



SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (TROTSKYIST)

No. 63

MID-OCTOBER, 1948

Price 2d.

BOSSSES APPROVE AUSTIN-NUFFIELD MERGER BUT OPPOSE NATIONALISATION

By JOCK HASTON

THE Nuffield and Austin motor manufacturers are to effect a close link-up for the use of factory resources, the exchange of production secrets and experiences, and the rationalisation of the production of their many motor car models. The merger has been most favourably commented on by the capitalist press.

Under the pressure of world competition these two great capitalist enterprises declare that by fusing their interests they can eliminate unnecessary waste and internal competition, and plan their production, within the limits of their huge enterprises.

The resources of these two enterprises are considerable. The Balance-sheet value of Nuffield's is approximately £14 million, and Austin's approx. £7 million. Together, their share of total British car production in 1947 was 40.1%, and of commercial and public service vehicles 27.7%.

The merged organisation will, it is estimated, turn out 140,000 cars a year.

Others Will Follow Suit

According to the Motoring Correspondent of the "Financial Times," shares of both companies have been firm on the announcement. "There is a feeling in the industry," he reports, "that one of these days, when experience has been gained of the economies to be achieved by the pooling of factory resources and of ideas, designs, etc., we shall hear of plans for an even closer relationship." He then goes on to indicate that in face of this development, the other motor car manufacturers will not stand by but will tend to follow suit.

Capitalists Applaud Centralisation

Instead of greeting this merger with a hostile press, the capitalists applaud it as a progressive step. This is in strange contrast to their propaganda barrage against the centralisation, through nationalisation, of coal, transport and other basic industries, especially steel. Gone are the arguments that centralisation creates bureaucracy and does away with the healthy competitive spirit. Gone is the argument that centralisation lowers the initiative to produce, lowers the productivity of labour, and increases the price of production. These are replaced by hosannas of praise.

Tendency in Society

The contrast can be understood only if one understands the role of the class struggle in society. The whole tendency of modern productive society is in the direction of closer and more integrated economic centralisation. While this centralisation is carried out by great capitalist enterprises in the name of "efficiency" and in the interests of capitalism; while it is done, in other words, by capitalist monopolies, it is accepted as being progressive, no matter how many little capitalists sigh for the good old days of free enterprise and competition. But immediately it is operated by the State, under the pressure of the working class, no matter how half-heartedly the Government does the job, and no matter how well it protects the interests of the former owners, there is a howl from the united capitalist class.

Still Subject To Planlessness

While this partial fusion of industry is under the control of

the capitalist class it is still subject to the planlessness of capitalist economy as a whole. Consequently, it is still subject to the old laws of capitalism which result in boom and slump. The economies effected result in more profit for the shareholders and greater burdens for the workers. That is why it is hailed by the capitalist class.

If Part . . . Why Not All?

If rationalisation and centralisation in one industry, or rather part of the industry, and the introduction of even partial planning eliminates waste and increases production, it is clear that a complete centralisation of all the major industries and the introduction of an overall plan will eliminate the maximum waste and introduce the most effective production methods.

Without such centralisation and in the absence of such a plan, the economic recovery of British industry must inevitably lead once again to conditions of slump. And this will take place whether we have a Tory, Labour or Coalition Government in power.

Centralise In Interests Of Workers

This fusion of Austin-Nuffield should be symbolic to workers and serve to exert pressure to stiffen the backs of their leaders who are hesitant about speedy nationalisation.

But with complete nationalisation, the interests of the working class can only be fully served if the workers, through their organisations, participate in management and control. That is why the most conscious elements of the working class must insist on the enforcement of such a policy.

CHURCHILL WANTS A SHOW-DOWN



Giving her the "New Look."

CHURCHILL'S war-mongering speech at Llandudno should provide a grim warning for the British working class. According to the press it has "electrified" America.

The speech amounted to nothing less than a demand for war NOW against the Soviet Union. Even though his "tactics" may have been criticised, his sentiments have earned the applause of the capitalist class and its press. The existence of the Soviet Union, which has haunted them since 1917, still remains the main headache for the capitalist class, and its outstanding spokesman, Churchill. They would dearly love to crush it out of existence.

Now Is The Moment

Repeating his theme of Fulton, Churchill declared: "No one in his senses can believe that we have a limitless period of time before us. We ought to bring matters to a head and make a final settlement." His theme was: war between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world is inevitable. Whatever the formulae of temporary compromises, he said, "the fundamental danger and antagonisms will remain." Bearing this in mind, and the fact that to-day America has the atom-bomb while Russia hasn't, now is the moment to settle. As he stated at Fulton, "the longer this (the "show-down") is delayed, the more difficult it will be."

