



SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Meaning
of the Rouble
Reform

See Page Three

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UNITE AGAINST RED-BAITING

Morgan Phillips Threatens Bureaucratic Drive Against C.P. Militants

BY JOCK HASTON

ON DECEMBER 18th, HARRY POLLITT ANNOUNCED THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY WAS SOON TO ADOPT ANOTHER CHANGE OF POLICY WHICH WAS TO BE AN OSTENSIBLE TURN TO THE LEFT. HE OUTLINED THE NEW LINE TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF HIS PARTY.

This new line is to end the policy which the Party has been pursuing for the past six years, of strike-breaking and holding the workers back in the day to day struggles. Henceforth, the C.P. will participate, and where possible, actively lead the workers in these struggles.

This change, if seriously pursued, will make a considerable difference to the struggle of the workers against the employers in the coming period. It is a big question, not only for the capitalist class who have had a very peaceful year with very few large industrial disputes, but also for the Labour leaders and the Trade Union bureaucracy.

If the Stalinists really carry out the policy they threaten, the inevitable result will be a considerable rise in strikes which will hamper the Government's production plans.

Militants Will Welcome New Line

The best rank and file militants of the C.P. will welcome the new line. Six years of strike-breaking and holding the workers back in all their struggles against the employers, all of which were the necessary consequence of the old line, have resulted in considerable demoralisation among the best militants. They will see in the new line an end to tailing behind the Labour Government and acting as its apologists. They will see in it an end to lining up with the right wing trade union bureaucracy against workers who were demanding militant action in defence of their rights.

Their best fighting instincts will have a chance of expression and if the line is further carried out, they will find themselves lined up with the Trotskyists and those who want a struggle against the capitalists and Trade Union bureaucrats.

Reactions To Pollitt's Speech

The first effects of the announcement of the new line were to arouse a howl of rage from the Trade Union bureaucrats, the Labour leaders and also from the capitalist press.

Even before Pollitt's speech, when it had already become clear to every serious political observer that the growing clash between British and Russian diplomacy had reached the point where the C.P. would be called in to bring additional pressure on the Labour Government, and when the C.P. was already adopting a more critical and threatening tone, Deakin, Bevin's half-back, had issued his call to drive the Stalinists out of union positions.

The announcement by Pollitt merely let loose the avalanche of anti-Stalinist propaganda which had been piling up.

Right Wing Respond To Morgan Phillips' Appeal

Deakin's speech was followed by a call from Morgan Phillips to all members and supporters of the Labour Party to activate themselves in the trade unions to block the influence of the Stalinists and drive them from leading position in the unions. In union, following the lead of the "Daily Herald", all the Right wing journals of the Labour movement are now howling for Stalinist blood. Only "Reynolds News", to the credit of its editors, has come down against a witch-hunt at this particular stage.

The capitalists, full pelt behind the Labour leaders, and indeed driving them on, are happy at the prospect of this dog-fight within the ranks of the working class, although they are somewhat unhappy and nervous at the prospect of increased industrial struggles now that the Stalinists have said they are going to fight.

Where We Stand

Deakin and his allies now attack the amorality of the Stalinists. But in fact they are birds of a feather. While Pollitt and Co. were playing the same game of holding the workers back and urging them along the road of 100 per cent. class collaboration, Deakin and Co. remained silent about the crimes of Stalinism against the revolutionary Left. Serious militants will treat their moralising with the contempt it deserves. In the struggle between the bureaucrats and the Stalinists, especially the Stalinist militants if they play a role in the future struggles—every serious socialist and trade union fighter will find himself together with the Stalinists against the Right wing. But this must not prevent us from studying the reasons for the new change of Stalinist policy, exposing its basis and inadequacies, warning the workers as to the possibilities of adventurous tactics which the Stalinists are likely to pursue if

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Deformed Bikini Corn

Second Generation

Dr. Ernest G. Anderson displays some mis-shapen ears of corn seed that had been exposed to radioactivity in the Bikini Bomb Tests. He said, "The Bikini corn, which produced a large percentage of abnormal offspring, may be a forecast of tragedy to come among the descendants of Hiroshima survivors."



(See below.)

