



# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Workers  
of All Lands  
Unite

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

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## GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICY

Foreshadows Speed-Up of Labour and

Bigger Profits for Bosses BY JOCK HASTON

IN COLD FIGURES, THE GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER—ECONOMIC SURVEY FOR 1947—PORTRAYS A GRIM FUTURE FOR THE BRITISH POPULATION AND SHOULD BE A WARNING TO THE WORKING CLASS OF THE GRAVE SITUATION IN STORE FOR THEM IF THE CAPITALIST CLASS REMAINS IN THE OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

This White Paper is a review of the present economic position of Britain, and an outline of the perspectives, hopes and "plans" of the Government for the coming year.

### The Cold Economic Facts

The loss of British imperialist gold and foreign investment during the war has been tremendous. In addition, the new debt incurred since the end of the war, makes the "pre-war capital position (of Britain) in relation to the rest of the world (worse) by £6,000 million." The net income loss which this involves, added to the loss of net income from shipping, unless it can be made up by a considerable expansion of industrial production for export, must necessarily result in a considerable reduction of the standards of life for the British working class within a few short years.

It is estimated that the deficit of imports over exports will be £350 million. In addition, Britain will be called upon to lay out dollars under the convertibility agreement which was part of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement. This deficit can only be met by borrowing from the £955 million credit, which remains in the U.S.A. and Canada. In other words, Britain will continue to live on tick. At most, this situation can last into early 1949; unless the export situation improves enormously. Even in that event, unless Britain receives further credits from America, the standards of the British workers must fall with a tremendous bump.

To make up the additional industrial output will be a tremendous

task. In only a few industries has there been an expansion during the six years of war. In the main, capital equipment has depreciated and not been fully maintained during the past six years. Although the production of coal—the key to the present situation—has "exceeded the production of 1945 by 3.6 per cent.", on the whole, and was slowly rising, it was nevertheless still 18 per cent. below the production of 1938. Power plant is outmoded and cannot allow for serious additional output for the next two or three years.

All these factors tend to hold up the ability of British industrialists to achieve the best production results in face of a favourable market.

In view of this present favourable state of the world market the Government plans for a short-term, and within certain limits. The resources of the Government will be brought to bear, and by the manipulation of financial policy and priorities, aimed at minimising production for home consumption and continuing to expand production for exports. It is admitted, however, that a long term plan is out of the question: "There are still too many major uncertainties, especially in the international economic field."

It is precisely the world market which constitutes the achilles heel of the Labour Government's schemes, which continues to operate the capitalist system

### Intensified Exploitation Of Labour

Meanwhile, every effort will be made to take advantage of the short term favourable market by the speed-up and increase of production. To this end, a tremendous increase in new net capital accumulation during 1947 is planned. At the same time, the labour force, which is already one million more than in June 1939, will be further increased; also, by the addition of foreign labour. The main increase in production, however, (and this is emphasised again and again in the White Paper) must come from an increase in the productivity of labour. In other words, from the intensification of the exploitation of the working class.

Whereas in 1938, 78% of the national income was distributed in the form of personal consumption, in 1947, the Government plans that 66½% of the national income will be distributed as personal consumption. This compares with 54% distributed as personal consumption in 1945. Meanwhile, whereas in 1938, 16½% of the national income was distributed in the form of capital equipment and maintenance, less depreciation of 10%, leaving a net capital accumulation of 6½%, in 1947, 20% of the national income will be distributed in the form of capital

## Bring the Troops Back Home!

Let the People of Palestine Decide Their Own Fate

Martial law has been declared in Tel-Aviv and other Jewish areas in Palestine as a reply to the new attacks of the Jewish terrorists which have resulted in the death of 20 people, among them some British troops.

In an endeavour to delay and manoeuvre in Palestine, the Government has decided to "refer" the question to U.N.O. By this the Government also seeks to involve the other capitalist Powers, especially the United States in finding means of assuring, directly or indirectly, British imperialist control of Palestine and the Middle East.

The fate of Palestine is to be discussed and decided by everybody except the inhabitants!

The British troops in Palestine have no wish to be used as pawns in the game of Imperialism. The dirty and dangerous job which they are compelled to perform is not in the interests of the British workers or the people of Palestine.

Let the people of Palestine decide their own fate! Give them the right to have elections with guarantees of full rights for the Jewish minority. The Jews and Arabs will settle their differences. Instead of horse-deals among the great Powers in the "thieves' kitchen" of U.N.O., which will have as their last consideration the needs and interests of the peoples of the Middle East, the Labour Government must grant these subject peoples the democratic right of self-determination.

Workers must demand through their trade union branches and the Labour movement the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Palestine! End the policy of reprisals—bring the troops back home!

## 1,000 Demob. Troops Delayed

For One Brass-Hat!

BY J. SMITH

Early in December 1946, some hundreds of troops "Walked off" and refused to sail in the troopships which were to take them overseas because of the abominable conditions aboard. Subsequently nine N.C.O.'s and men concerned have been victimised as "ringleaders" and received harsh court-martial sentences. In sharp contrast to this treatment, is the following example of preferential treatment accorded to members of the ruling class.

A report in the "News Chronicle" states:

### ACCOMMODATION FOR 2,500 — ONLY 300 ON BOARD

"On her last voyage as a troopship, the 20,000 ton Canadian Pacific liner, Duchess of Bedford, arrived in Liverpool from India with fewer than 300. She has accommodation for more than 2,500.

1,000 servicemen homeward-bound for demobilisation were left behind, not having arrived from Deolali, the trooping depot, when the vessel was due to leave Bombay.

"If the departure had been delayed to enable the men to join the liner she would have been too late at Gibraltar for the embarkation there of the retiring Governor, Lt-Gen. Sir Ralph Eastwood, and Lady Eastwood."

For the sake of embarking one Government official "on time" one thousand service lads were left behind in India when they should have arrived in Britain for demobilisation.

This disgusting affair indicates again the contemptuous disregard which the military ruling caste has for the welfare and interests of the rank-and-file! Let the troopships going overseas be crammed to overcrowding with soldiers—but a thousand troops due home, can wait if it means upsetting the dignity and prestige of a Lt-General by not embarking him on time!

It was officers of this ruling class mentality that sentenced the 9 N.C.O.s and men to detention recently—but no officer has been charged with irresponsible dereliction of duty in leaving the 1,000 troops behind in Bombay; no officer will be court-martialled on their account. But no doubt, there would have been disciplinary and court-martial action if the worthy ex-Governor of Gibraltar had missed the boat!

All the more reason why the working class movement in Britain must protest vigorously against the vindictive court-martial sentences meted out to the 9 N.C.O.s and men, and demand their immediate and unconditional release!



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# GENERAL STRIKE IN CALCUTTA

## Solidarity with Viet-Nam

CALCUTTA—

A GENERAL STRIKE TOOK PLACE IN CALCUTTA ON FEBRUARY 5th AS A SEQUEL TO POLICE BRUTALITY ON JANUARY 21st, WHEN A PROCESSION OF STUDENTS, YOUNG BOYS AND GIRLS IN THEIR TEEN AGE, WAS BROKEN UP BY TEAR GAS, LATHI CHARGES AND REVOLVER FIRE.

The barbarity of the attack can be ascertained by the fact that one student had his brains battered out in the street. In all 3 were killed and 100 injured.

Boys and girls were gassed and unconscious in the street while the police charged over their prostrate bodies.

### DEMONSTRATION TO FRENCH CONSULATE

The students were celebrating Viet Nam day and decided to hold a procession in defiance of Section 144, their destination being the French Consulate where they intended to demonstrate against French oppression in Indo-China. The students were attacked by the police immediately they emerged from the gates of the University. They retreated inside the building in the face of intense tear-gas attacks, but returned again to be met with the same treatment.

These sallies and retreats continued for the greater part of the day, until the whole area had been cordoned off by the police and the streets were practically impassable due to tear-gas fumes. By this time the Moslem students had joined the demonstration in force and the whole community had evaded the police and rallied inside the building.

### CONGRESS LEADER HOWLED DOWN

A large meeting was held and addressed by various political personalities, notable among them was Sarat Bose of the Congress. He urged the students to go home but was howled down with cries of "Go back, Sarat Bose." Evidently the students had not forgotten the role he played in November 1945, when he tried the same game of disrupting the students' anti-imperialist struggles. He met with more success this time, as when he left the platform and walked out, half the gathering dispersed. The meeting, however, continued and although the students were anxious

for further action, no programme was put before them.

Despite several requests, which were supported from a section of the gathering itself, the Trotskyists were refused the platform and the president attempted to close the meeting. The Trotskyists thereupon stormed the platform and succeeded in capturing it. They placed a concrete programme before the students based on co-operation with the working class.

### WORKERS THE KEY TO THE STRUGGLE

After the meeting, the student leaders approached the Bengal Province T.U.C. and forced them to form a Joint Council of Action, which contained representatives of the students, all political parties and the B.P.T.U.C. Instead of mapping out a programme of action, the Council called a public meeting for the following day at the University Institute Hall. They also issued an appeal for strike but due to the short notice given it proved a failure although public opinion was strongly in favour of the students. The nationalist press in keeping with their policy against strikes refused to publish the appeal. This agency of the capitalists started a campaign against the workers' struggles; the only time a strike is mentioned is for the sole purpose of vilifying and discrediting it. The main purpose of the meeting appeared to be for the purpose of damping the enthusiasm of the students.

The students wanted action; tear-gas was being fired outside the

(Continued on Page 4.)

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economic field." It is precisely the world market which constitutes the achilles heel of the Labour Government's schemes, which continues to operate the capitalist system.

