

30,000 IN AUSTRALIAN 'HANDS OFF JAVA'

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

OCTOBER, 1945.

TWOPENCE

Dockers, Miners, Nurses,
Ironworkers and Printers
Protest Loading Arms
Against Japanese

STRIKE

The First Great
Internationalist Strike
for Years.

by A. ROY

30,000 AUSTRALIAN WORKERS HAVE ACTIVELY DEMONSTRATED THEIR INTERNATIONAL CLASS SOLIDARITY BY COMING OUT ON STRIKE IN SUPPORT OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES OF INDONESIA, WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE. THIS IS A MAGNIFICENT DEMONSTRATION OF INTERNATIONALIST CLASS SOLIDARITY WHICH WILL BE AN INSPIRATION TO THE COLONIAL MASSES AND TO THE WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

The strikes began when the executive of the Waterside Federation decided not to handle any ship on which the Indonesian (Javanese) crew was striking, or which was suspected of carrying war materials which might be used against the Indonesian workers and peasants.

4,000 wharf labourers were the first to strike; they were joined by 10,000 miners, 5,000 ironworkers, 4,000 printers, 1,000 nurses and 600 powerhouse workers.

In Brisbane waterside workers refused to handle six Dutch ships destined for Java.

In South-East Asia, in that rich region coveted by the imperialist powers, the native peoples have risen in open revolt under the banner of freedom and independence. The "Express" of 25th September reported that tramcars have slogans painted on their sides: "Better to hell than colonised again."

JAPS AND ALLIES UNITE!

"There is one place in the world where the war is not yet over," reports the Sunday Pictorial. "It is in Java, where the Japs while waiting for the Allies to arrive to take them over, are fighting apparently on our side to keep order in the capital, Batavia and other parts against the natives. Last night they broke up a meeting of extremists demonstrating both against the Japanese and the Allies and claim-

ing independence. Armoured cars and lorries loaded with fully armed Jap soldiers have been rolling through Batavia. One Japanese was killed yesterday and Major-General Nishida, head of the Japanese Gestapo here claims that the terrorists are preparing for guerilla resistance."

In Indo-China, the French imperialists in close partnership with British and Japanese Generals are at present engaged in brutally suppressing the native population who rose in revolt against French rule. In Saigon, the capital city, the French administration was overthrown and the Indo-Chinese set up in its place a Provisional Government of their own.

The Vichyite generals who throughout the war had maintained the friendliest of collaboration with the Japanese authorities, appealed to the British for

aid and assistance. The British authorities, fearful lest the success of the native population might lead to similar movements in the British colonial areas, readily responded. The Japanese Generals also joined in. Thus, while British and Japanese maintained law and order in the streets, reinforcements of the French army, navy and air force launched an all-out effort to crush the popular movement.

Emery Pearce, Daily Herald correspondent reported: "Dawn came and French paratroops, sailors and airmen jubilantly joined in the mopping up of the Annamese irregular army. Dr. Thach, Foreign Minister in the new Annamese government and his ministerial colleagues were rudely awakened and placed under arrest. As they broke into houses and searched for arms, the French took into custody hundreds of Annamese carrying knives. Dr. Thach's official room in the town hall was lined with frustrated Annamese facing the wall, hands tied behind their backs with one long rope. These men, no more than boys, had fought back. Others were brought by the scruff of their necks. An occasional shot cracked out in the morning. Occasionally, an Annamese fell wounded. Men washed blood from the pavement. Some daring hot-headed natives tried to cut the road to our air-field but British, Gurkha and Japanese troops pushed them aside quickly and firmly."

How quickly the imperialist powers, who only yesterday were fighting each other, sacrificing the lives of millions in the process, have united in firm fraternity in defence of their common class interests. Lord Louis Mountbatten, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces frantically wired the Japanese Generals not to let go their hold over their possessions, until Allied reinforcements arrived. "Asia for the Asiatics", are earning the gratitude of their yesterday's enemies, by holding the native peoples

(Continued on page 4.)

TRADE UNION LEADERS TO VICTIMISE PIT 'ABSENTEES'

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF THE MINERWORKERS' UNION, ACCORDING TO THE "NEWS CHRONICLE" OF SEPTEMBER 21st, HAS DECIDED ON A "NEW DISCIPLINARY SYSTEM AGAINST ABSENTEES." THIS SYSTEM WILL, WE ARE TOLD, WORK AS FOLLOWS:

"When a man has been reported as a persistent absentee the Pit Production Committee will, if they think he ought to be disciplined, report him to his Union branch.

WASH ITS HANDS

If his own comrades decide that he is really a defaulter they will give him a serious warning. They will stress the vital importance of increasing output and of doing everything possible to make nationalisation a success.

Should the man remain recalcitrant the Union will wash its hands of him and if he is sacked it will mean his leaving the industry for good."

The reason for this change in policy, lies not in consideration for the miners but because of total failure of the attempts to use the police and the courts... This broke down on the resistance and solidarity of the miners.

But now they wish to use the miners' own organisations as the police and informers of the capitalist class.

If these "plans" were put into effect in the miners' union, they would only act to demoralise and disorganise the miners.

Absenteeism is caused by the bad conditions under which the miners labour. These plans are an ominous sign of the lack of confidence of the Labour leaders and trade union bureaucrats that nationalisation will improve the conditions and standards of the miners.

Such "planning" will meet with the contempt and disgust that it deserves from the miners. It will have even less effect than the threats of imprisonment and fining under the Coalition Government.

Miners must demand that their leaders stop playing around. The coal output in coal. Let them take action and devise schemes against them, instead of against the miners!