PICTURE FROM "TIME"

Effects of Radioactivity

Scientists Discuss Grave Hazards for Mankind

The hazards of radioactive atoms are causing grave concern among scientists. This is revealed in a discussion among American scientists at the Atomic Energy Commission's Brookhaven (Long Island) Laboratory. The Associated Press representative, Howard Blakeslee, listened to and reported on their discussions. The following is a summary of his report published in "Time" magazine.

One of the main questions they discussed was: how to dispose of the vast amounts of radioactive waste that will accumulate as more and more U.S. atomic ovens go into operation. Soon it may become dangerous to discharge waste into the air. Radioactive atoms cannot be safely buried in the ground as they spread widely and might contaminate plants, food, etc. They cannot be thrown into the sea as they would poison the fish, be sucked up into ships' boilers, evaporate and fall in radioactive rains.

Dr. J. E. Rose of the University of Chicago's Argonne Laboratory reported that engineers have considered (and discarded) some elaborate disposal scheme. One was to seal the radioactive atoms in concrete cylinders and drop them into the ocean. This was rejected because in a 100 years or so the cylinders might break open and discharge their still radioactive atoms.

These scientists also discussed the hazards of atomic explosions, i.e., bombs.

Heredity Affected

Dr. E. G. Williams of the U.S. Public Health Service warns that an atomic explosion that contamin-

ated a city's water supply would compel complete evacuation of the city for months, years, or perhaps permanently. Scientists can only guess how widely the effects of such a catastrophe might spread. Would the radioactive water be sucked up by the roots and contaminate food plants? Would the poison be passed on to successive plant generations by radioactive seeds?

At Pasadena, a geneticist of the California Institute of Technology declared last week that atomic-bomb radiation does indeed affect heredity.

Dr. Ernest G. Anderson displayed some mis-shapen ears of corn—second generation descendants of corn seed that had been exposed to radioactivity in the Bikini bomb tests. He said: the Bikini corn, which produced a large percentage of abnormal offspring, may be a forecast of tragedy to come among the descendants of Hiroshima survivors.

"Affected genes and chromosomes in some Japanese people may result in the birth of morons, cripples and deformed progeny in future generations. . . . It is quite possible that these (deformity-producing) recessive genes will gradually be spread throughout Japan."

Greek Trotskyists Illegalised

MESSAGE FROM
ATHENS TO
THE R.C.P.

Athens—20.12.1947

"At the moment we write you these lines, our Party is officially 'dissolved' by the Government and our Press banned. The comrade responsible for our print-shop, Tassos Dimitriou has been arrested. We are now in complete illegality. Henceforth the mere propagation of our ideas will be punishable by the death penalty.

The justification for the 'dissolution' of all organisations 'working against the safety of the State' and 'for its overthrow by force' is the announcement of the formation of the Stalinist 'Government' in the mountains. Last week, the right to strike was also abolished by a Government law.

We are now the whole Party, as well as each comrade individually will stand this new test steadily and courageously like real Bolsheviks, and the end of this situation will find us stronger. In reality we have been in illegality or semi-illegality since 1936 and consequently we are accustomed to struggle under such conditions.

But, for victory in our struggle, we need your help as well as the help of the whole International and the world proletariat.

Long live the Internationalist Communist Party of Greece!

Long live the Fourth International!

Bolshevik greetings.

G. DALAN"

In saluting our Greek comrades in their heroic struggle, we pledge ourselves to work unceasingly against the policy of British imperialism which supports the regime of reaction in Greece. We appeal to all militant workers to struggle with us within the Labour movement for the restoration of the democratic rights of the Greek workers and the withdrawal of the last remaining British troops from Greek soil.

Grimethorpe : 40 Miners Fined 10s. per week

On January 15th, 10/- per week will be deducted from the wage packets of 40 Grimethorpe miners until a total of £304 has been paid.

This amount represents a total of fines imposed on these miners in the Barnsley magistrates' court on December 19th, payable to the National Coal Board because the miners refused to work in conditions described by one miner as "Unsafe." "There was no recognised roof," stated, and "The floor was soggy." With a knowledge of the history of mining accidents resulting from unsafe working conditions, the average worker will be shocked at this unjust imposition upon these 40 miners.