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## FRENCH IMPERIALISM IN INDO-CHINA

"A small drama in Indo-China. A Viet Nameese Nationalist prisoner in the hands of the French authorities tries desperately to evade for a moment the brutal attentions of his captors in the Military Security Police." Picture from the magazine "Europe-Amerique." This is a sample of the methods of French imperialism in its war against the heroic struggle of the Indo-Chinese for national freedom and independence. It is appropriate that a large number of the forces that the French Imperialists have despatched to drown the Indo-Chinese struggle in blood is composed of elements recruited from the former Nazi S.S.

# OPPOSITION AT C.P. CONFERENCE

## Reformist Policy Criticised BY TED GRANT

THE OUTSTANDING FEATURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE THIS YEAR WAS THE REVOLUTIONARY OPPOSITION AMONG SECTIONS OF THE RANK AND FILE WHICH SUCCEEDED IN PENETRATING TO THE FLOOR OF THE CONFERENCE.

This was a reflection of the restlessness of the worker element in the rank and file at the policy of the Party since the end of the war.

To the more advanced and sincere members of the Communist Party it is beginning to be plain that the policy of the 'Communist' Party is not really Communist, that it is merely a more "Left" version of the policy of reformism which was attacked by Lenin.

This mood is demonstrated by the discussion which the leadership has been forced to allow within the pages of "World News and Views". From branches all over the country have come letters of criticism and suggestions in the direction of a sound working class policy.

From Manchester, one of the members of the Rails Group, Comrade Bill Ward, writes of the nationalisation of the railways which he correctly supports, "It seems apparent that what is needed

is a national policy of depot committees that could be related to regional committees. (i.e. What this comrade is really advocating is workers' control which the leadership of the Communist Party is studiously avoiding). . . . Class conscious workers have dreamed of this change-over, the dream must not become a nightmare."

This reflects the instinctive opposition of the best Communist Party workers to the policy of State capitalism of the Labour Government which can only lead the workers to catastrophe. But neither in the Conference or anywhere else have the C.P. leaders explained this problem to the working class or even their own members. They have covered up the reactionary aspects of the policy of the Labour Government on nationalisation and evaded the Leninist solution.

This revolutionary opposition tendency was most firmly and consistently expressed by the amend-

ment from Hertford and Welwyn Garden City which criticised the policy of the Party.

### MARXIST CRITICISM FROM HERTFORD

In an excellent letter published in "World News and Views", Eric Heffer writes the following unassailable Marxist criticism of the Congress resolution of the Communist Party:

"The E.C. Resolution, Section 1, 'The deepened crisis of capitalism', begins from a correct premise, but leaves out a vitally important feature of the present situation, and as a result it gives a wrong conclusion. It shows the weakened position of British imperialism, but does not show the strengthened position of monopoly within Britain, and their fusion with the state apparatus which resulted from World War II, and which is the basis of the present predatory foreign policy. Imperialism is

not a policy preferred by this or that group of capitalist politicians, but is a definite stage of capitalism.

"The E.C. Resolution glosses over vital theoretical problems. The policy presented as a result of this failure can only be described as Left Social-Democratic, i.e. opportunist. Lenin says, 'A Marxist is one who extends the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Herein lies the deepest difference between a Marxist and an ordinary petty or big bourgeois. On this touchstone it is necessary to test a real understanding and acceptance of Marxism.' (State and Revolution).

"It would appear that today our E.C. does not accept this statement, because in place of a clear formulation of the basic tasks of the proletariat and the Party we are given the vague term, 'the Socialist way'.

(Continued on Page 4.)

# Profits Continue

While the bosses are putting pressure on the Labour Government to operate a policy of wage freezing, the capitalists are reaping ever higher profits. Indicative of this rich harvest for the bosses are the examples listed below of some of the most recently declared profits of a few companies and trusts.

Imperial Tobacco Co.—Record profits of £18,300,000 for the year ended 31st October, 1946, as compared with £16,354,345 a year ago. The 1946 profit is after making provision of £200,000 for E.P.T. A year ago the Company benefited from an E.P.T. refund to the tune of £1,400,000.

British Industrial Plastics.—For the year to September 1946, reports a substantial increase in its gross and net profits. Gross profits, jumped from £280,681 to £391,146. Net profit, after taxation, depreciation fund and other deductions, was £44,512 as compared with previous £23,153. The consolidated profit is up from £179,281 to £236,555.

Profits of Industrial Groups for 3rd Quarter of 1946:—

26 Engineering groups—£1,609,000 as compared with £834,000 in 1945.

20 Building Materials groups—£2,822,000 as compared with £2,642,000 in 1945.

1 Tobacco Group—£72,000 as compared with £26,000 in 1945.

31 Breweries—£13,279,000 as compared with £12,275,000 in 1945.

Note especially that the profits given are for one quarter of the year only!

The Labour leaders pretend that the regime is a "socialist" one. But the fact that the employers are reaping these huge profits and that shares in the nationalised coal industry have actually risen, is the sure sign that the capitalists continue to rule under the axiom of "business as before."

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## February Target Only Half



Comrades,  
The donations to the Fighting Fund for February show that we have only just achieved half of our target.

We know that during this month many of our readers were thrown out of work and that others had their wages reduced to the guaranteed week. But these very events demonstrate how important it is to help the only paper that is the authentic voice of Revolutionary Communism.

We have had magnificent and convincing proof of the high regard which our members have for our Paper in the response which was made during January to our special appeal to help us buy our paper quota. But, comrades, we ask you to realise that we lose over £60 per issue—£125 per month. This is inevitable because of the high cost of paper, printing, type-setting, etc.

It is only kept down to that figure by the self-sacrificing efforts of our comrades who are responsible for the production, distribution and sale of our paper.

Comrades, Readers! Make the response during March beat our target. When you

buy your copy, please give a donation to the seller—he will pass it on. Help us to help our class to achieve its Socialist Victory.

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February, 1947.

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German P.O.W. ....	2	1	0
Hampstead .....	1	18	4
F. Jackson .....	2	6	0
J.G. ....	1	0	0
Southall .....	11	0	0
Southall Branch .....	2	9	4
A.A. ....	10	0	0
Ilford .....	10	0	0
M.S., South Africa ...	2	0	0
N.H., Cheltenham ...	2	0	0
S. Cradwell .....	1	0	0
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# For a Genuine Cost of Living Index

BY G. NOZEDA

Millions of working class families in Britain are being penalised because of the Government's continued use of an unreliable Cost-of-Living Index. Workers whose weekly wage packet is determined by

# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## Bosses Use Fuel Crisis to Victimise Militants

BY P. NORMAN

In different parts of the country, certain employers are attempting to utilise the fuel crisis in order to victimise trade union militants.

In Manchester at the engineering firm of L. Gardner & Sons, 12 workers have been informed that their services are no longer required. All are active trade unionists, and among them is Bro. Ron Bosley, secretary of the firm's Apprentice Committee and a member of the National Committee of the Y.C.L. Another is Bro. Jim Pressick, an apprentice steward.

The workers are demanding "ALL BACK OR NONE". An all-Manchester strike of 8,000 engineering apprentices is threatened if the victimised apprentices are not reinstated.

At the Dagenham plant of Briggs Motor Bodies, a reactionary satellite of Fords, a number of the best and most militant stewards have been sacked for good. These stewards, representing the A.E.U., E.T.U., etc., have conducted many successful campaigns which have given the Briggs workers a fighting record and tradition that is second to none in the South Essex area.

Over a period of six years, the whole plant with its many complex trades has been systematically organised from foremen and clerks, to toolmakers and labourers. From a black spot in the district, it has risen to become a headache to the various trade union organisers, who have on numerous occasions urged the workers to resume work when striking against an arbitrary decision or act of the Briggs management.

The management have at last felt the opportunity ripe to rid themselves of the stewards who have capably carried out their trade union work in that plant. The last word has not been spoken. The workers of Briggs are behind

the victimised men. Expressions of this have already been voiced. Demonstrations in support are being held with the participation of workers from other local factories.

A few miles from Briggs at the Stirling Engineering Co., a similar reactionary management has sacked the leading elements on the Shop Stewards Committee, including the convenor.

The stewards here in the past have also raised the wages of some fifteen hundred workers.

Realising this was sheer victimisation, a mass meeting of Stirling workers have adopted a solid position of "all in or all out". Here also, the management have not had the last word.

Despite the fact that the leading Stalinist stewards have formed a Joint Production Committee with the Management, they get nothing for assisting the boss to gain higher profits. Only the sack, when they become a little recalcitrant to the managers' ideas of slashing working conditions.

The lesson in all these incidents is one of continual and uncompromising struggle against the employers in order to build a solid trade union movement, one that is prepared to defend and protect all forms of workshop organisation and activity against the attacks of the employing class who are ever on the alert to destroy the workers' rights.

The demand must go forward by every channel that the Labour Government must insist on the reinstatement of all out of work due to the power cut.

No victimisations! All back together!

### 34 Hour Guaranteed Week Farce

With the coming of the first post-war crisis of "archaic" British industry, the exposure of the farcical character of the 34

hour guaranteed week is clear to all.

Mr. Shinwell's announcement of the shutting-down of industry, the employers in the main, gave one week's notice and then put the workers on the dole. They, thus completely abrogated the 34 hours agreement that is supposed to be in operation for a large number of industries affected by the power cut.

### T.U.C. Silent

Hardly a word of protest has been raised by the T.U.C. The E.C. of the A.E.U. are also strangely silent. Only a circular to the members explaining how to "sign on", which in effect amounts to accepting the employers' actions. All this is excused by the "suddenness of the crisis." Over three weeks have elapsed but no official statement.

### Workers Indignant

Workers all over the country are indignant at the actions of the employers. On the other hand, severe criticism and demands have been levelled at the Government and E.C.s. Criticism not of the Tory made crisis, but of the Labour Government for not taking a firm hand for the reinstatement of all workers with at least 34 hours guaranteed pay.

