

"Workers of All Lands Unite"

# SOCIALIST APPEAL



ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

VOL. 7. No. 7.

JUNE, 1945.

TWOPENCE

## WHITBURN PIT TO CLOSE

### Plenty of Coal—but No Profits

BY BILL DAVY

THE THREAT MADE IN DECEMBER LAST BY THE MINISTRY OF FUEL THAT IF THE MINERS OF WHITBURN COLLIERY, Co. DURHAM FAILED TO PRODUCE 8,000 TO 10,000 TONS OF COAL PER WEEK, THE PIT WOULD BE CLOSED DOWN, HAS BEEN CARRIED INTO EFFECT. ON JUNE 8th WHITBURN No. 1 PIT IS TO CLOSE DOWN.

On Sunday, 27th May, 700 miners, representing the Harton Group, met for three hours to discuss the position and passed the following resolution:

"We as a Federation Board hereby declare our apprehension that, in closing No. 1 pit, Bevin Boys and directed Labour are being returned to the exclusion of men who have worked at Marsden, all their lives, and we declare our opposition to such a policy.

"This board therefore asks for a conference between the D.M.A., the Federation Board, Mr. Hornsby (Coal Controller) and the owners, with a view to arriving at an agreement to maintain the employment of the men who are to be directed to other collieries."

The miners' Lodge secretary, J. Rowley, declared:

"We are determined to carry this fight to a conclusion and to harness all T.U. and political institutions in branch and county to prevent the transfer of men from Whitburn to other areas. We are going to Durham City tomorrow to meet the executive committee to persuade them to use the full power of our organisation to assist the workers of Whitburn and to prevent the dismissal of men from taking place on June 9th."

"The men are disgusted with the attitude of Hornsby and the owners in taking such action only 17 days after the end of the war in Europe

than work this at a decreased rate of profits, these bloodsuckers prefer to close the pit at the expense of the miners and concentrate on more profitable seams.

As we reported in the "Socialist Appeal" last December:

"There is a constant attempt by the management to introduce niggling economy measures such as saving on explosives, which throws extra work on to the fillers who have first to hew the large lumps before loading. These innumerable pin pricks have made the arduous work of the miners intolerable. The substitution of a double unit by a single unit conveyer belt, 200 yds. long, has proved to be the last straw.

"This new machine is constantly breaking down under the additional weight of coal and the additional strain on the inferior belting and accessories. Its installation has meant a revision of production methods. Everything depends on the maintenance of the "cycle of operations." The management claim that in order to get the output through the use of this machinery, that it is necessary for the workers to remain at work and make up for the time lost due to breakdowns, etc. This means that the full burden of inefficient and inferior machinery and an equally inefficient management is thrown on to the backs of the already overburdened workers

this fashion, but the long familiar spectre of idle pits will not be prevented from raising its head in a more chronic form in the near future.

Coal is still urgently needed, both in Europe and in Britain. But the coal owners are more intent on teaching the miners a "lesson" than in producing coal. Even at the height of military necessities the coal owners worked only the most profitable seams. Now that the pressure of military needs has been removed, they are preparing to viciously attack the conditions of the miners. Hardly has the last shot been fired in the European battlefield, before the coal owners advance to the attack upon the miners conditions. Whitburn is just the beginning.

(Continued on back page.)

# TORIES FORCE ELECTION

## CHOOSE THEIR OWN TIME

### 1,000,000 WORKERS CHEATED OUT OF VOTES

THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE THIS YEAR WAS DOMINATED BY THE PROSPECT OF THE FORTHCOMING GENERAL ELECTION. FACED WITH THE PRESSURE OF THE RANK AND FILE, THE LEADERSHIP WAS COMPELLED TO ACCEPT CHURCHILL'S ULTIMATUM TO STAY IN THE COALITION TILL THE WAR WITH JAPAN WAS OVER OR FACE AN IMMEDIATE ELECTION.



BEVIN

Churchill wants a General Election now because, to wait till the autumn would mean almost certain defeat for the Tories. He is trying to cash in on the immediate effects of "victory" on the psychology of the masses, before the real results of the war become apparent. Already "redundancy" (unemployment) and wage cuts are beginning to assume sizeable proportions. To wait till the autumn when his post-war programme will be revealed in all its nakedness would be to risk almost certain defeat.

In forcing an immediate election, the Tories calculate on disfranchising, according to the estimate of the capitalist paper, the "Observer", one million electors. The overwhelming bulk of these—evacuees, service men, and transferred war workers—would have voted for Labour. In addition to this, owing to the holiday period, many working class votes will be lost in such industrial areas as Lancashire, where it is estimated that half a million workers votes would be lost.

The "Socialist Appeal" has consistently warned that the Tories would break the coalition and force an election at a time most suitable to themselves.

Nevertheless, in spite of all this, Labour could still gain an overwhelming majority at the polls, if they came forward, and fearlessly told the workers the truth about the situation in Britain and the world, and gave a clear, fighting alternative. But the Labour leaders are implicated in the black record of the coalition government: they supported reaction abroad and propped up the exploiters at home. The excuse of the Labour leaders for this was the danger from Hitler. But now Hitler is gone; this excuse no longer remains valid.

#### NO INDIAN FREEDOM

That the Labour leaders have no intention of breaking with the past, was demonstrated by their acceptance of full responsibility of British imperialism's war against Japan. While condemning the Japanese oppression of the colonial peoples, they refused to give freedom to the peoples oppressed by British imperialism. Bevin stated:

"I have a feeling that that country regretted she did not accept the Cripps proposals. My Labour colleagues would be with me in saying I would add to the Indian government year by year more and more responsibility and let them take it. If we are returned," Bevin promised, "we will close the India Office and transfer its business to the Dominions Office . . ."

The coalition government had to shoot down thousands and imprison tens of thousands of Indians for refusing to accept the fake Cripps proposals. Now Bevin offers nothing better.

#### LABOUR'S PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATION—IS NOT SOCIALISM

The previous Labour Party Conference passed a resolution for the nationalisation of all big industry, land, banks, etc. The rank and file who are at all socialist conscious know that this is the only solution. The leadership violated that Conference decision by including in its General Election Programme only the nationalisation with compensation of iron and steel, coal and fuel, the Bank of England, and inland transport. Using the advantage of the election crisis, the Labour leaders steam-rolled the conference into accepting this watered down policy.

What does this programme mean? Is it socialism? Not even Morrison would assert that. Will it solve the problems of the British workers? Let us examine the programme.

The Bank of England to be nationalised, but the other Big Banks which together with the Insurance companies rule the country, are to remain under private ownership. A similar programme was carried out by the Labour Party of Sweden where the Central Bank is a national bank. But enquiries in 1935 revealed that the four priv-

ate banks in Sweden controlled 79 per cent of all Swedish Joint Stock companies!

By mere control of the Bank of England, it will be impossible to envisage state monopoly of foreign trade. Without such a monopoly, the big private banks which control the entire foreign exchange, can ultimately determine: what is to be produced in Britain; what is to be imported into Britain; and what is to be exported from Britain.

The private banks can also, under private enterprise, engineer a flight of capital from the country, and thus again play the same game as they did in 1931.

So much for the promises as far as banking is concerned.

The Labour leaders promised to nationalise iron and steel, coal and fuel, and inland transport. The post office is nationalised under capitalist control and the post office workers are no better off than workers in other industries. To avoid disharmony between themselves and the capitalists, they promise to pay adequate compensation. But many sections of the capitalist class even are demanding nationalisation of certain industries in their own interests. Because without cheap coal and cheap steel, the entire British export industry will be crippled. After all, compensation will give them a possibility of withdrawing their capital from those industries which are declining in face of world competition, and divert their money into industries yielding a higher rate of profit. By this means they will unload the burden of the chaos in the coal and other industries onto the shoulders of the working class.

The Labour leaders made great play of their policy of retaining "controls" of the industries which will not be nationalised. But Churchill also wishes to retain "controls" where necessary in the interests of the capitalist class.



MORRISON

(Continued on Back Page.)

## ORDER OF LENIN For U.S. Millionaire

The former U.S.A. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, the millionaire Joseph E. Davies, has been awarded the Order of Lenin by the Soviet Government.

This unabashed and open representative of capitalism is rewarded for his services to Stalin in slandering the Soviet Union and for services to the U.S. Government.

a class, to whit: special privileges, higher standards of living and the like. . . ."

To Steve Early, who was apparently interested in the question; he wrote, "These Commissars certainly treat themselves well. . . ." To Pat Harrison, the Mississippi Senator, he said, "I

## REDUNDANCY DEMO'S

organisation to assist the workers of Whitburn and to prevent the dismissal of men from taking place on June 9th."

"The men are disgusted with the attitude of Hornsby and the owners in taking such action only 17 days after the end of the war in Europe despite the services rendered by the men during the war and think that such treatment is most unreasonable."

The responsibility for the closing down of the pit rests entirely on the shoulders of the owners. It is their chaotic control, motivated and determined solely by their lust for profit which has been incapable of removing the causes, inadequate, insufficient machinery, etc., and has prevented the miners from producing the required tonnage. The pit can still yield 27,000,000 tons of coal, but, rather

to remain at work and make up for the time lost due to breakdowns, etc. This means that the full burden of inefficient and inferior machinery and an equally inefficient management is thrown on to the backs of the already overburdened workers who claim that the demand made by the management, and backed up by the Regional Fuel Controller, that the miners accede to working the extra hours is in direct contravention of the Mines Acts which lay down that 7 hours plus one wind (approximately 7½ hrs.) shall constitute a shift, and that any additional hours are to be worked only in cases of emergency."

No amount of negotiation with the mine owners or Ministry of Fuel can possibly solve the problem. Temporary settlements may be arrived at in

The former U.S.A. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, the millionaire Joseph E. Davies, has been awarded the Order of Lenin by the Soviet Government. This unabashed and open representative of capitalism is rewarded for his services to Stalin in slandering the Old Bolsheviks, and for services rendered the Stalin regime in demonstrating to world capitalism that Stalinism was opposed to Socialist revolutions in other countries and represented no threat to world capitalism as a system.

To give him the Order of Lenin is an insult to the memory of the great teacher and leader who fought for world Socialism all his life. However, in so doing, Stalin condemns his own regime, for he gives official approval to the published statements of Davies. Here are a few of the points made by Davies in his book "Mission to Moscow" in which he admiringly portrays the changes in the regime as it was under Lenin and Trotsky and as it now is under Stalin:

"The Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, the Russia of the Bolshevik Revolution — no longer exists. Through gradual, stern and often cruel evolution the Government has developed into what is now a system of state socialism operating on capitalistic principles and steadily and irresistibly swing to the right."

To emphasise this "evolution," he republishes a "strictly confidential" letter to Cordell Hull, part of which reads:

"The idea of a classless society has been and is being destroyed in practice. The government itself is a bureaucracy with all the indicta of

a class, to wit: special privileges, higher standards of living and the like . . ."

To Steve Early, who was apparently interested in the question; he wrote, "These Commissars certainly treat themselves well . . ." To Pat Harrison, the Mississippi sociologist, he said: "The bureaucracy live very well and many have their country homes, or dachas in the country."

The idea of the world proletariat and revolution has been set aside and replaced with the idea of a nationalist Russia."