At the same time discussions are

For Workers Control of Transport

Capitalists will Continue to Dictate Policy

BY S. J. BIDWELL

On January 1st the Railway industry became nationalised. This event is welcomed by the railway workers and the entire Trade Union movement. For two generations assemblies of railwaymen have called, in ever increasing volume, for the nationalisation of the railways and other forms of transport.

The nationalisation of transport undoubtedly constitutes a progressive step. It ends the period of sectional control in favour of a single unified enterprise.



SID BIDWELL

Railway workers, whose wages are among the lowest in industry, look forward to a new era in which their standards will not be maintained at the present low levels in the interest of profit. But the workers must have no illusions that nationalisation automatically means that the industry will be run in their interests.

Not the First Experience

This is not the first experience of nationalisation of railways. Many capitalist states own the railways, for instance in Germany, in South Africa and in France. But in none of these cases did this make any fundamental difference to the conditions of the workers employed. Similarly the nationalisation of the Post Office and the Royal Ordnance Factories in this country, meant neither improved conditions for the workers employed in these industries, nor any advantage to the working class as a whole.

Instead of individual ownership, the capitalist class as a whole will own the railways and other means of transport.

£1,024,000,000 Compensation To The Bosses

Nationalisation of the railways follows the same pattern as the nationalisation of the mines: lavish compensation to the bosses, with control of the industry firmly remaining in the hands of representatives of the capitalist class.

Despite the fact that for years they have drawn enormous profits on their original outlay, the capital having been paid over and over again, the shareholders are to receive enormous compensation. £1,024,000,000 is the sum to be paid in the form of Government bonds. It is estimated that this will also put the colossal sum of £30,000,000 a year in the form of interest into the pockets of the shareholders; with all risks eliminated their income is nearly the same as before.

It must have appeared peculiar not only to the railwaymen, but to the general public, which is constantly being forced to pay increased fares, allegedly due to heavy costs (such as increases in railwaymen's wages), that this tremendous burden is to be placed on the industry.

Of course, the small owners of railway stocks of £400 and under, must be compensated fully. But those 8 holders who own over a million pounds each, and the ten thousand who own more than £10,000 each, must be expropriated. They have been sufficiently com-

pensated in the past. Between 1921 and 1944 the stockholders received a profit of £981 million, i.e., nearly as much as their invested capital.

Clearly, the imposition of this terrible burden on the industry cuts right across the alleged aim of the Labour Government: that the act of nationalisation is to be for the people. Increased freight charges, which affect the price of commodities, increased fares which assist in lowering the standards of the working class, cannot be blamed on the miserable increases gained by the railway workers so long as this state of affairs exists.

Will There Be Any Real Change?

When one looks around further and examines the condition of railway equipment, the price the nation is already paying for the years of capitalist anarchy, one can see the face of this situation even more. Lifting tackle at goods depots are outmoded, still depending on the old hand-winding system, instead of the use of mechanical aids. 8,000 locomotives out of a total of 20,500 are listed as over-age. Over 200,000 fewer wagons than in 1938, and over 180,000 of the existing stock are awaiting repair. Signalling system replacements are a year and a half behind schedule; permanent way renewals, two years behind. The story could go on indefinitely.

Further, the chaotic organisation under private enterprise overshadows all these factors. The construction of competitive lines has produced in many districts a veritable spider's web of lines, multiplied far beyond the transport needs of the district, and ill-arranged for traffic purposes. It is estimated that to re-plan the railway network and terminal facilities will in itself cost millions.

Taking into consideration that the first charge on the nationalised industry will be to pay the shareholders their pound of flesh, first in bulk compensation, and then annually in interest; that large sums will have to be spent to modernise the industry; and that there will be constant pressure to guarantee cheap freight charges for the employers as a whole, the workers cannot expect to see any real change in their conditions.

Capitalists Will Dictate Policy

The payment of this compensation is no accident. It fits perfectly with the whole set-up of the nationalised railway industry. Control is to be in the hands of the Railway Executive Committee, consisting of trusted representatives of the former railway bosses. The attempt to cover up the real character of the Executive by the fig-leaf of Allen, ex-General Secretary of the A.S.L.E. & F., who has also been placed on this body, will not fool serious workers. It is significant that Allen has been given the job of Labour Relations Officer and will meet the representatives of the organised workers in any negotiations. But he will be ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TABLE, and it is common knowledge that the best person to handle workers, from the point of view of the employing class, is one who has been drawn over from



the ranks of those very same workers.