GERMAN CHILDREN SEEK FOOD

This is a picture of German women and children scavenging for a morsel of food among the garbage bins in a German town. These are left overs from the Allied troops of occupation. These conditions are no different to those of the Greek and other people under the Nazi occupation. The German capitalists, of course, still continue to live well while the masses starve. The organised workers of the whole world must protest against the systematic starvation of the German masses. The British workers must bring pressure to bear on the Labour Government to take measures to avert the coming catastrophe.



ADEN DEMONSTRATION HUSHED UP

BY PIE. J. KING

REPORTS OF A FURTHER DEMONSTRATION BY THE MEN IN THE SERVICES SHOW THEY ARE NOT BEING TAKEN IN BY THE GLIB TALK OF THE LABOUR LEADERS COVERING UP THEIR FAILURE TO PRODUCE AN EFFECTIVE PLAN TO SPEED UP RELEASE.

On September 9th, 1945, over 750 servicemen stationed at Aden, demonstrated before the Governor's house, and presented a petition containing about 1,000 signatures, to be forwarded to the Government.

The demonstration was preceded by considerable agitation among the units on the station, agitation which proves that workers, although in uniform, have not forgotten the lessons learned in class struggles in civilian life. Meetings were held and the petition prepared.

THE SERVICEMEN'S DEMANDS

- (a) The slowness of demobilisation.
- (b) The wastage of manpower and the carrying out of unnecessary and useless work.
- (c) The slowness of repatriation (There are men in Aden months overdue for repatriation to the U.K.)
- (d) The absence of a scheme of leave to the U.K.
- (e) The insufficiency and poor quality of food.

The demonstration made it clear that they were men who had voted for the Labour Government, and had no intention of allowing their demonstration to be used by reactionary elements to use their protest as a blow against Labour from the Right. But they were determined to bring their grievances to the attention of the Government.

The petition concludes that the service men "appreciate the difficulties facing the Government but request that the voice of the ordinary service man shall be heard along with that of the service chiefs."

But Aden is not alone. Everywhere, soldiers, sailors and airmen have their lists of grievances which require redress. While it seemed probable that there would be early demobilisation, the lads overseas have been content to do little more than grumble and "wait for the boat." But when the Govern-

ment hedges on the question of services release, it is not to be wondered at that patience wears down, and the service men are beginning to make their demands plain.

After weeks of deliberations now Attlee announces a new plan. In previous articles on the question of demobilisation, the "Socialist Appeal" has stated that unless the Labour Government took steps to speed up the release of service personnel, it would be faced with a growing movement of protest from the workers in the forces. We repeat the warning: Unless the Government takes effective steps to speed up demobilisation, the Aden demonstration will not be the last.

BLACKOUT ON PROTEST

The daily press has so far remained completely silent on the Aden demonstration. Among these was the "Daily Worker" although several rank and file members of the C.P. took part in the demonstration. We wonder what their reactions will be to the silence of the organ of the C.P. which claims to represent the workers.

Despite the blackout of news, despite the threats of disciplinary action, the discontent will continue and will develop. The Labour movement must add its voice to the growing demand for a speedier demobilisation. We know that the Labour leaders would like to keep a large section of the armed forces under arms to deal with revolts among the masses in Europe and Asia. But the Labour movement cannot allow this to take place.

PASS RESOLUTIONS IN YOUR BRANCHES AND FACTORIES DEMANDING THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE TROOPS FROM OCCUPIED COUNTRIES!

SPEED UP DEMOBILISATION!

200,000 U.S. STRIKERS Fight Wage Cuts and Redundancy

This is America. The citadel of capitalism, in the throes of reconversion from war to peace production: 1,000,000 workers unemployed 24 hours after the defeat of Japan; 4,000,000 by the beginning of September; the Reconversion Mobiliser, Snyder, estimates in a report to President Truman that 8,000,000 will be unemployed next spring; and in the next 18 months 8,000,000 men will be demobilised.

BY V. JAMES

The American capitalists feel themselves masters of the world. Conscious of their overwhelming economic and military power, which dwarfs that of every other country, they hurl themselves at the problem of peacetime production with tremendous élan. The war is over? Cancel the war contracts, demobilise the Forces! The unemployed? Don't worry, they'll be absorbed somehow! We're going to show the world what private enterprise can do!

But they overlooked one factor. They have forgotten that the basis of all their wealth and power, the 50,000,000 American workers, are not machines but human beings. The American capitalists will be forced to realise that the source of their strength is also the source of their fatal weakness. For the workers are serving notice that they have demands to make, and are determined to secure them. A great strike wave is sweeping America.

WORKERS TAKE UP THE OFFENSIVE

During the war, wage increases greater than 15% above peacetime levels were forbidden. This was the "Little Steel Formula". The workers were restrained from struggling for better wages and conditions by the "No-Strike Pledge." With the great exception of the miners, the wage-freeze and the no-strike pledge were largely effective. Not because the workers accepted them and were not prepared to struggle—there was a wave of "unofficial" strikes in 1943—but because the top leadership of the unions had agreed to abandon the class struggle during the war, and there was no militant rank-and-file movement which could give an alternative lead.

But now the situation has altered. Freed by the ending of the war from the stifling grip of wartime propaganda for "national unity", the workers are taking action to settle

their accumulated grievances. The union bureaucracy feels the wind, and has been forced to respond in some way to the feeling of the rank-and-file. For example, the leadership of the United Automobile Workers (U.A.W.-C.I.O.) has officially revoked the no-strike pledge. As a result, the wage-freeze has also been smashed. The working class is on the offensive.

THE STRIKE WAVE

The late Spring of this year saw a wave of strikes. In June, the Detroit Regional Conference of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. passed, by an overwhelming majority, a resolution in favour of breaking the Little Steel Formula (wage-freeze) by means of strike action. Conferences in the Michigan region and the Buffalo area followed suit. During the same month, 48,000 U.A.W. workers came out in Detroit. At the beginning of July, 60,000 rubber workers struck in the Goodyear and Firestone plants in Akron. The

(Continued on Back Page.)