"Practically the only original Bolshevik leaders now left are Stalin, Kallinin and Voroshilov. All the others have been banished or are dead; many liquidated or shot."

Quoting from his diary, the Belgian Minister, De Tellier, whose opinions he had noted:

"Personally I do not think that the world is in any real danger from Communism for many years to come. Communism won't work. It hasn't worked here. . . . The crowd in power, the Government . . . while professing left ideas they are actually projecting rightist methods. . . ."

Mrs. Davies and I often talked about these flower and perfume shops. It is one of the significant indications of the drift of this Government away from the principles of Marxian Socialism. Here were shops owned by the state, selling flowers in baskets at prices ranging from two dollars in gold value to fifteen dollars in gold value. Fifteen dollars was the equivalent of two weeks wages to the average workman!"



AMBASSADOR J. E. DAVIES, Wealthiest diplomat in the world, taken with a section of his priceless Art Collection.

## EXPULSION I.L.P.ERS JOIN R.C.P.

THE UNDERSIGNED COMRADES WERE, UNTIL RECENTLY, PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE I.L.P. AND WERE ALL OFFICIALS OF THE NORTH EAST DIVISIONAL COUNCIL. THEY HAD GIVEN SERVICE TO THE I.L.P. FOR FROM TWO TO TWENTY YEARS, AND WERE RECOGNISED BY THE WIDER WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT AS THE LEADERS OF THE I.L.P. IN THE NORTH EAST. ONE OF THEM, COMRADE DAN SMITH, WAS A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

The following is a statement they have submitted for publication in the "Socialist Appeal."

### STATEMENT OF EXPULSION MEMBERS

We, the undersigned, have recently been expelled from the I.L.P. after periods of membership varying from 2 to 20 years. We were expelled at the Easter Conference (1945) for that increasingly common "crime": "Trotskyism." The leadership of the I.L.P. has joined the unholy alliance of anti-Trotskyists and chopped off the North East Divisional leadership of the Party, rather than be faced with a principled political discussion inside the Party.

During the preparations for the Easter Conference of the I.L.P. the North East Division was suspended and its Conference resolutions declared unconstitutional. This had the aim of eliminating from the agenda the resolutions from the North East Division to Annual Conference. All this on the basis of a technical and organisational plea. Then, the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. proposed the expulsion of certain members of the N.E. Division. But at the Easter Conference of the I.L.P. all

the original organisational charges were dropped, the mask was torn off and the real reason for our expulsions brought to light: we had adopted the Trotskyist position.

We understood why the delegates decided, by varying majorities, on our expulsion. They had been misled by our internal political opponents—by a series of slanders against us over a long period—they believed they were acting in the best interests of the Party. We ask them to think again: they were led to support our expulsions in order that Laski could give a "favourable" report to the Labour Party Executive, as we will later show.

We were won to the Trotskyists—Fourth Internationalist, position at various dates inside the I.L.P. We were won to that policy because the test of history confirmed the programme of the Fourth International;

(Continued on page 4.)

# REDUNDANCY DEMO'S IN LONDON AREA

BY S. BORNSEIN

ABOUT 6,000 LONDON WORKERS EMPLOYED BY NAPIERS MARCHED TO THE ACTON TOWN HALL ON THURSDAY, 17th MAY, WHILST A DELEGATION OF SHOP STEWARDS INTERVIEWED THE MAYOR. THE BANNERS THEY CARRIED BORE SLOGANS: "WE DEMAND WORK OR WAGES", AND "HAS THIS WAR BEEN IN VAIN TOO?"

They told him that at least 2,000 of the 8,000 employed in the Acton and Park Royal plants were to be made redundant in the next two weeks.

The Mayor of Acton, a member of the A.E.U., promised to do all he could to raise the problem with the local Employers' Federation and offered the demonstrators his support.

The demonstration then marched to Hyde Park, where a Shop-steward addressed the workers saying: the workers won the war, and now are going to win the peace; we will not tolerate another 1918, but will fight for jobs, homes, etc.

His only method of fighting, however, was to urge the workers to go to the Houses of Parliament to lobby M.P.s!

Beverly Baxter, M.P., when asked what he would do, said that the workers of Napiers had had a good innings of 5 years of good wages and conditions, so they should now accept the fact and make the best of it. Mr. Baxter and his class have had a far longer innings of better wages and conditions, so when they are out they won't be able to complain either!

Lady Astor, that great fighter for the freedom of British Capitalism to exploit a quarter of the earth's surface, told the women who interviewed her that they should be in the Land Army instead of wasting their time on demonstrations demanding work! One of the girls retaliated that they were quite prepared to join the Land Army on condition that Lady Astor should drive the tractor!

The most sympathetic M.P. was Capt. Longhurst, Tory M.P. for Acton! With his eyes on the coming general election he had a two hours discussion with a delegation and promised to raise the following question with the various ministries:

1. What peace time commodities the factory is capable of turning out.
2. That a 47 hour week be paid whilst waiting for work.
3. What plans have the Government got for the needs of the people.

This demonstration showed the readiness of the Napier workers to defend their interests. They had the full support of the public who lined the pavements in their thousands and expressed their solidarity with the demonstrators in no uncertain fashion.

Naper workers must realise that processions and lobbying M.P.s is by no means sufficient. What is needed is a fighting policy for:

1. A 40 hour week.
2. Payment of wages during idleness.
3. Open the books for workers' inspection.
4. Sharing out the work without reductions in pay.

The Napier workers cannot have the slightest faith in the promises made by Tory M.P.s. The Napier workers can only rely upon their own strength and fighting power. Demand that the union leaders—who have paid lip-service to the above demands—equal their words, with deeds.

Following on this demonstration, 9,000 workers in the West Middlesex area held a further march to Acton Park on Tuesday, May 29th.

Here again was shewn the complete bankruptcy of the C.P. tactic of demonstrations and lobbying M.P.s. Many workers commented that apparently it was called only to boost Ted Bramley, the prospective C.P. candidate for Acton.

Harry Shaw's (Stalinist convenor of Napiers) only advice to the workers was, "Have faith in your leaders and maintain discipline!" Shaw forgets, conveniently, that the function of leadership is to express the desires of the rank and file and not to lay down a policy that the workers are supposed to follow blindly.

Workers! We can no longer afford to be pawns in the game of the C.P. who only use such occasions to put over their current political line, which is capitulation to the bosses, and sidestepping the real struggles which the workers will be forced to conduct.

# LABOUR TO POWER WITH A MAJORITY!



## Italian C.P. Conference

R.A.F., Italy.

Dear Comrades,

You no doubt already have full details of the recent Congress of the Italian Communist Party. If not, the following brief summary may be of interest:

The main resolution spoke of popular discontent with the general situation, the aggravated economic situation due to speculation and price increases and signs of a rebirth of Fascism which might cause a split between Northern and Southern Italy. It also regretted the increasing gulf between the government and the working class. (!)

In view of the situation as outlined above, the Congress called for:

(a) An immediate conference of the National Council of Liberation.

(b) Administrative elections as soon as possible.

(c) Re-organisation of the Government.

The Congress expressed desire for the unification of the Socialist and Communist Parties after the "liberation" of the North. It also hoped for an improvement of relations with the Christian Democrats.

Togliatti estimated the influence of the party throughout Italy as embracing approximately 10 per cent. of the entire population. The party was weakest in the South, where the figure was 1 per cent. In the North membership had recently risen from 60,000 to 100,000.

The Congress clearly shows that under conditions of increasing economic hardships the masses are moving to the Left, and the C.P. leadership — to the Right! It openly expresses its fear of the rising tide of working class militancy — and with good reason, for such a tide may well sweep away, eventually, the thoroughly reactionary Stalinist leadership. It is in this light that the move for affiliation with the Socialist Party must be regarded, as well as the desire for "improved relations" with the reactionary Christian Democrats.

There is not even the faintest tinge of pink in the programme of the Congress. On the contrary, it reaffirms more strongly than ever the policy of class collaboration and the complete abandonment of Socialism.

The Socialist Party Congress generally accepted the programme of the Congress, and withdrew.

The single demand we can support is that of unification with the Socialist Party, the basis being the same as those for supporting the British C.P.'s demand for affiliation with the Labour Party. In essence there is no difference between their policies.

**DEFENCE FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE** — Togliatti gives us another example of the operation of Stalinist policy. A Bulgarian trade delegation that recently visited Moscow found Dimitroff, who gave them the following advice: "On the settlement of Bulgaria's economic problems—

(a) A retention of the spirit of private enterprise.

(b) The settling rather than the sharpening of class differences. (!)

(c) The control of private enterprise.

(d) The establishment of co-operative farms. Workers cannot be accused of equivocation!

In April 14th the Council of Ministers issued a decree setting up Labour Co-operatives. But even under former administrative agricultural co-operatives were a distinct feature of Bulgarian village economy and constitutes no solution of the economic problems.

## On Belgian Arrests

Cambridge Mansions, S.W.11.

Dear Comrades,

I have been asked to rectify the following mistake:

In one of your recent issues you published some notes on the situation in Belgium, and stated "two of our Trotskyist comrades have been arrested."

It is, of course, most important that you have taken up this matter and expressed your solidarity with these two comrades. Another comrade, Dorremans, has since also been arrested, and every effort to secure their release should be made on the part of the Belgian and English comrades.

However, comrade George Vereeken would be very grateful if you would make it clear in the "Socialist Appeal", that all three comrades, i.e. Lowen, Dillans, and Dorremans, are not members of the official Trotskyist group, but are members of the group issuing "Le Pouvoir au Travailleurs", connected with Vereeken. Comrade Lowen is actually the Editor of "Pouvoir au Travailleurs", Dillans a co-worker, Dorremans associated with Vereeken.

It is certainly of no vital political importance, but as long as the groups are not united, the Belgian comrades feel that there should be clarity and exactness on the activities of the groups and I trust you will make this clear in one of your next issues.

Yours fraternally,

M.D.  
The above group led by Vereeken calls itself Trotskyist but is not inside the "Fourth International." — Ed.

## Pamphlets BY TROTSKY

- WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE TASKS OF BRITISH WORKERS 6d.
- TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL 6d
- TRADE UNIONS 1d.
- T.U.C. HELPS HITLER 1d.
- PREPARING FOR POWER (Thesis of British Trotskyists) 3d.
- A.B.C. OF TROTSKYISM Cannon's Testimony in U.S. Labour Trial 6d.
- THE ROAD TO INDIA'S FREEDOM by A. Scott and E. Grant 3d.

## Tredegar Meeting

# STALINIST METHODS IN R.O.F.s NAILED

We print below the attack on the R.O.F. NATIONAL JOINT SHOP STEWARDS COMMITTEE, published in the "New Propellor" which is dominated and controlled by the Stalinist Party. We reproduce also the reply to this slanderous attack by the Secretary of the R.O.F. Shop Stewards Committee, Bro. Claude Bartholomew, which has been circulated to all R.O.F.s.

This is a typical example of the methods of disruption indulged in by the Stalinists against any body set up by the workers which opposes their policy of the moment.

