

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

NOVEMBER, 1945.

TWOPENCE

WHY WORKERS MUST SUPPORT THE DOCKERS

FACTS BEHIND THE DOCKERS' STRIKE

BY J. DEANE

ELLEN WILKINSON, EARNING HER COMFORTABLE £5,000 A YEAR AS A CABINET MINISTER HAS BEEN HYSTERICALLY DENOUNCING AND SLANDERING THE DOCKERS: HAVING ACHIEVED CABINET EMINENCE, THIS WOMAN HAS LOST THE LAST TRACES OF HER MILITANT WORKING CLASS TRADITION, WHEN SHE WAS NICK-NAMED "RED ELLEN."

She attempted to whip up feeling against the dockers by making the astonishing allegation that they were responsible for the possibility of bread being rationed. In doing so, the Minister of Education forgot her geography, and had to be reminded by Mr. Ralph Hendry, Port Manager of Halifax, Nova Scotia that there were warm water ports which do not freeze, and could handle all the grain this winter which Britain would require.

This is just an extreme example of how the Labour ministers are assisting the employers and doing everything in their power to damage the case of the dockers. Ellen Wilkinson, like the rest of her Labour colleagues in the Government, was intervening against the dockers. She just went a bit over the odds in her exuberance.

For audacity, the offer of the employers made at the meeting of the National Joint Council for the Port Industry, surpassed anything in recent industrial negotiations.

This "guaranteed wage" of £16 for 4 weeks in the big ports; and £15 for 4 weeks in the smaller ports is not an increase in wages, but in some cases a reduction! It reduces the "guaranteed" wage paid to the Liverpool and Glasgow dockers by 2/6.

The leaders of the Trade Unions, the Donovan and the Deakins, who have displayed such energy in issuing strike-breaking statements and misrepresenting the dockers' case through the capitalist press, now claim to be powerless before the employers' demands! In face of this provocative

offer, the trade union officials chant in chorus with the capitalists: "GO BACK TO WORK."

The effect of the employers' offer has been only to stiffen the resistance and determination of the dock workers. Many more thousands joined the Liverpool and London strikers; more basic and political demands have been raised. This is the dock workers' answer to the employers and the Union officials. The press campaign against the dockers—with misrepresentation of the dockers' case, has had as its objective the whipping up of public opinion against the dockers' fight for a living wage. There can be no doubt but that the capitalist propaganda has been accepted by certain sections of the working class. What are the facts behind the dockers' strike?

where, according to the likes and dislikes of the manager or foreman, they would be chosen for work. Only lucky dockers—or those who bribed the foreman or knew the boss—would find employment for more than a few days at a time. Militant trade unionists, communists and socialists stood less chance than anyone else in securing work. When their unemployed insurance stamps ran out, there was the P.A.C. with its food coupons.

Just before the war, a London dock worker was paid 6s. 6d. less than wages paid in 1920!

Every movement or fluctuation in Britain's trade relations with the world market, affected the dockers' wage packet. In the slump of 1923, for example, dockers' wages were reduced 37 per cent, to 5s. a shift. In 1931 rates were again reduced from 6s. (which had been won by the 1925 strike) to 5s. 7d. This was not all. Because of the slump, very few dockers were able to find employment for even two days. The vast majority were on the dole or the P.A.C.

Because of the high tariffs of ports like Liverpool, ships were diverted to ports with lower tariffs and better harbour facilities. This meant less work for the Liverpool dockers, who together with North East port workers, suffered tremendous unemployment and poverty before the war.

BEVIN'S "SERVICE" TO DOCKERS

With the outbreak of the war, ports again became active. For the first time since the 1920 boom, dockers and seamen were regularly employed. Indeed, the direction of managers, the dockers were compelled to work overtime during the week as well as week-ends. Under the slogan of "a war for security and freedom", the Union leaders agreed with the employers to abandon trade union practices which ensured the freedom of the dockers. Danger margins were all pushed aside; manning scales were decreased; slings were overloaded.

Again and again, the coalition government attempted to regiment the dock workers, until in 1941 Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour in the coalition, did what the bosses could never do. He advanced a scheme which contained a whole series of anti-union laws. The Tories did not dare suggest such a scheme but Bevin—the "dockers' K.C."—not only suggested but put into force his Essential Works (Dock Labour) Order.

Outside Liverpool and Glasgow all ports came under the control of the National Dock Labour Corporation. Liverpool and Glasgow, which resisted the scheme, came under the Minister of War Transport. These new Labour front organisations—for that is what they were, gave hundreds of union officials soft, cushy jobs as Managers. And in their hands was concentrated all the disciplinary power necessary to regiment the dock workers and subject

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LABOUR'S BUDGET

Pennies to the Workers--Pounds to the Bosses

THE FIRST BUDGET OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN RECEIVED WITH UNCONCEALED JOY BY THE CAPITALIST CLASS. IT HAS RECEIVED AN OVATION IN THE CAPITALIST PRESS WHICH DR. DALTON'S TORY PREDECESSOR MIGHT WELL ENVY.

"The first Socialist budget," wrote the "Times", showed itself generally sympathetic to business." The "Daily Mail" hailed the Chancellor in a leading article headed "A Good Budget."

The Stock Exchange however, expressed its satisfaction in a more concrete fashion by staging one of the most speculative booms of recent times. The markets, according to the reporter of the "Financial Times", "went haywire" on hearing of the unexpected generous budget concessions.

Indeed, Big Business had every reason for its elation. Little did it dream that its demand for more profits would be met with so generous a response from the Labour Government. The reporter of the "Financial Times" pointed out that the City had not expected more than 20% cut in the Excess Profits Tax. Instead, they received a 40% cut and a promise of an immediate refund of 20% of the E.P.T. they paid during the war.

The irony of the whole affair could not be expressed better than it was by Mr. Lipson, a Tory college associate of Dalton, who said in the debate: "Had Dalton been 40 years ago if I thought that when my right Hon. Friend was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the first Labour Government with a majority in the House, his first budget would cause a boom in the Stock Exchange... I am not so sure that I would have said 'yes'."

The generosity and solicitude of the Labour Government towards Big Business is in vivid contrast with its harsh and niggardly attitude towards the workers. So far as the mass of workers and members of the lower middle class is concerned, the budget makes little difference at all. True, the exemption limit has been raised from £110 to £120, and the personal allowance restored to its pre-war level so that a single worker earning less than £2 7s. 0d. a week, or a married couple with an income of less than £3 17s. 0d., need no longer pay any income tax.

The fact that 2,000,000 workers are forced to live on the border-line of starvation in itself constitutes the gravest indictment of the capitalist system and the Labour Government,

BY AJIT ROY

which has, through the budget, given millions back to the capitalists, yet continues to tax the poor through its maintenance of the Purchase Tax, Entertainments Tax, and the Taxes on beer and tobacco. Yet the "Daily Worker" joins in the chorus with the rest to hail the petty concessions made to the lower paid workers as a "great advance in social justice!"

For the better paid workers and the middle class the budget has actually imposed additional burdens. A married couple with £10 a week, actually has to pay an extra 12s. 6d. income tax, because of the withdrawal of post-war credits and because the earned income allowance has not been restored.

Dr. Dalton has attempted to justify his shameful capitulation to the demands of Big Business, on the ground that the excess profits to be given back to the industrialists will find their way back into industry to modernise the plants, and to develop the technical efficiency of industry.

But is there any guarantee that such would indeed be the case, and that the money would be used to pay out higher dividends to bondholders? What guarantee is there that they will not use these resources to buy out small firms and strengthen the monopolistic structure of industry? Or that they will export this capital to colonial countries and draw super-profits by super-exploitation of the colonial workers? Indeed the capitalist press itself has pointed out that the Government has no control as to how the money is spent.

