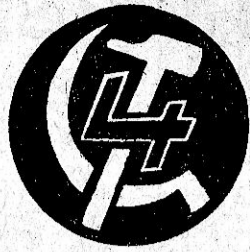


"Workers of All Lands Unite"

SOCIALIST APPEAL



ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST
PARTY, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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SUPPLEMENT MID-JULY, 1945.

TWOPENCE

THE TRUTH ABOUT ALDERSHOT

BY A CANADIAN SOLDIER —
PTE. GEORGE MACDONALD

Canadians Demand Fair Treatment

THE BITTER RESENTMENT AGAINST THE TREATMENT METED OUT TO THE CANADIAN SOLDIERS WAS GIVEN EXPRESSION IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS AT ALDERSHOT, WHEREBY ATTENTION WAS DRAWN TO THE GRIEVANCES OF THE RETURNING SOLDIERS AWAITING REPATRIATION... WE PRINT HERE AN ARTICLE WRITTEN BY ONE OF THESE CANADIAN SOLDIERS, PTE. GEORGE MACDONALD, WHO PRESENTS THE CASE OF THE SOLDIERS AS AGAINST THE VICIOUS PROPAGANDA WHICH WAS PUBLISHED IN THE CAPITALIST PRESS.

Now that the dirty work is over and the job in Europe finished, the Canadians are being treated in this repatriation depot not like "heroes" but like criminals. Ten are getting 21 days in the glass-house for being an hour A.W.L. Four or five lads are being held in Redditch from the night of the second demonstration in Aldershot on July 5th, and have not been given a sentence or even a trial! They are obviously holding them while watching developments.

English workers from nearby towns seeing our lads on the way to goal under custody of guards cheered them. They had heard about Aldershot and cried out: "WELL DONE, GIVE IT TO 'EM, BOYS! WE'RE WITH YOU!"

Thousands of Canadian troops have been held in repatriation depots at Aldershot and been penned up there for weeks while American soldiers, most of whom came to England two or three years later than the Canadian infantry in Hampshire, were given priority on shipping and without delay speedily and efficiently embarked for the voyage across the Atlantic to be returned to their homes.

Dissatisfaction with this arrangement and discontent over the way things are being handled in general, the unnecessary monotony, inadequate pay, virtual confinement to the camp area, and the ever-present menace of savage disciplinary action (threats of a sentence involving the loss of up to two years gratuity pay were made on parade and this as a punishment for being A.W.L. even if one came in not more than two hours late)—all these combined to make the men feel ill at ease, restless, uncertain and to produce a sharply critical mood.

On the evening of Wednesday, 4th July, some three thousand men were strolling idly about the sunlit streets of this little town, talking to their pals, some, if they had the money, were having a pint in the pubs, those lucky enough to have found a girl were doing their best to see her attention was not distracted while the others stood about listlessly in small groups

or wandered aimlessly up and down the short sloping streets.

A trivial incident occurred. It wasn't anything much, a few lads on the corner were laughing, and no one was being interfered with, but some M.P.'s decided an investigation was needed. Canadian military police are perhaps not the most tactful people in the world and one thing led to another. Soldiers who paused to see what was happening suddenly became angry and when the M.P.'s tried to exercise their authority in this petty matter, they were told to leave the lads alone. More police came along and the soldiers increased in numbers as scores passing stopped to find out what was wrong.

The M.P.'s meantime attempted to use a little Nazi technique and suddenly, without warning, being honned about a bit, at the conclusion of which they were somewhat sadder if no wiser.

Following shortly afterwards a lorry load of M.P.'s arrived on the scene. The men made a rush for the vehicle, grabbed it and tossed it about like a child's toy. Still having learned nothing, the M.P.'s then hit upon the brilliant plan of turning high pressure water hose on the veterans of Italy and Normandy and brought out the fire-fighting apparatus.

(Continued on back page.)

MIDLAND TRANSPORT WORKERS FIGHT BACK

BY GLADYS WIMBUSH

OVER 4,000 TRANSPORT WORKERS EMPLOYED BY THE MIDLAND RED BUS COMPANY STOPPED WORK IN PROTEST AGAINST THE OPERATION OF A NEW SCHEDULE AT DUDLEY GARAGE. TWELVE DAYS AFTER THE DUDLEY WORKERS CAME OUT, THE WHOLE OF THE MIDLAND RED NETWORK IN 12 COUNTIES CONSISTING OF 25 GARAGES HAD COME OUT IN SYMPATHY.

A member of the Strike Committee informed the "Socialist Appeal" that the men did not object to the running of later buses but they were fighting for fair compensation in the form of increased earlier straight through runs.

For instance, a week of split duties and a week of early runs. The proportion of early duties is not a fair ratio of the split runs. Out of the 61 duties under the Schedule originally presented there are only 9 straight through early duties. They are faced with 18 long split duties over a minimum period lasting 12 hours and in some cases a maximum of 16 hours. Examples given of the bad conditions these men and women are expected to tolerate were:

Work commences at 5.55 a.m. until 9 a.m. then from 10.50 a.m. to 4.12 p.m.; then an "extra" from 5.30 to 10 p.m.

Work commences at 5.50 a.m. finishing at 8.40 p.m. with off duty periods between. A total of 16 hours and 15 hours respectively. In the case of 15 hours they are paid for 8 hrs. 46 mins. actual working time. The off duty periods in between runs leave the men stranded as there is nothing they can do in these few hours and

many of them live a good distance from the garage. There are no facilities provided by the Company where the men can spend their off duty periods.

As usual the bosses and the capitalist newspapers are putting the blame for inconvenience to passengers on to the workers. But this time it is not being swallowed. The General feeling among the workers in the Midlands is that the transport workers, who have borne intolerable conditions for years, are justified and it is the bosses of the Midland Red who are the people responsible.

The Company's statement that they were not notified immediately of the men's decision is completely false. Immediately the resolution was adopted by the meeting the Committee notified the Resident Inspector and the Area Superintendent. The week prior to the strike the workers negotiated and warned the Company of the trouble that would arise if they refused to make concessions while pressing additional services. Mr. D. M. Sinclair, General Manager of the Midland Red, refused to take notice of these warnings and did nothing.

(Continued on back page.)

ALLIED TROOPS END "NON-FRAT" ORDER

BY TED GRANT

NON-FRATERNISATION WITH THE GERMAN PEOPLE HAS COLLAPSED. THIS IS THE FIRST BLOW AT THE PLANS OF THE ALLIED IMPERIALISTS IN RELATION TO GERMANY. IT MARKS THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE CAMPAIGN OF RACIAL HATRED AND CHAUVINISM DISSEMINATED BY THE CAPITALIST CLASS AND THEIR LACKEYS IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

It is little over two months since the complete defeat of Germany. The Allies had announced a savage and vengeful programme of enslavement of Germany and the German people.

Taking advantage of the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps, the ruling class endeavoured to inflame the workers against the German people. Fearful of the consequences of a free interchange of ideas between the Allies' troops and the German workers, they threatened severe punishment for any fraternisation with the German people. To bolster this up they conducted a concerted propaganda campaign to saddle the German people with the crimes of the Nazi regime.

But as we predicted in the columns of the "Socialist Appeal" the campaign has failed in its purpose. In less time than could have been expected the Allied capitalist class have been compelled to withdraw the non-fraternisation ban. During the short time of its operation, the mass violations of the order were so great, that it became a complete farce. Punishments and threats were of no avail. Thus, in order to retain their grip on the Army of Occupation, the Anglo-American imperialists were reluctantly compelled to change their policy.

Not only on this question are they preparing to make concessions, but also in relation to the freedom of

political parties and the right of the workers to organise in Trade Unions, the Allies are apparently preparing to make certain concessions.

The Stalinist bureaucracy in Russian occupied Germany have cleverly manoeuvred by allowing their Stalinist puppets, the Catholic Centre Party and the Social Democrats to conduct legal political activity, publication of press, organisation of unions, etc. Of course, all on the basis of a capitalist and not a communist regime in Germany.

The attempt at a military dictatorship over the German people solely based on the bayonets of Anglo-American imperialism and the Red Army, has been revealed as a reactionary utopia. Within Germany, the imperialists are compelled to seek some base among the people.

But meanwhile, the plans for the dismemberment of Germany, for the national humiliation of the German people, and for the conversion of Germany into a semi-colony of the Big Three are to be continued.

The responsibility for the crimes of the Nazis is not to be laid on their real backers, the German capitalists and bankers and the British and French capitalists. The burdens of dismemberment and defeat are to be thrown onto the backs of the thrice oppressed and enslaved German work-

ers and peasants, the first victims of Hitlerism.

The "Times" correspondent in describing the conditions in Germany in its issue of July 6th, remarks:

"... rarely in history can people have paid a more fearful price for the crimes of their leaders..."

While the German masses starve and suffer the capitalists and their supporters are still living well. Selkirk Pantan, in the "Daily Express" of 6th July reports from Berlin in an article entitled: "BERLIN STILL HAS WAITERS IN TAILS".

"I can get you anything you want," said George, "but you will have to pay for it. English cigars, even, but they will cost you \$1 apiece."

George told me this as we sat having lunch today in one of Berlin's luxury black market restaurants. It might have been a cosy, intimate little restaurant in London or Paris.

There were soft-shaded lights. Waiters wearing tails and black ties, moved noiselessly on thick carpets. There was glass in the windows and flowers on each table.

The curtains over the windows hid from us the ghastly sight of blitzed houses on the other side of Kurkur-

(Continued on page 4)

150,000 Nigerians Strike for 2/6 a Day

BY J. DEANE

The largest and most important strike in the history of Nigeria is now taking place. 150,000 Nigerian administrative service workers, members of the 17 Government Unions, have been on strike for more than three weeks. All transport, power and communication systems throughout Nigeria have been paralysed. The Government has imposed a strict news censorship, and so far only one London paper has reported this important strike.

The strike is being led by the Nigerian Trades Union Congress and is in support of the demand for 2/6d. a day minimum wage.