We print the reply of the R.O.F. National Committee in full so that workers, especially in the A.E.U. and R.O.F.s generally can see clearly the methods adopted by the Stalinists. It is noteworthy that after the C.P. failed to capture this organisation they tried to wreck and destroy it. Instead of facing up to the problems in the R.O.F.s they have tried to split and disorient and prevent any body of workers they control from collaborating fraternally with R.O.F. Shop Stewards bodies throughout the country. The material speaks for itself and all honest workers can judge for themselves the motives of the people involved.

## "New Propellor" Claims 'R.O.F. Stewards Nail Lie'

"A circular issued by an organisation which has assumed the name of 'Royal Ordnance Factories Shop Stewards Committee' has been sent to Shop Stewards throughout the country, asking support for a conference to be held in Nottingham.

In the circular they claim the support of the Conference of Scottish R.O.F.s. held in Glasgow in December. Irvine Shop Stewards Committee, who called the Glasgow conference, state that this is a deliberate lie, and in a letter to R.O.F.s. they say this reveals the unscrupulous tactics to which these

people will resort in order to achieve their ends.

### ANTI-T.U. BODY

The Irvine Shop Stewards point out that this anti-war and anti-trade union organisation, formerly known as the R.O.F. Consultative Committee, has among its supporters Rawlings Tearce as Secretary and C. Bartholomew, both well known Trotskyists.

The proposed conference has nothing in common with the principles for which our Unions and Shop Stewards are striving, and Irvine Stewards completely dissociate themselves from the conference and urge other Shop Stewards to refuse support."

## R.O.F. National Shop Stewards' Committee Reply

42, Dulverton Vale, Bells Lane Estate, Cinderhill, Notts. May 24th, 1945.

Dear Sir and Brother,

In view of a statement (copy attached) issued by "Irvine Shop Stewards Committee" and which has been given national publicity in the Communist Party controlled "New Propellor", I feel that your committee should be in possession of all the relevant matter.

The whole statement is full of misleading and false matter.

lively lot and should prove a strong addition to this committee."

Then followed a list of names and addresses:

- "Bro. E. Trainer, R.O.F. Bishopton.
- " A. Campbell, R.N. Air Station Fife.
- " J. McCusker, H.M. Dockyard, Fife.
- " J. Lavelle, R.O.F. Cardonald.
- " E. Nesbit, R.O.F. Dalmuir.
- " W. Laidlaw, R.N. Torpedo Factory, Alexandria.
- " J. Scott, R.N. Torpedo Factory, Greenock.
- " J. Flood, R.O.F. Linwood."

# B.F.Y.C. MEET

## Militant Socialist Trend

BY RON BLAKE

At Whitsun, 150 Young Co-operators met in Nottingham for their annual conference. About 50 delegates and 100 visitors, as well as 12 or 13 fraternal delegates from other Co-operative organisations were present.

Meeting at a time when events of momentous significance are piling up in the international field, the militant socialist outlook of the B.F.Y.C. speaks well for the future of the British working class movement.

The annual report in a comprehensive brochure, testified to the activity of the B.F.Y.C. in relation to N.U.D. A.W. Youth clubs, the Educational activities of the Co-operative movement, to the Co-operative Party, as well as to the organisation internationally of Co-operative Youth. After considerable discussion, the report was unanimously adopted.

Comrade Dorothy Rock, the National President, set the tone for the conference in her revolutionary address to the comrades. She called for a majority Labour Government as the "next step" in the education of the British working class, and forcefully condemned non-fraternisation, pointing out that among the first victims of the horror camps were German co-operators and socialists. She did not saddle the British workers with the responsibility for the atrocities of British Imperialism in India, nor the German workers with the guilt of their Nazi oppressors.

Conference enthusiastically greeted this sincere, revolutionary socialist, internationalist declaration of faith.

Then followed discussions on resolutions.

That the B.F.Y.C. feels a strong sense of responsibility to the wider movement, had been demonstrated by the memorandum on re-organisation.

In the organisational field the questions of Co-operative Halls, age limits, sectional organisers, voting majorities and affiliations were discussed.

It was agreed by 35 votes to 9 that an adequate hall should be available in all districts for the use of Co-operative Organisations.

A future of increasing membership was anticipated when Conference decided that each section should employ an organiser to work in conjunction with the National Organiser, and it is understood that this decision will be immediately implemented in the Southern Section.

It was unanimously decided to affiliate to the National Council of Civil Liberties, although after dismay had been expressed by Comrade Storer (mover of the resolution on behalf of the Executive) at the Council's refusal to take up the defence of the Freedom Press. It was pointed out that this organisation was in fact dominated by the Stalinists and its policy was therefore dependent on the current "line" of that party. This was stressed by the treatment not only of the anarchists, but of the Trotskyists in the Trade Disputes Act case (at the time of Reg. 1A(a)) and of Fred Barton the pacifist: all of them politi-

ment's policy of non-fraternisation in Germany as one which will accentuate nationalist feelings, and urges the Labour and Co-operative movements to re-affirm their principles of international co-operation, by declaring the need for unity with all workers in building a Socialist and Co-operative Commonwealth."

It was further agreed by 36 votes to 7, that:

"This A.D.C. of the B.F.Y.C. realising the urgent need for Food Relief and Social workers in devastated Europe requests the Co-operative Union to approach the T.U.C. with a view to setting up independent Co-operative and Trade Union Relief units."

An amendment to include the clause "and recognising that UNRRA is being used as the weapon of Allied Imperialism" was defeated by 22 votes to 17, after an amendment to limit the relief units to the B.F.Y.C. had failed to gain a seconder.

By an overwhelming majority and with the full support of the Executive, it was resolved that:

"In view of the anti-working class repressive actions of the present coalition government in Greece, Belgium, Italy, etc., this Annual Delegate Conference demands that the Co-operative and Labour M.P.s withdraw from the Coalition government immediately and wage a campaign for power on a co-operative and Socialist programme."

Some of the most interesting discussions occurred when Conference passed the resolution:

"That to ensure the right government after the war we should make every effort to back up the socialist candidates at the coming elections, and to work to ensure a unity in the socialist movement and to put forward the best socialist candidates in the constituencies."

An amendment to replace "Socialist Candidates" by "Labour and Co-operative Candidates" was narrowly defeated by 21 votes to 26, on the grounds that sometimes "more progressive" candidates were in opposition to right wing labour fakirs.

When the motion was voted on, opposition was voiced because such a resolution would foster illusions; "the right government" would be interpreted as meaning a government that would solve the problems of unemployment, falling standard of living. Only in a socialist society could this be done, and a majority labour government would still be a capitalist government which would administer in the interests of the ruling class. It was necessary to elect a majority Labour Government in order to clearly expose it as being unable to serve the interests of millions of workers who still believe that it will bring socialism. But to say this would be "the right government" could only mislead the working class.

(c) The control of private enterprise.  
(d) The establishment of co-operative farms.  
Dimitroff cannot be accused of equivocation!

On April 14th the Council of Ministers approved a decree setting up Labour Co-operatives. But even under former administrations agricultural co-operatives were a recognised feature of Bulgarian village economy, and constitutes no solution of the basic problems.

The "left" press has been urging the amalgamation of the Youth Sections of the 4 main parties in the Fatherland Front into one anti-Fascist Youth Movement.  
A further development in Stalin's campaign to Christianise the "ignorant Slavs" occurred last month, when a delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church visited Bulgaria. A message from Alexei, Patriarch of All the Russias, urged unity between the National Sections of the Greek Orthodox Church.

Who said Stalin had abandoned internationalism?!

Best wishes,  
K.A.F. Sgt.

## Demand T.U. Rates for Pow's

Edinburgh.  
12th May 1945.

To: The Editor,  
"Socialist Appeal"

Dear Comrade,

It has been suggested in various quarters that German P.O.W. be used in reconstruction work, e.g. house-building and repairing. All Socialists who place international solidarity above nationalist chauvinism oppose such schemes because they know our rulers will use P.O.W. as strikebreakers. Thousands of German workers in uniform are in this country; very many of them have given years of their lives to socialism and trade unionism, sometimes under the very noses of the Gestapo.

Trade Unionists up and down the country should explain to their fellow workers that the bosses desire to fan by any means possible, the flames of race hatred. ...By introducing unwilling "scabs" into British industry these gentlemen seek to weaken still further, trade union practices, won after generations of struggle and sacrifice. When things go badly for the British workers our rulers will blame the German prisoners; when the German prisoners complain they will be told the British workers are to blame.

We know the housing shortage is not due primarily to Nazi bombing. For years before this "war for democracy" broke out people were clamouring for homes but could not get them. It is the building societies, the banks and the landlords who are responsible for the scandalous lack of dwellings. Until these vultures are dispossessed, no amount of P.O.W. labour can remedy our political, social and economic ailments. In passing, one may say with certainty: No Nazi chiefs or Prussian Junkers will be forced to wield a pick and shovel. After all, the British Tories can hardly make their erstwhile friends into workers!

Realism is a quality peculiar to revolutionary socialists. It is quite probable that British capitalism, aided by Labour Party and "Communist" renegades, will force German worker-soldiers into slave gangs, whatever we do or say against such infamy.

May I suggest that class-conscious unionists urge their unions to adopt the following points.

Unions should demand:

1. All German prisoners of war who are forced to serve in Britain to be paid trade union rates of wages.
2. All agreements entered into by union and employers to be applicable to P.O.W. employed in the particular industry wherein the agreement is made.
3. P.O.W. to work under the supervision of trade union officials.

A policy similar to the one outlined above, would, I believe serve the best interests of both British workers and their German comrades in uniform.

My ideas are not perfect by any means. I fully realise there are a number of points not stated here which need discussion and debate.

Let me conclude with the hope that your paper will give adequate publicity to this very important issue. Our actions will help to convince our German comrades how the poison of Vansittartism has failed to destroy entirely solidarity between workers of Britain and Germany.

Yours fraternally,  
William Spence.

## Tredegar Meeting

The Propaganda Campaign which has been organised in South Wales as a follow-up on the recent Neath by-election was opened with a very successful meeting in the Miners' Hall, Tredegar, on Sunday, May 27th. The speakers were Jock Haston, and John Lawrence, the South Wales Organiser. The Chair was taken by a local comrade—Roy Jenkins.

The purpose of this follow-up campaign is to place before the workers in other parts of the important South Wales area, that same policy for which 1,781 workers cast their vote in Neath—the policy of Revolutionary communist struggle against the capitalist class.

It was clear from the applause, and from the discussion which followed the speeches, that the bulk of the workers at this well-attended meeting in Tredegar were in sympathy with the Revolutionary Communist case.

A comic turn was provided by a member of the Stalinist Party—His Majesty's Communist Party—who, in all seriousness, tried to persuade the audience that the capitalist press had urged the workers of Neath to support Jock Haston in the Neath Election! Jock dealt very effectively with this crude lie by offering to put £10 in the fund of the local C.P. if the questioner could produce one single copy of any capitalist paper which had at any time supported Jock Haston or the policy of the R.C.P. The actual facts are, as every worker knows, that the whole of the capitalist press came out in full support not of Haston, but of his "Labour" opponent—D. J. Williams!