ROLLS ROYCE SACKINGS

ROLLS ROYCE FACTORY AT HILLINGTON, GLASGOW, COVERING ONE MILLION SQUARE FEET, AND BUILT IN 1938 AT THE COST OF MILLIONS OF POUNDS OF THE TAXPAYERS MONEY, EMPLOYING 24,000 WORKERS AT ITS PEAK PERIOD IN THE WAR FOR "FREEDOM AND PLENTY" IS IN THE PROCESS OF BECOMING A DERELICT WRECK.

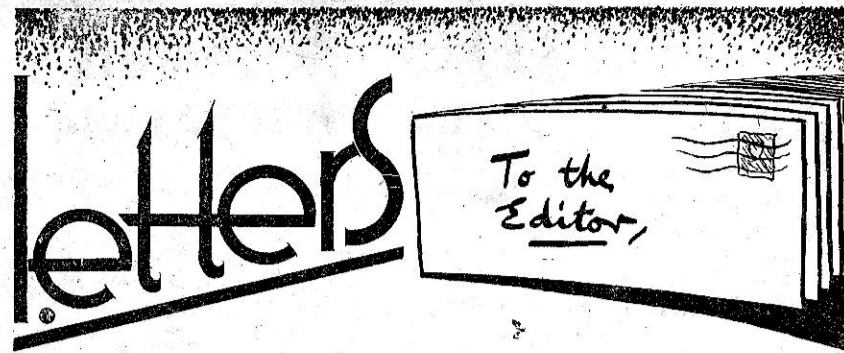
At the beginning of September, the factory was invaded by a body of Man Power Board officials, who, given the use of a Conference Room to examine the personnel records, worked a day and night shift in their haste to remove "redundant" workers from the factory.

Although 6,000 workers had already been sacked in "drabs and drabs" in the past 12 months, this was the first indication to the remaining 18,000 that big "lay-offs" were about to take place. A few days later the Shop Steward Negotiating Committee was summoned before the Management, under the chairmanship of no less a personality than Mr. Hives, deputy-controller of the Rolls Royce combine. This individual stated that they had instructions to reduce personnel owing to the cut in "Merlin" engine orders caused through the "unanticipated" collapse of the Japanese war, and that they (Rolls Royce) had in mind to reduce the factory to a compact unit of 6 blocks (there are normally 19 blocks—15 inside the main factory and 4 outside)—which may employ an average of 5,000 workers.

He further disclosed at this meeting that the Foundry (a finely equipped plant), which along with the rest of the factory is M.A.P. (Government) property, was being taken over by the Rolls Royce Company. (Nationalisation in reverse!)

Militant stewards say that when this was reported to the shop stewards, Burt, a leading Stalinist spokesman on this C.P. dominated Committee, demonstrated that he had learned well from Harry Pollitt "how to win the peace." In a disgraceful contribution, he advocated no other course than that they should "allow" the workers to

(Continued on page 4.)



From Servicemen

As a Soldier Sees Demob.

Dear Comrades,
Some people will tell us that a too rapid demobilisation would flood the labour market and release service men only to a period on the dole.

While it is true that unless the workers enforce a sliding scale of hours through workers' control of industry, mass unemployment is inevitable—the position at the moment is that there is an acute shortage of labour in the coal mining, building, textiles, clothing and other industries. Everyone, from Cabinet Ministers to journalists and Trade Union leaders is blaming the shortage of labour for lack of coal, houses, clothes, etc. And yet thousands of workers in the forces are condemned to idleness and such useless occupations as ... blanching!

The day before the demobilisation slow-down was announced, the Ministry of Labour proclaimed that during the next 8 weeks, 1,500,000 munition workers would be released for jobs in peace time production. This will certainly ease the shortage of labour; but even if this fills all the available jobs, that is no reason why the demobilised servicemen should go on the dole, or why demobilisation should be held up.

It is up to the servicemen and civilian workers to demand that if there are more men than jobs, the hours of work should be lessened so as to absorb all — war workers and demobilised servicemen.

The employers hope to take advantage of a large force of embittered unemployed demobilised servicemen and use them as a threat against employed workers, so as to attack the wage rates and conditions of all workers.

The workers and soldiers must not struggle unitedly for the division of the work among all.

The R.C.P. calls upon the workers to demand, through their trade union branches, Labour Party branches, factories — that the Labour leaders implement the policy of a sliding scale of hours with a corresponding rise in wage rates to keep up earnings.

FREEDOM FOR THE COLONIES WILL SPEED UP DEMOBILISATION

The soldiers, sailors and airmen sent out to the Far East, and those whose demob will be put off, have the right to ask: Now that the war is ended, and Japan is to be demilitarised, why are we being kept here? It is becoming clearer to the service men that the large forces required are to defend the investments and profits of British capitalism from the exploited native workers and peasants.

If the Labour Government, instead of continuing the Tory policy of defence of imperialist interests, were to pursue a socialist internationalist policy, by granting national independence to India, Burma, Malaya — it would be possible to withdraw all British troops from these countries. Just as in the Far East it is the defence of imperialist interests that necessitate large military requirements, so it is in Europe and Germany.

ANY DEMAND FOR THE SPEED UP OF DEMOBILISATION IS THEREFORE LINKED UP WITH THE SOCIALIST STRUGGLE FOR...

Belfast Meeting Special Branch Take Notes

We held our meeting yesterday, and between 80 and 90 workers attended.

The audience was, in the main, sympathetic, although we had opposition from one or two Stalinist sympathisers. The subject of the meeting was an exposure of Stalinist apologetics and "tactics". One of the opposition said that Stalin had never made a mistake since 1917! Another pro-C.P.'er said it was ridiculous to criticise Stalin for making mistakes, as everybody made mistakes!

