



SOCIALIST APPEAL

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FOR A UNITED FRONT

How a Revolutionary Government Would OVERCOME THE PRESENT CRISIS

THE AMERICAN LOAN WILL BE USED UP EVEN BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT THE ADVERSE BALANCE OF TRADE WILL AMOUNT TO £450 MILLIONS FROM JUNE 1947 TO JUNE 1948. THIS IS BRITAIN'S "CRISIS". AND HOW DO THE LABOUR LEADERS PROPOSE TO MEET THE GAP?

Imports of food are to be cut by £12 million a month. Timber imports will be cut £10 million a year. Further, restrictions will be enforced on expenditure on foreign travel, and cuts imposed on petrol, with a tax on foreign, which means American, films.

And the working class is called upon to work harder and longer hours. They are urged not to press for wage increases, and to prepare for the continuation of austerity with the possibility of further cuts in rations if the Marshall Plan fails to materialise.

At the same time, compulsory direction of labour to the undermanned industries is to be undertaken.

The Tories Complaints

And what sacrifices are to be made by the capitalist class in the plan of the Labour Government? They will be hardly affected at all. They will continue, as before, to pile up profits. The Tories complaint is, of course, that the Labour Government is not prepared to launch a savage enough assault

school leaving age because it meant the diversion of materials and labour.

The real policy of the Tories was, of course, not prominently featured in the capitalist press, which featured only the demagogic and hypocritical attacks on the powers of direction demanded by the Government. No serious worker will be fooled by this. But unfortunately, the policy of the

Against Fascist Hooliganism Anti-Semitism and Reaction Go Hand-in-Hand

THE FASCISTS ARE CREEPING OUT OF THEIR SEWERS. USING THE PRETEXT OF THE TWO BRITISH SERGEANTS MURDERED BY THE TERRORISTS IN PALESTINE, THEY HAVE PROVOKED A SERIES OF RIOTS IN MANCHESTER, LIVERPOOL, GLASGOW AND LONDON.

This is not at all a spontaneous reaction to the activities of the Palestine terrorists. It is a carefully whipped-up and guided campaign by hooligan fascist thugs.

The meaning of this movement as anti-working class is clear. Already in Liverpool and Bethnal Green, London, Labour and Communist Party rooms have been attacked by these fascist thugs.

There is no doubt that the terrorist activities in Palestine have aroused anti-semitic reactions among even the best sections of the workers in this country. British workers! Do not allow yourselves to be misled! Anti-semitism is a danger to the rights and liberties of the working class. These incidents will die down — But the fascist organisations which systematically inflame the most ignorant and backward prejudices have as their aim, the destruction of the organisations of the working class — the Trade Unions, Labour, Communist, Revolutionary Communist Parties, etc. These events are a dress rehearsal for the slump which is inevitable and must come in the next few years. Then, the capitalist class will hire and finance these thugs not only to attack Jews, but to attack Labour organisations and beat up workers' leaders.

Learn the lesson of the bitter experiences of the workers of Germany and Italy. Anti-semitism goes hand in hand with reaction in its struggle against the working class and the hard won democratic rights gained by a century of struggle. The capitalist press has reacted to the Jews on the Palestine question without explaining the true facts.



Den and the withdrawal of every British soldier from Palestine! Let the Arabs and the Jews settle their own problems on the basis of an independent Palestine.

Hitler and Mussolini could not prevent the rebirth of fascism. Only by destroying the source of fascism, the capitalist system, with its profits for the few and poverty

PROFITS AND THE CRISIS

BY G. NOSEDA

All the sacrifices now being called for by the Labour leaders to meet the economic crisis, are placed on the backs of the workers. Not one step is to be taken against the enormous profits being reaped by the big employers in Britain! The profit-making of the capitalists will continue unchecked.

The fears of the capitalists and Stock Market speculators of possible measures being taken against them by the Labour Government, has, in the words of the "Financial Times" been "removed". Reporting rises in Iron and Steel, Tobacco, Motor and other industrial shares after Attlee's crisis speech, the "Financial Times" wrote: "The Prime Minister's statement will remove some of the worst fears of the market. There had been talk of a capital levy or forced loan and of various devices to stop Stock Exchange speculation."

And the City correspondent of the "Daily Herald", said that the "Government's plan for handling the economic crisis relieved uncertainty in security markets. . . ."

Shares Rise After Attlee's Speech

The relief of the capitalists and speculators at the lack of any measures against their interests was reflected in the Stock Market. The shares of Baldwin's, (Steel), which a week before had stood at 7/-, rose to 7/10½d. the day after Attlee's speech. Consett Iron Co., shares rose from 10/- on August 1st, to 11/- on the 8th; Dorman Long's, another big Steel combine, rose from 24/6d. to 27/- in the same period. Tobacco, Motor and other market shares rose similarly. Clearly, the Labour Government's measures held no threat to the profiteers and market speculators.

plan of the Labour Government? They will be hardly affected at all. They will continue, as before, to pile up profits. The Tories complaint is, of course, that the Labour Government is not prepared to launch a savage enough assault on the standards of the workers. This was disclosed in all its nakedness by the speech of Sir John Anderson when he rebuked the Government for bringing into operation family allowances and old age pensions, and claimed that the appeal to the workers not to press for higher wages was "unconvincing." It was a mistake, he argued, to introduce this excessive purchasing power at the moment when the beginnings of a post-war slump were becoming apparent. He opposed the raising of the

was, of course, not prominently featured in the capitalist press, which featured only the demagogic and hypocritical attacks on the powers of direction demanded by the Government. No serious worker will be fooled by this. But unfortunately, the policy of the Labour leaders plays into the hands of the Tories.

Why The CRISIS?

Instead of a socialist plan which could rally the workers, the measures can only serve to alienate the middle class and in any case merely serve as a palliative. In pursuance of the policy of imperialism, the Labour Government in the last two years, has squandered enormous sums to the

(Continued on Page 4.)

White Jury O.K.'s Killings

8 Negroes Shot Dead

NEW YORK—

A Georgia prison-camp warden and seven guards who murdered eight Negro prisoners and wounded five others at the Anguila Stockade two weeks ago, were declared 'justified in their action' by an all-white 23-man Glynn County grand jury in Brunswick last week.

Brunswick representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, who investigated on the spot shortly after the killings, have revealed evidence that the wholesale slaying with sub-machine guns, shot guns and rifles was a deliberate massacre.

According to the NAACP investigators, "there had been no sit-down strike of prisoners as originally reported. The men had simply refused to go into the rattlesnake infested swamp waters without boots. They demanded a meeting with the warden where they could explain their objections but this demand was refused by armed guards who were in charge of the work gang."

"When the men refused to enter the swamp they were told to sit in the road while one of the guards returned to the camp to report the situation to the warden. Only two guards remained with the men who were perfectly aware of the fact that there were fifteen heavily armed guards back at the camp. "It was pointed out to the investigators by one of the prisoners, that if an escape had been con-



R.C.P. BOOKSTALL.—International socialist Literature bookstall run by the East London Branch every Saturday in Whitechapel Road. Marxist classics, works by Lenin and Trotsky, and Fourth International papers in all languages are sold.

templated it would have been more feasible with only two guards over them than later, when they had been returned to camp in trucks, under the guns of seventeen guards."

At the stockade, the prisoners were lined up in front of the barracks where the warden ordered five prisoners to step out. "This the men refused to do when it was obvious to the tightly packed group that the warden was reeling drunk."

The warden then ordered one prisoner, Willie Bell, to step out,

in its struggle against the working class and the hard won democratic rights gained by a century of struggle. The capitalist press has indeed been hostile to the Jews on the Palestine question without explaining the true facts.

There are 100,000 British Troops Stationed In Palestine! — Why?

Palestine is the main military base of imperialism in the Middle East. British capitalists have investments of about £300,000,000 in this region. They own oilfields, oil refineries, big industrial establishments, power stations, banks, insurance companies, etc. Millions of pounds of profits go into the pockets of a handful of British capitalists, from this region. In Palestine itself, they own at least three quarters of the industrial capital of the country!

The British are in Palestine for one purpose only: to oppress both Arab and Jewish worker and peasant in the interest of the oil kings and protect the strategic needs of British capitalism. This is not worth the life of a single British worker-soldier. British workers! There is a simple solution to the Palestine problem.

Den and the withdrawal of every British soldier from Palestine! Let the Arabs and the Jews settle their own problems on the basis of an independent Palestine.