Apart from this, and other typically Stalinist interventions, the general level of questions and discussion was very high. A significant feature being the very friendly attitude of the Left Wing Labour workers, (who constituted the bulk of the audience) and their desire for a comradesly co-operation with our Party in the struggle against the capitalist class. Comrade Haston's statement on the Party's General Election policy of giving critical support to Labour against the Tories and Liberals in order to put Labour in power with a majority, thus testing them out in practice, was very well received. The serious attitude of these workers makes us confident that, when, as we believe, the Labour leaders once more betray the trust of the workers, Tredegar workers will then move rapidly in the direction of Revolutionary Communism.

At the conclusion of the meeting the Chairman appealed for names of workers desirous of starting a Marxist Study Class in Tredegar—and half a dozen names were handed up right away. From every point of view, this was a most satisfying first public appearance of the Trotskyists in the important Monmouthshire mining town of Tredegar.

ardus Committee" which was given national publicity in the Communist Party controlled "New Propeller", I feel that your committee should be in possession of all the relevant matter.

The whole statement is full of misleading and false matter.

Our committee is supported by, and consists of delegates sent by the Shop Stewards Committee, of the Key R.O.F.s, including Nottingham, Woolwich, Enfield, Blackburn, Maltby, Barnbow, Patricroft, Hayes, Poole, Drigg, Spennymore and etc.

R. Tarse has never been the secretary of this organisation, I have been the secretary since its inception and am proud of the fact that I have been democratically re-elected every twelve months.

Since I have been accused of issuing a deliberate lie on the question of the Scottish R.O.F.s' support for our recent meeting in Nottingham I will quote correspondence that I received. (Extract from letter received from Bro. Kimber, Secretary R.O.F. Drigg, dated 22/2/45.):

"To get down to brass tacks, we wondered if you were sufficiently interested to get in touch with other R.O.F.s in the country as you would be in a position to do so."

"If this could be done a deputation from every R.O.F. in Scotland would attend any meeting that could be arranged at some central position, to frame resolutions and pick a deputation to visit Whitehall and interview the M.O.S. to demand that the State provide employment in the R.O.F.s."

"I have Bro. McKerrrow's, Chairman of the R.O.F. Irvine Shop Stewards Committee, assurance of the Scottish R.O.F.s supporting this meeting. The Shop Stewards Committee at the R.O.F.s Sellarfield and Pembrey will also support it."

I replied to Bro Kimber stating that we were shortly convening a meeting and that if he would send addresses of secretaries, I would send material to them.

(From Bro. Kimber to myself dated 23/3/45.)

"Thank you for your letter of the 11th inst. Sorry I am a little late in answering it as I have been waiting an answer to a letter I wrote to the Secretary of the S.S. Committee R.O.F. Irvine.

I am enclosing names he sent me of a committee formed out of a conference of Shop Stewards from Government owned factories, held in January of this year, in Glasgow. He is definitely of the opinion that Scottish R.O.F.s should link up with the R.O.F.s National Joint Shop Stewards Committee. They are a

**READ**  
**The Death Agony of Capitalism**  
AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS  
By Leon Trotsky  
THE PROGRAMME OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
48 Pages, Pamphlet 6d

Five.  
" J. Lavelle, R.O.F. Cardonald.  
" E. Nesbit, R.O.F. Dalmuir.  
" W. Laidlaw, R.N. Torpedo Factory, Alexandria.  
" J. Scott, R.N. Torpedo Factory, Greenock.  
" J. Flood, R.O.F. Linwood."

It was on the strength of this correspondence, that I mentioned in the circular convening our meeting, that the Scottish R.O.F.s would support that meeting.

I received no word from any of the Scottish R.O.F.s or from Irvine R.O.F., that refuted my statement. The first information I had was when Bro. Scaat (Hayes) produced the duplicated statement issued by Irvine.

It appeared that only one committee supporting our organisation had received a copy and therefore it is fairly safe to assume that it was issued, with a view to preventing in the main, Scottish R.O.F.s from sending delegates.

When the statement was read out at the meeting, delegates greeted it with amused contempt.

Bro. Kimber stated that he had sent correspondence in good faith, and this circular was astounding in view of the fact, that he had in addition to the letters, received a personal assurance from Irvine officials that they would be present at our meeting. He offered to forward a copy of the letter as sent to him by the secretary of Irvine R.O.F., Bro. D. McCarroll.

Bro. Kimber's statement was accepted without hesitation by the delegates.

Delegates were unanimous in their feeling that the document issued by Irvine is a libellous one against the secretary.

Bro. Kimber has since forwarded a copy of the letter as promised and it confirms the points he made in his correspondence.

In conclusion I would point out that our organisation has always supported in principle and practice, attempts to obtain an 100 per cent live Trade Union organisation in industry.

Since I have been singled out for attack, I feel justified in mentioning some of my activities, in and out of the workshops. I have been a Shop Steward, Member of Works Committee, President of my A.E.U. Branch, Executive member of the Nottingham Trades Council, also represented Stewards on the A.E.U. Nottingham District Committee. I have in my possession, unsolicited letters from the Nottingham Trades Council, Nottingham R.O.F. Shop Stewards Committee, and the A.E.U. Nottingham D.C., recording their appreciation of my efforts on behalf of Trade Unionists. At present I am Executive member of Nottingham Trades Council and Branch Referee. In addition I am active in the political field.

Should you have received the circular as issued by Irvine R.O.F. and it affected your decision to attend our last meeting, I should be pleased to receive your committee's views.

Yours Fraternally,  
G. Bartholomew, Secretary.

dominated by the Stalinists and its policy was therefore dependent on the current "line" of that party. This was stressed by the treatment not only of the anarchists, but of the Trotskyists in the Trade Disputes Act case (at the time of Reg. 1A(a)) and of Fred Barton the pacifist: all of them political adversaries of the "Communist Party".

It was claimed that any real struggle for working class rights would be carried forward against the influence of the Stalinist Party.

The political resolutions carried, place the B.F.Y.C. among the most radical of the left wing organisations.

After discussing some of the arguments that reactionaries bring forward, as well as some of the more serious aspects of the problem, it was decided by 35 votes to 2 that:

"This Annual Delegate Conference condemns and rejects the Govern-

ment's policy to elect a majority Labour Government in order to clearly expose it as being unable to serve the interests of millions of workers who still believe that it will bring socialism. But to say this would be "the right government" could only mislead the working class.

9 delegates opposed the majority of 35 on this issue; a significant minority. Superficially the majority thought this was a vote against socialism; in the light of the discussion it was a vote for a clear political theory and against vague ambiguous phrases.

The impression given by the Southern Section Conference at Easter was confirmed by this National Whitsun Conference.

From the B.F.Y.C. will come many of the most courageous fighters in the cause of internationalism, and revolutionary socialism.

April 1945.

## 'DAILY WORKER' CONFERENCE

At a special delegate meeting of Trade Unionists held on May 12th, at the Shoreditch Town Hall, London, the editorial staff of the "Daily Worker" led by W. Rust inaugurated a drive to form a Co-Operative Society for financing a scheme to print an 8 page, 500,000 per day "Daily Worker".

The monies lent would be in the form of Share and Loan capital which as Rust hoped, "would come from mainly the big and wealthy Trade Unions" such as the A.E.U. which has a huge membership organisation. J. R. Scott of the A.E.U. Executive was conveniently sitting next to Rust supplying the information.

The new "Daily Worker", the delegates were told, would have a "popular" appeal and would not compete, but work with the other "democratic" press, such as the "Daily Mirror", the "Daily Herald", the "News Chronicle" and "Reynolds".

Books, films, sport, radio, would be given ample space to suit everyone's taste.

"Also," he said, "we must have a paper that does not suppress or distort news for its own political ends like the capitalist press does today!"

During the discussion quite a few delegates expressed the impression of some of the workers they represented, of the possibility of this scheme being the first step on the same path taken by the "Daily Herald".

This new turn of the "Daily Worker" is a further step on the path of complete sell-out and betrayal by the "Communist" Party

From a paper that once blazoned the hammer and sickle on its front page to a gutter sheet that has openly supported Churchill and reaction in their conduct of the foulest imperialist war in history; from a paper that once printed class news and lessons to a slanderous rag that now vies with the "Daily Mail" in racial chauvinism, in patriotism and loyalty to King and country; from a paper that once said that only by the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class, could the workers emancipate themselves, to a rag that now con-

sciously deceives and confuses the workers by calling for a coalition with the Tories after the General Election: this is the course mapped out for the "Daily Worker" by the Stalinists.

The "Daily Worker" is preparing to open its columns to any Liberal or Trade Union bureaucrat.

Instead of exposing the role of the Trade Union bureaucracy, as the "Daily Worker" used to do, the Stalinists are preparing to use it to further entrench the labour fakirs in propping up the capitalist system.

If the "Daily Worker" really desired a social change, it would day in and day out, be preparing the workers for socialism by patiently explaining the role of the Trade Union and Labour leadership, the class antagonisms under capitalist society, the role of the capitalist state, the imperialist nature of the war, the terrible predicament in which British capitalism finds itself, and because of this if capitalism continues the inevitable worsening of the conditions for the workers.

None of these fundamental questions are to be found in the columns of the "Daily Worker". Only the reflection of Stalin's foreign policy in support first of one section of imperialist gangsters, then their rivals, thus confusing and disillusioning thousands of the advanced and most militant members of the working class.

Today in Britain, the task of teaching the ideas and methods of Lenin is carried out by one paper, and only one paper, the "Socialist Appeal". The "Socialist Appeal" explains truthfully, unflinchingly, the role of capitalism. It does not stop there. It goes further to point the only way to the achievement of a socialist system of society based upon the teachings of mankind's four greatest working class teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Workers! Members of the Communist Party! Reject the reformism of the "Daily Worker"! You are being betrayed by it!

Support and publicise the "Socialist Appeal" as the only paper that carries on the traditions of revolutionary communism, and points the road to the victory of the socialist revolution!

NORMAN PENTLAND

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

## GENERAL ELECTION Statement of the Political Bureau, Revolutionary Communist Party

At long last the collapse of the National Coalition Government of Labour, Tories and Liberals has taken place. Every worker with an ounce of class consciousness in his body will be delighted with this split. Every working class organisation which seeks the independence of Labour from Capital and the emancipation of the working class will welcome this split. For the coalition acted in the interests of the capitalists, not only nationally, but on an international scale.

We Trotskyists have condemned the coalition since its inception. We have explained how it acted against the interests of organised Labour and in the interests of the capitalist class. For years we have demanded that Labour break from the coalition and take power into its own hands. It is with the greatest pleasure, therefore, that we witness the break-up of the National Government and the emergence of the mighty Trade Union and Labour movement from the embrace of the Tories as an independent force.

The coalition has not collapsed because the Labour leaders took the initiative and sought to rally the mass of the workers against the capitalists. It collapsed because Churchill chose to present the Labour leaders with an ultimatum which they could not accept because of the pressure from their own rank and file. The Tories chose to break the coalition at a period most favourable to the interests of Big Business and the ruling class as a whole. By this act, Churchill demonstrated the aggressive class consciousness of the Tory Party so obviously lacking in the leaders of organised labour.