Despite the tremendous difficulties—the lack of funds, all sided offensive by the Nigerian Government, arrests of leaders, and suppression of press—in its fourth week the strike is still solid and the strikers determined. Only 200 have scabbed, these have been given large military escort protection. The rest of the 500,000 workers in Nigeria are in sympathy with the strikers and only waiting for a lead from the Union leaders to demonstrate their sympathy and solidarity in action.

On the 21st May the Nigerian Trade Union Congress sent a letter to the Government stating:—

1. The cost of living was officially admitted to have increased by over 200 per cent.

2. (a) Recognising this the Government had given corresponding increases to European employees—the salary of a European employee is £400 a year.

(b) Corresponding increases had been made in the supplementary allowance for the families of European employees;

3. In view of these facts the N.T.U.C. asked for a minimum wage of 2/6d. a day;

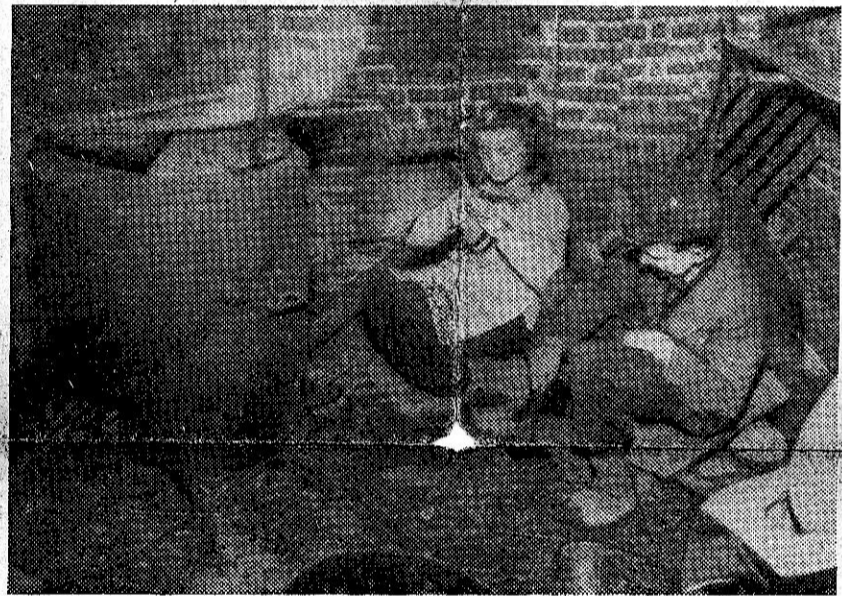
4. One month's general strike notice was given in support of their demands.

The Governor of Nigeria—Sir Arthur Richards who earned the reputation of being a "firm man" for quelling the Jamaican riots—replied that he would not meet a deputation of the workers as no purpose could be served by discussion; that increased wages would not offset increased cost of living (!) but would only cause inflation (!) and called upon Africans to help in the equitable distribution of foodstuffs.

A second appeal to the Government to receive a deputation was made on June 11th, again this was turned down. Meanwhile the Government re-enacted its Defence Regulations which were repealed only a month previous, following which a number of Trade Union leaders were released after having served four year sentences. The Defence Regulation on Press Censorship empowers the Governor to close down any newspaper which publishes news without it first being censored by the Government, or which criticises any action of the Governor or his officials. The penalty for contravention of this Regulation is a fine of £500 or two years imprisonment.

When on June 21st, 150,000 administrative workers came out on strike, immediately the Government suppressed two newspapers, the "African Pilot" and the "Daily Comet". The European community threatened the editor

(Continued on Back Page.)



GERMAN CHILDREN IN THE RUINS OF BERLIN.

BIG THREE PLOT IN SECRET

THE BIG THREE ARE MEETING AT POTSDAM TO DECIDE THE FATE OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD. THEY MEET BEHIND CLOSED DOORS. THE PROCEEDINGS AT THESE MEETINGS ARE KEPT SECRET FROM THE PEOPLES WHOSE DESTINIES ARE BEING DECIDED.

In a Europe starving and devastated as a result of the war brought about by the contradictions of the capitalist system, the Big Three have prepared feasts for themselves, their retainers and their lackeys which has brought anger from the working classes. The "News Chronicle" of 17th July gives the picture:

"WHAT WILL THEY EAT—Fresh fruit, melons and choice steaks kept fresh in ten-ton mobile refrigerators will be on the menus.

Mess officers are already picking up telephones and ordering: "Eggs, strictly fresh"; "strawberries, big and juicy"; and "tomatoes and hearts of celery."

CALORIES AND STARCHES

Two dieticians are supervising the balance of calories and starches.

WHAT THEY WILL DRINK.—Whisky, Gin, Bourbon, Vodka, Moselle and Rhine wines. Liqueurs will range from Curacao to Creme de Menthe.

THE FURNISHINGS.—Here are some of the things flown in for the Conference:

20 lawn mowers, 20 hand sythes and 20 sets of lawn furniture; 4,000 blankets, 10,000 sheets and 100 bedside lamps; 100 cases of soap, 250 bottle openers and 150 alarm clocks; 50 vacuum cleaners, 100 ice tongs and 20 electric refrigerators.

Such Byzantine feasting has, of course, taken place at all of the meetings of the Big Three. It is symbolic of their remoteness from the real problems and sufferings of all the peoples of the world, including their own peoples.

From the imperialist representatives nothing else could be expected. But in this can be seen how far the Stalinist regime has travelled from the ideals of Lenin and Trotsky.

But even more important is the secrecy under which the conversations are being conducted. Extraordinary precautions are being taken to prevent the slightest information of the nature of the discussions from leaking out, or even of what is being discussed.

And of course, there is very good reason why the Big Three should take this course. The horse-deals, the intrigues, the dividing up of the world into spheres of influence, the conspiracy being hatched against the European revolution—would represent an unedifying spectacle to the masses of the world if conducted openly before their eyes.

Here again we see a fundamental departure from the method of Lenin and Trotsky. Like Churchill and Truman, Stalin needs a veil of darkness and of silence to cover his methods and aims. The Bolsheviks in the days of Lenin and Trotsky conducted their diplomacy openly before the eyes of the masses and endeavoured always to arouse their interest and intervention on the discussion of issues which affected their fate. Stalin uses the opposite method.

The workers must protest against the method of secret diplomacy. They must demand that the negotiations be held in the open so that the masses can intervene against the counter-revolutionary plots now being hatched behind the scenes.

Indo-China C.P. Majority Joins 4th International

FROM "THE MILITANT"—U.S.A.

Numerous signs of discontent with Stalinist policy are beginning to manifest themselves among the membership of the Communist Parties in several countries. In certain cases the dissidents have already broken with Stalinism and fused with the Trotskyist parties of the Fourth International.

The most advanced expressions of these tendencies to date have occurred in the French colonies. "La Verite", organ of the French Trotskyists, reports that the majority of the Communist Party of Indo-China has broken with Stalinism and joined the Fourth International. Although no further details are given, from a knowledge of the general political background in the workers movement there it can be surmised why this significant development took place.

Before the war a strong Trotskyist movement existed in and around Saigon, capital of Cochinchina province and principal port linking France with the Far East. In the elections to the Saigon Colonial Council held on April 30, 1939, the Indo-Chinese Trotskyist candidates gained a brilliant victory over a coalition between the Stalinists and various bourgeois elements. When the war broke out the French imperialists illegalized the Trotskyist movement and jailed its principal leaders. Among them was Ta-Tu-Thau, Trotskyist leader who was elected to the Colonial Council.

While the Trotskyist leaders have shown themselves to be the best fighters against the imperialists, the Stalinists have become outright supporters of the French imperialism. Thorez, the head of the French Communist Party, openly declared this spring that his party opposed freedom for the colonial slaves of France. These two factors undoubtedly played a decisive role in producing the split within the Indo-Chinese Communist Party and fusion of the majority with the Fourth International.

AN END TO SECRET DIPLOMACY!

25,000 SHIP WORKERS DEMAND 40 HOUR WEEK

BY T. BIRCHALL

Under attacks by the Merseyside Ship-repairing employers, 25,000 Ship Repair workers went on a sit-down strike for one day. The movement originally began with the attempts of the Ship Repairing bosses to return to the pre-war conditions of a 47 hour week. Within a few days the movement changed from one of defending war-time concessions to one of fighting for a 40 hour week.

Before the VE day hangovers had finally dissipated, and hardly had the sound of rejoicing passed away, when the ship-repairing employers in this great port began celebrating the end of the war in Europe in their own manner.

The "Hard-faced men" prepared to put on the pressure for the return to pre-war conditions, as a step toward the smashing of the unions and the greater regimentation of the ship-repair workers.

At the beginning of June, the employers denounced their overtime agreement with the Confederation of Ship-repair and Engineering Unions. Then there began a general tightening up of discipline along the whole line of docks. Finally the big firms of Harland & Wolff, Grayson Rollo's and Sunderland Forge, followed by the smaller firms and the Masters Federation itself, began to put up notices announcing the return to the 1938 47 hour agreement, and in particular, that part of the agreement which provided that if a man arrived for work more than five minutes late, he would be locked out for the entire morning, only being allowed to start at 1 p.m.

This meant that the employers were violating an agreement reached at the beginning of the war, which stipulated that men would be allowed to book on after 7.35 a.m. owing to travelling difficulties, etc.

In the opinion of the men, this agreement, although verbal, still had full validity, because travelling has certainly become no easier, as any will confirm who has travelled on the Overhead Railway at any time up to 8 o'clock in the morning, to take only one example.

"FOR AN 8 O'CLOCK START" FROM DEFENCE TO ATTACK

But the whole point is that both men and management realised that travelling conditions were not the main issue. The fight now was the preliminary bout of a great struggle which is to decide whether we are going back to the old days, or forward to better conditions. The fact is that the Mersey workers don't want to start work at 7.30 or 7.35 a.m. They want an 8 o'clock start with a forty hour week. The slogan of an 8 o'clock start spread throughout the ship-repair industry. Grayson, Rollo's shop-stewards told the management that if any men were locked out, the whole yard would go out with the locked-out men. The management proceeded to lock out a few men, and accordingly the whole yard went on strike. The electricians at Sunderland Forge struck; the men at the Mersey Insulation went on sit-down strike because the management refused to discuss the issue with the shop-stewards.