In such a set-up the railwaymen have no say at all. Even Beustend and Allen are no longer answerable to the workers, having relinquished their Union posts.

It is well known that sections of the capitalist class support the nationalisation. They do this in order to obtain cheaper transport, thus reducing their costs and making their goods more competitive on the world market. They see the need for a degree of planning in the basic industries in their struggle for survival in face of American and other competition. They recognise that the State is the best agency for this, being in the best position to provide the necessary capital for the modernisation of these industries, by placing the burdens on the backs of the population. They do not oppose the measure provided one thing: control remains in their hands.

As Dalton pointed out: what have the railway shareholders to worry about? Under nationalisation, modernisation will be undertaken by the State and they will still be guaranteed their income; whereas if the railways remained under private enterprise, modernisation would necessitate the plunging back of considerable profits into the industry.

Workers Must Control The Industry

The only way the industry will benefit the railwaymen and the workers in general is if they control the industry. The workers are the only people who can be relied upon to safeguard, at every stage, the interests of our class.

Among sections of the railwaymen, particularly in the London area, there is a belief that Joint Consultative Committees will solve the problem. But Joint Consultative Committees as with Joint Production Committees, leave effective control in the hands of the capitalist representatives, while fooling the workers into believing that they have a say in affairs. Control is a class, not a technical question. If the railwaymen find that their pooled experience requires to be augmented by trained technicians, as they undoubtedly would, they would be the first to draw these technicians onto their Committees. But the essential position would remain: control of policy would be in the hands of the workers and technicians through democratically elected committees.

And, instead of Beustend (ex-N.T.R. General Secretary) receiving just under £100 per week on the Transport Commission, while the Minimum Adult Industrial Wage for the workers is only £4 12s. 6d. per week, the workers' representatives would be paid working men's wages.

These are the problems posed by the nationalisation of the railways. If the working class is to realise its hopes in respect of the future of this industry, they must begin immediately to campaign for the policy of:

NO COMPENSATION TO THE BIG EX-OWNERS.
WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE INDUSTRY.
FOR SOCIALISATION—NOT STATE CAPITALISM.

Hickman Free Victory for U.S. Labour

The American negro steel worker, James Hickman, whose case was reported in the "Socialist Appeal" of September, 1947, charged with killing his landlord, was set free from jail in Chicago.

The State dropped the murder charge against him and recommended a two years' probationary sentence after mounting protests poured in from all parts of the country.

Assistant State's Attorney (prosecutor) Friedman, in recommending probation for Hickman, testified to the powerful public sentiment that had been aroused in the case, pointing to a huge dossier of letters, resolutions and telegrams that had arrived urging freedom for the Negro steel worker. The Hickman case had been receiving increasing support from trade unions and mass organizations throughout the United States. He was charged with killing his landlord in a moment of insanity after the death of four of his children in a fire which mysteriously broke out in the tenement where the family lived.

The landlord had been trying his best to evict the Hickman family. He had said that unless they went: "I'll burn you out."

Certain facts pointed to his having carried out this threat: a kerosene can was found afterwards outside the attic door. No one had ever seen it before. A stranger had run through the house warning the tenants of the first and second floor that the building was on fire. No one ever saw him again.

Jim Hickman arrived justifiably at the conclusion that the landlord had been responsible for the fire, and consequently, for the murder of his four young children.

A Hickman Defence Committee, in which the Trotskyist Socialist Workers' Party took a leading part, organized the mass defence campaign for the Chicago steel worker.

The liberation of Hickman, according to a statement of the Defence Committee, "constitutes a great victory for the labour and progressive organizations and liberal people who rallied to the defence of this unfortunate victim of social injustice. It constitutes a victory for the millions of victims of the housing shortage and racist ghettos for whom Hickman has become a symbol."

The Monarchy in 'Socialist' Britain

£330,661 Yearly for Upkeep of the Royal Family

The Civil List, by which is meant the money paid out of State funds to the upkeep of the Royal Family and its dependents, amounted to approximately £330,661 for the financial year 1946-47.