"Times" Rebukes Churchill

The capitalist class realise that whilst they would like to follow Churchill's advice, it is impossible to do so. The "Times" explains: "Mr. Bevin and his colleagues, who have been engaged in almost constant negotiations with the Russians for over three years, may be forgiven if they now ask what kind of settlement Mr. Churchill means and how he proposes to get it... It is unreasonable to suppose that Russia will willingly negotiate on the division of the world under threat of atomic bombardment. And if she does not, is the United States to drop the bombs?"

(continued on page 4)

CZECH LAW CRIME TO TELL THE TRUTH

A NEW LAW FOR THE "DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC" HAS BEEN UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED BY THE CZECH PARLIAMENT. IT MAKES ANY FORM OF OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT A CRIME AND PROVIDES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LABOUR CAMPS, THAT IS, CONCENTRATION CAMPS.

For agitating against the Republic or its "People's democratic system," or allowing such agitation, sentences can be given from three months to three years.

Spreading alarming news likely to cause unrest can lead to terms of imprisonment from eight days to six months—IF THE NEWS IS TRUE. The sentences are doubled if the news is false.

There are penalties of from three months to three years for insulting an allied state, or its representatives or symbols. Excepting Yugoslavia, of course!

"Daily Worker" Is Discreet

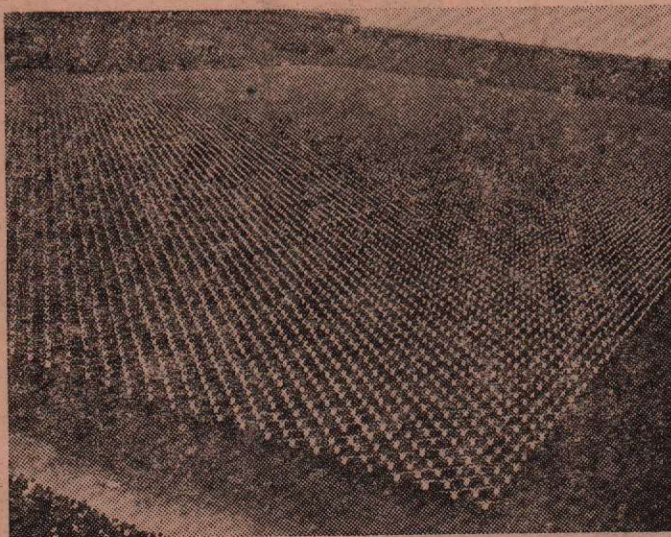
The only comment of the "Daily Worker" was an innocent little paragraph on the back page on October 7th. It did not tell its readers the terms of the Bill, but merely stated that a law for the defence of the Republic had been introduced for defence of the State against reactionaries.

This is all the "Daily Worker" had to say:

"Czechoslovakia's Minister of Justice, Dr. Alexei Cepicka, told Parliament yesterday that 'reaction, though knocked down, was still alive.'

"The Minister was giving the

(continued on page 4)



THE CZECH SOKOL FESTIVAL: The mass exercise in the stadium at which an anti-Government demonstration was staged. The physical culture organisation is now being purged.

PRIVATE STOCK EXCHANGE LETTER REVEALS

BOSSES ATTITUDE TO THE DOCKERS

The hatred of the capitalists and speculators towards the organised workers is well known. In these days however, it has become more fashionable to at least profess an INTEREST in their welfare, irrespective of how serious that interest may be. It was interesting therefore, to have access to one of those privately circulated Stock Exchange letters, which, in clear words, reveal their REAL attitude.

"To Enable Them To Avoid Work . . ."

After a tirade of abuse upon the Labour Government, it then attacks the dockers and shop stewards—

"As an instance of the stranglehold which shop stewards have brought on industry, and as a reflection of the steps which men will take to enable them to avoid work . . ."

—it proceeds to reprint an extract from the "Shipbuilding and Shipping Record," which had just concluded a survey of dockers conditions.

Dockers' "Slow Motion Technique"

"of the slow motion technique only the major abuses are described, beginning with the 'welt.' This is a 'spelling' arrangement between the members of the gangs, allowing them a spell of an hour on and an hour off, sometimes two hours on and two hours off, all through the day and night. As a result of this industrial sabotage each man is absent from his post half the working time. During the night shift the

'welt' has so developed that a half of each gang can sneak home, on pay, on alternate nights.

"Actual working time is further reduced by deliberate late starts and early finishes, no cargo being handled before 8.20 a.m. and 1.20 p.m., or after 11.40p.m. and 20 minutes before knocking off time. Thus in an 8 hour day as many as FIVE hours may be wasted by each individual member of the gangs. The remaining fraction of working time suffers further reduction by periodic breaks for smoking, which takes place BRAZENLY among combustible cargoes on deck, in holds, and on the quays." (Our emphasis).

Thus it can be seen that the dockers really do no work at all. The cargoes seemingly possessing the ability to move themselves!

"Opportunities For Stealing Time And Goods"

"Overtime and Sunday work are especially desirable on account of the high pay and the opportunities for stealing time and goods. The official length of

the working day on Sunday is only 6 hours, which is reduced by the "welt" and stoppages to 2 hours actual working time. For this as well as the night shift the docker is paid a minimum of 38 shillings, approximately 19s. an hour."

