

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

SUPPLEMENT MID-NOVEMBER, 1945.

TWOPENCE

## GOVT. PROPOSES DOCKS SLAVE BILL

**IN THE DOCK WORKERS (REGULATION OF EMPLOYMENT) BILL, THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED A BILL, WHICH IN THE WORDS OF A LIBERAL M.P.: "IF INTRODUCED BY A CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN DENOUNCED THROUGHOUT THE LAND AS A "SLAVERY BILL." HOW SHAMEFUL IT IS THAT A BILL INTRODUCED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, CAN THUS CORRECTLY BE DENOUNCED BY A LIBERAL!**

It was to the great credit of S. S. Silverman, (Labour M.P.) that he was the first to expose this Bill and denounce Sub-section 4, Clause 1, which states: "Any person who contravenes or fails to comply with any provision shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to a maximum fine of £50, or to both."

In his denunciation of this Clause, S. S. Silverman pointed out that: "Under this Bill a strike, even an official strike, could be made illegal. Any strike that was a breach of a scheme would be a criminal act, and a striker could be sent to prison for three months."

Labour Members of Parliament revolted and demanded the withdrawal of this anti-union and thoroughly reactionary Clause. So great was the revolt against this attempt to sneak in a Clause which would give the Labour Government power to arrest strikers and strike leaders, that the Government was forced to retreat.

This Bill makes permanent the dock labour schemes devised by the employers and the union leaders

during the war. It pretends to de-casualise dock labour and provide regular employment or guaranteed pay. In recent issues of the "Socialist Appeal" we have shown how these schemes operate; that they are a swindle from beginning to the end. Bevin announced this latest BEJ as his great contribution to the dockers—he will be remembered for it!

Every dock worker wants de-casualisation, but he does not want regimentation and slavery. The de-casualisation schemes already in existence give the dockers, not a guaranteed wage, out of which they are cheated, but precisely, regimentation. These schemes have subjected the dockers to the arbitrary power of the bosses and the port labour Managers.

Abolish the National Docks Corporation Board and the Port of London Authority!

For Workers' control of all Labour direction!

Work or full maintenance!

For nationalisation without compensation and without control of the shipping and port industries!

# WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM JAVA!

## END LABOUR LEADERS' IMPERIALIST POLICY

**WITH BRITISH SAILORS REFUSING TO SAIL DUTCH TROOPS AND AUSTRALIAN WORKERS PICKETING DUTCH SUPPLY SHIPS, WITH 7,000 CHINESE AND INDIAN WORKERS IN SINGAPORE DOWNING TOOLS IN SYMPATHY WITH THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE, AND THE WHOLE OF INDIA, BURMA AND THE COLONIAL EAST SWEEPED INTO A FERMENT OF PROTEST AND INDIGNATION, THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT HAS RAISED HIGH THE BANNER OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST OPPRESSION.**

The entire merchant navy crew of the troopship Moreton Bay walked out of the ship when 1,600 Dutch troops were brought on board. They have appealed to the headquarters of the British Seamen's Union in London for endorsement of their action and for its wholehearted support.

At a mass meeting in Sydney, the seamen's spokesman pointed out that it was a disgrace that at a period when people at home were suffering from an acute shortage of food and when every available ship should be carrying food to Britain, British ships should be used to carry Dutch troops for the slaughter of the Indonesian people.

The action of the British Seamen followed close on the heels of the Australian airmen who refused to lend their services to the Dutch, which has forced the Australian Air Minister, Mr. Drakeford to announce that no Australian Air Force personnel would be asked to serve the Dutch forces in Java.

**TANKS AND PLANES AGAINST BOWS AND ARROWS**

Despite the wave of popular protest and denunciations, British Military headquarters in Java are marching ahead with their plans for the bloody suppression of the nationalist movement. With the bombardment of Surabaya and the slaughter of hundreds of defenceless men, women and children, military terror has reached new heights of barbarism. Tanks are being used in large numbers, supported by a formidable array of bombers and fighters. The "Daily Express" reports that fighter pilots have been issued with the order: "Shoot at sight". On the other hand, the mass of the soldiers in the Indonesian Liberation movement are equipped with only the barest of military necessities. A correspondent of the "Times" describing one of the encounters reported that in some areas Indonesian youth were facing up to the tanks with swords, spears and even bows and arrows. "Only a few had firearms".

When the Nazis were bombarding the defenceless people of Warsaw and other defenceless European cities, what a howl of protest and indignation was raised by the capitalist press in Britain! To-day, the same press, not excluding the "Daily Herald", are ready

(Continued on Back Page.)

## SUPPORT 'NO STANDING' FIGHT Demand More Buses

BY J. JOHNS

**IN FACE OF A VICIOUS PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THEM, THE LONDON PASSENGER TRANSPORT WORKERS STOOD FIRM IN THEIR "NO STANDING" STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WEALTHY LONDON PASSENGER TRANSPORT BOARD.**

Trolleybus and tram workers joined the petrol bus workers in their fight against terrible working conditions and the attempts of the L.P.T.B. to increase further the speed and carrying capacity of the passenger services.

This policy of the L.P.T.B. has made both the transport workers and the general public suffer. The public have had to travel long distances standing in crowded trams and buses; the possibility of accidents has increased, as indeed has the accident rate.

The transport workers have had to suffer long hours, speeded journeys short meal and rest intervals, and the strain of pushing and jostling passengers on crowded vehicles.

The capitalist press, true to form, has not said one word about the conditions suffered by the transport workers. They did not mention, for example, that before the war there were 4,800 buses with 26,000 workers carrying an average daily load of 4½ millions of passengers, and that today there are only 2,500 buses in operation.

age daily load of 10 million. In other words, the number of buses has been reduced by half, and the number of transport workers has been reduced by three-quarters, while the average daily load has increased by more than a 100 per cent!

Neither did the press mention that because of the profit lust of the L.P.T.B., 3½ per cent of the Busmen suffer from T.B.; that 20 per cent suffer from duodenal ulcers because they have no time to look after their health; that hundreds of "clippies"

have suffered serious nerve strain and physical illness as a result of the sweated conditions. These are the facts which the capitalist press refuses to publish.

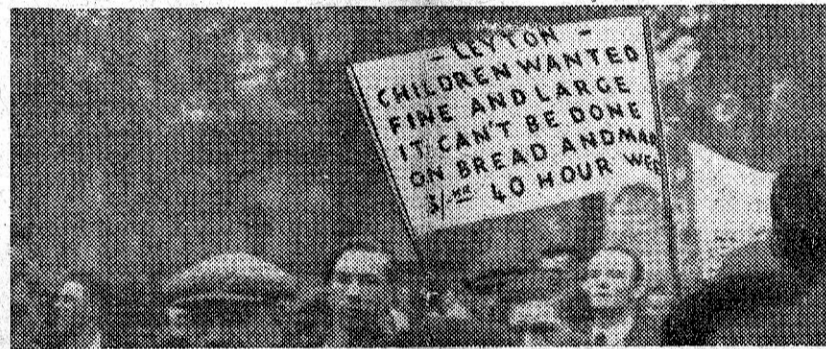
The Union leaders, by maintaining silence about these conditions, assist the campaign of the capitalists. Also, by attempting to reach a compromise and force the workers to permit four passengers to stand, they actively try to break the just struggle of the transport workers.

Following upon the experience of the dockers' strike, the transport workers have organised their struggle through the union committees nearest the rank and file. Further attempts by the union leaders to break the "no standing" struggle, can only lead to a breakdown of the union.

presentatives. The whole of the T & G.W.U. leadership is facing a situation which is the beginning of the end for these chairwarmers.