WORKERS! ON GUARD AGAINST THE FASCIST MENACE! The Trade Unions, Trades Councils, the Co-operatives, and all the workers' political parties, must conduct a united campaign against this menace. The fascists must be crushed while they are still small and impotent, and before they gain a base among the backward sections of the population. Wherever they creep out of their holes, they must be cleared off the streets. In districts where they are strong, the trade unions and other workers' organisations must form Defence Guards to protect meeting halls of the workers, and to protect the Jews against hooligan attacks. Do not stand aside and allow the fascists to attack the Jews. This is not only a threat to their democratic rights, but strikes at the very basis of the rights of the working class. **TOMORROW IT MAY BE YOU.**

The Revolutionary Communist Party warned the working class that Britain's imperialist war against

Hitler and Mussolini could not prevent the rebirth of fascism. Only by destroying the source of fascism, the capitalist system, with its profits for the few and poverty for the masses, can fascism be destroyed.

WORKERS! Exert pressure on the Labour Leaders to carry through a real socialist programme. By destroying the powers of the capitalist class, by expropriation of the capitalist class, the elimination of the Black Market and the equal distribution of all available goods, the menace of fascism will disappear. Only committees of the working class can effectively ensure equal distribution and deal a death blow to black-market racketeers. This is the Revolutionary Communist Party's answer to the menace of fascism.

Down with Anti-Semitism which goes hand in hand with reaction! Destroy Fascism by Destroying Capitalism!

Defend the Jews and the Workers Against Fascist Hooliganism!

For a United Front of All Workers' Organisations Against the Fascists!

Demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British Troops from Palestine!

Some Facts About the Jews—p. 4

Help The Indonesians

No Handling of Dutch Material!

A one-hour general sit-down strike in protest against the Dutch Government's war in Indonesia took place throughout Amsterdam and other cities in Holland at the end of last month.

BOYCOTT INDONESIAN WAR

Meanwhile, the dock workers' union of the progressive E.V.C. Federation has declared a boycott on all ships bound for Indonesia or loading military supplies and troops. The E.V.C. Federation which controls seventy per cent. of the Port labour in the major ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, has proposed to the conservative N.V.V. Federation, a joint general strike against the war.

In Sydney, Australia, all loading of Dutch ships in Australian harbours has been ordered halted by the Dock Workers Trade Union Federation. In an appeal to cease work, the Unions call upon the workers 'not to aid the Dutch Government in its aggression against the Indonesian people

which is fighting for its independence."

The responsibility of this war of national oppression does not rest only upon the shoulders of the Dutch imperialists. It receives the support of British and American imperialism, and could not be waged against the wishes and pressure of the British and American Governments.

Appeals to U.N.O., the imperialists' thieves' kitchen, are absolutely worthless. They are made by the Labour leaders only to dupe the workers. Only the class action of the workers can smash imperialism. Transport workers, dockers, railwaymen, seamen and lorry drivers, must refuse to handle any material destined for the Dutch against the Indonesians.

No handling of Dutch material! No fitting, fuelling or loading of Dutch ships or aircraft. For a complete embargo on Dutch commerce!

another big Steel combine, rose from 24/6d. to 27/- in the same period. Tobacco, Motor and other market shares rose similarly. Clearly, the Labour Government's measures held no threat to the profiteers and market speculators.

In the past year, the higher productive output attained by the workers has meant a golden harvest of profits for the capitalists. Among some of the outstanding profits reported recently are those of Lever Bros. and Unilever Ltd., whose company report shows that the consolidated net profit of the combine for 1946 was £6,187,647, or £1,548,541 more than in 1945.

British Glues and Chemicals Ltd., have approximately doubled their last year's profits. Their reported profit for the year ended April, 1947, is £217,827.

The British Shareholders Trust Ltd., announcing a profit of £111,597 for this year, state that this is an increase of £27,670 over the previous year.

Tootal Broadhurst Lee Co., (Cotton and Textile), announce a record profit of £769,195 for the year ending June, 1947. This is an increase of almost half a million pounds over the previous year's profits which were £285,213.

Expropriate the Capitalists

These few examples are indicative of the upward profits tendency of almost every capitalist enterprise in Britain during the past year. Yet, Attlee, in his crisis speech, made not the slightest attack on the profits being coined by the capitalists. Instead, addressing the employers, he meekly said, "I appeal to those in control of industry and commerce to refrain (!) from declaring high dividends and large profits."

All talk of "equal" sacrifice is so much humbug, so long as the Labour Government continues to place the main burdens of the economic crisis on the backs of the working class and fails to take drastic action against the capitalists. A genuine Workers' Government would not hesitate to take revolutionary measures to implement a real Socialist policy to meet the present crisis. One of the first steps of such a Workers' Government would be to take action against the big employers. The profits of the capitalist class would be EXPROPRIATED and the wealthy idlers and drones put to work. Then, and only then, could there be any talk of "equal" sacrifice. Such measures would be part of a real socialist plan to meet the economic crisis and safeguard the interests of the workers.

R.C.P. Congress Resolution on

Statification in Britain

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PARTY ACTIVITY

Manchester — The Manchester comrades conducted a successful sales drive of "Socialist Appeals" among the miners in the Lancashire area. They systematically covered the miners' villages and sold 400 copies of the last issue. Feeling among the miners against the Coal Board is running high and the general run of comment was that the "Socialist Appeal" expressed their own views on the mining situation.

Newcastle.—Our Newcastle comrades sold 150 copies of the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal" at the Northumberland miners' gala.

Anti-Fascist Activity. — The R.C.P. responded quickly to the outbreak of fascist hooliganism by the publication of a special penny supplement. The London District Committee called an aggregate to report on a plan of campaign and to hear suggestions from London members. The attendance was good and arrangements were made for an extensive campaign in the London area to extend over a week.

A meeting is being organised at the King's Hall, East London, for Monday, August 18th. 500 posters, 2,000 leaflets, chalking, a poster parade, and other methods of advertising the meeting are under way to make it a success.

Over 500 copies of the special supplement were sold on canvasses and on the streets on Sunday, August 10th, in London. Workers in the East End responded quite liberally to our collection boxes. The open air meeting in East London on the fascist menace was well attended.

India Meeting.—An interested audience of 80 attended a London meeting calling for a "United Socialist India." Comrades Ajit Rey and Ted Grant spoke well. Huge posters around the hall demanded the release of Antoni Pillai, President of the Madras Labour Union, and other Trotskyist leaders arrested by Congress. Literature and a good collection rounded off a successful evening.

S.P.G.B. - R.C.P. Debate. — About 150 workers assembled to hear a debate between Comrade Fenwick of the S.P.G.B. and Jock Haston for the R.C.P. at the Bethnal Green Library. Comrade Haston was in high form and thoroughly floored the sectarian arguments of his opponent. The meeting recorded a nice profit for the party. About 15/- worth of literature was sold.

Thames Valley comrades are to be commended for the steady rise in membership and for the development of the area as a whole. A District Committee is being set up to administer the party-work in the area.



Industrial Notes



Lyons' Workers Win Demands After 3 Hours Strike

BY MARION LUNT (Catering Worker)

LONDON —

1,200 CATERING WORKERS OF LYONS' CORNER HOUSES, BY THEIR DECISIVE AND MILITANT ACTION, WON THEIR DEMANDS AFTER A THREE HOUR STRIKE ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 9th.

J. Lyons & Co. Notices

This action was taken as a result of the loss in tips suffered by waiters and waitresses when J. Lyons & Co. displayed notices relating to unlicensed premises, and leading the general public to believe applied to these Corner Houses, which are however, licensed premises.

Workers' Demands

Lyons' workers demanded the firm should re-imburse them for this loss in tips. But not only did J. Lyons & Co. refuse to negotiate with the workers' representative, Jack Hogarth, but also served an injunction, restraining him from inciting workers to take part in unofficial strikes.

Attempt To Sever Leadership Stopped By Workers

This injunction was an attempt to sever a militant leadership.