Meanwhile, very well attended meetings of the unofficial All-Trades Shop-stewards Emergency Committee were being held (and it was decided unanimously that until further notice, no overtime would be worked, and that all trades would report to work at 7.55 a.m. This meant working a 44 hour week, since 5 p.m. is the normal knocking-off time in the yards. The 8 o'clock start became a fact in every yard on the line of docks, except Harland & Wolff's.

The movement thus took on not merely the character of a defence of the war-time concession, but became an attacking movement for an 8 o'clock start, and the 44-hour week, as a step towards the 40-hour week, with 47 hours pay in both cases.

HARLAND & WOLFF'S CALL ON CONFEDERATION TO BREAK SILENCE

At Harland & Wolff's the management had been forced, right from the start, to revert to the relaxation under threat of instant strike action. But the majority of Harland's shop-stewards took the position that it was the duty of the Confederation of Ship-repairing Unions to issue a statement or at least give some indication, of what action the Confederation required its members to take. They also demanded that the Confederation immediately call a mass meeting of Merseyside All-Trades Shop-Stewards to consider the position.

STALINIST CONFEDERATION OFFICIALS SELL OUT

At the shop-stewards' meeting on Friday June 15th, the Executive of the Confederation reported on its negotiations with the employers. Bros. Haggerty and McGree, surveying a large and militant meeting looked a little pale, the former frequently eased his white collar around his neck, while Leo attempted to put a bold front on an obvious sell-out. The negotiating committee, it appeared, had agreed to revert to the Relaxation agreement. The bosses had accepted that. (They couldn't do anything else with the 44 hour week being an actual fact). But what about the 8 o'clock start? Not

a word. 7.30 is the time, boys, but we have agreed with the good-hearted management that you may be given a little extra time if you can't get on the Overhead in the morning!

The first speaker in the discussion, a militant shop-steward, proposed an immediate sit-down strike in all yards to enforce a 40 hour week with 47 hours pay. In this he was supported by the delegates from Mersey Insulation, who had been on sit-down strike anyway for several days. It was then proposed that Confederation leaders leave the hall, in view of the obvious storm about to break over them, and the hard things about to be said about them. However they all stayed, probably on the principle that an evil you know is better than one you don't. The Stalinist shop-stewards were forced to propose a one day sit-down strike to take place on Tuesday, June 20th, to support Mersey Insulation strikers, and to support Confederation's negotiations with the employers for an 8 o'clock start. Chrichton and the leading Stalinist stewards were in the position of advocating unconstitutional action to force through a position which the Confederation officials, notably Haggerty and McGree, had both already sold out. And at the same time Chrichton and Co. showered bouquets on these leaders who had just sold out, saying that they were the best they had, etc., etc.

THE CONFEDERATION LEADERS MUST GET ON OR GET OUT

Throughout the whole movement, culminating in the one-day sit-down of all trades, the main question the workers had to face was "what is the Confederation doing?" The cry was going up from all sides that one word from the Confederation would dispel the confusion, set the future course, and rally all elements for the fight. But the Confederation remained silent. Because they could either support or oppose the movement. If they supported the movement, it would have been far greater, deeper, and more thorough going one than it turned out to be. If on the other hand they had openly opposed the movement, the workers would have had their eyes opened to the treacherous role of these leaders, and they would not long have survived the anger of the rank and file. Thus the leadership remained silent. The Stalinist leading stewards acted as a cover to the Confederation leaders. Time and time again the demand went up for the Confederation or even the All-Trades Shop-Steward Committee to convene a mass meeting. But the Stalinist leaders replied with all sorts of feeble excuses, from saying that things were all right as they were, to such feeble excuses as that there was not a hall in Liverpool big enough to accommodate the workers at such a mass meeting.

Mersey workers! Demand that the Confederation call a mass meeting to consider the question.

Demand that the Confederation make its position clear. Is it, or is it not, in favour of the 8 o'clock start.

Demand that your shop-stewards cease to defend the Confederation misleaders who have sold you out to the employers.

Demand a 40 hour week with 47 hours pay and a wage increase to compensate for the increased cost of living.



S.O.S.

Comrades and Sympathisers,

Your financial help is urgently needed. The "Socialist Appeal" is a workers' paper which relies solely on the pennies and self-sacrifice of the workers. Please put aside a donation each week from your pay packet—no matter how small—and send it to the revolutionary paper.

In the next issue we will acknowledge the donations sent in for the Fighting Fund.

Special mention, however, must be given to our soldier comrade who responded to our urgent appeal by sending £10 in postal orders. Thank you, comrade, for this magnificent donation. You have set a standard which we hope many will follow.

Send your donations to: ANN KEEN, Business Manager, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

R.C.P. Grows in Wales STALINIST WAGE CAMPAIGN

Worried by the growing support for the ideas of Revolutionary Communism in South Wales, the C.P. is now conducting a hysterical campaign of slander and vilification against our party.

The much boosted anti-Trotskyist meeting held last Sunday in Tredegar was, from the point of view of the C.P., a dismal failure. Less than 40 people turned up to listen to ALUN THOMAS the notorious Neath Stalinist who, the posters proudly announced as: "The man who debated with Jobk Haston."

Thomas's slanderous tirade followed the well worn pattern of calling all Revolutionary Communists—Fascists, and characterising the workers who supported the Party as—backward workers! He even dared to denounce the Spanish workers of Barcelona who had stormed the fascist barracks with their bare hands in 1936! Vilification can go no further than this.

The first question came from Comrade Lawrence who challenged Alun Thomas to a debate and offered to donate £5 to the C.P. if Thomas could produce a single document of Trotsky's which had in any way supported fascism or attacked the first workers' Republic. Needless to say, Thomas refused both challenges!

Most of the other questions were hostile to Stalinism, and a stormy atmosphere pervaded as Thomas added lie upon lie in his efforts to twist out of such questions as: "Why did Stalin disband the Communist International?" "Is the C.P. in favour of a coalition with Liberals and Tories in a new government of 'National Unity'?"

The meeting ended with a vote being taken. The result was very encouraging—for the R.C.P. 15 voted for Alun Thomas; 8 voted for Trotskyism (although the Trotskyist case had not been put forward at the meeting); whilst 8 workers abstained. A majority, therefore, were against Stalinism—either its policy or its method!

The following evening, a meeting in reply to the C.P. was organised in Tredegar. In every way, though the attendance was small, the meeting was satisfactory. Comrade JOHN LAWRENCE effectively exposed the lies of the Stalinists and warned of the dangers of the Popular Front policy now being put forward by the C.P.

Only one C.P. member turned up to defend his party and he, in contrast

to the stupid hysteria of Alun Thomas put forward his criticisms in a comradely manner and stated that he regretted that Trotskyists were slandered as Fascists. He said that he, at least, was convinced of the socialist sincerity of the Revolutionary Communists.

Comrade Lawrence wound up the meeting with an appeal to strengthen the R.C.P.'s fight to rid the Labour movement of the treacherous policies and foul methods of Stalinism. After the meeting, 3 workers applied to join the R.C.P. A branch of the Party has now been organised in Tredegar and plans have been laid for an intensive propaganda campaign in this important area of South Wales.

Comrades in other parts of S. Wales are now hoping that Alun Thomas will come to their areas and help them also to build up the movement for Revolutionary Communism.

THE TORY IS MY SHEPHERD

By a Neath Tin Worker

The Tory is my Shepherd, I am in want. He maketh me To lie on Park Benches, He leadeth beside still factories, He disturbeth my Soul. Yea, though I walk through the Valley of Depression I anticipate no recovery, for he is with me. He prepareth a reduction in my salary In the presence of mine enemies; He annoieth my small income with taxes; My expense account is running over; Surely unemployment and poverty Shall follow me all the days of my life And I shall dwell in a mortgaged house forever.

Bosses Declare War on London Dockers Vicious Wage Cuts

BY N. PENTLAND

Dockers as far apart as London in the South, Glasgow in the North, Grimsby in the East, and Swansea in the West are making a determined stand against cuts in their wage packets directly following the cessation of hostilities in Europe.

In London on the 28th May the Western Front Agreement which gave the dockers enhanced rates for loading was scrapped without consultation with the dockers. This meant a considerable drop in piece work earnings from 2/6 to as low as 1/4 per ton.

These workers, realising that they could not meet the ever rising cost of living on that wage, demanded from the National Dock Labour Corporation a living wage commensurate with that which they had previously been receiving.

This was rejected and a counter offer was made to revise all piece work rates, which in many cases meant a reduction!

Refusing this "offer" the dockers returned to day work, as provided for in the national agreement, and not to a "go slow" policy as the yellow press has blazoned on its front pages in an attempt to whip up public hostility towards the dock workers.

PRESS DISTORTS DOCKERS' CASE

The national press, true to form and colour, has exhorted and threatened the dockers if they did not return to "normal" working conditions.

As usual, the "Daily Sketch" was well in the forefront in throwing abuse at the dockers. On Saturday, July 14th, in an article headed "DOCKERS WARNED", the Sketch rants:

"The men had been warned yesterday through the Ministry of Labour statement that instead of working for employers, they might be returned to the reserve pool. They would then have to attend twice a day and receive only attendance pay if not employed."

It does not tell its readers that this is precisely what is taking place.

The main theme of the capitalist press is that food ships for London are having to be diverted elsewhere because of the dockers' "Go slow policy", thus causing more strain on the already meagre rations of the popu-

lation! This is far from the truth, for when the situation is examined we find that in the London Docks thousands of men have been standing idle for nearly three weeks, receiving the mere pittance of 12/- per day attendance money.

Ships have been diverted and held back from London, not because of the so-called "go slow policy" but because dockers are demanding a living wage for discharging the cargoes. The dockers have, and quite rightly, regarded this as a vicious attack on them in the form of a lock out.

The "Daily Worker", renegade organ of His Majesty's Communist Party, has not been a great deal more helpful in the interests of the dockers. It has merely reiterated the exhortations and warnings of the Ministry of Labour and the pleas of Donovan, National Dock Officer of the T.&G.W. U. to return to normal conditions at cut rates.