Workers: Support the struggle of the transport workers! Help them to remove scabs and anti-union elements! The fight of the transport workers is in your interest. Their conditions and your safety are at stake! Their fight is your fight—against the callous and profit seeking policies of the employers

### THE LEYTON CONTINGENT



## BUILDERS' DEMO. ENDS IN FIASCO

BY ALF SNOREL

**ON NOVEMBER 5th, 40,000 BUILDING WORKERS MARCHED FROM HYDE PARK TO BEDFORD SQUARE TO DEMONSTRATE BEFORE THE OFFICES OF THE MASTERS' FEDERATION.**

Remembering the militant demonstration of October 8th, and the fighting speeches of members of the Shop Stewards Committee which organised that demonstration, the building workers marched with a high spirit of determination and militancy. But this was not to last long.

The October 8th demonstration, despite its failure to bring action, revealed the determination of the building workers' fight for 3/- an hour and a 40-hour week. The November 5th demonstration, however, was a flop. Thousands of building workers walked away in disgust at the speeches of the Stalinist Committee which steam-rolled the meeting.

Instead of a fighting lead, the C.P. controlled Committee gave the platform to the very union officials who have opposed and sabotaged the struggle of the builders for 3/- an hour.

The first speaker was Weaver, Stalinist Divisional Secretary of the A.U.B.T.W. At first, the building workers thought that here was an official supporting their struggle. But when Weaver attacked, in a veiled form, the militant shop stewards and "Subversive elements"; when he called upon the workers to support the union demand of 4d. an hour increase, he exposed his true role. He was shouted down. One after another, the Stalinist speakers took the microphone to urge the building workers to support the policies of their union officials, whose negotiating policy after nine months has produced nothing!

The building workers' demonstration was doomed in advance. The day before it took place the "Communist" Party held a meeting of its faction in the Beaver Hall. Here the plan to sabotage the militant movement was laid down.

### FOR A MILITANT LEADERSHIP

The contrast between the two demonstrations is tremendous and of great importance to all building workers. The militant Shop Stewards Committee which aroused the fighting spirit of the building workers has been ousted by the Stalinists, who seized control by flooding it from the unrepresentative Progress Committee. Remembered from October 8th were the fighting speeches of Brothers Milligan and McLeary. But these members of the Demonstration Committee were not allowed the platform—the Stalinists saw to that.

The "Socialist Appeal" along with leading building workers warned against Stalinist sabotage. Now it has become clear to thousands of building workers and rank and file members of the "Communist" Party that our warnings were based upon a correct understanding of the policies and methods of Stalinism; that our warnings were justified.

The building workers must oust the Stalinists from the Campaign Committee; a stop must be put to their sabotage of the workers' struggles. A new militant committee of representatives from Job Shop Stewards Committees must be elected. The Coppers and Weavers must be replaced by militant workers who will represent (Continued on Back Page.)

## C.P. VETERANS JOIN FRENCH TROTSKYISTS



JEAN RAFFIN-DUGENS



HORACE MARTIN



CHARLES MARTEL

In the Isère Department (Grenoble), three prominent former members of the Communist Party, disgusted by the opportunist policies of Stalinism, have issued a statement giving their reasons for joining the P.C.I. and the Fourth International.

Jean RAFFIN-DUGENS entered the Socialist Party in 1898. A teacher, he was persecuted for his political ideas and deported to a small village in the Isère. Elected to Parliament in 1910, he with two other Socialist deputies alone voted against the war credits. During the war, he adopted an internationalist position and was with Lenin at the Kienthal Conference. In 1920 he founded the Communist Party in the Isère, leading the majority of the Socialist Party into the C.P. During the occupation, he disapproved of the chauvinist policy of the C.P., and at the time of the liberation he refused to stand for the municipal elections together with reactionary elements of the Resistance movement. After 47 years of militant political activity, he found himself expelled from the C.P. He has now joined the P.C.I. and stood as a Fourth International candidate in the recent elections.

Charles MARTEL, a typographer, joined the Socialist Party in 1913 and adopted a revolutionary internationalist attitude from the very beginning of the 1914-18 war. At the front, he organised actions of fraternisation between French and German soldiers and published several clandestine papers opposing the war. After the war, he was one of the foundation members of the C.P. in the Isère. He specialised in peasant problems, and as such visited the kolkhozes in the U.S.S.R. He was struck there by the inequality in the conditions of the

leaders and the workers, and by the arrogant manner of life of the bureaucracy. On his return he was expelled from the C.P. on account of his criticism of the U.S.S.R. and of the political line adopted by the C.P. in Germany. He has now joined the P.C.I.

Horace MARTIN, a railway worker, came to the Socialist Party in 1895 and joined its Communist fraction as early as 1918. A militant trade union leader, he was active in the underground C.P. during the whole period of the 1939-45 war. Unable to subscribe any longer to the C.P. policy of capitulation, he voluntarily resigned from the C.P. and enters the French section of the Fourth International after 50 years of political activity.

In their statement, these comrades of the "Old Guard" give their reasons for keeping up hope: "In face of the capitulation of the Communist Party (amongst whose foundation members we are proud to be reckoned), a new revolutionary Party, the International Communist Party (P.C.I.), French section of the Fourth International, is taking up Lenin's tradition of internationalism and class struggle, and every day sees its influence growing among the masses." And they conclude by an appeal to the younger generation: "It is to you, comrades, that we wish to speak. We are old and some of us will not see the victory of the Proletariat. But this victory is certain. We appeal to you to keep courage, remain steadfast in the battle, and to join the International Communist Party, which is today the only revolutionary Party, the only Party which fights for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a regime of soviets."

## French Rule in Indo-China

The following is a description of some of the methods used by French imperialism in suppressing the anti-imperialist uprising of the Indo-Chinese workers and peasants in 1930, appearing in an article by Raymond Postgate, the noted British writer in the American Magazine "New Republic".

"The hysterical repression that followed these native demonstrations led to great cruelties. Mass arrests took place and tortures according to press reports were widely applied especially at Thu-Duc, Saigon, and Chalons where electrical torture was used. According to Andre Violis, the methods used included: Deprivation of food, bastinado, pins driven under the nails, half-hanging, deprivation of water, pincers on the temples (to force the eyes outwards) and a number of others that are not printable.

One may be quoted: 'with a razor blade, to cut the skin of the legs in long furrows, to fill the wound with cotton and then burn the cotton.'

"Perhaps even more interesting than these events are the measures of open war taken to ensure the defeat of the Viet Nam. These include bombing of villages from the air and the destruction of crops and irrigation works. At Colam, according to an official report, aviators flying low pursued a group of about fifty with machine-gun fire. Near Vinh a demonstration was dispersed by airplane. 'In the whirl of spreading smoke... there could be seen bodies piled in heaps torn pieces, twisted, while the mob seized by panic, fled howling. Many wounded were taken away by the rebels... Exactly 250 corpses remained on the ground and some fifty wounded.'

## CRISIS in the C.P. Rank & File Want Militant Policy

BY JOCK HASTON

**A CRISIS OF SIGNIFICANCE IS ROCKING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN. IT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT SINCE THE EXPULSION OF THE TROTSKYISTS FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY AT THE BATTERSEA CONFERENCE IN 1932.**

In Party Branches, and district organisations, there is a growing criticism of the policy, particularly since the debacle of their line on the General Election when they called for a coalition with the capitalists.

