SUPPORT THE SQUATTERS

End the Prosecutions in Defence of Landlord Property

LABOUR MUST OPERATE ITS MANDATE

Policy Statement by the R.C.P. Political Bureau

THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE REVOLUTION-ARY COMMUNIST PARTY WELCOMES THE INITIATIVE SHOWN BY THE SOUATTERS IN THEIR ACTION, AS A STEP TOWARDS SOLVING THE HOUSING PROBLEM. IT CONSIDERS THAT THE ACTIVITY OF THE SQUATTERS, WHICH PLACES THE HOUSING NEEDS OF THE HOMELESS FAMILIES ABOVE THE REACTIONARY RIGHTS OF LANDLORD PROPERTY OWNERS, IS ENTIRELY A PROGESSIVE MOVEMENT, IN LINE WITH THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SOCIALIST EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The Revolutionary Communist Party pledges full support to this movement by all means at its disposal, and will aid in the extension of the squatters movement locally and nationally.

We protest against the police assistance and protection given by the Labour Government to the landlords against the homeless workers and consider that this action is a violation of the mandate given to the Government by the action is a violation of the mandate given to the Government by the mass of the organised working class, which included the finding of homes for the homeless. We also protest against the prosecu-tion of the members of the Squatters Committees, or those squaters trade unionists or working class political activists who have assisted the squatters in finding

The R.C.P. regards the fact that the R.C.P. regards the fact that the Labour Government should seek to formulate new legislation to protect the reactionary property owners, instead of legislating to aid the homeless and thus helping to solve their problems as a monstrous betrayal of the socialist workers' mandate.

It calls upon all sections of the organised working class to bring pressure to bear upon the Labour Government to put a stop to the prosecution already commenced; to prosecution already commences, to reverse its role as protector of landlord property against worker homeless; to heed the voice of the mass of the organised workers and (Continued on page 4.)

THE OCCUPATION BY HOMELESS WORKERS OF MANY OF THE EMPTY LUXURY FLATS AND DEREQUISITIONED HOTELS OF THE RICH, IS A MEASURE OF THE DESPERATE NEEDS OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKING CLASS FAMILIES. THIS DETERMINED AND WELL ORGANISED ACTION OF THE "SQUATTERS" IS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION: THE TAKING OVER OF EMPTY HOUSING PROPERTY OF THE CAPITALIST LANDLORDS.

The landlords are concerned only with protecting their profit interests at the expense of the needs of the working class. The Labour Government is to be condemned for its refusal to aid the squatters and callying to the assistance of the capitalists and landlords.

Aneurin Bevan, Labour Minister laudlords! Aneurin Bevan, Labour Minister of Health, recently returned from his holiday in Switzerland, blatantly attacked the disciplined and organised occupation of the luxury flats as "A campaign of violence and organised lawlessness". He sent the police to stand guard on other empty capitalist-owned property, and instructed the local authorities to cut off supplies of light, heat and water to the "squatters".

Bevan further accused the squatters of queue-jumping in an attempt to create hostility towards them on the part of homeless workers, waiting for houses. This is a falsification of the real position. The occupied flats and hotels were to be handed back to their wealthy owners and let to those who could afford to pay as many guineas as the working class family can pay shillings.

ANEURIN BEVAN APES A Tory Minister of Health could not have shown more concern for the protection of reactionary property rights of the wealthy

The Duchess of Bedford Flats a Kensington, London was offered to the Kensington Borough Council for requisitioning to house urgent cases. But the Tory dominated Labour Government, who made neattempt to enforce the requisition

the Duchess of Bedford Flats.

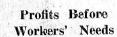
In evidence before Justice Wynn Parry the horrible conditions under which the squatters had been living, were revealed. One woman reported that she had to take her political to be self-lived. There ever

The Labour Government waxes The Labour Government waxes indignant about the "rights" of private property in the best Tory style, and uses Tory methods to evict the workers from the houses of the rich. This lick-spittling to The arrest of five members of the

to tolerate any further refusal to to tolerate any further regular to requisition capitalist property. The initiative of the squatters is to be welcomed and supported by every working class organisation.

Workers! Rally to the Support of the Squatters! Demand that all Charges Against Members of the Communist Party be With-

> ANTI - LABOUR, ANTI - NEGRO KLU - KLUX - KLAN



Borough Council preferred to re-turn it to the owners, the fabulously wealthy Prudential Assurance wealthy Pridential Assurance Company in order that the flats could be let to rich tenants at from 10 to 15 guineas per week. This scandalous state of affairs was tolerated and condoned by the ng of this and similar luxury places for the provision of home for workers' families. Under such conditions the actions of the "squatters" in occupying such "squatters" in occupying such places is a hundred times justified

As we go to press the news comes that as a result of the Government's court action, the squatters have been given notice to quit or threatened with eviction. As a consequence, the squatter announced their intention to vacat

Others reported of leaking roofs overflowing lavatories, and laygienic overcrowding.

The Judge expressed deep sym The Judge expressed deep sympathy. But great as was his sorrow, the rights of private property come first. The homeless workers were "trespassers" and must vacate the luxury flats, so that the very foundations of capitalist society should not be undermined!

Thus, the Government which could not take emergency measures to house the people, has acted very to nouse the people, has acted very speedily in defence of the capitalist landlords. This is a slap in the face for the working class who swept Labour into power in order to take action against the capitalists and the landowners, not

of the rich. This lick-spitting to the capitalist tradition is covered by accusations of "agitators" and "anarchy" levelled against the leaders of this movement.

Communist Party is an attempt on the part of the Labour Government to break down the determination of the squatters to continue their occupation of the luxury buildings. The working class is in no mood

drawn.



British Trotskyist Conference

The Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International met in Annual Conference in London on September 7th, 8th and 9th. 35 delegates from the national branches and 13 consultative delegates assembled to debate a heavy agenda which included numerous resolutions on international and national problems facing the working class.

The Conference hall was crowded with workers from all parts of the country, who listened to the discussions and debates which took place in an atmosphere of complete

The principal resolution under discussion is reproduced in this issue of the "Socialist Appeal", edited for publication. It is a review of the economic and political perspectives of Great Britain, and a statement of the tactics to be adopted by the Revolutionary Communist Party in the coming year. Every regular reader of the "Socialist Appeal" will study this resolution with the object of gaining a clear and comprehensive picture of the attitude of the R.C.P. towards the Labour Government and its future.

A representative of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International was present and conveyed fraternal greeting. He gave a report on the work and progress of the various national sections of the Fourth International, which in no less than 30 countries owe allegiance and are in direct contact with the International. Of especial interest was an encouraging report of the re-formation of our German section inside Germany despite the years of terror under the Nazi regime.

A resolution demanding the repatriation of the German P.o.W.'s to their homes was adopted with acclamation. Resolutions of condemnation of the Labour Government's activities in the colonies, Palestine and Greece were also adopted.

Much of the discussion at the Conference centred around the amendments presented by the Central Committee of the British Party to the international resolution adopted by the recent International Congress of the Fourth Interare enabled to freely discuss and participate in the adoption of a Bolshevik policy for the national and international working class. The British Party, fulfilling its international obligations adopted a series of amendments to be presented for international discussion dealing with economic perspectives in Europe, the role of Stalinism and Social Democracy and the tactics of the Fourth International: the economic, military and diplomatic situation of Russia as a result of the outcome of the war. These will be issued for publication in our theoretical

organ "Workers' International News." After full and lengthy discussions in the Party, the Conference ended with a spirit of determination to carry the banner of the Fourth International to the widest possible sections of the working class, to participate actively in the class struggles of the working class and win the most advanced sections of the British workers to the banner of Trotskyism.

Long Live the Revolutionary Communist Party! Long Live the Fourth International!

BEVIN ENTHRONES GREEK KING

By means of terror and intimidation against the Greek masses, and with the direct assistance of the military forces of the British Labour Government, King George of the Hellenes has regained the throne of Greece,

The result is no more a renection of the real feeling in Greece than the Royalist plebiscite of 1935 the Royalist plebiscite of the Monarchy was carried with 97.5 per cent, in favour. This too, was achieved under the shadow of the bayonets and revolvers of the army plebiscite are sult desnite by nonbayonets and revolvers of the army and police controlled by General critical appeals for unit Kondylis. Yet three months later terror has been intensified. in a genuine parliamentary election, the Republican Parties together

British Capitalist press was daily carrying reports of attacks on trade unions and the workers' organisations. Terror and murder, particularly in the country districts have been systematically carried on by Royalist bands. There has been interference with the free circulation and propaganda of the workers' press. Under these converses the scapilled plebiseite was workers' press. Under these conditions the so-called plebiseite was ditions the mackery.

The Greek masses cannot achieve

peasants have had to flee to the reaction with the armed might of mountains to escape the terror and British Imperialism. This stain conditions bordering on civil war on the British Labour movement exist in the mountains, especially must be wiped away.

exist in the mountains, especially in the districts of Macedonia.

Meanwhile it should be remembered that nearly half the officers of even the Regular Army were members of the Security batallions

—the Greek S.S. which served the Greek people.

END THE BETRAYAL OF under Hitler. The conditions under which the elections were conducted THE GREEK MASSES! re indicated by the fact that the!