That a member of the Stock Exchange should utter such a remark is, to say the least, amazing. For of all occupations, the parasitical and spiv-like character of share dealing and coupon cutting takes a lot of beating!

The best is yet to come however, for when they discuss the dockside canteens they remark:

"No Attempt To Hide"

"Dockers and others leave their work impudently and without permission, when they like, for the purpose of attending the canteens during the mornings and afternoons. Consequently, there is no gang complete during the canteen opening hours.

Queues of dockers and employees of waterfront occupations can be seen outside the canteen as early as 11.15 a.m. and 3 p.m. THERE IS NO ATTEMPT TO HIDE."

That the workers do not cringe and crawl before their employers, and partake of their sandwiches in a surreptitious manner, is obviously a source of considerable annoyance to these gentlemen. The lesson however is clear. The leopard doesn't change its spots, and the private views of the financiers and capitalists are the same as ever.

AT THE MINERS AGAIN WORKERS MUST DEMAND COAL-CUTTERS BEFORE GUNS



ONCE again the miners are being told to "pull up their socks." Gaitskell, Minister of Fuel and Power, at a meeting of the Coal Board and N.U.M. Executive, "warned . . . that 'the coal nationalisation honeymoon' is over."

A joint committee is to be set up consisting of representatives from the Coal Board and the Miners' Executive. This committee will investigate "ways and means" of boosting coal output. "Absenteeism is the first item on its agenda, and the committee will see whether fines and stricter disciplinary action can be applied to offenders."

Despite the attractive posters displayed on hoardings to induce workers to enter the mines, despite the concessions received by the miners since nationalisation, the man-power target has not been reached. This is understandable. The most-hated industry in Britain will need to have its working and wage conditions improved very much more before workers will willingly enter it.

The Miners' Charter has not yet been realised.

£6 Minimum Too Costly

Prior to the recent wage increase the Government argued that they could not afford the £6 minimum wage (and they still have not granted this) because it would be too "costly." Yet this would have cost only £45 million per year; little indeed, compared with E.P.T. relief granted to the employers of £500 million a year.

Mechanisation Lags

On the other hand, the promises regarding the introduction of new machinery into the mines have not been fulfilled. The production of coal-cutters, conveyors and power loaders, is falling short of the targets outlined in the Economic Survey.

Armaments Take Precedence

And, so long as the imperialist interests make nearly half a million workers produce hundreds of millions worth of munitions a year, it is small wonder that there has been "difficulty" in fulfilling even the present meagre mechanisation plans.

"Hopes Tended To Fade"

The "Financial Times" summed up the situation thus: "Hopes which were formerly pinned on increased mechanisation and other material aids have tended to fade. Once more, attention is being concentrated on securing output in the short run through ways and means of bringing about an atmosphere in which the mineworkers will put more enthusiasm into their jobs."

Miners Doing Their Best

The miners went to great lengths to pull the Government out of the Fuel Crisis. In area after area production records were surpassed in 1947, in response to the appeals of the Labour Government. To-day they are doing their level best to maintain their output.

Physical Strain

Physical exhaustion is the result of such tremendous sustained efforts. Indeed, the miners understand this very well. They looked upon these endeavours as a temporary measure to cover the interim period until adequate machinery could be introduced. The attempts of the Government to transform the period of physical strain for the miners from a temporary into a permanent one, will have important repercussions throughout the industry.

Coal-cutters Before Guns

The answer to this problem can only be: real participation of the workers in the management of the industry. With a majority of workers' representatives on the Controlling Board, who are not allowed to sever their connections with the Trade Union, but are answerable to it and the rank and file at specially convened meetings, the situation in the mines would undergo a basic change in the interests of the miners and the workers as a whole. Mining policy cannot be separated from the problem of the economy as a whole. "Coal-cutters before Guns" necessitates a basic change in the economic policy of the Labour Government. It requires the drawing up of an overall Socialist plan in which the representatives of the organised working class movement would play their full part side by side with the Government whilst at all times remaining answerable for their policy to the rank and file.



PROFESSOR HALDANE AT LONDON UNIVERSITY

ON October 11th, Professor Haldane addressed an audience of about 80 students at a Peace Meeting organised by the C.P. controlled Socialist Society at London University College (of which Haldane is a member of the staff).

He delivered his address in a low, tired voice, and it was quite evident to the audience that he was speaking without conviction.

He began by stating that he "might at times depart from the Party line." This is an innovation for a leading figure in the Communist Party. His speech was a mixture of various interesting items of scientific information about the atom bomb, and apologies for Stalin's actions in Europe.

Anticipating a question on the new Stalinist theory on genetics, which directly contradicts the views he has hitherto held and defended, he said he had not yet had the opportunity to read the arguments for the new theory, which run into 500 pages.