Of this sum, the King received for his personal income £30,661. Expenses for the Royal Household accounted for £134,000 in the form of salaries and retired allowances; £152,800 for Royal living expenses; £13,000 as Royal contributions to various charities.

The recent occasion of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth will mean a further increase in the Civil List, the cost of which is met mainly from the taxation accrued by the State.

"United Front"

The recent Parliamentary spectacle of Labour M.P.s and Ministers waxing eloquent over the "hardships" of young Royal married life on anything less than £50,000 a year, will arouse no little cynicism from the workers.

This sum of £50,000 a year, or £1,000 a week, was voted as income to the Princess and her Prince by a united front of some 145 Tories and 130 Labour M.P.s, supported by the Liberal remnants. An amendment, to cut the Royal couple's wages by £5,000 a year, was supported by 160 other Labour M.P.s who considered the pair could struggle along on £45,000 a year. A third group of 53 M.P.s, 31 Labour and 2 "Communist", voted for an amendment which aimed to let the Royal newly-weds eke out an existence on £15,000 a year (a bare £300 a week).

Labour "Lefts" Join In

More than a page of the "left" Labour paper "Tribune" was recently given to an article by a T. G. Weightman to argue, not only that "There can surely be little disagreement about the immediate practical value of the monarchy," but for the incorporation of a constitutional monarchy in the Socialist society.

Weightman poses the question: "Can a convinced Socialist (sic) give emotional recognition to the Monarchy?" And for his own part, answers: "After much self-probing, I think my answer would be yes. And, he asserts, 'The monarchy should exist, in isolation, as something unique personifying a classless society.' It would be, without doubt, 'something unique' to have a Monarch personifying a classless society! It should be explained to these 'lefts' that the perpetuation of any hereditary rank, title or functional role violates even the liberal tenets of capitalist 'democracy' let alone the Socialist conception of a classless society.

"Austerity" Of Cripps

Opposing the amendments and in favour of £50,000, Sir Stafford Cripps, Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, and vociferous authority on austerity standards for the working class said: "... I am sure hon. Members will take the view that whatever we do in this matter must be done with a view to supporting the dignity of the Crown and the national prestige. I suggest that this is not a matter in which we should cavil at a few thousand pounds, provided that we are satisfied that the standards set are substantially the right ones..."

Hastening to clear away any possible impression that this meant the Labour Government had intentions of putting the Royal Family through any "meas test," the Prime Minister, Attlee, assures

the working class that, "... It is quite a mistake for people to imagine that the Royal Family live exceedingly luxurious lives. As a matter of fact, they work hard, and there is no excess of luxury."

Attlee's apologetics for the standards of life and "full employment" endured by the Royal Family will meet with little sympathy from the hundreds of thousands of disabled ex-servicemen who receive £2 5s. 0d. a week for a 100% disability from a "grateful" capitalist State.

Monarchy Is Enemy of The Workers

The Labour leaders, paying lip-service to the principles of Socialism, far from attempting to abolish this outmoded and redundant institution, grovel before it, thus serving the ends of the capitalist class itself.

Future events will determine that they will seek to utilise the monarchy as a rallying point of reaction against the Socialist aspirations and struggles of the working class. A Socialist Party that genuinely sought to lay the basis for a Socialist society in Britain, would find no place in its plans for the reactionary capitalist Monarchical institution. The history of modern Royalty in the world teaches the working class that on every occasion where the interests of the workers are at stake, Royalty has actively sided with reaction.

humanity, in such a procedure contrary to the law valid in the Allied countries, as here P.O.W.s are punished in advance for crimes of which they are not convicted. The retention of a P.O.W. who, according to his category and number of points, is due for repatriation, is nothing but punishment.

Example: A P.O.W., rank Oberfeldwebel, was put under "A.A." in December 1945 without being informed about this fact, because he had been mistaken for his brother, a Lieutenant who died in the war. His statements were not believed. He pointed out, that the last Officer commanding his deceased brother was in the same camp and could be interrogated. This was refused. Yet not until a Member of the House of Commons (Mr. Stokes), who was requested to do so, intervened, was the case taken up again and the interrogation of the Commanding Officer carried out and prospects came of the release of the prisoner concerned, reversing the decision of Higher Authorities. Up to date this man has not been repatriated, though suffering from severe asthma, he was scheduled since April this year by British Medical Officers for immediate repatriation. This is only one of dozens of cases.