Even at the recent Conference of the Y.C.L., held in London, Peter Kerrigan, spokesman for the Party leadership, came in for a measure of sharp criticism from numbers of the delegates who spoke from the floor—criticism which was strengthened by the demands of fraternal delegates from Greece and Spain for a fighting policy against the Labour Government.

The pressure of criticism from the rank and file, and from the most conscientious local functionaries and factory leaders (in touch with the workers and the real desires of the membership), all this has finally compelled the leadership to sanction a small measure of 'internal democracy, and even public criticism in the columns of their periodical "World News and Views".

The background to the crisis is the growing conflict in foreign policy between the Russians, the British and the Americans and its reflection in the policy of the Stalinist parties.

As with all previous switches in Stalin's diplomacy, the leadership of the British Stalinists are not sure which way the conflict is going to resolve itself. Learning from the sad experience of their American brothers—Browder and Co., they are prepared for the possibility that they may have to come out into opposition to the policy of the Labour Government. Thus, while making concessions to the militant aspirations of the rank

and file, they are also preparing a bridge which they can cross over into downright opposition to the Labour Government, in the event that such a policy fits in with the needs of Stalinist diplomacy.

As yet no serious theoretical political opposition has found expression. In the main, it is an instinctive opposition arising out of the pressure of the workers upon the Party militants, and the unhappy experiences these latter are going through in putting the "line" over on their fellow workers who are to the Left of the C.P.

The distortion and debasement of Marxism, which for so many years has been palmed off under the "mysterious", yet simple guise of "tactics", no longer suffices to save the conscience of troubled workers.

The question: "How does the Party come to be pursuing the present policy?" and "Why has the Party policy suddenly switched so often, without preparation, catching the leaders and members unawares?" are being asked by the uneasy rank and file.

At the last Annual Conference of the C.P., the delegate from Abertillery, Morgan, opposed the policy of an electoral agreement with the Churchill, "Teheran" progressive Tories advocated by the leadership. The Abertillery delegate moved an amendment that progressive unity should exclude any section of the Tories. Summing up for the executive, John Gollan, asked the delegates to reject the Abertillery amendment because the C.P. could not afford to turn their

(Continued on Back Page.)

# Letters

To the Editor

## FROM SOLDIER READERS

### Training to Quell Riots

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

We were informed the other day of our future job. It will be mainly concerned with dealing with riot situations. We are to be taught the "approved" methods of dealing with riots and crowds. "S.S." men is what they wish to make us into, but we shall see what the results are. The general feeling being that when the time comes for dealing with riots, we shall know what to do.

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

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

Best wishes to all,  
Fraternally,  
D.

### Demob Discontent

Iraq,  
November, 1945.

Dear Comrade,  
I would like to confirm some of the points regarding discontent in this command given in F. Cornell's letter published in the October "Appeal." Until quite recently I was attached to an R.A.F. station in the Persian Gulf where there has been widespread discontent regarding the general conditions (food, accommodation, etc.) and demobilisation for some six months. This condition was intensified when the boys heard Isaac's speech at the beginning of the month and there was much talk of writing petitions and individual letters to M.P.s. The latter course was considered the best idea but it was thought that they could not unite in order to make the plan successful. The spirit was there, but organisation was lacking. Slogans—"Strike for Demob" (the hammer and sickle chalked at the side)—began to appear on the walls and even on the C.O.'s car. (Despite attempts to rub out the lettering on this vehicle it remained legible for over a week.)

Lawson, on his way back from the Far East, got a hot reception when his plane touched down at the same station. He was inundated with queries regarding demob from chaps who made their way to the landing ground from all over the camp. Of course his answers were unsatisfactory and, according to eye-witnesses his attitude to the men was insulting. Afterwards the men said: "So, this is a Labour member!" and they made many more remarks besides which were not at all flattering to Lawson. The fact that the Secretary of State for War, a so-called Workers' representative, was drinking that evening with higher officers of the camp was also not looked upon in a very good light.

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

- 1 Reduction in establishments of units, necessarily means a proportionate reduction in rank of the officers commanding.
  - 2 To defend private interests abroad.
- Comradely yours,  
"Ess Grad."

### India—Jewel of Empire

Dear Comrade,  
I wish to thank you for the mid-October issue of the "Socialist Appeal" which I received yesterday. After reading so much, to use an RAF expression "gaff" in our press here, it was really grand to receive a live, straight-talking paper again. I only hope that this copy is the first of many. Believe me I am looking forward to them. From the local rags, I had drawn my own conclusions about the magnificent strike of the dockers, and I say without hesitation that they are supported by a large number of the politically conscious men in the forces out here. My suppositions were fully borne out by J. Deane's excellent article.

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

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

Everywhere one goes the same sights meet the eye, squalor and filth, disease and ignorance. It is tragic that in this country, one of the richest in the world, there should be so many condemned to live in this state. In the cities the contrast is sharper still, in the European and 'burra sahibs' area there are wide boulevards, the most modern shops, big cars (mostly American) and everything else that goes to make life a little more tolerable, while in the native areas one meets—first flies, filthy hovels serving as shops, brothels and dust. In a land where under a true "democracy" (I use the word in its literal meaning not as the bourgeois use it), everyone could at least have sufficient, a few are fabulously rich and the rest—just exist.

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

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

G.

# £213 REACHED

## CAMPAIGN

The Forces are magnificent in their response to the Expansion Fund. From all parts of the world we receive donations which have been collected through the tireless efforts of these comrades. The following letter from S.E.A.C. is an inspiring example of the revolutionary enthusiasm which is so characteristic of the comrades:

"I enclose £5.50 or 72/- from George Denholm—a great friend of 'Socialist Appeal'. As promised, this money comes from a boxing match which he had in Poona when he beat the Burmese Feather Weight Champion over 10 rounds. Being the winner, he got £15.00.

"George, by the way hails from Dalry, Ayrshire, Scotland. He is a splendid working class fighter." From Beverley Camp we also received the following:

"Re the £500 Fund Campaign. With two or three sympathisers we

hope to subscribe £3 by December 31st so will you please put us down for that. Will send the first donation in a few days time."

All comrades should follow the lead given by these soldier-workers and speed the collections.

News from branches in the London area discloses a "go ahead" attitude towards collecting donations for the Fund. West London branch recently held a successful gramophone recital which netted a profit of £25.00. Hendon also organised a social which brought in the useful sum of £15.00, whilst the South West and South East London branches have followed their example and socials are being held during the next few weeks. What is important about these events is that apart from proving a successful means of raising money they provide comrades and friends of our Party with a few hours of enjoyable entertainment, which cements the bonds of comradeship. Every branch of the

Party should have a gramophone recital, social or dance between now and the Christmas Season. Let us know about your plans.

Our Fund is now six weeks old and in the remaining few weeks every effort must be made to reach the target in record time. We have £287 to collect which means that a considerable amount of hard work has to be undertaken immediately. We cannot afford to be over-confident at this stage, and since the achievement of our target is not simply a routine job of collecting money, but an important political task, it is the duty of all comrades to rally as one man to ensure success by December 31st.

Every friend and sympathiser to his post. Let the donations roll in as never before.

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

# DALMUIR R.O.F. VICTORY

BY R. TEARSE

The strike at the Dalmuir Royal Ordnance Factory has ended in complete victory for the workers. The dismissed Convener and sub-Convener, Bros. McKay and Russell were reinstated on Thursday, November 8th.