A number of Trotskyists participated in the discussion and

made the point that a new war was inevitable while capitalism remained.—This was denied by Haldane, who repeated a statement by Molotov that the Soviet Union and world capitalism could exist peacefully side by side.

One Trotskyist asked why the Revolutionary Communist Party, Trotskyists, had been denied admission to the recent "Daily Worker" Peace Conference while a Tory was allowed to speak. Haldane replied that the Tory had invited himself, and that a Trotskyist did speak as a delegate from another organisation. However, he said, they could not be expected to co-operate in a conference for peace with the Trotskyists who believed war inevitable.

His most significant statement was that the Trotskyists "may be fighting for peace in their own way, on the extreme left of the working class." This was after a Stalinist in the audience had repeated the slander that the Trotskyists were neo-fascists.

"STUDENT!"

"WELL, WELL . . ." THE C.P. AND THE TERRITORIALS

CONSIDERABLE publicity has recently been given to the Stalinist demonstrations in opposition to the recruiting drive of the Territorials.

Comrade Parkes, a leading member of the Communist Party in the Croydon area, it seems, was among a number ejected from a recruiting meeting.

Well, well. It was only a few months ago that an appeal to support the Territorial Recruiting Campaign came up on the Croydon Trades Council. The Trotskyist delegates to the Trades Council succeeded in carrying a resolution opposing participation in the recruiting campaign. This was in pursuance of their consistent policy of opposition to any support for imperialist army recruitment in any shape or form. In this they were supported by left wing Labour Party and Trade Union members.

It was the Communist Party (Stalinist), among them Com-

rade Parkes, members of the Trades Council, who supported the Territorial drive. In this they were supported by the right wing.

It was decided to send a representative to the Territorial Association with a watching brief. This representative was a member of the Communist Party, and on his report back, the Trades Council rescinded the resolution and decided to send a delegate to the Territorial Association.

Serious workers and consistent anti-imperialist militants will recognise these Stalinist stunts for what they are worth: just a facet of Stalin's foreign policy which can be readily changed again to-morrow if Stalin makes an agreement with Bevin.

We may yet see Brother Parkes at the head of the Territorial Drive, in Croydon.

C. SISLEY,

A Delegate to the Croydon T.C.

"BAD INFLUENCE"

Negro heavy-weight boxer Norvell Lee, aged 23, a member of the U.S. Olympic team in London, was arrested at Covington, Virginia, soon after his return from this country for trying to travel in the part of a train reserved for white passengers. It was said that Lee refused to move to the Negro seats in the train when asked to do so by the conductor. The conductor then called in a sheriff.

It is suggested in Covington that the absence of segregation in England and in the Olympic team had caused Lee to "lose his head."

From "On Guard."

MEETINGS

MARXIST LECTURES

to be held in London

Sunday Evenings at 7.30 p.m.
October 17th: De Gaulle's Menace.
October 24th: India Today.
October 31st: Real Situation in Russia (1917-1948).

National Trade Union Club,
12, Great Newport Street, London W.C.2 (opp. Leicester Sq. Station).

Hyde Park, London

R.C.P. MEETINGS

Every Sunday, 4.30 p.m.

LIVERPOOL: Sunday evenings
October 17th: Is War Inevitable?
October 24th: Role of Labour Government.
October 31st: Stalinism and Trotskyism.

Speaker: J. Deane.
Chairman: J. Kielty.
Coopers Hall, (Shaw Street),
Liverpool, 1.

THE MENACE OF FASCISM

What it is and how to fight it

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 POLICY IN MALAYA

The big tin companies have published their annual profits. These make interesting reading.

Southern Kinta Consolidated raised its dividends for the year ending March 31st, from three to ten per cent. Payment on the £962,000 capital was resumed after a lapse of four years. On this capital the profits jumped (subject to taxation) to £157,279. This is an increase of £129,909 compared with the preceding twelve months. No wonder that even to-day, 5s. shares stand at 15s. 4½d.

The same story for Kamunting Tin Dredging. The dividends were 15 per cent. against 5 per cent. in the previous year. Profits, subject to taxation, are £253,051—an increase of £201,282.

Similarly for the Kinta Tin Mines and Tanjong Tin, and the Pangnga Tin Concessions.

The Malayan Tin miners earn from 3½d. to 5d. per hour, and for a week's labour earn from 14s. to 24s. The cost of living has gone up nine times since the end of the war.

It is this striking contrast which is the key to the Malayan situation. Great hardship and poverty drives the masses to revolt. Great profits drive the British capitalists to hang on with grim determination to their domination of this country, so rich in rubber and tin. The Labour Government has taken sides—with the Tin and Rubber interests.

To assist the planters in holding down the Malayan people, they have sent an estimated 20,000 British troops, 300 former Palestine police, a large number of R.A.F. and Navy personnel, as well as an unknown number of Dyak headhunters from Borneo. (As a training mission they are being trained to use rifles instead of poisoned darts in blow-pipes.) In addition, they have imported 3,500 Gurkhas and are recruiting Pathans from India. All these are to supplement the existing 10,000 armed police and 3,000 armed auxiliary police.

