

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

DECEMBER, 1945. TWOPENCE

## GAS MEN'S FIGHT FOR LIVING WAGE

BY N. PENTLAND

The dominant combine in the gas industry, the Gas Light and Coke Co., Ltd., has increased its net revenue from £1,806,000 in 1939 to £4,352,000 in 1945; the wages of the gas workers have remained the same: the highest paid receives £5 5s. 3d. and the yard men £4 5s. 7d.

The British Gas Employers' Federation, which controls two-thirds of the British undertakings, expelled three gas undertakings in Coventry, Tipton, and Leigh, for paying better wages to workers than those in the agreement! These few facts demonstrate beyond question that the gas workers are fighting a brutal profit-lust combine.

After months of patient negotiating for an increase in their night shift rates, 1,000 London gas workers came out on strike. The strike itself was caused by the Beckton Road management's action in issuing notices threatening dismissal to the men in the Carbonising shop who, in order to speed up negotiations, were pursuing a "Go Slow" movement.

The demands of the Manchester gas workers are: time and a third for night shift work, equal pay for all workers for holidays, etc., and recognition of their union, the Gas Industrial Union. The demands of the London gas workers are: the threats of dismissal be withdrawn, that there will be no victimisation; negotiations for increase in night shift rates be speeded up.

Due to the determined stand of the key men, the management announced that the demands of the Beckton workers would be met. Thus the Beckton gas workers, forced out on strike by the dictatorial attitude of the management, were a victim of their strike action.

### PRESS WHIPS UP PANIC CAMPAIGN

As in the recent dock strike, the press attempted to build public opinion against the gas workers by painting a panic picture of "No Bread Supplies", "Bakeries Without Gas", "Hospitals Affected", "Schools may Close". The "Daily Worker", playing the same anti-working class role as it did during the dockers' strike, gave prominence on Saturday 24th to the Gas Light and Coke Company's warning that the "Capital" may be without gas due to the "go slow" movement of the gas workers. Instead of putting the gas workers' case, it put forward the case of the bosses.

As is usual when the working-class take things into their own hand to by-pass the slow moving and reactionary arbitration machinery, Mr. Dukes, General Secretary of the N.U.G.M.W., poured forth abuse at the Beckton Road workers. The "Daily Herald" of November 28th reported Mr. Dukes as follows: "... there was no justification for the suggestion...

# POLLITT ADMITS ANOTHER 'ERROR'

## Strike Breaking to Continue—But More Cautiously

BY JOCK HASTON

IN REVIEWING THE RESULTS OF THE STALINIST CONGRESS, THE MOST SERIOUS MEMBERS OF THE PARTY WILL BE FORCED TO ASK THEMSELVES THESE QUESTIONS: HOW DOES IT COME THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF OUR PARTY WHICH CLAIMS TO BE A MARXIST PARTY BEGAN THE WAR BY ADMITTING THAT THEY HAD MADE A MAJOR MISTAKE, AND ENDED THE WAR BY SAYING THE SAME THING?

For the first time since the end of the twenties there was a measure of free discussion at a Stalinist Congress. It not only found expression in numerous resolutions but from the floor of the Congress opposition was voiced against the leadership.

And for the first time in many years, the delegates at a Stalinist Congress did not adopt a hostile and vicious attitude towards the Trotskyist selling literature outside. The leaflet issued by our Party entitled "Back to Lenin—An Open Letter to the delegates at the Congress of the C.P." was taken by the overwhelming majority of the delegates, and approximately one in every ten bought our literature. While it would be false to say that the delegates were friendly towards the Trotskyists, there was no open antagonism, and numerous comrades' debates took place during the three days of the Congress.

The Congress was held at the end of a period of disaster for the "line" of the C.P. leadership. The membership were demanding an accounting for the failure of the Party in the General Election arising out of their class collaboration policy of a post-war coalition with Churchill and the so-called "progressive Tories and Liberals, which had been advocated during the election.

Despite the fact that the Congress was by no means really representative of the rank and file in the key industrial districts, it nevertheless gave

some indication as to the issues upon which the members felt most keenly. Resolutions from Branches—many of them—sharply criticised the policy pursued by the leadership on three main issues:

1. Criticism of the demand for unity with the Crimea Tories which the leadership called for until the Left swing at the General Election forced them to hurriedly change the line; and against the policy of tail-ending behind the Labour Government and not criticising it from a class point of view.
2. Opposition to the strike breaking policy of the leadership in the industrial field and for a more militant policy of industrial class struggle.
3. Opposition to the bureaucratic set-up in the Party organisation which stifles real initiative on the part of the membership.

### BROWDERISM AND UNITY WITH CHURCHILL

We give some examples of resolutions from Branches critical of the leadership:

The resolution of the HYDE PARK BRANCH, LEEDS: "... views with grave concern the mistake in policy

of the E.C. on the question of including Conservatives in a Labour Government. . . . It strongly disapproves of the undemocratic manner in which branches were stamped into hasty acceptance of this policy."

DUNDEE CITY AGGREGATE called upon Congress to demand the "... withdrawal of 'How to Win the Peace' (written by Pollitt which advocates unity with Tories—J.H.) ... as the central theme. . . . unity of the Labour and Progressive forces. . . ."

From the PADDINGTON BOROUGH AGGREGATE: "Congress is of the opinion that the Party has lagged behind the militant mood of the masses and has tended to tail behind the Labour Party."

CAMBRIDGE BRANCH "... cannot accept the Executive Committee's explanation of its attitude towards Browderism. . . . if we saw the nature of the Browder tendency from the beginning, by ailing to draw the attention of our American comrades to our views, our Party must now bear some responsibility for this mistake. . . . the Party has not cleared up its attitude to the question of national unity after the war and the role of the so-called progressive Tories; a line

that was advocated following the Crimea Conference, and now appears to be conveniently forgotten."

From the same Branch, CAMBRIDGE, a criticism that the failure of the Party leadership to explain truthfully the policy of the Party during the "anti-war" stage and to give the impression that the Party supported the war before Russia entered the war was described as: "... a form of political dishonesty which will only confuse our members and ultimately harm the Party" If the Party policy was wrong it was necessary to face it squarely even at this late hour, the resolution concludes.

And so on with the resolutions of a number of Branches. There was a fact, a genuine concern among the best elements at the bankruptcy of the Party policy.

According to the "Daily Worker" of November 26th, Pollitt, in reply to the speakers in favour of the above resolutions, confessed "to the question of mistakes made by the Communist Party in recent months" . . . acknowledged an underestimation of the growing political consciousness of the working class, but added, "... the mistakes are infinitesimal compared to the contribution we have made to winning the war and opening a new epoch for the British people."

### STRIKES AND THE MILITANT STRUGGLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

The strike-breaking policy of the leadership was criticised in several resolutions.

From the AYLESBURY BRANCH: "... Congress is of the opinion that (Continued on Back Page.)

## NEW YORK ELECTION TROTSKYIST GAINS



F. DOBBS  
Trotskyist  
Candidate

The results of the New York election have been received. General O'Dwyer, the candidate of the capitalist Democratic Party, received 1,100,000 votes.

The American Labour Party (Stalinist controlled which has big support among the workers in New York State, gave their support to the capitalist Democrats, instead of organising the workers on an independent class basis. The votes accorded to the A.L.P. thus went to the candidate of the corrupt Tammany Hall machine.

The right wing split-off from the A.L.P., calling itself the Liberal Party, which broke away when the Stalinists captured control, supported the Republican candidate, who received 434,000 votes.

To add to the confusion, an independent was put forward as a No Deal Party candidate and received 339,000 votes.

The smaller workers' parties all put forward candidates which must have perplexed the class conscious workers considerably.

The Socialist Party, a reformist Party which is very close to the I.L.P., dropped their vote from 22,647 to 9,714.

The Socialist Labour Party, a small sectarian organisation received 4,167 votes.

The Workers Party, the Shachtmanite organisation which split from the Fourth International on the issue of the defence of the Soviet Union and whose main strength was centred in New York, suffered a severe defeat, Shachtman's vote dropping from 2,019 in 1941 to 869 this time.

The only workers party which improved its position was the Fourth Internationalist, Socialist Workers Party which increased its vote from 1,100 to 4,267. This represents a harbinger of the future.