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

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

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

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

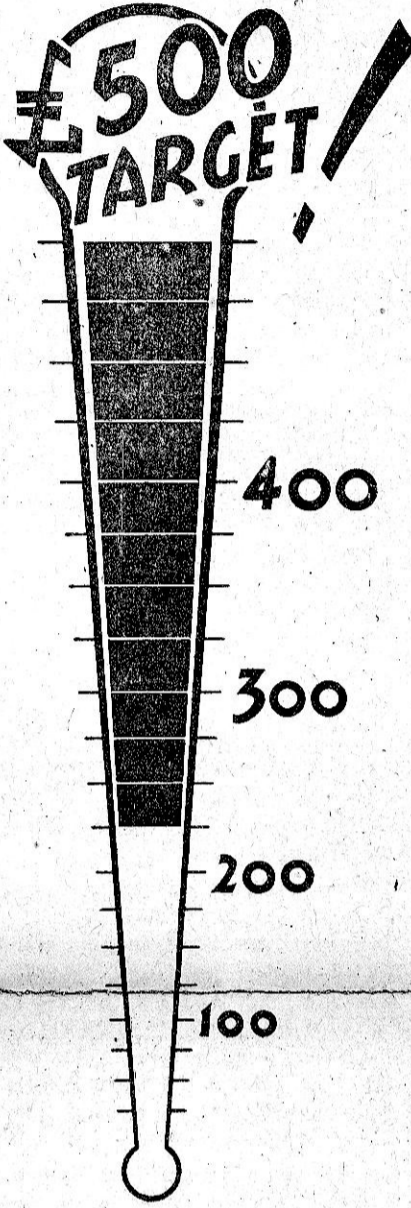
This victory for the strikers has undoubtedly raised their already high morale to greater heights. The return of McKay and Russell to the factory on November 9th was the occasion for a gala day. Russell's machine was decorated and written all around was the slogan, "Welcome Home". McKay who is full-time,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

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

(Continued on Page 3)

## How the Campaign is Going

Branches	Target	Paid in	% age.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
COVENTRY	£3	3 10 0	116 2/3%
SHANDON	£25	25 10 0	102%
NEWCASTLE	£30	26 0 0	86 2/3%
EASTBOURNE	£5	4 0 0	80%
CENTRAL OFFICE	£50	39 11 1	79 1/4%
CHELTHENHAM	£1	15 0	75%
EDINBURGH	£15	10 10 0	70%
NORWICH	£7	4 10 0	68%
SOUTHALL	£15	8 4 0	56 2/3%
FORCES COMRADES	£40	21 12 0	52%
SOUTH EAST LONDON	£20	10 4 0	51%
NEATH	£15	7 6 6	49%
WEST LONDON	£30	13 15 6	45%
SHEFFIELD	£20	8 10 0	42%
SOUTH WEST LONDON	£25	8 6 0	33%
ENFIELD	£5	1 10 0	30%
ILFORD	£5	1 10 0	30%
NOTTINGHAM	£25	5 14 4	23%
OXFORD	£5	1 0 0	20%
NORTH LONDON	£25	4 17 0	19%
BIRMINGHAM	£20	3 0 0	15%
MERTHYR and TREDEGAR	£7	15 0	10 2/3%
HENDON	£20	2 0 0	10%
LONDON DISTRICT	£35	10 0	2 2/5%
GLASGOW & MOTHERWELL	£40	—	—
LIVERPOOL	£30	—	—
LEEDS	£3	—	—
GWAUN-CAE-GURWEN	£8	—	—
CANNOCK	£5	—	—
PLYMOUTH	£1	—	—
NEWARK	£3	—	—
		£213 0 5	



# The Stalinists and the Dock Strike

BY J. DEANE

THE DOCK WORKERS HAVE GIVEN THEIR TRADE UNION LEADERS 30 DAYS IN WHICH TO GAIN THEIR DEMANDS OF 25/- A DAY AND A 40 HOUR WEEK.

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

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

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

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

A great number of Union Branches, District Committees, Trades Councils, and Labour Party Branches have passed resolutions of support and solidarity with the dockers' struggle. The opposition to these resolutions has come mainly from His Majesty's Communist Party.

The lying press reports and statements of Labour Ministers could not deceive the public for long. Apart from the growing sympathy and working

class solidarity, the Strike Committees are contacting other sections of the workers and bringing their case before them through leaflets and public meetings.

### STALINIST POLICY EXPOSED

The strike-breaking role of the Communist Party was exposed from the beginning in its attempts to smash the dockers' strike. The "Daily Worker" of October 9th, printed the following statement:

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

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

Instead of giving space to the dockers' case, which the rank and file members of the Communist Party expected and demanded, the "Daily

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

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

### WE STOOD WITH THE DOCKERS

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

It is recognised by all the leading dock workers that the Revolutionary Communist Party and the "Socialist Appeal" rendered invaluable aid to their struggle, both in the formation and organisation of the national movement, and during the strike in gaining the support and sympathy of other sections of the workers.



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

ing the Union would mean playing into the employers' hands and weakening their own unity."

This slanderous and strike-breaking statement received great prominence in the capitalist press. Between Donovan and the C.P. there was no difference. By saying that 50,000 dock workers were "attacking the Union" the C.P. was playing Donovan's game. This statement issued by the Mersey area Committee of the C.P. was not the result of a hasty local decision; it expressed more openly the real policy of the Communist Party.

Because of the growing pressure of its rank and file, the "Daily Worker"

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

The dockers must be on their guard. The Communist Party is trying to sabotage their national movement, and it will spare no effort to undermine the confidence of the dock workers and prevent any future struggle for better conditions.

### WHAT WAS GAINED?

The Trade Union leaders and the C.P. are attempting to undermine the

# From Left and Right

By 'AGITATOR'

## BUREAUCRATIC CYNICISM

A struggle for power is, without doubt, going on in the top ranks of the Soviet Bureaucracy. A large section of the ruling caste, particularly the Red Army tops, has no interest in paying even lip service to Socialism. In this stratum are open military expansionists, anti-semites and downright reactionaries. Some idea of the depths of bureaucratic cynicism which are being plumbed by the bureaucracy can be got from the following report from Moscow, which was published in the "Daily Express" on November 9th.

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

Mr. Molotov told Major Churchill with great verve how, at the last meeting with Mr. Churchill at Potsdam, Churchill humorously inquired when he was going to receive a

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

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

When such gross historical references can become the subject of wine party chit-chat in the Soviet Union, let no one pretend that the ruling clique have anything in common with the principles of Lenin!

## READ

The Death Agony of Capitalism  
AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS  
By Leon Trotsky

THE PROGRAMME OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
AS ADOPTED AT MOSCOW

# 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

### POWER POLITICS AND THE ATOMIC BOMB

When the news of Hiroshima and Nagasaki first became known, many well-meaning people believed that the atomic bomb would make war too terrible for any nation to embark upon. The first shock has died down. The world can see that this was wishful thinking. The issue of war or peace depends, not on the existence or non-existence of any weapon, no matter how terrible, but on the economic and political relations of the Powers which are governed by the insoluble contradictions of capitalist imperialism. The atomic bomb has not changed or mitigated this one iota.

Attlee and Truman have only begun to confer, and no news of their progress is available. Nevertheless, one thing can be said with complete certainty: NO CONTRIBUTION OF ANY VALUE TO WORLD PEACE WILL COME OUT OF THESE TALKS. For confirmation, it is only necessary to consider the recent speeches of Truman, Molotov and Bevin.