For many years the relationship of forces as registered by the Party representation in the House of Parliament has not reflected the real level of political consciousness in this country. A tremendous radicalisation and shift to the left has taken place in the last decade. Not only the broad mass of the working class but the middle class also have been influenced by this radicalisation. The frustration of the latter section of the population, emphasised by the coalition of Labour with Toryism, found expression in the

Party is just as resolutely and unequivocally opposed to the formation of a Popular Front, which includes capitalist parties.

We stand for the unity, in action, in parliament and out of parliament, of all the parties and organisations of the working class against Tories, Liberals and so-called "Independents". This unity should include an agreement with Common Wealth, the party of the middle class. This means to say that we are in favour of a common agreed programme of action on specific issues, to be loyally carried out by all the workers' parties and organisations. Each of the parties participating in such an agreement must have the right to put forward their own policy and make criticisms of its allies, not only before and after the agreed period of action, but during the actual struggle itself. Only on this basis can a genuine unity of action against the capitalists be aided and guided. On the parliamentary field we are in favour of possible agreements on candidatures between the working class parties where a split vote would result in the return of a capitalist candidate, whether Tory or Liberal. We are irreconcilably opposed to any agreement with any capitalist candidate.

We warn the workers against the Popular Front policy of His Majesty's "Communist" Party. Under cover of a Labour-"Progressive" unity bloc, they wish to include not only the Liberals and all kinds of capitalist politicians, but at a later stage to reform a new National Government together with Churchill, Eden, and the so-called Crimea Tories. Such a policy is not a united front of the workers' parties and organisations against capitalism; it is a continuation of capitalist coalition politics, but with a "left" flavour. If the rising mass movement of the workers is canalised into such a bloc it can only end in the frustration of the aspirations of the workers, the break-away of the middle class from the leadership of the workers, and their turning once again in the direction of reaction; it can only end, at a later stage, in preparing the way for fascism in this country.

The intervention of the Stalinists in

For two-and-a-half years British soldiers have been fighting in the hell of Burma. Many more are going to be drafted out there soon. It is a fitting time to ask, what is the aim of this war?

Until now it has not been defined, beyond the vague statement that the Japanese must be cleared out. But at last the Government has stated its policy towards Burma in a White Paper, and we can see clearly for what our soldiers have been suffering.

### THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY FOR BURMA

The White Paper states that until December 9th, 1948, Burma is to be ruled directly by the Governor, who is responsible only to the British Government. Until that date the Burmans have no say whatever in the running of their country.

It is hoped that in 1948 it will be possible to restore the Constitution which existed from 1937 to 1942. Under this Constitution, the Governor had full power in every affair of vital importance—defence, foreign affairs, monetary policy, "prevention of any grave menace to peace and tranquillity". For what remains, he is guided by the advice of (not controlled by) a Legislature: this consists of a Senate, half nominated by the Governor and half elected by the Lower House, and a House of Representatives, elected by one-fifth of the population. It can be seen that the difference between this and an outright dictatorship by the Governor is not very great.

This is the policy which the Government is presenting to Parliament for ratification.

The meaning of this policy can be grasped if the events of the Japanese invasion of Burma are recalled. Japan was able to capture the country with great ease because of the attitude of the population. The White Paper says that only a small minority was pro-Japanese. This is true, but it is not the whole truth. General Alexander estimated after the defeat in Burma in 1942 that 10 per cent of the population was pro-Japanese, 10 per cent was pro-British, and 80 per cent was indifferent. The reason for this was explained by the "Times" in dealing with Malaya, and the same applies to Burma:

"The Government had no roots in the life of the people of the country... the bulk of the Asiatic population remained spectators from start to finish."

The regime, which was so hated by the masses that they felt no interest in defending it, is to be re-imposed after three years of naked dictatorship. Such is the "liberation" of Burma as envisaged by Churchill and his Government.

### THE BURMANS WANT INDEPENDENCE

The desire of the great majority of the Burmese people is for independence from all foreign rule. This demand was voiced in 1940 by the House

pendence—but Dominion Status for Burma "in accordance with the provisions of the Atlantic Charter." The British authorities arrested him in January, 1942, on a charge of being in contact with the Japanese. He has not been heard of since.

In contrast to this cynical denial of the elementary wishes of the Burmese people by the British imperialists, the Japanese realised that if they were to conquer Burma they would have to win the sympathy of its people. They did this very effectively by promising to grant independence, and in fact did so in 1943, handing Burma over to a Government headed by U. Ba Maw, a left-wing nationalist of "socialist" pretensions.

Of course, this did not stop the Japanese imperialists from plundering the country and exploiting the labour of its inhabitants. That is why they conquered it, and it is undoubtedly true that, as the White Paper says, "the Japanese remained the real masters, and even those who had at first welcomed them became thoroughly disillusioned." But if they hate the Japanese rule, the Burmans at least had more under it than under British rule. As the "Times" (13/12/44) has put it:

"The 'independence' of Burma, shadowy though it may be in Western eyes, is none the less a real advance on her former status in the estimation of many of her people; and failure to reckon with this fact would be a grave mistake."

This "grave mistake" is certainly being made, with a vengeance, though it is not a question of the British imperialists having any choice, as this implies: their policy is dictated by their class interests.

So terrified are they of any attempt by the Burmans to gain their independence that they are disarming the guerrillas who fought against the Japanese: in the plains these were

# IMPERIALIST WAR IN BURMA

BY D. JAMES

almost entirely organised by Communists. Cases of revolt and hiding of arms have been reported. A war between British troops and the people they have suffered so much to "liberate" is quite likely as a result of this policy.

### THE GOVERNMENT'S "REASONS" FOR REFUSING BURMA INDEPENDENCE

The Government, of course, gives "reasons" why it cannot give independence to Burma. The war, you see, has devastated the country, and therefore Britain must assume control to put it on its feet again:

"His Majesty's Government will have to come to her aid, but they will require the energetic co-operation of all sections of the Burmese people, and the more completely this can be given the sooner will it be possible for Burma to resume her interrupted progress in constitutional development."

No imperialist Power ever conquers a country without assuring the world that it is in that country's best interests. But the conquered people have good reason to be suspicious of "helpers" who insist on laying claim to possession of their country. If His Majesty's Government were really so concerned about aiding Burma, there is nothing to stop it declaring Burma an independent nation, and allowing the Burmans themselves to decide whether to ask for help or not. This is how a workers' Government in this country would behave. But the British imperialist Government only uses the argument of "helping" Burma as a screen for annexing her.

### THE REAL AIMS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN THE EAST

That Britain is concerned with annexing other nations was made clear at the San Francisco Conference, when a motion declaring independence of the colonial areas as an ultimate

objective, a motion proposed by the two big non-imperialist Powers (China and the USSR) was opposed by the imperialist Powers, Britain, France and the United States.

The real aims of British imperialism are far different from the smug lies peddled in the capitalist Press and in Government White Papers. One sentence hidden away in the latter provides the key:

"In industry and the extraction of timber British capital and British firms predominated."

It is to recover the right of British capital to exploit the labour and raw materials of Burma that the war is being fought there. The valuable wood, teak—tungsten, essential for the steel industry—oil, and lead: these are the real "war aims" of Churchill and his class in Burma.

### A BALANCE SHEET OF THE FAR EASTERN WAR

It is time for the British working-class to draw up a balance sheet. If the war in the Far East continues it will mean fighting in hellish conditions among hostile or indifferent populations, to recover colonial territories for British imperialism. The profits will be restored to the banks and shareholders: the "sahibs" will once more be able to swill whisky in their exclusive clubs. But the soldiers who will have done the fighting, the vast majority of whom are neither shareholders nor "sahibs", but just ordinary workers—they will gain nothing from all this. They will return home to a badly-paid job if they are lucky, the dole if they are not.

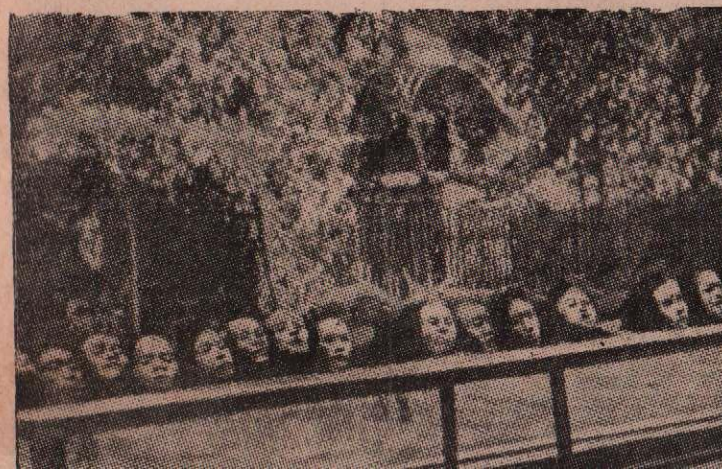
### FREE THE COLONIES!

Never has the independence of the colonies been of more vital concern to the British workers and soldiers, who are paying with their lives and health for the greed of the capitalists. If these countries are declared free, British troops can be withdrawn, and for the first time the masses of Asia will feel a real stake in the defence of their countries. The armed workers and peasants of free India, Burma and Ceylon, together with those of China, could rouse the whole of Asia, including the masses of Japan, who fight only because of their fear of the white imperialists, and put an end themselves to the crimes of Japanese imperialism.

The capitalist class of this country can never free the colonies, from which they draw a large slice of their profits. Only the working class has an interest in doing so.

The leaders of the working class have stained its name by failing to take a stand for colonial independence. One of the last acts of the Labour Ministers was to give their support to the policy outlined in this shameful White Paper. Now they will be campaigning for power with "socialist" phrases on their lips. They must not be allowed to repeat their performance of 1929-31, when a Labour Government

## British Atrocity in Burma



...to the left has taken place in the last decade. Not only the broad mass of the working class but the middle class also have been influenced by this radicalisation. The frustration of the latter section of the population, emphasised by the coalition of Labour with Toryism, found expression in the rise of the middle class Party—Common Wealth. In the next stage of the struggle these radicalised elements of the middle class can be won completely to organised Labour—but only on the basis of a militant working class policy directed against Big Business.

No doubt the electoral lists are still in a hopeless muddle and hundreds of thousands of civilians and service men—most of whose votes would be cast for Labour—will be disenfranchised by the rush election. This only serves to expose the muddle of capitalism and its coalition government, which, after 5 years could not guarantee democracy and debarred these working men and women from registering their votes. While condemning the anarchy of capitalist cum-Labour administrators, we Trotskyists believe that it is far better from the standpoint of Labour to fight now than to remain tied to the Tories in the coalition for even a few months more.

The coming General Election will give a tremendous impulsion to the masses of the workers and servicemen who are entering organised political work for the first time. It will revive the members of the working class who have become cynical and disillusioned as the result of the coalition and the abandonment of the class independence of the organisations of the working class. It will stimulate anew that tremendous political life which has been abandoned in the interest of "national unity" and the furthering of the imperialist war. This opens up new perspectives before the whole Labour movement and is taken into account in the tactics of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The widespread and ever-growing disillusionment in the Tories and in capitalism has not yet crystallised into a clear and alternative understanding of the class struggle and the need for an internationalist socialist policy. This entirely progressive tendency on the part of the masses is as yet unformulated ideologically or in organisational practice. In the next stages of the struggle it will either be directed into conscious class forms of struggle through the workers United Front, or it will be diverted into the disastrous channels of class collaboration through the Labour—"Progressive" Popular Front policy of Stalinism.

