the local housing committees, and, with the full backing of the Government against the owners of private property, occupy all empty or semi-empty premises which are suitable for housing accommodation and to allocate housing space.

The R.C.P. demands that the Government utilise the requisitioning laws and extend them so that the actions of the squatters are made legal and their initiative encouraged.

We protest against the instructions of the Minister of Health to cut off water, gas and electricity, and urge that the Trades Councils refuse to allow trade unionists to carry out this reactionary instruction and to protect by all means any trade unionist who refuses to undertake such activities.

The R.C.P. calls upon all trade unionists and members of working class organisations to enforce the demands of the squatters, and to take whatever steps are necessary

to protect them not only against the landlords, but against the action of the Government, if it insists on acting in the interests of the capitalists and landlords instead of the interests of the workers and homeless.

The R.C.P. considers that the steps enumerated above are immediate and transitional measures, and therefore offer only a partial solution. To solve the problem of the homeless and over-crowding, we insist that a national housing plan, financed by the state, directed by the Building Trades Unions and Tenants' committees which will allocate the housing space, is necessary. The basis for this plan must be the nationalisation of the land and all large buildings. We urge all sections of the working class to pressure the Labour Government to operate these demands.

An appeal to the delegates and visitors at our National Conference for expenses resulted in a collection of £5 18s. 9d. The generous offer of Comrade Arthur Carford, who was lying ill in hospital in Sheffield, to double the collection, brought the total to £71 17s. 6d. The Conference extended their appreciation and good wishes for a speedy recovery to Comrade Carford.

(Continued from Front Page.) period when the Labour Government is supporting the capitalists against the workers in strike struggles.

Meanwhile, the Trade Union apparatus will become further integrated into the State apparatus and organisations of Joint Production and class collaboration. This tendency will be accompanied by a growing hostility to the policy of class collaboration and the crystallisation of an organised movement of opposition.

The Militant Workers Federation failed to strike roots and grow as a centre for Trade union opposition during the war and immediately following its conclusion, and it is now clear that the industrial opposition will find a different organisational experience.

The experience of the great Back Strike and of the Building Trades movement indicates that the workers will throw up unofficial co-ordinating organisations for the purpose of directing their struggle against the employers and ever-growing sabotage of the Union leaderships. The Party must constantly seek to integrate itself with these co-ordinating bodies and to link them up on a regional and national scale.

At the same time, the Party must seek, as it did in the past to find the maximum expression, support and organisation, for these unofficial movements through the Trade Union organisation as a whole.

It is in the industrial field and the Trade Unions that the militant and growing class opposition will find its first important expression in opposition to the Labour Government. The task of our Party is to seek that opposition wherever it arises, and to try to give it a correct industrial and political orientation. It is in the industrial field, therefore, from industrial militants (among them Labour and C.P. members, and sympathisers) that the Revolutionary Communist Party will make its most important gains in the period that opens up.

Nationalisation

Under the influence of the impasse of British imperialism, and the powerful pressure of the working class, the Labour leaders have gone further on the road of carrying through their election programme than we anticipated. Nationalisation of the mines is already accomplished, steel, electricity, transport and fuel, sections of the basic industry on which the economic structure of the country rests, are apparently to be nationalised. However, the method and form in which nationalisation is being accomplished—compensation and without workers' control—is a compromise with the bourgeoisie as a whole, and is carried out in agreement with important sections of the bourgeoisie. The nationalisation of the Bank of England mere made de-jure what was already de-facto. These are measures of state capitalism and not of socialism.

All these steps show the increasing tendency towards the fusion of finance capital with the State. It is not an accident that the most serious representatives of the capitalist class, reflected in the "Times" and the "Economist" are supporting the nationalisation of those industries that have become a drag on British economy as a whole.

These serious representatives of the ruling class are willing to accept the taking over of those industries by the State—even with Labour in Power—as the best method of bringing about the necessary measures of nationalisation and placing the burdens on the shoulders of the masses. By means of State nationalisation they hope to gain efficient and cheap coal, electricity, steel, fuel and transport, in order more effectively to compete on the world market. The capitalists are becoming reconciled to the terms of compensation and the manner in which the change is being accomplished.

Their acceptance of these measures is a reflection of the decay of British capitalism; the lack of confidence of the capitalist class in its future; its weakness in face of the working class; its desperation to seek a solution. Ten years ago, when the bourgeoisie were endowed with more confidence in the future of their system, suggestions of such measures would have been greeted with savage opposition.