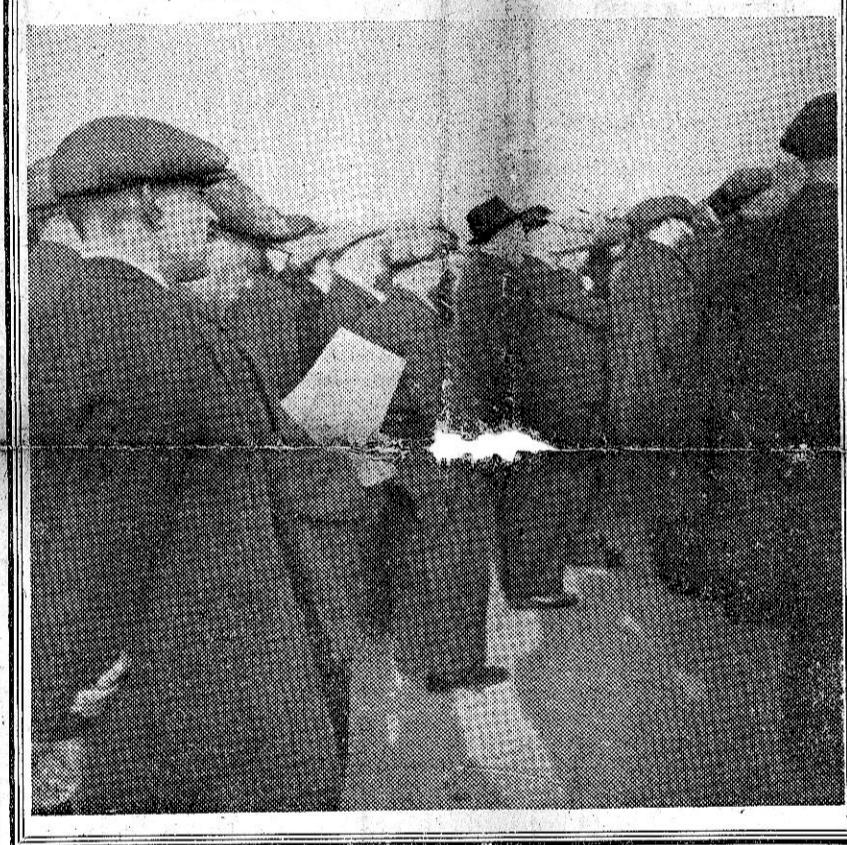
Besides, the requirements of British industry are not primarily financial. Hear Mr. Benson, Labour M.P. for Chesterfield, in the debate: "There are no financial worries, taking industry as a whole... Certain individual firms might possibly be short of finance, but as a whole, British industry is in a more liquid position than it has ever been before. It has thousands of millions of pounds of liquid resources at its disposal. A very large proportion of bank deposits are held by industry. Industry holds some thousands of millions of

government securities. There is no shortage of cash."

We must keep a tight grip on wages and expenditure to prevent inflation, warns the Chancellor. This was the bogey used by the Tory Chancellors of Churchill's government to shift the main burden of the war onto the backs of the workers. But coming from the lips of a Labour Chancellor, it exposes the complete bankruptcy of the Labour

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LONDON DOCKERS' MEETING



NATIONAL DEMO. For Building Workers

BY J. JOHNS

The great building workers demonstration in Hyde Park on October 8th is to be repeated on November 5th on a national scale in order to force a speed-up of the wage negotiations and to end the secrecy surrounding these negotiations.

The building workers are demanding 3/- an hour for tradesmen, 2/5d. an hour for labourers, and a 40 hour week. These demands have been raised in every union branch throughout the country during the past year.

So great has been the feeling of the building workers that the union leaders were compelled to make a wage claim. But instead of the 3/- an hour demand, they asked for an increase of 4d. per hour! For more than six months, negotiations have dragged on. Nothing has been achieved; not even a report has been made by the union officials.

The immediate cause of the high feeling amongst building workers is the reduction of overtime. This has brought their basic wage into clear, and with the high cost of living they find that they cannot live on the old rate.

Thousands of provincial building workers are in London. They have to send money home to keep their families—and pay for lodgings and food here. The loss of overtime has reduced their earnings by 30s. The building workers do not want overtime, they want a 40 hour week with a decent wage.

Since the wonderful demonstration at Hyde Park the demands of the building workers have been completely ignored by their union officials, who prevented strike action by promises of negotiations.

The Stalinsts, in an endeavour to behold the militant group of shop stewards which organised the Hyde Park demonstration, and to paralyze the militancy of the building workers, captured the leadership.

Militant stewards pointed out that instead of calling for representatives from these committees, upon which sit

from Progress committees, upon which sit the bosses and which are concerned for delegates from the job committees, or call upon the workers to elect delegates at job or site meetings. These militant stewards warned that the Stalinsts, who did everything they could to sabotage the struggle against the employers, would use the Progress Committees to capture the movement and lead it into harmless channels.

Despite these warnings the Shop Stewards Committee called a conference of representatives of the Progress Committees, and the Stalinsts took the lead.

With their usual unconcern for truth the Stalinsts will try to place the responsibility for the ensuing disillusionment on to the shoulders of the militants associated with the old Committee. Brothers Milligan, McLeary, Wilkie, Laughton and Carr, the leaders of the "Shop Stewards Committee", have already felt the effects of the Stalinsts filth campaign, which consists in backstage rumours and slanders. The building workers must force the Stalinsts out into the open. There they will be exposed as saboteurs of the workers' struggle for better conditions.

The militant shop stewards throughout London must organise themselves against the Stalinsts and the union officials, who will try to sabotage any real movement against the bosses. The November 5th demonstration will be a farce if it is left to the Stalinsts, who will, no matter how "Left" they sound, betray the workers. The militant building workers must demand that the London Building Committee should be composed of representatives from job and site meetings, and not representatives from the Progress Committees.

For militant Shop Steward Committees! For militant Union policy! For 3s. an hour and a 40 hour week!

THE DOCKERS' CASE

The courageous and determined strike is not the product of light-minded action on the part of the dock workers. The more sober section of the capitalist press has been forced to recognise the deep-rooted nature of their grievances. The immediate cause is the lowering of their wage standards and the increased cost of living. The present strike is the result of reduction of wages by the loss of overtime and piece-work bonuses.

In July this year the shipowners attacked the wages of the London dock workers and attempted to put them back to the 1923 rates. It was this attack which provoked the July 'go slow' struggle.

With overtime and piece-work, the average earnings of the dock workers during the war had increased by 62 per cent, compared to 75 per cent for all other industries, excluding mining and agriculture. Without overtime and war risk the dockers' wages had only increased by 32 per cent, whilst the cost of living has increased by 55 per cent.

On top of this, with the end of the war and the consequent reduction of goods being shipped into this country, easily one quarter of the dockers employed are receiving the minimum "guaranteed pay" of £4 2s. 6d. in some cases, and £3 6s. 0d. in other cases.

In preparation for the export drive and in order to establish a high rate of profit, the shipowners are attempting to reduce the wage standards of the dock workers. Already, they have made preparation to reduce the wages of seamen. If the capitalists succeed in smashing the dockers' strike and lowering their wage standards, other sections of the workers will suffer. It will be the signal for the wholesale reduction in the minimum standards of all workers.

PRE-WAR CONDITIONS

Before the war there were something like 180,000 dock workers in Great Britain. This number was reduced almost by half during the war. There was no guarantee of employment or guaranteed day wage. Every dock worker, young and old, had to take his place on the stand in rain, hail and snow,

Hands Off Java R.C.P. Protests to Attlee

The following letter was sent by the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist Party to Mr. Attlee in protest against the imperialist attacks on the Indo-Chinese and Javanese people. Only an acknowledgment was received in reply.

10th September, 1945.

To the Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
Westminster.

Dear Sir,

The news that British troops are being used in Java and Indo-China against the nationalist movements is a matter of grave concern for the working class and the socialist movement in this country. The reports in the "Daily Herald" go to show that the British military authorities are openly collaborating with the Japanese authorities in putting down the revolution of the popular masses.

The true interests of the British working class demand that we support the Indonesian peoples in their struggle against Dutch and French imperialism. The policy of your Government, in intervening on the side of the oppressors is entirely contrary to the interests of the working class. It serves to discredit the Labour

Government in the eyes of the oppressed peoples of the world. Such a policy can only succeed in creating a gulf of mistrust and a wall of hostility between the mass of the oppressed colonial people and the working class movement of this country.