The Labour leaders left themselves free at the Labour Party National Conference to form a future coalition with the Liberals and other capitalist politicians if such a step became necessary for them. Such a coalition would harm the interests of the workers and aid the capitalist class. Whatever the result of the election, the workers must demand that under no circumstances must the Labour leadership combine with any section of the capitalists or their parties.

The Revolutionary Communist Party is unequivocally and resolutely for the United Front of worker's organisations against capitalism and its various parties. The Revolutionary Communist

the aspirations of the workers, the break-away of the middle class from the leadership of the workers, and their turning once again in the direction of reaction; it can only end, at a later stage, in preparing the way for fascism in this country.

The intervention of the Stalinists in the election serves to split the working class vote in the interests of capitalism. We Trotskyists will support the Labour Party against the Stalinists wherever the latter oppose a Labour candidate. Even in areas where there is no possibility of a direct representative of capitalism standing against Labour, Stalinism will act as an agency of Popular Frontism and the capitalist class.

There is no fundamental difference between the policies of the Labour Party and those of the I.L.P. By the time the General Election takes place the I.L.P. will probably already have affiliated to the Labour Party or will have made an electoral agreement and no conflict will arise between their candidates. In those constituencies where the I.L.P. contests the election against capitalist candidates or against Stalinists, the Revolutionary Communist Party will give critical support and practical assistance, where possible to the comrades of the I.L.P.

The Revolutionary Communist Party declares that the lessons of the class struggles of the past generation demonstrate that, in opposition to parliament, Workers' Councils are the form of organisation by and through which the working class will overthrow capitalism and introduce the socialist system.

The Revolutionary Communist Party believes that the Labour Party, with its present policy, leadership, and form of organisation, cannot succeed in overthrowing capitalism and bringing about the advent of socialism either nationally or internationally.

But only a tiny section of the working class have accepted these propositions. The overwhelming mass of workers still have illusions in Parliament and in the capacity of the Labour Party to bring about socialism through parliament. The task of revolutionary communists, therefore, is to assist and unite with these workers wherever possible, in struggle against the capitalist class; to pass through the experience of putting Labour into Power together with them; to test the Labour leaders and their programme in practice, and on this road, out of the experiences of the masses, will be built the mass Revolutionary Communist Party, which will be the instrument of the working class in destroying capitalism.

It is our firm conviction that even to operate Labour's present programme of reforms, a great struggle against the capitalists will be necessitated, and that rather than conduct such a struggle the Labour Party will fail to operate its own programme, and capitulate to the capitalist class, as in the past. But the best way to expose the Labour leaders to their followers and supporters is to put them to the test.

The workers will gain in concessions only what they fight for at the point of production, on the basis of a militant struggle. The parliamentary battle will be but a pale reflection of

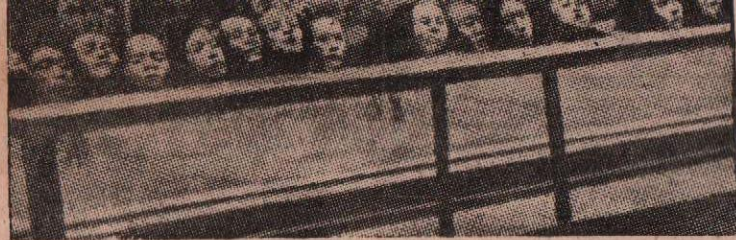
(Continued foot of next Column.)

his Government.

### THE BURMANS WANT INDEPENDENCE

The desire of the great majority of the Burmese people is for independence from all foreign rule. This demand was voiced in 1940 by the House of Representatives, which protested because the British had included Burma in the war against Germany without the consent of the people of Burma, "and have further, in complete disregard of Burmese opinion, passed laws and adopted measures curtailing the powers and activities of the Burma Government". They demanded "that Burma should be recognised as an independent nation entitled to frame her own constitution."

In November 1941 the Prime Minister of Burma, U. Saw, went to England to demand—not complete inde-



16 Burmese patriots beheaded by British in Tharrawady in 1931, and publicly exhibited to terrorise the rest of the population. This atrocity was raised in the House of Commons and was not denied. We see from this that it is not only the Nazi gangsters who engage in systematic terror for the purpose of cowering the workers and oppressed peoples into submission, but the British imperialist gangsters as well.

Now the British imperialists are going to "liberate" the Burmese people from the domination of the Japanese. It is clear why the Burmese and colonial peoples are indifferent as to whether it is Japanese or British imperialism which is plundering and oppressing them.

One of the last acts of the Labour Ministers was to give their support to the policy outlined in this shameful White Paper. Now they will be campaigning for power with "socialist" phrases on their lips. They must not be allowed to repeat their performance of 1929-31, when a Labour Government carried out the greatest repression that India has ever known. If they say they stand for the interests of the working class they must be forced to take the only measure which can save the workers from the horrors of a long imperialist war in the Far East.

Demand of the Labour leaders that they denounce the policy of the present Government in India, Burma and Ceylon, and campaign for power on a programme including the unconditional independence of these countries and the withdrawal of British troops from them!

# POLISH CRISIS

## Stalin's Methods Undermine Soviet Union

BY ROSE CARSON

After years of negotiation between Stalin and his "Allies" over the question of Poland, Stalin exploded a bombshell: he arrested a delegation of Polish politicians who had gone to Russia to discuss broadening the Polish Government in accordance with the Crimea decisions.

The charge, that the 16 Poles were guilty of committing "diversionary acts

against the Red Army", does not hold water, in view of the personalities of these politicians and the circumstances of their arrest.

The delegation included M. Puzak, Secretary General of the Polish Socialist Party, Chairman of the Council of National Unity in Poland (one of the leading bodies of the Polish underground during the Nazi occupation); and M. Baginski, leader of the left-wing of the Peasant Party, who was known to have advocated conciliation with Stalin.

The names of the delegation were given by the British and U.S. Governments to the Soviet Government as persons who should be consulted about broadening the Polish Government. They voluntarily, and with the advice and support of the British Labour Party, came out of illegality in order to conduct these discussions. Moreover, the Polish Government in London has published a statement, which says that they had had talks with Col. Pimienov of the Russian Security Police, during which he submitted a questionnaire on how their respective organisations were to come into the open, to which they gave detailed replies. On the day this reply was submitted they were arrested.

It is evident from these facts that the charge on which they were arrested was merely an excuse. Stalin's real purpose has nothing to do with military affairs, but is exclusively political: to exclude his "Allies" from any representation in the Polish administration, and to suppress any or all internal or external opposition to the Lublin Government, so as to maintain absolute control over the destinies of Poland.

### ANGLO-AMERICAN INTERESTS IN POLAND

The hue and cry raised by Anglo-American imperialism over the fate of the 16 Poles is in no sense a genuine concern for the liberties of the Polish people, nor have the imperialists any interest in fostering democracy in Poland or elsewhere. Neither the British nor the American Governments have hesitated to imprison political opponents on equally trumped-up charges, both at home and abroad. The imperialists are using the imprisonment of the 16 Poles to arouse anti-Soviet sentiment. They deliberately take advantage of Stalin's reactionary methods in order to foster antagonism towards the Soviet Union.

### STALIN'S METHODS ENDANGER THE SOVIET UNION

By his slanders, intrigues and frame-ups, Stalin succeeds only in playing into the hands of his imperialist "Allies". The reactionary, anti-Soviet London Poles are able to make great use of the crude accusations against their arrested compatriots.

Stalin included General Okulicki, a reactionary Polish Junker, among the 16. Yet his name was not on the list drawn up by the British and American Governments of Poles who should be consulted about broadening the Government. He was evidently arrested in order to besmirch the other 15; this is a G.P.U. amalgam, in line with the methods used in the "treason trials" of the Old Bolsheviks in 1936 and 1937.

Such methods do not defend the Soviet Union, on the contrary, they only succeed in antagonising the genuine defenders of the Soviet Union, the workers throughout the world.

### THE "PEACE AGREEMENTS" EXPOSED

The crisis that has developed over Poland between Anglo-American im-

perialism and the Soviet Union is a reflection of the juggling for position that is going on behind the diplomatic front of the San Francisco Conference. While the masses throughout the world are being duped into the belief that an organisation is being created that will prevent war, the "Allies" demonstrate their faith in this organisation—by throwing overboard the whole principle of negotiation to settle disputes, and protecting their spheres of influence by ruthless power politics.

At the same time the wonderful Crimea Conference, which was to ensure permanent peace between the Soviet Union and the "democratic" capitalist world, has shown its true worth. Negotiations have been broken off between these "Allies" because Stalin himself refuses to carry out the Crimea decisions. What does Harry Pollitt have to say about that?

### THE ONLY ROAD

The Polish masses can hope for nothing from Anglo-American imperialism and its London Polish agents. Nor can they hope for a solution to their problems through the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy in the Kremlin and its Lublin masquerade. The only hope for the Polish masses is for them to develop their own independent class organisations under the leadership of a revolutionary Party that will be able to bring about a genuine socialist system in Poland.

And the Soviet Union can be defended against all the imperialists, who are only waiting their opportunity to destroy the remaining conquests of the October Revolution, not by relying on worthless pacts with these same imperialists, or on Stalin's rotten diplomacy, but by struggling for the overthrow of capitalism throughout the world. A socialist Poland is the only solution for the crisis.

# Statement of Expelled I.L.P. Members

(Continued from page 1.)

confirmed its analysis of national and international events; confirmed in particular its criticisms of the leadership of the I.L.P. and its associated bodies on the plane of international political and organisational collaboration. We were won to what position because the Fourth International is the only international party of the working class which has maintained its principles steadfastly in the course of the present war.

We have never hidden our conversion to the Trotskyist position, but have fought to the best of our ability to explain these ideas inside the I.L.P. and win support for them. As members of the I.L.P. we accepted the Constitution which said "Membership of the I.L.P. is open to all Socialists who sign a declaration accepting the Constitution of the Party and whose application for membership is accepted by a Branch." By this clause we were led to believe that we had the democratic right to voice our ideas within the Party. In this we were proven wrong. Our expulsion means: any comrades who take a sufficiently clear revolutionary policy in the I.L.P. will be expelled, if they threaten the position of the existing leadership or the policies it is pursuing.

## BROCKWAY'S DISCUSSIONS WITH LASKI

The expulsions can only be properly understood if taken in conjunction with the general development of the Party. Since the disaffiliation from the Labour Party in 1932 the I.L.P. has rocked from left to right without clear international or national perspectives and policies. In the last few months, disillusioned because of the failure of the I.L.P. to make appreciable headway and grow as they expected it to, the leadership has travelled rapidly to the right. In travelling to the right it is and was prepared to chop off its left wing, no matter how bureaucratically. There were a series of Trotskyist resolutions on the agenda of the Conference from the North East Division, including one which proposed the affiliation of the I.L.P. to the Fourth International. These had to be expunged from the agenda as a gesture to the leadership of the Labour Party; it was a demonstration that Brockway and Co. were really going to capitulate as fully as the Labour leaders wanted them to.