TASKS OF THE DOCKERS IN THE COMING PERIOD

With the end of hostilities in Europe many sections of the working class have had their first experience of just what the capitalist class have in store for them in the way of unemployment, wage cuts and lowering of working conditions.

In order to combat these attacks it is imperative that the workers attend their trade union branch meetings and insist that the E.C.'s break the fetters of the industrial truce and turn the Trade Unions from appendages of the employing class into fighting organs of the working class.

The immediate task of the London dockers is to publicise their case to all dock workers for moral and financial assistance nationally; to contact Glasgow, Liverpool, Grimsby, Edinburgh and Swansea dockers; to thrash out a militant line of action together; to go forward on the demand which is affecting all dockers; i.e. increase in the basic rate.

To allow the struggle to remain a local issue, as the Stalinist controlled "Progressive Committee" did in the last big strike, is to doom the dockers' struggle to failure.

AUSTRALIAN STRIKE AGAINST STALINIST T.U. OFFICIALS

3000 Ironworkers in 6 weeks Strike Against Victimised Trotskyist Militant

BY M. LEE

News has just reached us from Australia of a remarkable and significant strike of Shipyard iron workers on the whole of the Balmain waterfront, lasting over 6 weeks. This strike was caused by the victimisation and dismissal of N. Origlass by the Stalinist controlled Management Committee of the Balmain Branch of the Ironworkers' Federation.

Engine drivers, firemen and boiler-makers came out on strike in sympathy with the ironworkers.

30 Balmain shipyards were involved and more than 3,000 workers came out on strike paralysing ship repair operations on the Balmain waterfront.

These workers came out on strike against the bureaucratic and dictatorial action of the union officials in dismissing their democratically elected shop official, and were prepared to stand out for more than six weeks in a fight to democratise their trade union. When the workers learned of the bureaucratic action of the Stalinist officials in depriving them of their democratically elected delegate, his two fellow delegates resigned in sympathy, leaving Mort Dock boilershop without a delegate. The following day the workers were notified that the executive had appointed three delegates from above. The men were so infuriated at this infringement of their democratic union rights, that they decided at a mass meeting to give these executive-elected delegates a few days in which to resign, failing which they would refuse to work with them.

Under the direction of the Executive these three refused to resign. This started the strike. An indication of the feeling among the workers was the voting at the mass meetings which overwhelmingly endorsed the action taken by the Mort Dock ironworkers against the union officials and for the re-establishment of democratic control of the trade union.

The following motion which was overwhelmingly carried at a mass meeting of the workers, sums up the essence of their struggle. "This rank and file meeting, representing the whole of the Balmain waterfront, affirms that union branch officials have lost its confidence. It declares all official positions in the branch vacant, and demands a new election supervised by the Federal Conciliation Commissioner (Mr. D. V. Morrison) or his deputy."

The two leading workers in the strike were N. Origlass and L. Short.

and international leader, Ernie Thornton made by L. Short.

"Short flayed the opposition with a series of quotations from official records to show how the ironworker Commos had somersaulted on the war issue. He quoted from a pamphlet by Thornton in which he boasted during the early stages of the conflict that the ironworkers had been in more strikes than any other union, that while the miners held sporadic strikes, the strikes of the ironworkers were planned and deliberate and that the ironworkers had made strikes their business.

"An imperialistic war," He quoted from the "IRONWORKER", the official organ of the union, in 1940. This quotation was that in the opinion of the Commos running the union, the war was an imperialistic war and that there should be a negotiated peace between the leaders of Germany and Britain.

"Amidst plaintive and pathetic catcalls from the infuriated Coms, Short declared that the Coms wanted a negotiated peace when Hitler was stalking triumphant through Europe, and when much blitzed Britain would have had to accept a peace dictated by Hitler.

"Ray Little, chief spokesman for the Coms, only got a hearing because of Origlass."

"This strike has tremendously damaged the prestige of the Australian Communist Party and exposed them not only locally, but nationally before the militant and essentially democratically minded Australian working class. Comrade Origlass has a solid rank and file support among his fellow workers on a militant basis. He organised the Balmain Workers' Social Club, a meeting place for militant workers, which became so popular that the Stalinists were forced to set up an opposition club—the Balmain Ironworkers' Social and Cultural Committee, but without success.

Comrade Origlass also published from time to time a roneed newspaper "Rising Tide."

There can be no doubt that the Australian Trotskyists are gaining influence among the working class movement, and are taking the lead in the struggles of the workers for better conditions. In this struggle the democratisation of the trade unions is the essential pre-requisite for their conversion into fighting organs of the working class.

At every meeting of the Balmain rank and file an organised group of Commo disrupters have been in attendance. They have been in a hopeless minority, however, and have abandoned their attempts to disorganise and disrupt the meetings.

"They smarted severely under the stinging attack upon their national

PARTY NOTES

Reports coming in to the office of the activity of the Branches and members in the General Election campaign are very encouraging. Wherever we had open air platforms our comrades received a sympathetic hearing and support from the audience. Substantial sums of money were collected around these platforms.

Nottingham: Our comrades assisted the Labour Party in its election campaign and contact made with Labour Party members. The work in the district was appreciated by Labour Party members who saw that the Trotskyists were prepared to work alongside the rank and file Labour workers in spite of their criticisms.

Successful open air meetings were held on Council House Square on Sundays, with Comrades Finch, Healy and Atkinson outlining our election policy. On each occasion the audiences, which numbered from 3 to 400, showed great interest in our "Labour to Power" policy and good questions were asked. The collections averaged £14/- to 15/- and literature sales were high.

These open air meetings proved so successful that the Nottingham Branch has decided to continue with them every fortnight, during the summer months.

Leeds: The Branch Secretary, Comrade Gifford writes: "In election activity all our members have been busy. I myself organised a canvassing campaign and enlisted C.P. members to assist me. We covered over 4,000 houses, sold literature, distributed leaflets and did a bit of fly-posting."

"We also covered most of the big meetings with 'Socialist Appeal'. Comrade G.F. (Miles) gave up his V.L.I. 3 Day holiday and assisted the Labour Party all day. We sold 750 'Socialist Appeals'."

Glasgow: Special sales were held in Greenock, where the electorate was nearly flattened by the weight of propaganda of four candidates. Approximately 12 open air meetings were held, addressed by Comrades Teare and Ward and other meetings each Sunday. Four factory gate meetings were also held. Attendances were good and collections rose steadily to £1 6s. 10d. at the Eve of the Poll meeting, 2,600 'Socialist Appeals' were sold mainly at our own meetings and Labour Party meetings.

We took part in large scale chalking of the streets which greeted Churchill at his major meeting in Glasgow and which drew comment from the local press. Our slogans and those of the C.P. covered all the approaches to Blythswood Square, where Churchill spoke. Our main slogans were "Remember Greece!" "Down with Churchill and his Tories!" "Remember 1926!" and "Labour to Power!"

Probably more workers have heard us at meetings, heard our slogans in selling the "Socialist Appeal" than at any time since the arrests. It will be essential to follow this up with stable and regular open air meetings so that workers who heard us in the election will know where to hear us again.

Edinburgh: Two well attended meetings were held on the Mound on Tuesday and Wednesday, the eve of the poll, in support of Labour and "Labour to Power". There were about 350 at the first, and 500 at the second. Leaflets were distributed. Reception was not so favourable as in Glasgow, but it would be safe to say that a majority were favourable. The speakers at the meetings were Comrades Tait, Ward and Baird. Attacks on Churchill were listened to without opposition, and in fact with a measure of support, mainly from working class housewives. At these and Labour Party meetings 250 'Socialist Appeals' were sold.

Birmingham: Our activities were directed into two channels, individual assistance to our local Labour Parties, and an independent campaign. Our comrades and sympathisers worked in three constituencies for the Labour Party, assisting in canvassing, going round with loud speaker, whitewashing the streets and help in committee rooms. Our street

(Continued on page 4)

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

The growing number of strikes in the country are a warning of the attacks the capitalist class are preparing to launch on the workers' standards of life.

Certain war bonuses have been taken away from the merchant seamen and dockers. This is tantamount to a wage cut. And it is these cuts which the dockers are resisting by strikes and protests.

Different methods of wringing more profit from the workers are being applied in the case of the busmen. New schedules are being introduced which intensify the amount of work without added remuneration to compensate for it. It is against this that the country bus workers employed by the L.P.T.B. and the Midland Red company workers struck.

Still more subtle methods are being devised to lower the earnings of those employed in the engineering industry. Workers are declared "redundant" in some factories and are sent from the employment exchanges to other employers, who have work available at lower wages. Workers who have had time rates and bonuses, are sent to jobs where only basic rates are paid. This means anything up to fifty per cent. wage cuts for such workers.

Side by side with these "practical" measures, an ideological campaign is being waged in the capitalist press. Lord Rothermere's papers, through polite editorials, appeal to the "sensible" trade union leaders to keep better control over the rank and file and prevent them from resisting the attacks.

Most ominous however is the tone set in the current issue of the "ECONOMIST". In the opinion of that section of the capitalist class for which this organ speaks, "Labour's Responsibility" consists in yielding to the demands of the employers in the coming period. The trade unions, they state, will have a lot to give if the economic policy of the nation is to be a success. The British worker, they imply, unlike his American brother is becoming "imbued with the idea that it is possible to produce less and consume more, all at the expense of some anonymous 'they'". What this means is that "they", the capitalists, are determined to hang on to their profits at the expense of the working class.

Unemployment, the age-old economic weapon of the bosses, is brought out by way of a threat. The "ECONOMIST" bluntly states: "Unless some means can be devised to prevent the unions from taking advantage... full employment will be a very dangerous state of affairs."

Coming events cast their shadows before. Vicious slashes at the workers' living standards are now on the capitalist agenda. They will not even wait until their imperialist war is ended. Neither must the workers. It is the imperative duty of the toilers to resist any further lowering of wages or conditions. The workers must stand fast. They must stand together. The dockers and busmen are giving the lead.

I.L.P. Floundering

Without Programme or Perspective

BY W. WHITEFIELD

An honest assessment of the I.L.P. in the General Election must surely reveal to all left wing members that their party has come through this election like a ship without a rudder.