### TABLE SHOWING COMPARATIVE VOTES OF THE MINORITY PARTIES IN THE 1945 MAYORALTY ELECTION AS AGAINST 1941

VOTE BY BOROUGH	SP		SLP		SWP		WP	
	1941	1945	1941	1945	1941	1945	1941	1945
KINGS COUNTY (Brooklyn)	8574	3695	*	1340	315	1197	615	283
NEW YORK COUNTY (Manhattan)	4790	1984		778	273	1043	517	330
ROCK COUNTY (Long Island)	6005	2886		1553	306	1191	746	134
QUEENS COUNTY (Long Island)	3004	1075		456	188	778	124	109
RICHMOND (Staten Island)	274	74		40	18	58	17	3
TOTALS	22647	9714		4167	1100	4267	2019	869

\* The S.L.P. did not run a Candidate in 1941.

SLOGANS SUCH AS THE ONE SEEN HERE ON A TRAM-CAR IN SURABAYA, JAVA, SYMBOLISE THE STRUGGLE OF THE INDONESIANS FOR FREEDOM FROM DUTCH IMPERIALISM —



## CALCUTTA DEMONSTRATION

### AN EYE WITNESS REPORT

YOU WILL HAVE HEARD OF THE CALCUTTA EVENTS. HERE IS AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS SEEN FROM THE SPOT.

The weight of imperialist oppression, resting as it does upon the remnants of feudalism in this country, produces always the glaring contradictions and the political situation which in India is never far from revolutionary. The end of the war has left the differentiation among the peasants even more acute, is cutting across the wartime prosperity of large sections of the middle class and threatens the working class with large scale unemployment and wage cuts.

Against this background, the attempts of the British Government to attack the rights of the oppressed nation to rise against their oppressors through the public trial of the Indian National Army officers, were seized upon by Congress as an election issue in the hope of utilising the mass discontent. Both of them have got more than they bargained for!

On the 21st, both students organisations in Calcutta decided to hold simultaneous meetings at Wellington Square—the B.P.S.C. and the B.P.S.F. They then decided to hold a joint demonstration against the I.N.A. trial, intending to march via Dharamtolla and Dalhousie Square. Few of them were above 20 years of age and the demonstration was perfectly orderly, when it was stopped by a police block in Dharamtolla. In response to police refusal to allow them to proceed, the students decided to squat on the road. This was about 3 p.m. and at about 4.30 p.m. the police started lathi charges and eventually fired. Brickbats were thrown.

After some time this procession dispersed, only to be replaced by a demonstration from some other college, intent on solidifying with the original processionists.

They too squatted in the road. This demonstration was not attacked by the police—it was attacked from a

different quarter by the arrival of a Congress leader, Kiron Sankar Roy, with a message from Sarat Chandra Bose. This having no effect, the message was later sent in writing. "Students," he said, "You have broken my heart by your indiscipline. . . . you allowed yourselves to be influenced and guided by agents-provocateurs!"

It is noteworthy that Mr. Bose's heart was so well broken that he failed to put in an appearance at any of the places where fighting took place, despite an invitation from the students in the street, sent via Kiron Sankar Roy, that he should come and deliver his message personally.

Later in the evening, Gov. Casey arrived, resplendent in evening dress. After consulting with the Congress leaders on the spot, he too went away.

Thursday morning dawned with the 400 students who were the backbone of the demonstration, still holding their positions.

Wednesday's demonstration had electrified the atmosphere in Calcutta. When I arrived at Dharamtolla about 7 p.m. there were considerable crowds about the police cordon at the Chowranghi end of the street. I talked to several people and gathered something of the story.

About 6.45 a.m. on Thursday, the students marched away from Dharamtolla down Central Avenue. Thursday's stage was set by strikes of the workers on buses, trams, taxis and rickshaw-pullers, the closing of many shops and businesses and the complete cessation of work by the students. The workers in many factories struck work; offices were closed through non-attendance of staff. 20,000 municipal workers who, for months have been demanding wage increases and better conditions, decided also to come out.

From a meeting held early in the morning in Wellington Square, a new

demonstration again made its way to Dharamtolla, intent on reaching Dalhousie Square. The police halted them at the same place and there were lathi charges, firing and brickbats. The firings were between 2.15 and 2.40 p.m.

We arrived on this scene about 2 p.m. With rumours at the unit of shootings throughout the city, burning of military vehicles, great crowds stopping all transport not flying Congress, Hindu Mahasabha or Red Flags, it was still obvious that Dharamtolla must be the real centre of activity. The procession had been stopped just below the crossing of Madan Street and Dharamtolla and the police had their cordons across each arm of the cross, leaving themselves three routes of escape (provided the demonstration failed to split into four and converge on the place). We approached first from the North along Madan Street, from where we could hear the roar of the slogans in Dharamtolla. Here the cordon was composed of Indian police and we saw also Gurka police, both armed with lathis, the murderous 6-in. leadweighted bamboo.

Failing to enter the police area from this side, we went round and joined the crowd facing down the street at the main procession. We soon had two escorts (middle class), who tried to give us assistance in gaining a vantage point, and after a few minutes among this crowd we managed to slip through the police cordon into the deserted portion of the street. In the crowd from which we had come, there was a small group shouting slogans down the street, but they were mainly purely spectators. They would soon find their proper place—at home.

The demonstration was being held by about 15 Anglo-Indian police with

(Continued on page 4.)

## AUSTRALIAN STRIKERS

### Demand Seniority Rule

As we go to press the "Daily Telegraph" of 12.12.45, reports that:

"New South Wales (Australia) miners decided today to cease work in all coal mines tomorrow. The strike was called in support of the demands for a seniority rule to apply to dismissals. . . ."

"Seamen throughout Australia also decided not to work vessels carrying coal or goods for the Broken Hill concern."

This solidarity strike—which reports say may involve 100,000 men—is one of a series of great battles carried out by the Australian trade unionists to enforce the seniority rule and protect union organisation.

Mr. Chifley, who had previously refused to intervene or to meet the representatives of the unions was forced to capitulate and has now agreed to meet the unions.

## DOCKERS Wage Demands

### Bosses Stalling

BY J. DEANE

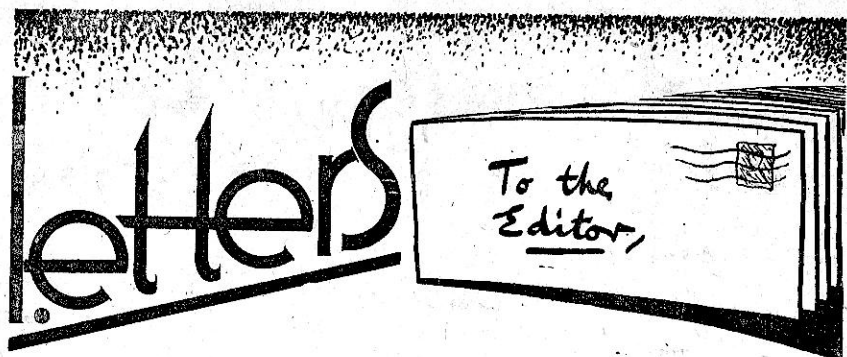
The whole policy of the Labour Government during the 20 days truce has been to stall on the demands of the dock workers. The employers have pursued a provocative policy by offering 18/- instead of the 24/- demanded by the dockers. To this insulting "offer" the Labour Government and the trade union leaders have replied, not with action, but with timidity and delay.

A Commission of Enquiry has been appointed after 30 days of negotiation between the union leaders and the bosses. This is how the labour and trade union leaders react to capitalist provocation—Troops and threats for the dockers—silk gloves for the bosses. . . .

Because of their fear of another national stoppage, Donovan was forced to reject the employers' offer. For the same reason the Labour Government is forced to try to obtain concessions from the employers. The Commission of Enquiry will most certainly, in order to avoid another stoppage and for no other reason, recommend a wage increase.

The Dockers' National Strike Committee has extended its 30 days truce until the results of the Commission are made known. If then, the recommendations do not meet with the demands of the dock workers, the union leaders will be instructed to give 21 days strike notice. Thus the dockers have given the Labour Government and the T.U. leaders every opportunity to obtain by negotiation their just wage demands.





# Letters

## Treatment in Naval Hospital

Editor,  
Dear Comrade,  
Perhaps the readers of the "Socialist Appeal" would be interested in the following few, though potent, facts concerning the treatment of naval personnel suffering from psychoneurosis—a common complaint in these days of terrible strain and suffering.

Patients (naval and marines) from a Colombo naval hospital state that the conditions and treatment in this hospital are as bad as those of Belsen. Here are some of the facts:

**Bedding:** The pillows had no cases and were in a filthy condition capable of breeding lice and disease. Bed sheets were also in a filthy condition. The beds had no blankets. The patients complained that the bedding itself was covered with blood stains and discharge from sores of other patients.