However, we got considerable support from non-party-members, including ex-C.P.'ers, and we are very satisfied with the meeting.

Three members of the Special Branch, one to take shorthand notes, were also present.

FREEDOM OF THE COLONIES AND THE BETRAYAL OF THE COLONIAL AND EUROPEAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS BY THE LABOUR LEADERS.

The British troops do not want to enslave the colonial and German people! They want to go home!

"When?"

The paper is plenty good, particularly the article on demob, which is an accurate expression of what most of the boys are thinking. Discontent is rising everywhere—and in this command I think that we have a higher proportion of Labour supporters than anywhere else, except Burma.

Just before the repatriation period was reduced, fellows in Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon conducted a novel campaign that is well worth a mention in the paper. They used to chalk the single word "When?" wherever they could, and made a point of sticking it just where it would cause most annoyance to the brass hats. One general, for instance, inspected a British regiment in Syria, and as he drove away it was seen that his car was splashed with the word "When?" Company offices were plastered with it, and as fast as the words were rubbed out they appeared again. This sort of thing—silly though it looks on paper, but deadly effective in building up a sense of solidarity among the lads—is going to grow.

From Poona

I am now stationed just outside Poona. Unfortunately visits to the city seem to be out of the question at the moment due to an outbreak of cholera or plague. It has been placed out of bounds, but that may not apply to all of Poona. We were informed this morning that we are bound for destination "East of Singapore", where and when being rather vague and censorable.

Conditions here come as rather a shock to the chaps who accompanied me. Immediate sympathy was established. The idea that the Indians lived that way because they wished to live that way was brought forward, and spread in an effort to excuse any attempt to think about a method of ending it, which was the first thought of the soldiers.

The recent statements of members of the Labour Party leadership have created little interest; the only question of interest is demobilisation: when? There is a general acceptance of a return to the bad old days of unemployment, vague ideas about the necessity of change, and ultimately violent methods of effecting the desired changes. The main idea is to "give the present Government a chance, remember it has a difficult job at a difficult period."

The T.U.C.'s resolution on demob was very warmly received and helped to close the gap between civvy and army, an outlook which becomes more pronounced out here.

Fraternal greetings,
Don.

R. C. P. LAUNCHES EXPANSION DRIVE

£500 NEEDED!

The delegates and visitors who were present at the August National Conference of our Party were unanimous in their appraisal of the wonderful opportunities opening up for Trotskyism in the next period. In Britain the return of the Labour Government disclosed the immense potentialities of the swing to the Left which is engulfing every corner of the world. For the first time since the foundation of the Trotskyist movement, possibilities of building powerful mass parties of the Fourth International are within our reach.

Proceeding from these considerations it is clear that one of our main tasks is to strike outwards to an increasing extent in order to bring the policy of the Revolutionary Communist Party before the great majority of the workers. We must mobilise the whole of our resources to carry our message to a greater number of fresh workers who are now awakening to political consciousness; to the advanced elements who are becoming increasingly disgusted with the policy of the Labour Government; and to the ever increasing circle of disillusioned members of His Majesty's loyal "Communist" Party.

To implement our Conference decisions and to prepare the party for the coming struggles, it has been decided to establish a Finance Campaign Committee, whose task it will be to gather into the party those essential requisites for a further drive forward. This committee has set itself the job of initiating during the next three months an Expansion Programme covering the following fields:

INCREASE THE NUMBER OF PARTY ORGANISERS!

To spread our activity into new and fertile areas; to expand the growth of the party in the districts where we are already operating; requires the employment of an increasing number of full-time organisers. The fulfilment of this object will enable us to extend the number of live Party branches in the industrial areas throughout the country, to draw new and fresh interested workers into our ranks and the establishment of new branches.

HELP TO INCREASE THE PARTY PROFESSIONAL STAFF!

FOR A REGULAR POPULAR THEORETICAL ORGAN!

A larger R.C.P. demands ever increasing emphasis upon our educational facilities. The regular appearance of a popular theoretical journal which consistently presents a Marxist analysis of the momentous events unfolding in Britain and the world, is an essential aspect of educational work of the party members and sympathisers. "Workers' International News" must fulfil this role by a regular appearance. As from the next issue the complete layout of "W.I.N." will be altered and more attractive. But "W.I.N." is a very costly project, as is always a theoretical organ in a revolutionary organisation.

HELP TO STABILISE "WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL NEWS"!

Our Party has the opportunity of doing great things; it must be prepared to remove all obstacles in its path. The success of our Expansion Programme will depend upon a great deal of hard work and personal sacrifice on the part of our members and sympathisers. When we consider, however, the terrible sacrifices exacted during its wars as well as its "peace", for causes in which the working people have no stake whatsoever, we believe that any sacrifice for our Campaign Fund will be willingly made in the full knowledge that it is a concrete step towards eliminating the misery and oppression of the capitalist system.

WHAT MATTERS, AS TROTSKY ONCE EXPRESSED IT, IS "THE BETTER FUTURE; THAT ONE CARRIES ON HIS SHOULDERS A PORTION OF THE FATE OF MANKIND"

Let this be the guiding line of our Expansion Campaign. Help us take a great step forward in establishing the R.C.P. in the soil of the British Labour movement! Get busy, without delay and start collecting as much as possible from every reader of the "Socialist Appeal", from every sympathiser and friend. Every penny counts! Every contribution will be gratefully received and acknowledged. For further particulars and supplies of the special collecting sheets—please fill in the form below and forward it to us without delay.

OUR PARTY DEMANDS EACH OF US TOTALLY AND COMPLETELY. RALLY AS NEVER BEFORE TO MAKE THIS CAMPAIGN FUNDS A SUCCESS.