Fighting Fund July

| | £ | s. | d. |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|
| Newcastle | | 5 | 0 |
| M.S., South Africa ... | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| West London | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A.M., Bristol | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| MM., per Tom Reilly .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Croydon | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| Oxford Study Circle ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Metro-Vickers | | | |
| Sympathiser | 1 | 6 | |
| G.L. (U.W.Co.) | 6 | 8 | |
| P.M., Birmingham ... | 14 | 6 | |
| M.D., Coventry | 2 | 6 | |
| Glasgow | 2 | 16 | 3 |
| Manchester | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| East London | 1 | 13 | 7 |
| South East | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| L.H.L. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| W.P., Birmingham ... | 12 | 6 | |
| S.L. | 2 | 6 | |
| Bristol | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thames Valley | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| G. Carlson | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Charlie White | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Scarborough | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Edinburgh | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| Liverpool | 1 | 6 | 9 |
| M.S., South Africa ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Manchester | 3 | 11 | 6 |

However, the workers of the Corner Houses at Marble Arch and the Cumberland Hotel came out on strike on a solid class-basis. J. Lyons & Co. were forced to withdraw the injunction, and agreed to negotiate re the loss in tips.

Trafalgar Square Meeting

At a meeting called by the Workers' Committee at Trafalgar Square on Sunday, August 10th, which was well attended by nippies and catering workers of London, Jack Hogarth with representatives from the four Corner Houses gave the facts about wages in their establishments. Waiters, they said, are receiving 11/- per week, plus 6d. in the £ commission.

"At present we are having to rely on the general public to give us our living. That is a rotten system for a firm which made a million profit and paid 22½ per cent. dividend," stated Dick Barton in putting the waiters' case.

Support From The Provinces

A catering worker from Plymouth who had listened to the waiters airing their grievances, offered 10/- as a donation, and when the nippies went around with a borrowed hat, most of the listeners contributed towards the cost of the meeting.

Need For A Unified Struggle

Support from the working class in general is much needed and appreciated by the catering workers, but most especially support from provincial catering houses and other London establishments. Because, while this particular issue is a "domestic" one, the general and over-all question of better wages and conditions in this industry is urgent and vital to every one of its workers. And in the struggles that lie ahead on these fundamental issues, the conscious and unified action of the catering workers will be the chief factor contributing to their success.

Lessons From Other Sections Of Industry

There is plenty of evidence from the struggles of the past around wage-claims by the dockers, the

engineers and the building workers, who 18 months ago were marching 150,000 strong in their parade, that a frittering away of energy in sporadic battles can take place without their concrete demands being realised. Catering workers, coming late to join the fight of organised industry, but arriving nevertheless with a great store of untapped energy and determination, must draw the conclusion from the past industrial battles, and prepare for a sustained struggle on the basis of wage demands and the Caterers' Charter.

House Representatives Must Keep Close Contact With Rank - and - File

To draw into activity as many workers as possible there should be an immediate convening of a meeting of representatives from each establishment, to work out a common plan for a campaign around the Charter—each representative reporting back to discuss full details with the workers of his house.

100% Unionism In Each House

Together with this campaign should go a renewed drive for 100% union organisation in every establishment, to fight the victimisation by the bosses.

There is still the outstanding example of the victimisation of Piazza, and other workers indirectly victimised by the Savoy owners,

Catering Workers' Charter

1. £5 minimum wage irrespective of tips.
2. 5-day week of 40 hours, with the abolition of shift duty.
3. Two weeks holiday with pay, over-time rates, sick pay, extra pay for Bank Holidays and Sunday work.
4. Better food and general working conditions.

also the latest measure, the injunction served on Hogarth at the Cumberland Hotel, shows that wherever possible the bosses will try to get rid of a militant leadership.

To combat victimisation the workers must move towards the "closed shop" principle, and include in the Charter a seniority clause which will militate against any "distribution of labour" which the boss may desire, for his own ends.

A basic, living wage, irrespective of tips is the demand of every catering worker, together with reasonable hours, holidays with pay, and better food and working conditions generally.

These demands can only be gained by united, conscious action on the part of the catering workers.

Begin a drive now for Union inclusion of all workers on the job, with the knowledge that a union ticket by itself will not solve the problems posed. A solid and conscious support between workers and their representatives on each issue as it arises, plus a general plan of a campaign to bring each item of the Charter into the living conditions of every catering worker, will set this industry along the road with the working class in their common fight for workers' control of production and distribution.

'Face Facts' Meeting

The united action of workers successfully exposed a "FACE THE FACTS" meeting at Chelsea Town Hall on August 11th, which attempted to utilise the hangings of the two British sergeants in Palestine to stir up national hatred against the Jews.

The platform attacked the Jews by linking them up with every crime under the sun.

A united front of members of the Communist Party, Y.C.Lers, Trotskyists, and members of the "43 Group" was spontaneously set up to defeat this reactionary nonsense. In essence the meeting

Letters

To the
Editor,

From a MIDLANDS BUSMAN

Birmingham.
"Socialist Appeal."
Dear Comrade,

To all workers in the omnibus industry the painful delay in setting up the promised tribunal, only serves to emphasise the necessity for a complete overhaul of negotiating machinery.

It has taken two weeks to select three men to sit as a tribunal under the constitution of the National Council for the bus industry, to consider what is termed as a new claim by the trade unions, for a national agreement covering all express and stage operations. This, of course, embodies the long-standing demands of all privately employed workers for the same conditions of pay and hours of work as for municipal concerns.

It can be safely said that the recent demonstrations by certain garages throughout the country, showed two things. One, the strong discontent created by the poor rate of pay for hours worked; the other, the slowness of the Union to act. The discontent has been apparent for years, for although it may have been possible to earn £6 or £7 per week, the number of hours required for such a wage has

always been double or more to those asked of any factory workers. In fact, the slogan of certain privately owned bus companies is "Give them plenty of hours, that will satisfy them."

The fact that busmen have homes and families never occurred to them, so long as the job was being done, and that goes for the middle-class public too. The work of these men and women during the war, under black-out conditions and often harassed by air raids, for a miserable pittance of a wage in comparison to many industries, has easily been forgotten.

Does it appear really surprising, that at long last, workers in this business are demanding equal status with their brothers in other industries, particularly for extra payment for Saturday afternoons, Sundays and Bank Holidays? It has been suggested in certain quarters that those dissatisfied with the job should leave. That is precisely what is happening. So much is this so at the present moment, that passenger service under private enterprise finds itself at the break-down stage through lack of manpower. And so we wait for the answer. But not for long.

S. C. HOOPER.

Labour Council Slum Owners

BY R. PETERS

BIRMINGHAM—

As part of the general process of centralisation, Birmingham City Council has recently become the largest slum owner in the country, the Duke of Westminster not excepted.

They are preparing to take over 32,170 houses which, at the generally acknowledged figure of 3.5 persons per house, (although probably much higher in these areas) represents accommodation for 112,595 people. Such a total is comparable with a town the size of Walsall (1939 estimate was 107,000 people) or Wolverhampton (147,000 in 1939).

Of this total, 24,670 houses are scheduled as "unfit", or slum property. (Readers can use their imagination as to the width of this

The City Council has announced that "first steps will be to rehabilitate as many of the old houses as possible to give them a few extra years' life." This indicates that the tenants need not expect to receive better alternative accommodation straightaway. And this in a county notorious for its multitude of the large "stately homes of England." In fact, not five miles away in Little Acton there must be accommodation for all 100,000 on a strictly rationed basis and without over-crowding.

In this can be seen the desire of the old property-owners to "get out while the going is good." For this self-service they are to receive a pension at £500 a time. And the Labour Councillors will be left to face the just ire of the tenants who have for so long inhabited these hovels. Away with these

literature was sold.
Thames Valley comrades are to be commended for the steady rise in membership and for the development of the area as a whole. A District Committee is being set up to administer the party-work in the area.

T. REILLY,
Organising Secretary.

| | |
|--------------------|--------|
| Thames Valley | 1 10 0 |
| G. Carlson | 25 0 0 |
| Charlie White | 1 0 0 |
| Scarborough | 10 0 0 |
| Edinburgh | 4 10 0 |
| Liverpool | 1 6 9 |
| M.S., South Africa | 3 0 0 |
| Manchester | 3 11 6 |
| AA., Leicester | 18 0 0 |

£66 15 3

Food Destroyed

While Housewives Queue

Fruit and vegetables are being destroyed, ploughed into the ground, or allowed to rot in Britain at the present time.

Cheap apples are being sent back to Kent for green manure. Lorry loads are being dumped or fed to pigs.

"Large quantities of marrows, cucumbers and runner beans were rotting. Cabbages and lettuce were being ploughed back into the land", reports the "Sunday Times" of August 10th.

A spokesman of the Ministry of Agriculture dealing with this problem, complacently remarked: "It was better to have a glut than shortage." He added that cabbages and lettuce were ploughed back every year. The reason was "lack of demand for the produce."