**Food:** For breakfast they received, as example, one sausage and 2 cubic inches of bread, and tea without milk. For dinner, they received a fish cake and rice on a saucer—not a plate which holds three or four times that of a saucer.

Tea, one cubic inch of bread and tea without milk.  
Supper, half a kipper (boiled) and one cubic inch of bread—tea without milk.

If patients complained of conditions they were beaten and put in a locked room. They are then fed on bread and water, or threatened with the stoppage of their draft home, which meant three more months of this hell. These are psychopathic patients, who need gentle care and good food, plus tact and sympathy. Of course, one must point out, that in view of the reactionary officer caste—which in the navy maintains all those pre-modern conceptions and feudal traditions—psycho-neurosis is a form of malingering! According to science, however, this disease is just as dangerous and just as real as any other.

Yours fraternally,  
S. B. A.  
(Sick Berth Attendant)

## Soldier on Demobilisation

Dear Comrade,  
I would like to quote you a letter which I received from a friend of mine serving in India with the R.A.F., not because it is unusual but because it seems to be typical of the feeling existing in the Forces. He writes:—

Edinburgh, 15.10.45.

"We have just heard Isaac's statement on demobilisation. To say that we were dumbfounded is to put it mildly. He (Isaac) says the group 27 in the R.A.F. MAY be out by June next year. My pal is in group 35 and I am in group 40. We have served 4 years in the service—3½ years out of that have been spent out here! Is this our thanks for voting Labour? To go back home after 4 years of disease, of years under relentless tropical sun—to go back after the moral torture of being away from our loved ones, only to be kept in the service for another two or three years! I can assure you that the lads out here are hopelessly depressed. Can you wonder?"

So you see, we need help badly, and you and your friends are the only ones who can help us. Naturally, you say "Why can't they help themselves?" I'll tell you why, because we are 7,000 miles away from the seat of the trouble. All we can do and are doing is to write to our folks asking them to get up petitions, apart from that we are powerless to do a thing and because of this, I want you to do me a favour. Is it within your power to see our M.P. and state the case? If you could do so, I would be very grateful and I would know that something is being done for our betterment. My pal, who comes from Wales has written a similar letter to his friend to see what he can do and if everyone does this, then maybe we will be treated like men instead of numbers."

As you can see, this R.A.F. comrade cherishes certain illusions regarding the present Labour Government. Nevertheless, his mood is an indication of what is going on in the minds of the British forces. As has been pointed out many times recently, the discovery of Atomic energy entirely revolutionises warfare. Huge armies and air forces now become obsolete, yet both here and in the U.S. we find generals with more medals than brains campaigning for huge standing armies even in time of peace. Maybe small armies need fewer generals than big armies and the War Office Wallahs would find themselves out of work. What a shame!

Another reason for the maintenance of big armies is the fear of Western capitalism in the face of Asiatic revolution. (Incidentally, one of Ernest Bevin's excuses for Attlee not taking steps to overthrow Franco was that "it would cause the Spanish people to unite behind the regime against the Allies.")

The working class will yet put these burlesque Napoleons on the "permanently unemployed list".

Yours fraternally,  
W. Spence.

# From LEFT and RIGHT

## WHAT LAWTHER FORGOT

Will Lawther, miners' leader has been touring the British zone of occupied Germany. In his capacity as chairman of the T.U.C. delegation he talked to the press. It should be noted what he had to say in the name of British labour, in particular, on behalf of the miners. At a Press conference he stated that he would not ask the British miners "to subscribe a 6d. to help rebuild things here (in Germany)". According to the "Times" Lawther said, "British miners had always been generous. They sent £70,000 to the Russian miners and another £70,000 to the Spanish miners, but they would not want to send seven pence to help rebuilding in Germany." There are two very relevant points which this pro-Vansittart Labour fakir omits to mention.

From the funds of the Durham miners, Lawther sent £20,000 to Butcher Mannerheim to aid Finnish and international capitalism in its struggle against the Soviet Union in 1940. Those who organised a protest, he expelled from the Durham Miners' union. The omission of this embarrassing point is a measure of Lawther's duplicity.

But Lawther "forgets" something even more important.

The official strike bulletin of the General Council of the T.U.C., dated May 6th, 1926, contained the following report:

"German workers' support for their British comrades is solid... Today the Executives of all the miners' unions, including the Christian unions, issued a joint proclamation to the Ruhr miners, urging them to help their British comrades.

"No coal must be sent England, no overtime must be worked... The British miners' struggle is our struggle," the proclamation concludes. "The owners' victory would

result in a catastrophe for working conditions everywhere." The British miners, take note. And at the same time bear in mind that it is the same German miners and their sons, who demonstrated their international class solidarity in 1926 to whom their leader now refuses "to give a 6d."

## BRITISH EMPIRE — "BULWARK OF PEACE"

Lawther is, unfortunately, no isolated example of Labour leader turned against his own class to serve his imperialist masters. The Labour leadership is rotten through and through with it. A no less revolting example is George Hall, Colonial Secretary in His Majesty's "Socialist" Government. He attended an Empire dinner given by Lord Kemsley on November 27th, and this is what he had to say: "The toast of the British Commonwealth is the greatest toast which could be moved. I don't know any party that has pledged itself more than ours to the retention of the Empire, that bulwark of peace."

Churchill assured the ruling class that he had not become the Prime Minister in order "to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." Labour leader Hall, in his toast, as guest of the arch-reactionary Kemsley, gives the capitalists the assurance that the Labour Party and Government intends to follow faithfully in the footsteps of the imperialist gangster, Churchill.

## HIS MAJESTY'S COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY

Norway, which also has a Labour Government and a King, recently celebrated the fortieth anniversary of Haakon's reign. What the craven Norwegian Labour leaders said, on this auspicious occasion, we can guess. What is more enlightening, however, (Continued at foot of Column 5)

# £200 TO COME IN

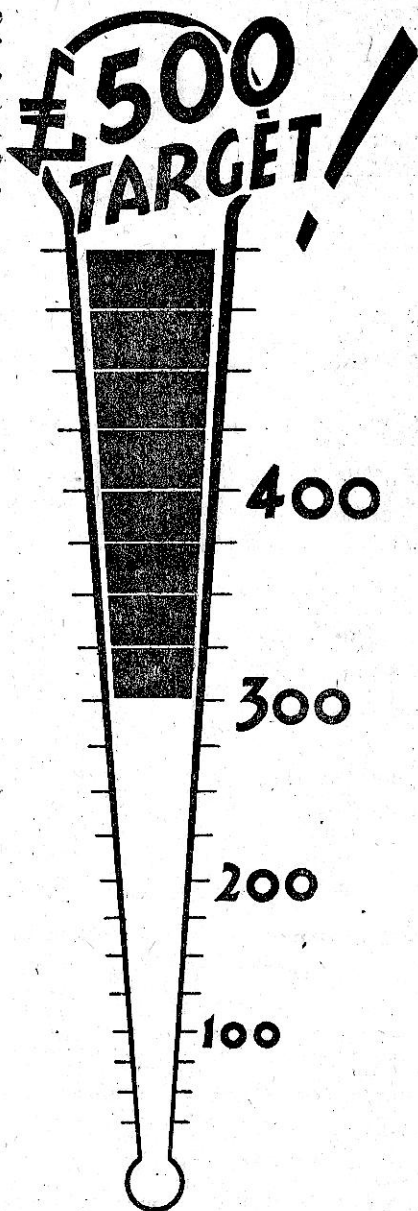
## Now For An All-Out Effort

One month to go before the Campaign expires! We are £200 short of the target figure and there are only four weeks left in which to raise this amount. This situation is serious, but the crisis can be averted. If each local Branch immediately gears its members into action, and they in turn mobilise the Party's sympathisers, we can demonstrate in the coming month the invincibility of Trotskyism in action. Comrades and Friends you have the floor!