Stalinism in the Coming Period

Unlike its brother parties on the Continent of Europe, the British Stalinist Party failed to secure the leadership of the majority or even a considerable proportion of the working class. The workers clung to their traditional mass organisation, the Labour Party. Nevertheless, it did secure the leadership of the most courageous and in-

fluent industrial and political militants in the years before the war and in the period of anti-war activity. The result was an influential penetration of some of the most important trade unions in the country. This was an important capital, an accumulation from years of self-sacrificing activity by these militants, gained despite the

false political line of the leadership. The incredible switches of party policy which took place overnight, and without discussion, the strike-breaking activity of the Party during the latter part of the war, and especially since its end, have served to disillusion the best and most critical elements of the Party. For the first time a bridge exists from the Trotskyist Party to these militants.

Our theoretical criticism of Stalinism in the plane of international politics had not succeeded in gaining a hearing among these workers in the past. It was in the course of their own experiences—the effects of the strike-breaking activities of their own Party, that these worker Stalinists began to comprehend the fruits of "Socialism in one country." For the first time, serious fissures opened up within the British Communist Party. A continuation of the open class-collaborationist line would have led to splits and significant resignations. Only the lack of a mass base in our own Party rendered it possible for the leadership of the C.P. to prevent a serious split.

A new turn on the part of the Communist Party, however, a turn which appears to be definitely to the left, but which depends upon the agreements between Molotov and Bevin for its further evolution, will halt that process for the time being and cement these critical elements to the Communist Party again.

The Communist Party was shaken from top to bottom as a result of the general Election. The worker elements, already in opposition to the pro-Churchill line, were disgusted by the general election policy which argued the impossibility of a Labour victory without the support of the "progressive" Tories and Liberals. The results of the election demoralised them. Many of the petty bourgeois and most backward sections who approved of the line of class collaboration, tended to drift towards the Labour Party or to inactivity. Many of the best elements, however, remained, the Stalinists recovered from the effects of this crisis because their basis in the factories and unions, and the substantial section of militants who still cling to the Party.

A further set-back for the Stalinists was the overwhelming defeat they suffered not only in the factories, but in the unions on the question of affiliation to the Labour Party. Even where the Executive supported affiliation (A.E.U. Mine workers) when the issue was carried to the rank and file, it was overwhelmingly defeated. The A.E.U. Conference endorsed the decision of the Labour Party Conference on this issue.

Because of the general political stagnation and the tendencies among the masses, unless Stalinist policy swings left, the decline of the C.P. will continue. The defeat on affiliation has left the Stalinist leadership with no alternative but to manoeuvre to give their policy as "left" a coloration as possible, while its content has remained the same.

The most likely course of the partial and reformist character of the policy of the Labour Government, and advocating the revolutionary programme, we defend even these partial measures against any attempt of the Tories to return to individual capitalist ownership. But it would be a crime to create illusions among the workers as to the meaning of the State capitalist measures. Our propaganda must stress that half-and-half measures are inadequate to meet the needs of the working class, and illusions created by the Labour leaders will lead the workers to disaster.

It is impossible to plan and take advantage of the enormous potentialities in modern production in the interests of the masses, without destroying capitalism and taking over finance and all big industry without compensation, and without the active and conscious intervention and democratic participation of the proletariat in the management of industry and the country.

The measures taken by the Labour Government will temporarily assist in the alleviation of the capitalist crisis; but it cannot solve it. In the inevitable economic crisis which the continued existence of capitalism will bring, and which the nationalisation measures will not avert, the very conception of nationalisation will be discredited in the eyes of the masses. Large sections of the middle class, and the more desperate section of the capitalist class will be pushed onto the road of fascism. This debacle of reformism, will however, inevitably prepare the way for the revolutionisation of the masses, as in the days of their Chartist forefathers.

While consistently exposing the partial and reformist character of the policy of the Labour Government, and advocating the revolutionary programme, we defend even these partial measures against any attempt of the Tories to return to individual capitalist ownership. But it would be a crime to create illusions among the workers as to the meaning of the State capitalist measures. Our propaganda must stress that half-and-half measures are inadequate to meet the needs of the working class, and illusions created by the Labour leaders will lead the workers to disaster.

It will be to withdraw much of its present faction in the Labour Party, and to concentrate on capturing the industrial and trade union movement of the workers in competition with the Labour Party. With such a policy they will undoubtedly constitute a tremendous obstacle in the way of the revolutionary party.

Nevertheless this turn to the Left and participation in a militant struggle will bring about certain difficulties for the leadership of the Communist Party. It will not be possible to separate their militants from the Trotskyists in the course of common action in the industrial field. The Trotskyists, moreover, have a consistent policy. Only they will seek to draw the necessary class lessons from individual struggles, and push these struggles to their logical conclusions. Common action in the industrial field will fuse the Trotskyists in comradeship with the rank and file of the Communist Party, and create the necessary conditions to enable us to counterpose our policy to that of the Stalinists.