A question was asked in Parliament by a back-bench Labour Member on Monday, August 11th, about "lorry-loads of plums, apples, and cauliflowers which were being sold in big city markets to keep up prices, that producers were compelled to carry tons back to warehouses unsold: and if he would take action so that the public would have the opportunity to buy these goods at open-market prices."

Such a situation, at a time when the labour leaders and the

capitalist press are exhorting the workers to work harder and produce in order to improve their condition, is quite intolerable.

Rather than allow prices to fall, thus benefiting especially the poorer sections of the population, the big vegetable and fruit racketeers prefer to destroy sorely needed supplies. All they are interested in is profits.

"The real solution to this problem lies in immediately placing the markets under the control of committees set up by the workers who work there. In addition, the Co-ops, trade unions, housewives and small greengrocers, small market gardeners and small farmers, must elect committees to supervise the distribution of fruit and vegetables, control the prices, and ensure that none of the food is wasted.

That is the way to end the rackets in food, big and small, and ensure abundant and cheap supplies of food and vegetables for the working class.

THE FIGHT FOR International Communism Trotsky Memorial Meeting

HOLBORN HALL, Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1
Wednesday, August 20th, at 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:

JOCK HASTON HARRY ANDREWS

Questions and Discussion.

Organised by London District Committee
REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY (TROTSKYIST)
256 Harrow Road, Paddington, London, W.2
ADMISSION 6d.

workers will be the chief duty, contributing to their success.

Lessons From Other Sections Of Industry

There is plenty of evidence from the struggles of the past around wage-claims by the dockers, the

1. The abolition of shift duty.
2. Two weeks holiday with pay, over-time rates, sick pay, extra pay for bank holidays and Sunday work.
3. Better food and general working conditions.



From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

Following on the scandal of the deal between W. J. Brown and his Union, the C.S.C.A., and the scandalous compensation agreement in return for his resignation, comes a new shock for the Labour movement. Evelyn Walkden, Labour M.P. for Doncaster, has admitted receiving £5 per week for supplying information about confidential meetings of the Parliamentary Labour Party to the reactionary capitalist paper, the "Evening News."

Garry Allighan, Labour M.P. for Gravesend, has been found guilty on similar charges.

These are alarming symptoms of the corruption of the moral fibre taking place in the upper strata of the Labour and Trade Union movement. They are symptomatic of the gap between the Parliamentary and Trade Union officials and the working class.

It is a Marxian axiom that "conditions determine consciousness." That is why Lenin fought so tenaciously against the leaders of the working class living in the social milieu of the capitalists, and for the maintenance of their wages on the same level as those of the working men whom they were supposed to represent.

In a feature article entitled "Lenin Had A Word For It",

and beginning with the well-known verse from Byron, "Just for a handful of silver he left us, just for a riband to stick in his coat. . .", the "Daily Worker" commented on the case of the above-mentioned M.P.'s, as follows:

"It is easy to dismiss this matter with an expression of regret or with the trite remark that there are some black sheep in every party, but it would be better to face the unpalatable truth and to admit that this sort of thing has its social roots.

In his famous article on Ramsay MacDonald, Lenin quotes, 'a very clever capitalist lady' who once remarked with regard to the Labour leaders of the last century: 'You will rain them and we will buy them.'

Again and again Lenin pointed out that the upper classes seek constantly to suborn the leaders of the working class and to convert them to their way of life either by direct bribery, or by inducements which remove leaders from the social sphere in which they originated. This type of leader he described as 'labour hutenants of the capitalist class'

The capitalist press has been an active medium over a long period for the bribery of working class leaders. Sums of money are regularly paid for 'informa-

A united front of members of the Communist Party, Y.C.Lers, Trotskyists, and members of the "43 Group" was spontaneously set up to defeat this reactionary nonsense. In essence the meeting was taken over by this section of the audience and the speakers on the platform were assailed from all sides with criticism. Not one speaker from the floor gave them support. A soldier in uniform who formerly sided with the platform, changed his attitude when the cry went forth to bring the boys back from Palestine. An Ulsterman added a protest against the Gestapo methods used by imperialism in his country.

A motion from the floor was carried, supported by over 100 votes, with only 5 against, demanding that the troops in Palestine be brought back.

A great feeling of solidarity existed between the Stalinists, Trotskyists and the Jewish members of the '43 Group'. About 80 copies of our special supplement dealing with fascist hooliganism were eagerly bought by these and other workers.

Full support was given to our proposal for a united workers front to defeat the menace of fascism and they expressed their determination to raise the question in their local C.P. and Y.C.L. Branches.

'tion' and 'advice'; individuals who engage in this practice have to adapt themselves to the requirements of the payee and generally use the cash obtained in this way in order to raise themselves somewhat in the social scale."

Excellent! This will meet with the approval of every socialist and communist worker, of every trade unionist. But why does the "Daily Worker" put forward only half of Lenin's views on this crucial subject? Why do the Stalinists remain silent on Lenin's policy to prevent such corruption and bribery in the ranks of the workers' movement.

Lenin advocated that no parliamentary representatives or trade union officials should retain more than a working man's wage. The rest should go to the Party. He insisted that the communists campaign in the unions, demanding that no official should receive higher rates than the workers in the industry, with periodic and regular re-election of all officials. Only thus would the workers have any guarantee against the bureaucracy and the corruption of union officials who, earn high salaries and move in the social milieu of the capitalist class.

Thus, he wrote in "State and Revolution":

Walsall (1939 estimate was 107,000 people) or Wolverhampton (147,000 in 1939).

Of this total, 24,670 houses are scheduled as "unfit", or slum property. (Readers can use their imagination as to the width of this category) and only 7,500 conform to Housing and Health Act standards which, as we pointed out in a recent article, are desperately low. To give an idea of the magnitude of the problem, the City Engineer will be offered 25 per cent. of all new properties, to accommodate families unhouseed, in these Black Areas.

We cannot but welcome the policy of acquisition of these properties. But what seems absolutely scandalous—especially under a Labour Council—is that the owners are to be lavishly rewarded for maintaining these houses in such disrepair and desuetude that they are practically falling to bits, and a death trap in case of fire. The estimated cost of purchase—based on 1939 prices—is £17,349,000 . . . which, works out at over £500 per house!

However, this is not good enough for the profit-gougers and it is probable that the terms under the Compulsory Acquisition Order will apply. These are even more favourable to the slum landlords than 1939 prices. On top of this, if any of them feel hard done by (!) they can claim "compensation"!

"All officials, without exception, elected and subject to recall at any time, their salaries reduced to the level of 'workmen's wages'—these simple and 'self-evident' democratic measures, while completely uniting the interests of the workers and the majority of the peasants, at the same time serve as the bridge between capitalism and socialism. These measures concern the purely political reconstruction of society: but, of course, they acquire their full meaning and significance only in connection with the 'expropriation of the expropriators', either accomplished or in preparation, i.e., with the transformation of capitalist private ownership of the means of production into social ownership."

The reason for the silence of the Stalinists is clear. In Russia, the differentiation between the bureaucrats and the workers has now far outstripped the differentiation between the managements and workers in Britain. This fundamental communist law has long been abandoned by the Stalinists in Russia. How can the Stalinists put forward this demand when they themselves are even worse in this regard than the British Labour leaders? Moreover, there are many Stalinist leaders in Britain today who have nice cushy jobs in the Trade Union movement, and they would not approve.

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WORKERS! Unite Against The Fascists

East End Meeting
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LONDON, E.1.
MONDAY, AUGUST 18th
at 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:
JOCK HASTON
HYMIE GINSBERG
AJIT ROY

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party,
256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.
Phone: CUN 2526.
EDITOR: E. GRANT.
BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

Editorial

MINERS! HOLD ON!

The Executive Committee of the National Union of Mineworkers has announced its acceptance of Attlee's proposals to extend working hours, to "discipline" the miners, and to campaign for Labour recruits. These sacrifices undermine completely the five-day week and other concessions recently won by miners.

The first question which every miner will ask is: For whom are these sacrifices to be made and with what result? The Union and the Labour leaders tell us that by sacrificing now, and by working harder, we shall aid in the establishment of Socialism and shall, some time in the future, get the fruits of our Labour. In short, they promise us "Jam to-morrow."

Every miner, like every other worker, would willingly sacrifice good conditions, and, if need be, work for ten hours a day, if it would really lead to Socialism and plenty, and decent conditions for all. But what are the miners faced with today? The coal industry has been taken over by the State and placed under the control of the National Coal Board which is composed of Big Industrialists, of ex-Coalowners, plus some super-annuated Trade Union Bosses. Each of the regional committees has been placed in the hands of the very managers who only yesterday carried out the orders of the coal barons. Not one worker sits on any of the National or Local Committees.