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

## How the Campaign is Going

Branches	Target	Paid in	% age.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
EDINBURGH	£15	30 10 0	203%
COVENTRY	£3	3 10 0	1163%
SHANDON	£25	25 10 0	102%
NEWCASTLE	£30	26 0 0	863%
FORCES COMRADES	£40	34 12 0	863%
NORWICH	£7	5 15 0	82%
EASTBOURNE	£5	4 0 0	80%
CHELTHAM	£1	15 0 0	75%
CENTRAL OFFICE	£50	37 9 1	74%
ENFIELD	£5	3 5 0	65%
SOUTHALL	£15	9 4 0	63%
NOTTINGHAM	£20	10 4 0	51%
SOUTH EAST LONDON	£25	15 14 4	63%
SOUTH WEST LONDON	£25	12 10 0	50%
NEATH	£15	7 6 6	49%
LONDON DISTRICT COMMITTEE	£35	16 14 8	47%
WEST LONDON	£30	14 1 6	46%
SHEFFIELD	£20	8 10 0	42%
CANNOCK	£5	2 0 0	40%
HENDON	£20	7 0 0	35%
NORTH LONDON	£25	8 7 6	33%
ILFORD	£5	1 10 0	30%
BIRMINGHAM	£20	4 17 0	24%
OXFORD	£5	1 0 0	20%
GWAUN-CAE-GURWEN	£3	1 11 6	161%
GLASGOW & MOTHERWELL	£40	7 8 0	15%
MERTHYR and TREDEGAR	£7	15 0 0	103%
LEEDS	£30	—	—
PLYMOUTH	£1	—	—
NEWARK	£1	—	—
	£300 0 1		



# SURREY T.U.s MEET

BY P. PEVALIN

156 delegates from 76 Trade Union branches, 7 Trades Councils and 2 local Labour Parties attended the Annual Conference of Surrey Trades Unions at Wimbledon Labour Hall on Saturday, 17th Nov., 1945.

One of the main discussions carried out was the following resolution which was carried, 33 votes to 27:—

"That this Conference warns the Government that the present strike wave cannot be dealt with by the use of troops and the condemnation of unofficial movements. The unrest among the workers reflects their desire to make an end to the rule of the employing class. This sentiment, which basically gave Labour its majority, must be heeded if the Government is to retain the support of the working class. We, therefore, demand that intervention should be made promptly by the Government, in these disputes, against the employers, forcing them to yield to the just demands of the strikers. In the event of opposition from the capitalists, the industries should be taken over without compensation, and operated under workers' control."

Perhaps the most interesting discussion of the Conference was the one evoked by a nation calling for nationalization without compensation. Bro. Emmett opened the discussion on a high political level, all the more noticeable in contrast to the formal and temperate tone of nearly all the other resolutions.

Bro. Pelter, from Mitcham A.E.U. in true Stalinist style, sippantly stated that only £46 millions were being paid out to the owners of the mining industry. As one comrade pointed out to him, this to the class that had already extracted millions upon millions of pounds in addition to the lifeblood of the miners.

This Conference showed that the working-class, whilst still believing that the Labour Government intends to carry through a transition to Socialism, is becoming wary, and indeed critical, of its policies at home and abroad.

# BELFAST BUS STRIKE

Belfast trolley-bus drivers and conductors staged a successful one-day strike on Sunday, 4th November. The strike was caused by the Corporation's attempt to cut off buses on certain routes, the excuse being that with the advent of winter and other circumstances the routes in question did not warrant the same service.

But the men knew different, and contended that this change in schedule would mean an enormous extra burden on both driver and conductor. Meetings were held and deputations sent to appeal to the Department, but without success, as they refused to listen to proposals of the men that the matter should be discussed with the Union officials before being put into practice.

The men became determined that no buses should run on the Sunday, and neither side giving way by Saturday night a deadlock was reached. At 7 a.m. on Sunday morning another meeting was held in the depot and the men unanimously decided on strike action. Union officials as usual declared the strike entirely unofficial; one particular official in fact went as far as to order the men to get back to work. But those responsible saw to it that not a single bus left the depot all day long, which practically paralysed the whole of East Belfast.

One sequel was the threat of a general stoppage of all City transport of the following Sunday. The Belfast Corporation Transport Committee, however, pending a decision from the National Joint Industrial Council, to whom the dispute was referred, agreed that no buses should be taken off until the decision was given by that body.

The Ulster Transport Union, to which most of the men belong, have no connection with the N.J.I.C. and the men do not hold themselves bound to abide by any decision reached by them. A meeting of all transport operatives will be held as soon as the decision is known, and if not accepted a general strike may result.

In the meantime a temporary victory was achieved by the men as a result of the solid united front displayed. Never before has there been such unity among Belfast transport workers, and it is a splendid augury for the future.

(Continued from Column 2)

is the attitude of the leaders of the "Communist" Party, who tell their members: "King Haakon opposed the intruders from the start, and took a clear standpoint with his people against barbarism. By so doing he brought unlimited moral strength to our nation. Without that clear standpoint, unity in the struggle would not have been possible." ("Friheten" leading Communist Party paper, 2/11/45).

Needless to say the "Daily Worker" couldn't find room for the words of both the British and the Norwegian leaders on the subject of their respective kings.

THE G.C.G. BRANCH of the  
REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY  
invites you to a  
**'Socialist Appeal' CONCERT**  
in the "CAE-GURWEN" HOTEL  
on FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14th, at 7.30 p.m. prompt.  
The following artistes have kindly consented to appear:  
EMRYS DAVIES (the Popular Baritone) and his Concert Party.  
VIVIAN LLEWELLYN (Cornet Soloist) G.C.G. Band.  
GWYN JONES (Tenor) Brynammon.  
SAM WILLIAMS, Pianoforte Solos and Accompanist.  
Admission is Free — but any Donations to the Expansion Fund of the Revolutionary Communist Party gratefully accepted.  
Thomas J. Watkins (Tairgwaith) will Chair the Concert.

# Revolutionary Communist Programme

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

# Whats on

- LECTURES  
SOUTH LONDON MARXIST SCHOOL  
Sunday at 7 p.m.  
16th December  
BOLSHEVISM AND MENSHEVISM IN RUSSIA  
P.P.U. Rooms,  
260 Streatham High Rd., S.W.16  
(near Leonard's Church)
- NOTTINGHAM R.C.P.  
Sunday, December 9th  
at 4.45 p.m.  
AJIT ROY (London)  
at the Apsley Social Centre  
Debate, Crane School.  
"THE SOCIALIST PROGRAMME AND THE COLONIES."  
at the HOSEIERY WORKERS ROOMS  
2a Elm Avenue, Nottingham  
Sunday, December 9th,  
at 7 p.m.  
AJIT ROY will speak on:  
"THE R.C.P. AND THE LABOUR PARTY."
- READERS! PLEASE NOTE!  
Contact can be made with our branches at the following addresses:  
GLASGOW R.C.P.,  
47 Oswald Street, Glasgow, C.1  
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE R.C.P.  
27 Ridley Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1.  
NEATH R.C.P.,  
17 Alfred Street, Neath, Glam.  
LONDON R.C.P.,  
256 Harrow Road, London W.2



SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International. 256 HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2. Phone: CUN 2526. EDITOR: E. Grant. BUSINESS MANAGER: Ann Keen.

Editorial

The Trial of the Nazis

The Nazi leaders are being tried for their lives at Nuremberg. Everything has been arranged to provide a dramatic spectacle. The workers all over the world, particularly the German workers, will shed no tears for the criminals in the dock. But they are not the only ones who should be there.

Prosecutors and accused share joint responsibility for the horrors of Nazism and for the war. The British imperialists, who feign horror at the Nazi leaders, carefully nurtured and supported them both before and after they came to power.

"Sensational" minutes and documents, demonstrating the ruthlessness with which the Nazis pursued their imperialist aims, are quoted and published in the world press of the "Allies". But it is certain that only carefully selected documents will in fact see the light of day. All documents that show the "democrats" in an unfavourable light are undoubtedly kept in the archives, if not destroyed altogether.

Little wonder that the Nazis have been refused permission to subpoena prominent British politicians as witnesses in their trial! According to the official views "great international harm might be done if Allied nationals of Cabinet rank were questioned concerning diplomatic secrets."

The "diplomatic secrets", in reality horse-deals, too foul in their commitments to be made in the light of day; the agreements with the Nazis, carried out behind closed doors at the expense of the nations on the borders of Germany, and in particular at the expense of the working class; the social intercourse between the leading capitalist democrats and capitalist Nazis and the identity of class views, all these might be brought out into the light of day if the "prominent" witnesses were to be called.

Hence in this trial through which the Allies hope to divert the hatred for imperialist war away from themselves and onto the shoulders of the defeated Nazis, only selected witnesses will be allowed to appear.

One of the first acts of the Socialist Revolution will be to publish all the secret documents and treaties of the capitalist classes, as did the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in 1917.

All the warmongers and capitalist conspirators responsible for the war will find themselves in the dock, where they should be with the Nuremberg plotters. Democrats and Fascists alike. But they will be tried before a working class tribunal and their judges will be the representatives of the oppressed masses, and not the gangster imperialists who are already preparing another world war.

BANK NATIONALISATION PLAN Leaves Capitalists in Control

BY JIM HINCHCLIFFE

The Bank of England is being nationalised. The English "Revolution" has begun! Triumphant Labour's pamphlet—"Let Us Face the Future", in front of a crowded House of Commons, Mr. Dalton, the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced the Bill which is one of Labour's main programmatic aims.