G. HEALY (Campaign Organiser)
H. ATKINSON (Treasurer)

FOR A NEW SERIES OF AGITATIONAL AND THEORETICAL PAMPHLETS!

For the publishing side of our Party's work, arrangements are already in hand to produce popular pamphlets on the Party's programme and Conference decisions. We are also preparing pamphlets dealing with a popularisation of our programme and objectives. Other industrial questions, we plan also, to deal with Trotskyism and "Germany, the Key to the International Situation" both of which have been completely sold out. The publication of pamphlets is an essential aspect of party work.

HELP US TO GET "SOCIALIST APPEAL" ONTO A SOUND FINANCIAL BASIS!

500 PARTY EXPANSION FUND NEEDED!

To make this programme realisable, we appeal to our Party members and sympathisers to help raise the sum of £500 between October 1st and December 31st. We have set the target figure for our Campaign at £500 because we believe that this sum represents a realistic goal in relation to our commitments in this period.

HELP TO PROVIDE THESE NEW WEAPONS IN OUR ARMOURY!

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WHY T.U.C. FAILED

The ending of six years imperialist slaughter, the existence of the Labour Government invested this year's Trade Union Congress with great importance. But the Leftward swing of the working-class, so evident from the results of the General Election, were not so evident from the speeches and decisions made at Blackpool.

One thing, emerged clearly, the General Council will do collectively what Arthur Horner will do individually—they will act as the State's chief production officers and policemen within the organised Labour movement.

The T.U.C. does not accurately reflect the mood and demands of the workers, because in most cases the delegates are Trade Union officials, and the Congress is steamrollered and "guided" by a General Council, which is composed of experienced bureaucrats. But, here and there, the critical attitude of the rank and file towards the Labour Government received a slight reflection in the delegates. When Harold Laski, chairman of the Labour Party, made the statement: "Our leaders have been given the tools. Let us see to it that they finish the job," according to the press, this received the loudest applause. The mood of the workers was also partly reflected in the criticisms of the Labour Government's demobilisation "plan", and the demands of the delegates concerning redundancy, wages and hours.

Faced with increasing redundancy, thousands of workers on the dole queue because of the closing down of war factories, concealed unemployment of 4,350,000 in the armed forces, and 3,000,000 in munitions, and the need to build houses and produce goods for the workers, the T.U.C. instead of demanding measures against the real cause of the economic crisis—the capitalists—is to give whole hearted support to the Labour Government's attempt to reorganise capitalism. More than this, the T.U.C., as the most powerful organisation of the British working-class, is to be the main driving force behind the Government's plan to extract the last ounce of sweat out of the tired and sweated workers—in the interest of the capitalists.

"FAIR COMPENSATION"

From Mr. Chester, on behalf of the General Council, we learn the precise nature of the "Fair Compensation" to be paid to the employers whose industries are to be nationalised. "Reasonable" net maintenance revenue, which is the determining factor in the payment of compensation, means the ascertainment of the financial returns of an undertaking, multiplied by the period of years during which, it could be agreed, that the financial returns of the undertaking would have been maintained if it continued in private hands. Thus, the compensation to be paid to the capitalists for having exploited the workers is to be on a very generous scale.

The same Mr. Chester announced that the report of the joint committee with the Labour Party and the miners on public ownership of the mines, would not be published "as it might cause unnecessary embarrassment to the Government".

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Miner's Leader Answers Mis-statements in "Telegraph"

THE "TELEGRAPH", JOURNAL OF THE COAL OWNERS, IS PURSUING ITS CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER AND ATTACKS ON THE MINERS. IN SO DOING IT IS ZEALOUSLY QUOTING STATEMENTS FROM MINERS' LEADERS UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY. BUT IN THEIR ZEAL THEY HAVE ATTRIBUTED STATEMENTS TO A MINERS' LEADER WHO STANDS ON THE SIDE OF THE MINERS. IN THEIR SEARCH FOR "EVIDENCE" TO BLAME THE MINERS FOR THE COAL SHORTAGE, THE "TELEGRAPH" OF SEPTEMBER 20th WRITES:

"Midlands—Absenteeism at week-ends is described by a representative of the owners as simply disgusting and by a Cannock Chase Miners' agent as 'growing out of all reasonable proportion'."

The reply of Bob Condon is reproduced below. Every miners' leader worth his salt would repudiate in the same way these slanders against the miners, and put the blame where it belongs, instead of vicing with the bosses in condemning them.

NATIONAL UNION OF MINE WORKERS
Cannock Chase District.
Agent: R. H. Condon.
Miners' Offices
Station Road,
Hedensford, Staffs.
21.9.45.

DEAR Mr. Editor,
I see in the "Telegraph" of 20/9/45 a report on absenteeism that says "a Cannock Chase Miners' agent" stated that absenteeism was "growing out of all reasonable proportion". ...

This statement I wish to utterly deny, and there is no possibility of error because I am the only Cannock Chase Miners' agent.

I would like to give you my own views on absenteeism especially as the above statement is likely to reflect on my knowledge of the problems in mining that lead up to and are responsible for the absentees.

First of all the workers in the industry demand the lifting of all industrial conscription. Release those who wish to leave.

Second allow freedom to men who are willing to come into the industry. Volunteers are worth ten pressed men. Here is a case of a soldier who has been trying to get into the mines for THREE YEARS and still wants to

A.E.U. Strike in Midlands

BY BILL HUNTER

On Thursday, Sept. 13th, 1,700 workers employed by Henry Meadows, Wolverhampton, came out on strike following the managements' decision to meet redundancy by sacking men and retaining women. Pending negotiations, the workers returned after an hour, but ceased work again when the negotiations broke down.