### Labour Government Must Act For The Workers

The demand that must go forward from the Trade Unions and factories is that the Government must force the employers to concede full wages during the power cut. Linked with this class issue, is the necessity for the workers to fight for taking control of industry, as the only class that can manage industry efficiently for the benefit of all. Joint Production Committees, "communists" on Coal Boards, Working Parties—none of these will solve the problem. Only the working class in control of the means of life can prevent coal crises, unemployment, and slumps.

## Youth Conference

# What the Press and the B.B.C. Censored

YOUNG STUDENTS SHOW STRONG SOCIALIST AND INTERNATIONALIST SYMPATHIES

In January a four day Conference was held in London organised by the "Council of Education in World Citizenship", a "non-Party" Youth educational association. It was attended by 2,500 boys and girls from schools all over Great Britain who gathered together to discuss political, social and economic questions of current importance.

Those attending had to be between 15 and 19 years of age, which of course excluded all elementary school pupils. The bulk of students there were from secondary schools and came from middle class families, although there were many from working class homes.

From the press reports, including the "Daily Worker", it was impossible to gain the idea of the strong socialist and internationalist sympathies prevalent among the greater part of these young students.

### What Was Not Reported In The Press

Sir Charles Webster showed considerable uneasiness when the first questioner sprang to the mike and asked, amid thundering applause from the Conference, how U.N.O. could prevent a new world economic crisis and a new world war, while capitalism and the antagonisms inherent in it remain.

Professor P. B. Moon, condemned the ban on the communication of scientific information from one country to another when a young student came up to the platform and asked him, again amid applause, if he did not condemn the sentence of 10 years imprisonment on Dr. Nunn May for providing the Soviet Union—an

four Allied occupation powers—presented the views of their respective Governments on this question. The Soviet Embassy had declined to send a representative to the Conference, and it was left to the Rev. Stanley Evans, pro-Stalinist clergyman, to perform the thankless task of attempting to explain the views of the Kremlin. The representatives of Stalinist Russia had reason to fear the "embarrassing" questions which socialist and communist schoolboys might have asked under the influence of the "insidious propaganda of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism."

Every afternoon the Conference divided up into 50 discussion groups in order to discuss the questions which had been spoken on from the platform during the morning. We found no feigning of race hatred towards Germany in these groups as there was a year ago. On the contrary, the great majority were friendly to the Germans and wished to take up contact with the German youth by the exchange of youth delegations. The main views expressed in the discussion groups were incorporated into a report which was adopted by the Conference.

### What The B.B.C. Censored

Extracts were broadcast on the German Youth Programme of the B.B.C., but these were very "carefully chosen" so as to exclude all the important points (which had been accepted by the overwhelming majority of the Conference), among them, a condemnation of the Potsdam Agreement of reparations and annexations; of the arrival of B.A.O.R. families in German towns, thereby depriving Germans of the few homes still fit to inhabit; of the slowness of carrying through of denazification and particularly the release of Schacht, the representative of German big capital which bears the highest responsibility for Hitler's coming to power and Germany's war preparations; as well as the holding of 6 million able bodied Germans in Allied Prisoner-of-War camps over 18 months after the end of the war.

In the report was voiced the demand for the political and economic unity of Germany and a Socialist planned economy which "alone can provide a stable economic basis which is, above all, necessary for the building of a new Germany."

The British authorities are obviously anxious to conceal from the Germans that a section of

## Ruhr Miner's Family



# Help Our German Comrades



Millions of working class families in Britain are being penalised because of the Government's continued use of unreliable Cost-of-Living Index. Workers whose weekly wage packet is determined by reference to changes in the existing official cost-of-living index figure, are forced to accept less pay than they are entitled to in reality!

Despite the tremendous changes that have taken place in the workers' standard of living and the cost-of-living itself since 1914, the present index is still based on the 1914 calculations of an average working class family's expenditure based on 1904 figures.

Today, as compared with the July 1914 cost-of-living index of 100, the index stands at 104 per cent. above that level. But in reality the difference is even greater, because the real increase in the present day cost of living, and during the 1939-1945 war, has been masked by the huge sums paid out by the Government as subsidies to food and other consumer goods interests in order to lower artificially what would otherwise be an even higher cost of living increase than is shown by the present index figure.

In the current year the Labour Government will subsidise food and other items to the tune of £386,000,000, of which £364,000,000 will be for food alone! That a large proportion of this subsidy will find its way into the capacious pockets of the food trust profiteers (as also happened during the war) is indicated by the fact that in the third quarter of 1946 alone, 12 food trusts in Britain made a gross profit of £1,086,000!

Yet, at the same time as the Labour Government by such colossal subsidies restricts the official cost-of-living figure, the actual burden of the subsidies are placed on the backs of the workers by taxation. So the bosses get the fat both ways, first by tying wages to an unreal cost-of-living standard; secondly, by passing the burden of the subsidies onto the millions of workers whose wages were brought into the income-tax class during the war. And the Labour Government is assisting this bloodsucking process by its maintenance of the 1904 index level as the basis for wage agreements that affect millions of working class families.

Now, in face of the growing demand from sections of the organised workers for a revised and realistic cost-of-living index, the Government has asked the Advisory Committee concerned to submit a report. This Advisory Committee was set up some time ago by the Minister of Labour,

Mr. Isaacs. Its task was to investigate whether any revision of the existing cost-of-living index was "practical or necessary." The fearful hesitancy of the Labour Government to take immediate action to wipe out the obviously out-dated existing index, and to replace it with one really in accord with present day cost-of-living standards of the workers is dictated by motives worthy of the capitalist employers and not of a Government that claims to protect the interests of the working class.

In an article on this question of revision of the cost of living index, the "Observer" pinpoints the motive behind the Labour Government's hesitancy:

"Revision of the Index, however, is a difficult political and economic question. . . . The difficulty is that a more realistic cost-of-living index would affect the wages settlements of several million workers, which are determined by reference to changes in the official cost-of-living index number. A new index would clearly show a larger rise in the cost-of-living than the present index—probably a 50 per cent. rise between 1939 and 1945, compared with 30 per cent.—and would thus accentuate the pressure for increased wages." (Feb. 2nd, 1947).

In other words, a revised cost-of-living index that truly reflected the rising cost-of-living would amply justify millions of workers in claiming wage increases—a position the employers seek to avoid, despite the amount of profits they are garnering.

The employers will undoubtedly put pressure on the Government to retain the old and false cost-of-living index as the basis for wage negotiations. The Labour leaders must not be allowed to capitulate to the employers.

The organised workers, through the Trade Union and Labour movement must wage a campaign on this issue. Let the Labour, Trade Union and Co-operative movement set up Housewife and Consumer Committees to investigate the REAL cost-of-living, and to prepare a cost-of-living index to replace the false and out-of-date 1904 index which has enabled the employers to rob legally millions of working class families for so long.



DINNER CONSISTS OF  
Mashed Potatoes and Turnips

## German Comrades

If you are not sending  
Regular Food Parcels  
Please Send a Gift to:

H. CHASE,  
256 Harrow Road,  
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It is Our Duty to Aid German  
Communists and Socialists.

## From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

### HER SMILE DID IT

TELLING of the smashing of tables and chairs at a garden party in Port Elizabeth by crowds who wanted a glimpse of the Queen, the "Daily Graphic" headlines its report "HER SMILE DID IT."

A singer can break a wine glass with a musical note, but it takes a queen to break tables and chairs with her smile.

HIS MAJESTY, too, is thought to be possessed of supernatural powers by the witch-doctor fraternity in certain regions of South Africa. The first rain of the royal tour—a heavy tropical shower—fell just before the royal circus left Grahamstown. This was attributed by the "magic-believing natives" (we are told) to the presence of the royal visitors. As a result the King is now known as the Bringer of Rain.

It has since been stated that Shinwell, after reading this during the freeze-up, was seen on his office balcony, singing, "Will Ye No' Come Back Again!"

### "SO HELP ME GOD"

A COMIC episode enlivened the proceedings of the Polish Sejm (Parliament) a few weeks ago.

According to the "Times", there was a "debate on whether the words 'So help me God' be introduced into the President's oath. . . . After some debate, and strangely enough (sic) with the votes of the Communists, the Sejm agreed to add the words 'So help me God', the Socialists abstained from voting."

In the "Daily Worker" we read that more than half of the Cabinet of the French Government "consists of professed Marxists." After such base slander of Marxism it will not surprise us to read in the "Worker" that the majority of the Polish Cabinet consists of "confessed Marxists"!

## Liverpool Workers Form Forces' Defence Committee

A successful meeting was held in Liverpool on Sunday, February 15th. It was called to protest against the vicious court-martial sentences recently imposed on a number of soldiers arising from the "walk-offs" of troopships at Liverpool. The meeting was organised by the Liverpool Branch of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

60 workers attended the protest meeting. On the platform were speakers from the R.C.P., I.L.P.,

Commonwealth and local Labour Party. The Communist Party boycotted the meeting entirely. A fact which is causing some criticism and questioning among the C.P. rank and file.

The first speaker, Comrade Vin Rise of the I.L.P., dealt with the living conditions of troops on board the ships, and spoke of the work of the I.L.P. Forces' Branch.

Comrade Tommy Birchall of the Liverpool Branch R.C.P., dealt with the class structure of the capitalist armed forces and showed that the victimisations of soldier-militants who protested at intolerable conditions of service, were not accidental, but arose from the fact that the control of the forces is in the hands of an anti-labour military caste.

### Internationalist Sentiments

Most encouraging for us Communist Internationalists was the discussion on the future of Germany, which probably aroused the greatest interest of all questions at the Conference.

Representatives of three of the

young student came up to the platform and asked him, again amid applause, if he did not condemn the sentence of 10 years imprisonment on Dr. Nunn May for providing the Soviet Union—an "ally"—with scientific information during the war. All he could say was that "it was regrettable that Dr. Nunn May should have broken the law."