"Doesn't this mean," many workers are now saying, "that Labour has effective control over the nation's economic life? Doesn't it prove that the Labour leaders are really serious in their attempt to solve the post-war problems?" These are questions which undoubtedly express the feelings of the majority of the workers at the present time. The answer is an emphatic NO!

Amazing though it may seem, the Bank of England shareholders are going to receive Government securities calculated to guarantee them a return SLIGHTLY ABOVE that which they have been receiving in the past. These will be guaranteed for at least the next 20 years! At present, a dividend of 12 per cent is paid upon £14,500,000. The Government propose to concede £58,000,000 of 3 per cent Govt. Stock in its place. Small wonder that Mr. Clement Davies, Liberal M.P. was moved to comment—

"Shareholders might be queuing up for the terms he (Mr. Dalton) is prepared to give."

The next disturbing feature which confronted those "left" enthusiasts for this measure, was the reaction of the "Times", eminent and respectable organ of British Imperialism. In their editorial they state—

"In day-to-day business, moreover, it will make no noticeable difference to the present relations between the Bank and the Treasury, which already ensure that the policies and wishes of the Government of the day shall be fulfilled."

"The Bill is thought by its critics to be superfluous and irrelevant."

In addition to this, we read in the "News Chronicle" that—

"After they (the Clearing Bankers Association) had examined the Bill, Lord Catto assured the Chancellor that he can count on the co-operation of the Banking community."

When the capitalists hold such an opinion of an Act introduced by a Labour Government, we can be sure that there is something wrong somewhere, and sure enough, there is.

WHAT IT MEANS

Far from such a Bill heralding a new economic era, it merely brings the Bank of England into line with other Central Banks of the world. IN ACTUAL FACT, THE BANK OF ENGLAND IS THE ONLY CENTRAL BANK WHICH HAS NOT BEEN BROUGHT UNDER SOME FORM OF STATE CONTROL! In 1931, when the Governments of the world met in London to discuss the world's Economic Crisis, only two Central Banks were under private control—the German Reichsbank and the Bank of England, but despite this, no solution was found. This fact alone demonstrates that control of the Bank of England would not eliminate the economic slumps and miseries of capitalism.

But, it may be argued, the swing to the left which has taken place during the war has placed Socialist Governments in power in most of the European countries, and will ensure that we do not repeat the mistakes of the last two decades. QUITE THE OPPOSITE.

To the extent that these "Socialist" Governments have permitted the capitalists to rule the economy of the country, to own the Joint Stock banks, the factories etc., the contradictions of capitalism will remain with all its wars, booms and slumps. The control of the Bank of England has altered nothing fundamentally; the capitalist economy remains unaffected by the measure.

As the "Economist" commented, when discussing the Bill—

"Like other condemned men, they (the shareholders) can now eat a hearty breakfast of continuing capital investment."

Faced with a clear parliamentary majority, and therefore deprived of an

excuse to delay such a measure, the Labour Government has introduced a Bill which grants only verbal concessions to its supporters, but very real financial concessions to the bankers! We can rest assured that a Government which treats the bankers so generously will hardly exercise their right (introduced in the Bill) to direct the bankers in a way which will harm their interests—a fact which the bankers themselves already appreciate!

THE ROLE OF THE STALINISTS

The role of the Stalinist "Communist" Party on this issue has been remarkable, to say the least. Despite the overwhelming amount of evidence which exposes the real nature of the Bill, we are informed that it is really quite a good piece of Marxist-Leninist legislation—at least, that is the opinion of Phil Piratin, Stalinist M.P. In the House of Commons he remarked—

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer threw out a challenge when he asked what a Communist Chancellor would do in regard to this Bank of England Bill. I would like to answer by saying that a Communist Chancellor would, in general, do what the Chancellor is doing."

"I am supporting it because I think it is in the interests of the people."

In the interests of the people? WHICH people, may we ask? The ultra-generous compensation terms have been accompanied by the decision to retain the majority of the old directors (including the Governor, Lord Catto, formerly Montagu Norman). The capitalist press openly states that the composition of the Governing Board of the Bank is vitally important, more important than the terms of compensation—and they are quite satisfied with the Labour Government's proposals. Thus the "interests of the people" are revealed as being the interests of the bankers!

In his work, "The Threatening Catastrophe", Lenin outlined the essential measures of control which must be undertaken in order to really regulate the economic life of the country, and among them were included—

"Unification of all banks into one; state control over its operations, or nationalisation of the banks."

"Nationalisation of the syndicates, i.e., the largest monopoly associations of the capitalists (the sugar, naphtha, coal, metallurgical syndicates etc.)"

"Abolition of commercial secrets," and in explaining the necessity for the nationalisation of the banks (note: ALL the banks) he writes:

"no real control is possible over individual banks and their operations (even after abolition of the commercial secrets etc.) for it is impossible to trace all those most complicated, most involved and subtle methods used in drawing up the balance-sheets, in organising bogus enterprises and branch banks, in using fictitious persons, and so on and so forth. Only control over bank operations, provided they are merged into one state bank, will allow, simultaneously with other measures which can easily be put into effect, the actual levying of an income tax without concealment of property and income."

How clearly it is explained! The solution to this problem cannot be conceived without understanding the necessity of taking over the "Big Five" banks, of big industry, mines and land, without compensation to those who have lived long enough off the sweat and misery of the workers and operated under the control of the workers. Only these bold measures, destroying the basis of capitalist domination, and laying the basis—real and genuine economic basis—for a Socialist economy, will solve the problems confronting the working masses.

BEVIN AND THE JEWISH QUESTION

BY D. TAMARAY

The long delayed statement on the future policy of the Labour Government in relation to Palestine and the Jewish problem, has at last been made public by Mr. Bevin in the House of Commons.

What Bevin has said can be put under three headings:

- 1. the formation of an Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry; 2. an approach to the Palestinian problem; 3. an approach to the Jewish problem from a European point of view.

The formation of a joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry is a new step taken by the British Government to deal with Jewish and Palestinian problems. As far as British imperialism is concerned, she has little to lose by this new arrangement, while she is sure to save herself much embarrassment and criticism, which has of late been coming at a frequent rate from across the Atlantic.

What concerns British imperialism is not the fate of the Jews in Europe, but whether Palestine is going to remain a base and a stronghold of the British Empire. Whatever the decisions of this Committee, it is the British army which controls Palestine, and it is they who have the final word.

No better words and more camouflaged statement could have been made to cover the imperialist policy that the Labour Government is about to pursue. If we leave aside all the fine and eloquent words of the Foreign Secretary, we are confronted with the bare and naked truth: "The Government cannot divest itself of its duties and responsibilities under the mandate while the mandate continues."

Or in plain language, this means: "We stay in Palestine and stay there for good."

The editorial of the "Evening News" of November 14th, comments on this:

"There is a British claim to Palestine, not a territorial claim, but a claim to consideration, a just and understanding attention to our views."

What the editorial conceals is that these claims of "consideration" and "understanding" are backed up by tanks, aeroplanes, and the British navy which is reported to be cruising off the shores of Palestine ready to shell the coastal city at a moment's notice. Indeed, no territorial claims!

What apparently caused Mr. Bevin great alarm is the unquestioned support of the Arabs and Moslems all over the world to their brothers, the Arabs in Palestine. Bevin admitted that any pro-Zionist policy would cause an uprising and disturbances all over the Middle East, which would spread as far as India. The British imperialists are well aware of this, as were the Labour leaders when they promised Palestine to the Jews before the election.

According to Bevin's statement, the more minor details of the future policy in Palestine would depend on the report submitted by the Anglo-American Committee. He also stated that before the Committee submits its plan of recommendation, an agreement is to be reached with the Arab leaders to all

a monthly immigration of 1,500 Jews into Palestine. While the Labour Government is not supporting mass Jewish immigration, it continues the old policy of allowing the Zionists to slightly increase their forces. It is the policy of the British imperialists that when the Arabs in the Middle East rise against imperialist slavery, they will attempt to use the Zionists to form a bridgehead and an ally of British imperialism in an onslaught against the colonial peoples.

The Committee which is about to be set up will investigate the possibilities of future Jewish immigration into Palestine; it will investigate the conditions under which the Jews are living today in Europe; and it will enquire as to how many Jews want to immigrate and where they wish to go. It is no wonder that the Zionists strongly resent such an investigation, as it will reveal the actual position and wishes of European Jewry. If the Jews were given an opportunity to emigrate to America, Canada, Australia or England, there would be very few who would want to emigrate to Palestine.