It was an I.L.P. in confusion that entered the election under the negative slogan of "Keep out the Tories". However, despite its slogan it retained its candidates at Bilston and Bradford East—not without the qualms of some of its members. No clear statement was ever made in the "New Leader" as to the reasons for opposing the Labour Party here.

I.L.P.ers had been told that their task was to keep the Tories out, yet here was the I.L.P. splitting the vote and even admitting the danger that at East Bradford the Tory might get in! Surely this state of affairs demanded a very clear justification? It could have been justified, had the I.L.P. leadership been separating the I.L.P. from the policy of the Labour Party and bringing out sharply an opposition to the Labour reformism of the Labour leadership and its eagerness to carry on the foreign policy of the ruling class.

But over a very long period the "New Leader" has been blurring over every difference with the Labour Party. In the by-elections they have fought, they have drawn no sharp line between themselves and the Labour Party; on the contrary they welcomed any association of the Labour Party with themselves. In the setting which the I.L.P. leadership gave it, this putting up of these two candidates became a parliamentary manoeuvre, a bargaining counter in the moves for affiliation, and a piqued reprisal against the Labour Party's opposition to McGovern.

The reason given in the "New Leader" for the clash with the Labour Party was not that it was a question of different programmes—none of the statements of the candidates in the "New Leader" of July 7th deals with the Labour Party or its programme—but was that the I.L.P. thought that it had a better chance than the Labour Party of defeating the Tories. The author of "Behind the News" (New Leader June 30th) declared "the result of Bilston will depend on which candidate—I.L.P. or Labour—can convince the workers that he has the greater chance of defeating the Tory." The same went for East Bradford. So we can see that the result of the election depended on the I.L.P. convincing the workers, not of the correctness of its policy, but of its mathematical calculations!

In Bilston the leadership's policy here frayed entirely at variance with the glowing estimates in the "New Leader" at the beginning of the campaign. Suddenly, on July 14th the "New Leader" informs its readers that the figures of the election may not be good. The reason it gives, is that the Labour Party had superior organisation. But the real reason here is that the chickens have come home to roost. Although Eaton stands on the left wing of the leadership of the I.L.P. the high vote at the by-election which he fought at Bilston was given to him not because of his personal popularity, but because the workers identified the I.L.P. with the Labour Party. Now, with no sharp lines being drawn by the I.L.P. between the two organisations,

the workers cannot see any reason why the I.L.P. should split the vote. Hence their hostility and what the "New Leader" calls a landslide against Eaton in Bilston.

In East Bradford, again the I.L.P. was gaining its vote, not on the basis of the difference of its programme to that of the Labour Party, but by mainly appealing to the traditions and memory of Fred Jowett who was a prominent I.L.P.er.

That the I.L.P., lacking in principled policy, could not give a lead to the disoriented membership has been made abundantly clear. Their analyses of the General Election struggle as being simply one of Left versus Right, and their instructions to members to support the "best" Socialist with the "best" chance has been no lead at all. It has been a vessel out of which I.L.P.ers have poured any policy which suited their individual tastes, supporting Common Wealth, Independent, or Labour Party, according to their whims and degree of understanding, which must have caused differences in districts and even branches.

The action of a number of those sectarians who, as reported in the last article, had in the past a "principled intransigence" to a link up with the Labour Party, have proved a classical example of sectarianism being the opposite side of the coin to opportunism. The spectacle of these members, rushing from a position in which they described the Labour Party as "dead", and in any case very little different from the Tory Party, to support of the Labour Party which led them in some cases to put an appearance on Labour Party platforms—putting forward the I.L.P. programme—displayed the complete bankruptcy of their theories.

I.L.P.ers would do well to study carefully Fenner Brockway's summing up of the election. Brockway stresses again the sense of frustration in the party. That sense of frustration exists because of the policy of the leadership; their manoeuvres with the L.P. on the election; their policy which led the party into a position where it was fighting the Labour Party in Bilston and East Bradford with no clear distinguishing programme, while in other areas complete and unconditional support was being given to the Labour Party.

Brockway, of course does not pin the responsibility for the frustration on himself and other leaders. He analyses it as being due to the smallness of the I.L.P. in face of the forces of the Labour Party and Tory Party. But a small party with a correct revolutionary policy, which would have assessed the swing of the workers to the Labour Party, and on the basis of the approach, expressed in the slogan "Labour to Power", would have felt no frustration but would have grasped at the possibilities of the situation. However the I.L.P., far from gaining from the favourable possibilities of the election, has emerged weaker.

It is true that Brockway, in his articles again and again seeks to enthrone the I.L.P.ers with the possibilities of the future. Basing himself on his memories of the "resurrection" of the I.L.P. after the last war, he holds out as a goal to the membership a future of increasing militancy on the part of the Labour movement in which the I.L.P. will find its place.

It is undoubtedly true there exist great possibilities in the future period for a party seeking to lead the workers towards the conquest of power. But that party must have a revolutionary programme and a Marxist understanding which enables it to

characterise correctly the development of the workers and the role of their parties. The I.L.P. leadership has neither a revolutionary programme nor a Marxist understanding. Brockway sees the development of the Labour Party to militancy and what he calls an "international socialist position" not as a result of the pressure of the workers and a conscious desire of the leaders to retain their hold on them, but as a result of the reform of the Labour Party. He sees the Labour party as something like a bad boy who will learn the error of its ways and in the future get on to the right road in company with Brockway, McNair and Co.

The workers in the I.L.P. who have assessed the main task in building a revolutionary party in Britain in the future, as one of breaking the hold of reformism on the workers, must realise that Brockway and Co. are already outlining now the role they will play in the period when the workers are entering the great class struggles that face us. Such a period demands a revolutionary intransigence both to the ruling class and reformism, coupled with an ability to teach the workers on the basis of their experiences. Yet every issue of the "New Leader" shows the leadership yielding not only to reformist pressure but to that of the ruling class. In the "New Leader" of July 14th, Brockway addresses himself not to the workers but to "democrats" and stoops to the lowest form of language—parliamentary language or f which the ruling class is not at all afraid. He talks of a Mr. Churchill "who has always been the enemy of the workers... but for the greater part of his career there were capacities in him which one could respect... He went to the heart of issues, he raised fundamental principles."

That may be a very gentlemanly way to describe Churchill, but the politician who in this way adds to the Churchill hysteria whipped up by the gutter press; who describes in this way the personification of ruling class hypocritical exploitation of workers' ideals, and its cunning unscrupulous opposition to all struggles of the oppressed—has not a grain of revolutionary spirit in him.

The Brockways are tired of isolation and want desperately to sink their responsibilities in the fold of the Labour Party. The honest left wing of the I.L.P. must see that a leadership like this which leaves the party to flounder during a General Election, will never be capable of leading the workers through the mighty struggles that lie ahead. Only a party with a revolutionary Marxist programme can ensure the victory in those struggles. To struggle for that is the lesson which the left must learn from the role of the I.L.P. in the election.

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Organised Workers Must Control Vigilante Committees

By HAROLD ATKINSON

The Housing Vigilantes movement is spreading. In Brighton a chimney sweep, Harry Crowley, 55-year-old veteran of the last war, formed a "direct-action" committee which took over an empty house and installed in it the wife and family of a naval petty officer.

This was at the beginning of July. Since then the Brighton Vigilantes have made further similar moves which have met with varying measures of success. Many of the Brighton landlords now keep their empty premises bolted and locked, and on at least one occasion police have been there to prevent "unlawful" occupation. Similar movements are now springing up in other areas. At the time of writing there are reports of Vigilantes in Lincolnshire, Southend, in London districts, Acton, Maida Vale and Lewisham.

Chief among the obstacles in the way of a national housing programme, are the vested interests stemming from the private ownership of the land and the building industry. Even where local authorities are attempting to acquire sites in order to erect council houses for workers and returning soldiers, they are being obstructed at every turn. The racket in site prices is too well known to need repetition, but even this tremendous obstacle is far from being the only one. In Newmarket, where it is claimed by the local Labour candidate that the slums are worse than anywhere else in the whole of Europe, including the Balkan countries, the housing committee is unable to obtain land for building sites because it is needed by the idle rich for the breeding and training of racehorses! At Appleby in Westmorland and at Skipton, Yorkshire, housing programmes are being stalled due to a disagreement between the local councils and the owners of two old feudal castles. These feudal "barons" object to the proposed use of land adjacent to the castles as erected by the councils which houses the views from their castles! In the blitzed industrial areas, Liverpool, Coventry, etc., such obstructions abound.

So much for the landlords. The position is no better regarding the other "sharks", the private builders. A small firm in Edgware, Middlesex, submitted plans for the rapid production, at low cost, of pre-fabricated permanent houses. These would be basically an engineering job and go far to overcome the shortage of building labour. But this proposal was blocked by the

building capitalists through their instrument the Ministry of Works who stated: "Too much accommodation at possibly too low rents is going to hit other people." Such examples typify the general position. Until these obstacles are swept away; until the landlords and building capitalists are expropriated and the building industry placed under workers' control the housing position will only become more and more hopeless.

The failure of British capitalism to provide homes for the masses, while the ruling classes have themselves, accommodation to spare is the spark which has set the "direct-action" movement in motion.

And whilst the ultimate solution is only to be found under socialism, this "requisitioning" by Vigilantes and workers' committees of empty houses, particularly those not needed by their wealthy owners, at least serves to alleviate the most chronic cases of housing shortage. This type of activity is capturing the popular imagination and will in all probability spread.

Up to now the Vigilante movement appears to have concerned itself only with the problems of the servicemen's families. It is essential that the wives and families of the serving men should be cared for by such direct-action committees. But it should not be left to ex-servicemen as such to give leadership in such a movement. It is the duty of militant workers to participate and give leadership in order to render more effective and broaden the scope of the Vigilante housing movement and above all to prevent such movements from providing a basis for divisions in the ranks of the working class along the lines of ex-servicemen and workers who have not been in the forces. It is necessary to arouse the widest strata of the Labour movement to take over such activities and give them a clear CLASS orientation.