John Belcher, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, in reply to one questioner said that workers' management of industry was not socialism but syndicalism! Answering another student who amid great applause, asked for the reason for the huge compensation being paid to the mine-owners and the consequent continuation of capitalist exploitation, he maintained that the Government did not wish to "rob" anybody of his property, however badly he might have managed it and however much he might have made out of it in the past.

Arthur Lewis, M.P., said today the Trade Unions must play and are playing an important part in the administration of industry, and their original object which was to struggle for better wages and conditions, has become of secondary importance. Everything must therefore be done to try and avoid strikes, he declared.

The British authorities are obviously anxious to conceal from the Germans that a section of British youth expresses an active friendship and condemns the criminal policy of the allies in Germany. Most of them are still politically confused, retaining certain bourgeois-democratic illusions; among the more backward sections there reigns an apathy. But a very great proportion have strong, if confused socialist and internationalist sympathies, and as we saw in the discussion groups at the Conference, they responded and supported a clear line when put forward and explained.

### Turn To The Youth

The interest in the "Socialist Appeal" was also encouraging. On the one day that our comrade came down to sell, 6 dozen copies were sold in a short space of time as well as pamphlets. He had friendly discussions with many of the young students, including Y.C.L.ers, who were quite strongly represented at the Conference. The Labour leaders have stifled the League of Youth to such a degree that it found no representation at a large Youth gathering such as this.

The Revolutionary Communists must turn their attention to the working class and student youth, for many are receptive to our ideas, and from here will come some of the very best forces for the Fourth International and the international socialist revolution.

WALTER REDVER

The Labour Party speaker, Councillor A. Leadbetter, dealt with troopship conditions from his own experiences and ended by calling for support from all sections of the organised working class to aid their fellow-workers in the services who are victimised by the officer-caste for protesting at such intolerable conditions.

The Chairman, Comrade Frank Ward (Liverpool Branch, R.C.P.), stressed in his speech the necessity of a united front of all working class organisations to carry out a campaign of protest against the court-martial sentences and to demand the immediate and unconditional release of the sentenced men. He also made a special

appeal to the Communist Party to join in such a campaign.

A Committee, composed of representatives of the I.L.P., R.C.P., Commonwealth, Labour Party and five workers who volunteered from the floor of the meeting, was set up to organise a protest campaign on behalf of victimised soldiers. Councillor A. Leadbetter was elected Chairman of the Committee, which, at its first meeting adopted the name "Forces' Defence and Reform Committee." All workers and working class organisations are asked to give full support to the aims of the Committee. The Secretary, F. Ward, 144, Queen's Road, Liverpool 6, will be glad to answer any further enquiries on the work of the Committee.

## DEBATE:

"That Communism is the Negation of Liberty"

Proposer: D. GRAY (Conservative Party) Opposer: R. TEARSE (Revolutionary Communist Party)

at the Connaught Hall, Blackett Street, Newcastle — Thursday, March 13th at 7 p.m. Admission 6d.



# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party,  
256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.  
Phone: CUN 2526.

EDITOR: E. GRANT.  
BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

## Imperialist Retreat in India

**THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT SETTING A DATE FOR THE "TRANSFER OF POWER" IN INDIA HAS A DUAL CHARACTER. IT IS AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME A RETREAT AND A MANOEUVRE.**

BY HARRY ANDREWS

And this is becoming widely understood. In the House of Lords, where the Labour Government is the minority, there was no division. The performance in the House of Commons was no more than stage play. The realistic politicians of the ruling class understand that it is a retreat. They also know the nature of the move. The Labour leaders are not carrying out the socialist and democratic dictum of the right of all nations to national independence. They are manoeuvring under the pressure of events.

Churchill, who declined the honour of presiding over the liquidation ceremony, can do little more than lament that "Our Empire is being cast away." He does not dare suggest an alternative course of action. For there would be no support forthcoming at present even from the diehard section of the ruling class for the imperialist dictum so dear to the hearts of the old school: "By the sword we shall hold it." This is a sign of the times in which we live. It shows the weakening of British imperialist power in relation to her Empire. For not many years before the war, Churchill divided his own Party on the issue.

### The Lords Have Mercy

THE DEBATE in the House of Lords revealed the attitude of the dominant section of the British capitalist class. The Liberal Lord Samuel, attacked the old Tory conceptions in the following words:

"Now Mr. Churchill is leading the Conservative Party to a reversion of those tendencies which have existed throughout its history. They were responsible for the two great failures of the British Empire—the loss of the American Colonies and the long quarrel with Ireland. They would have added a third after

within the bounds of capitalist nationalism but must lead right on to the taking of power by the Indian working class.

This is the primary consideration motivating the policies of the British ruling class and the various Indian factions who help to canalise the movement of the masses into futile and sanguinary struggles on communal lines. The masses are being used by the Indian politicians of capitalism and landlordism as bargaining counters in the struggle for a horsedeal with British imperialism.

### Retreat On All Sides

THIS situation presents a picture of retreat on all sides. On the one hand the Indian capitalist nationalists have been forced to abandon their "revolutionary" phrasemongering (thereby revealing its hollowness) and adopt a "responsible" attitude towards the government of this vast sub-continent with its 400,000,000 peoples. On the other hand British imperialism is forced to swallow the sword which it has brandished for so long, and to manoeuvre on the basis of a partnership agreement with Indian capitalism whilst playing off against it the reactionary feudal princes and Moslem landlords. Thus the Delhi Correspondent of the Sunday "Observer" writes:

"Meanwhile, a good deal of puzzlement has been caused here by Lord Pethick-Lawrence's remark that the British Government's statement was made primarily to produce a psychological effect, but that in the event of the desired effect not being produced, a 'new course of action' would have to be adopted. Lord Pethick-Lawrence's ambiguity has been interpreted in some quarters as indicative of an intention to continue the British hold on India should the major communities fail to agree.

## Open Letter to Members of the Communist Party

# FOR AN INTERNATIONALIST AND COMMUNIST POLICY

Leaflet Distributed to Delegates  
at the C.P. Conference

Comrades:

THE discussion published for your Party Conference in "World News and Views" reveals that the best worker members of the Communist Party are seriously trying to hammer out a genuine Communist policy which will lead the workers of Britain and the world to the overthrow of capitalism through the Socialist Revolution. This is an indication of the crisis within the Party and the striving of the worker members to return to the policy of Leninism.

NOT one of your leaders would venture to repeat at this Conference the policy they have pursued in the last few years. Recall their policy of a "National Government" to include Churchill, Eden and the progressive Tories; the policy of class collaboration, with the utopia of peace and prosperity under capitalism which Lenin so sternly denounced when put forward by the "renegade Kautsky." This has since been denounced by the Communist Parties as "Browderism", but it was the policy pursued by the leadership in this country, as one comrade in a letter from Sudbury Branch says: "Those among our leaders who bear the heaviest responsibility in putting forward opportunist and Right wing policies in our Party are Comrades Pollitt, Campbell and Kerrigan." The fact is that there is not a single leader of the Communist Party who did not put forward these views. There was not a single leader in all the Communist Parties of the world who did not put forward these reactionary and anti-communist policies.

THIS CANNOT BE AN ACCIDENT. Why then, did it take place? It is the duty of every serious member of the C.P. who wishes to proceed on the basis of Marxism, to ask himself this question. To ask whether such policies will recur in the future and WHETHER THERE HAS BEEN A REAL CHANGE IN THE LINE PRESENTED TO YOUR PARTY CONFERENCE THIS YEAR.

The Political Resolution presented this year proves that there has been no real turn. That is why uneasiness has manifested itself among the most intelligent and earnest sections of the membership.

THE Resolution correctly says that 'The war—itsself the outcome of the general crisis of capitalism—has deepened that crisis. The conflict between the growth of the productive forces and the existing capitalist relations of production has been enormously intensified.' This, for any Marxist, would prove the imperialist character of the war on the part of the capitalist powers. However, according to all the arguments of Lenin, such a period must be one of imperialist war and PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONS.

### "Communists" Sit In Capitalist Governments

IN nearly every country in Europe and the East the masses have surged forward as they did after World War I. By their votes for Social Democracy, and above all, by their votes for the Communist Parties, they have demonstrated their desire for a decisive struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

THE Resolution talks about the impossibility of a "middle way" between capitulation to capitalism and the struggle for socialist revolution. Yet in Italy, France, Belgium and other countries, the "Communist" Parties sit in the same Cabinets with representatives of the capitalist class. Such policies were denounced by Lenin as a crime against the proletariat.

## Jap P.O.W.s Resist Use as Strike Breakers

Malaya: Since the British re-occupation of Malaya in 1945, the Government have utilised Japanese troops time and time again to take over jobs from striking workers in order to break the strikes.

For many weeks coal miners employed at the Malayan Collieries at Batu Arang, have been on strike demanding improved wages and conditions. The employers' refused to meet the strikers' demands and the Government

THE French Communist Party, for example, has supported state capitalist measures of nationalisation, no different to the measures of the Labour Government in Britain, without a shadow of control by the workers, and with lavish compensation to the capitalists who did well under the Nazis. The French C.P. have acted as strike-breakers, attempting to strangle the strike of the printers, civil servants and other sections of the workers. They have even used violence against striking print workers. A "Communist" Minister of Defence sits in the Government which is brutally attempting to drown the struggle of the Indo-Chinese people for freedom, in rivers of blood. Such actions of the Continental Communist Parties have nothing in common with the noble traditions of Communism.