We believe that the overwhelming majority of the workers and middle class people who voted Labour into power, oppose the reactionary imperialist policy now being pursued by your Government and we are voicing the desire of all class conscious workers in demanding that immediate steps be taken by your Government to stop this imperialist intervention, to withdraw all British troops from Indonesia and thus allow the native peoples to freely choose their own form of government.

Yours truly,
JOCK HASTON,
For the Political Bureau, R.C.P.

Long Live the Russian Revolution WAR AWAKENS RUSSIAN MASSES

FOR 28 YEARS THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION HAS WITHSTOOD THE TEST OF EVENTS. THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION OF 1917, BY DESTROYING PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF INDUSTRY AND LAND, TRANSFORMED RUSSIA FROM ONE OF THE MOST BACKWARD COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD INTO THE MAJOR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POWER IN EUROPE.

The superiority of collective ownership and nationalised property—in short, planned economy—has demonstrated itself for all time. It is a tremendous achievement that out of five years of terrible warfare the Soviet Union should emerge as the strongest military and economic power in Europe and Asia. The mainspring of this development, upon which the Stalinst bureaucracy acts as a brake, is the October Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky.

In spite of the economic successes and the unparalleled growth of Russia as a first rate military power, very little remains of the October Revolution, apart from its basic conquest. Instead of the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, Stalin has introduced the most reactionary nationalism. Instead of the revolutionary Red Army, founded by Leon Trotsky,

Stalin has introduced all the insignia and regalia of the Tsarist armies. Instead of appealing to the great revolutionary traditions of the Red Army, Stalin appeals to the reactionary feudal traditions of Suvorov, Kutuzov, Peter the Great and Ivan the Terrible. All the ideas and traditions of internationalism and Leninism have been abandoned.

The B.U.P. reported on October 25th a very revealing speech by Kalinin, President of the U.S.S.R. This speech discloses the growing pressure and ferment of the workers and peasants, particularly the returning soldiers. Some of the peasant leaders, whom he was addressing raised the problem of demobilised soldiers who had returned from Germany.

Kalinin agreed that they were "to a certain extent impressed by German

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Letters

To the Editor

FROM A SOLDIER ON THE LONDON DOCKS

Thousands of troops are working on the London docks during the present strike. Do they do this work voluntarily? Do these soldiers believe this to be in the "national interest"?

As one of these soldiers, I can emphatically state, they do not.

The bulk of the lads enthusiastically agree with the dockers' demands and consider them as those of any self-respecting and intelligent worker, and, in fact, nothing more than was promised by the Labour Party during the elections.

Many of the lads are dockers in civvy street, and bitterly resent being forced to blackleg on fellow-workers. They have nothing but contempt for the present hate campaign being whipped up by the capitalist press against the dockers. They now clearly understand the real reasons behind the slow demobilisation. It has also not gone unnoticed that although the dockers' demands could not be met, enormous sums of money were readily found to transport us by special trains from all parts of the country.

On arrival at the docks we were subjected to some well tried tactics. After a pep talk, we were split up and mixed with other units, and then sent to various quays in different sections of the docks.

When we came to discharge the boats, lo and behold! instead of the highly perishable foodstuffs expected, we found:

Chests of tea ex S.S. Mariawarri;
Dried eggs, tinned soup and seed potatoes ex S.S. Sandra (seething with rats).

Several fresh meat boats, the meat frozen as stiff as logs and received directly into refrigerators where it will remain many a long day. (Not to mention the discomfort caused to the lads through having to work without protective clothing in the holds of these boats).

Dried eggs and bags of starch ex S.S. Pacific Shipper;
Cartons of frozen fish ex S.S. Rother discharging at New Fresh Wharf, (next to the fish market). This cargo also transported to refrigerators where it will doubtless remain for another three or four months as is the usual system there.

Rother, bags of man, personal effects empty gas cylinders and cases of machinery.

And so on and so on.

HOW FORTUNATE FOR THE BOSSES THAT THERE HAPPENED

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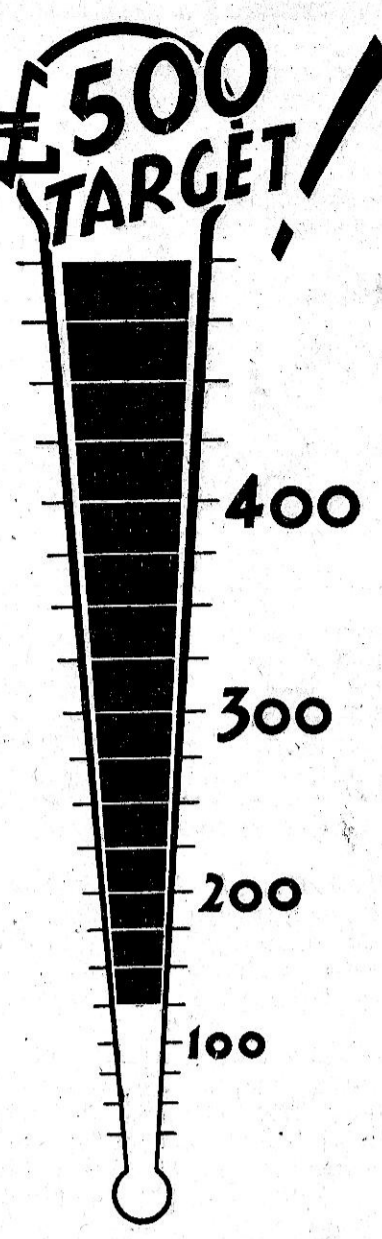
WATCH THE

History has placed on the Fourth international the task of preparing and leading the socialist revolution. If mankind is not to destroy itself in the Atomic age which has now opened up, the working class must carry through the socialist revolution on a world scale. The alternative is the eclipse of civilisation.

In its struggle for power, the only weapon of the proletariat, is organisation. Thus wrote Lenin back in 1903, when he set out with a small band of revolutionary communists to build the Bolshevik Party which ultimately led the Russian Revolution to victory. Now, as then, the struggle to build the Party is the all important task.

Money is always urgently needed. There is a never ending call for travelling expenses, printing, postage, premises, and for all these things money must constantly be collected from members, friends and sympathisers who are prepared to make regular donations to our Party funds.

Collecting money for our Party is an indispensable task for the members and supporters. The success of our



How the Campaign is Going

Branches	Target	Paid in	% age.
		£ s. d.	
EASTBOURNE	£5	3 0 0	60%
CENTRAL OFFICE	£50	28 0 0	56%
NEATH	£15	6 6 6	43%
EDINBURGH	£15	5 0 0	33 1/3%
SHANDON	£25	8 0 0	32%
ENFIELD	£5	1 10 0	30%
WEST LONDON	£30	8 5 0	27%
CHELTEHAM	£1	15 0	75%
SOUTH WEST LONDON	£25	6 0 0	24%
SOUTHALL	£15	2 18 0	17%
BIRMINGHAM	£20	3 0 0	15%
NORTH LONDON	£25	3 1 6	15%
SOUTH EAST LONDON	£20	5 18 0	29 1/2%
HENDON	£25	2 0 0	8%
LONDON DISTRICT FORCES COMRADES	£35	10 0	2%
GLASGOW & MOTHERWELL	£40	24 12 0	—
LEEDS	£8	—	—
LIVERPOOL	£30	—	—
NEWCASTLE	£30	—	—
SHEFFIELD	£20	8 10 0	42 1/2%
GWAUN - CAE - GURWEN	£8	—	—
CANNOCK	£5	—	—
MERTHYR and TREDGAR	£7	15 0	100%
NORWICH	£7	—	—
PLYMOUTH	£1	—	—
NEWARK	£3	—	—
OXFORD	£5	1 0 0	20%
COVENTRY	£3	3 10 0	116 2/3%
NOTTINGHAM	£25	2 5 10	9-1/5%
		£124 11 10	

T.U. Support For Colonial Workers

The following Resolution was unanimously passed at the Chiswick No. 5 Branch of the A.E.U.:

"This Branch condemns the action of the War Office in sending troops to suppress the struggles of the colonial peoples in S.E. Asia. It calls for unconditional withdrawal of British troops and condemns the Labour Government's policy of imperialistic plunder."