The result is no more a reflection | Deputy Prime Minister, Gonatas,

plebiscite result, despite hypo-critical appeals for unity, the terror has been intensified. Emergency "security" measures have now been proclaimed throughout with the working class parties the mainland of Greece. obtained a majority! tions similar to martial law have Before the plebiscite even the been established. On the other British Capitalist press was daily hand, step by step, the suppression

a complete mockery.

Thousands and tens of thousands of the most militant workers and Government in Britain backs Greek

END THE BETRAYAL OF WITHDRAW THE TROOPS!



Reactionary Whites Terrorise Negroes

LYNCH LAW IS ON THE MARCH IN THE UNITED STATES. ALMOST EVERY DAY THE AMERICAN PRESS PUBLISHES NEWS OF FRESH ATROCITIES AGAINST NEGRO CITIZENS BY REACTIONARY ELEMENTS UNDER THE DIRECT LEADERSHIP AND OPEN INCITEMENT TO MOB VIOLENCE FROM THE FLOOR OF CONGRESS BY SUCH PEOPLE AS SENATORS TALMADGE, BILBO, AND RANKIN — ALL MEMBERS OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S "DEMOCRATIC" PARTY. action along the following lines:

The chief instigators of this wave of violence against the Negro people are the big corporations. Their purpose: to set the stage for an antilabour offensive in all parts of the country.

An ugly feature of the present wave of lynchings is that it is no longer confined to the reactionary South, as in the past. Tennessee New York, Chicago, California Georgia, Mississipi—all have been the scenes of brutal acts of terror against Negroes. In not a single case has the law taken action against the lynchers and their instigators in high places. Indeed, in many instances, the police have themselves been guilty of these bestial assaults upon innocent

We give the following extract from the "Militant", organ of the American Trotskyists, who have issued a call to the Labour movement to "Halt the Lynchers:

Arson and Murder

"On the floor of Congress the Bilbos and Rankins openly incite mob violence against Negroes. Both Republican and Democratic administrations have consistently refused to enact anti-lynching legislation. Federal and state investigations have uniformly failed to bring a single culprit

• to justice. In Columbia, Tenn., where



REACTIONARY SENATOR TALMADGE

"Save Georgia for the white man.'

lynchers aided by state troops murdered Negroes and terrorized the whole Negro community, the victims are being prosecuted while the criminals go scot-free.

In Freeport, N.Y., the killer of two Negro veterans walks the streets in police uniform. Dewey's "investigation" of these murders is an outrageous farce.
In Aiken, S.C., officials refuse even to discuss the fiendish

atrocity of the police who gouged out the eyes of Isaac Woodward, Negro veteran with five-years

MANSIONS

1. Set up a broad committee composed of representatives of

the unions, Negro and veteran organizations. This committee

organizations. This committee should conduct its own investigation of the lynchings at the scene of the crimes. It should offer a large reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the lynchers.

2. Set up Defence Guards to protect the lives and homes of Negroes and other minorities in

of attacks by

National Committee

Socialist Workers Party.

Fontana, Calif., local authorities refused to investigate the arson murders of O'Day Short and his family who resisted efforts to drive them from their

In Chicago, Ill., 59 separate arson bombings and shootings have taken the lives of three Negroes during the last 27 months. Only four of the terrorists were apprehended, and not see acquisited. not one convicted.

And now in Georgia and Mississippi five more lives have been brutally snuffed out, with no sign of effective federal or local action against the lynchers.

American Trotskyists' Call to Action

For these reasons the labour movement should demand of President Truman:

1. Immediate and vigorous vigorous

steps to apprehend and prosecute the lynchers in Georgia and Mississippi.
2. Immediate indictment and

prosecution of Bilbo, Talmadge, Rankin, Eastland and the others who instigated these lynchings.
3. Reconvene Congress for the express purpose of enacting effective federal anti-lynching

legislation.

To back up these demands, the unions should take independent



From Soldiers Abroad

Conditions in Lahore

terested in this description of air was full of smells and the inevitable flies. a night spent on Lahore Rail-

the body from the permanent way. To return to our train, all the compartment, with room for six, was reserved for P. C. Joshi, leader

of the C.P. of India.
Our compartment was reasonably comfortable, being about half the size of an English Guard's compartment—until we found that we had to share it with a score of Indian railway workers. The resultant , crush was indescribable, since everyone travelling out here carries his baggage with him. By the time we arrived at Lahore, we could not stand the heat (102 deg. F.) and discomfort any longer and so shifted to await the next train 10 hours later.

There was no sleeping accommodation in the station, so we wandered into the town for a meal and idled the time away until around midnight, when we returned to the station. And here a miserable picture awaited us, for under the glare of the modern mercury the most part they were peasant numbers, anothers converted to the most part they were peasant numbers, anothers converted to the most part they were peasant numbers, anothers converted to the most part they were peasant numbers, anothers converted to the modern mercury yet witnessed: I telt like murdering the money-grubbing landlords and scheming politicians individually, and I would have felt great pleasure in doing it. Never have scheming politicians individually, and I would, layer felt great haked children to their emaciated bodies, covered generally only by rags, and there was a constant sound of children crying, not as length children cry, but in a way that conveyed nothing but despair

and starvation. There was hardly I think you might be in- on one of these wretches, and the

a night spent on Lahore Railway Station—one of the most modern of India's stations.

The place was British India, but it looked exactly like the photographs of Belsen, so indignantly published in the capitalist press. We were en route for Kashmir, via Lahore, and during the first stage of our journey we were compelled to travel 180 miles in a Guard's compartment, as the rest of the train was growded. Indian of the train was growded. Indian to the capitalist probably, and the capitalist probably. It is capitalist probably and probably, Joshi was enjoying a sound sleep in his hotel by this capitalist probably. pelled to travel 180 miles in a Guard's compartment, as the rest of the train was crowded. Indian trains always are crowded; swarms of people have to travel miles hanging on to the outside of the third class coaches, and frequently there are cases of old men losing their grip and falling off, where upon the train stops long enough to enable the train crew to remove the body from the permanent way. To return to our train, all the To return to our train, all the first class compartments were reserved mainly for officers, and one compartment, with room for six, their bodies sticking through the thin covering of flesh, whose thighs were about as thick as broom-sticks, many of them covered in sores or deformed through lack of

I have travelled from North to South in this unfortunate land, but nowhere have I seen greater poverty. I have seen mothers with their children, exhausted, and unable to move, lying in the middle of the road waiting for death; either a slow one from starvation or, actually in one case in which I was concerned, in the hope that a car or truck would run them over. We prived at 8.30 p.m. and struggled out of the "Black Hole" in time to see Joshi "chaired" and garlanded, carried away by a mass around bones in the road, which was a woman and child. She literally a woman and child. She literally could not move and we had to carry her off the road. I gave her money and an apple which was in my pocket, but it was probably too

nutritious food.

But Labore station sickened me more than any other sight I have yet witnessed: I felt like murdering

Co-Op. Milk Workers Angry real worker delegates on to the Management Committee.

Justified resentment by the Co-op. Milk workers in London at the inadequate secret agreement drawn up by their Union, N.U.D.A.W. and the Co-operative Society regarding hours and wages, led Battersea, Mitcham

and Stowmarket in Suffolk. Milk Workers, Prepare Now!

The fact that the Co-op. which was originally founded a hundred years ago by the Rochdale pioneers to benefit the working-class, has degenerated to such an extent that it pays its workers less than private enterprise, is a disgrace to the working class movement.
On the part of the Co-op.
workers the forming of rank and
file committees nationally for
united action in the future is the
first step to implement just

Co-op members who were shocked that these workers should be forced to come out on strike against their

conditions must now realise the need for every worker to attend his annual Co-op meeting and elect to the need for every worker to attend to the need for every worker to the need for every worker to the need for e

Closed Shop **Principle**

Campaign Continues

As mentioned in these notes to a seven-day strike in- a few issues ago, many volving roundsmen and pro- workers in various industries, cessors from Woolwich, having fought six years of against fascism", Manor Park in East London which took away many of their hard-won democratic T.U. rights, are on the move to establish 100% T.U. closed shops: this being done with the object of, primarily, safeguarding thenselves from future attacks by the employing class.

Transport Workers and L.P.T.B.

Latest move in this direction is that, because of the constant threat of strike action by London bus such a move, as it only strength drivers and conductors, the the employing class, but weal T.G.W.U. have arrived at an and splits the workers' ranks.

been recently appointed Secretary of the Passenger section.

It is noteworthy to see the vigour with which the bureaucrats of the T. & G.W.U. have conducted this campaign and even threatened strike action, because it also affects their own positions. Yet when the workers come out on strike to better their working conditions they are invariably on the side of the bosses, withholding strike funds and sabotaging the struggle.

Closed Shop and the "Independent" Unions

While the process of demanding a closed shop gathers speed from municipal employees to railway shopmen, miners and engineers, the executives of breakaway Unions have launched a campaign to combat this measure, in fear of its extension, and have recently formed the Federation of Independent T.U.'s which is not affiliated to the T.U.C.

Bureaucracy the Cause

perate a "closed shop". While we condemn this action of It is noteworthy here to add that independent T.U.s, we must look to the C.P. has no criticism whatso-ever of the T.G.W.U. E.C. because two of its members play a leading role in that Union. Papworth is on the E.C. and Henderson has to the E.C. and Henderson has backeying to the employers by the Deakins and Donovans, seek to put an end to this by tearing up their cards and forming fresh Unions, which is a completely wromethod of tackling the problem.