### Internationalism Abandoned

IN all the countries of Europe, the "Communist" Parties vie with one another in appealing to the worst nationalism and chauvinism of the backward strata of the population. The French C.P. demands the Ruhr for "France" (i.e. French capitalism). The German C.P. attempts to incite the population against France and demands the Ruhr for Germany. The Italian C.P. indulges in jingo propaganda for Trieste. The Yugoslav C.P. attacks the Italian C.P. for its demand for Trieste. The leaders of the Soviet Union and the Communist parties throughout the world approve of the reaction-

ary dismemberment and oppression of Germany which is worse than Versailles. Nowhere in the propaganda of the Communist Parties is the idea of internationalism put forward; the need to break down the national barriers and unite the peoples of Europe in the Socialist United States of Europe. This is a betrayal of internationalism which is the basis of the teachings of all the great theoreticians of the revolutionary movement from Marx to Lenin. This is the reason that the instrument which Lenin created to carry out the World Socialist Revolution—the Communist International—has been buried.

### Illusions of "United Nations"

BUT is the policy of the British Communist Party any better? While talking about the inevitability of war under capitalism, they put forward the illusion that an agreement among the "United Nations" will preserve peace. What happens to the intensified contradictions of capitalism which must inevitably lead to war, which are referred to in the resolution? What happens to Lenin's theory of imperialism? Already in World War I, Lenin denounced the "pernicious fairy tale" put forward by Social Democracy that Peace would be assured after the war without the overthrow of capitalism. A third world war is inevitable unless the working class in Europe and Asia succeed in conquering power. To tell the workers anything else is to deceive them.

### Reformism Or Bolshevism?

THE Conference resolution says: "The only solution for the problems before the British people today lies along the path of the advance to Socialism." This is ambiguous. The Labour leaders are saying the same thing. The only road forward lies in the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of WORKERS' DEMOCRACY, or, as the letters in "World News and Views" correctly state, in the setting up of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," as the Bolsheviks did in Russia in 1917. There is no middle way.

THE correct policy today would be to give "critical support" to the Labour Government as Lenin put it in "Left Wing Communism": support the Labour leaders like a rope "supports" a hanged

bureaucrats like Citrine and Ebbly Edwards should be brought into the Boards of the nationalised industries? That is all it can mean. A revolutionary policy would demand systematic preparation of the workers to form Committees which would later become Soviets and prepare the way for the conquest of power by the working class. Instead of this, the practical proposals of the Resolution do not differ greatly from the propaganda of the Labour Party.

### Class Struggle . . . Words Or Deeds?

THERE is no middle way to Socialism. There is only the way of struggle against the exploiting classes." Excellent! But if these phrases are meant seriously, how explain the strike-breaking role of the C.P. leaders in the Docks Strike? Their passivity in the Transport Strike? How explain their failure to wage a struggle against the Trade Union bureaucracy on the lines of the programme of the old Minority Movement? Why do they oppose the programme of Lenin which was put forward by Pollitt, Campbell, Horner, Scott and others when they were really waging a revolutionary fight in the unions and factories: Re-election of all officials every year—all officials to receive the average wage of the workers in the industry.

WHAT explains the glaring lack of consistency in the Resolution? The intermingling of reformist phrases with Marxian phrases?

### What Decides The Communist Party Line?

THIS lack of consistency is explained by the fact that the policy of the C.P. is not dictated today, any more than it was in the past, by the needs of the situation in Britain. Let Bevin tomorrow come to a compromise on foreign policy with Stalin, and the policy of the British Communist Party will follow the policy of the French C.P. which today openly comes out in DEFENCE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY. Yesterday, after the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the C.P. supported peace with Hitler. Then they became the staunch defenders of Churchill. Today they are toying with revolutionary phrases while supporting the Labour leaders without revolution-



which have existed throughout its history. They were responsible for the two great failures of the British Empire—the loss of the American Colonies and the long quarrel with Ireland. They would have added a third after the Boer War when they dissociated themselves from self-government for South Africa. Today apparently they might be willing to add a further in creating an ungovernable India."

The line of this reasoning is clear. Not able to hold India "by the sword", British imperialism, by adapting its policy to the circumstances, hopes to achieve similar results as was the case in South Africa. From this it appears that, in the Liberal scheme, Nehru is assigned the role of an Indian Smuts.

The Tory, Lord Halifax, an ex-Viceroy with an astute understanding of the situation, summed up the position of the British ruling class in his appeal to the Tory Lords not to press a division. "The British Government," Halifax stated, "is in the most distasteful of all positions—its responsibilities are greater than its powers."

Therein resides the nub of British imperialism's problem. It no longer possesses a basis of support in the Indian Armed Forces. It cannot now rely on its own conscript Army to put down an uprising of the Indian masses. It is faced with its own economic weaknesses, revealed just at this time by the publication of the White Paper. It is confronted with the expansion into the East of Yankee imperialism. It must negotiate a satisfactory settlement of the Indian sterling debt. And over all this hovers the shadow of Stalinist Russia. Fear of the Soviet Colossus dictates the need on the part of British imperialism for a policy designed to achieve a basis of accommodation with the increasingly economically powerful Indian capitalists, which will not set the masses in motion along the road of struggle for national independence.

### Role of Labour Leaders

IT is the object of British imperialism, through its agents the Labour Leaders, to lull the Indian masses with pious and hypocritical declarations about national freedom, whilst seeing to it that India remains divided along communal lines.

The British rulers will continue to manoeuvre with the Princes, with the Moslem League which represents the interests of the landowners, and with the powerful Congress Party leaders—the spokesmen of Indian big capital.

And the so-called leaders of the Indian Nationalist movement are playing in this game. They, no less than the British rulers want to *blow* in order jointly to exploit the Indian toilers. Both sides are concerned to carry through some kind of colonial Palace Revolution which will transfer a large measure of political control to the leaders of Indian capitalism without the intervention of the masses in a revolutionary struggle for independence from imperialism. They all understand quite well that such a struggle could not confine itself

action would have to be adopted. Lord Pethick-Lawrence's ambiguity has been interpreted in some quarters as indicative of an intention to continue the British hold on India should the major communities fail to agree.

"The Indian Princes seem destined to play a major part in deciding the ultimate destiny of India. The majority of the larger States, it is believed, want India to remain in the British Commonwealth, and though adherence to the Commonwealth would be a bitter pill for the Congress leaders to follow, involving repudiation of their own declaration of objectives, the stalemate between the major parties, makes the possibility of a Congress *volte face* not unthinkable."

And it can be said that all sides are unhappy about the situation. All are scared of the consequences of their actions. All are worried about the ultimate implications of the logic of this all-sided process of retreats.

Nor is the concern confined to India and Britain. We see now that the American "democratic" capitalists are not so vociferous about the reactionary role of British imperialism in India. They cannot derive all the advantages they would wish from Britain's difficulties. Why is this? It is because the nightmare of Russian expansion continually haunts them. Wall Street is worried that a complete withdrawal from India by Britain would "leave a vacuum in Asia"; would create conditions more to the advantage of Moscow than Washington in the sparring for positions between the dominant powers on the world arena.

### Labour Government's Delaying Tactics

AS can be seen, however, from Lord Pethick-Lawrence's speech; from a careful examination of Attlee's declaration on the transfer of power; together with an understanding of the traditional duplicity of British imperialism, the British ruling class are attempting to manoeuvre desperately in this situation.

Nowhere have the Labour leaders made an unambiguous declaration of unconditional national independence for the Indian peoples in line with the socialist principles they profess. On the contrary, paragraph 10 of the declaration talks of the power being handed over in such a way "as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people." Who is to decide what is in the "best interests of the Indian people"? Presumably the Labour leaders.

One thing can be taken for granted. British imperialism will make no move to fulfil even the nebulous declaration the Labour leaders have made, without the conclusion of a treaty which binds India in some way to the chariot-wheel of the City of London. The lesson of Egypt makes that not an issue for doubt. So, in fact, whilst making major tactical retreats under pressure, British imperialism will adapt its strategy to the new situation.

(Continued on page 4.)

The Communist Party's action sent this year proves that there has been no real turn. That is why uneasiness has manifested itself among the most intelligent and earnest sections of the membership.

## Germany : British Officers Feast

### While Germans Starve

Fleets of lorries bringing food, wines and flowers from Holland—500 guests at a banquet of eight courses which included oysters, lobsters, crab, chicken, several kinds of cheeses, and a bottle of champagne per head. The scene of this "party" was the Dusseldorf Yacht Club in the British Zone of Germany, recently.

The banquet was "thrown" by officers of the 53rd (Welsh) Division to mark the occasion when the name of the Division was changed to the 2nd Infantry Division. Preparations for the "party" were as lavish and wasteful as the banquet itself. A 100 yard bridge was specially built over the Rhine and leading to the Club. The interior of the Yacht Club was altered to resemble that of a baronial hall, complete with "minstrels' gallery." All the work was done by German labour. German workers were employed to wait on the 500 guests.

In grim and bitter contrast to this criminal display of guzzling and wastefulness staged by the officers of the 53rd Welsh Division, are the miserable conditions of hunger and cold which is the lot of thousands of German workers and their families in and around Dusseldorf.

While the banqueting and "high jinks" went on at the party, thousands of German families were without bread, heat or light. At Essen, near Dusseldorf, the wives of German miners were urging their men to strike in protest, because they could not get their meagre daily bread ration and a number of strikes have taken place recently in this area because the workers could not get even their potato ration.

Every class conscious worker in Britain will condemn these actions of the British militarists in occupation of Germany, who by such displays of vulgarity and wastefulness reveal their indifference to the sufferings of the German working class. The British Labour movement must understand that this is a class question and demand an end to this oppression of the German workers by British Imperialism, an oppression which pays no regard to the welfare or needs of the working class in Germany. Demand the withdrawal of the British Occupation Forces!