Truman's 12 Points of U.S. foreign policy were in the American tradition of Big Business "idealism", in line of succession from Wilson's 14 points and the Atlantic Charter (of sad memory). The British newspapers, not slow to expose the game of an imperialist rival, have shown its real meaning adequately. That section dealing with non-recognition of "Governments imposed by force" was clearly directed against Russia in Eastern Europe. (The Indians and Javanese have already asked some pertinent questions about this clause but have received no reply). For the rest: the U.S. will maintain her exclusive domination of the Western Hemisphere; will seize such bases as are necessary for her protection (against whom?); and will retain the atomic bomb as a "sacred trust". This programme means: AMERICAN IMPERIALISM WILL STRIVE TO MAINTAIN WORLD DOMINATION.

Molotov's speech was equally clearly aimed against America. After paying the customary homage to the principle of "Big Three co-operation", he said:

**"THE NEW ORGANISATION (U.N.O.) MUST NOT BECOME A WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF SOME POWER OR A PRETEXT FOR A GUIDING ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BY ANY ONE POWER, OR A PRETEXT FOR WORLD DOMINATION."**

He denounced the attempts at a coalition of States aimed against the U.S.S.R. He warned the United States that their monopoly of atomic bombs would not last long. Molotov's whole speech was in the customary terms of power politics. NOT A SINGLE APPEAL TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF THE WORLD TO ACT IN A REVOLUTIONARY FASHION AGAINST THE IMPERIALISTS; NOT AN ECHO OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADITION OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Instead, his speech ended with a sinister recounting of the strategic territories and bases acquired by Russia during the war. The Stalinist bureaucracy sees that a clash with American imperialism is inevitable, in spite of all attempts at co-operation, and pursues a purely nationalist policy.

The debate in the House of Commons revealed a purely tactical difference between Labour and the Tories. Churchill urged that Britain should recognise the predominant position of America, and subordinate herself to her, in a bloc directed against the Soviet Union.

Bevin was at one with Churchill in directing his fire against Russia. These differences reflect the great contradictions in the position of British imperialism, a second-rate Power, whose policy is governed by its class antagonism to Soviet Russia, its imperialist antagonism to the U.S.A., and its desperate attempts to play an independent rôle in world politics for which its economic basis is insufficient. The policy of British imperialism is therefore one of the greatest factors of uncertainty in the world political situation.

In spite of all these complications, one thing is plain. Far from the causes of war having been removed, they remain and are extremely acute. The statesmen bow before the ikon of "world co-operation," but in reality they are preparing for eventual war. Churchill, demands that Britain immediately get a stock of atomic bombs, and Chuter Ede, wants A.R.P. to continue. Thus is expressed the helplessness of capitalist politicians before the contradictions of the social system.

The existence of these basic inter-imperialist and class antagonisms makes the proposals for "outlawing" and "internationalising" atomic bombs, either Utopian or useless. Professor Einstein, whose genius in mathematical physics does not extend to politics, proposes that the bomb be put in the hands of the United Nations Organisation. But what use is this, when the members of this same organisation themselves are the most likely protagonists in a new war?

Many scientists concerned in developing the bomb, threaten to break down the wall of secrecy by publishing their researches openly. While applauding the courage of these scientists who are willing to take personal risks in the interests of humanity, it is necessary to say that this would be a useless gesture. In any event, the secret will not remain a secret for long. Publication now would only mean the armaments race would start so much the sooner.

War—and with it, the probable destruction of the civilised world—is inevitable unless its political and economic causes are removed. All the rulers, and included with them the Labour and Stalinist leaders, are helpless to prevent it because they are, each in their own way, tools of the decaying capitalist system, and have no alternative to offer.

Only the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class, destroying the outlived system of antagonistic national states and the imperialist struggle for markets, can bring about a co-operative world, free from the threat of war.

Only the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist revolution can lead the way to the era of peace and the harnessing of the forces of atomic energy for the benefit of humanity.

# DEFEND THE COLONIAL REVOLUTIONS

Appeal by the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International to the Workers of Europe

Colonial domination, one of the mainstays of world imperialism, is on the point of collapsing, whereas the capitalist class encounters increasing difficulties in maintaining its domination in the metropolitan countries and in settling its international relations, the colonial peoples are rising one after the other in order to sweep away the infamous "tyranny of the imperialist 'civilizers'". The Indo-Chinese and the Indonesians are standing up in revolt against the domination of their French and Dutch masters, who have brought them nothing but uttermost exploitation based upon a bloody police and military dictatorship. In Burma, in India, in Ceylon, in the Philippines and in Korea, the masses are also organising in order to launch themselves in the struggle for their emancipation.

Scared and raging at the scope of these popular movements, the capitalist and social-patriotic standers are setting up their united front. Throughout the world, the press of all tendencies has been mobilised against the revolutionary movement in the Far East. The cynical defenders of "democracy" who called for the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of men upon the altar of the defeat of "Japanese militarism", do not hesitate to use this same Japanese militarism in order to crush the colonial masses in revolt. It is upon the Japanese army that the British generals are calling in order to re-establish "law and order"... It is with the help of the Japanese police and the "irregular French forces" that British troops have attempted to stifle the Annamite uprising. Together, in spite of all their individual and contradictory interests and appetites, all the imperialisms would tomorrow prepare a bloody intervention if some colonial country

succeeded in temporarily consolidating its independence.

Thus, one revolutionary spark has sufficed to show up in their true light, capitalist imperialism and its agents. "The defence of freedom" to them, means the defence of the bankers' right to live from the blood and sweat of millions of colonial slaves; "the defence of the rights of small nations" means denying the colonial nations the most elementary democratic right: THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE!

Against the united front of the slave drivers must be raised the united front of the exploited peoples throughout the world!

True, the working class in the colonies still has colossal tasks to accomplish, before the colonial revolution can achieve final victory; it must draw behind it the great mass of the poor peasants in order to abolish both the domination of foreign imperialism and of its own capitalists, solve the agrarian problem, sweep aside feudal remnants, abolish frontiers and erect the great Socialist Federation of the Peoples of Asia. But the struggle of the colonial peoples for their immediate independence is in itself, from its very conception, a highly progressive struggle which the metropolitan workers must support with all its might. This struggle constitutes a death-threat to imperialist domination over the world, it deprives the decadent European bourgeoisie of its very last reserves and contributes decisively to the class struggle of the working class in the metropolitan countries. This struggle places the working class organisations and masses of the whole world before the inescapable alternative: EITHER TO GO WITH THE IMPERIALIST BANDITS AND PERPETUATE THEIR OWN ENSLAVEMENT, OR TO

GO WITH THE PEOPLES IN REVOLT AGAINST A BARBAROUS SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION OF WHICH THEY ARE THEMSELVES THE VICTIMS.

"COMPLETE AND FULL SOLIDARITY WITH THE MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL EMANCIPATION!" That is the slogan of the Fourth International; that must be the rallying cry of all the workers in Europe. The cause of the colonial peoples is their cause. They all have one common enemy: blood-drenched imperialism which is precipitating humanity towards barbarism. That is the enemy which must be overthrown, by an uncompromising revolutionary struggle, by the regrouping and union of all, around the banner of Communism, around the Fourth International!

**WORKERS OF EUROPE!**  
Do not allow the colonial revolution to be crushed! Its defeat would only herald your own defeat. Its victory will be a decisive step towards your victory.

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

**DOCKERS OF MARSEILLES, NAPLES, LIVERPOOL, ANTWERP AND ROTTERDAM!**  
Refuse to load the ships carrying arms and troops for the fight against the colonial peoples.