All this to hold in check 5 million people—less than the populace of an English county.

The Labour Government has earned the undying enmity of the Malayan masses with its policy, which is indistinguishable from that of the Tories.

What would a revolutionary socialist Government have done? It would have expropriated the big monopolies. It would have given every assistance to the masses of Malaya by encouraging the rapid industrialisation of the country.

This would raise the standards of life in Malaya and lead to the fraternal economic and cultural co-operation of the British and Malayan peoples to the benefit of both. That would be the policy of international socialism.

CAMBERWELL TRADES COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON MALAYA

THE following resolution was passed at the last meeting of this Council, and I have been instructed to forward same to you for your consideration.

"This meeting considers that the punitive measures taken by the Government against the Malayan workers are not in accordance with its declared attitude of friendship for the colonial peoples. Basically, the responsibility for the recent events rests upon the super-reactionary white planters and other employers. In particular, the rubber planters have shown themselves, over many years, to be the most predatory and brutal of employers. The legalised murder of native workers will not provide any solution to the problem in Malaya, but will merely strengthen the

hatred of these peoples against the imperialist oppressing power.

"We urge the Government to take firm action to remedy the situation by:—

- 1) The dismissal of all reactionary officials, including the Governor, Mr. M. Macdonald.
- 2) The cessation of military and police action, and the disarming of the planters.
- 3) The opening of negotiations with the Pan-Malayan Trade Union Federation in order to improve considerably the wages and conditions of the workers.
- 4) The nationalisation of the rubber plantations and other industries."

TORIES IN CONFERENCE A BANKRUPT POLICY

By TED GRANT

THE Tory Conference showed once again that despite embellishments, the Party remains the foremost representative of big business. The programme, if such it can be called, is made up of vague generalities and promises.

Foremost, in their demands, is further rearmament and strengthening of the armed forces. In this, there is no criticism of the present enormous expenditure on arms which absorbs a huge proportion of taxation, on the contrary, they would like to see arms expenditure extended.

At the same time, the Tories attacked the Labour Government for high taxation, both direct and indirect. This can only be directed at the Social Services, though they pretend that the Social Services which they criticised in Parliament as being too extensive, would be retained by a Tory Government. Churchill referred to the high cost of the Health Scheme.

"Spend More On Food"

Speaking to a resolution attacking high taxation, Lord Hinchingbrooke said

"... it is no use voting against high taxation unless they demanded drastic reductions in Government expenditure. We must be prepared to spend more on food and other commodities, because at the end we got freedom of choice to spend our money as we wished and not as a doctrinaire Government wished. Their policy should be a diversified life of high quality for all, paid for privately in the way people wanted it, and not publicly."

The Workers, Of Course

When he said "we" must spend more on food and commodities, he meant, of course, the working class. The subsidising of food by the Labour Government, has resulted in the absolute necessities of life being maintained at a reasonable price. What Hinchingbrooke and the Tories would like to see, is that this money is diverted into the pockets of the capitalist class.

Lords Must Be Safeguarded

A resolution was unanimously passed opposing the Parliament Bill and demanding that the powers of the Lords be safeguarded against the common herd. As direct representatives of property and privilege, the Lords must possess the power of veto. Democracy for them means the right of the Lords to decide what is and is not good for the people. They need the veto to sabotage any such measures as the nationalisation of steel. By such delaying powers, they will be given time to mobilise reaction against any further reforms contemplated by the Labour Government.

"Property-owning Democracy"

To gain a basis among the upper strata of the workers and the middle class, the Tories have proposed what they term a "property owning democracy" in which everyone will own his own house. They have set up a Committee to study the question. The record of the Tories after World War I gives the answer to this. Apart from its utopian character, this is merely a means of disguising the real policy of the Tories. They object even to the modest building programme of the Labour Government in building council houses for the poor, instead of allowing "free enterprise" to the private builder which would mean houses for those who could pay.

Protect Steel Profits

Because the nationalisation of the public utilities, coal, gas,

electricity, transport and also the Bank of England, serves the interests of capitalist industry as a whole, the Tories are not proposing to denationalise. However, the steel monopoly, which is very profitable, is a different matter. Apart from the loss of huge profits, they fear that this may lead to further encroachments on private enterprise.

"Incredible Feat"

There was the usual fervent oratory about the glory of the British Empire. But as the "Observer" ironically remarked:

"And yet this Conference performed the incredible feat of discussing imperial affairs for an hour without once referring to any of the realities. Not a word about Dr. Malan and his native and Indian policy. Not a word about Southern Ireland. Not a word about India."