The miners see the National Coal Board taking over expensive mansions, to house its officials. The miners see the recent report that the N.C.B. is spending £80,000 for a new fleet of 200 motor cars for the use of its top officials. They see also, the four and five figure salaries of these bureaucrats.

At the same time £150,000,000 is to be paid in compensation to the coalowners as a reward for bringing the coal industry to its present plight. The capitalists regard the bonds and stocks of the nationalised industries as safe and sound investments.

What has all this in common with Socialism? Nothing whatsoever! These are simply capitalist measures taken by the capitalist State in the interests of propping up a dying system. Thus, the sacrifices demanded from the miners and the working class as a whole, are not at all in the interests of the working class. They will benefit only the capitalist class.

Instead of a real socialist plan, the Labour Government holds "absenteeism" and "unofficial strikes" responsible

R.C.P. CONGRESS

Prepare for Coming Struggles

BY M. LEE

A SUCCESSFUL AND ENTHUSIASTIC CONGRESS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY WAS HELD AT DENISON HOUSE, LONDON, ON AUGUST BANK HOLIDAY WEEK - B. THERE WERE DELEGATES FROM ALL THE MAJOR INDUSTRIAL AREAS OF BRITAIN. THERE WERE ALSO FRATERNAL DELEGATES FROM OUR FRENCH, DUTCH, INDIAN, AND PALESTINIAN SECTIONS. THE HALL WAS PACKED WITH MEMBERS FROM LONDON AND THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCES.

A message was read from the Prisoners of War from a North London Camp expressing their solidarity with the programme of the Fourth International and thanking the members of the Party for the help given to them. "We as well, would like to use this opportunity to bid our fraternal greetings to all other sections of the Fourth International."

A fruitful discussion was held on organisational work and concrete proposals were made for tightening up on all aspects, educational, literature, and trade union work.

The trade union composition of the membership is approximately 79%, which indicates that the British Trotskyist movement is predominantly a proletarian one. Among the delegates were workers from all the basic industries, steel, mining, engineering, railways, building. The representation of our members on Trade Union committees and Trades Councils showed a considerable increase over the previous year.

The main sphere of activities of the Party membership during the past year was in assisting and participating in industrial movements and strike struggles, where it was evident that our ideas and programme had received real response.

For the first time we had representation on a number of National bodies on the Trade Union movement. Conference delegates were represented at the A.Sc.W., N.U.T., C. & A.W.U., U.S.D.A.W., and N.U.R. Grade Conference. Our comrades have stood for election in the Plumbers' Union, Amalgamated Engineering Union, Electrical Trades Union, and National Union of Railwaymen.

The reports at the Congress demonstrated that despite the political lull in the country making for difficulties in revolutionary work, the Party had maintained itself and its activity at a steady level. Excellent relations exist between the R.C.P. and the rank and file of the Labour and Communist Parties. Wherever oppositional trends had manifested themselves in these organisations, the Party had contact and established good relations.

A great stride had been made in

in the ranks of the working class. The main task before the Party in the coming year was the need to further the struggles which vitably develop with the end to concretise a real work reformist policy of government which they serve to patch up the capitalist system and could not be socialist Britain. The most fruitful discussion of the Congress was on the Tendencies Towards Socialism and in particular its role in the State capitalist system in Britain. The level of this demonstrated that the confidence of the party membership had been considerably raised.

The problem was tackled from a theoretical angle and the concrete experiences of the delegates brought singularly good points into the discussion, for example, the role of the trade unions and the state in the nationalised industries; the concrete demands for workers control as related to government plants. The section of this resolution dealing with Britain was carried by the Congress, 28 votes for with 7 abstentions.

The full text of this resolution is published in this issue.

The effect of the Congress was to enthuse the Party with renewed determination for the forthcoming period. The enthusiasm of the members; their confidence in our programme and ideas was never greater.



and the withdrawal of every British soldier from Palestine! At the Arab and the Jews settle their own problems on the basis of Hitler and Mussolini or prevent the rebirth of Only by destroying the fascist, the capitalist system

Resolution Adopted on

STATIFICATION IN BRITAIN

Statification to Save Capitalism

THE decline of British capitalism drives it into the channel of statification. The Third Labour Government implements its nationalisation programme without extraparliamentary sabotage by the capitalist class, largely, because this programme is in line with the needs and development of declining British capitalism. This decline was manifested primarily in the export industries—coal, iron, steel, and textiles. With the tremendous loss of investments and the growth of indebtedness during the war, British capitalism is faced with the task of reasserting its industrial supremacy. It is faced with the task of utilising the resources of the "whole nation" to counteract the grave effects of Britain's industrial and financial decline and ensure her preservation as a competitor on the world market.

An effect of the industrialisation of the dominions and colonies, as well as the countries of South America has been to change the character of British exports, which have shifted considerably from coal, iron, steel and textiles, to machinery, vehicles (including locomotives), ships and aircraft. This shift necessitates a cheapening of the raw materials which enter into these products—coal, iron and steel. The cheapening of rail transport would also assist in lowering the price of British goods. The tremendous amount of capital required for the modernisation of these industries can be supplied only by the state, or by Government participation and subsidisation of the schemes of the monopolies. This places the question of statification of these basic industries on the order of the day.

The modernisation of the coal mines and railways is only possible when the state supplies the capital. The nationalisation of transport

state a greater possibility of directly running the economy in the interests of the competitive struggle.

The significance of these nationalisation measures lies in the fact that with the decline of British capitalism, the capitalists have lost confidence in the possibilities of individual, or even group exploitation of the basic industries of British capitalist economy. The capitalists frantically attempt to avoid the economic consequences of their system within the limits of individual private property. But the crisis of the system, the relations of the classes nationally and internationally, force them to reconcile themselves to these nationalisation measures. Not only to reconcile themselves, but to attempt to utilise these measures in their own interests economically, while at the same time attempting to discredit the ideas of Socialism which they identify with state intervention and ownership, especially among the middle class and also the backward sections of the workers.

In the past, it was the blows of the economic and financial crisis which forced measures of state intervention empirically upon the capitalist class, overcoming their individualistic tendencies. Today, these measures are the result of the conscious recognition of the general crisis of British imperialism. This recognition would have led even a Tory Government to attempt to utilise the state to eliminate the internal contradictions within national capitalism in the interests of the struggle on the world market. However, despite the need for the statification of industry in line with the development of declining capitalism; despite the fact that sections of the capitalist industrialists (particularly in motor and chemicals) and economists may foresee the necessity for statification, a Tory Government, while it may have nationalised the coal mines, could not have overcome the individualistic tendencies of the capitalists.

only the capitalist class.

Instead of a real socialist plan, the Labour Government holds "absenteeism" and "unofficial strikes" responsible for the failure to measurably increase output!

The first thing any Government claiming to represent the working class would do is to make the capitalists sacrifice; such a Government would utilise the hundreds of millions being paid in compensation to better conditions, increase wages, and obtain machinery. It would remove the Lord Hyndleys who are being paid 30 or 40 times the wage of the average miner, and replace them by democratically elected workers' representatives who would be paid the average miner's wage. It would establish a national plan, designed by the workers' organisations, of all fuel requirements and production.

Another elementary step which would be taken by a genuine workers' government would be to utilise those factories at present producing armaments and luxury goods for the production of machinery for mining equipment. Some of the largest engineering factories in the country are producing armaments for use in maintaining imperialism's hold over the colonies and in preparation for a new war. More than half a million workers are being employed, and hundreds of millions of pounds are spent in the production of arms. The converting of these industries to machinery production would mean that within a short time, working hours could be reduced with the increased mechanisation and coal production would be greatly increased.

German Trotskyists Hold First Post-war Conference

BERLIN — 6 August.

The first national Conference of German Trotskyists since 1933 met "somewhere in Western Germany" last month. Delegates representing local groups in many parts of the country took part in the discussions which aimed at the reorganisation and centralisation of the forces of the Fourth International in Germany.

The agenda consisted of four points: an international report, a report on German perspectives and tasks, a discussion of the Russian question, and an organisational report.