By moving resolutions in the trade union branches, trades councils and Labour and Co-operative parties, drawing attention to the fact that there is empty living accommodation available while people remain homeless! and demanding the organisation by the local Labour movement of workers' committees to apportion the available accommodation, we can bring into operation, as an action slogan, our programmatic demand for allocation of housing under control of tenants' committees.

Italian Cabinet Shift

BY PECK — (ITALY)

Italy has a new cabinet. Bonomi has given place to Ferruccio Parri, leader of the Action Party—the Italian equivalent to the British Common Weal.

The Stalinist and reformist press hail the new government as a "victory for the working class". In fact, nothing has been changed. A few cabinet posts have been juggled about, the Action and Socialist Parties are now in the government instead of giving "critical support" from without. Otherwise its the same old faces and the same old policies—or rather lack of policies.

Two issues held up the formation of the new government for fifty-two days. First there was the question of the Premiership. Both the Christian Democrats, speaking for the Vatican, and the Socialists wanted the post. Parri, representing the radical wing of the middle class, was pushed forward as a compromise. Then the fight started all over again. The Christian Democrats and the Socialists once more pushed forward their respective candidates—this time for the key position of Minister of Interior. In view were the forthcoming elections for the Constituent Assembly. The Minister of Interior would be in a position to manipulate the votes—thus the parties which constitute the Committee of National Liberation openly showed their distrust of each other.

Throughout the crisis there were constant meetings between the representatives of the six parties. There were constant comings and goings to and from the Royal Palace, where the various leaders went to consult Crown Prince Umberto, Lieutenant of the Realm. There were interviews between the party leaders and the British and American Ambassadors. Everyone was consulted—except the mass of the Italian people. No one thought of consulting them about their future government. Everything was done behind closed doors, without the knowledge of the people, who were compelled to play their destinies were being decided by their "leaders". This deal is what the Stalinists and Socialists hail as a "victory for the working class."

In actual fact, the forces of reaction have come out of the crisis considerably strengthened. It was precisely such recurrent governmental crises which enabled Mussolini and the Fascists to play on the theme that democracy was bankrupt and unable to create "stability". Of all the parties, the Stalinist have suffered the greatest loss in prestige. For weeks Togliatti was the target of ribald comment in the right-wing

press. Wrote the Christian Democrat "Domani di Italia": "Since when has Signor Togliatti been so particular about the government he served in. Not only did he serve in both Bonomi cabinets, but he also participated in the Badoglio government, under the rotten King Victor Emmanuel III."

It is generally agreed that both the Socialist and Action Parties have gained considerably at the expense of the Stalinists. The wing of the Socialist Party, led by Ignazio Silone, which is opposed to fusion with the Communist Party, has also been considerably strengthened and within the C.P. the anti-Togliatti feeling is growing.

Nenni's prestige has soared considerably. His arrest by the British authorities did his reputation no harm, especially as Togliatti was left unmolested though he too broke the "no speeches" ban during the same period. Nenni stumped the country with a series of demagogic speeches, which found ready response in the militant mood of the workers. Prophetically Nenni declared: "I have no intention of playing the role of a Noske." He said nothing about playing the role of a Kerensky.

Meanwhile, real power remains in the hands of Anglo-American imperialism. The key posts of Ministers of the Army, Navy and Air cannot be filled without Allied approval. This gives the Allies complete control of the Italian armed forces, as an auxiliary to the occupation troops. In the North, AMG remains in virtual control.

There is no way in which the new government can solve the grave economic crisis. The fact that Togliatti is now Minister of Justice instead of Deputy Prime Minister, that Nenni is now inside the cabinet instead of outside it, will not provide jobs for Italy's hundreds of thousands of unemployed, it will not enhance the value of the lire or curb the Black Market. No shuffling or re-shuffling of ministerial posts can accomplish this. Even the bureaucracy of 24 under-secretariats which have been created to satisfy all the party claims for cabinet posts will not contribute to a solution of Italy's grave problems.

the drastic re-division of the land and its collectivisation under a planned economy can create the conditions necessary for the modernisation of Italy's agrarian economy, which alone can insure the increased production. Italy needs increased industrial activity to provide jobs for her unemployed and to maintain and improve the standard of living of the masses. Only the nationalisation of industry under workers' control and the introduction of a sliding scale of wages with a basic minimum and a sliding scale of hours, corresponding to the needs of production can accomplish this. Italy needs, not a new Premier and new allocation of cabinet posts, but the active participation of the worker and peasant masses in the political and economic life of the country.

The faith with which the Italian workers streamed back into their traditional parties as the Fascist regime came crashing down, is gradually giving way to cynicism. This last crisis was marked by the complete indifference shown by the workers to its outcome. They cry for bread and jobs; and get a new Premier. As yet, this cynicism has not yet found positive expression. The Italian workers have not yet found the road to the programme of Trotskyism, the programme of the Socialist Revolution. They still hope that a few more Socialists or Communists in the coalition cabinet will help to solve their problems. To completely expose the Stalinist and Socialist quacks, the Workers Communist Party, Italian Section of the Fourth International, are pushing forward their demand that these parties break with their capitalist allies, that they put their programme to the test by forming a Socialist-Communist Government. There is no doubt that such a step would meet with enthusiastic support from the workers and peasants. By thus re-asserting their class independence, they would also prepare themselves for the next step—the overthrow of capitalism and its institutions, the setting up of a Government of Workers' and Peasants' Councils which alone can bring order out of the economic crisis and prepare the way for Socialism.

But for Italy, as for other countries, there can be no national solution of the crisis. The question of Trieste brings sharply home the complete interdependency of European economy and the anachronism of national frontiers. Only within the framework of the United Socialist States of Europe can Italy finally recover from the havoc of two decades of Fascism and five years of war. Only on this road can she return to her rightful place among the nations.

American C.P. to be Reconstituted?

French Stalinist Forewarns Change

BY D. JAMES

It seems that the American Stalinists are going to do another somersault.

Our readers will remember that in May, 1944, the U.S. Communist Party was dissolved and re-formed into a political association, its members being instructed to support the Democratic Party of U.S. capitalism. Earl Browder, its Secretary, sang hallelujahs in praise of capitalism, and their most notorious trade union leader, Harry Bridges, came out in favour of a no-strike pledge after the war. For a year the leaders of this party competed with each other in prostrating themselves before Wall Street.

The only full news of the new turn we have yet received comes from "Le Monde", the French semi-official newspaper, of June 21st, 1945. Only slight hints have crept into the British press. The British Stalinist press has been silent as the grave on the matter.

FRENCH STALINIST LEADER ATTACKS BROWDER

In the April issue of "Cahiers du Communisme" (the French equivalent of "Labour Monthly"), Jacques Duclos wrote an article attacking Browder for dissolving the Party, condemning his action as a deviation from Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Such a public attack by one section of the Stalinist movement on another can mean only one thing: that Stalin is issuing his orders to the American



BROWDER PRESIDES OVER THE DISSOLUTION OF AMERICAN C.P., 1944.

Stalinists and using Duclos as his mouthpiece.

Browder and Co. were rather slow in reacting. Perhaps they were temporarily stunned. In any case, Duclos' article was ignored in America until a columnist in the "New York World Telegram" printed the news on May 22nd. Further silence being impossible the New York "Daily Worker", two days later, printed the text of Duclos' article with an introduction by Browder.

AMERICAN STALINISTS "RECOGNISE MISTAKES"

In this introduction, Browder followed the routine familiar in the Stalinist movement, and made a "confession" (similar to Pollitt's "recognition" of his "error" in supporting the war in September, 1939). While not endorsing Duclos' conclusions, Browder said that his opinions should be considered with respect, and might lead "American Marxists" (1) to reconsider their attitude. Especially in view of "a new period of sharpening struggles, crises and profound changes which was opening up."

But sackcloth and ashes probably won't save Browder. Whenever the Stalinist line changes, a new "leader" always comes to the fore. We remember how Dutt eclipsed Pollitt during (Continued on Back Page.)

The Truth About Aldershot

(Continued from page 1)

After this display the rage of the men knew no bounds. Faced with violence that had arisen out of a situation stupid and ridiculous to start with, they reacted in the only way their conditioning would allow them to. Trained for years to the axiom: "Any time you are in doubt don't remain inactive—do something!" they carried into effect what training and battle experience had taught them. The fire engine was speedily put out of commission and then the lads gave their answers to the demonstration of force they were faced with, by knocking out every window within reach as a protest against the treatment they were receiving. Also as a warning of what was to come should they continue to be kept penned up and discriminated against.

Climbing on a jeep a colonel tried to pacify the already aroused and embittered men with lying promises and was howled down, hundreds shouted angrily: "We've heard that bunk before—get off that truck and shut up or we'll pull you off!" "We were here long before the Yanks came over, what's the idea of sending them back first?"

If ever anyone got a raw deal these lads are getting one. For they are nearly all men with 5 years service or more in the Army and are just returned from the continent. Volunteers for the Pacific war, they are among the very first ones to enter the Canadian Forces in '39, '40 and '41. The majority are veterans and battle-tested, the people whom the capitalist press in the past spoke of as: "Those splendid Canadians who came here in England's darkest hour". Today they are being starved as were the British miners in the spring of 1944 who with sons and brothers in the front lines, were forced to fight against deplorable conditions at home and brave the insults of journalists who a few years back were Hitler's friends.

The contemptible lie that all the trouble here was caused by a tiny percentage of malcontents and ringleaders, is as false as is the story that the majority of the men were not in sympathy with those against whom fire-engines and the mailed fist of military law were unsuccessfully used. The truth is that the action of the men was spontaneous and in direct answer to provocation arising out of developments over which they had no control.

Fear of developments to come, with hundreds of thousands of young veterans still to be repatriated from the continent and of political repercussions in Canada, will be the chief factors holding vicious retaliatory measures in check.