For many weeks coal miners employed at the Malayan Collieries at Batu Arang, have been on strike demanding improved wages and conditions. The employers' refused to meet the strikers' demands, and the Government intervened, with the threat to bring in Japanese P.O.W.s to break the strike. The "Malay Mail" reported that, "Three thousand Japanese surrendered personnel are standing by at the Malaya Command Headquarters, Kuala Lumpur, to move out to the Malayan Collieries at Batu Arang to resume production of coal if the strikers fail within the next 24 hours to accept the Government's offer to settle the dispute by arbitration. A battalion of Ghurkhas will accompany the Japanese to prevent them from being intimidated by the strikers."

But the strikers stood firm for their demands to be met and the Government sent in the Japanese troops to break the strike. However, the latest news brings the inspiring report that the Japanese P.O.W.s have adopted a 'go-slow' policy in the Batu Arang coal

regarded as hated oppressors. The demonstration of class solidarity between Japanese ex-soldiers and the Malayan coal strikers has thrown into a panic the British Government officials. Mr. Ivor Thompson, a leading Government spokesman, urged the Malayan workers to remember the "ruthless enemy". These very same imperialist rulers who sought to break down the coal miners' militant struggle by forcing Japanese troops to act as scabs find that this weapon has been turned against them.

This magnificent demonstration of Japanese and Malayan workers' solidarity in a country held by British imperialism underlines still further the international character of the working class struggle against the common enemy of world imperialism.

The British Labour movement must be roused to the existence of this large slave labour force of Japanese soldiers and sailors, and demand as a class duty to these fellow-workers, that they be demobbed and sent home immediately.

## Labour Government Continues Tory Policy

# Tyranny in Trinidad

BY N. PENTLAND

### THE SHOOTINGS AND TERROR IN TRINIDAD AND THE SUPPRESSION OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS BRINGS TO THE FORE THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE OF THE WORKERS IN THE WEST INDIES UNDER A "LABOUR" ADMINISTRATION.

#### Legislative Act For Employers

Following these Acts, the Legislative Council empowered the Governor to proclaim a "state of emergency". Reactionary agent of the white employers, Sir Bede-Clifford made full use of this tyrannical measure.

A police force of nearly a thousand strong has been fully used to arrest hundreds of workers participating in peaceful demonstrations and herd them into prison, where they are cooped three or more in a cell, and are not allowed bail.

In Port of Spain, capital of Trinidad, Union meetings have viciously been dispersed with methods which are described as completely Fascist. Searchlights, rifle butts, tear-gas and truncheons are the weapons used against both men and women who had not even as much as a pen-knife or hat-pin on them.

Many are in hospital with bullet wounds, broken limbs and terrible weals upon their heads and back.

When questioned about this brutality by a correspondent, Sir Bede-Clifford cynically remarked that prompt and strong action in Port of Spain had saved the island from chaos.

#### Press Smashed

Not content with these measures, the Chief of Police, Col. Muller,

THE correct policy today would be to give "critical support" to the Labour Government as Lenin put it in "Left Wing Communism": support the Labour leaders like a rope "supports" a hanged man. At the same time, it is the duty of communists to explain that the nationalisation policy of the Labour Government is one of State capitalism, which still leaves the basis of capitalism intact. The same capitalists, through their state, are in control. The Communist Party fails to draw the Leninist conclusions: that only nationalisation without compensation, only the planning and controlling of all industry by committees of workers and technicians can solve the problems in the interests of the masses. ONLY THIS POLICY CAN PREVENT SLUMP AND REACTION.

NOWHERE is the key question brought out: which class controls industry and the state? The resolution talks vaguely about "administration of the nationalised industries by Socialists." What does this mean? That a few more

supported peace with Hitler. Then they became the staunch defenders of Churchill. Today they are toying with revolutionary phrases while supporting the Labour leaders without revolutionary criticism or perspective. Tomorrow? Everything depends on the foreign policy of Stalin.

### COMRADES :

THERE is no easy road to Socialism. The policy of your Party can only prepare the way to catastrophe. You have a duty to your class and to yourselves! We ask you again: study the works of Lenin, then re-examine the material of the Communist Party, but also study our literature and the writings of Leon Trotsky. You will find that only the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Fourth International carries on the traditions of Marx and Lenin and puts forward the programme of world communism.

already overcrowded conditions in neighbouring shacks.

#### Labour Leaders Disinterested

While Creech Jones at one time upbraided the Tories for their repressive administration in Trinidad, he now, as Colonial Secretary, does very little different. His statement concerning "agitators at work" is a clear indication just how much support the Trinidad trade unionists can expect from Transport House. This is a sheer rebuff to the Trinidad workers who were looking to Attlee and Co. to remedy their worsening conditions of life.

Not even a "Royal Commission" has been suggested. Though little can come from such ventures and visits, the T.U.C. under pressure from British trade unionists, are "inquiring" into the present trouble.

#### Huge Profits

From these methods of exploitation and starvation wages, millions of pounds in profit are gained by the oil, sugar and asphalt companies.

Most prominent of these parasites is the Trinidad Leasholds Ltd., whose capital is £1,630,452, and who own over 86,000 acres of freehold oil properties, pipe lines and refineries. From June 1945 to June 1946, £1,422,735 in total

(Continued on Page 4.)



## The Policy of the R.C.P.

1. Nationalisation of the land, of all atomic processes, of all large financial, insurance, industrial, distributive and transport enterprises without compensation, and the operation of these enterprises on the basis of an overall production plan under control of workers' and technicians' committees.
2. Abolition of business secrets. All company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers committees.
3. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers goods in short supply under the control of committees elected from the co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shopkeepers which will eliminate the black market.
4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants committees; a state financed national house-building plan to be directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum and a falling scale of hours to absorb the unemployed, who must be fully maintained while not working; a 40-hour week maximum without loss of earnings.
6. Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords; full electoral rights for all from the age of 18; and full political and civil rights for men and women in the forces; the immediate repeal of all strike-breaking and anti-labour laws.
7. Abolish Conscription: For the dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia.
8. For the abolition of military law; clear out the reactionary anti-labour officer caste from the armed forces; for the election of officers from the ranks. For the establishment of military schools by the trade unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker officers.
9. Full and immediate freedom for India and the other colonies to choose their own form of government; the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.
10. End secret diplomacy and a peace of vengeance and plunder; end race hatred, anti-semitism, Vansittartism and the colour bar; the withdrawal of British troops from Europe and Asia and a peace based upon the self-determination of the peoples of Europe, Asia and the world.
11. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; for the overthrow of the privileged Stalinist bureaucracy and the re-introduction of workers' democracy in Russia.
12. Full support and active co-operation with the European workers against all occupying forces, for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a United Socialist States of Europe; unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for world socialism.

## Calcutta Strike

(Continued from Page 1.)  
 building and it was touch and go whether the students remained in the building or rushed out in the street. Cries of "programme" were met with long-winded appeals to remain calm and disciplined. Again it was the Trotskyists who stressed that the key to the situation lay with the workers and that only the co-ordination of the students and workers would produce results. Satisfied with their success in dissuading the students from doing anything for themselves, the Council of Action became completely inactive and hoped that the movement started by the students would die a natural death. The reason for their attitude became clear when the Congress moved from uninterested disapproval to active opposition. Despite this, a General strike for the removal of Section 144 was decided on and the date fixed for January 29, subsequently altered to February 5.

### CONGRESS ALARMED

The Congress was alarmed at the fact that the students had approached the workers. The

went round to every bus depot and persuaded the bus workers not to strike. Thanks to his untiring efforts this section of the working class failed to co-operate. The head of the "popular" Moslem League Government of the province had also issued a press statement similar to the Congress condemnation, British imperialism used the agency of the Chamber of Commerce to do its dirty work. This organisation of Clive Street bosses circularised the managers of all affiliated firms to force their employees back to work. The lamentable failure of this reactionary combination has a two-fold significance—it aptly demonstrates the increasing radicalisation of the masses as well as their growing disillusionment in the Congress and Moslem League.

### WORKERS IN THE LEAD

The strike has clearly shown on which side of the class struggle these two organisations align themselves. The fact that the vast majority of the masses followed the lead of the Bengal Workers' Trade

## Government's Economic Policy

(Continued from Page 1.)  
 equipment and maintenance. Of this, 7% is estimated for depreciation, leaving 13% as new capital accumulation.

Thus, although the Government estimates that at least 15% more capital equipment and maintenance work (apart from new housing and housing maintenance) must be done than was done in a normal pre-war year, the rate of new net capital accumulation will be double that of 1938, and, taking into consideration the increase in the national income, will be more than double in volume. The portion of the national income, taken by the capitalist class will therefore show an increase over that portion in the period before the war, while the portion of the national income consumed by the working class will have declined. This shows the intensification of the exploitation of the working class.

Answering the demands of the workers for shorter hours and increased wages, the White Paper states, that, "while the Government adheres to the long term objective of raising the standard of living of the people", "any further increase of wages must be accompanied by an increase of production." This latter proposition is repeated several times and in different ways. Thus, "the Government attaches great importance to the introduction of systems of payment and other arrangements which provide the maximum incentive to increase output." And again, "While greater leisure is a very desirable thing, . . . the nation cannot afford shorter hours of work unless these can be shown to increase output per man year."

### T.U. Practices To Go

To implement the increase in the productivity of labour and the intensity of the exploitation of the workers, speed-up and piece work are to be the rule; and will be introduced wherever possible. Trade Union practices, built up over a period of many years to protect the workers from the most vicious forms of exploitation, are to be broken down with Government consent and assistance. This is camouflaged under the assertion that "There is no place for industrial arrangements which restrict production, prices or employment. Such regulations and traditions grew up as a means of protecting those engaged in industry from the effects of a shortage of work and of empty order books. But now there is no such shortage, nor need there ever be under a policy of full employment. . . . There is no justification for action by either side of industry which

those sections of the working class who will be fortunate enough to continue in employment, will be savagely exploited.