Bevin went out of his way to express his "anxiety" as to the future welfare of European Jewry. In his short term of office as Foreign Secretary, he has proved himself a remarkably efficient servant of British Imperialism and guardian of the interests of the British capitalist class. Can the Jews, who have learned through bitter experience what the promises of the democracies are worth, once again put their faith in the "sincere" intentions of their representatives to see that they will no longer be persecuted?

Deeds count more than words. The working class and the Jewish people must demand that all people of whatever race or creed, are given equal rights in Europe. Those who wish to use the democratic right of asylum whether Jew or non-Jew, must be given free entry into America, Britain or the Dominions.

Palestine cannot solve the problem of the Jews. But the British imperialists use the situation to play off the Jews against the Arabs. Palestine must be given its independence, together with the other Arab states in the Middle East, with full guarantees of equal rights for the Jewish minority.

But the final solution of the Jewish problem can only be achieved by the abolition of the causes of race hatred and persecution. These arise out of the decay and disintegration of capitalism. With a new wave of reaction, the Jews will once again share the fate which has befallen European Jewry under the Nazis.

Jews! Do not put your faith in the promises made by the agents of capitalism. There is only one road which can lead to the security, which can obliterate anti-Semitism and persecution—that is, the road to Socialism. Your only allies are the working class of the world. The only salvation for the Jewish workers and the Jewish masses lies in joining the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist system of society.

In Defence of The COLONIAL REVOLUTION Hands Off Java!

AN END TO THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S IMPERIALIST POLICY

BY AJIT ROY

(Twopence)



AJIT ROY

FOR A "HANDS OFF JAVA CAMPAIGN" Correspondence with L.P., C.P. and I.L.P.

We print below some correspondences sent by the Revolutionary Communist Party to the Labour Party, the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party calling for the organising of a united front campaign to force the Government to end its imperialist policy of intervention in the Far East. Only the I.L.P. has replied. Any working class organisation with the interests of the struggle at heart, would immediately come to the defence of the colonial people by organising a united front campaign to mobilise the whole of the Labour movement for action. Neither the Labour Party nor the Communist Party are prepared to do this. The Labour Party backs up the infamous actions of the Government. The Communist Party does not wish to go further than harmless verbal protests. The reply of the I.L.P. reveals its political bankruptcy. The panic of the I.L.P. leadership, their fear of a united front with a revolutionary party which will expose the inadequacies of their policy, their retreat before the Labour leaders, can be seen in their replies to the R.C.P.

This correspondence is of historic interest in showing the real positions taken by the organisations of the British working class parties in facing the tasks of rallying to the aid of the colonial peoples in their struggle for independence from imperialist domination. — Ed.

FROM R.C.P. TO THE L.P.

11th November, 1945.

To the National Secretary, Labour Party, Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1. Dear Comrade,

The actions of the Labour Government in Indo-China and Java are not the actions expected by the Labour masses who elected that Government, and are against all the principles for which the Labour Government claims to stand. Directed against the progressive aspirations for national freedom and democracy on the part of the colonial peoples, the military and political intervention of the Labour Government must be condemned by every section of the organised working class and progressive democratic opinion.

It is the opinion of the membership of the Revolutionary Communist Party that all who claim to speak for socialism, for internationalism, for democratic ways of life, have the duty to organise a campaign throughout the working class of opposition to the Government's policy; to force the Government to end its policy of military intervention, and allow the peoples of these countries to organise their own form of national government and their own ways of life. Labour with a white skin can never be free while Labour with a coloured

skin is held in imperialist chains. It is the duty of the British working class to take action to prevent the Government from attempting to keep the colonial masses in chains.

We call upon the Labour Party to initiate, and take the leadership of a mighty united movement of organised Labour in Britain, a united front of all working class political and industrial organisations, to refuse to handle or ship arms or other material to be used against the people of Java and Indo-China; a united front which will force the Labour Government to end the present imperialist war of colonial intervention and to withdraw all British military personnel immediately from these areas.

Yours fraternally, Jock Haston, General Secretary, R.C.P. For the Political Bureau.

FROM R.C.P. TO THE C.P.

11th November, 1945.

Harry Pollitt, General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain, Dear Comrade,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter sent by the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist Party to the National Secretary of the Labour Party.

It is the view of the membership of the R.C.P. that a united campaign of

all working class organisations, such as outlined by us in the above mentioned letter, is an absolute duty which must be carried out by all members and organisations of the working class.

The Communist Party is undoubtedly the largest and most influential political organisation of the working class, after the Labour Party. It has therefore, a great responsibility to rouse the workers in defence of the colonial peoples.

We should be pleased to hear what steps your organisation has taken to force upon the Labour Party a campaign of opposition to the Government's policy of intervention, and to know what steps you are prepared to take, independently of the Labour Party in the event of refusal, but in conjunction with the I.L.P., ourselves and other working class organisations.

Yours fraternally, Jock Haston, General Secretary, R.C.P. For the Political Bureau.

R.C.P. TO THE I.L.P.

11th November, 1945.

Fenner Brockway, Political Secretary, Independent Labour Party. Dear Comrade,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter sent by the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist Party to the National Secretary of the Labour Party.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2. Dear Comrades,

We duly received your letter of the 11th inst., regarding the defence of the colonial peoples.

During the past two or three months we have unceasingly done our best in (Continued on Back Page.)



# POLLITT ADMITS 'ERROR' CALCUTTA DEMONSTRATION

(Continued from page 1.)

the leadership of the Party has not given a sufficiently clear lead on the dock strike. . . . it may be necessary to support strike action in the existing circumstances"

**From SOUTHALL BRANCH:** "Objection should be made to the Government of the use of the forces as strike breakers."

**From KIRKDALE AND SCOTLAND BRANCH (LIVERPOOL),** a very confused resolution, which, however, expressed the "opinion that the 'Daily Worker' lagged behind in the initial stages of the national dock strike and urged Congress seriously to consider this weakness and the reasons for it."

**From the READING BRANCH** a resolution "acclaiming solidarity with the dockers in their struggle for a decent living."

**The WOOLWICH BRANCH:** "... strongly urges a positive policy relating our leadership to strikes."

**From the BANSTEAD BRANCH,** supporting "the fight of the dock workers to improve their wages and conditions it deplores the lack of action taken by the Party and the lack of support given by the 'Daily Worker' to this fight."

Unfortunately, none of these resolutions tried to relate the strike-breaking policy of the leadership to the general policy of class collaboration carried out by the party during the pro-war period and since the conclusion of the war. But the importance of these resolutions, is, that, despite the element of confusion in almost all of them, they expressed the demand of the membership for a militant policy of class struggle.

**Point, speaking for the Executive:** "Vigorously attacked those who had demanded that the Party should decrease itself in favour of mass strikes." ("Daily Worker"). And "speaking of the dock-strike—"we considered it ill-advised."

The real story of the role of the dockers strike has been told in earlier issues of the "Socialist Appeal". All that is necessary to repeat here is that the Communist Party leadership used every possible method to try and destroy the militant movement of the dockers and in doing so lost almost their entire docks fraction.

Nevertheless the pressure from the rank and file of the Party was so tremendous that the leadership was forced to make concessions on this score to the membership and to admit that some strikes might be "justified."

Pollitt's "mistakes" flow from anti-Communist theories whereas many of the members of the Party understood that the policy was wrong and that the series of mistakes was not accidental, but flowed from some fundamental failure or fault on the part of leadership and membership alike, not a single resolution or branch speaker sought to probe the root of the problem.

The resolution of the Aston Branch, for instance, expressed the "opinion that our Party during the years of war has made more wrong assessments and consequent mistakes in policy than is compatible with our claim to be a scientific leadership of the Labour movement." But instead of trying to explain why the assessments and policies were wrong and what assessments and policies should have been formulated instead, the branch made a series of very good organisational suggestions, but which could not possibly solve the problem and end the continuation of the series of "mistakes" in the future.

The truth is that the false policies of Pollitt and Co. are not mere "mistakes". They flow from a fundamental break with Marxism nationally and internationally. The "mistakes" of Harry Pollitt and Earl Browder flow from their break with Lenin's ideas of the class struggle and the World Revolution, and their adoption of the theory of "Socialism in One Country" and the reformist policies that spring from that theory.

Once the theory of "Socialism in One Country"—Russia—was accepted by the Communist International, the role of the Communist Parties changed. Russia was no longer to be protected by the extension of Communist revolution into other countries but by diplomatic and military agreement with the capitalist class of other countries. The role of the Stalinist organisations became that of pressure groups for the diplomacy of the Russian bureaucracy. Only when they understand this, will communist workers understand the changing policy of their party.