The reason why Canadian troops are denied access to shipping that would land them home in a few days, while American units are being taken over first despite their much shorter period of service is due to deliberate policy on the part of American capitalism. American imperialism controls the shipping pool. Churchill in his talks with Roosevelt on a joint effort in the war against Japan had to fight doggedly for the right of British capitalism to send any troops at all to the Far East. The American capitalist class much preferred to finish the job on their own once Germany had been dealt with. None realise better than the English ruling class, however, the truth of the old adage that: "Possession is nine points of the law", and so they preferred to liberate their own rubber plantations in Malaya as well as to set New Guinea, Hong Kong and a few

other places free all by themselves. British capitalism today is under the dominance of Wall Street and the primary concern of Washington in moving troops will be dictated by what measures best serve their immediate interests. So they are embarking their own forces independent of the situation created by the disappointment of others, and curiously disregarding the protests of Canadian authorities who clearly see trouble ahead for themselves.

In the army-controlled newspaper "Maple Leaf" dated July 9th, there is an article by Wallace Reyburn, Montreal Standard correspondent, in which he implies that an insignificant minority had caused the trouble in Aldershot and in so doing had created ill-feeling amongst the townspeople and ruined the respect of the citizens for Canadian troops.

The facts are that the Aldershot people have known the Canadians for years, have seen our lads day after day carrying on willingly enough and showing no small share of good nature and good humour, honest in their dealings, considerate of others, courteous to womenfolk, a bit rough-hewn perhaps judged by the English middle class as to adhere, but nevertheless a good and dependable bunch of plugs as men come and go. Tens of thousands of pounds of their pay has been spent here and the Canadian soldier is no piker when it comes to putting his money on the counter.

And the Canadian soldiers in demonstration in this town did not lower themselves in the eyes of the people who live and work here, and who realise the boys had no personal resentment against them.

The action taken was forced upon them as the result of a situation created by international dickering which had as its objective the welfare of Canadian troops as a last consideration. Among the soldiers here there is no small regard for the qualities of the people of this country. 20 thousand Canadian have so far entered applications to make their homes in England. This in contrast to the last war when only 3,000 wished to remain here at the finish and when nearly 50 per cent of the army strength consisted of men who were British born. In this war only 10 per cent of the Canadian forces are other than native sons and the number who have come here in this last war is slightly increased over 1914-18.

The Canadian worker in uniform has benefited by his experience in Britain, his outlook has broadened and his level of political development is far higher than it was when leaving Canada. More troops voted C.C.F. (The Canadian Socialist Party) than for either the Liberals or Conservatives, because Army life for them has exposed the rottenness of bureaucratic control, the contempt in which the rank and file are held by a small handful of Big Shots at the top, and the cruel deceit which is employed by those in control in order to subjugate the majority to their will. Hand-in-hand with this awakening has come the influence of contacts with class-conscious British workers whose conditions of life, ideas and outlook can be readily understood by the Canadian workers temporarily in uniform. Once back on civvy street the soldier will take his place alongside the workers, unemployed or employed and will throw his full weight into the fight for decent living standards, for ownership and control of industry, transportation and raw material resources by the workers.

Allied Troops End Support Midland "Non-Frat." Order Transport Strike

(Continued from page 1.)

standam, once Berlin's most fashionable and proudest boulevard."

"Sitting comfortably there, sipping a brandy, real brandy which cost 30s. for a little finger, George gave me the prices he can get on Berlin's black market from the city's once smart set. They are per pound:

Fresh dairy butter, £47; sugar, £7. 10s.; dried peas £3. 15s.; meat £9; sausage, £9; bread (outside the rationed amount) £2. 10s.; coffee, £35; tea, £45.

Cigarettes, £1 each cigars £1. 5s.; new suit, £250 to £300; men's and women's shoes, of bad ersatz leather £70 a pair; home made "fire-water" £40 a bottle; real rum, £62. 10s.; whisky, £80; champagne, £10; Rhine wine, £8.

A cake of soap £7. 10s.; bicycles, £250 each; radio sets, £175."

Thus, in Germany—as in every country—amid the ruin and misery of Germany, the capitalist vultures bathe and thrive.

The Anglo-American imperialists regard the sufferings of the German people with apathy and cynicism. But a new note is beginning to creep into their pronouncements. Open fraternisation will accelerate the realisation by the Allied troops that the German workers are no different to themselves.

The "Times" military correspondent in its issue of July 13th openly declares:

"... no one in possession of the facts and figures, up to the highest authority, expresses complete confidence that something approaching famine in the Ruhr can be avoided this winter. The most that is claimed is that all reasonable measures are being energetically taken with the best professional advice, and that if the winter crisis can be survived the future will be much brighter. AND A BRITISH ARMY OF OCCUPATION COULD SCARCELY CONTINUE TO EXIST AMID STARVATION."

Another capitalist paper points to the horror with which dead and dying men, women and children in the streets of the German cities would be greeted by the British and American troops.

Thus the allies look with foreboding to the situation which is developing in Germany. Meanwhile, as the "Times"

PARTY NOTES

(Continued from page 2)

slogans were easily the most effective, which were "Down with Tory Reaction—Labour to Power." "Down with Churchill—Labour to Power." The local press commented on our slogans and one had a small cartoon depicting the Trotskyists chalking the streets.

In the constituency where the C.P. were splitting the vote we whitewashed the streets with such slogans as "No split in the workers vote—Demand Dutt Withdraw." "A vote for Dutt is a vote for Churchill—Labour to Power." The effective were our slogans that the Stalinists wrote to the "Evening Dispatch" pointing out to the people of Oldbury that they were not responsible for the slogans appearing on the pavements and that they had nothing to do with the R.C.P. and the Fourth International. It is clear that these slogans were embracing to them because of the future perspective of a popular front including Churchill and the men of Yalta. Their further statements that we were hindering the Labour Party was an obvious lie and would be repudiated by members of the Labour Party in the three constituencies where we worked.

Several very successful meetings were held in Sparkbrook and the Bull Ring addressed by Comrade Ajit Roy, Gladys Wimbush, Percy Downey and other local members. At all these meetings the collections were good and so to "Socialist Appeal" we were given by the C.P. and Labour Party meetings the sales of the "Socialist Appeal" were from 100 to 150 and we had easily the highest sale of literature of any organisation. In fact the Stalinists became so worried that they planted a member at the door to ask people not to read our paper.

The election campaign of the R.C.P. in Birmingham has put us on the map," writes Comrade Wimbush. "The Labour Party rank and file are generally sympathetic and several C.P.ers, disillusioned with the class collaborationist policy of the Stalinists, are finding their way into our ranks."

Liverpool: Great headway has been made for our party as the result of the election campaign in the area. Open air meetings were held mainly on the docks with excellent response. On five occasions the Labour candidate in one area spoke from our platform. 10,000 copies of a leaflet printed by the Merseyside District Committee of the R.C.P. entitled "Vote Labour Without Illusions" were distributed and were well received.

Sheffield: Comrade Cleminson, Secretary of the Sheffield Branch writes:

"On receipt of the Election directive from the centre, the Branch members reported for work to the Central Division of the Labour Party."

"We stated that our assistance would have more point in the Brightside and Hallam constituencies, as a C.P. candidate was opposing the L.P. and Tory in these two divisions. But we were promptly requested to work in the Central Division as the help was weakest there and was a Tory seat."

"All members have put from 2 to 4 evenings per week in canvassing, etc. One member, Comrade P. Hulley, was a full time helper in charge of the Central Committee room. I was asked to attend the Committee as R.C.P. delegate."

"We attended C.P. meetings for questions, but after getting in a few at early meetings, were halted with abuse upon raising questions at later meetings. 200 'Socialist Appeals' were sold outside the C.P.'s main meeting at the City Hall."

"The whole Branch of the R.C.P. was invited to a social function after the election Party and were thanked personally by Morris, in appreciation of work put in by the Labour candidate for Central."

"We also assisted in the West Derbyshire area."

Newcastle: The most successful election campaign conducted by our party was undoubtedly

has admitted, Germany forms an integral and fundamental part of European economy. In fact it remains the hub of European economy. To ruin Germany and lower the standard of living is to help in the decay and decline of Europe. But already in the docks of Hamburg, in Berlin and other cities men and women are being paid 4d. an hour by the Allied authorities! This at a time when prices of anything beyond the barest necessities are of the fantastic nature described.

The Stalinist Bureaucracy in the part of Germany occupied by themselves are playing a double game. While wooing the masses with fine phrases and simultaneously propping up the capitalists, they have been stripping Germany and Austria systematically of a large part of the machinery, stocks and clothes and other goods. Having turned their back to the only real alternative for Germany and Europe—a Socialist United States in which all would collaborate to build a new world, they are plundering Europe in order to strengthen Russia.

But already, according to reports, this is having its effect in Austria where the workers are beginning to turn their backs on the C.P. quislings of Stalin. According to information received, the Trotskyists and former Spartacists have formed the German Section of the Fourth International. In Russian occupied Germany the Stalinist press is already beginning to denounce the Trotskyists and Trotskyist tendencies. Coming events will push the German workers in the direction of revolutionary communism.

The measures of repression by the Allies will have the same fate as the non-fraternisation ban. The British and American soldiers will get tired of acting as policemen for the Allied capitalists. They will wish to go home, where already struggles between the workers and the bosses are taking place. The peace imposed by the Allied victors will be not much more durable than that imposed by Hitler in Europe. In the coming years the German, British, Russian, American and European workers and soldiers under the leadership of the Fourth International, will write their own programme of peace: a programme of fraternity and co-operation on the basis of the Socialist United States of Europe.

Tories Use Anti-Semitism

The war for "freedom and democracy" is not yet "won", and the horrors suffered by the Jews in the concentration camps of Buchenwald and Belsen are still fresh in the minds of the mass of the people. Yet the British ruling class has not hesitated to use veiled anti-semitism in its election campaign.

The Laski "scare" was a thinly disguised appeal to anti-Jewish prejudice. Laski was chosen as the target for Tory attack, not merely because he was this year's Labour Party chairman, but because his name ends in 'skit' and he happens to be a Jew.

The Tories deliberately used the latent wide-spread anti-semitism that exists in more backward sections of the country, in order to maintain their class rule.

Anti-semitism is here clearly revealed, not as something peculiar to fascist Germany, but as a weapon that is constantly brought out and practised by capitalist reaction of every variety, where its privileged position is in danger.

Anti-semitism has always had an economic basis and an economic function. Wherever tottering capitalism has been unable to solve the problems created by its out-lived system, its rapacious greed, the ruling class has resorted to this reactionary prejudice: it has used Jew-baiting as a means of diverting the attention of the masses from their miseries.