The correct method for worker who realise the role of the official eadership of the T.U. movement, is for them to stay in the official Unions and constantly and patiently explain to the vast numbers of rank and filers, that if the T.U. movement is to go forward, they must throw out and remove all paid executives who are not conducting a real fight against the employers, and in their place elect shop stewards and workers from the factory floor, who under-stand just what the genuine aspirations of the workers they represent are.

It is the duty of workers in these breakaway Unions to resume their place in the official movement in order to strengthen the ranks of the working class organisations: to attend the Branches and advocate In view of the dire necessity for working class unity, it is impermissible for workers to support such a move, as it only strengthens the employing class, but weakens and splits the workers' ranks.

attend the Branches and advocate and demand that no official be paid more than a skilled workman's wage; that they be elected by ballot for a period of three years, with the right of recall in the hands of those who elect them.

Witton James Strike Ends

As a result of the sell out. of the Union leaders concerned, the Witton James strikers went back to work a couple of weeks ago after being out for three months. They returned on condition that negotiations be started immediately.

These took place at the Ministry of Labour. The employers offered to give the dismissed girl a job in the office if she applied for it through the Labour Exchange, but they refused to recognise the right of the show stewards to provide the of the shop stewards to negotiate on redundancy questions. When on redundancy questions. When the final offer was made by the management, the six representa-tives of the Witton James workers turned it down, but the three organisers of the unions, Berridge of the A.E.U., Benson of the P.T.U. and Curtis of the Transport and General Workers Union accepted it over their heads. over their heads.

After this sell-out Brother Aplin, the convenor, refused to go back in the Conference room. As a result of this refusal the District Committee are threatening to withdraw is credentials.

700 Branches Supported Strike

The strike failed because of the sabotage of the Union leadership, not for any lack of militancy on the part of the strikers or support from the rank and file. This is shown by the fact that over 700 A.E.U. branches supported the strike, and £2,000 was contributed to strike funds by collections in factories and union branches.

Members of the strike committee have expressed appreciation of the reports of the strike in "Socialist Appeal' and of a leaflet supporting the strike which was issued by the North West London branch of the Rayalytionays. Companies. Revolutionary Communist Party, and distributed to a number of factories in Hendon.

Lessons of the Strike

Four of the strikers went back to work before the general decision to return was taken, these four have been expelled from the union by their branch.

Three of the workers have torn up their union cards out of disgust for the sell-out of the leadership. As the struggle against the employers sharpens these break-away tendencies will grow. The only way to combat them is to fight for a more militant leadership.

The A.E.U. members in North Loudon have an important job which must be carried out as soon as possible, that is to clean up their

which must be carried out as soon as possible, that is to clean up their own District Committee. Those people on the District Committee and in the factories and branches who slandered the strikers and tried to undermine support for them, are anti-working class elements, in spite of Left speeches they may make about wages or the they may make about wages or the Government's foreign policy. They should be thrown out of all positions where they can do harm to the interests of their fellow mem-bers. Militants who have shown their loyalty in deeds as well as in words must be put in their place.

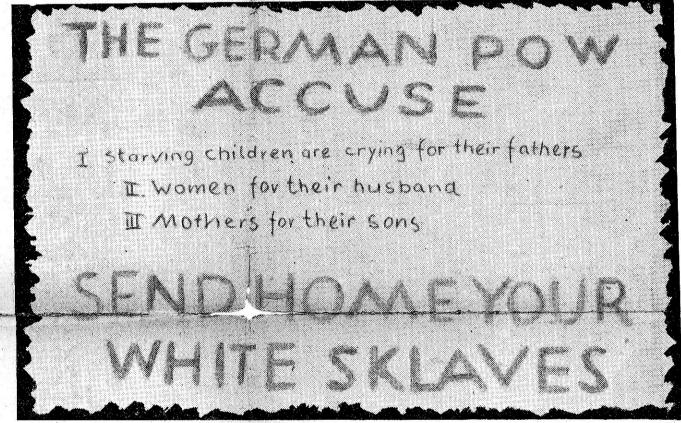
(Continued from previous Column.) At the same time the rank and file of the T.G.W.U. must oppose all recriminations against N.P.W.U. workers who are prepared to assist in solving this problem. The im-position of heavy fines for re-entry can do nothing but prolong the struggle, and even if such fines are paid they can be a source of "bad decling" in the future and thus an obstacle to that solid unity in action which is the real aim. Such a unity can be forged for united action against the employers, and united struggle against all "misleaders" and reactionary officials.

Correct Approach to N.P.W.U. Workers

It must be recognised that some the best fighters among the of the best fighters among the businen, embittered at the repeated betrayals of the T. & G.W.U. officialdom have gone over to the breakaway union. The method of the T. & G.W.U. leadership in solving this problem is entirely reactionary. They wish to bludgeon the N.P.W.U. members back to the union only in order to winforce. union only in order to reinforce their stranglehold over the rank and file. The statements of the Union leaders that this will help them in restoring "discipline" and prevent unofficial strikes in order to assist in the smooth running of transport—a condition demanded by the L.P.T.B.—has sinister im-plications. It indicates that the Union leaders refuse to acknow-ledge their responsibility for the break-away and only wish to utilise the desire for unity for their own

Their solution can only further embitter the members of the break-away and keep the rank and file at loggerheads. This will play into at loggerheads. This will play into the hands of the Transport Board and of the Union bureaucrats. The best method of integrating the dissidents into the union is by proposing that all time spent in the N.P.W.U. should count as membership of the T. & G.W.U., all dues and benefits on the same basis, etc. restoring harmony as well as unity within the ranks. Any other policy

men have a common interest and a common responsibility to the working class movement as a whole:



A GERMAN P.O.W. LEAFLET FOUND IN OXFORDSHIRE

A feeling of disillusionment and anger at the British "Socialist" Government is growing in the German P.o.W. Camps. Leaflets similar to the one reproduced above are being distributed in various parts of the country. A resolution of solidarity with the imprisoned German worker-soldiers was passed with acclamation at the Conference of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International

R.C.P. RESOLUTION

This Annual Conference of the R.C.P.. meeting in session on Sept. 7th, 8th and 9th, 1946, expresses its sympathy and class solidarity with the hundreds of thousands of German working men who are prisoners of war in Great Britain or under the control of the British Government and its allies in other parts of the World. Conference declares that the forced im-

prisonment, confinement and maintenance of these soldier workers who are being used for the purposes of slave labour is contrary

to the principles of Socialism, which the Labour Government claims to embrace, and even to the principles of liberal capitalist democracy, and casts a dark shadow over the organised Labour and Trade Union

Conference condemns the Labour Government for its continued imprisonment of these soldier workers. It calls upon the organised Labour movement to remember the spirit of ımpregnated organised working class movement in the past and to protest against the continuation of this monstrous violation of socialist and democratic principles by a Government which claims to represent organised Labour.

Conference declares that the organised working class must demand the right to immediate and unconditional repatriation of the prisoners in the hands of the British Government to whatever part of Germany they wish to be repatriated; meanwhile all German worker-prisoners participating in productive employment must be paid trade union wages for the job.

Conference demands that the present Government policy of using ex-Nazi officers to discipline radical and left-wing German soldiers be ended and that the German prisoners be allowed to set up their own organisations of democracy and discipline.

Conference demands that the policy of segregating the German prisoners from the British population and the chauvinanist enforced by the Government must be ended, and the German and British workers be allowed to fraternise together in all aspects

Conference further declares its opinion that all sections of the British working class must seek the widest possible contact with the German prisoners through the local and district organisations, with the object of fraternisation to help the German workers to re-esablish socialist ideas and forms of organisation and to combat reactionary Nazi and nationalist propaganda and influences.

Hose Pipes and Tear Gas Against Jewish Refugees

Dear Comrade, the docks. We nad to transfer some illegal Jewish emigrants, from their own boats to a large cargo vessel that had been barb-wired off

for the purpose. Terrible Suffering

The Jews were in a very bad way; they were all dirty and ill clad, most of them were sick and of the women were pregnant. Our boys had to carry some of them off the boat.

The Jews arrived in very small vessels, ridiculously overcrowded; it was amazing to us how they managed such a voyage in such a cramped position. Their suffering whilst at sea, what with all the disease and sickness, must have been terrible. I heard it said and I can well believe it, that a Naval decrease remarked are of the Javille was perfectly correct. The country was perfectly correct. The country was profited at the says Fatestine will become the says Fatestine will become a "blood trap" for the Jews. He was perfectly correct. The country was profited at the says Fatestine will become a "blood trap" for the Jews. He was perfectly correct. The country was profited as "blood trap" for the Jews. He was perfectly correct. The country was profited as "blood trap" for the Jews. He was perfectly correct. The country was perfectly correct. destroyer rammed one of the Jewish carry on in the way they are going vessels. I don't know for certain if this is true, but the men who told me were veracious enough. Anything like that is easy to the British."

FIGHTING FUND

Despite our appeal not to let the

holidays cut across the Fund, this, unfortunately happened. We fell nearly £30 short of our monthly

August has been one of our

worst months, financially, for a long time. Bills have been piling up whilst we have been waiting for

money to cover them which never arrived. Instead of a holiday.