DALMUIR DISPUTE

NOTICE

Leading members of the Dalmuir Strike Committee have denied the report in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal", which states that:

"It has been authoritatively stated that at this meeting (held between the M.O.S. and the representatives of all R.O.F.'s) the Dalmuir representatives did not state a case for the Dalmuir workers, but remained silent throughout."

The representatives concerned have been written to requesting a statement on the matter. — Editor

BEVIN BOYS HOLD CONFERENCE

BY BILL DAVY

The deep-seated hatred of the Bevin Boys toward their forced work in the coal mines found organised expression for the first time when they held a National Conference in London on Wednesday and Thursday, 17th and 18th October, for the purpose of hammering out a national campaign policy.

The Conference was convened by the Bevin Boy residents of the Cannock Mines (Staffordshire), and consisted of delegates representing the majority of Bevin Boys throughout the coal-mining industry.

Fraternity delegates from the Revolutionary Communist Party and the ILP were also present.

Lively discussion took place on the main resolution submitted by Cannock, which posed the only solution to the coal crisis. This resolution called for the nationalisation of the mining industry without compensation, operation of the mines under the control of the miners, five day week, immediate increase in wages, and the immediate release of all unwilling labour. After being amended to exclude the "no compensation" clause, the resolution was carried by 23 to 8.

A number of delegates expressed the opinion that as they had been conscripted for the mines in the manner that soldiers are conscripted for the army, they should, at least, be given similar treatment in relation to demobilisation.

On Friday, the Bevin Boys went to present their demands at the House of Commons, where they spoke to a number of ILP and Labour M.P.s. Great indignation was aroused among the Bevin Boys when a Miner's M.P. replied to their requests for support and assistance by bureaucratically reprimanding them for absenting themselves from work to hold a conference.

A great number of Bevin Boys had illusions in Parliament and the "Socialist" M.P.'s. These were soon shattered by their experience of lobbying. This experience in itself taught them that, finally, they can only rely upon their own independent strength, in unity with the miners.

It is significant that the Conference appreciated the necessity for carrying this campaign into the M.W.U. ranks, where, from the miners, they would acquire tremendous strength, and support. The mistake made when the anti-union National Bevin Boys Welfare Association was formed has not been repeated. The need for solidarity with their organised allies, the miners, has been understood.

Most of the delegates had their first experience of a working-class conference; some did remarkably well. We believe that the Bevin Boys and the miners generally, will learn through experience that this is a most vital question which raises the real problem posed by the coal crisis and the patchwork policy of the Labour Government.

This new movement created by the Bevin Boys has a future only insofar as it understands the need to conduct a struggle within the M.W.U. and to put forward an alternative policy to that of the Labour Government, which intends to keep them in the mines for another two years. What a disgrace it is, that Mr. A. Horner, instead of aiding the Bevin Boys in their fight against forced labour, should organise a police search for 20,000 missing Bevin Boys! The national movement of the Bevin Boys must conduct a vigorous campaign inside the M.W.U. to bring pressure to bear on the Labour Government, and to oust Mr. A. Horner and the rest of the production officers.

FROM LEFT and RIGHT

By 'AGITATOR'

SPOTLIGHT ON A. J. CUMMINGS

The "News Chronicle" columnist, A. J. Cummings, has, he tells us, "tried hard to obtain a correct definition of present day 'Trotskyism', a term now loosely used for political agitators who foment trouble for trouble's sake."

A reputable journalist, genuinely seeking information about a political party or tendency, would go to the political organisation or representatives of the tendency concerned, to make his enquiries. Mr. Cummings, or any other writer, is welcome to discuss our ideas with us at any convenient time. He didn't do this. Instead, this man who "tried hard" to obtain information about Trotskyism, went to the Stalinist Communist Party to seek his definition!

But, despite our investigator's partiality for Stalinism (he defended the infamous Moscow frame-up "trials"), King Street's slanderous definition of Trotskyism stuck in his crop. "Even the Communist Party, which knows all about Trotskyism... could not altogether satisfy me," Cummings tells his readers.

Still anxious to find his definition of Trotskyism without discussing it with the Trotskyists, our sociologist studied our latest pamphlet, "Revolutionary Communist Policy". And from his political "studies", arrived at the psychological conclusion that we are "fanatically unpleasant people." According to this writer, our pamphlet "suggests" that we are out to cause divisions among the Allies, to encourage strikes, and to disrupt the Labour movement. "Whatever their long term intentions," he says, "their immediate aims appear to be chaos and anarchy." The dishonesty of Mr. Cummings is revealed in his whole method of dealing with his subject. He knows full well (and by implication he admits) that our "long term intentions" and our whole aim is precisely the abolition of the chaos and anarchy which is the capitalist system, and the establishment of a sane, Communist social order. In falsely accusing us of being responsible for the social disturbances which capitalism engenders, A. J. Cummings attempts to obscure the issue, and at the same time to add his quota to the vilification of those workers who are driven to strike action in order to try and defend their mouthful of bread.

COLONIAL BELSENS

Buchenwald, Belsen and the other Nazi-established concentration camps are not the only places of atrocious happenings. Mr. H. V. Kamath, Secretary of the All-India Forward Bloc, in a recent speech, revealed the existence of a torture chamber in the Fort of Delhi, where Indian opponents of British imperialism are incarcerated.

"Phabhu Dayal Vidyarthi, a 23-year old underground worker in the Indian Nationalist Movement, who, in obedience to Gandhi's request, surrendered to the police, was taken to Delhi Fort." According to Kamath, "he was kept in a dark solitary cell eight feet square. He was not allowed to sleep. Whenever he dozed an account of fatigue and hunger, in came a rod and poked him. When this failed to extort information from him, he was taken to another chamber. There he was made to lie on a cot, and after medical examination, a huge block of ice was lowered onto him by means of an electrically operated device."

This is by no means an isolated report of the manner in which British imperialism treats political prisoners in the Empire. Whilst ensuring that Kramer and the rest of the Nazi thugs get their deserts for the horrors perpetrated against the German political prisoners and racial victims of Nazism, the British Labour movement has the duty to give attention to these atrocities in India and elsewhere in the territories dominated by British imperialism.

DRIVE US ON TO HARDER AND HARDER WORK AND AN EARLIER GRAVE! You can serve the great cause you profess to stand for—or you can serve the mine-owners who will destroy you like they have destroyed others when you have done their dirty work for them.

You are calling on us for an extra 8 million tons of coal. Well, you won't get it by co-operation with the Boss Class in Sir Evan Williams' offices. All these people want you to do is to drive us in the interests of more profits. Your co-operation must be with the workers at the coal face... The miners are the people who will show you how to get more coal—and they will tell you who will have to pay for the getting of it! The key to more coal production is contained in the N.U.M. leaflet "Clearing the Way for Nationalisation". It says there "The Pit Production Committees must become real Committees... We wholeheartedly agree.—BUT IT ALL DEPENDS WHAT YOU MEAN BY "REAL!"

The present Pit Production Committees must be replaced by genuine Workers' Committees.

By God, Mr. Horner, we miners want something done for us—and quickly too! Unless you will realise that a "Drive" for more coal must also be a "DRIVE FOR BETTER CONDITIONS AND FOR WORKERS' CONTROL" then the miners will not leave you to stay long on your present dizzy pedestal. There are still plenty of miners working in the coalfields today who have not forgotten the spirit of the old Minority Movement!

Merthyr Tydfil, 24 Sept. 1945.

OPEN LETTER TO ARTHUR HORNER FROM A WELSH MINER

(Editor's Note: The following has been sent to us by a rank and file miner in South Wales with a request to publish. We have great pleasure in doing so as we consider that it very excellently expresses the temper of the miners today. The fact that the slogan of WORKERS CONTROL is once more being raised in the coalfields is a sure sign that, as the writer says, the "spirit of the old Minority Movement is still alive." We take this opportunity of inviting any of our readers who are working in or connected with the mining industry, to send in articles giving their points of view on the present situation in the coalfields and their attitude towards the much discussed problem of "Nationalisation". We haven't a lot of space, so make your contributions as short as possible and address them to John Lawrence, Revolutionary Communist Party Offices, 17, Alfred Street, Neath, Glamorgan.)