## THE DILEMMA

The present dilemma in which Pollitt and the leadership find themselves is this: will Anglo-Russian foreign policy be solved by a compromise; or will the differences which are sharpening between these two countries grow greater as the days go by?

If a compromise is reached, Pollitt and Co. will be given the "line": "Tone down your criticism—Molotov and Bevin are friends!" But if no agreement is reached and Stalin's demands are not met, the weak sides of the Government's policy nationally and particularly internationally, will be brought out in hostile criticism. Pressure will be brought on the Government by this means to try and force concessions to Russia.

Bill Rust, Editor of the "Daily Worker" said they "had to raise the question of the removal of those who had shown their worthlessness—notably

Bevin from the foreign office." The following day, in view of the publicity Rust's statement had received in the press, Pollitt issued a statement to the Congress, which was in reality a press statement saying: "The phrase used by Comrade Rust was not an expression of the views of the Executive Committee." Nevertheless, the whole episode served as a warning to the Labour Government as to what to expect. If Bevin's foreign policy is not welcome in Moscow, then the main slogan of the Communist Party will be "Bevin must go!"

"No one," said Harry Pollitt, "can watch the foreign policy at present being carried through by the Government without concern and alarm." "Britain's future," he continued, "depends more upon co-operation with the Soviet Union than on any other single factor in the international situation."

He might have added: "And the policy of the C.P.G.B. depends more upon this factor than upon all other factors put together." But at the moment the line of development in the immediate future is by no means clear. Hence the lack of clarity, and the hesitation as to the future line.

It follows, therefore, that while foreign policy relations are not yet clear, the strike-breaking line is to be continued. Party members will receive instructions to oppose "unconstitutional" or "unofficial" strike action. If they fail in this, to prevent strike action, the members will be instructed to place themselves at the head of the movement; there to behold it. Unofficial committees of shop stewards or rank and file delegates will be fought against tooth and nail, as will every attempt to link up the industrial militants on a national or area scale.

## TROTSKY IS DEAD BUT TROTSKYISM LIVES

For many years the leadership had proclaimed the complete elimination and liquidation of Trotskyism. But the Party members feel the pressure of the Trotskyists more now than at any time in the past.

The Wallsend Branch, which had just received a taste of Trotskyist campaigning during the Municipal elections, appealed to the Executive to conduct a campaign to expose Trotskyism.

But inside the Party "Trotskyism" also appears to have reared its head.

A resolution from the Lambeth Borough Aggregate proposed that "if the word 'Trotskyite' be used to describe a Party member, a full branch meeting be held to thrash the matter out." The educational work of the Party, from the same branch should help to "... formulate the Party line and to distinguish criticism of the Party from Trotskyism."

This is recognition of the fact that for the past three or four years hundreds of the best militants who dared to criticise the policy of the party leadership were expelled as "Trotskyites", and that the situation has deteriorated to the point where it is necessary to adopt a more cautious policy. But it is also an indication of the changing mood of the local bureaucrats and officials who, because of the bankruptcy of the policy of the leaders, are forced to adopt a more tolerant attitude to the criticisms of members of the Party rank and file.

The more critical members of the Stalinist party find common cause with our comrades in the day to day struggles. Many of our ideas and criticisms are taken back inside the Party branches. Precisely at a period when Trotskyism is really becoming a factor in the internal life of sections of the Communist Party, the leadership are no longer in such a happy position to treat the opposition by getting rid of it as they did in the past.

The resolution of the Executive on the question of Marxist education was probably the most cynical of its resolutions to appear at conference.

"... The theories of socialism and Marxism are often distorted," it reads, "in the interests of reformist policies..." "It is especially important to maintain vigilance" the resolution continues, "against the illusions and harmful theories of reformism."

Coming from the pen of people who have done more to distort Marxism than all the other falsifiers in the history of socialism, this resolution just about takes the biscuit.

No group has sown more illusions than the Stalinists have in the course of this war. No group have refurbished the reformist illusions of the working class collaborating peacefully with the capitalist class and even growing peacefully over into Socialism, more than the Stalinists.

The speech of Pollitt to the conference, was a complete evasion of the fundamental issues—the destruction of capitalism and the role of the Labour Government at the present moment.

## ATTITUDE TO THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

Lacking a clear Marxist background the conference failed to establish the role of the Labour Government.

Can the Labour Government introduce socialism, and will the proposed nationalisation measures take the working class along the road to socialism? Was Lenin wrong when he argued that the British Labour Party was not a Socialist Party but a party consisting in its leadership of lackeys of the imperialist ruling class? Was Lenin wrong when he argued that the British working class would not be able



POLLITT: When the war began he confessed he had made a "mistake" on the nature of imperialist war. At the end of the war he confessed he had made a "mistake" in advocating a post-war coalition with Churchill.

to take power through Parliament since parliament was an instrument of the ruling class?

These questions, which were not even mentioned at the Congress are the key questions which serious members of the Communist Party must answer, if they are to consciously understand the development of the class struggle in the next few years and play a role in guiding the working class to the complete overthrow and destruction of capitalism.

To sum up: this first post-war congress of the C.P.G.B. demonstrated the bankruptcy of the leadership of that party just as brutally as the first war-time conference did in 1940.

Then Harry Pollitt had to confess that he did not know the difference between an imperialist war and a "progressive war." That the war which broke out in 1939 was an imperialist war for loot and profit and not a war for democracy and freedom. And that he who claimed to be a Marxist—a scientific socialist, was in fact an utter fool.

And as he began the war so he ended it. He confessed that his policy of a post-war coalition government with Churchill and Eden was utter rubbish and not in the interest of the working class.

With such leaders, with such policies the workers can only be led to disaster.

If the Stalinist leadership continues to pursue its present policy the best elements of the Party will inevitably clash sharply with it. If the policy changes somewhat, and moves to the "left" the militants will find themselves drawn into the struggle side by side with their Trotskyist comrades and in the course of our common militant experiences a firm bond of unity will be forged which the leadership of the Stalinist Party will find it difficult if not impossible to break.

With a correct attitude on our part we will convince them of the need for building the Fourth, Communist International and its British Section—the Revolutionary Communist Party.

(Continued from page 1) lathis and armed with revolvers, and as we jumped on the police lorry behind them the students were pressing forward. As far as the eye could see, there was a sea of faces, and the great singing ripples coming down the street. At the front, flags and banners waving above the heads of the masses and the increasing agitation as the leaders cried again and again "Inquilab" (Revolution) and received the roar of "Zindabad" (Long Live!). The tempo of the cries increased, the pose grew and the demonstrators began to push against the police. It seemed almost as if the agitation of the slogans found expression in the excited movement of the front ranks. A cloud of dust raised by thousands of feet rose triumphantly in the air above them.

Then, suddenly, I saw three men falling on top of each other, a vicious lathi hitting wherever it could; the whole of the police were hitting out at anything and everything; a cleavage in the centre, going back 20 yards or more, and then a fall away, with the police still beating the stragglers, odd individuals running back pursued as they went—a clear space left between the students and police. The dust still rising like a cloud on the street.

Then again, the slogans and a hail of missiles, bricks, a gathering together and an advance with a mighty roar that must have echoed through the city, this time the whole procession surging forward. A tremendous hail of bricks, a shop window shattered with a small explosion, the police who had been definitely hopping about like strange demented chimpanzees, under the first shower of bricks began to retreat. A brick described a perfect parabola and descended clean on the head of the burly European inspector—but his pith helmet took the shock. The police ran, and as the crowd surged on, turned at the crossroad and opened fire—the first firing.

Again the retreat, this time pursued by the police, firing as they came. From which we had emerged 5 minutes before, and sideways into the side streets, along which many of the students had retreated. A police lorry started up and turned the corner into Madani Street with three wounded. Two were lying, one injured somewhere in the body, almost unconscious, the other shot in the back, groaning, and a great scarlet patch spreading over



and Social At the CO-OP. HALL SEVEN SISTERS RD., N.5 Saturday, Dec. 8th, 1945 7.30 to 11 p.m. BLUE LYRICS BAND Spot Prizes. Refreshments, Admission 2s. In Aid of Socialist Appeal Fund

his dhobie. The third was sitting nocking a wound just above his knee. The demonstration had sobered; the lathi was longer and the ambulance was evacuating with the wounded, when the advance commenced again. Each advance and retreat had brought the atmosphere more tense, and this attack was serious and determined. This time bricks-bats from both ends of the street, the police were firing sooner than before, their lories were preparing to move. It was obvious that soon the demonstration would get through, so we left.