For the first time, the German Trotskyists received a comprehensive report of the developments in the International since 1933 and the situation today. On the question of perspectives and tasks, a thorough discussion took place in which the difficulties as well as the opportunities facing the Trotskyists in present-day Germany were gone into. A platform to guide the action of the German section of the Fourth International is in preparation and will be submitted to further discussion, both national and international, before adoption. The Russian question was discussed in the light of the experiences with the Soviet occupation forces. Great interest centred on this

question, but the shortness of time did not permit the delegates to conclude the discussion, and it was decided to continue it within the local groups for further elaboration, before a definitive position is adopted.

The conference adopted the old pre-1933 name of the organisation, "International Communists of Germany, Section of the Fourth International." A provisional National Executive Committee was elected, representative of the main regions in Germany. The Conference also decided to publish an official organ, "Unser Weg." An editorial board of three was elected to publish the paper. Other measures to extend the organisation, to tighten contacts, and to penetrate the mass movement, were adopted.

The first national conference of the reorganised section of the

(Continued at foot of next Col.)

tional trends in these organisations, the Party had contact and established good relations.

A great stride had been made in speaking to trade union branches where our members were able to present the Party's views to a large number of branches.

The political resolutions were fully discussed for two days. The first dealt with the general economic and political trends in the country and the tasks of the British Trotskyists. A minority presented an alternate resolution in which the characterisation of the present period economically and politically was in opposition to the Central Committee resolution. The voting on these resolutions was 28 for the Majority and 7 for the Minority.

In this discussion the delegates gave excellent contributions of their own experiences in the factories and mines, and their relations with the workers and the Labour movement. The outstanding factor brought out by the experiences of the delegates in the localities was the general apathy existing in the country and the corroding effects of reformist

and the withdrawal of every... the Arabs and the Jews settle in their own problems on the basis of independent Palestine.

WORKERS! ON GUARD AGAINST THE FASCIST MENACE! The Trade Unions, Trades Councils, the Co-operatives, all the workers' political ties, must conduct a united campaign against this menace. The fascists must be crushed while they are still small and in- potent, and before they gain a base among the backward sections of the population. Wherever they creep out of their holes, they must be cleared off the streets. In districts where they are strong, the trade unions and other workers' organisations must form Defence Guards to protect meeting halls of the workers, and to protect the Jews against hoodigan attacks. Do not stand aside and allow the fascists to attack the Jews. This is not only a threat to their democratic rights, but strikes at the very basis of the rights of the working class. **TOMORROW IT MAY BE YOU.**

Hitler and Mussolini could prevent the rebirth of fa- Only by destroying the sou- fascism, the capitalist system its profits for the few and p for the masses, can fascis destroyed.

WORKERS! Exert pr on the Labour Leaders to through a real socialist prog- By destroying the powers, capitalist class, by expropria the capitalist class, the elite of the Black Market and t distribution of all available the menace of fascism v appear. Only committees working class can effectively equal distribution and deal a blow to black-market rick This is the Revolutionary munist Party's answer to menace of fascism.

Down with Anti-Semitism goes hand in hand with reac Capitalism!

Defend the Jews and the Workers Against Fascist Hoodiganism For a United Front of Workers' Organisations Against the Fascists!

TROTSKYISTS IN BOLIVIA FACE HERTZOG TERROR

The Hertzog Government is trying to stamp out Trotskyism in Bolivia. "Luz Obrera" (Workers' Struggle) of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers' Party), has been suppressed. Police have broken into the homes of leading members of the party. A number of Trotskyists have been thrown in jail.

Nelson Capelino, a leader of the P.O.R. at Oruro, was clubbed by the police and his house wrecked.

Miguel Alandia Pantoja, another leading Trotskyist was singled out for attack. He is famed among the miners for his exposure of the demagoguery of Mendizabal, a government Minister, at the Colquiri Miners' Congress.

The persecution of the Trotskyists is part of a systematic campaign of terror against the Bolivian masses. The Trotskyists have been marked as the most militant and

conscious political leaders of the Bolivian working class.

The Trotskyists were not caught unawares. The Hertzog regime, which took office last January, set out a most sinister course with the first few weeks. On January 28, some 150 miners were massed at Potosi where a demonstration was staged to protest the arrest of various labour figures.

The days later the Central Committee of the P.O.R. declared that the Potosi officials and the Ministry of the Interior were seeking "to create a favourable atmosphere for initiating systematic repression of the P.O.R."

Since then the government campaign against the masses has continued. Leaders of the field labourers have been beaten savagely by the police and deported to remote areas.

The error waged by the Hertzog regime is an indication of the alarm of the big tin interests over the swift spread of Trotskyism since the rebellion last July that overthrew the Villaroel government. The Trotskyist programme has gained great popularity, especially among the men who slave in the tin mines. They have included

such items as the sliding scale of wages in their union demands.

In the last election, a common slate run by the miners and the P.O.R. succeeded in electing eight candidates to the Bolivian parliament. These political representatives of the working class began pressing for legislation favourable to the poor people who put them in office. Hurlermo Lora, a leader of the P.O.R. who was among those elected, proposed a Bill recently to make the sliding scale of wages compulsory throughout Bolivia.

Here is the text of the measure:

Article 1.—The Executive Branch shall designate a technical commission to determine within 90 days of the passage of this law, the basic wage necessary for a decent living.

Article 2.—The basic wage shall necessarily be complemented by the establishment of a sliding scale of wages, meaning by this, a type of wage that will automatically follow the rising index of prices for the means of subsistence needed by the working class family.

Article 3.—The responsibility for determining the variation of prices in the means of subsistence shall rest with the trade unions.

Article 4.—The mere report of an alteration in prices and its verification by the bosses shall oblige the companies to raise wages at once in the proportion called for.

mines and railways is only possible when the state supplies the capital. The nationalisation of transport, electricity, cable and wireless, cuts production costs and gives to the

individualistic tendencies of the capitalists sufficiently to carry the process as far as the Labour Government is able to do.

II

The Attitude of the Capitalist Class to the Nationalisations

Two factors make the process of statification relatively deeper under a Labour Government: firstly, the Labour Government is under the pressure of the masses, whose anti-capitalist sentiments are canalised into support for the nationalisation measures; secondly, the Labour Government has a greater independence from the speculative, small capitalist rentier elements who form part of the support for the Tory Party and oppose nationalisation and state control.

Why are sections of the capitalist class in opposition to the programme of the Labour Government, if this programme is not in fundamental conflict with the needs of British capitalism? Their opposition, which hardly passes beyond the parliamentary plane, is of a different character to that which would be aroused by real revolutionary measures which struck at the very roots of capitalism. Revolutionary measures would evoke opposition not confined to speeches, articles in the reactionary press, and isolated attempts at sabotage: it would take the form of concerted attacks by the whole capitalist class, expressed in a unified and centralised attempt at economic and financial sabotage, and the preparation for extra parliamentary struggle. Much of the present capitalist opposition to the Labour Party's programme of nationalisation, in particular the opposition conducted by Tory Party spokesmen, is demagogic and born of the need to maintain the morale of their supporters in the parliamentary struggle. This is indicated by the recent Tory policy statement which admits that the Tories would retain many of the nationalisation measures of the Labour Party if they came to power in the next election.

Not all the capitalists benefit equally from the nationalisation and planning forced on them by the Government. State intervention is an extension of monopoly, and the smaller capitalists and petty bourgeoisie oppose state intervention for the same reason that they oppose monopoly. The reformist programme aims to save British capitalism not only by nationalisation measures, but by lowering interest rates, controlling speculation and investments, and by other measures designed to iron out the excesses of capitalism, and to force the modernisation of industry by ploughing back into industry a larger portion of the profits

cuts across the interests of the parasitic rentiers who seek a high return of interest on their investments. The Labour Government's nationalisation policy also conflicts with the interests of the speculative sections of the capitalist class. The former owners of the nationalised industries, struggle for the most generous terms of compensation.

Among the big capitalists, the principal reason for opposing nationalisation is that although the state guarantees their income and takes over the risks attached to their industries, at the same time it ends the possibility whereby through monopolistic practices, they can receive profits above the average rate and at the expense of other sections of the capitalist class. Although various strata of the capitalists are integrated with the Boards controlling the nationalised industry, individual capitalists are reduced to mere rentiers and as the result lose both economic and political weight. All these factors give rise to an opposition by the various sections of the capitalist class.

Powerful sections of the ruling class, although clearly aware that the Labour Government's programme is invaluable for the purpose of reequipping British industry, and that only a Labour Government prevents the repetition of the stormy strike struggles which immediately followed the first world war, at the same time recognise the serious threat to their class in the existence of a Labour Government in power. The social base of the Labour Government rests in the organised working class. The workers give a revolutionary interpretation to the state capitalist measures of the Labour Government, they exert pressure on their leaders to take steps against the rulers to further limit their control of society. This is a source of deep concern to the capitalist class.