Dear Arthur,

You have no idea what the rank and file think of you as a leader. Of course, there are still some who support you, but to the majority (and a large majority too!) you are the most hated leader we ever had. Since you became President your betrayals have overshadowed even the treacheries of Mabon and Hodges! Mark you, they don't deny your ability to lead us but your unwillingness to lead us in the way we know you are capable of doing.

Remember the Porter Award? Remember how you deliberately betrayed 100,000 Welsh miners at that time? I wonder if you have any idea of what a spot we miners know that your betrayal has put us in? You should be down in the faces hearing our discussions! The mere mention of Arthur Horner brings forth nothing but contempt from almost everyone. Except from some of the Colliery Officials who always tell us that "Horner is the best leader we ever had."

You may console yourself by saying "Well, when I go amongst them I flabbergast them and soon get them to have confidence in me again." Yes I agree that you do stun us—for the moment! But can you expect us to discuss intelligently with you after a hard day's toiling underground. No, the only way and the only time we can do that is down below—when we are all together and going through the same school of bitter experience. Then we discuss—and in real miners language too! Yes, you flabbergast us

Glasgow Engineers Support Dockers

The following resolution was passed by the Bridgeton 3rd Branch of the A.E.U., and endorsed by the Glasgow A.E.U. District Committee.

"The Bridgeton 3rd Branch of the A.E.U. declares its emphatic support for the workers in the Dock industry who are at present on strike demanding their most elementary rights.

It condemns the attitude of the Labour Government towards these strikers which is no different from that of any Tory Government. In particular the Branch condemns the use of worker soldiers as black-legs in an attempt to force the Dockers to their knees.

The workers of Britain elected a Labour Government in the belief that it would act in the interests of the workers. By granting the dockers' demands immediately they would be acting in those interests and would remove any necessity for the holding up of food ships, etc.

This Branch calls upon the Executives of all the Unions and the T.U.C. to immediately declare solidarity with the dockers and de-

mand that the Labour Government immediately withdraws the troops and compels the employers to grant the demands of the dockers immediately."

Profits out of War

Both Unilever factories in Rumania came through the war undamaged by bombs, and are now selling almost their entire output to the Red Army. Four years ago Rumania was a satellite of Nazi Germany at war with the United Nations. General Antonescu declared that they were waging a "holy war" against the Soviet Union at the side of "the finest army in the world". During that period almost the entire output of Unilever went to sustain the Nazi assault on the USSR.

As a result of their international business operations Unilever have recently been able to announce aggregate net profits exceeding £14 millions. Here are the real war criminals: the monopoly capitalists, the ruling classes of all the capitalist countries.

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

Lessons of the Dockers' Strike

In its determination and duration against great odds, the strike of the dock workers has revealed not only the growing radicalisation of the working-class, but what is equally important a high degree of political and organisational consciousness.

For the first time since the formative period of the transport unions, which were then militant, the dockers have organised their struggle. In the early period of the British Labour movement the strike organisations were synonymous with the official organisations, which were still fighting for recognition. Today, the strike organisations are opposed to the official union structure, which because of the policies of its leaders, are tied to the capitalists and their state machine.

The organisations built by the dockers in the course of their struggle demonstrates that they are on the road to building a leadership conscious of its tasks. Only because of their rank and file organisation have the dock workers been able to maintain, unite and direct their militancy against all the forces of capitalist reaction.

Never has such a national strike movement in Britain shown so good an understanding of the role of the union leaders, and the methods of combatting their policies. This, Donovan and the bureaucrats of Transport House have learnt to their sorrow. Donovan organised a series of meetings at which he tried to persuade the dockers to return to work. The Strike Committees of London and Liverpool made an excellent reply. Every branch member attended his official union branch meetings. Donovan and the union officials were swamped out, and voted down. This is the beginning of the end for the trade union bureaucrats.

Both in Liverpool and London, the Strike Committees have explained the fate that would await those dockers who tampered with the ideas of splits from the unions. At this stage, they explained, such splits would play into the hands of the Donovans and Deakins. No splits, but a struggle within the Union to oust the present leadership, has been the programme of the Strike Committees. In this the dockers have made a very important contribution to the labour and trade union movement. Already the workers in other industries, learning from the dockers, are demanding that the bureaucratic leadership must be replaced by a militant rank and file leadership. For example the building workers demonstration demanded: "Coppock, (head of the A.U.B.T.W.) must go."

However, it is not sufficient to know that one must fight the union leaders on their own ground; it is necessary to advance a programme of struggle against the present constitution and structure of the trade unions. This programme can only be: For union democracy; for the annual re-election of all officials, who will be paid the wages of the average worker. If the unions are to be converted into militant organisations of the working class then these must be the slogans of a national dockers' movement.

The greatest factor against the dockers is the hostility of certain sections of the public and the neutral attitude of the organised workers. While there has been a failure of the militant workers to send expressions of moral and financial support to the dockers, there has also been the failure of the Strike Committees to tell the public the real facts of their struggle. The building workers' demonstration at Hyde Park, for example, would quite certainly have expressed their solidarity with the docks strike, had the Strike Committee sent a speaker to their meeting. The militant dockers must learn from their experience. It would have required very little to circularise the union, Labour Party and Co-op branches; to publish a series of leaflets, explaining their case to the public; to send speakers to all working-class organisations. The Strike Committee voluntarily limited its struggle. This was an unfortunate mistake. Had the Committees understood the need for making their case known to other sections of the working class and appealing directly for support, it would have entirely altered the present situation.

Reports have reached us which show that the soldiers had no heart to scab upon their fellow workers yet the Strike Committees failed to issue an appeal to their fellow workers in uniform. Had they done so, they would have provoked greater and wider manifestations of support than has yet been witnessed.

What a disgrace it is that a Labour Government should force the troops to strike-break! The Labour Government understood that to give the dockers concessions would start a snowball running down a hill. The demands of the dockers, can only be met at the expense of the capitalists. The Labour Government saved the capitalists from certain defeat by using troops to unload the ships. It also, by this very act, prolonged the strike.

In spite of the Strike Committees' protests to the contrary, the strike in its organisation and demands was in fact political. Their programme, their replies to the capitalists and union bureaucrats, their demands upon the Labour Government—in these, the Strike Committees, in some cases consciously, put forward the programme and ideas of our Party. The ideas of revolutionary communism took flesh and blood form. This is why the capitalist press attacked the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The struggle of the dock workers has made important contributions to the Labour movement, the effects of which will be seen in the coming period. Their movement already has gained a victory: the unity and rank and file organisation forged in the strike is a victory in and of itself. The Strike Committees must remain solid. The dockers came out solid, and when they go back they must be more united than ever. No splits, but a solid front! The struggle is not yet over, now must begin the preparation for future battles against the capitalists and their reactionary schemes. The national movement must be permanently maintained, and the leaders by learning from their experiences become conscious of the fundamental lessons of the strike.

DOCKERS:

PREPARE YOUR ORGANISATIONS!

CLOSE THE RANKS!

FOR A PERMANENT NATIONAL RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT!

8,100 VOTES FOR FRENCH TROTSKYISTS

Our French Party, the International Communist Party, put up two candidates in the recent elections—Comrades De Maziere and Beaufriere. Both comrades have been in Nazi concentration camps in Germany. Of the total votes in the areas of 429,000, our comrades polled 8,100 votes. They were allowed two speeches on the wireless, lasting about 5 to 10 minutes each. We give below the second speech given by one of the candidates.

ELECTION SPEECH BY MARCEL BEAUFRERE
POLICY OF THE INTERNATIONALIST COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE (TROTSKYISTS)

In our last broadcast we outlined the three main points of our programme—nationalisation without indemnity, of banks and big industries; reorganisation of production according to a plan studied by the C.G.T. and carried out under the control of the workers, a sliding scale of wages. Such a programme can only be implemented by ending the dictatorship and sabotage of the Trusts, and, first of all, breaking up the shameful coalition between the workers' representatives and those of the Trusts. No reform is possible unless the Socialist Party, the French Communists and the C.G.T. take over all power. No people's government is possible so long as Socialist and Communist Ministers sit alongside the lackeys of reaction under the alleged arbitration of a Bonaparte's apprentice.