Comrades! Sympathisers! We

we've had a constant headache!

Comrades !

Help YOUR Paper!

Hose Pipes and Tear Gas

The last batch of emigrants re-"... Yesterday we were out on fused to give way, when ordered the docks. We had to transfer to board the prison ships; hose before they succumbed. If the destroyer rammed the Jewish boat it would have been to frighten and intimidate the passengers, so that they would cause no trouble later The method the Government have adopted towards this emigrant

situation is absolutely ruthless. "Blood Trap"

I have been reading Trotsky's article on the Jewish question; in which he says Palestine will become a "blood trap" for the Jews. He

FOR THE CLOSED

SAPPER clauses of the Trades Dis- Workers Union. putes Act made a "closed shop" in a public service undertaking illegal. Now that the Act has been repealed the London Transport Origin Of The Break-Away Workers are taking steps to "close" the L.P.T.B.—a move

As the E.W.O. is now lifted there will be no legal compulsion on the part of the Transport Board to employ these men. Then, unless the L.P.T.B. sacks them, thus conceding the closed shop to the T.G.W.U., or the men concerned join the T.G.W.U., the Transport workers will be faced with the question of joint action over the whole of London or a retreat.

Unity The Real Issue

The basic issue however, is not only anomolous position created by the workers at large.

One of the lesser known, | breakaway from the T.G.W.U. of a | disunity but nevertheless reactionary, to found the National Passenger

The working class as a whole will welcome a solution of this nine year old problem and will support

Nevertheless the problem of the "close" the L.P.T.B.—a move that will be welcomed by the working class movement the 1937 bus strike. So keen was working class movement the 1937 bus strike. So account the feeling among the London Busmen that their Executive officials As a first step, the workers in several depots notified the L.P.T.B. that they will refuse to work with anyone not members of their Union—the T.G.W.U.

As the E.W.O. is now lifted easier path of organising a new "Busmen's Union". With the assistance of W. J. Brown, then Secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association, and at present "Independent" M.P. for Rugby, "Independent" M.P. for Rugby, the National Passenger Workers Union was founded.

The Break-Away Solved Nothing

During the nine years of its existence it has not, as its sponsors the simple one of forcing a few optimistically forecast, replaced the "nobbies" to join the Union. The real issue is to unify the Transport workers, and bring to an end the

among the Workers has not only failed to solve a single one of the problems solve a single one of the problems that brought it into existence, but has, on the contrary, only added another problem which must be tackled before the others—how to be true the Transport workers and bring an end to what can at best, be called a very costly experiment.

In this university a plintopie of the T.G.W.U. as the dominant Union, carry the larger measure of responsibility. To run the N.P.W.U. out of a few depots, whilst leaving it organisationally intact would be no solution at all.

It is necessary to convince the experiment.

It has no separate militant programme around which it could organise the bus and tram workers. Its points of difference have been largely of negative criticism of the T.G.W.U.—that it is bureaucratic,

Reactionary Arguments

Under these circumstances the leadership of the N.P.W.U. has now developed a vested interest in independence", and in order to justify their separate existence now attack the principle of the closed attack the principle of the closed shop as a manifestation of Fascism, and as an attack on the "Freedom of the individual". This has always been the argument of the bosses. Now it is trotted out by Frank Snelling as the National Organiser of the N.P.W.U.

Frank Snelling's nine years of "independence" allegedly fighting against the misleaders of the work-class movement has finally landed

class movement has finally landed him in—the camp of the misleaders.

For A United Front **Against The Bureaucrats**

Transport | a definite interest in unifying their ranks on a principled basis.

In this drive for a principled unification the rank and file of the

It is necessary to convince the rank and file of the N.P.W.U. that

there is no justification either in there is no justification either in theory or practice for two Unions; that the 'breakaway' was a mistake from the start; that it destroyed unity against the main enemy—the employer; that it resulted in the energies of the best militants being used in a slanging match and getting nowhere instead match and getting nowhere, instead of using these energies in building a strong and united rank and file a strong and united rank and file that could control the officials of the T.G.W.U. and ensure their functioning in the interests of the members; that because of the "breakaway", not only has the position of the Transport Board been strengtened in relation to the workers, but the very tendencies workers, but the very tendencies ship of the T. & G.W.U., all dues toward bureaucracy inside the and benefits on the same basis, etc. T.G.W.U. that they were criticising Such a policy would assist in have also been strengthened.

Whatever criticisms they have to was of the nolicy and organisation of the T.G.W.U. must be allowed full and frank airing. The T. & G.W.U. rank and file must

The third the rank. Any other pointy, would give the appearance of unity, would give the appearance of unity, would give the appearance of unity, and the tank. Any other pointy, would give the appearance of unity, and the tank. Any other pointy, would give the appearance of unity, and the tank. Any other pointy, and the tank and tank and the tank and the tank and the tank and the tank and offer them a united front against any reactionary officials who flout

the interests of the membership. The rank and file however, have (Continued in next Column.)

In this the London bus and tram-

Total for August

make an appeal to you not to let the Fund Down in September. To the guilty branches who are missing from the list we make a special appeal to make an extra effort to try and overcome the August deficit as well as clear the August denert as well as clear the September target. It can be done. It will be done, if we all put our backs into it. Let's go all out to raise £150 for September. Send all monies to: HAROLD ATKINSON, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

South-East London -Thames Valley · Sympathiser Eastbourne Edinburgh Another Sympathiser 20 Sgt. BAOR Coventry Glasgow Nottingham 16 SEAC Forces Newcastle-on-Tyne 10

- £90 4 0

PERSPECTIVES IN BRITAIN AND ORIENTATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY

Resolution Adopted at the 1946 Conference of the R.C.P.

R.C.P. CONFERENCE

The result of the Second World War was a veritable disaster for the British imperialists. In Europe, having significance of the treaties Britain defeated the Frankenstein which they helped to create in the shape of Nazi imperial-consciousness and a ferment on the ism, the British capitalists are faced with an even greater menace in the domination of half Europe by the must make concessions to the colonies. Soviet Union. The immediate cause of Britain's Britain have lost all zest for the Soviet Union. The immedeclaration of war on Germany was to prevent her domination of the Balkans

Britain nave lost all zest for the glories of Empire and could not be relied on in a long and protracted struggle against the uprisings of the colonial peoples. and Eastern Europe—which could only be a stepping stone to the Empire. Now, not trade and to make Britain absoonly in this region, but in the Middle East and Asia, Britain Britain's economy is not strong enough to make Britain absolutely dependent upon her. is faced with a refurbished version of her nineteenth century nightmare— a
Balkans dominated by Russia
with control of the Middle
East and India at her mercy.
She is today faced with a She is today faced with a power, not only stronger than Tories of the policy of the Labour Czarism, but, an even greater threat than either the Government is dictated by their recognition of the real changes in world relations. Thus, by concessions Kaiser's Germany or Hitler's Third Reich. A power, which, because of its revolutionary traditions and an traditions are sent declarations. Thus, by contents world relations. Thus, by contents we world relations we world relations. Thus, by contents we world relations we world relations we world relations. Thus, by contents we world relations we will be also we will be a supplied to the process of empire distinctions we world relations we world rela

appeal to the Asiatic peoples DOCUMENTS, 1946. oppressed by British imperial-

Britain is compelled for this

The tame acceptance by the economy based on state ownership of the means of production has a social roward only to further disturble ances and decline. Insofar as it continues to exist, it will do so largely by the gracious consent of Wall Street.

The desperation of British imperialism compels the introduction of new capital equipment into the coal mines and steel industry. Rationalisation and streamlining of cotton and other industries is being pressed as a measure of survival. The housing shortage and the destruction in the blitz creates a boom in the building industry. The fusion of finance capital and the State inevitably results in increasing measures of regulation, and of "planning". The tendency towards State capitalism and State Long-Term

Economic Perspective

The economic basis of this process was long ago analysed and foreseen by Marxism. Briton's acquisition of wealth and power and her domination of half the world, with the result that her domination of half the world was gained at the period of the rise of capitalism and at a time when there were no real challengers in the race a boom in the building industry. The fusion of finance capital and the State inevitably results in increasing measures of regulation, a boom in the building industry. The fusion of finance capital and the State capitalism and State capitalism and State capitalism and State capitalism and at a time when there were no real challengers in the race a sum of the standard of interest the destruction in-the blitz created a boom in the building industry. The fusion of finance capital and the State capitalism and of "blanning". The tendency results in increasing measures of regulation, and of "blanning". The tendency results in increasing measures of regulation, and the very existence of British increasing measures of regulation, and the State capitalism and of the destruction in-the bilitz created a huge loan. This will tide Britain over the next few years. Even without it, ber export rate a huge on. This will tide Britain over the next few years. Even without it, ber export rate a huge loan. This will tide Investment a hard of "blanning". The tendency results in increasing measures of regulation, the capital and of "blanning". The tendency results in increasing measures of regulation, and the very days days deviced a huge point has improved with amazing praidity. The export rate a huge laun. This with time appoint in the destruction in the biliz created a huge loan. This will tide Britain over the next few years. Even with

experienced in the whole of her history.

The inevitable crisis, however,

will not be immediate. It will be delayed for a time. The orientation and strategy of the Revolutionary Communist Party is firmly based on the long-term perspective of crisis and decline; but its eyes are

developed on a slower tempo and the decisive clashes have not yet taken place. Consequently political trends have developed in a some-what different fashion from what what different fashion from what we expected. Because of the cir-cumstances outlined above, the crisis in fact, will have a more drawn out and delayed character.