Workers Must Take Heed

Despite their bankrupt programme, Labour workers must take heed of the support the Tories have succeeded in rallying, particularly among the middle class. They claim an increase in membership from 911,000 at the end of 1946 to 2,249,000 in England and Wales by June of this year. In addition, the Tory Youth now number 149,000 in 2,129 branches. The Tory youth are far more active than the Labour League of Youth which numbers 10,000 according to the official figure.

The Tories look to the possibility of victory in the next general election in spite of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population of these islands are working people.

Expropriate them!

The only way to counteract the danger of a Tory revival is by an all out policy of expropriation of the capitalist class. This with democratic control in the hands of the workers, technicians and middle class would give full scope to the creative energies and initiative of the working class and the middle class as well.

C.P. AND THE "BOCHE"

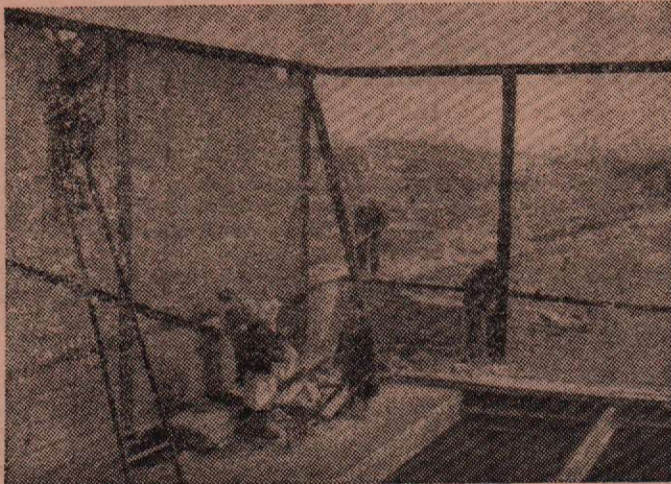
THE Stalinists have commenced an agitation amongst the dockers, protesting against shipments of Welsh coal to France.

An extract reads:

"French workers have always stood by British workers when we were fighting the Boche. The least we can do is to support their fight and not betray them by sending Welsh coal to France."

The word "Boche" means "contempt for German," and is equivalent to using the word "nigger." Instead of appealing to the best traditions of international Socialism, the Stalinists appeal to the worst forms of racial hatred. The British C.P. has not cast off its "line" of denigration of the Germans during the war, when they announced that the "only good German was a dead one."

In a leaflet appealing for solidarity with the French workers, it is a disgrace that they should try and set off the workers of one country against another.



German workers dismantling a factory in Berlin

STRIPPING GERMANY LABOUR BRITAIN TAKES ITS LOOT

Germany is being plundered by all the victors. The Russians are stripping their Zone of whatever will be useful to Russian economy, and are demanding more. The British and Americans are opposing this on alleged humanitarian grounds. But America has already stripped her Zone of the key plants which were of use to her. Of the 182 plants scheduled for dismantling, only one remains untouched.

The British capitalists are continuing to dismantle key plants which will be of value to British industry. For example, the INDEX PLANT for the manufacture of components for precision equipment has been removed from Esslingen to Red-ditch, Worcestershire. B.S.A. TOOLS, LTD., one of the largest engineering firms in the country, have gained this prize.

Britain has taken half Germany's total shipping. She has received 98 ships, including a whale factory and a cable ship. The majority of cargo and passenger boats are sailing under the British flag.

Equipment from 86 plants totalling 30,000 tons of machinery has been allocated to Britain. Britain is receiving some of the finest heavy machine tool and steel making plants in the world.

Firms which have received plant of this type include Davy & United Engineering Ltd., Brightside Foundry Ltd., Wellman Smith Owen & Co., and W. A. J. Robertsons.

CHURCHILL WANTS SHOW DOWN

(continued from page 1)

Mr. Churchill . . . did not say."

Capitalists Impotent

Quite obviously, the Western Powers, having in mind not only the resources of the Soviet Union, but in particular the lack of an ideological base for war among the populations of the European countries, are incapable of taking such steps at the present time. They are compelled to try and arrive at some agreement with the Soviet Union.

"Brutally Obvious" During War

But although Churchill may be criticised by sections of his class for rattling the sword at an inappropriate moment, he clearly stated what their policy basically means. Furthermore, he can be accused of anything but inconsistency. He now publicly admits that the inseparable gulf between the capitalist powers and Russia was already "brutally obvious to the . . . War Cabinet . . . even before the Germans laid down their arms."

At that time, it is revealed by William Bullitt, former U.S. Ambassador to Russia, Churchill advocated an attack through the Balkans or Trieste, to prevent the Russians stabilising themselves on a line too far West. There is no doubt that this shrewd capitalist



representative would have made war on the Soviet Union then, if he could have got away with it.

Realistic Statement

But whatever the immediate practicability of Churchill's utterances, the importance to the working class movement is the bare-faced, but realistic statement that the capitalist powers will have to go to war with the Soviet Union at some stage.