It is time to put an end to the misleading slogan of the union of the French workers with French capitalists. It is not a case of strengthening the power of a bourgeoisie in decay, but of uniting all the exploited people against their exploiters.

Comrades. On the 21st of October you will answer "Yes" to the first question, and "No" to the second. You will vote for the candidates of the Fourth International and the workers' candidates in favour of the "YES-NO" answer. You will vote for a Socialist-Communist-C.G.T. Government. We, Internationalist socialists proclaim that this programme cannot be attained by you fighting in a struggle organised to break up the stubborn resistance of

the French employers, who pull all the strings of economy and administration.

To break the employers' resistance, which will tomorrow sabotage all provisional measures taken by this Government, it is necessary to study now the actions to be taken by the workers of this country. The Trotskyists are not in favour of unconsidered actions, but they know—and all workers know it too—that there is only one method to keep the employers at bay—the mass action of the workers.

For over a year the workers have been bearing huge sacrifices. They worked cold and hungry, and in horrible conditions, yet nevertheless, the recovery has never been so uncertain, and the black market never so flourishing, on the eve of a hard winter. The Trusts are dominant everywhere: they are in the Government, they rule the economic life of the country, they lead "nationalised" companies, like the S.F.C.F. and the "Houillères Nationales."

All the mass workers' parties criticise the sabotage of the Trusts. But when the Trusts compel the miners of Nantes or the printers of Limoges to strike to have their wages increased, the workers are accused of sabotage. The Fourth International proclaims that to better the workers' conditions means a contribution to economic revival. To produce, means first of all to throw back those who sabotage the nationalised mines. To attack the employers is the best means of production. As long as the Trusts rule the country, there will not be any real recovery for the workers. And the workers have no other weapon than the strike to resist the offensive of the Trusts against their standard of living. The workers know that never will the employer willingly agree to increase their wages. The Trotskyists will always be on the side

of the workers in their struggle, just as they are in the front line of the struggle of the British dockers.

For the International Communist Party, the saboteurs are neither the miners of Nantes, the British dockers, nor the U.S. steel workers, but the imperialist bourgeoisie ruling in all these countries. At this very moment, the Fourth International is at the vanguard of the Viet Minh's struggle for the independence of Indo-China.

SUPPORT FOR INDO-CHINESE STRUGGLE

Workers of France! The International Communist Party tells you that the struggle of the Indo-Chinese people is your struggle. The repression in a blood-bath, organised by the Leduc army, supported by the British troops, at Saigon and in the whole of Indo-China against unarmed people, enforces the Trusts' rule in that country. Behind the Anglo-French imperialist troops there is Baudouin, Minister of Pétain, and Chairman of the "Banque de l'Indo-Chino", reinstating his privileges.

Workers of France! French imperialism and the Trusts are organising in Indo-China the general rehearsal. Tomorrow, strengthened by their victory, they will become even more arrogant towards us. They are preparing their fascist offensive against the people of France.

The International Communist Party is the only party, which, in the elections, includes in its programme "Self-determination for the Indo-Chinese people; self-determination for all colonial peoples; Down with the Anglo-French imperialist intervention!"

Socialist Workers! Raise your protests against the attitude of the "Socialist" Tixier, who had the

(Continued at foot of next Column.)

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 countries.
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.

FIGHT RACE HATRED IN HAMPSTEAD

In Hampstead the R.C.P. is taking part in the fight against the anti-alien petition organised by the Women's Guild of Empire which asked the House of Commons to deport the refugees in Hampstead in order to provide housing accommodation for returning soldiers and their families. This petition was signed by 3,000 people, including the Mayor and Mayoress of Hampstead. The wording of the petition was such, that some backward workers signed it, because of their concern at the lack of houses, not realising the implications of supporting such a movement.

The R.C.P. is represented on a Committee of various Left wing organisations, in which the local Labour Party does not participate on the grounds that it is too busy with municipal election work! This Committee has immediately organised a counter-petition to Parliament which is receiving very wide support.

The R.C.P. supports this progressive step, though realising and pointing out that race-hatred and discrimination can only be crushed by CLASS action, and not by appealing to people on moral humanitarian grounds.

Thousands of copies of a leaflet have been distributed throughout Hampstead by the Hampstead Branch of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which has received wide support. We reproduce below the leaflet.

An organisation calling itself the "Women's League of Empire" has been conducting a great agitation in Hampstead against the foreign refugees, demanding that they be expelled from their homes to make room for returning English people. They have managed to get 3,000 people to sign a petition to Parliament along these lines.

Their ideas are listened to sympathetically by some people because of the terrible housing shortage. But they make a big mistake in doing so. They do not realise how dangerous such ideas may become. We believe it is necessary to expose and destroy such ideas before they get a hold.

We appeal to you to think about this problem very carefully.

WHY ATTACK THE REFUGEES?

First of all, these refugees are attacked because they are foreigners. There is apparently no suggestion that English people who came into Hampstead during the war should be expelled. But these refugees are here, not because they wanted to leave their own countries, but because they were driven out for their opposition to fascism or because they happened to be Jews. Had they stopped, they should have been sent to Belsen and such places. Surely, we should give every consideration to people whose only crime was to arouse the hatred of Hitler and his gang. Most of them want to go back, but are not allowed to. If we drive them out, we should sink to the level of the fascists ourselves.

THIS WILL NOT SOLVE THE HOUSING SHORTAGE

But even if they were driven out, would this ease the housing problem, as those who advocate it pretend? A moment's thought will show that this is ridiculous. There is a terrible housing shortage everywhere, including parts

of London where there is not a single refugee. If every foreigner were expelled, it would make no difference at all, because they compose a very tiny proportion of the population in London. Indeed, the total percentage of "aliens" in this country is only 0.7 per cent of the population. The housing shortage would remain. It is a national question. And even if it were alleviated by this method in Hampstead, what would the "League of Empire" have us do elsewhere? Expel the Jews from Bethnal Green? The Irish from Camden Town? And when we have got rid of all "aliens" what then? What about the areas where there are no "minorities"?

It is quite obvious that this campaign is no solution to the housing problem.

AN OLD DODGE

The campaign is an old dodge of diverting the people's resentment over a real grievance away from those really responsible, by fixing it upon innocent people who happen to have a different skin or talk a different language. Hitler used it; he pretended that the Jews were responsible for Germany's ills, in order to divert the anger of the people away from the financiers and industrialists. Mosley and the British fascists also attacked the Jews and "aliens" as responsible for unemployment and poverty. National and race hatred always serve the reactionaries. That is why this present campaign is so dangerous. This is the way Fascism comes into being.

WHAT MUST BE DONE?

Drastic measures are necessary to tackle the shortage of houses, but this is not the way.

The only solution is to nationalise the land and building industry without compensation to the present owners, and undertake a national plan of housing for the people.

However, in Hampstead some immediate measures could be taken which would go a long way

to alleviate the shortage. Many big houses stand empty, and many are far too big for their owners' needs. Let every street, or group of streets elect a committee to make a list of the accommodation available, and demand it be shared out among the homeless. That would be a real start, and a campaign worth conducting.

Only one force can take real measures against the landlords and profiteers, and that force is the Labour movement. There is a Labour Government; we must see to it that it takes real measures in the interests of the working class. In Hampstead, an election for the Borough Council is approaching. The first job is to make a clean sweep of all the Tories who serve the landlords' interests and elect a Labour Council.

The "anti-refugee" campaign will be supported by the local Tories because they see in it a way of diverting the people's anger away from themselves. The reactionary sponsors of the campaign will attack the Labour movement, just as the fascists did. That is why the struggle for a Labour Council against the landlords, also means fighting these apostles of national hatred.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE REFUGEES IS THE THIN END OF THE FASCIST WEDGE. ITS SPONSORS ARE EITHER CONSCIOUS FASCISTS, OR POTENTIAL FASCISTS. THEY MUST BE COMBATED BY THE UNITED MOVEMENT OF ALL SECTIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS.

If any of your acquaintances support the campaign, explain to them that their enemy is not the refugee, but the landlord and building profiteer.