The long term prespective remains that of crisis and collapse for the Labour Government. But unthe Labour Government. But un-less we correct our previous analysis and prognosis, the Party will be disoriented in the coming period. While a series of minor and even important crises are in-evitable, these political crises will not be of such a fundamental character as to shake the Labour Party from top to bottom, or pose the question of the downfall of the Labour Government because of the movement of the masses in a revomovement of the masses in a revointionary direction in the next immediate period. Consequently there cannot and will not be a speedy polarisation within the Labour Party.

That the masses—especially the advanced elements—are critical of the Labour Government is undoubted. But they are tolerant doubted. But they are tolerant and are prepared to extend a large credit of time to the Labour Government. The British masses are traditionally slow to change. Only big events will cause them to break with reformism. The masses feel keenly the burden of food shortages and rationing, the vagaries of the Black Market, etc., and they are well aware that the bourgeoisie are still doing quite well under the Labour Government. But they largely accept the argu-But they largely accept the argument of the Labour leaders that these conditions cannot immediately be alleviated because of the in-

Despite new restrictions which cause grumblings and a certain ex-asperation with the Labour Government, these are not sufficient to provoke a real movement of revolt against the Labour leadership. Meanwhile, the acute shortages can only be temporary. Conditions will undoubtedly improve over what they have been in the war years. prove over what they have been in the war years. Already, clothing, household utensils, other con-sumers' goods are appearing on the market in increasing quantities. This process will be accelerated in the next few years. Notwith-standing the decrease of wartime earnings, the conditions of the British working class remain on a British working class remain on a

are being taken by the Labour point of civil war, or the outbreak Government. We are in a classic of revolution in India, could speed period of reformist illusions—a the process in Britain.

political crisis in the country. On reformist government coming to the international and national power at a period of economic arena, the class struggle has boom. Small reforms and semireforms tend to lull the masses with the perspective of a slow but steady improvement in their conditions.
In 1929, the Labour Government

operated in a period of slump and could not carry out anything of its declared programme, but on the contrary was forced to initiate counter-reforms on the pretext that it was not in a majority. Today, the Labour Government rides in power at the crest of a tremendous wave of radicalisation seldom seen in British history; when the bour-geoisie lack confidence in their own future. The Labour Government, with the agreement of sections of the capitalist class, is proceeding, to nationalise coal and other indus-tries for the purpose of modernising and preserving the structure of British capitalism. It is actually carrying out in part, its declared election programme. In the eyes of the masses, this reconciles them to sacrifices because they have illu-sions in the "theory" of a gradual and painless transition to socialism.

The fact that the illusion of "full employment" can be maintained in the present period of boom; that, apart from the nationalisation measures other re-forms and semi-reforms have been introduced by the Labour Govern-ment—National Health Bill, Old Age Pensions, the Housing Plan, abolition of the Trade Disputes Act— these have served to assure the masses that the Government is making a serious effort to do the job for which it was elected.

The policy in Greece and Indo-esia aroused trepidation and misgivings among the workers. But the weakness of British imperialism which dictates concessions to the colonial bourgeoisie in heritance of the war and its Egypt and India, enables the aftermath.

Egypt and India, enables the Labour leaders to cover their reactionary policy as though it was a genuine liberation of these peoples and a blow against im-

perialism. This is especially the case, since the Tories have in words, greeted with criticism and dismay this "liquidation of the Empire" Because mass unemployment will only begin towards the end of Labour's term in office, and be-

cause of all the other factors referred to above, it is quite likely that not only will the Labour Government see through its term of office, but that we may see a second Labour Government.

The most likely course of events, therefore, would appear to be a slow tempo of development. But bearable level.

The undoubted economic boom masks the fact that no fundamental measures against capitalism class struggle in France to the

real challengers in the race for world supremacy. Her advantages, as Trotsky has shown in his book "Where Is Britain Going", have become her disadvantages. Her technique fell behind that of Germany and the United States. Because of her incapacity to compete, the British capitalist class—

Shown in his book "Where Is Britain Going", have become her disadvantages. Her technique fell behind that of Germany and the United States. Because of her incapacity to compete, the British capitalist class—

Shown in his book "Where Is Mazis. The character of British world trade has charaged. Her privileged economic position which capitalist class and lack of capitalist class and lack of capitalist class and lack of the world slump. On mature without a crisis. At the ruling class, through the Tory Party, prepares to bide its time, and, whilst utilising every opportunity to discredit the flat of the world slump. On mature without a crisis. At the training class, through the Tory Party, prepares to bide its time, and, whilst utilising every opportunity to discredit the flat of the world slump. On mature without a crisis. At the Tory Party, prepares to bide its time, and, whilst utilising every opportunity to discredit the flat of the crisis, to precipitate its down-flat and prepare the victory of the Labour leaders, it relies upon them to carry the burdens of imperialism. Both at home and abroad, in the present relationship of forces, it is more suitable to entirely different to that of 1929-31. capacity to compete, the British capitalist class—above all the monopolists—deliberately sabotaged the development of technique hoping to entrench themselves, like the Empire of France, on their huge resources and their own back-integrated and the sources and their own back-integrated in the General Election. White the reconomy is expressed in the trialisation. White the fact that today she has not sufficient coal for her own needs. The conomic situation today is expressed in the "Times", organ of the sufficient coal for her own needs. The bourgeoisie does not wish to have Labour leaders do the dirty work of capitalism. At this stage they have no intention of disturbting the present relationship of forces, it is more suitable to have Labour leaders do the disturbting the political sum asses. This is reflected in solution today is the bourgeoisie does not wish to have Labour leaders do the disturbting the present relationship of forces, it is more suitable to have Labour leaders do the disturbting the bourgeoisie does not wish to disturb the present relationship of forces, it is more suitable to have Labour leaders do the disturbting the bourgeoisie does not wish to disturb the present relationship of forces, it is more suitable to have Labour leaders do the disturbting the bourgeoisie does not wish to disturb the present relationship of forces, it is more suitable to have Labour leaders do the disturbting the bourgeoisie does not wish to disturbting the present relationship of six problems. The bourgeoisie does not wish to disturb the present relationship of the bourgeoisie does not wish to disturb the present relationship of the bourgeoisie does not wish to disturb the present relationship of the bourgeoisie does not wish to have Labour leaders do the direction. The bourgeoisie does not wish to disturb the present relationship of the problems and the problems and the committ sources and their own back-change in the industrial structure wardness. Basing themselves on a semi- closed-in system of the sterling bloc, with assured markets, British of the world market, no longer able capitalism had no incentive to to protect herself on the basis of begin a large scale rational-tition, above all from America, could only lead to increased production without the possibility of finding increased isation of industry, which Britain is compelled to abandon markets.

This privileged position has been lost for ever by the war. The vampire economy of Britain, which, through her investments abroad, extracted tribute from her Empire and semi-colonies and spheres influence, has been undermined

In the long run this makes

to enter into competition against American production:

However, all these measures of British capitalism will be in vain. It is too late to catch up with the collossus across the Atlantic. Senile British capitalism cannot rejuvenate itself and capture new positions in a world market—which is shrinking in relation to world productivity. The long-term outthrough the loss of foreign investments through the war. The unfavourable balance of trade, which was formerly a weapon in the of certain catastrophe.

Politics of the Capitalist Class

of the Churchill mascot, and accept these under the Tories. to frighten the more back- no need for the fascist bands, even ward workers and the petty as an auxiliary weapon to disci-pline the proletariat. Nor, it must bourgeoisie with the spectre be added, could they immediately succeed in forming such bands. of a Gestapo-like dictatorship

But moods within the Tory, rerepresentation of the Right wing of the under the Labour Party. But the change in the psychology even for the petit bourgeoisie.

However, the result of the election indicates that capitalism still tion indicates that capitalism still has many heavy reserves in the backward sections of the population, who still live in the past. The Tories and Liberals together received a vote equal to that of the combined working class parties. It was the peculiar electoral system of Britain which gave the tremendous majority at the polls to the Labour Party. Nevertheless, 12 million votes for the Labour Party is a sign of the tremendous radicalmillion votes for the Labour Farty is a sign of the tremendous radicalisation that has taken place.

The Tories are seeking to gain agreement for the defeat of the Labour Government. But such an agreement and such a defeat is not in the start, having come to power at this is the perspective of the future.

Tory Party indicate the possibilities, at a later stage, of a swing towards the formation of Royalist-dictatorial or fascist movements.

The Liberal section of the capitalist class tends, at this stage, to leave towards the Labour to lean towards the Labour Government and to support the reforms or semi-reforms which it is introducing. But the Liberals, already a dwindling and vanishing force, have only a perspective of further decline.

The Labour Government

inevitable slump, when they will use the crisis against the Labour Party and the working class. How-ever, they dread the possibilities latent in such a situation. A collapse of the Labour Government, even though a section of the petty bourgeoisie and backward workers might be temporarily stampeded to the Right, would prepare the advanced workers for a sharp swing Left and thus polarise the two camps, bourgeoisie and proletariat. In addition to which, such a victory would have different consequences to that of 1931, which, in the background of a temporary upswing of British capitalism, led to a comparative tranquility of class relations up to the period just prior to the war. Far from tranof course, in the event of a serious crisis, all the forces of the bourgeoisie will gather together, with a big section of the Labour M.P.s.—a majority of whom are petty bourgeois, even bourgeois in origins and outlook—to try and refurbish a new version of the potagonal government.