"Just Lies"—Shinwell

Where do the leaders of the working class organisations stand on this issue? Bevan describes the speech as "a national and international calamity." Shinwell says: "Just lies." Both are an evasion.

Lulling The Workers

The Labour leaders and the Stalinists try to lull the working class to sleep with the idea that U.N.O. can be forged into an instrument of peace. They make demagogic statements about the "nations desiring peace."

At the time when Churchill already had his ideas clearly worked out, Pollitt was writing his pamphlet "Crimea—the Safeguard of the Future," in which he stated that the signed agreements at that Conference of the Big Powers was sufficient to prevent war. At that time, the "Party line" was that capitalism and the Soviet Union could live peacefully side by side.

Irreconcilable Interests

Whatever the peaceful "intentions" of the Labour Government, however many men of "good-will" may exist as against the "warmongers" (to use the language of the "Daily Worker"), this has nothing to do with the issue. It is a question of mighty social forces. It is a question of the irreconcilable interests of the economies of the capitalist countries and of the Soviet Union.

Tied To War Chariot

So long as the Labour Government continues to prop up capitalism at home, they must defend imperialist interests abroad. Which means that however "shocked" they may have been by the Llandudno utterances of Churchill, with a continuation of their present policy they will eventually be forced onto Churchill's war chariot. The answer lies only on the road of the complete undermining of the capitalist interests at home.

ROY TEARSE

CZECH LAW

(continued from page 1)

Government's reasons for its decision to lay before Parliament the new Law for the Protection of the Republic."

How could the "Daily Worker" give prominence to laws which violate the elementary tenets of democracy in Czechoslovakia? What effect would this have on readers if they read that in a Stalinist dominated country it is a crime to tell the truth?

Discontent Growing

Such measures can only indicate a growth of discontent among the mass of the population with the Stalinist regime.

In preparation for the new Five-Year Plan, the Government has announced that further sacrifices will be needed in order to build up Czechoslovak economy.

Since February, the direction of labour has been more strictly enforced. The working week has been lengthened.

Among the peasantry, the Yugoslav-Cominform clash has evidently revived fears of forcible collectivisation. The lower middle class have come more sharply into opposition with the Stalinists. As a result of anti-Government demonstrations in Prague on July 6th, the Government have conducted a purge of the physical culture organisation.

There have been many arrests of oppositional elements.

The Czech masses must be "educated" in Stalinism. In Russia they don't have to pass laws of this sort because everyone has been taught the real meaning of Stalinist freedom and "democracy." Everyone knows that a single word of

criticism is sufficient for a one way ticket to Siberia.

Anti-State Activity

The trend of the regime is shown by the Treason Law, whose provisions are so elastic as to be used to convict anyone who takes part in any form of "anti-state activity." All such activities will be treated as treason. Any agitation to change the regime or remove the leadership, in the way workers try and remove a leadership in a trade union, will of course, come under the category of "treason."

Dr. Cepicka said, according to the "Telegraph" of October 7th, that "the provisions were so complete that they would cover all activities which might tend to disrupt the People's democratic structure of the state." Offences against the state, its external relations, or its social or economic system, 'will be punished in the same manner as sabotage in war time, and would all be regarded as acts of treason.'

18 Years For Schoolboys

As an encouragement to the Czechs to act in accordance with the law, we have the recent trial and sentences at Usti.

The "Telegraph" continues: "Another feature of the new law is the compulsion in all circumstances to report 'anti-Government activity.' At a recent trial at Usti, schoolboys were sentenced to up to 18 years' imprisonment for distributing anti-Government leaflets. Their headmaster got 9 years' hard labour for failing to report the boys' activities."

BILL HUNTER.

PROGRAMME OF THE R. C. P.

The Revolutionary Communist Party stands for the establishment of a system of society in which the divisions and the exploitation of man by man have been abolished and the introduction of a communist mode of production and distribution in which people produce according to their ability and receive from society according to their needs. The R.C.P. declares this to be an international task, to be undertaken by the British working class in close collaboration with the workers and exploited masses of all lands, and is united for this purpose on a world scale with revolutionary Marxists of other lands in the organisation of the Fourth International. Towards the attainment of its goal, the R.C.P. strives to win the support of the majority of the British working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers' Government, on the basis of the following transitional programme:—