Under statification, the bourgeoisie needs a stable government. The Labour Government governs in a capitalist manner, but it is based upon the working class, and suffers from its pressure. The capitalist class must necessarily struggle against the tendency of the major industries becoming dominated by the state under a government over which they have so little direct control. They must constantly struggle for an alternative government more representative of their class and under its control.

(Continued on page 4.)

Statification Resolution :

(Continued from Page 3.)

III

Economy Remains Capitalist

All the economic and political factors drive the Labour Government forward with further projects of nationalisation. If it completes its programme (by nationalising transport, power, iron and steel) the state will directly own 20% of the economy of the country. These are the basic sections of British economy. Nevertheless, the economy will remain capitalist; production is, and will continue to be based upon wage labour and organised as production for profit.

Britain, more than any other country is dependent on the world market not only for the import of foodstuffs and basic materials, but also for the export of her manufactured products. Despite the internal "planning" and controls, the inevitable future world crisis of over-production and of financial economic collapse will disrupt not only the foreign trade, but the internal economic relations; will disrupt the nationalisation programme. The development of the crisis will inevitably shake the confidence of the reformists in their own programme. Although accompanied by demands for state subsidies, tariffs, further rationalisation and compulsory cartelisation, and other steps of a similar character, the opposition of the capitalists to further nationalisations of industry will be strengthened.

The sharpening economic crisis will inevitably give rise to a polarisation of the class forces within the country and to the polarisation within the mass organisations of the proletariat. The Right wing of the Labour Party will move towards the capitalist class and seek to fuse with it. The Left wing, under the pressure of the working class will demand more radical inroads into capitalist property as a way out of the crisis.

At the present time, the organised workers who support the Labour Government consider the statification of the basic industries to be socialist measures. In reality, the workers in the statified industries

are transformed into employees of the super-monopoly of British capitalism. No longer able to utilise any temporary antagonism between individual capitalists, these workers now face the organised might of the whole capitalist class represented in the capitalist state, albeit in the form of the Labour Government. Only the bitter experiences to come in the future will convince these workers that the statification of these basic industries, without real control being vested in the hands of the working class, is but the substitution of the individual capitalists by the collective, state capitalist form of exploitation. The task of explaining the difference between capitalist statification measures which operate in the interests of the capitalist class, and socialist nationalisation in the interests of the working class, is an important part, if not the cardinal part of our propaganda activity in the present period. Far more important from the standpoint of socialism than the nationalisations—whether carried out with or without compensation—is the conscious participation of the proletariat in the control of production and distribution.

As part of its policy, the Government integrates the trade union bureaucracy, or more precisely, sections of it, with the nationalised industries by placing them on Boards of control. But the granting of directorships to the trade union bureaucracy has nothing in common with workers' control. On the contrary, the extra-union officials are transformed into enemies of the working class as directors of state capitalist enterprises. The task of the trade union bureaucracy is largely to discipline the trade union members, in accordance with the conceptions of the new "role and responsibility" of the trade unions under the Labour Government, which was the programme outlined by Lord Dukes at the Trade Union Congress of 1946.

IV

Workers Control—In Opposition to Joint Production Committees

The so-called "Joint Production Committees", which were thrown up in the course of the war are being extended to every industry and are advocated by the reformist and Stalinist leaders as a measure

requires access by the elected representatives of the workers to all the processes of production, warehousing, the purchase and sale of products and raw materials in all industrial, commercial, banking, and other enterprises

How a Revolutionary Govt. Would

OVERCOME THE PRESENT CRISIS

(Continued from Page 1.)

tune of 1,900 million dollars, incalculable quantities of goods, and millions of the flower of British manpower in order to hold down Germany, India, Greece, Palestine and other countries. The expenditure on the imperialist adventures abroad, together with the manpower which could otherwise have been used for productive purposes, would have been sufficient to meet the gap between imports and exports.

But it is not only in foreign affairs that the Labour Government has carried out a capitalist policy. Foreign policy is only a reflection of the Labour Government's policy at home. Apart from the nationalised industries—where the same managers and organisation continues—capitalism remains intact. The waste, chaos and mismanagement continue under the slogan of "business as usual." Out of the 20 millions gainfully employed, including the armed forces, no less than 4 millions are employed in useless occupations and luxury trades. In the Royal Ordnance and other armament factories, hundreds of millions of pounds are spent and approximately half a million workers, some of the most skilled engineers in the world, are producing instruments of destruction instead of mining machinery, steel equipment, and equipment for the production of electric power.

If this potential labour force—skilled and unskilled—were to be

regardless of their plea of poverty, still retain an investment abroad of about £4,000 millions.

For An Overall Plan Based On Workers' Control

A genuine socialist government would have issued a call to the workers to seize the factories and take control into their own hands. Such a Government would prepare a national overall plan based on the workers' interests. The plan would be drawn up, not by capitalists and their economists, with a trade union bureaucrat looking on, but by delegates from the workers' and technicians' organisations and after the wildest discussion in the ranks of the organised workers. Its operation would be supervised by planning commissions of workers' representatives in every area.

The Government would explain that an efficient plan needs the socialisation of all the basic industries and banks at once. It would call on the workers to aid the Government by introducing workers' control of production. Committees of workers and technicians would be in a position to make a survey of the entire resources of the country in factory equipment, manpower and raw materials.

To attract the workers to the undermanned industries, a real socialist government would immediately ensure better wages and conditions and implement the

fight against Tory interests; it will also be a fight against a leadership which is not prepared to take the genuine socialist measures which alone can provide a workers' solution to the crisis. The Government's plans show that the main sacrifices are to be borne by the workers who face ration cuts, control of labour, demands for ever increasing production, longer hours of work, and (to quote Lord Dukes) "suspension of agreements that have taken half a century to build up."

Mr. Morrison assures the capitalists on both sides of the Atlantic that, in asking for wider powers under the Emergency Legislation, "we do not intend to make a social revolution by Parliamentary legislation." Already the Government is retreating on the nationalisation of iron and steel. The Iron and Steel Federation, deliberately created by the Baldwin Government, has been one of the most restrictive monopolies in the history of British capitalism. Yet, while the workers are being asked to give up their restrictive practices, control of steel production—bolstered by Government finance—is to remain in the hands of iron and steel barons for the present, and will be developed only insofar as it is profitable to them.

Serious Situations Demand Serious Remedies

A Government wishing to further the struggle for socialism, would not retreat before the capitalist class, but would use this situation to sharpen the offensive against them.

The present economic situation demands the strictest control over raw materials, over production, over the distribution of foodstuffs, and over manpower on the basis of "He Who Doth Not Work, Neither Shall He Eat." But before sacrifices can be demanded from the workers, a sharp offensive must be instituted against production profit. This is the only guarantee that the sacrifices of the workers today, their production drive, will not result in unemployment tomorrow due to so-called "over-production", and would arouse all the tremendous effort and spirit of sacrifice of which the British workers are capable.

Such a plan would be able to solve the export-import problem, not only by reducing the costs of production at home, but by calling on the aid and co-operation of the workers of Europe, the Soviet Union and the world, on the basis

Need For A Unified Struggle

Support from the working class in general is much needed and appreciated by the catering workers, but most especially support from provincial catering houses and other London establishments. Because, while this particular issue is a "domestic" one, the general and over-all question of better wages and conditions in this industry is urgent and vital to every one of its workers. And in the struggles that lie ahead on these fundamental issues, the conscious and unified action of the catering workers will be the chief factor contributing to their success.

Lessons From Other Sections Of Industry

There is plenty of evidence from the struggles of the past around wage-claims by the dockers, the

There is still the outstanding example of the victimisation of Piazza, and other workers injured and victimised by the Savoy

Catering Workers' Charter

1. £5 minimum wage inclusive of tips.
2. 5-day week of 40 hours, with the abolition of shift duty.
3. Two weeks holiday with pay over-time rates, sick pay extra pay for Bank Holidays and Sunday work.
4. Better food and general working conditions.

WOT, NO PREFAB?

DO YOU THINK YOU COULD SCRAPE ALONG WITH 25.00

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.