Chowranghi was relatively calm, but tense as we stood; more police were arriving in lorries, ambulances and motor cycles rushed towards Dharantolla. The police apparently fired yet again after we left and a Hindu Mahasabha leader, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookherjee and two Congress leaders, Dr. Nalinaksha Saryal and Niharendu Dutt Mazumder arrived and commenced discussion in an attempt to obtain permission for the procession to proceed. Whilst the discussion was proceeding the students broke the police cordon and the issue was decided. Lathi charges were made on the flank of the procession as it went along Old Court House Road toward Dalhousie Square but with no impression. The Calcutta students had won the day—not through the Congress 'leaders' or through organisation, but through their own heroism and determined courage.

Whatever the lessons of this day may be, and there will be many to be learned, one thing is certain: the Indian revolution will not fail because of lack of the will to fight, to suffer and to die.

On Wednesday night there had been 1 killed and 55 injured, of whom 3 died later. On Thursday afternoon there were 70 injured of whom 9 had died by Friday. Altogether on Thursday, there were 15 killed and 125 injured.

Although the newspapers estimate the demonstration to have been 50,000 strong, the estimate of those who saw it was well over 100,000, probably many more. It was the biggest mass demonstration in Calcutta within living memory and the extent of the rioting was greater than in 1942. Away from the Dharantolla demonstration, Thursday saw the emergence of crowds carrying out systematic stoppage of all civilian transport on the roads. At Lilloah crowds sat upon the railway line and stopped incoming trains.

That there were lumpy and goonda elements present is undoubted, but more important is that the isolated and sporadic character of the movement sprang from the predominance of the petty bourgeoisie. On Friday this found a greater expression when, although there were some meetings and processions, the main activity was in the disruption of all transport—many military vehicles were burned and there were many casualties among military personnel, the Americans alone were reported as having 26 injured.

On Thursday, despite solid support of the workers called out by the Stalinists, the students failed to link with them in demonstrations and meetings, though this was only narrowly avoided when the students procession passed within a short distance of the Mahomed Ali Park where the workers were holding a meeting. By Friday, the leadership of every major party were demanding retreat and withdrawal, and had given an undertaking to Casey to withdraw all their political workers from the field. Here a section of the students realised their task and toured the areas where the military vehicles

were being attacked and brought the situation under control. It would have been sheer adventurism to have supported these attacks at this stage—the task of disrupting the military machine was far in advance of the movement.

But retreat was not inevitable—morale was and still is high—and that emphasises the central lesson of the three days—that without the main subjective factor, the revolutionary workers' party, any movement is doomed to failure and must inevitably degenerate into impotent adventurism.

The Calcutta events have aroused a response throughout India—Railway workers in Bombay have struck, students all over the country have marched in protest. Undoubtedly there are many demonstrations, many battles yet to be fought along the road towards an independent socialist India, but Calcutta has shown the road, the need and the power.

### The Bootle Times

Nov. 2nd, 1945.  
BY TEMPUS

**Keeping Our Doorstep Clean**  
"Mazo" must have an enemy in Mersey Ward. If he is annoyed, so are we, because the enemy chalked on our doorstep late on Wednesday night, a libel directed against the famous "Mazo". As we entered our office yesterday morning, there was the slogan confronting us—an alleged exposure of Mr. Martinson's political career. With mop and bucket we got to work speedily and cleaned up the mess. The burden of the libel in chalk was that "Mazo" was not a Communist. Why the enemy should choose our doorstep to convey this information we don't know, because we never said that he was. Mr. Martinson calls himself a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which is apparently a horse of another colour than the highly respectable pale pink charger known as the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Perhaps our friend with the chalk would tell us (but not on our doorstep, please!) when is a Communist not a Communist? If the answer is "When he is a Trotskyite," we should like to know when Trotsky ceased to be a disciple of Karl Marx.

### Gas Men's Fight

(Continued from page 1.)

gestion that the negotiating machinery needed speeding up." "they... (the gas workers) are under legal obligation to remain at work, unless they give three months notice."

Mr. Dukes, following the method of Donovan and Deakin, accused the gas workers of being misled by "extreme elements" and called upon them to beware of "subversive influence". Thus Mr. Dukes attempted to white-wash the bosses, who had provoked the strike by their threats to dismiss gas workers.

**LESSONS OF THE GAS WORKERS' FIGHT.**

Having defeated the management, the Beckton workers have returned to work, but they are determined to act again if negotiations do not quickly produce results. The Manchester gas workers are still on strike and require the assistance of all workers. The urgent problem before all militant gas workers is to link up nationally. London should immediately link-up with Manchester and other big cities. Victory will be ensured with this national rank and file organisation. This is the important lesson flowing from the dockers' struggles.

For a national rank and file Conference of Gas Workers. End the N.J.I.C. for the Gas Industry.

For militant and democratic trade unionism. Out with the bureaucratic leaders of the T. & G.W.U. and the N.U.G.M.U.

For nationalisation without compensation of the gas industry and its operation under workers' control.

# For a 'Hands Off Java' Campaign

(Continued from Page 3)

our Press and Platform to arouse the workers of Britain on behalf of our coloured brothers. We have been in close association with such bodies as the Pan-African Congress and our brother groups among the colonial peoples. In the House of Commons our Parliamentary Group are working with those elements of the Labour Party which desire that the Government policy of Imperialism by proxy should be ended. In particular we would refer you to the special statement issued by our Council two days ago which will appear in this week's "New Leader".

We agree with you that the I.L.P. has a great responsibility and we have endeavoured to discharge this to the very best of our ability. We shall continue our efforts in the cause of International Socialism.

Yours fraternally,  
John McNair

R.C.P. TO I.L.P.  
19th November, 1945.  
General Secretary, I.L.P.  
Dear Comrade McNair,

Your letter of the 14th inst. was discussed at its meeting on the 17th November.

We are familiar with the activities of the I.L.P., as outlined by you, since we follow your press and the day to day work of your Party. But the principal point of our correspondence seems to have escaped your attention: "What steps are you prepared to take independently of the Labour Party and Communist Party (in the event of refusal by them), to conduct a united working class campaign against the Government and in favour of the

Indonesians in conjunction with the R.C.P. and other working class organisations"

That is the crux of our letter to the I.L.P.

To repeat what is already known to you from our previous letter: we have sent a letter to the Labour Party, as the mass organisation of the working class in Britain, proposing that they should undertake the leadership of a campaign to force the Government to withdraw British troops from Java and Indo-China. The workers should be mobilised to "refuse to handle or ship arms and other material to be used against the people of Java and Indo-China," to form a "united front which will force the Labour Government to end the present imperialist war of colonial intervention and to withdraw all military personnel immediately from these areas."

We have addressed ourselves to the C.P. as the largest political organisation next to the Labour Party, asking that they undertake such a campaign.

And we address the same appeal to the I.L.P. What steps are you prepared to take to initiate a campaign in conjunction with our organisation and other working class organisations?

If the leadership of the I.L.P. does not believe that a campaign outlined by us is necessary, we would be pleased to hear alternative ideas. If you do not wish to have a joint campaign together with our organisation and other working class bodies, please say so, and we will all know where you stand.

Trusting that the failure to answer this point was an oversight, we await a considered answer to our proposal.

Yours fraternally,  
Jock Haston,  
General Secretary, R.C.P.

## REPLY OF I.L.P. TO R.C.P.

Nov. 21st, 1945.  
The General Secretary R.C.P., 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

Dear Comrade,  
Thank you for your letter of the 19th in reply to mine of the 14th regarding the proposed campaign in favour of the Indonesians.

I note the specific question which you pose regarding a joint campaign. Neither the L.P. nor the C.P. would be prepared to conduct a campaign with yourselves or ourselves. It would be a waste of time making official approaches to them.

We are always prepared to collaborate with any workers in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism, but we do not think that the initiation of a campaign in conjunction with yourselves would serve any useful purpose. You have your function to fulfil and we have ours. You really do not believe in the I.L.P. and your general tendency is to use any collaboration in order to develop and put across your own political line.

We feel, on the other hand, that, when engaged in a campaign against oppression one's political line should be, in a sense, subordinated to the purpose of the campaign. The campaign should not exist to "boost" the I.L.P. or the R.C.P. but to redress the evil against which it has been organised.

We realise that this line of thought is not in accordance with your own political and social philosophy and for that reason we feel we can remain comrades in the common struggle without the conjunction to which you make special reference.

Yours fraternally,  
John McNair,  
Gen. Sec.

### Workers International News

Theoretical Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

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