FIGHT AGAINST THIS REACTIONARY "ANTI-REFUGEE" CAMPAIGN!

ALL OUT FOR A LABOUR MAJORITY ON THE BOROUGH COUNCIL!

LONDON
1917 - 1945
The Russian Revolution and the FUTURE OF EUROPE
Public Meeting at the Holborn Hall,
Monday, November 12th—7.30 p.m.
Speakers :
JOCK HASTON
DAVID JAMES
Questions and Discussion.

(Continued from previous Column.)

leaders of the Indo-Chinese delegation of France arrested, and is shamefully slandering them.

Comrades! The Indo-Chinese people need your help. In every Trade Union, in every district, ask the leaders of the Socialist and the French Communist Party and the C.G.T. to organise meetings, in joint action, with the International Communist Party, in support of the Indo-Chinese people fighting for their emancipation.

Workers Peasants! The International Communist Party is the only party to speak like this. This is why the bourgeoisie wants to muzzle our voice; this is why, despite our illegal activity under the occupation, unscrupulous blackmailers insult our dead, and those of us who were tortured and deported. This is why our paper, "La Verite" is banned; this is why we will not abandon the struggle, today, like yesterday, our Party alone aims at defending the rights of the workers, oppressed and bled white, after five years of war and occupation.

We will continue our struggle against imperialism, under the flag of Lenin and Trotsky!

Forward with the Fourth International! For the Socialist United States of Europe and the World!

Labour's Budget Pleases Tories

(Continued from Front Page.)

leaders and their incapacity to defend the interests of the workers. Certainly the workers do not want inflation, but neither do they want deflation and a steady lowering of their standard of living... And that is precisely what is taking place through the country.

The transition from war contracts to peace-jobs, the transference to time production, has been made the occasion by the capitalist class for wholesale attacks on wages. This, together with the loss of earnings through overtime, has brought about a phenomenal reduction of wages and a profound feeling of frustration and discontent among millions of workers.

What the workers want to hear from the Labour leaders is not sermons on the dangers of inflation and the need

to curb purchasing power, but a bold policy to combat the capitalist onslaught on wages and a steady rise in the standard of living of the working class.

The contrast between the Labour Government's attitude towards Big Business, on the one hand, and the working class on the other, becomes even more pronounced when we examine their proposals in regard to Post-war credits. Nobody knows when these are going to be paid, but the capitalists are to be refunded 20% of the E.P.T. immediately. Apparently the Government intends holding back the post-war credits until the slump intervenes, and only then to release them to provide purchasing power and to try and help them to keep production going.

Is it not obvious that all the talk of the Labour leaders about a full life for the people is sheer moonshine, and

that what they are really preparing is a boom for the capitalists in which they will make new fortunes, to be followed by a catastrophic slump. Their hopes of bringing back prosperity to the country by keeping down wages, while pumping in a steady flow of millions into the pockets of the capitalist class can only lead to disaster. Even sections of the capitalist class realise this.

The "Times" and several other papers representing the more far-sighted section of the capitalists have been advising the Government to grant a few more concessions to the workers, and in particular to restore the pre-war allowance for earned incomes. Not that these gentlemen are really concerned about the workers' well-being, but because they are afraid that the too-obvious subservience of the Labour Government to Big Business would discredit it too soon in the eyes of the workers before reaction succeeds in getting a mass basis.

Thus we get the position that under "Labour" Government the workers do not receive much more in the Budget than the Tories would have been willing to concede. And no real changes in their position after the blood, toil, tears and sweat they have poured out during the war. But the capitalists and the monopolies who made fortunes out of the misery and suffering of the masses, far from having them confiscated are to have them increased.

The answer of the workers to this, the first Labour Budget for the Capitalists and Bankers is clear. The time has come to demand an immediate end to the policy of pandering to the insatiable greed of the capitalist class, which the Labour Government is pursuing.

Demanding that the Labour leaders carry out their promises and introduce some real measures in the interest of the masses. Not one extra penny to Big Business—but the confiscation of all war profits. For an all-round increase in wages and a rising scale of wages as a counter to the danger of inflation. Only a struggle along these lines by the working-class movement can save the masses from a future of misery and starvation which capitalism has in store for them.

Bro. Milligan Re-Instated

We reported in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal" that Brothers Jock Milligan, Miller and Williams, were being charged by the District Committee of the National Society of Painters, for issuing a leaflet which exposed the union leaders' policies. This leaflet called for a militant policy, and a militant union leadership. It accused the union leadership of aiding the bosses and called for the revival of union democracy by a struggle within the unions to replace Copcock and the rest of the "Go slow" officials.

Since then these militant fighters have been before the London District Committee of the union. The D.C. decided to take from them their Stewards' Credentials.

The bosses attacked Bro. Milligan at the same time, and with the same methods, as the Stalinist D.C. of the N.S.P. He was sacked for "serious industrial misconduct". Immediately the shop stewards in his area formed a Milligan Defence Committee, which from contributions donated by building workers, paid his wages and organised his case. A meeting of Shop Stewards was called on Monday 22nd October. 209 Shop Stewards attended. They demanded that Bro. Milligan be reinstated by the weekend, or the whole of the Lewisham building workers would come out on strike. On Thursday 25th Bro. Milligan was reinstated, and paid full wages for the period of suspension. Not only the bosses but the Stalinist officials have suffered a great defeat in their attempt to victimise militant building workers.

Party Notes

GLASGOW: The Open Study Circle held Thursday, 7.45 p.m., in the Party Rooms, 47, Oswald Street, (opposite Zoo), is now being attended by a steadily rising number of contacts. All readers of the "Socialist Appeal" in the area are invited to attend; full opportunities are given for discussion.

Sales of the "S.A." are going well at pits, factories, meetings, and on Saturdays in Argyle Street. The regular Sunday Meetings in Brunswick Street (Glasgow's Hyde Park) are going well.

At a debate between our Comrade Roy Tearse and Comrade Murray of the Workers' Open Forum, the sectarian approach of Murray was dealt with in a very able manner. As a

result of this debate several workers were interested and are now attending our Central Study Class.

200 copies of the Mid-October issue of the "S.A." were sold to the Glasgow dockers, and a further 900 on Clydeside. It has received a very warm response as being the only paper to put the Dockers' case fairly and squarely.

EDINBURGH: A weekly series of indoor Public Meetings is being run each Sunday at 7 p.m. in the Melbourne Hall, with a regular attendance of between 60 and 70. During recent weeks Comrades W. Tait and Roy Tearse have spoken.

(Continued from Front Page.)

them to whatever conditions of work the employers desired.

Thus, the dockers were divided into two schemes. Liverpool and Glasgow dockers received a minimum guaranteed wage of £4 2s. 6d.; in London, Hull and the other ports the dockers received a guaranteed minimum of £3 6s. 0d. In the latter case, the dock workers were further divided into two other categories: Category B, men who had to complete 9 turns (shifts) per week, for which they received £2 14s. and Category C, men who had to complete 6 turns per week for which they received £1 16s. 0d. In these cate-



T.U. BOSS:
"NO UNCONSTITUTIONAL STRIKES—I GOT MINE!"

gories were placed old and injured dockers, and those unable to work a full week.

The "declassification" and "guaranteed wage" offered the dock workers as a blind order to introduce new anti-union conditions, was soon demonstrated to be a cheap swindle. The men in the above categories, if unable to stand the strain of hard work, and if they wanted to rest the next day, had to report that day or lose their minimum wage. The clause controlling this states:

"Workers in Groups B and C must either work or attend the Control Point to prove availability for work up to the minimum of 9 or 6 days respectively. The Manager will determine at which of the morning and/or afternoon calls the attendance of these men is obligatory."

Naturally, very few in these Groups ever received their "guaranteed" pay. The conditions under which the minimum wage could be paid, were, and still are, so carefully worked out that a large percentage of dockers never received it! Here are some of the conditions:

"The dockers must report at such Control Points and at such times as required; he must carry out his duties in accordance with the rules of the port or place; complete the employment for which he was engaged, and work as and when required including overtime periods. In addition, if he is an A man (receiving top minimum of £3 6s. 0d.) he must travel to other ports or places as and when required by the local Manager."