R.C.

in Newcastle where our comrades, carried the message of the party throughout the North-East. Our meetings were in all cases the largest meetings of any political party.

Our critical attitude towards the Labour Party and our demand of "Labour to Power on a Socialist programme" was almost unanimously endorsed by the workers. In a detailed chart sent in by Comrade Binah it is revealed that 17 meetings were held and our message was heard by at least 3,500 workers. At the Town Moor we had an audience of 650 and a collection for the R.C.P. raised £2. 17. 0. In all, the comrades collected in coppers from their audiences £17. 0. 0. for the funds of the R.C.P.

Comrade Auld was a full time worker for the Labour Party.

From other areas we have had the same reports, but space does not permit us to deal with them all.

M. LEE

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Nigerians Strike for 2s 6d a Day

(Continued from page 1.)

He now has the audacity to blame the workers.

The first Saturday of the strike, during the negotiations with the management, a satisfactory formula for a solution was arrived at, but the management insisted upon the men returning to work before its application, in spite of the fact that it could have been put into immediate operation. This is the usual method of the bosses to break a strike—Make promises, get the men back and then conveniently forget the promises and so break the spirit and the organisation of the strike.

The militant workers at Dudley Garage were not taken in, they have no faith in the promises of the management. The sympathetic strikers at other garages returned for 48 hours to give the bosses a chance to negotiate, but during this period

Nigerians Strike for 2s 6d a Day

(Continued from page 1.)

of the latter with lynching. The Government also took the following steps:

1. It threatened not to pay the strikers their June salary and to forfeit all their pensions, gratuities and contractual rights.

2. It arrested and later discharged four railway workers' strike leaders on charges of participating in an illegal strike.

3. It promised that there would be no victimisation of the workers if they resumed their duties immediately.

4. It publicly accused the strikers of sabotaging the transport communication systems, leading to the derailment of a train at Oshodi, and of cutting the telephone lines between Lagos and Minna.

5. It arrested ten alleged leaders of the strike. Action was withdrawn against one, when they appeared for trial.

The leaders of the strike, on behalf of the workers, replied with five demands. At a great mass rally at Lagos the workers swore on oath not to return until their demands are met. Their demands are:—

1. Pay the strikers for the period during which they have been on strike.

2. Guarantee their pensions and other rights.

3. Give an assurance that there will be no victimisation of strikers.

4. Immediately release the strike leaders.

5. That their original demands be granted.

The high standard of militancy and class awareness of this comparatively young working-class is further demonstrated by the treatment given to the president of the Nigerian Trades Union Congress, Bankole, who advised the workers to return to work. He was ragged by the strikers and had to be rescued by the police! Later he was deported and Imoudu, a young Trade Union leader just released after four years in gaol, was elected president of the N.T.U.C.

The average wage of a Nigerian worker is 10d. a day. A year ago it was raised from 5d. to 10d. a day. Along with this, discontent with the dictatorial and arbitrary administration of the British imperialist Government has been growing steadily. In an attempt to stem this rising tide the British Government issued in March a White Paper which announced "great democratic" changes in Nigeria. That these constitutional changes were illusory is clearly demonstrated by the Government's action in face of the elementary demands of the workers. The White Paper has turned out to be but a flimsy cover for the dragon tooth and claw of British imperialist domination.

Workers everywhere must protest against the policy of the British Government in Nigeria. Resolutions demanding the release of the strike leaders, freedom of the press and speech, and the granting of 2/6d. a day by the British Government should be sent to the Colonial Office immediately. Every organised worker should demand that the British Trade Union leaders conduct a serious struggle in support of the Nigerian workers' demands.

manoeuvres grow wilder, the excuse wears thinner. Who can possibly believe that people who have made the disgraceful statements in support of capitalist imperialism that Browder (and Pollitt) have, are anything but time servers? No matter how much they may mouth "revolutionary" phrases from time to time, they are dead to revolutionary politics, dead to the interests of the working class.

The interests of the working class demand a consistent policy of struggle against capitalism, a principled position based on the irreconcilable struggle of interests between the workers and capitalists. The unprincipled manoeuvres of the Stalinists, of which this is but one of thousands, can only disgust honest workers who are looking for a road to socialism. They will find this road in the programme and organisation of the Fourth International, which alone denounced the betrayal by the American Stalinists from a Marxist point of view right from the beginning.

nothing was done and at the end of the truce the 25 garages were out again. They realise that the fight against the attack on conditions at Dudley is their fight also, and they are standing firm with their fellow-workers at Dudley.

The majority of the transport workers are in the T. & G.W.U. but the struggle is complicated by the existence of the breakaway union, the National Passenger Workers Union which is not recognised or affiliated to the T.U.C. The men of the N.P.W.U. are putting up a militant and well-organised fight, but an organisationally united struggle against the attacks of the bosses would strengthen the ranks of the workers.

The feeling of solidarity with the Midland Red bus strikers is being shown by donations that are coming in from various parts of the country to assist the strikers win their battle.

Show your solidarity by sending a donation to: J. Denbury, Dudley Sports & Social Club, Midland Red, Dudley.



Glasgow.

The Editor,
Socialist Appeal,
Dear Comrade,

I have been asked to pass on the following information which is of particular interest to comrades on the Docks. In view of the struggles that are taking place on the Docks today and in the immediate past, it is highly significant to note that work is still being pushed on with the Emergency Invasion Ports which, it has been recently disclosed, were set up to bring food into this country should the regular ports be attacked.

The reports that appeared in the press regarding these ports tried to give the impression that the government were no longer going to use them and certainly there is no conceivable excuse on the grounds of invasion danger. The real reason is probably not hard to guess, for the continued work on the Ports.

Winston Churchill has always been partial to the use of troops against workers. Llanely during the Railway strike, Tonypanddy, the ordering of gunboats to the Liverpool docks when the Dockers were on strike spring to mind. Undoubtedly the plan is to beat the Dockers to their knees at some chosen date in the future by diverting shipping to these Ports run as they are by the Army with soldiers as cheap labour, and starving the Dockers back to work.

The bulk of the soldiers at these ports are feeling uneasy at the prospect of, in effect, black-legging on the fellow workers—many of them being dockers in civvy street realise only too well how the Dockers have only ever achieved anything by struggle.

Yours fraternally,
F. W.

Malta Force,
26.6.45.

Dear Comrade,

This is to acknowledge literature received for which many thanks. The "Socialist Appeals" are like a cool draught of good sense after reading the reactionary "Times of Malta", which is the only daily on this sun-baked outpost of British imperialism.

At the moment, of course, the General Election is very much in the fore in our thoughts and discussions, but in common with public opinion at home, one finds amongst the lads here a complete rejection of Tory election propaganda, although they have yet to be disillusioned about the Labour Party leaders and their rosy promises.

Yours fraternally,
L.A.C.

American C.P.

(Continued from page 3)

the anti-war period of the British C.P., and Pollitt made a come-back after June, 1941. The same thing is happening in America. One of the old hacks, William Z. Foster, who had been out of the limelight for some years, saw his opportunity and rushed into print with an article in the (U.S.) "Daily Worker" of June 10th, criticising Browder. He compared Browder's position to the traditional reformism of the social-democrats. He attacked him particularly for his idea that capitalism is fundamentally progressive, and for keeping silent about imperialism, especially American imperialism.

HAVE BROWDER AND DUCLOS BEEN CONVERTED TO MARXISM?

The spectacle of these old Stalinist hacks suddenly "discovering Marxism" is very funny. We recall that Duclos, as leader of the French C.P., was responsible for making a statement (printed in the Mid-May issue of "Socialist Appeal") that the Party renounced even a struggle for reforms in France, and denying the necessity of freedom for her colonies. We remember that the National Committee and the Conference of the American C.P. (including William Z. Foster) unanimously supported Browder's motion to dissolve the Party in 1944. The recent "conversion" of such people is no more a return to Marxism than the British C.P.'s opposition to the war in 1939-41 was a genuine revolutionary position.

CHANGE DUE TO STALIN'S DIPLOMACY

The opposition to the war at that time was entirely due to the Stalin-Hitler Pact; and when the latter was broken the C.P. policy changed overnight to support of the war. The somersault in America is due to the same causes. Relations between the

USSR and the Western Powers were particularly strained at the time of Duclos' article. Stalin felt the need of an organisation within America to support his policy and weaken American imperialism in the fight to divide up Europe. So the American Stalinists, who during the period of "agreement" between the Stalinist bureaucracy and American imperialism had given unconditional support to Wall Street, were instructed to take up a line of opposition.

In the meantime a temporary agreement has again been reached on the basis of dividing up Germany and giving Russia half. It is quite possible that Duclos and Foster will quietly drop their new-found "Marxism". On the other hand, renewed international conflicts might lead to a revival of the American C.P., and—who knows?—even of the "Communist International" if it happens to suit the needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy. As has already happened in relation to Germany, the wildest zig-zags may be expected in Stalinist policy throughout the world.

WHAT WILL POLLITT SAY?

We await with great eagerness Harry Pollitt's comments on this affair. For in 1944 he wrote a pamphlet ("Pollitt answers questions on Communist Policy") in which he vigorously defended Browder's action in dissolving the American C.P. Moreover in his latest pamphlet ("Answers to Questions") Pollitt develops a theory in all respects identical with that of Browder, arguing that capitalism can be progressive, and therefore national unity is essential between the working class and the capitalists. Will Pollitt have to confess to another "error"?

TACTICS, COMRADE!

The Stalinists always explain their zig-zags as 'tactics to meet a changing situation', and maintain that at heart they are really "Marxist". But as the

(Continued at foot of Column 5.)

(Continued in next Column.)

Pamphlets

WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE TASKS OF BRITISH WORKERS 6d.

TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL 6d

TRADE UNIONS 1d.

T.U.C. HELPS HITLER 1d.

PREPARING FOR POWER (Thesis of British Trotskyists) 5d.

A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM Cannon's Testimony in U.S. Labour Trial 6d.

THE ROAD TO INDIA'S FREEDOM by A. Scott and E. Grant 3d.

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