It is easily to be understood that the feeling of complete outcastry, especially harasses these P.O.W.s most severely and drives them to despair.

IV.

The P.O.W.s gratefully appreciate that the majority of Officers commanding the P.O.W. Camps and the Working Company, are honestly endeavouring to ease the fate of the P.O.W. by means of good food, organisation of canteens and quiet rooms, sports, broadcasting, film shows, theatres and concerts as well as giving the possibility for education. The P.O.W.s appreciate quite well that according to the special situation in Egypt their freedom of movement cannot be extended as in the case in the United Kingdom. But they cannot appreciate the cruelty of punishment, which is often applied to slight offences, even to inadvertency. In many cases the severest sentence—28 days arrest—is at once inflicted, in most cases the degree of punishment is not in proportion to the degree of offence of the convict.

For example: Recently a P.O.W. was sentenced to 14 days arrest and on pain of losing his working points, i.e., extension of his captivity for many months because he had overlooked the commando flag of a passing British Military car and did not salute. Many such examples could be given.

The cruelty of such degrees of punishment must operate very severe effects, as the P.O.W.s, in the third to fifth year of their captivity, in the whole, are no more in possession of their mental capability or resistance, and are

(Continued on Page 4.)



BY TOM REILLY — R.C.P. ORGANISER

Activities

YORKSHIRE: Regular sales at Grimethorpe are producing a good response. Over 150 "Socialist Appeals" were bought at the pit-head and 100 sold in the miners' homes. Grievances at the pit were discussed with our sellers.

About 500 "Socialist Appeals" were sold in two days at Barnsley, Sheffield and Rotherham.

Regular sales are carried out in a number of other mining villages. The distances are quite extensive and very often our comrades come straight off night-work to sell to the miners.

JUMBLE SALE: The jumble sale organised just before Christmas with very little preparation brought in £18 for the party funds. Among the clothes sent in from the provincial comrades, the Newcastle Branch had collected a large bundle from readers of the "Appeal."

LONDON: The North London Branch, having played an active role in combatting fascism locally, organised a successful meeting at Hackney Town Hall to explain the policy of the R.C.P. on "HOW TO FIGHT FASCISM." The speakers were Comrades Bert Atkinson and Jack Haston. A hundred workers attended.

THAMES VALLEY: Our comrades have produced a lively "Socialist Appeal" supplement in duplicated form dealing with local political and industrial events.

Well Done Comrades!

VAN AND LOUDSPEAKER FUND CLOSED

Comrades:

We are now closing this fund and we thank all our readers and members for their contributions towards the van and loudspeaker fund. When Branch returns start rolling in we will have exceeded our £100 target.

Our readers and sympathizers are asked to contribute again to the "Socialist Appeal" Fighting Fund.

	£	s.	d.
Carried forward ...	86	14	3
Dave G.	5	0	
East London Flats	1	2	0
A.E.D.	5	0	
Ilford	1	0	0
F.J., Salop	2	6	
South East London	2	0	0
University College,			
Nottingham	1	5	0
Joeck	3	0	
Nobby	3	6	
Pushcar	2	6	
	£93	2	9

Fighting Fund DECEMBER, 1947.

Now that the Loudspeaker Fund is closed, we ask all members and readers to renew their efforts to raise money for the Fighting Fund. We need £100 each month. We only got in £32 for the month of December. Make it a New Year's resolution to collect money for the "Socialist Appeal" Fighting Fund.

A. ROSS, Treasurer,	
256, Harrow Road, W.2.	
West London	£ 8. 6.
J.P., Croydon	1 0 6
D.J., Newcastle ...	3 14 0
Hampstead	1 2 2
Liverpool	7 0
R.A.F. Comrade ...	6 0
P.M., Birmingham	18 6
Edinburgh	2 13 0
T.R.	2 10 0
Bristol Sympathiser	2 0 0
Newcastle	7 9
Thames Valley ...	7 6
Glasgow	2 17 3
East London	10 6
M.S.	3 0 0
Forces Comrade ...	1 0 0
H. BLPI	10 0
Xmas Greetings,	
B.Z.	2 0 6
Sheffield Branch ...	2 10 0
B.C., Stoney ...	
Middleton	1 5 0
South Emsall ...	
Miners	11 7
Grimethorpe Stint	
Fighters	13 5
M.L.	2 0 0
	£32 6 8