1. The nationalisation of the land, all atomic processes, all large financial, insurance, industrial and distributive and transport enterprises without compensation and their organisation on the basis of an overall production plan, with control of production at all stages in the hands of democratically elected committees of workers and technicians.
2. Foreign trade to be concentrated in the hands of the State.
3. Abolition of the national debt with provision for the repayment of small savings.
4. Abolition of business secrets. All company books to be open to inspection by the Trade Unions and Workers' Committees.
5. Luxury hotels and mansions to be requisitioned and all existing housing space, to be controlled and allocated by tenants' committees. An end to luxury building and the establishment of a State-financed national housing plan, drawn up and operated in collaboration with the building trade unions and tenants' committees.
6. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers goods in short supply and the fixing of prices in collaboration with and under the control of committees elected from the co-operatives, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shopkeepers.
7. A rising scale of wages to meet any increase in the cost of living, to be assessed at regular intervals by workers' and housewives' committees and the trade unions, with all wages based on a guaranteed minimum; a falling scale of hours with no reduction in wages to absorb the unemployed, who must be fully maintained while not working; a maximum week of 40 hours without loss of earnings.
8. Abolition of the Monarchy, the House of Lords and the law of inheritance; the immediate repeal of all strike-breaking and anti-labour laws, and the introduction of full electoral rights for men and women in the armed forces.
9. Dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia; abolition of conscription and military law; clear out the reactionary officer caste; for the election of officers from the ranks. The establishment of military schools by the trade unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker-officers.
10. Withdrawal of police protection from fascist meetings; illegalisation of anti-semitism and the propagation of race hatred of any description. For direct workers' action through the formation of defence guards based on a united front of all working class organisations to combat fascist provocation and defend workers' organisations, premises, and meetings from fascist attacks.
11. Immediate freedom for the colonial peoples to choose their own form of Government and the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.
12. 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.
13. An end to secret diplomacy; a peace without annexations or reparations based upon the self-determination of nations; the unconditional withdrawal of British troops together with all occupation forces from foreign soil.
14. Unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a United Socialist States of Europe and for world socialism.

THE ART OF INNUENDO

SAYERS AND KAHN'S 'GREAT CONSPIRACY'

THERE is a statement by Joseph E. Davies, former ambassador to the Soviet Union, on the cover of "The Great Conspiracy against Russia"—a Stalinist publication which was reviewed in the last issue of "Socialist Appeal." He says this publication is "an extraordinary book." He is absolutely correct!

Never was there such an extraordinary potted history containing such a collection of distortions, half-truths, slanderous assertions and innuendos.

Trotsky's "Insurrection"

An example of this art is the wonderful fairy tale, on page 70, of Trotsky's "Insurrection" on November 7th, 1927. An uprising was to take place on the Tenth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Trotsky's most remote followers "were posted to take over strategic points throughout the country," these Stalinist historians declare. They follow this with a quotation from Trotsky's "My Life."

Quote From Trotsky

"The leading group of the opposition faced this finale with its eyes wide-open. We realised clearly that we could make our ideas the common property of the new generation not by an open struggle, but only by an open struggle which shirked none of the practical consequences."

By placing this quotation directly after the assertion that an insurrection was planned for November 7th, it is insinuated that the "finale" to which Trotsky refers is precisely that insurrection.

Those who read "My Life" and study this quotation in its

context will find something entirely different. In the preceding paragraphs, Trotsky is pointing out that after the defeat of the Chinese revolution, as a consequence of Stalinist policy which the Opposition had correctly criticised, Stalin "had only to complete the crushing of the Shanghai workers by routing the Opposition within the Party." This is the "finale" he was facing. The "practical consequences" which he mentions were expulsions from the party, terrorisation by the G.P.U., etc. The misuse of this quotation can easily be verified by those interested enough in the truth to read "My Life."

A Peculiar Insurrection

Sayers and Kahn, in their book create the impression that the "finale" and "practical consequences" referred to was an insurrection. But it was a peculiar insurrection this, even on the evidence of our authors. It consisted, according to them, of the Opposition showering Trotskyist leaflets upon the workers as they marched through the Moscow streets, announcing the advent of a "new leadership." The Opposition, again according to them, also appeared in small bands waving banners and placards.

A Shower Of Paper

In addition to their other diabolical qualities it would seem that Trotsky and the other leaders of the Opposition must have been completely insane. Having decided that they can only get their way by insurrection, they plot darkly, pick their D-Day and then let loose their insurrection—a shower of

paper, plus groups of individuals attempting to overawe the Stalinists by appearing like John the Baptist heralding the advent of New Messiahs. Perhaps Trotsky was naive enough to think, that since the walls of Jericho fell down at the blast of a trumpet, the Stalinist régime would collapse under a shower of paper.

The Banners—

If our readers want the truth of the happenings of November 7th, 1927, in Moscow, it was simply that the Left Opposition marched in the demonstration carrying banners, not "heralding a new leadership," but with the following slogans:—

"Let us turn our fire to the right, against the kulak, the nepman and the bureaucrat."
"Let us carry out Lenin's will."

"Against opportunism, against a split, and for the unity of Lenin's party."

Would Take a Thousand Volumes

As Trotsky once declared, it would take a thousand volumes to refute all the slanders of Stalinism. It would take almost that to refute this "extraordinary book." We will deal with it again in our press. In the meantime, those who read it from a scientific viewpoint, check its sources of information, verify the historical facts, and verify the real role of Trotskyism, cannot fail to conclude that it owes the major part of its content to the inventive technique of Stalinist historians.

Printed and Published by
E. GRANT,
256, Harrow Road, London, W.2