On Monday, at a meeting in the canteen, A.E.U. officials urged a return to work, but there was a unanimous decision to reject their advice. The management then gave the workers an ultimatum, that if they were not prepared to work, after Saturday, the whole factory would be shut down.

The stewards refused to give a story to the "Socialist Appeal", stating that union instructions were that no reports were to be given to the press. However, among the workers themselves there was no lack of realisation that publicity for the strike among other workers, such as the readers of "Socialist Appeal", was essential.

The workers stated that the roots of the dispute went right back to 1936, when a struggle which prevented the management from introducing cheap women labour into the factory took place. At the beginning of the war, however, under the Relaxation Agreement, women came into the factory, the men understanding that it was only for "the duration." But now there was the attempt of the management to lower rates by retaining the women.

It is evident that the main content of the strike is a struggle to prevent the management from undercutting rates, and it must be supported by every militant worker. This is only one struggle of the many that are taking place around redundancy questions. The Trotskyists say to the workers who are struggling: Don't give up the fight against the individual employers, prevent redundancy from being used to victimise militants and undercut rates; unite men and women together in the struggle on the basis of the rate for the job; but also realise that your problem is part of a national redundancy problem. Demand that the Labour Government comes to your aid and the aid of other workers, by forcing the employers to institute a sliding scale of hours to absorb the unemployed without wage reductions.

R. H. Condon

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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EDITORIAL

THE BELSEN TRIAL

The Belsen Trial is refreshing the minds of the world working class in the horrors perpetrated by the Nazis in the concentration camps. As the evidence unfolds the bestiality and inhuman cruelties; the tortures, the beatings; the systematic exterminations are revealed to be a normal part of the routine of the Nazi regime.

In these trials all the barbarity of capitalism which underlies the thin varnish of civilisation has come to the surface. The Fascist regime unchained all the vile elements created and nurtured in the depths of society by capitalism itself.

Those guilty of these horrible crimes should be exterminated. Yet the real criminals responsible for these outrages are not in the dock. These creatures were but the tools of the masters who disdained to do the dirty work themselves. The masters were the bankers, the capitalists, the landowners, who lavishly subsidised, financed and armed the gangs of lumpen proletarians, the declassed elements of society, the adventurers of the Nazi Party. The masters were those who put the Nazis in power as a protection of their property and privilege against the menacing threats of the powerful German working class.

Not only did these thugs receive support from the German industrialists; but from their counterparts in France, America and Britain.

The lying propaganda of the capitalist class and their lackeys—the Labour and Stalinist leaders, that this is a peculiar abomination of the German race is refuted by the fact that the S.S. recruited hundreds of thousands of members during the war from the French, Belgian, Dutch, Ukrainian, Hungarian, and all the other territories over-run by the Nazis. Thus not only in Germany are the germs of this affliction present.

The horror evinced by the capitalists, is purely a sham. In India they allowed a famine to rage, which reduced entire provinces to Belsen conditions. They are preparing mass graves in approved Belsen fashion for the German people this winter. The Stalin regime is no better in this regard. In the approved Nazi fashion, Stalin has carried out the deportation of millions of Germans from Eastern Europe which brought about the death of tens of thousands of innocent women and children.

Never should it be forgotten that for many years the concentration camps were peopled exclusively by German revolutionary workers and that they always formed a great proportion of the inmates of the concentration camps right to the end. The masters of Britain cynically suppressed the truth about the horrors of the concentration camps before the war when they were trying to arrive at an agreement with Hitler. Tomorrow, they will not hesitate to resort to the same methods if their system is threatened.

Belsen is a signpost. Capitalism must be overthrown by Socialist Revolution before it reduces the world to a Belsen world.

The THIEVES' KITCHEN

The Five Power Conference revealed itself as a colossal fiasco. After endless negotiations, it has leaked into the press that they have been unable to reach a decision on a single major question. Even from the little that appeared in the press, it was evident that this was a Conference of robbers quarrelling over the division of the loot. Each one, of course, with the most virtuous of intentions.

Molotov waxes indignant over the dictatorships in Greece and Spain. Bevin is horrified at the lack of democracy in the Balkans. Burns manoeuvres between the two. France and China, petty pick-pockets seek to snatch an advantage by supporting one of the other big knaves.

The issues are clear. Stalin is making demands which the Czar would never have dared to make. Abandoning the last traditions of Bolshevism and besmirching the banner of the October Revolution in its attitude to the oppressed colonial peoples, Stalin demands colonies in the Mediterranean. This would have found the approval of Czar Peter, but never of Lenin.

Of course, this is a bargaining point for the bureaucracy. Like the other powers in the game of power-politics, the bureaucracy uses the peoples as so many pawns to be banded from one giant to the other according to the relationship of forces. Stalin will bargain the Eritrean and Tripolitanian masses, previously exploited by the Italian imperialists, and generously give them to the tender care of the British, if, in return his version of "democracy", i.e. Russian domination of the Balkans is accepted. Both reject, with indignation, the suggestion of the Americans that they should come under the joint care of the great powers. They demand undisputed domination.

America, of course, stands for freedom and independence for all in Europe, as in Asia and Africa. The only real democrats? Of course not! A nominal independence of the Italian colonies would mean economic domination by mighty American imperialism.

All the glittering illusions of the "brave new world" which was to come out of the defeat of the "wicked" powers, are being rapidly destroyed. Round one is ended. Germany and Japan are eliminated, and have become part of the swag. Round two has commenced. America, Britain and Russia now turn on each other. For what? For spheres of influence and sources of power and economic aggrandisement. Above all, they fight for strategic bases for the next world war.

Like the previous contradictions between the powers, the diplomatic and economic war will lead to military war. There can be no peace under capitalism. Only the Fourth International predicted that this would be the outcome of the conflagration if capitalism was allowed to remain in existence. Only the Fourth International shows the way out to-day for the world working class. The sole road to peace lies in the ruthless struggle against capitalism and the establishment of a Socialist world.