Swing to the Right in the Labour Party

stances has resulted in a deep It was not mainly because of the entirely different to that of 1929-31. Political lull among the The bourgeoisie does not wish to masses. This is reflected in official against C.P. masses. This is reflected in affiliation took place, although this

> The Left wing leadership has fused with the Right wing, the most prominent leaders taken into the Cabinet and given government posts. Even the incipient Left posts. wing has been dispersed at this stage. The "Victory for Socialism" group has collapsed. The circulation of left Labour publications such as "Tribune" and 'Forward" has sharply declined There is much less political life in the Labour Parties than before the war. This is the general tendence while there are exceptions mainly This is the general tendency

in the rural areas. Until the economic situation changes and a Left wing with prominent Labour figures develops inside the Labour Party, the general tendency will be for political life in the Labour Party not to increase but to remain

at a low level.

This is the honeymoon period for the Labour bureaucracy. A symptom of the processes within the the Labour bureaucracy. A symptom of the processes within the Labour Party was the overwhelming defeat of the Stalinist application for affiliation, largely

The conjunction of circum- on the grounds that it stood for "red revolution and communism. undoubtedly assisted the Labour leaders; it was because of the reanti-capitalist movement among political swing to the right. actionary campaign of the Labour leaders against communism and the renewed illusions in reformism. Only a handful of Labour Party branches throughout the whole country supported affiliation resolu-

In our last Conference document,

"It is quite likely that the leaders of the Left wing such as Aneurin Bevan will go over directly to the side of the Right wing accepting posts in the wing, accepting posts in the Government. Thus the Left wing completely scattered and disorganised will get even less of a national expression in the immediate period ahead. However, events will lead to the crystallisation of a new Left wing in which sections of the newer and younger M.P.s in Parliament

will play a leading role."
Such a crystallisation is inevitable and will most likely take place at a time of political crisis of the whole regime which will come with the development of the economic

slump.
* Undoubtedly the anti-Russian campaign had a certain effect which was helped by Stalin's policy in the occupied areas.

Class Struggle on the Industrial Field

Party. But not immediately; not as a direct and automatic process. The most important industrial struggles for many years—the Dock struggles for many years—the Dock of the movement of the struggles and among the most taken place for a generation, (tindustrial struggles) and among the most

Meanwhile, the struggle internal life of the Labour Parties between the workers and the employers will largely take place on the industrial field. to come, and satisfied that nearly all have work, the economic boom These struggles will, in the long run, reflect themselves in the political field, inside the Labour provided field in the provided field fie plate workers), and among the most exploited sections (dairy workers), is an indication that hitherto, unaffected strata of the workers will (Continued on Back Page.)

Economic Perspective This long term perspective | We anticipated that British im-

Short-Term

of British imperialism is inforeseen in the documents of the Fourth International and the Conference documents of the R.C.P. However, a mistake in confuncture which Britain.

perialism would be faced with a crisis as soon as the war was disputable and has been long ended. However, the concatenation of circumstances has served to screen the disastrous results of the war for Britain: the huge markets created by the destruction of the war can be utilised, because of the temporary quiescence of the prole-tariat; what was an unfavourable relationship of forces has been turned into a temporarily favourwas made by the Party at its able one; Germany has, for the last Conference was the telescoping of the inevitable long-term crisis with the immediate perspective for Europe and the world need tre-mendous quantities of capital goods, above all, machinery.

Despite the difficulties at working class. We antici- and immediate. Political home and abroad, the Labour pated large scale battles on developments would have Party has attained power at the industrial field, with tre- been speeded up inside and a favourable period from the mendous pressure on the outside the Labour Party. standpoint of short-term per-Labour Government. Had It is necessary to make a correction in this short-term prognosis. spective. At our last Conference we anticipated that the coming to power of the Labour Government would precipitate tremendous struggles on the part of the spective. At our last Conference we anticipated that the conditions of industrial crisis and slump, the pressure of the workers for measures in their interests, would unstruggles on the part of the doubtedly have been insistent struggles for many reasonable and automatic process. As in the economic field, where the long-term perspectives were telescoped with the short-term prognosis. As in the economic field, where the long-term perspectives were telescoped with the short-term, so this was reflected in our political process. The most important industrial struggles for many reasonable long-term perspectives were telescoped with the short-term prognosis.

As in the economic field, where the long-term perspectives were telescoped with the short-term prognosis.

Strike, the most important industrial struggles for many reasonable str

SOCIALIST APPEAL, Mid-September, 1946.

WITHDRAWTHETROOPS FROM INDONESIA

wing nationalist publication of the Indonesian people. We do so because the article gives a splendid because the article gives a splendid cowardly and no less brave cowardly. because the article gives a splendid pen picture of the miserable capitulation of the arrogant Dutch Imperialists to the Japanese invaders. A cowardly capitulation which in colonial history, is parallelled only by that of the Reitish Imperialists in Burma and British Imperialists in Burma and

We publish the following article at the request of a British soldier in Indonesia and with the permission of the Editors of "The Voice of Free Indonesia", a Left wing nationalist publication of the

The latter part of the article is

of power. It is time these troops were withdrawn.

Dutch Betrayal of Indonesia

Eye Witness Report

nesia again, so let us cast our ing cards, drinking with them, and displaying friendship in general. minds back to four years ago and have a look at their cowardly behaviour then, when they were determined NOT to fight the Japanese.

Unparallelled Cowardice

tempt when they saw the once swaggering Dutch officers and N.C.O.s throwing away their uniforms in rice-fields and ditches as they ran, saw them hiding in kampongs and dress themselves in sarong's showing absolutely no more respect for their uniforms, the symbol of their country's honour, than they would for a piece of rag. Truck-load after truck-load of rag. Truck-load after truck-load of Dutch uniforms were collected from the rice-fields and stacked 20 feet high outside the former government buildings in Sourabaya. feet high outside the former government buildings in Sourabaya, for the display and for the amuse ment of the Japanese.

Gone With The Wind

It is difficult for anybody realise the feelings of utter help lessness that the Indonesian people felt, or realise the absolute loathing and contempt that they had for the Dutch, when they heard them screaming over the radio, their willingness to sur-render 3 or 4 days before the official capitulation, and to see Batavia, the seat and government stronghold of the Netherlands East Indies, fall to 30 Japanese on without a Dutchman

Three days before the Japanese landed in Bali, the Dutch Army had fled, and not a single shot was fired in the defence of Bali, even though the Dutch had spent thousands of gulders in building up and coastal defences, the only white men to be wounded being two American pilots, who were shot down by the Japanese.

Where were the Dutch airmen? They had gone with the wind In Bali I saw Dutch military captains, who were doctors in private life, hiding in air-raid shelters in Den Pasar during a Japanese raid on the port, 15 kilometres distant.

They were trembling with fear, had rubber stuck in their mouths, and cotton stuffed in their ears. Their duty was to be at the airport helping the wounded, not hiding in holes in the ground. But were there any Dutch airmen in those air raids? No. Many Indonesians however, went to their

Capitalists—Collaborators

Also, what about the conduct of the Dutch business men in Indonesia at the time of the capitulation to the Japanese? Was their conduct any better? No. It was a thousand times worse Can you imagine what the Indonesians thought, when they saw Dutch Tuans, who always treated them so condescendingly and as inferiors, now toady and bow to the Japanese? Well-known business men

LEST THEY FORGET | around the streets of Sourabaya and other towns in Indonesia with BY KETOET TANTRI

During this present struggle, we read about the determination of the Dutch to fight their way into Indo-

After the Japanese Capitulation

The scene now moves on to the capitulation of the Japanese.

The Indonesians declared themselves a Republic, and refused for I am among the Indonesian all time to be again dominated or ruled by the Dutch. They had lost people who will never forget the month of March 1942, a day when we witnessed to our horror the shameful and degrading conduct of the land shameful and degrading conduct of the Dutch armed forces, an army in complete disorder fleeing for their lives, unprincipled cowardly officers running from an enemy they formerly professed to disdain.

Imagine the thoughts of the people when they saw the great white Dutch Tuans, the former conquerors of Indonesia, fleeing the fact them with grim bitterness, conquerors of Indonesia, fleeing like chaff before the wind from the Japanese invaders who had not then fired a shot in Java or even made a landing. Imagine the Indonesian peoples' feelings of content when they when they were the statement of the Japanese, the Dutchmen came back, once again strutting around the streets as though they were conquering heroes with no thought of shame for their past conduct, and with no excuse.

The Dutch declared that the Indonesians were playing at "cowboys and Indians," and once again would have to be taught a lesson by their Dutch masters. The behaviour of the Dutch was nauseating to behold. They had all their former arrows and account their former arrogance and conceit, further claim on Indonesia, and that they had the Australians, and the Americans to thank for their lives and freedom. They had lost all rights to Indonesia at the time they fied from the country, instead of staying and fighting.

Under-estimating the Indonesians

The Dutch make one big mistake they insist on under-estimating the intelligence, the capabilities, and the courage of the Indonesians. Let us compare the Indonesians and the Dutch of to-day.