LEON TROTSKY :

Planned World Economy

August 20th, marks the seventh anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky. After 18 separate attempts, Stalin, through his G.P.U. agent, succeeded in murdering him in 1940. By this means Stalin hoped to rob the Fourth International and the world working class of theoretical guidance. Although a terrible blow, nevertheless, this assassination could not be decisive. Trotsky's writings together with those of Marx, Engels and Lenin constitute a theoretical arsenal for the arming of the conscious

The so-called "Joint Production Committees", which were thrown up in the course of the war are being extended to every industry and are advocated by the reformist and Stalinist leaders as a measure of workers' control. Since the advent of Labour to power, the question of the speedup of production and the function of the Joint Production Committees in this process occupies an increasingly important place on the agenda of the trade union movement and the life of the workers' factory organisations. "Workers' control means the penetration of the workers' eye into all the open and concealed springs of capitalist economy." But the Joint Production Committees have no vestige of control over the process of production. The books of the employer remain closed to the investigation of the workers' representatives on the Joint Production Committees.

To be effective, workers' control

V

National Planning and State Power

The extension of nationalisation to important industries gives the struggle for workers' control a higher and more significant character. It immediately poses the question of an overall national plan. The existing boards which control the nationalised industries are bureaucratic instruments, closely connected and integrated with the capitalist class and the needs of capitalist production as a whole. No aspect of their activities is subject to democratic control from below. The management of nationalised industries should proceed from a central planning body, subject to democratic control by elected representatives of organisations of the working class. This raises the question of replacing the existing organs of management with direct representatives of the working class. In turn, this leads to the question of the character of state power, and the role of the Labour Government.

Nationalisation, or state capitalist organisation faces the workers with the direct questions: who benefits from the nationalisation? and, who controls the state power? The Labour Government's nationalisation of the coal mines has been accompanied by the granting of certain concessions to the coal miners. The principal reason for these lies in the economic and political situation as a whole, which, on the one hand makes it possible for the Government to make such concessions, and at the same time makes it necessary to do so as the only means of increasing the output of coal, which is vital to the present needs of capitalist production as a whole. The concessions, however, have created important illusions in the minds of the workers in the coal mining industry. Every economic and administrative demand of the workers in the state industries in the future will bring them up again.

representatives of the workers to all the processes of production, warehousing, the purchase and sale of products and raw materials in all industrial, commercial, banking, agricultural and other enterprises employing more than 5 wage labourers. The final decision on all these questions must be in the hands of the committees of the working class. This is the socialist method of drawing the mass of the working class into the real process of production. It is also the only efficient method of combating the sabotage of the capitalists, of combating the black market, and of organising production and distribution in the interests of the proletariat.

Inevitably, the role of the Joint Production Committees as agencies of the more intensified exploitation of the workers, will become clear to the advanced sections of the organised workers who will seek to set up real organs of control.

bureaucratic State Boards, and even against the Government itself. But only a great deterioration of their conditions will destroy the illusions created by the Labour Government's nationalisations and pose concretely the need for a revolutionary socialist solution. The task of the revolutionary communists is to combat these illusions in state capitalist measures and imbue the advanced sections of the working class with the need for a conscious struggle to centralise real control in the hands of the working class. The daily struggles of the working class will offer many possibilities for the Revolutionary Communist Party and its members to participate in these experiences, and to make conscious the necessity of workers control over the processes of production.

The state capitalist measures taken by the Labour Government can only temporarily alleviate, but cannot solve the crisis facing British capitalism. Despite these measures, the laws of capitalism propel Britain towards economic slump. In face of the economic blizzard, the state capitalist measures of the Labour leaders will be revealed as a mere tinkering with the problem which these leaders had pretended to solve. The working class will be precipitated, without preparation, into the crisis. In such a situation, with sharp clashes between the workers and the state, the need to have control of the state will be raised sharply before the working class. That class which has state power in its hands will benefit from nationalisation of industry, and only that class. Statification under the Labour Government poses in the most extreme form, the problem of the social transformation from capitalist to socialist society. Only the revolutionary activity of the proletariat can make the trans-

4. Better food and general working conditions.

WOT, NO PREFAB?
SUNNINGHILL PARK, A 25 ROOM MANSION ADJOINING WINDSOR GREAT PARK IS BEING PREPARED FOR PRINCESS ELIZABETH & PHILIP MOUNTBATTEN



THE BOSSES LATEST SLOGAN

papers in this country. NOT ONE IS EITHER EDITED OR OWNED BY JEWS. The fascist allegations that the Jews control the press is a lie!

JEWISH POPULATION:

There are in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, only 370,000 Jews out of a total population of 48,000,000. This means that there are 7 Jews to every 1,000 non-Jews or less than 1% of the population.

either among the Direct or its Executive officials. The "Big Five" all possess 150 Directors, this number 4 are Jews. The greatest international banking house in the world today is J. P. Morgan Co. In this company there are no Jewish partners and no Jews in leading positions.

STOCK EXCHANGE:

The Stock Exchange committee contains ONE Jew. The Stock Exchange Bendent Committee contains five Jews.

Facts Taken from "Jews are News" by A. C. Crouch

ABOUT

Sloggy and Lies

British Society

OLD: Jews do not, as is so often alleged, fix the price of gold. The master of the price of gold is the Bank of England.

JEWS AND THE RAILWAYS:

The number of Directors on L.M.S. is 18; on L.N.E.R. 22; G.W.R. 20; Southern *16; L.P.T.B. 7.

Only ONE Director is a Jew, and one, though of Jewish extraction, belongs to a family which, for several generations has belonged to the Christian faith.

International and the world working class of theoretical guidance. Although a terrible blow, nevertheless, this assassination could not be decisive. Trotsky's writings together with those of Marx, Engels and Lenin constitute a theoretical arsenal for the arming of the conscious layers of the working class with the necessary theoretical guidance to map out the course of the day-to-day struggle and prepare the way for the final onslaught on the citadel of capitalism. They are a textbook of Marxist method and analysis of the modern epoch.

As an example of his method we reprint below the final section of his introduction to the condensed version of the Living Thoughts series "Leon Trotsky presents Karl Marx" written only a short time before his death.—Ed.

Capitalism achieved the twin historical merit of having placed technique on a high level and having bound all parts of the world with economic ties. Thus it pledged the material pre-requisites for the systematic utilisation of all of our planet's resources. However, capitalism is in no position to fulfil this urgent task. The nidus of its expansion continues to consist of circumscribed nationalist states with their customs houses and armies. Yet the productive forces have long ago outgrown the boundaries of the national state, thereby transforming what was once a progressive historical factor into an unendurable restraint. Imperialist wars are nothing else than the detonations of productive forces against the state borders, which have come to be too confining for them. The programme of so-called autarchy has nothing to do with going back to a self-sufficient circumscribed economy. It only means that the national base is being made ready for a new war.

follows irresistibly from the mortal crisis of the capitalist system.

Partial reforms and patchwork will do no good. Historical development has come to one of those decisive stages when only the



LEON TROTSKY

After the Versailles Treaty was signed it was generally believed that the terrestrial globe had been pretty well subdivided. But more recent events have served to remind us that our planet continues to contain lands that have not yet been either plundered or sufficiently plundered. The struggle for colonies continues to be part and parcel of the policy of imperialistic capitalism. No matter how thoroughly the world is divided, the process never ends, but only again and again places on the order of the day the question of a new redivision of the world in line with altered relations between imperialistic forces. Such is the actual reason to-day for rearmaments, diplomatic convulsions, and war alignments.

All attempts to represent the present war as a clash between the ideas of democracy and fascism belong to the realm either of charlatanism or stupidity. Political forms change, capitalist appetites remain. If a fascist regime were to be established to-morrow on either side of the English Channel—and hardly anyone will dare to deny such a possibility—the Paris and London dictators would be just as little able to give up their colonial possessions as Mussolini and Hitler their colonial claims. The furious and hopeless struggle for a new division of the world

direct intervention of the masses is able to sweep away the reactionary obstructions and lay the foundations of a new regime. Abolition of private ownership in the means of production is the first prerequisite to planned economy, i.e., the introduction of reason into the sphere of human relations, first on a national and eventually on a world scale. Once it begins, the socialist revolution will spread from country to country with immeasurably greater force than fascism spreads to-day. By the example and with the aid of the advanced nations, the backward nations will also be carried away into the main stream of socialism. The thoroughly rotted customs toll-gates will fall. The contradictions which rend Europe and the entire world asunder will find their natural and peaceful solution within the framework of a Socialist United States in Europe as well as in other parts of the world. Liberated humanity will draw itself up to its full height.

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For a Marxist understanding of the Spanish situation, read:

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