Tory Plan for India 90% OF INDIANS DENIED VOTE

In the course of their election promises, the Labour Leaders proclaimed that India would be granted independence if they came to power. After their assumption to office, they did not immediately announce freedom for India. Instead, they sent for Wavel, and as revealed in a previous issue of "Socialist Appeal", went into consultations with the Tory leaders. After weeks of deliberations, Attlee has announced a new plan. It consists of the following:

LABOUR LEADERS' OFFER TO INDIA

1. Immediate elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures on the restricted franchise of the 1935 Constitution.
2. Formation of provincial ministries.
3. A central interim government to be formed, supported by the main parties.
4. Representatives of the newly elected provincial and Central legislatures to be consulted on the modifications of the Cripps' Plan.
5. Similar discussions to be held with the Indian princes.
6. Summoning of a Constitution-making body at an early date.
7. Preparation of a Treaty to be signed by Britain and the Constitution-making body defining the relationship between the two countries.

In the meanwhile, the members of the Congress Socialist Party, the Trotskyists and thousands of Indian fighters, are still languishing in prisons and concentration camps. Even the modicum of civil liberties enjoyed by the Indian masses prior to the war, still remain suspended. Oppressive laws against the freedom of press and speech still operate. It is in this atmosphere of terror, that the Labour leaders promise "free and unfettered elections in India".

At the outset, correctly, the Indian National Congress raised an objection to the method of the proposed elections. The electorate consisting of 73 per cent of the adult population for the provincial legislatures, and 3 per cent for the Central legislature, distorted by special communal representation, will in no way reflect the will of the overwhelming mass of the population. Significantly, showing its own weakness, the Congress raised the demand for universal adult franchise, and then dropped it like a hot brick.

Torn to its roots, the present plan makes Cripps' proposals the starting point of discussions. Apologetically, the "Herald" and "Reynolds" say that the spirit behind Cripps' plan is genuine, and by reoffering it to the Indian masses, Labour has demonstrated its overwhelming sympathy for Indian aspirations. Let us have a look at this Cripps offer of April 1942.

THE CRIPPS' PROPOSALS—WHAT THEY MEAN

Presented to India when Britain was retreating on all fronts in the Pacific, it consisted of two parts. The first part is of no significance now as it was to operate for the duration of the war. The second part, attempting to provide a long term solution, offered:

BY V. SIMMS

- (a) A Constitution-making body is to be summoned after the war. It is to consist of 159 members. 50 of them are to be nominated by the Indian princes. The rest are to be elected by the Provincial assemblies, elected on the present franchise.
- (b) Those provinces unwilling to enter the All India Union should have the right of secession.

The Indian National Congress rejected the proposals on the grounds that it introduces an undemocratic element into the Constitution-making body by allowing the Princes to nominate a third of the representatives; that by admitting the principle of non-acceptance of the union, it destroys the unity of India; and that by accepting the present franchise as the basis for electing the Constitution-making body,

it denies to more than 90 per cent of the Indian population, the right to vote.

It is this "spirit", the spirit of these sham anti-democratic proposals, that the "Herald" and "Reynolds" wants to convince the Indian people has demonstrated Labour's overwhelming sympathy for Indian aspirations! In the most cynical manner, the Labour leaders have the impudence to offer the same proposals to India, as did the Tories. Attlee carefully explains that this is a "national" offer in which he has the full support of the Tories and the Liberals!

Once again the Indian National Congress has rejected this pseudo-independence offered to them as genuine coin by the Labour leaders. In a resolution passed by an overwhelming majority, the Full Policy Committee turned down the British proposals for India and declared that India and Congress would not be satisfied with anything less than independence.

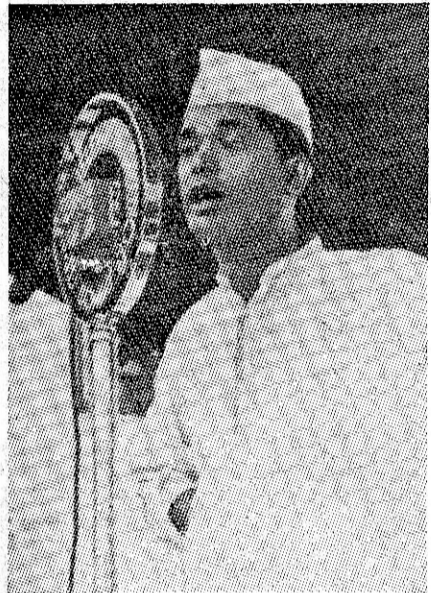
INDIAN STALINISTS GET THE BIRD

The only defence of these proposals, and the plea to accept them, came from the Stalinist delegate, Ashraf in the All India Congress Committee sessions. The following astounding report appears in the "Daily Worker" of September 24th, without comment:

"Feeling against the Communists, who are accused of having betrayed Congress through supporting an imperialist war, was demonstrated when Dr. Ashraf, one of about half a dozen Communist members, moved an amendment on the constitutional proposals."

An audience of 25,000 demanded that no Communist should speak from the Congress rostrum. Dr. Ashraf was shouted down after speaking for a few minutes amid tremendous uproar.

The working committee is considering making a list of charges against the Communists for acting against its policy, and barring Communist members from all executive bodies."



JAI-PRAKASH NARAIN

THE LABOUR LEADERS PROMISE "FREE ELECTION" IN INDIA BUT THOUSANDS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS HAVE NOT BEEN RELEASED. ABOVE IS A PICTURE OF JAI-PRAKASH NARAIN, LEFT WING CONGRESS LEADER AND GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY. HE TOGETHER WITH THOUSANDS OF OTHERS, NATIONALISTS, SOCIALISTS, TROTSKYISTS, TRADE UNIONISTS AND PEASANT LEADERS ARE STILL BEING HELD IN PRISON.