Although the Indonesian Republic is only 8 months old, it has not only been able to defend itself against the British, Indian, Dutch,



soldiers, but also and Japanese against spies and lying propaganda. That in itself shows the Indonesians not only to be a more courageous people than the Dutch, but also more capable in defending their country's interests. Against their country's interests. Against the Japanese, the Dutch could not defend Java for one week even though they had tanks, planes, artillery, etc., yet the Indonesians are still going strong with practically nothing other than FAITH and COURAGE, a weapon that the Dutch KNOW NOTHING of.

In defence of their rights, the Indonesians will fight to the last, not run away like the Dutch did

An Appeal

the British in Batavia, Sourabaya, and other Indonesian towns, I ask you this: Are you going to be instrumental in helping a lot of cowards, a decadent, unworthy, lot of Dutchmen to once again enter Indonesia in order to ploit them for their own selfish, greedy gains? Once the British Indonesians. They will finally run, just as they did from the Japanese. The Dutch are only here because the Australians, the Americans, and the British, won the war in the Pacific, they can only stay in the Pacific, they can only stay in Indonesia as long as the British remain, hiding behind the backs of the British and fighting bravely to the last Briton.

that may yet be lost, it is to be and not of socialism. hoped that the Dutch will realise that their reign in Indonesia is finished forever. The Indonesians will never become a dominion of Holland. It is to be hoped that the Dutch will sink what is left of their national pride, and with-draw peacefuly and gracefully. In-stead of shouting their threats to the world, that they intend to fight in Indonesia, they would be better advised to indulge in something a little more beneficial to their people. namely the production of BIGGER and BETTER 'CHEESE'

There will always be a Republic of Indonesia. There will never again be a Dutch East Indies!!

Free — Once Free — Forever Free . ! !

Labour Must Operate Its Mandate

movement to call upon the mass of the homeless in every part of the country to follow the initiative of the pioneer squatters to set up local and national tenants' committees to work in conjunction with the local housing committees, and, with the full backing of the George property, occupy all emnts private property, occupy all empty or semi-empty premises which are plan, financed by the state directer or semi-empty premises which are plan, financed by the state, directed switable for housing accommodation by the Building Trades Unions and and to allocate housing space.

The R.C.P. demands that the Government utilise the requisition-ing laws and extend them so that the actions of the squatters are made legal and their initiative

We protest against the instructions of the Minister of Health to cut off water, gas and electricity, and urge that the Trades Councils refuse to allow trade unionists to carry out this reactionary instruc-tion and to protect by all means any trade unionist who refuses to undertake such activity.

The R.C.P. calls upon all trade unionists and members of working The Conference extended their class organisations to enforce the appreciation and good wishes for a demands of the squatters, and to speedy running take whatever steps are necessary Carford.

(Continued from Front Page.) to protect them not only against the learn from the initiative of the landlords, but against the squatters. The Government must be forced by the organised Labour of the Government, if it insists on acting in the interests of the capitalists and landlords instead of the interests of the workers and homeless.

> Tenants Committees which will allocate the housing space, is necessary. The basis for this plan must be the nationalisation of the land and all large buildings. urge all sections of the working class to press the Labour Government to operate these demands.

An appeal to the delegates and isitors at our National Conference for expenses resulted in a collection of £35 18s. 9d. The generous offer of Comrade Arthur Carford, who was lying ill in hospital in Sheffield, to double the collection, brought the total to £71 17s. 6d. recovery to Comrade

British Perspectives (Continued from Front Page.) period when the Labour Govern- false political line of the C.P. win be to withdraw much of

be brought into the struggle. The strikes in cotton, engineering, ship- against the workers in strike building and other basic industries struggles. against victimisations of trade union militants, is an instinctive these strikes revolve around the growing hostility to the policy of issue of workers' control of hiring class collaboration and the crystaland firing, in which the workers express what will later be the tendency to workers' control of production.)

Strikes of a scope such as have On the other hand the Indonesian people must shed their illusion in the other, non-Dutch, imperialist gangsters. For they too will only be too ready to realize the Dutch. be too ready to replace the Dutch as masters of Indonesia, and live as parasites on the wealth created by the Indonesian workers.

The hatred of the Dutch capitalist imperialist oppressors must be tempered by an annual to them. Without concessions, the results are expecting great results and benefits from the nationalisation of the pits. They are demanding concessions: many will be given to them. Without concessions, the Malaya.

The splendid feeling of hatred for the imperialist oppressors runs through the body of the article.

On the other hand the hatred for the 'cowardice' of the Dutch exploiters is offset by illusions in the content of the cowardice' of the Dutch exploiters is offset by illusions in the content of the cowardice' of the Dutch exploiters is offset by illusions in the content of the naticle is addressed to the British troops who although they were conscripted to the hatred of the hatred of the Dutch hatred of the Dutch hatred of the Dutch working class to help in the coal fields, once the miners realise the fraud of the Dutch working class to help in the job of freeing the Indonesian workers.

The latter part of the article is addressed to the British troops who although they were conscripted to capitalist imperialist oppressors them. Without concessions, the ruling class and the Labour Government would be faced with a series of gigantic battles in the coal fields, once the miners realise the fraud of the putch hatred of the butch hatred of the butch hatred of the butch working class to help in the putch hatred of the butch hatred of the hatred of the hatred of the hatred of the putch hatred of the putch hatred of the putch hatred of the ha measures.

However, the slump will take away all the secondary reforms and improvements and entirely transform the character of the struggle. In the industrial struggles which will take place in the interim, the Labour Government will support the employers against the militant element of the working class. This will inevitably arouse a deep hosthe Labour Party was the mass

Meanwhile, the Trade Union apparatus will become further inpreparation in which the workers tegrated into the State apparatus are defending their organisations and organisations of Joint Produc-for the battles to come. (At the present stage, large numbers of lisation of an organised movement

of opposition. The Militant Workers Federation failed to strike roots and grow as a centre for Trade union opposition during the war and immediately following its conclusion, and it is now clear that the industrial opposition wil find a different

organisational experience.

The experience of the great Dock Strike and of the Building Trades movement indicates that the workers will throw up unofficial co-ordinating organisations for the purpose of directing their struggle against the employers and ever-coming the sabotage of the Union leaderships. The Party must con-stantly seek to integrate itself with hese co-ordinating bodies and to link them up on a regional and national scale. At the same time, the Party must seek, as it did in the past, to find the maximum expression, support and organisation, for these unofficial movements through the Trade Union organ-

isation as a whole. It is from the industrial field and the Trade Unions that the militant and growing class opposition will find its first important expression in opposition to the Labour Govern-Government. The task of cur alternative to the existing govern-ment power, it was inevitable that the workers should turn to the Labour Party a san organised mass political orientation. It is in the Tories; against the government of the day. But it is not easy to conceive of the growth of a new sympathisers) that the Revolutionmass orientation towards the Labour Party, or growing confidence in the Labour Party in a that opens up.

Nationalisation

sure of the working class, the socialism. The capitalist State. Labour leaders have gone further on the road of carrythe ruling class as a whole, not in ing through their election the interests of the working class.

The shareholders are to be richly programme than we antici- rewarded with lavish compensation, pated. Nationalisation of the although they brought the country mines is already accomindustries are to be run as State plished, steel, electricity, transport and fuel, sections of the besit sustry on which the economic structure of the running of these industries, and will thus find themselves in the country rests, are apparently same position as the Post Office dominate and suppress the Indonesian people and once again extended to be nationalised. However, workers have been for the past the method and form in which the method and form in which generations. withdraw from Indonesia, taking with them their Indian troops, you can rest assured that the Dutch will present no problem to the a compromise with the bourgeoisie as a whole, and is that from top to bottom, they carried out in agreement with by committees elected by the important sections of the workers, to which technical experts bourgeoisie. The nationalisa- would be attached. tion of the Bank of England partial and reformist character of

All these steps show the increasing tendency towards the fusion of finance capital with the the most serious representatives of the capitalist class, reflected in the "Times" and the 'Economist" are supporting the nationalisation of those industries that have become a drag on British economy as

These serious representatives of the ruling class are willing to accept the taking over of those industries by the State—even with Labour in Power—as the best method of bringing about the necessary measures of nationalisation and placing the burdens on the shoulders of the masses. By the shoulders of the masses. By means of State rationalisation they industry and the country. The capitalists are becoming reconciled to the terms of compensation of their system, suggestions of such measures would have been greeted with savage opposition.

Under the influence of the impasse of British imperialism, and the powerful pressure of the working class, the to the edge of economic ruin. The

While consistently exposing the

he British and fighting bravely to he last Briton.

In the interest of the many lives measures of state capitalism partial and reformist character of the policy of the Labour Government, and advocating the revolutionary programme, we defend even these partial measures against any attempt of the Tories to return to individual capitalist ownership. measures. Our propaganda must stress that half-and-half measures the working class, and dlusions created by the Labour leaders will lead the workers to disaster.

advantage of the enormous potendestroying capitalism and taking over finance and all big industry

hope to gain efficient and cheap coal, electricity, steel, fuel and transport, in order more effectively to compete on the world market.