Disillusionment with the policy of the Labour Government will inevitably lead to a turn towards communist sentiments among the working classes. To prevent that revolutionary sentiment being dissipated by Stalinism, and to turn it into a real struggle for communism, is the task of the R.C.P. In spite of the set-backs which the Communist Party may experience in the immediate period ahead, at a time of crisis for the Labour Government the swing of large sections of the workers to the Communist Party as a temporary phase is inevitable. This could only be avoided by a swift and powerful growth of the revolutionary party which could offer an alternative.

Trotsky explained that the processes on the Continent of Europe reflect themselves in Britain, though with some delay. In the same way as the finest strata of the European working class (even in the traditionally reformist countries) have swung to the Communist Parties, so will we see a like process in Britain. Mass unemployment in Britain, while a swift growth of the productive forces in the Soviet Union will be taking place simultaneously, cannot but influence the workers and precipitate an enormous swing towards the C.P. This is especially because, as we have a Labour Party with an overwhelming majority in Parliament. Illusions in reformism, which still remained after the last world slump, will be dissipated among wide sections of the workers in the coming slump.

This process will undoubtedly be assisted by the fact that the Stalinists pursue a quasi-oppositional role to the Labour Government. To the extent that discontent with the Labour Government increases among the industrial workers, they will undoubtedly manipulate their policy and begin the preparation of the development of a mass base.

It is a fact of great significance that all the outstanding representatives of finance capital evaluate the coming developments as being in this direction. Eden, Churchill, Quinlan, Dugg and others foresee with dread that this will be one of the results of the coming disillusionment in the Labour Government.

Tactics of the Party

In evaluating the orientation adopted at the last Party Conference, it can be seen that we anticipated a development of events at a far more rapid tempo than has taken place. On this basis we over-estimated the possibilities of growth. This error must be corrected, or it can have serious consequences for the Party, causing a sense of frustration among the cadres in face of a slower tempo of events. The Party must be prepared to face a period, not of rapid and spectacular gains, but of slow growth and entrenchment in the propaganda field and in the trade unions and industrial arena.

In reaffirming the general conclusions of the last Conference, the Party underlines that the basic task of the next period must be the turn towards mass propaganda work, the trade unions, the factories, and the Communist Party.

The main agitation, however, will centre around the problems of the Labour Government. We will maintain the closest connections and increase them in the Labour Party, particularly in those areas where Leagues of Youth exist or come into being.

Full advantage must be taken of the favourable opportunities to approach the members of the Communist Party, the best sections of whom are not hostile to us, and even the Trotskyists as a left communist tendency. Particularly valuable in this connection has been the campaign on the Nuremberg and Moscow Trials, which has caused grave doubts in the minds of the rank and file, and forced the Stalinist leadership to tone down, for the present, its characterisation of the Trotskyists as "fascists" and "agents of Hitler."

It is incontrovertible that favourable prospects open up in the communist milieu. Communist Party militants, sympathisers, ex-members, and advanced workers

moving in the direction of communism and the C.P., can be approached and won to the banner of the R.C.P. The Communist Party assumes an important sphere of work. In our activities in the industrial field that have established Trotskyism as a tendency in the Labour movement. In the trade unions and factories where they work, the Trotskyists are respected, and are known as a tendency by other sections. Even if the workers are not prepared today to join the Trotskyist Party or fully accept its programme, the Trotskyists have the ear of considerable sections of the working class in Britain. In the armed forces, which contain some of the most virile sections of the proletariat, the Trotskyists are well-known in many units as a revolutionary wing in the Labour movement. From this section of the youth we will attract many cadres. The Party has the duty and the responsibility therefore, to patiently explain the policy of the Fourth International in the trade unions and to participate and lead as a party wherever that is possible, the real struggle of the workers in the industrial field, seeking all the time to raise these struggles to a political level. It has the responsibility to maintain the closest and widest contacts inside the Labour Party, especially where the youth are to be found. To increase the attention paid to the Labour Party, where experience teaches that this is necessary, and to try and organise and lead any Left wing that may or can be developed. At the same time the Party has the duty to use the present period of political hull for the purpose of raising the theoretical level of the cadres, not only in economics, philosophy and the history of the class struggle, but especially in the Marxist science of perspectives. Without illusions, firmly directing the day to day work of the Party on the basis of the above tactics, we can take serious steps to penetrate the best sections of the working class and build the Revolutionary Communist Party, which must be a serious force when the illusions of the working class in the Labour Party begin to collapse, and the great decisive struggles open out before us in Britain.