The struggle of the Indian masses for independence can admit of no compromise with British imperialism. Their demands are unambiguous and forthright. Repeatedly they have called for the immediate restoration of all civil liberties; the right to convene a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise and the withdrawal of British troops from India.

The British working class should not be deceived by the vague and meaningless phraseology of Attlee's statement. They must demand of the Labour leaders:

QUIT INDIA! ALLOW THE INDIAN MASSES TO DECIDE THEIR OWN DESTINY!

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PROGRAMME:

1. Nationalisation of the Bank of England, the Big Five Banks and land, the mines, transport and all big industry without compensation; and the operation of these enterprises under the control of workers' committees.
2. Confiscation of all war profits; all company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers' committees to counter the financial and economic sabotage of Big Business.
3. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers' goods in short supply under the control of committees elected from the co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shop-keepers.
4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants' committees; a state financed national house-building plan directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum and full maintenance for the unemployed; turnover of Government and other war plants to the production of consumers' goods; a sliding scale of hours to absorb the unemployed without wage reductions.
6. Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords; full electoral rights from the age of 18 years; and full political rights for men and women in the forces; the immediate repeal of the Trade Disputes Act and all other strike breaking and anti-labour laws.
7. Clear out the reactionary anti-labour officer caste from the armed forces; for the election of officers from the ranks.
8. Abolish conscription; for the dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia organised under control of workers' committees; for the establishment of military schools by the Trade Unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker officers.
9. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; full economic co-operation, credit grants and other aid for the reconstruction of Soviet economy.
10. Full and immediate freedom for India and the other colonies to choose their own form of government; the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial territories.
11. Against secret diplomacy and a peace of vengeance and plunder; against race hatred—anti-Semitism, Vansittartism and the colour bar; for the withdrawal of British troops from Europe and Asia and for a peace based upon the self-determination of the peoples of Europe, Asia and the World.
12. Full support and active co-operation with the European workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the United Socialist States of Europe; unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for World Socialism.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL NOTES

INTERNATIONAL NOTES THEY DIED FOR INTERNATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM

The Internationalist Communist Party (P.C.I.), French Section of the Fourth International, published last month an excellently produced and finely illustrated pamphlet dedicated to the memory of the Trotskyists who, during the years of Nazi terror, gave their lives in the struggle against Fascism.

The pamphlet lists the names of well over 50 militants, including 10 women, arrested in France by the Gestapo or the Vichy police, and who were shot, died in prisons or concentration camps, succumbed under the most brutal treatment or died in the "Maquis", or during the August 1944 insurrection. In a few sober words the short individual biographies tell a stirring and inspiring tale of proletarian fighters integrated in all the mass working class organisations, of untiring political activity and incessant struggles, of magnificent acts of solidarity, of unflinching revolutionary faith, of arrests, and finally execution squads and death.

And there are hundreds whose sacrifices remain untold, whose names are unknown!

MARCEL HIC, ORGANISER OF THE EUROPEAN SECRETARIAT
Foremost amongst those to whom our French Party pays tribute, is its former General Secretary, Marcel Hic. Expelled from the Communist Youth for having advocated the United Front with the Socialists, Hic joined the Leninist Youth in 1932. By

1936 he was a member of the Central Committee of the P.O.I. (Internationalist Workers' Party, French section of the Fourth International) and already played a leading rôle in the Fourth International.

It was he who, in July 1940, reconstituted the P.O.I. and he remained the animating spirit of the clandestine organisation until his arrest in 1943. He published the first mimeographed issues of the illegal "Vérité". He drew up the theses on the national question, on the defence of the U.S.S.R., on the workers' front, etc. On the editorial board of the "Vérité", in the various committees of the Party, he guided and educated a generation of revolutionary cadres. At the time of his arrest he had practically completed his efforts for the unification of the various Trotskyist tendencies in France, which were to lead to the constitution of the Internationalist Communist Party, the present section of the Fourth International.

The Fourth International will, however, remember Hic especially for his outstanding work in the field of internationalist action. It was he who renewed the contacts between the French section and the other European countries, and constituted, and animated the European Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The Fourth International is especially proud of having been, from the very first day of the war, the only organisation to advocate and organise anti-fascist and revolutionary fraternalisation with the soldiers of the Wehrmacht. Here again, Hic was in the forefront, in spite of the enormous amount of work he was doing in many

other fields. The clandestine paper "Arbeiter und Soldat" ("Worker and Soldier"), published in German and distributed to German soldiers in France, was edited under his control. The Gestapo paid special attention to this kind of work which led to Hic's arrest in December 1943.

Several times tortured by the Gestapo, he was sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp. Even here, his attitude won the admiration of all those who were interned with him. On account of his knowledge of the German language he was designated to act as interpreter of his "bloc", and in this capacity relentlessly defended the interests of his prisoner-comrades. He finally was transferred to D.O.R.A., the infamous underground factory where tens of thousands of workers found their death, and this is where he too perished.

The R.C.P. adds its voice in paying tribute to Marcel Hic who lived and died in the cause of Socialist Revolution.

HOLLAND

We reported, in a previous issue of the "Socialist Appeal", that the Dutch Communist Party had been dissolved and its members invited to join an association called "The Friends of Truth". Holland's communications with the outer world are only gradually being restored, and this no doubt accounts for the Dutch C.P.'s belatedness in following the newest C.P. turn. This, however, has now been put right. "De Rode October", weekly organ of the Dutch section of the Fourth International, now announces that the Communist Party of Holland is being reconstituted and is applying for affiliation to the Socialist Party.

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