The measures taken by the Labour Government will temportarily assist in the alleviation of the capitalist crisis; but it cannot The measures taken by the arily assist in the alleviation of the trade unions and induscapitalist crisis; but it cannot solve it. In the inevitable economic crisis which the continued existence to protect them not only against the the landlords, but against the action of the Government, if it of the capitalists on acting in the interests of the capitalists and landlords and landlords of the capitalists and landlords of the capitalist class in its sections of the masses. Large British capitalism; the lack of confidence of the capitalist class in its future; its weakness in face of the working class; its desperation to capitalist class will be pushed onto the road of fascism. This debacle the road of fascism. This debacle the road of fascism will however, inevitable and increase them in the of reformism, will however, inevitably prepare the way for the revolutionisation of the masses, as in the days of their Chartist fove-

Stalinism in the Coming Period

Unlike its brother parties fluential industrial and polion the Continent of Europe, tical militants in the years the British Stalinist Party before the war and in the failed to secure the leader- period of anti-war activity. ship of the majority or even The result was an influential a considerable proportion of penetration of some of the the working class. The most important trade unions workers clung to their tradi- in the country. This was an tional mass organisation, the important capital, an accumu-Labour Party. Nevertheless, lation from years of self-

it did secure the leadership of sacrificing activity by these the most courageous and in-militants, gained despite the

leadership.

and without discussion, the strike-breaking activity of the Party during the latter part of the war, and especially since its end, have served to disillusion the best and most critical elements of the Party. For the first time a bridge exists from the Trotskyist Party to these

militants.

Our theoretical criticism of Stalinism in the plane of international politics had not succeeded course of their own experiences—the effects of the strike-breaking comprehend the fruits of "Socialism in one country." For the first time, serious fissures opened up within the British Communist within the British Communist radeship with the rank and file of the Party. A continuation of the open class-collaborationist line would have led to splits and significant resignations. Only the lack of a mass base in our own Party rendered it possible for the leader-ship of the C.P. to prevent a serious split.

A new turn on the part of the value of the rank and file of the Communist Party, and create the us to counterpose our policy to that of the Stalinists.

Disillusionment with the policy for the Labour Government will inevitably lead to a turn towards communist sentiments among the

A new turn on the part of the Communist Party, however, a turn which appears to be definitely to the left, but which depends upon the agreements between Molotov and Bevin for its further evolution, will halt that process for the time being and cement these critical elements to the Communist Party

again. The Communist Party was shaken from top to bottom as a result of the General Election. The elements, already opposition to the pro-Churchill line, were disgusted by the general election policy which argued the impossibility of a Labour victory without the support of the "progressive" Tories and Liberals.

The results of the election demoralised them. Many of the petty bourgeois and most backward sections who approved of the line of class collaboration, tended to drift towards the Labour Party or to inactivity. Many of the best ele-ments dapsed into apathy and left the Party. Nevertheless, the Stalinists recovered from the effects of this crisis because of their tremendous machine, their basis in the factories and unions, and the substantial section of militants who

A further set-back for the Stalinists was the overwhelming defeat they suffered not only in the factories, but in the unions on the question of affiliation to the Labour learning where the Executives the workers in the coming slump. Party. Even where the Executives supported affiliation (A.E.U., Mineworkers) when the issue was carried to the rank and file, it was

the method and form in which statisfication is being accomplished—compensation and workers' control—is character of a basic demand in the leadership with no alternative but

its present faction in the Labour Party, and The incredible switches of party capturing the industrial and trade policy which took place overnight, union movement of the workers in competition with the Labour Party. With such a policy they will undoubtedly constitute a tremendous obstacle in the way of the revolu-

tionary party.

Nevertheless this turn to the Left and participation in a militant struggle will bring about certain lifficulties for the leadership of the Communist Party. It will not be possible to separate their militants from the Trotskyists in the course in gaining a hearing among these of common action in the industrial workers in the past. It was in the field. The Trotskyists, moreover, have a consistent policy. Only they will seek to draw the necessary activities of their own Party, that class lessons from individual these worker Stalinists began to struggles, and push these struggles to their logical conclusions. Common action in the industrial field will fuse the Trotskyists in comradeship with the rank and file of

> communist sentiments among the working class. To prevent that revolutionary sentiment being dissipated by Stalinism, and to turn it into a real struggle for com-munism, is the task of the R.C.P. In spite of the set-backs which the Communist Party may experience in the immediate period ahead, at a time of crisis for the Labour Government the swing of large sections of the workers to the Communist Party as a temporary phase is inevitable. This could only be avoided by a swift and powerful growth of the revolutionary party which could offer any ary party which could offer an alternative.
>
> Trotsky explained that the pro-

cesses on the Continent of Europe reflect themselves in Britain, though with some delay. In the same way as the finest strata of the European working class (even in the traditionally reformist in the traditionally reformist countries) have swung to the Communist Parties, so we will see a like process in Britain. Mass un-employment in Britain, while a swift growth of the productive forces in the Soviet Union will be taking place simultaneously, cannot but influence the workers and precipitate an enormous swing towards the C.P. This is especially the still clung to the Party.

A further set-back for the Party with an overwhelming

dissipated among wide sections of the workers in the coming slump. This process will undoubtedly be assisted by the fact that the Stalinists pursue a quasi-oppositional role carried to the rank and file, it was overwhelmingly defeated. The A.E.U. Conference endorsed the decision of the Labour Party Condecision of the Labour Party Condecision of the Labour Government. To the extent that discontent with the Labour Government increases among the industrial workers, they will undoubtedly manipulate their decision of the Labour Farty of the Modeline of the development of a mass base. It is a fact of great significance that all the outstanding representthat all the outstanding represent-atives of finance capital evaluate

leadership with no alternative but to manoeuvre to give their policy as "left" a coloration as possible, while its content has remained the same.

The most likely course of the leadership with no alternative but the coming developments as being in this direction. Eden, Churchill, Quinton Hogg and others foresee with dread that this will be one of the results of the coming disillusionment in the Labour Government.

Tactics of the Patry

In evaluating the orientation adopted at the last Party Conference, it can be Party Conference, it can be seen that we anticipated a pproached and won to the banner of the R.C.P. The Communist Party assumes an important sphere individual capitanst ownersmp. But it would be a crime to create illusions among the workers as to the meaning of the State capitalist has taken place. On this basis we over-estimated the unions and factories where they are inadequate to meet the needs of the working class, and illusions created by the Labour leaders will error must be corrected, or it work, the Trotskyists are respected, and are known as a tendency by other sections. Even if the workers can have serious consequences are not prepared today to join the Trotskyist Party or fully accept its It is impossible to plan and take for the Party, causing a sense programme, the Trotskyists have tialities in modern production in of frustration among the the working class in Britain.

The interests of the masses, without cadres in face of a slower in the armed forces, which con-

> the propaganda field and in trial arena. In reaffirming the general conclusions of the last Conference, the Party underlines that the basic task of the next period must be the rurn towards mass propaganda work, the

or come into being.

the favourable opportunities to approach the members of the Communist Party, the best sections of political lull for the present period of period per munist Party, the best sections of whom are not hostile to us, and even treat the Trotskyists as a left communist tendency. Particularly valuable in this connection has been the campaign on the Nuremberg and Moscow Trials, which has caused grave doubts in the minds of the rank and file, and forced the Stalinist leadership to tone down, for the present, its character-It is incontrovertible that

favourable prospects open up in the communist milieu. Communist Collapse, and the great decisive struggles open out before us in Party militants, sympathisers, ex-members, and advanced workers Britain.

destroying capitalism and taking over finance and all big industry without compensation, and without the active and conscious intervention and democratic participation of the proletariat in the running of industry and the country.

The measures taken by the the properties of the proletariat, the troops and the country.

The measures taken by the the properties of the proletariat, the troops and and and the proletariat in the running of industry and the country.

The measures taken by the troops are sold and the properties of the proletariat, the troops and all big industry the properties of the most virile sections of the proletariat, the troops and all big industry the properties of the most virile sections of the proletariat, the troops are sold and the proletariat in the Labour movement. From this section of the youth we will all the properties of the proletariat, the troops are sold and the proletariat in the taken to take the properties of the most virile sections of the proletariat, the troops are sold and the proletariat in the taken to take the properties of the proletariat, the troops are sold and the proletariat in the running of industry and the country.

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The party has the proletariat in the running of industry and the country and the country and the proletariat in the running of industry and the country are sold and the proletariat in the running of the proletariat in the running of industry and the country and

The Party has the duty and the responsibility therefore, to patiently explain the policy of the Fourth International in the trade unions and to participate and lead as a Party wherever that is possible, the real struggles of the workers in the industrial field, seeking all the time to raise these struggles to a political level.

It has the responsibility to maintain the closest and widest contacts inside the Labour Party, especially where the youth are to be found. To increase the attention paid to the Labour Party, where experience teaches that this is necessary, and to try and organise and lead any Left wing that may or can be developed.

of political lull for the purpose of raising the theoretical level of the cadres, not only in economics, philosophy and the history of the class struggle, but especially in the Marxist science of perspectives.
Without illusions, firmly direct-

ing the day to day work of the Party on the basis of the above tactics, we can take serious steps to penetrate the best sections of town, for the present, its charactersation of the Trotskyists as fascists" and "agents of Hitler." which must be a sorious formulation of the must be a sorious formulation of the working class and build the Revolutionary Communist Party, which must be a sorious formulation. which must be a serious force when the illusions of the working class

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