There are thousands of dock workers throughout the country who can relate many experiences of being criminally deprived of their "guaranteed pay". A docker who received the top minimum must report for 11 shifts or receive, in the case of illness, an excuse note. If he should report for 10 shifts, but because of home trouble, or as in the case of hundreds of London dockers, during the V2 raids, find himself unable to report for the 11th shift, he loses his "guarantee" for the whole week! Not only this but if the docker reports late for work he can be suspended for 7 to 21 days! Hundreds and hundreds of dock workers in London and Liverpool were suspended, without wages or dole, for 14 or 21 days because they were late in the heavy blitz! It was partly this situation which caused the London dockers' strike in March this year. It was also the arbitrary suspension of dockers in Merseyside which caused the 1943 Liverpool dockers' strike.

It is true that with overtime and working under abnormal conditions, a very small section of the dockers received a fairly high wage, compared to other industries such as mining. But the average dockers' wage was lower than that of most other industries. The highest average (according to G. Schaffer in "Reynolds News") went up to £7 15s. 2d. This wage was made on piece-work rates by increasing

the turn-around of the ships by 200 or 300 per cent! An untrained worker, working on piece-work rates at the docks, would come away with not sufficient to buy a meal, but his hands would be bleeding and his legs and back sore. Even the isolated cases of high wages seized upon by the capitalist press bear no relation to the actual labour of that particular worker. For every docker earning £10 a week there were hundreds and hundreds earning less than £3 10s. 0d. and hundreds receiving nothing.

So much for the high wages, the "guaranteed week" and the declassification, spoken of by the capitalist press. The press lies and slanders the dockers. The workers must not believe these fabrications.

FOOD SCARE CAMPAIGN

The main argument used by the press to provoke public hostility has been that the dockers' strike endangered the country's food supply. None of the press has stated the facts, that it is the employers, the wealthy shipowners, who have provoked the strike. The responsibility rests on them, and not on the dock workers, who have been attacked. However, dockers in every port have offered to unload perishable foodstuffs, cigarettes and Christmas parcels, Red Cross equipment, free and without receiving one penny for it. The money which they would normally receive in wages would be sent to the Red Cross, or some other society. This in itself demonstrates the misleading nature of the press statements.

The foremost rag in the campaign against the dockers, the "Daily Mail", published in its issue of October 22nd, a report headed: "FORGOTTEN FOOD IS ROTTING IN TWO SCHOOL DUMPS", which states:

"The schools... are full of slowly rotting food and bedding for hundreds of families."

An investigation would certainly show that the capitalists, whose press screams that the dockers are "baby starvers", are not the slightest bit concerned with the food of the workers. Before the war food was being dumped; soon, because the poor masses of Britain and Europe cannot afford to buy food at high prices, thousands of tons will again rot in the warehouses.

The dockers have no desire to starve the workers, or for that matter themselves and their families. They want a living wage; and they ask for, and deserve the support of every worker in their struggle for this. If the country's food supply is in danger, then let the Labour Government nationalise the dock industry and instead of paying the profiteers "compensation", give the dock workers a decent living wage.

DOES THE STRIKE WEAKEN THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT?

The other main argument of the capitalist press and the union leaders is that the dockers' strike weakens the Labour Government. This is nothing but an admission that the Labour Government has interests different from those of the workers which elected them.

Mr. Isaacs, Minister of Labour, claims that the Government is not interfering in the dispute. But he sent troops into the docks! This, Mr. Isaacs, is active intervention in the dispute—on the side of the bosses.

Dr. Edith Summerskill went so far as to express her support for the reactionary Mrs. Leadbetter's proposed move to get women volunteers to unload the ships. What a disgrace! It may not be a bad idea at that to put some of these upper class women on the job loading the carcasses, and the fish! But what kind of a "Socialist" is this Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food?

It must be clear to all workers that the Labour Government could end the dispute in a few hours—by nationalising the dock industry, without compensation, as they claim it to be so essential to the needs of the country as a whole. The profits confiscated by the Labour Government, would be sufficient to pay the dockers' demands. Instead of using troops to scab on their fellow workers, the Labour Government should use them to take over the port industry. This is a job the troops would gladly do. If the Government genuinely represents the interests of the working-class, and intends to carry out its election promises, then the dockers' strike, far from weakening the Labour Government, will assist it in its struggle against the capitalists.

Sales and meetings at the Mound continue each Sunday.

NEATH: Despite the fact that the Council (under pressure of the Church) refused to allow our meeting to commence before nearly 8 o'clock, which meant that workers from the valleys could not attend owing to transport, 400 workers came to hear Jock Haston speak on "Labour in Power—What Next?" The questions were lively and a good collection was taken.

Sales of the "Socialist Appeal" in Wales are steadily rising. Outstanding recent sales have been 400 in Swansea and 350 in Cardiff—a good portion of these went to the dockers, who though not on strike, are in complete sympathy with the demands of the London and Liverpool men.

THE STRUGGLE TO DEMOCRATISE THE UNIONS

The Transport and General Workers' Union, even in its branch life, has become completely removed from the actual conditions and needs of the dock workers. Whereas in an engineering plant, the workers have immediate representatives on the job in the form of Shop Stewards, the dockers have to take their grievances to the local Trade Union Branch and have no job representation.

Very often the Branch officials and area delegates have their hands full with other trade union work. The bosses make full use of the delay caused by such a gap between the job and branch organisation. The dockers' grievances and the bosses' attempts to smash trade union practices and conditions, which are aided by the bureaucratic structure of the T.&G.W.U., mount up to exploding point. The demand raised by the Liverpool dockers in 1943, that branches should be based on a control, or sector, is a very real and necessary demand.

The T.&G.W.U., which is one of the largest unions in the world, has lost all vestiges of democracy. The officials have become completely removed from the rank and file. So much so, that they can no longer find a bridge to the rank and file by which they could canalise the movement for better conditions! A few well paid officials, defended by the union constitution and union committees, which are formidable barriers, can sit in Transport House and dictate their will to thousands of workers. To even interview these officials, is almost as hard as it is to interview a Cabinet Minister!

The chief bureaucrats of the T.&G.W.U. have openly gone over to the side of the capitalists. It was Ernest Bevin, General Secretary of the T.&G.W.U., who was given the most difficult post in the Tory coalition government, Mr. Donovan, Secretary of the Docks Section, faced with strike threats, promised everything if the dockers would only negotiate. But what did the dockers get? Not a single farthing increase, not a single reform!

But the dock workers, highly trained in Trade Unionism, have not permitted their anger and hatred of these lackeys of the boss class, to lead them into adventurism. They realise that their struggle must be within the unions to oust the bureaucracy, and in its place elect militant rank and fileers, paid the same wages as the dock worker, and subject to the right of recall and annual re-election.

The present union constitution which is designed to protect the union offi-



CAPITALIST:
"BABY STARVERS"

cial, must be abolished. For a democratic union; for democratically elected officials who will work in the interest of the rank and file; and not the bosses—this is the programme of all class-conscious and militant dock workers.

Arranged against the dock workers are the entire forces of the capitalist class, its press, radio and cinema. Along with these powerful forces, are the union leaders, the Labour ministers and the Stalinists. The only ally of the dock worker is his fellow worker in the factories, mines and other industries. The organised workers must support the struggle of the dockers, which is in their interests as well.

Resolutions expressing moral and financial support should be passed by every trade union branch and local Labour and Co-operative Party.

SOLIDARITY! THE DOCKERS' FIGHT IS YOUR FIGHT!
FORCE THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT NOT TO INTERVENE ON THE SIDE OF THE BOSSES! BUT ON THE SIDE OF THE DOCKERS!

SHEFFIELD: The Secretary of the Sheffield Branch writes: "We have been holding meetings every Thursday night in Barker's Pool. The attendances at these meetings have been very gratifying. The average sales of "Socialist Appeal" are between 50 and 60 copies per issue, and at one recent meeting 22 copies of W.I.N." were sold. The total collections during the last few weeks at these meetings amounted to 80/-."

We are also holding contact meetings every Thursday night at 7.30 at No. 7 Weston Terrace, off Weston Street. All readers and contacts are made welcome."

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