The workers must not allow the Government, with the assistance of the Trade Union leaders, to unload the burdens of the war and its aftermath onto their backs. They must not allow the Labour leaders to load the burdens of generations of capitalist misrule and Tory sabotage onto their shoulders. The workers have shown that they are prepared to make great sacrifices. But until these sacrifices are accompanied by real measures against capitalism, it is time to call a halt. Every attempt to break down hard won trade union practices, and to intensify the exploitation of labour must be combatted with the full vigour of the working class. The million and a half soldiers, involved in military activities, suppressing the peoples in various parts of the world, must be recalled, together with the hundreds of thousands now involved in the production of useless military equipment, they must be harnessed to producing for the needs of the population in this grave and dangerous life and death situation.

### For A Socialist Plan Of Production

To back up these demands, however, the workers must go further if they are even to maintain their existing standards. They must fight to force the Government to take real steps against the capitalists. Ending once and for all their ownership of the means of production, offering them the right to work if they wish to live, instead of compensating them so that they may continue to exist as parasites on the backs of the toilers.

The partial and bureaucratic plan, limited as it is by private ownership and production and which will be shattered by the collapse of the world market, in which the workers have not a vestige of control, must be swept aside and replaced by a democratic and socialist plan over which the working class has full control. For it is only on this basis that the workers can create a secure and happy future, where life can be full and standards raised from year to year.

The next in the series of articles on Russia, by Comrade T. Cliff has been unavoidably held over until the Mid-March issue of "Socialist Appeal."

## Engineers' Demand Retreat No Victimisation - Full Pay in India

BY J. KELLY

The fuel crisis caught the official Trade Union movement napping. Within a few days the Employers' Federation had circulated its members on how to dodge paying the 34-hour guaranteed week. The E.C. of the A.E.U. on the other hand, took almost three weeks to issue a vague 4-page statement to its branches.

Meanwhile, two main problems arose inside the workshops, i.e., maintenance of the pay-roll and fight against victimisation. With no lead from the unions, workers in the Mitcham factory belt and Standard Telephones set about building up the necessary organisation to defend their interests. Mitcham shop stewards approached the local Trades Council E.C. and in a few days were able to arrange a conference attended by delegates from adjacent factories. An emergency committee was set up embracing a policy statement which included the above points.

In North London, at a mass meeting called by the shop stewards of Standard Telephones, two resolutions with an explanatory preamble were unanimously carried and the Shop Stewards were instructed to present them to the Ministries of Labour, Fuel and Power. During the course of this activity a link-up was made with Mitcham Trades Council representatives, and a joint deputation arranged.

The policy resolutions of Standard Telephones did not put forward a full revolutionary position. In the preamble they (Standards) support the "socialist measures" of the Labour Government. But it can be seen through such measures as the revision of the Factory Acts that the Labour Government is placing the burden of the crisis on the backs of the workers in a thoroughgoing capitalist manner. The preamble statement creates a dangerous illusion, because far from the Government instituting socialist measures, it simply carries out the policies of big business and it is this, otherwise the rank and file the duty of all socialists to expose are going to be defeated and disillusioned by such activity.

The resolutions however, make some very good points, particularly in relation to the miners. They urge, "workers' control in the pits", suspension of compensation payments, and the utilisation of the funds to improve conditions in the mines. Dealing with the situation inside the factories they demanded that the Government should introduce emergency decrees against sackings, urging that all existing workers' committees should retain



their status quo, without prejudice to their terms of reference and personnel.

In the House of Commons a number of Labour M.P.s such as Braddock (Mitcham) gave full support and a report back meeting was arranged after they had interviewed Issacs, Minister of Labour. At this meeting all leading London factories were represented. Braddock reported that Issacs would make the Government's attitude clear on victimisation if a question was put to him in the House. Regarding the payment of full wages he maintained that this was a matter which the E.C.s of the unions should approach him on.

Fred Lee, A.E.U., M.P., expressed agreement with opinions of the meeting, and offered to convey them to the Executive which he was meeting that evening.

The leading spokesman from the delegates was Bro. Fred Emmett, the secretary-convenor of the Mitcham Trades Council emergency committee. He declared that if the Union E.C.s did not act, they would have some accounting to do to the rank and file. Pressing home the demands for full wages and against victimisation, Bro. Fred Emmett made it quite clear that the burdens of the crisis must be borne by the employers and not the workers. At the close of his speech he received a loud round of applause which showed that he expressed the militant sentiments of those present. Significantly enough the "Daily Worker" was dead silent about the meeting on the following day.

The movement led by Standard Telephones and Mitcham Trades Council was significant insofar as it was led by rank and file militants who were not Stalinist inspired. This bodes well for the engineering struggles of the future. Now that the return to work has taken place, contact should be maintained in order to vigilantly safeguard hard won rights which will be thrown overboard if the Labour Government and the employers have their way. It may well be that the decisive struggle of the crisis is still ahead.

(Continued from Page 3.)  
**Workers' Power Only Solution**

THOSE Socialists who like to think that the Labour Government is abandoning imperialism and really granting freedom to India, will find themselves running too far ahead.

As the old bulldog becomes more senile and his teeth drop out, he can no longer maintain his grip in the old manner. But with age comes experience. And the British ruling class is notoriously the most cunning in history; as always the most adept at compromise. The rising Indian capitalists still need the services of British imperialism—its administrative "know-how". In fact they do not want to find themselves alone with the masses without the old watchdog which has kept the toilers down for so long. Consequently they are forced to share the bone, or face the possibility of an uprising of the many-millioned masses who are at last awakening from their years of political slumber.

The struggle for genuine national independence for the Indian peoples cannot be led by the Indian bourgeoisie. It is bound up with the agrarian and democratic revolutions, which cannot be accomplished without the complete destruction of the feudal and capitalist basis of the economy. There is only one road for the Indian workers and exploited masses to take: the road taken by the Russian masses in 1917, the road of the socialist revolution. This must be led, and can only be led, by the growing Indian working class under the banner of the Fourth International. The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, like its precursor the Bolshevik Party of Russia in the days of Lenin, is in the forefront of the struggle of the Indian masses attempting to give it a clear socialist objective.

power of the working class was sheer demagoguery to cover up the capitulation to reformism.

The amendment from Hertford showed a genuine attempt to return to the policy of Lenin. True, in the reaction to the opportunist policy of the C.P. leadership it was slightly ultra-left, a position which the leadership attempted to use in order to cover their retreat from the revolutionary position. But in its main essence it was a Leninist position in relation to strategy, while it was faulty in relation to tactics. Whereas the position put forward by the C.P. leadership had nothing in common with the method and aims of Lenin whatsoever.



144 was decided on the date fixed for January 29, subsequently altered to February 5.

### CONGRESS ALARMED

The Congress was alarmed at the fact that the students had approached the workers. The alarm was no doubt justified as it betokened a lack of faith in the premier nationalist organisation as well as a realisation of the power of the workers. They therefore went all out to sabotage the strike. The president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee issued a press statement denouncing the strike. This produced an immediate reaction as all the middle class party groups inside the Congress (the R.S.P.I., Congress Socialist Party and Forward Bloc) through their representatives in the Council of Action came out against the strike: This was to be expected and is another instance that proves the impotence of the petty-Bourgeois parties who have no independent line of action of their own and despite their "left" phraseology act only in accordance with the dictates of the capitalist Congress. The B.P.T.U.C. however, with the All-India T.U.C. sessions to be held in a couple of weeks time, realised its existence was at stake, and in spite of opposition from Congress Labour leaders inside the B.P.T.U.C. itself decided to enforce the strike.

Thus, the anti-strike propaganda of the last few days—that the strike was likely to result in riots and disturbances—proved false. In keeping with the decisions of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress no processions or demonstrations were held, but over 75% per cent. of the employees of the mercantile offices and 50 per cent. of factory workers came out on strike. With 50,000 workers, including the Tramway workers already on strike, and another 22,000 in the Port Trust striking the same day on their own demands, the paralysis of the city was virtually complete.

Attempts to run the harbour with the Pioneer force—a corps formed during the war for local defence, and since retained by the Government for strike-breaking operations—proved a dismal failure.

### CONGRESS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE UNITE . . .

The success of the strike was all the more outstanding considering the difficult conditions under which it took place. On the one hand the Ordinance known as Section 144 Criminal Penal Code prevails in the city—an ordinance that permits police and military to take immediate action, including firing upon groups of more than four persons—and heavy police and military pickets had been posted all over; on the other hand Congress, Moslem League and British imperialism had united as one to break the strike. The Congress issued a press statement condemning the proposed strike, and plastered sections of the city to the same effect. Not content with this, Dr. Sureh Bannerjee, a prominent Congress labour leader,

The strike has clearly shown on which side of the class struggle these two organisations align themselves. The fact that the vast majority of the masses followed the lead of the Bengal Province Trade Union Congress and on a political issue at that—the strike was for the withdrawal of Section 144—shows the rapidity with which the Congress is losing prestige. Its compromise with Imperialism has already had a damning effect on its popularity.

The success of the General Strike in the face of the strongest opposition came as a surprise to many. The amazing solidarity of workers and employees and their ready response to a call to action on political grounds indicates their increased class consciousness. The Congress can look upon the 5th February only as a major defeat; even their strong support in the middle class has been shaken to its foundations. Students and employees in action showed their willingness to defy its authority. But for the existence of Section 144 and the definite directive of the B.P.T.U.C. to refrain from demonstrations, processions and picketing, Calcutta would have thundered to the triumphant march of the working millions. The impressive display of July 29, would have been repeated.