The dominating factor in the minds of the majority of the leadership in the pre-Conference period was the question of affiliation to the Labour Party. Everything was to be subordinated to the success of the I.L.P.

Party. Although we were also advocating affiliation of the I.L.P. to the Labour Party and had pursued a consistent policy in this respect, unlike

confidence that their judgment will be favourable to us.

## THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL OFFERS ONLY ROAD

We have the choice of fighting for re-entry into the I.L.P., seeking the national support of the membership in that campaign and subordinating our whole political work to that end for the next period; or of entering the Revolutionary Communist Party. We have decided to embark on the latter course for the following reasons:

The leadership of the Party have a Conference decision behind them and are undoubtedly determined not to allow us to re-enter. Although the Conference was stamped into the expulsions and there is undoubtedly a larger support for us on the question of democracy than was registered at the Conference, we do not estimate that such support is capable of removing the dead hand of the paper or dues-paying members of the Party, upon whose vote the N.A.C. rests. We are entering a period of tremendous political upsurge favourable to revolutionary activity and the campaign for our re-entry into the I.L.P. will be largely lost in the great struggles that almost immediately open up and will handicap us from carrying out open and organised political work. And finally, we agree with the fundamental principles and policies of the Revolutionary Communist Party and are convinced that we can find full expression for our individual abilities and ideas in the common task together with the other comrades and members of building the Revolutionary Communist Party nationally and internationally.

After full discussion we have decided to enter a party where we believe, we will be guaranteed the democratic internal right of placing our point of view before the membership without being faced with the danger of expulsion, should our ideas gain an increasing volume of support.

In struggling to make the I.L.P. a revolutionary Party, we are confident that the most politically conscious members will, like ourselves, learn by their experience that the I.L.P. is not interested in revolutionary policies but in maintaining a fairly comfortable role in British working class life; we are confident that they will learn by their experience that the Fourth International offers the only road forward for revolutionary socialist workers.

In the North East, the Conference decision to expel us means the almost complete smashing of the I.L.P. We now intend to throw our energy into building the Revolutionary Communist Party as the virile revolutionary party of the North East and British workers.

We will explain to the North East I.L.P.ers and workers the real role of

# TORIES FORCE ELECTION

(Continued from page 1.)

shows that in every case in the industries controlled, the controls are in the hands of the representatives of the Big Combines and Big Business. For example, the steel industry is controlled by officials of the Iron and Steel Federation; Chemicals are controlled by representatives of the Imperial Chemicals Industries monopoly; and food by the huge combine Unilevers.

Herbert Morrison said at the Conference that socialism could not be introduced overnight, but would have to proceed gradually. Labour's programme would suffice for the next five years. But in his speech covering up the inadequacies of Labour's programme, he contradicted himself. On the one hand he said in effect that only socialism can solve the problems of the workers, and on the other hand only offered half-measures to face up to the problem. He stated:

"The future of British industry, the ensuring of full employment, the control of financial and credit institutions, agriculture, housing—these would be the essentials of the fight; and without a policy which went to the roots of economic and industrial affairs to talk about food, houses, work and social security, would be meaningless.

"You cannot get a quart of Socialist prosperity out of a miserable pint capitalist pot.

"Our opponents spin fine phrases about aims and they talk of food, houses and full employment. But although they talk about them they oppose the means by which alone they can be secured."

And yet the Labour leaders themselves refuse to undertake those measures which alone can guarantee food, houses and full employment. These measures taken by Lenin and Trotsky in the Russian Revolution of 1917 are the only socialist solution: nationalisation without compensation of all big industry, the land, mines, banks, factories and the big monopolies and combines, and their operation under the control of the workers; the planning

prospects, regardless of ownership.

"The second strand of 'anti-business legislation might be directed against monopolies. Lord McGowan touched on this question a day or two ago in his annual address to the shareholders of Imperial Chemical Industries."

"... Thus the control of monopolies is a non-Party issue, but it might be thought that a Labour Government would press ahead with such a programme more energetically. One can only say that the low yields of the shares of companies likely to be affected, indicate no concern on this score.

"Finally, a Labour Government might conceivably impose a general control of profit margins or fail to remove E.P.T. But any responsible Government will have to bear in mind the need to provide an adequate incentive to industry still under private ownership, if only in the interests of full employment."

This is the opinion of the capitalist class, as seen by one of their most responsible journals.

## NO CONFIDENCE IN OWN PROGRAMME

The Labour leaders themselves have no confidence in their own programme; they know that their programme will not solve the problems of the workers. The "Daily Express" jeeringly reports Morrison's plea at the Conference:

"Mr. Morrison had a striking passage in which he warned the comrade candidates that they must not make unauthorised promises to the electors but must stick to the programme.

"Otherwise, some 'poor devil of a Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer' as he calls him, would be expected to meet the bills arising from such mass bribery of voters at the public expense. He warned them peremptorily that the Treasury under a Socialist Government would

# Neath Campaign Continues

BY JOHN LAWRENCE

The Election at Neath is over, but the political discussion that it aroused continues. Friends and opponents—all admit that it has aroused the political life in the area to a higher pitch than at any time since the old days of 1929.

The discussion did not only take place in the Neath division, but in the adjoining areas as far away as Ebbw Vale, and Tredegar. Our comrades at Neath are receiving enquiries and invitations from various working class bodies to speak on R.C.P. policy.

Workers continue to call at our offices and discussions still take place until the small hours of the morning. A flourishing weekly study circle on Marxism has commenced and is being extended into the valleys. Now that the work of consolidating the gains of our campaign is well under way, the Party ranks should grow appreciably.

We have established the most friendly connections with the Left wing of the Labour Party both in Neath itself and in the valleys. After the announcement of the election results a number of the younger Left wing members of the Labour Party approached us and said they had voted and worked against us as loyal members of the Labour Party, but they were either in complete agreement with the policy upon which we had fought the election or agreed very much more with us than with the official Labour Party programme. They said they were ashamed of the campaign of slander which had been carried on against the R.C.P. and hoped we did not think the rank and file of the Labour Party had participated in it. They wanted us to continue our educational and agitational activity and hoped that we could find a large field for common forms of activity. We, Trotskyists, will certainly work to find the widest field of friendly collaboration.

Now that the General Election is on the order of the day the movement as a whole will swing into action. The Labour Party will undoubtedly grow, and many younger workers will be recruited into its ranks.

The workers want to know if we are going to contest the General Election against the Labour Party. Comrade Haston has had a busy time explaining our tactic of "Labour to Power". "We will not contest against Labour Party candidates if they are opposed by Tory, Liberal or other capitalist representatives in the General Election" he explained to a meeting at Cwmgrach; "the mass of trade Unionists and Socialist thinking workers believe that the Labour Party can maintain adequate standards of life and bring about socialism. We, Trotskyists, don't think that they can,

many say 'give Labour a chance'. As part of the process of politically educating our fellow workers as to the need for revolutionary politics we are prepared to give Labour that chance.

"In Neath, if D. J. Williams is opposed by Liberal or Tory, I will campaign among our supporters to vote for the Labour Party candidate." We will issue a series of leaflets explaining our policy and tactics" he said; "and we are confident that the workers who supported us in the By-Election will understand these tactics."

The "Western Mail", the coal-owners paper, called upon the electorate to support the Labour candidate. In its editorial columns after polling day it breathed a sigh of relief that the Labour Coalition candidate was elected and a venomous attack was made upon the Revolutionary Communist Candidate. It argued that in no other country in the world—including Russia—would such a candidate with such a 'Red Revolutionary' programme have been allowed to stand. This did not go unnoticed by the most conscious workers in the area. Some of the Labour Party members in the pits themselves commenting on it as an indication that the Tories preferred the Labour candidate and certainly were not afraid of him. The capitalists were not happy about our vote at all. The poll demonstrated that a large minority of the workers are heartily sick of Labour reformist and capitalist politics pursued by the leadership of the mass workers organisations. It is also a demonstration that "the Trotskyist movement is emerging from its isolation and is once again back into the bloodstream of the Labour movement."

This conscious minority in Neath has its counterpart in all parts of the country; in all parts of the world. In the great days that lie ahead the class struggle will inevitably push the best of these workers well into the foreground of the working class movement.

Few workers, if any, were under the illusion that we were Stalinists. The Stalinists saw to that, with their slander campaign and by the circulation of thousands of leaflets—even at some of the polling booths as the workers entered to cast their vote. The leading Stalinists have been largely discredited because of their foul slanderous tactics. The rank and file are extremely friendly to us and openly state that they have little or no confidence in the line pursued by their own leadership. The young workers who have been drawn into political life on the basis of the election have begun on a high political

## WORKERS' DEMAND:

FULL ELECTORAL AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR ALL PERSONS FROM THE AGE OF 18 YEARS. FULL DEMOCRATIC AND POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR THE MEN AND WOMEN IN UNIFORM.

of production, not by private enterprise in the interest of private profit, but by committees of workers and tech-

not honour those unauthorised cheques.

"So stop it", he exclaimed to the

## WOMEN IN UNIFORM.

question of affiliation to the Labour Party. Everything was to be subordinated to the success of the I.L.P. Party. Although we were also advocating affiliation of the I.L.P. to the Labour Party and had pursued a consistent policy in this respect, unlike the leadership of the Party, we wanted our critical attitude towards Transport House to be fully elaborated in the discussions on affiliation. We wanted the rank and file of the Labour Party to know that we had principled differences with the policies pursued by that leadership and that in coming into the Labour Party we intended to fight against these false policies. Fearful that this would antagonise the leadership of the Labour Party and jeopardise entry into the Labour Party, and incapable of putting up a vigorous opposition to the Labour leaders, Brockway and McNair had to get rid of us.

It is interesting to note that with the expulsions of the Trotskyists, without a sufficiently vigorous left wing policy and programme around which to crystallise the revolutionary elements, the Conference moved sharply to the right on U.N.N.R.A., Housing and other questions.

Prior to the intensive anti-Trotskyist drive inside the Party, Fenner Brockway met Harold Laski on December 21st when possible obstacles to a successful affiliation were discussed between them. Brockway reported to the N.A.C. as follows:

**"The second ground of criticism (of the Labour leaders against the I.L.P.) was the allegation that the Party is 'Trotskyist'. I told Laski that the 'Trotskyists' are only a fraction of the Party and he accepted this and did not consider that the difficulty would be serious."**

Following this report, the campaign of falsification against us was got well underway and it became obvious that we were to be expelled at all costs.

### NO DEMOCRACY FOR THE LEFT

The allegation that the North East Annual Divisional Conference was unconstitutional, could have been absolutely disproved by us had we been given such an opportunity. **But we were denied the right to reply to the charge of so-called irregularities which we were alleged to have committed, and which were circulated to the general public in the preliminary agenda, which lent more weight to our accusers. We submit that the decision to expel us was taken for the reason that by banning our Divisional Conference, the whole of our legitimate resolutions putting the Trotskyist attitude towards affiliation to the Labour Party and other important questions, were kept from appearing on the final agenda of the Easter Conference.**

After years of untiring service with the Party, we were allowed the totally inadequate time of 5 minutes each to state our case. **While we could have disproved all the mis-statements levelled against us had we the opportunity, we were given the charges we had to answer only half an hour before we had to speak. We will gladly place all the relevant facts before any group of I.L.Pers for their enquiry, with full**

decision to expel us means the almost complete smashing of the I.L.P. We now intend to throw our energy into building the Revolutionary Communist Party as the virile revolutionary party of the North East and British workers.