**FRENCH, DUTCH AND BELGIAN RAILWAY WORKERS!**  
Refuse to transport soldiers and war material to the embarkation ports for the Far East.

**SOVIET MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS!**  
Oppose the Kremlin's abandonment of the Leninist policy of complete support for the colonial revolution. The defence of the USSR is at stake today in

Saigon, Hanoi and Java.

**BRITISH MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS!**  
Demonstrate, cease work to protest against the infamous collusion between your "Labour" government and the slave drivers of Paris, Amsterdam, London and Tokio.

**WORKERS IN EVERY COUNTRY!**

Unite in the struggle against imperialism, for the defence of the threatened colonial revolution. Demand that all the working class organisations, parties and trade unions make the international solidarity of the workers into an effective reality, instead of an empty and demagogical formula.

**NOT ONE MAN, NOT ONE GUN AGAINST THE COLONIAL PEOPLES!**

**DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM! LONG LIVE THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION!**

**IMMEDIATE AND COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE FOR ALL THE COLONIES!**

**LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKERS!**

The European Executive Committee of the IVth International.

The PCI, French section of the IVth International.

The RCP, British section of the IVth International.

The PCR, Belgian section of the IVth International.

The PCO, Italian section of the IVth International.

The PCI, Greek section of the IVth International.

The OKI, German section of the IVth International.

The CRM, Dutch section of the IVth International.

The GCI, Spanish section of the IVth International.

The RSP, Irish section of the IVth International.

The MAS, Swiss section of the IVth International.



"LET'S NEGOTIATE, GENTLEMEN!"  
From the American "Militant" (Trotskyist)

## INDIAN TROTSKYISM

Despite the imprisonment of the leading members of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (Trotskyist) and brutal suppression suffered, that Party is continuing to develop. This is evident from the recent batch of their publications which we have received.

Under conditions of illegality our Indian section has maintained the high standard of "Permanent Revolution", its theoretical organ, and at the same time has published many valuable pamphlets and books. Through these, they have been able to penetrate certain layers of the Indian students' organisations.

They include a book of some 200 pages by Comrade K. Tilak entitled "FROM THE FIRST TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL" which is a brief history of the international working class movement.

Also a hundred page booklet by Comrade C. R. Govindan entitled "THE FIRST ROUND OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION" which gives Indian readers, for the first time, a clear Marxist analysis of recent developments in Europe.

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

Against the Gandhian "Constructive Programme": for revolutionary mass struggle.

Against the attempt to bring Trade Unions and Kisan Sabhas under bourgeois control or domination.

The immediate release of all political prisoners.

The immediate repeal of all repressive legislation.

No compromise with Imperialism.

We send our fraternal greetings to our Indian comrades, who have done such excellent work and stood firm in face of such odds.

## Dalmuir Victory

(Continued from Page 2)

It is clear that the Committees of other R.O.F.s did not rally to the aid of Dalmuir as they should have done. The reasons for this, apart from the lack of initiative demonstrated by the Conveners of other R.O.F.s, is to be found in the past isolationist policy of the Dalmuir workers and the present apathy of the R.O.F.s in general as a result of wide-spread redundancy.

But the lessons of this strike must be heeded by all workers in general, and the R.O.F. workers in particular. Preparations are being made, in the drive against working class standards, to decapitate the factory leadership of the workers. No amount of collaboration with the boss will prevent this. Only by a fighting struggle, such as that put up by the Dalmuir workers, and by linking that struggle in firm bonds from factory to factory, district to district, can this menace facing the workers be met and defeated.

## FRENCH ELECTIONS

By TED GRANT

The French "Communist" Party has gained the votes of the overwhelming majority of the working class, increasing their vote from 1,500,000 (women did not have the vote then) to nearly 4,000,000, and becoming the strongest single party in France both in votes and seats. The Socialists secured 4,350,000 approximately, dropping from first to third place.

The traditional Parties of French capitalism, the Radical Socialists (French Liberals), also the Conservative Parties were practically wiped out. The Radicals gained only 9 seats after being for decades the strongest Party in France and having declined to second place at the last election.

Seeing the writing on the wall, the reaction concentrated in desperation on the Catholic Popular Republican movement, a new Party which grew up during the Resistance Movement. But this Party, in order to gain support even among the more backward strata of the population, was compelled to fight on a similar programme to that of the Communists and Socialists. They demagogically attacked the Big Trusts and combines, and called for the nationalisation of big industry, etc. Thus, they stood on a "socialist" and anti-capitalist platform.

The overwhelming majority of the French people have voted against capitalism and expressed their desire to achieve a new system of society. They have demonstrated that they wish to turn their backs on the rotten and corrupt Third Republic forever.

In the referendum on the Constitution, only 800,000 voted "NO" to the first question as against 19,000,000 "YES", thus decisively repudiating those who—such as the Radicals—wished to return to the old system.

In a certain sense, the situation is even more favourable than in the Revolution in Russia in 1917. There too, faced with a swing of the masses towards socialism, the reactionaries united round the "Left" capitalist party of the Constitutional Democrats (Liberals) in the elections. But the Constitutional Democrats were frankly a party in favour of capitalism and against "socialist utopias". The Party which now unites the reactionary forces round itself in France, the M.R.P., is shot through and through with such contradictions, that in order to retain its support it is compelled to disguise itself as "socialist". A revolutionary programme on the part of the Communist Party would expose the contradictions within its ranks and destroy it as decisively as the Radical Socialists have been destroyed, despite the alliance which the C.P. made with this discredited relic of the past.

The Communists and Socialists together, have the majority. If they formed a Government and took measures on the lines advocated by our French comrades the situation in France, and the whole of Europe

would be transformed. All Europe would follow the lead of a Socialist France.

But the leadership of the Socialist Party has become terrified by the radicalisation of the French masses. They supported De Gaulle and were instrumental in achieving a favourable vote for him on the second ballot. They have lost most of their former worker supporters, and try to base themselves now on sections of the middle class and the M.R.P. Thus they wish to avoid a Government of Socialists-Communists, but are afraid of a coalition alone with the M.R.P., for fear that their support would swing to the Communist Party.

The Stalinists wish to use their position as a bargaining weapon of the diplomacy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Instead of putting forward a fighting revolutionary policy, explaining the complete breakdown of French capitalism in order to prepare the workers to take power, they are bargaining for terms to enter the Government together with De Gaulle and the Socialists!

The French Communist Party received nearly a third of the votes; it practically controls the French Trade Unions. The bulk of the working class voted FOR COMMUNISM. But the Stalinists endeavour to push them onto the road of "national unity" with the representatives of the capitalists. So long as De Gaulle will stand on his "Western" orientation and look towards the Soviet bureaucracy in foreign policy, they are willing to do his dirty work at home.

The great election victory of the C.P. was a demonstration in favour of Communism. The masses will demand deeds from the Stalinists in the coming period. A new epoch opens out. This is just the beginning in France of the revolutionary aftermath of the second world war. The Communist Party will in the coming days be faced with a series of crises and splits within its own ranks under the pressure of the workers.

The Trotskyists of France have conducted a campaign for a Socialist-Communist Government in France without any coalition with the capitalist parties. They gave critical support in the elections to these parties, putting up only two candidates in working class strongholds and receiving 10,817 votes. This vote on an uncompromising revolutionary programme is magnificent, under the present circumstances. Now that the S.P. and C.P. have a majority, our comrades will intensify their propaganda.