## Trinidad

(Continued from Page 3.)

profits were accumulated. Apex (Trinidad) Oilfields Ltd. is another exploiter of native labour and wealth. Its dividends were:

1930/1	... 20 per cent.
1931/2	... 25 " "
1932/34	... 35 " "
1934/5	... 27½ " "
1935/6	... 35 " "
1936/7	... 45 " "

These were paid out of profits exacted at the expense of the natives. Trinidad Petroleum Development Co. added their contribution to this sordid picture by netting a mere £273731 profit for 1946 in what the chairman described as "a satisfactory year"—production amounting to 2,936,000 barrels of oil.

### Labour Must Act

No real government claiming to represent working class interests would allow such "atrocities" to continue. A government truly representing international labour would base itself and its actions upon the ideas of the 1917 Bolshevik Party of Russia. Having risen to power through the mass support of the workers, Lenin immediately proclaimed the self-determination of all subjugated states and minorities who had suffered under the Czarist yoke. This is the acid test for socialists.

**THE WHOLE ORGANISED LABOUR MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN MUST DEMAND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE REGIME OF TERRORIST ADMINISTRATION IN THE COLONIES.**

### THE LEAD

protecting those engaged in industry from the effects of a shortage of work and of empty order books. But now there is no such shortage, nor need there ever be under a policy of full employment. . . . There is no justification for action by either side of industry which limits production."

### Capitalists Will Come Out On Top

Thus, the most favourable picture as given by the White Paper is as follows: There will be plenty of work for the next year or two. The consumption standard of the workers, with the possible exception of food, will increase over their present standards, and may even reach those of 1938. Meanwhile, the capitalists will reap greater harvests of profits than ever before. All this will be achieved by the working class producing more than at any time in its history. On balance, the capitalist class will come out well on top!

Against this must be set the fact that the capitalists, although partly restricted by the Government, will still control and dominate industry. The working class will not have a shred of real control. The proud boasts of the Government that "There is no danger for years to come that foreign labour will rob British workers of their jobs" contrasts with their nervousness regarding the disruption of the world market, which they do not control, adversely affecting any possibilities of a long term plan.

But the world market will disrupt all the plans of the Labour leaders since they continue to operate the capitalist system and produce for profit instead of for the use of the community. It is only by ending the system of production for profit that it will be possible to introduce a plan and operate it according to the resources of the nation and to the needs of the people.

### Workers Must Fight Back

For the workers, the White Paper must be a grim warning: While the favourable world market exists the Labour Government and the capitalist class can indeed keep the population fully employed. But within a few short years, the world market will once again be saturated with surplus products which cannot be sold—especially when American industry really gets into its stride in production for the export market. No Government which allows the capitalist class to remain in the control of industry and which bases itself on production for profit, can prevent the slump that will follow, with its attendant mass unemployment. In these lean years, because of the whole adverse development of British economy the standard of living of the working class will, of necessity, be depressed to much lower levels than at the depths of the slump of 1931-32. The break-down of trade union practices and the widespread introduction of payment by results which is now being undertaken by the Labour Government will then be a powerful weapon in the hands of the employers. Even

The next in the series of articles on Russia, by Comrade T. Cliff has been unavoidably held over until the Mid-March issue of "Socialist Appeal."



## London Activity

### WE HOLD OUR GROUND

Four Trotskyist sellers of the "Socialist Appeal" were assaulted and their papers torn up on Saturday, 22nd February, near the Seymour Hall, London, where the Communist Party were holding their Annual Conference on the week-end of February 22-23-24. This was an organised attack made by conference stewards.

The following day, Sunday, 25 London members of the R.C.P. turned up to defend their democratic rights to sell the "Socialist Appeal" and distribute a leaflet to the delegates (published in this issue of "S.A."). It is noteworthy that the C.P. stewards who made a further attack against our comrades, showed no real enthusiasm to carry out this dirty task allotted to them by the Party leadership.

Many of the Conference delegates openly expressed their disgust at such hooligan methods in the working class movement. Many of them intervened against the stewards' actions.

The Trotskyists were successful in beating off the stewards, and were then left unmolested to distribute the leaflet and sell the "Socialist Appeal". A large number of the delegates accepted the leaflet with interest. Later in

the afternoon, in the Conference, J. R. Campbell, from the platform, upbraided the delegates for "interfering" with the stewards who, he claimed, were carrying out their "duties" in dealing with the R.C.P. His statement was received with cold silence.

We appeal to all worker members of the Communist Party to demand an end to such fascist-like methods! Whether you agree with our policy, or not, comrades, we appeal to you to protest in the branches against such anti-working class, anti-Socialist methods.

We appeal to all trade unionists and Socialists to raise the question with their friends in the Communist Party and ask why the Stalinist Party has to resort to such methods!

### MEETINGS

#### WELL COVERED

During the Fuel crisis the London branches distributed about 4,000 leaflets at Labour Exchanges, factories and public meetings. Our leaflet got a good reception from the workers and the sales of "Socialist Appeal" were satisfactory. The fuel crisis leaflet was also distributed to A.E.U. delegates entering Parliament to interview Labour M.P.s. This threw us into conflict with the

police who objected to our activity there.

Outside of local sales we have increased our Central London activity over the past month. All Communist Party, I.L.P. and L.P. meetings have been covered by our literature sellers. In one night three mass rallies of the C.P. and an I.L.P. meeting were attended by 20 comrades selling the "Socialist Appeal". In quick time 35 comrades were mustered to distribute a special leaflet to the delegates at the recent national conference of the C.P. to defend our sellers.

Despite the cold weather Hyde Park sales are as good as ever, our comrades selling out.

The East End comrades are to be congratulated on their new venture in setting up a literature stall in Whitechapel High Street, with all Trotskyist literature on sale every Saturday afternoon. This bookstall idea is worth developing by other branches throughout the country.

500 leaflets and a number of "Socialist Appeals" were distributed and sold at a public meeting held by the Stalinists at the climax of their Empire Conference, at Kingsway Hall. The leaflet was excellently turned out and will be published in the next issue of the "Socialist Appeal."

T. REILLY

# Opposition at C.P. Conference

(Continued from Page 1.)

"By the E.C. forgetting the dictatorship of the proletariat, and informing that now a peaceful transition to Socialism is possible, it means that they have virtually abandoned Marxism, or only make use of those parts and quotations, etc., which are acceptable to the petty bourgeoisie.

"Lenin says: 'Only a proletarian, Socialist revolution is able to lead humanity out of the blind alley created by imperialism and imperialist wars.'—(Revision of the Party Programme). This has little in common with the theory of peaceful transition."

The "Daily Worker", in reporting the amendment only gives part of it, "He (Comrade Eric Heffer) accused the executive committee of taking a reformist opportunist path 'the perspective of the proletarian

revolution has been abandoned,' he declared: "Our executive committee is committing us to the support of a Government of social traitors who are leading this country to economic disaster and the victory of reaction.

We must endeavour to use the economic crisis for the overthrow of the capitalist system."

Among the "crimes" of the comrades which were recorded against them by one of the C.P. leaders was that, "The length to which they are prepared to go was shown by the fact that during discussion at the Welwyn Garden City Branch about nominations to the Executive Committee, they voted down Comrades Pollitt, Gallacher, Dutt, Kerrigan, Horner and others."

Using the typical slander method which is used against all revolutionary opposition in the Com-

munist Party, Betty Matthews, the South-East Midlands District Organiser, then tried to make an amalgam and link the opposition with Churchill:

"There isn't a single word in the amendment about the menace of the Tories. We are invited to join hands with Churchill and the big industrialists to weaken the Labour Government," she said. "This policy completely ignores the power of the working class to direct the affairs of the nation."

Coming from people who had advocated support for Churchill during the war, and at the time of the General Election advocated a coalition government with the Tories, this constituted cynical contempt of the thinking members of the C.P. The reference to the

(Continued in next Column.)

But the Leninist position. . . . But Leninist position in relation to strategy, while it was faulty in relation to tactics. Whereas the position put forward by the C.P. leadership had nothing in common with the method and aims of Lenin whatsoever. In conducting the struggle against Kornilov (the Russian Franco) in "support" of Kerensky (the Russian Attlee), Lenin wrote:

"And even now we must not support Kerensky's government. That would be unprincipled. It will be asked: What, not even fight Kornilov? Of course, fight him! But that is not the same thing; there is a dividing line; that line is being overstepped by certain Bolsheviks, who allow themselves to become 'compromisers' and to be carried away by the flood of events.

We will fight and are fighting Kornilov, just as Kerensky's troops are. But we do not support Kerensky; on the contrary, we expose his weakness. That is the difference. It is a rather subtle difference, but an extremely important one, and must not be forgotten."

"Selected Works" Vol. 6, p. 205. (Emphasis in original.)

Contrast this with the attitude of the Communist Party leaders. Against the Tories the Trotskyists have always supported the Labour leaders. Carrying out Lenin's advice, we advocated 'Labour to Power' at the General Election. But we never identified ourselves with the reactionary policy of the Labour leaders, we never lied to the workers and deceived them that the measures advocated by the Labour leaders could serve the needs and interests of the workers.

Thus by going through the experience of the workers together with them, we hoped by patient explanation to win them to the programme of the Socialist revolution. This is the policy which the Hertford and Welwyn Garden City amendment is striving to express, and to which many of the worker-members of the Communist Party are groping. It has nothing in common with the shameful policy of the Communist Party leadership which is a travesty of Communism.

Having failed by all the usual methods of pressure to shake the members of these branches, Pollitt indicated that they would suffer the usual fate of any determined opposition within the C.P. "Referring to the Welwyn Garden City and Hertford amendment, he (Pollitt) said the new executive committee would have as one of its first duties the task of ensuring that these branches were reorganised." ("Daily Worker", Feb. 12).

What Pollitt means, of course, is, that every step will be taken to silence all those who remain true to their convictions and attempt to stand by a Leninist position.

If these workers wish to fight for a genuine Marxist-Leninist policy, they will find this possible, only within the ranks of the Fourth International.

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