We will explain to the North East I.L.Pers and workers the real role of the I.L.P. leaders in order that they may be freed from the illusions that the I.L.P. is a revolutionary or "libertarian" party. In doing this we feel we are carrying on the socialist struggle.

**We conclude, by appealing:**

- To all members who believe we are adopting a correct policy—Join the R.C.P. with us!
- To those who remain unconvinced—Struggle for Party democracy within the I.L.P.!

### STATEMENT OF COMRADE BELL

I have worked on the North East Divisional Council of the I.L.P. for the past 3 years with the expelled comrades and fully endorse their statement. I have tendered my resignation and am applying along with them for membership of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

### ADDENDUM

**ADDENDUM:** Our expulsion has raised certain important problems within the I.L.P. and also for us as expelled members. We were told and you are told the I.L.P. is democratic and that the R.C.P. is dictatorial. During the weeks since Conference we have made a detailed comparison of the two Constitutions. Compare the following extracts regarding expulsions and form your own conclusions:—

**1. The I.L.P. Constitution says:—**  
"Members who do not conform to the Constitution, etc. may be expelled by (a) a branch, subject to the right of appeal to the Divisional Council, or (b) the N.A.C. upon the recommendation of a Divisional Council of the I.L.P. or (c) the N.A.C. subject to the right of appeal to the Annual Conference."

**The R.C.P. Constitution says:—**  
"Disciplinary action, including censure, reduction to probationary membership, suspension of membership, and expulsion may be taken by the body having jurisdiction over any member committing a breach of discipline or acting in a manner detrimental to the interests of the Party and the working class."

**Charges against any member must be made in writing and the accused furnished with a copy; such charges are considered by the body in which the charge originates at a meeting at which the accused member can attend and if a member of that body vote; the findings of this meeting shall serve as a recommendation to the District Committee which shall take a decision. Charges originating in the District Committee, Political Bureau or Central Committee shall be decided upon by those bodies.**

**Any member subjected to disciplinary action is entitled to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Congress; the disciplinary action in the meanwhile is upheld.**

(Continued in next Column.)

of production, not by private enterprise in the interest of private profit, but by committees of workers and technicians in the interest of the needs of the population. Anything short of this will produce even greater chaos than capitalism has produced in the past. It is impossible to put a quart of "Socialist" planning in gallons of capitalist anarchy and disorder.

"But socialism cannot come overnight," says Labour's programme. Therefore in the meantime, the Labour leaders are promising us . . . jobs while the major industries are left under private ownership and while the big banks are left untouched; houses without nationalising the land and building material; plenty of food without nationalising the land and big food combines, such as Unilevers! And the Labour leaders claim to be the "realists", the practical men!

### CAPITALISTS HAVE NO FEAR OF LABOUR'S PROGRAMME

No wonder the Financial Editor of the "Observer" in the issue of May 27th, remarked complacently in dealing with the effect of the election on the Stock Market.

**" . . . Even a Labour Government is not expected to take drastic measures against business. There are three possible lines of political action that would have investment implications: nationalisation of industries, control of monopolies, and the regulation of profits in general. Under the first head, Labour's programme does, of course, extend to the nationalisation of a number of basic industries, including the railways, coal, public utilities and insurance. Should this programme be implemented everything depends, from the investor's point of view, on the terms of compensation; and few people would expect anything in the nature of expropriation. Certainly, the valuation of the shares of these industries is not dominated by the possibility of nationalisation, but on an estimate of earning**

not honour those unauthorised cheques.  
**"So stop it", he exclaimed to the accompaniment of roars of laughter.**  
The answer to this was given by a young soldier delegate, who reflected the uneasiness of the best sections of the rank and file in his criticism of the Election Programme. "It lacked," he said, "bigness and urgency." Instead of being called "Let us Face the Future" it should have been entitled "On the Threshold of a New World or of Disaster." This goes to the heart of the question. Either the workers take control and inaugurate a new society or face the old society of unemployment and insecurity, intensified by the disasters of the war. There is no middle road.

The leadership ruled out a Stalinist inspired resolution (under the three years rule) asking for electoral unity with the "progressives." As this was refused, the reference back was moved which was defeated by the narrow majority of 1,314,000 to 1,219,000. By refusing to allow a discussion on this question, the leadership sowed tremendous confusion among the delegates. Many of the delegates were in favour of agreements with the smaller working class parties, but did not realise that included in the resolution on electoral agreements with "progressives" was included Liberals and even so-called "progressive" Tories, such as Churchill.

The strong feeling of the rank and file against another coalition with the Tories, or a repetition of the debacles of 1924, 1929-31, was such as to force the National Executive to make a declamation against any further coalition with the Tories. Laski, on behalf of the Executive, said:

**"There is no possibility whatever of Labour joining in a coalition with the Conservatives. But as to the other issue of joining with other people, I do urge this Conference not to tie the hands of the Party."**  
Thus, despite the fear of the rank and file of a repetition of the disastrous experience of Popular Frontism with the last Labour Governments, the leadership was left a free hand to move in this direction, if it desires to do so.  
Many of the resolutions on the agenda had an internationalist and socialist slant. The delegates, especially the younger ones, were critical of the leadership. Some of the delegates were heard to remark that they had no opportunity of voicing their position on the programme because the whole Conference had become transformed into an election demonstration. Under these conditions it was difficult for the rank and file, who still remain loyal to the Party, to voice their doubts and criticism of the Party leadership and programme. All criticism was stifled by the leadership taking advantage of the situation to

transform the Conference into an election meeting, rather than a conference to debate policy.

Despite the criticisms of Labour's programme, which it is necessary for us to make in order not to deceive the workers, the overthrow of the Tory government remains the most urgent and vital task for the working class in the coming election. Criticisms of the programme are not sufficient. Programmes must be tested in action. The Labour leaders have always sheltered behind the excuse that they never had a majority in the last unfortunate experiments of Labour in office.

Despite doubts and criticisms, millions of the best trade union and Labour workers, the salt of the Labour movement, those who built the Labour movement in the last few decades, are still not convinced that their needs cannot be served by the Labour Party and its programme. Only experience can convince these millions of loyal fighters of the working class. While reserving the right to criticise the programme and policy of the Labour leaders, we will fight side by side with the Labour workers to return a majority Labour Government. We will continually and patiently explain the measures which we believe are necessary to solve the crisis of capitalism.

We will fight with the Labour workers to exert pressure on the leadership to implement their promises, to take measures against the capitalists in the interests of the working people. As Lenin pointed out, only the experience of millions together with revolutionary propaganda, can convince them of inadequacies of the Labour programme and the need for a revolutionary communist programme. Criticism is not enough. Our comrades will work hard in the localities together with the Labour workers to return a majority Labour Government.

The next stage forward is mobilising the workers in a Majority Labour Government. But we warn the workers: rely only on your own organised strength, your own solidarity to achieve your aims. Watch the Labour leaders. Demand that they produce deeds as well as fine words. No more cocktails and hobnobbing with the boss class as Morrison and Bevin did with Churchill and the other representatives of Big Business just after Churchill had pulled his trick. Demand that the gloves be taken off! This is no picnic for the workers: it is a matter of life and death.

**WORKERS! VOTE LABOUR! FOR A MAJORITY LABOUR GOVERNMENT AS THE NEXT STEP FORWARD!**

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

transform the Conference into an election meeting, rather than a conference to debate policy.

Despite the criticisms of Labour's programme, which it is necessary for us to make in order not to deceive the workers, the overthrow of the Tory government remains the most urgent and vital task for the working class in the coming election. Criticisms of the programme are not sufficient. Programmes must be tested in action. The Labour leaders have always sheltered behind the excuse that they never had a majority in the last unfortunate experiments of Labour in office.

Despite doubts and criticisms, millions of the best trade union and Labour workers, the salt of the Labour movement, those who built the Labour movement in the last few decades, are still not convinced that their needs cannot be served by the Labour Party and its programme. Only experience can convince these millions of loyal fighters of the working class. While reserving the right to criticise the programme and policy of the Labour leaders, we will fight side by side with the Labour workers to return a majority Labour Government. We will continually and patiently explain the measures which we believe are necessary to solve the crisis of capitalism.

We will fight with the Labour workers to exert pressure on the leadership to implement their promises, to take measures against the capitalists in the interests of the working people. As Lenin pointed out, only the experience of millions together with revolutionary propaganda, can convince them of inadequacies of the Labour programme and the need for a revolutionary communist programme. Criticism is not enough. Our comrades will work hard in the localities together with the Labour workers to return a majority Labour Government.

The next stage forward is mobilising the workers in a Majority Labour Government. But we warn the workers: rely only on your own organised strength, your own solidarity to achieve your aims. Watch the Labour leaders. Demand that they produce deeds as well as fine words. No more cocktails and hobnobbing with the boss class as Morrison and Bevin did with Churchill and the other representatives of Big Business just after Churchill had pulled his trick. Demand that the gloves be taken off! This is no picnic for the workers: it is a matter of life and death.

**WORKERS! VOTE LABOUR! FOR A MAJORITY LABOUR GOVERNMENT AS THE NEXT STEP FORWARD!**

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

file are extremely friendly to us and openly state that they have little or no confidence in the line pursued by their own leadership. The young workers who have been drawn into political life on the basis of the election have begun on a high political level which will influence all their future political judgments, and in the long run will bring them into the ranks of the Fourth International.

Speaking to the 900 workers who assembled outside the Gwyn Hall to hear the election result, Comrade Haston said, "1,781 votes for the R.C.P. policy was a significant vote. These were the most class conscious workers in the Division of Neath. They voted against the war, against the policy of the Churchill Government in the conduct of the war, against the suppression of the Indian and colonial people, against the policy of Vansittartism which alleged that all Germans were mad dogs and Nazis; against the policy of the Labour and Trade Union leaders inside the coalition from whence they had helped the capitalist class. These 1,781 had voted to break the coalition with the capitalists; they had voted for a policy of revolutionary communist struggle against capitalism, for the freedom of India and for the Internationalist policy of working class fraternisation with the German workers.

Today, these are but a couple of thousand, tomorrow these will be millions fighting together with us for the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of communist society, nationally and internationally.

## WHITBURN PITS TO CLOSE

(Continued from page 1.)

On this issue the Whitburn miners have taken the correct steps. They are only the first to be attacked. Their brothers in the Durham coal fields must rally to their aid with resolutions and determined demands to the leaders for support throughout the country.

Miners! Prepare for the battle of your lives in the coming days. Remember 1921 and 1926.

So long as the mines are allowed to remain in the hands of the coal owners, so long as production is determined by the lust for profit and not use, then anarchy in the coalfields, bringing poverty and misery for the miners and their families is inevitable.

The only solution to the problem of the Whitburn miners, which is also the problem of all miners throughout the coalfields of Britain, lies along the road of resolute struggle in defence of their conditions against the attacks of the owners, and for the expropriation of the coal barons and operation of the coal industry under the control of the miners.

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