In the coming days, in spite of the Stalinists, clashes between the workers and the bosses are inevitable. France faces big struggles and even civil war in the coming months and years. In these struggles, the masses will learn to reject the Stalinist counterfeit and under the leadership of our French comrades, will march towards the conquest of Power.



**"LET'S NEGOTIATE, GENTLEMEN!"**

From the American "Militant" (Trotskyist)

# Withdraw the Troops from Java

(Continued from page 1.)

to cheer and applaud, when the same methods are used by British imperialism against the even more defenceless colonial peoples.

## CAMPAIGN OF CALUMNY AGAINST INDONESIANS

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

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

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

The Press has also attempted to whip up hatred against the Indonesians by exploiting the "murder" of Brigadier Mallaby. But who can tell how many Indonesians have been butchered for the death of a single British Officer? When the British troops first landed in Java they met with a warm welcome from the native population. They looked upon them as friends and liberators. In those days their hatred and anger were directed exclusively against the Dutch rulers. It was only when they began to realise that the brass hats of British imperialism were seeking not to establish there independence, but to re-establish the hated Dutch regime, that their attitude towards the British forces changed. If they are guilty at all, their guilt consists in not having understood early enough the real role of the British Army, and in not realising that the imperialists will always defend each other's interest, against the colonial peoples.

## POVERTY UNDER DUTCH RULE

After two and a half centuries of Dutch rule, the condition of the Indonesian people has steadily worsened, till today this rich and resourceful nation represents a pitiable picture of almost universal poverty, ignorance and misery. Among other things, Indonesia produces 90 per cent of the world's quinine, 37 per cent of its rubber, 31 per cent of its copra, 29 per cent of its palm oil, and 20 per cent of its tin. Its oil wells are some of the richest in the world. But the people are one of the poorest. "About 79 per cent of the people live by cultivating tiny rice plots, fishing and hunting," writes a correspondent in the "Reynolds News".

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

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

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

To guard this system of barefaced robbery and plunder, Dutch imperialism built a political regime based upon the limitless autocracy of the Governor, Army and Police. Every attempt on the part of the masses to assert their national rights was met with violence and terror. In 1926-27, under the inspiration of the Chinese Revolution, a serious revolt broke out in Indonesia. It was stamped out only with the use of Nazi methods. "In Western Sumatra," writes a correspondent, "the charred remains of native villages were left as exhibits until 1931 to remind the seditious Indonesians that the Dutch Raj could not be defied with

# R.C.P. ELECTION RESULTS

The Revolutionary Communist Party is on the political map in Walsend-on-Tyne as a result of the magnificent election fight conducted in the Biddle Ward by Comrade Herbert Bell, who fought in the recent Municipal Elections on an all-out Trotskyist programme. Even the Town Hall staff commented on the fact that the only real electioneering was carried out in the Biddle Ward, and the local Kemsley press grudgingly admitted that it was the best and most interesting contest in Walsend.

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

The real significance of Comrade Bell's vote lies in the fact that it is a conscious revolutionary communist vote. No vote-catching tactics or electioneering promises were employed.

The contest was led by the Candidate and Bill Landells, his 20-year-old Election Agent, and it aroused tremendous local interest, particularly among the youth. The local Party organisation threw its whole weight and energy into the fight and the amount of propaganda work done was terrific.

The Stalinists had originally intended to run a candidate but withdrew when the R.C.P. put Comrade Bell into the field. The reason why they withdrew was to be seen during the campaign. Our organisation, literally swamped them! The local Communist Party, on their own initiative, got out a leaflet attacking Comrade Bell on the usual slanderous lines employed against the Trotskyists. They started delivering it one evening, the following evening Comrade Bell had a leaflet out in reply, and to the chagrin of the Stalinists, our Comrades completed the canvass of their

branch criticism explains "the Political Letter does not analyse the cause of these errors. Reference is made to the necessity of fighting against every liquidationist tendency, but it is not explained how such tendencies have come to exist in our party... the mere stating that errors have been made without an analysis of what led up to the errors, causes confusion amongst the membership, resulting in a lack of confidence in the Party and a reluctance to play a full part in the life of the Party. The handling of both the question of the post-war coalition and the question of the position of the American Party are further examples of this."

This theme is repeated in other letters from various individual members in different parts of the country. Unfortunately, neither the Marylebone Branch, nor any of the critics, try to explain how such tendencies have come to exist in our Party, nor to make an "analysis of what led up to the errors".

It is not incidental errors "of judgment on the part of the leadership that has caused these mistakes." The root cause goes much deeper than that. The facts are that the C.P.G.B. has long broken with the programme and ideology of the class struggle, of communist internationalism and of world revolution. Following the Stalinised C.P. of Russia, and its brother parties in other countries, it has turned its back on all the fundamental teachings of Marx and Lenin, although some of the phrases of Marxism have been maintained as a blind.

The cynical disbandment of the Comintern was not an "error", comrades! Lenin and Trotsky founded the Third International as the World Party of communist revolution. But

ment in the eyes of the entire world. It is not enough merely to utter a few meek words in protest, as some 60 Labour M.P.s in Parliament have done. If these Labour members in Parliament were really serious in their support of the Indonesian people they would demand the immediate withdrawal of all British troops. They would prove their seriousness by coming before the mass of the workers and help in mobilising their strength to force the Cabinet to change its policy. Like the leaders of the Communist Party, they are playing the safe game of sympathising with the indignation of the workers by mild speeches and gestures, while washing their hands of any effective action.

Under these conditions, it is necessary for the workers to take independent action in defence of their interests, which are the same as the interests of the Indonesian people.

All possible pressure must be brought to bear on the government through the working class organisations, to end the slaughter in the East, to withdraw British troops and to allow the Indonesians to choose their own form of government. But at the same time the workers must be prepared to take whatever action is required to carry out these demands.

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

Not a man, not a gun for the imperialists! Hands off Java! Solidarity with the colonial peoples in their struggle for freedom!

While earning the eternal gratitude of the British capitalists, who like the Unilever Brothers, share jointly with the Dutch in the exploitation of the Indonesian masses, they have disgraced the British working class move-

ment in the eyes of the entire world. It is not enough merely to utter a few meek words in protest, as some 60 Labour M.P.s in Parliament have done. If these Labour members in Parliament were really serious in their support of the Indonesian people they would demand the immediate withdrawal of all British troops. They would prove their seriousness by coming before the mass of the workers and help in mobilising their strength to force the Cabinet to change its policy. Like the leaders of the Communist Party, they are playing the safe game of sympathising with the indignation of the workers by mild speeches and gestures, while washing their hands of any effective action.

Under these conditions, it is necessary for the workers to take independent action in defence of their interests, which are the same as the interests of the Indonesian people.

All possible pressure must be brought to bear on the government through the working class organisations, to end the slaughter in the East, to withdraw British troops and to allow the Indonesians to choose their own form of government. But at the same time the workers must be prepared to take whatever action is required to carry out these demands.

"reply" before the Stalinists finished distributing the original!

Each home in the Ward was canvassed four times: with an introductory leaflet; with the Election Manifesto, with the Reply to the Stalinists; and with "Socialist Appeal". 1,100 copies of "Socialist Appeal" were sold on the doorsteps during the campaign.

There were two seats vacant in the Ward and throughout the campaign our Comrades urged the workers to vote for Bell and cast their second vote for Labour, also to vote Labour in the other Wards.

Much has been gained from this election not only in experience but also in support for the Party. Several militants have been won over from the Stalinist "Communist" Party to "Trotskyism". Sales of "Socialist Appeal" have been increased, and a large number of supporters won for revolutionary communism, many of whom have given donations to the Party Campaign Fund.

In Bootle, Liverpool, the R.C.P. also ran its own candidate, Charlie Martinson ("Mazo") as he is known to the local workers conducted a fine struggle in the face of all the forces of reaction ranged against him. The axis of our Party's propaganda during the election was support for the dockers' struggle. Comrade "Mazo", it will be remembered, was widely attacked in the national yellow press for his activities on behalf of the R.C.P. in the recent dock strike.

As in Walsend, the most interesting contest was that in the Mersey Ward which "Mazo" fought. He polled 148 votes, over 10% of the votes cast for the candidate with the highest vote which was 1,458. There were four seats vacant and all were won by the

Labour Party. But if we got the smallest share of the votes we had the lion's share of the publicity. From the commencement of the campaign the Trotskyists drew the fire of every reactionary force within the Ward. In the vanguard was the Roman Catholic Church, and as this is largely a Catholic Ward, it had a considerable effect on the result of the Poll. The school halls, which candidates have the legal right to use for election meetings free of charge, are for the most part the property of the Church, whose local representatives politely intimidated to our Comrades that they would use the halls only when they forced the Church to give them permission! And for insisting on their legal rights in this connection, the local organisation was denounced from the pulpit for having "threatened the Priest"! Every other obstruction was put in the way of Comrade Martinson's campaign, and it was only towards the end of the campaign that Committee Rooms were obtained. The vote, under these circumstances, is all the more solid and decisive, for the issues and forces involved were clear cut. The Church, the Tories, Labour Party and Stalinists united in a bloc against the Trotskyists. It is from this fact that we take confidence for the future. That such a barrage of reaction should be turned against our Party in this important working class area is a clear indication of the direction in which the fears of the capitalist class and their agents lie. As Lenin had occasion to remark, when the bosses are attacking the revolutionary party it is a good thing, when they are not, examine your propaganda and see what is wrong with it!

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Labour Party. But if we got the smallest share of the votes we had the lion's share of the publicity. From the commencement of the campaign the Trotskyists drew the fire of every reactionary force within the Ward. In the vanguard was the Roman Catholic Church, and as this is largely a Catholic Ward, it had a considerable effect on the result of the Poll. The school halls, which candidates have the legal right to use for election meetings free of charge, are for the most part the property of the Church, whose local representatives politely intimidated to our Comrades that they would use the halls only when they forced the Church to give them permission! And for insisting on their legal rights in this connection, the local organisation was denounced from the pulpit for having "threatened the Priest"! Every other obstruction was put in the way of Comrade Martinson's campaign, and it was only towards the end of the campaign that Committee Rooms were obtained. The vote, under these circumstances, is all the more solid and decisive, for the issues and forces involved were clear cut. The Church, the Tories, Labour Party and Stalinists united in a bloc against the Trotskyists. It is from this fact that we take confidence for the future. That such a barrage of reaction should be turned against our Party in this important working class area is a clear indication of the direction in which the fears of the capitalist class and their agents lie. As Lenin had occasion to remark, when the bosses are attacking the revolutionary party it is a good thing, when they are not, examine your propaganda and see what is wrong with it!

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

Understanding this, a nucleus of workers in Bootle are forming themselves into a branch of our Party.

# Compensation Scandal

BY JIM HINCHCLIFFE

WITH THE PASSING OF THE NEW WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT, THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT HAS PRESENTED ITS FIRST INSTALMENT OF WHAT MR. GREENWOOD, M.P., HAS TERMED "THE BIGGEST CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIAL EXPERIMENT THIS COUNTRY HAS EVER SEEN."

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

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

## TORIES LIKE IT!

Under the old scheme of Workmen's Compensation, the employers paid over £17 millions in benefits plus £4 millions administrative costs, making a total of £21 millions. Under the new scheme, the employers will pay—not 21 millions — BUT ONLY £11 millions. The workers on the other hand, who paid NOTHING under the old scheme, will now pay the same amount—£11 millions. No wonder the Tories are pleased, and through their spokesman, Mr. Peake, M.P., express their pleasure and support—

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

As can be clearly seen, the Labour leaders are now operating their version of what they consider to be equality."

## SOME ARE WORSE OFF!

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

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

(The benefits quoted are average over a six months' period.)

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

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

So the Labour leaders are "not so concerned" about the young worker who has no dependents. A lad of 17 can apparently live quite well on 3s. 8d. a day according to the Labour Government leaders—who incidentally will struggle along on £6 a week when THEY retire! Such treachery—for there is no other word—could hardly be equalled.

## SAFEGUARDS AGAINST "LAZINESS"

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

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

The first Act passed in 1897 by a Tory Government gave compensation of £1, now worth at least £2 7s. 0d. a week.

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

(1) Labour's programme in 1938	£4 0 0
(2) 1897 Tory Act benefit...	£2 7 0
(3) Labour's DEEDS in 1945	£2 5 0

## LABOUR'S LEADERS CHANGE TUNE

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

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

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

"It is proposed to collect from the workers about £81 millions" (it is now £111 millions) "they never paid anything before... In other words these proposals will hand back to the employers somewhere about £9,000,000."

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

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

illusory "concessions" under considerable pressure from the masses.

The workers must not rest content with their paltry "concessions". They must exert pressure upon the Government to carry out Labour's original programme; to demand that every worker be entitled to work or full maintenance; that their wives and children be granted full and ample allowances. Labour now has no excuse for not operating such a programme the workers must agitate through every Labour and Trade Union channel for the implementing of these demands.

The workers must not rest content with their paltry "concessions". They must exert pressure upon the Government to carry out Labour's original programme; to demand that every worker be entitled to work or full maintenance; that their wives and children be granted full and ample allowances. Labour now has no excuse for not operating such a programme the workers must agitate through every Labour and Trade Union channel for the implementing of these demands.

The workers must not rest content with their paltry "concessions". They must exert pressure upon the Government to carry out Labour's original programme; to demand that every worker be entitled to work or full maintenance; that their wives and children be granted full and ample allowances. Labour now has no excuse for not operating such a programme the workers must agitate through every Labour and Trade Union channel for the implementing of these demands.

The workers must not rest content with their paltry "concessions". They must exert pressure upon the Government to carry out Labour's original programme; to demand that every worker be entitled to work or full maintenance; that their wives and children be granted full and ample allowances. Labour now has no excuse for not operating such a programme the workers must agitate through every Labour and Trade Union channel for the implementing of these demands.

The workers must not rest content with their paltry "concessions". They must exert pressure upon the Government to carry out Labour's original programme; to demand that every worker be entitled to work or full maintenance; that their wives and children be granted full and ample allowances. Labour now has no excuse for not operating such a programme the workers must agitate through every Labour and Trade Union channel for the implementing of these demands.

The workers must not rest content with their paltry "concessions". They must exert pressure upon the Government to carry out Labour's original programme; to demand that every worker be entitled to work or full maintenance; that their wives and children be granted full and ample allowances. Labour now has no excuse for not operating such a programme the workers must agitate through every Labour and Trade Union channel for the implementing of these demands.



## Contents

Editorial Notes:

- The Significance of the Dockers' Strikes.
- Where is the Communist Party Going? David James
- Religion in the Soviet Union - Paul Dixon
- The Russian Revolution - Leon Trotsky

November 1945

Published by E. Grant, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2. Printed by C. A. Brock & Co. Ltd., 79 Southern Row, W.10.