P.O.W.s in Egypt

GERMAN PROTESTANT VICARS APPEAL FOR REPATRIATION

Declaration of the German Protestant Vicars Now Held as Prisoners of War in Egypt

We publish below an appeal from the German pastors, prisoners of war in the Middle East. Readers of the "Socialist Appeal" know that we do not agree with the religious and liberal views expressed here. Our doctrine is based on Marxist materialism and international socialism. Nevertheless, we fully support the appeal of these German pastors on behalf of the prisoners of war in the Middle East, who appear to have been forgotten by the British Labour movement. We ask our readers to protest through their organisations and to their local M.P.s, demanding the immediate release of all German prisoners of war, no matter where they are. The prisoners in the East are suffering under the most terrible conditions, yet there has been no word of protest on their behalf and they have lost all perspective for the future. A British soldier reader of the "Socialist Appeal" who sent this in for publication, writes that he believes they are "growing desperate." He continues: "Recently in Parliament Skirvell was asked how much G.H.Q. cost to build. He replied only £11 millions. I work here and I would state that the most cut-throat contractor could not have completed the task without a cost of a few millions. ... But then the Germans worked very hard for their fee per cent a day."

For more than two-and-a-half years, and in many cases considerably longer, German P.O.W.s amounting to more than 60,000 at the moment, are kept in the Middle East and have to work hard in a climate, which for half of the year is decidedly unhealthy for Europeans.

Because of the long duration of the captivity, the parting from their relatives, the bad news from home and the impossibility to help there, and in the case of many men ("Ex-Leute"), the completely unbounded length of captivity, the mental taint of the P.O.W.s has reached a degree, which causes the most severe apprehension for the future. The symptoms which already have come to light are dreadful enough. The number of cases where P.O.W.s have suffered complete mental collapse and become insane is increasing. In one P.O.W. Working Company only (2,719), out of 5,000 men no less than 6 P.O.W.s have been put in the appropriate section of the British Military Hospital with mental diseases since February this year. Above all the number of cases is increasing where P.O.W.s put an end to their lives, which seem to be intolerable to them. In the Canal South District only, one of the three Military Districts in Egypt, five cases of suicide in the last month have become known.

In the majority of the P.O.W.s in M.E., a complete breakdown of confidence regarding promises and declarations of the British Government has developed. The mental taint of the P.O.W.s caused by this fact is immense. The most important reasons, only to mention these, which have lead into this crisis are as follows:

I.

At the end of last year, more than 18 months after the capitulation, the repatriation scheme which was said to be valid for 1947, was

promulgated to the P.O.W.s. The repatriation plan gave the possibility to every individual to presume the approximate date of his repatriation, within a large limit according to his political category. This plan has not been accomplished. On 30.9.47, the British Government published that they would be forced to reduce the repatriation, because of lack of ships, to a fractional part of the scheduled quota. Can the P.O.W.s help making a comparison between this declaration and the statement of the British Prime Minister Attlee, published in the newspapers some time ago, which states that the work of the German P.O.W.s are the only repatriations at hand which cannot be waived; that they contrast the declaration with the Statement in the speech of the hon. Member of Ipswich, Mr. R. R. Stokes, on 24.3.47, who stated that the real fact for the slow work on the repatriation from M.E. is that the British Authorities there regard the output of work of the P.O.W.s as indispensable that they just have to withhold the repatriation? Can the German P.O.W.s be blamed then, because of their experiences up to date and in consequence thereof full of distrust, take the possibility into consideration, that the complete stop of repatriation will not only extend until the end of the year, but far into spring of next year, and that the target for the repatriation plan, end of 1948, will not be observed?

With great honest gratitude the P.O.W.s in M.E. have noticed the interceding of numerous men of the British Public, above all several bishops, the Member Mr. Stokes, a man as Victor Gollancz, and finally a group of more than 60 Members of the House of Commons, for the ease of the fate of the prisoners and for a faster repatriation. Hardly any relief has become obvious in M.E. and has caused a growing exasperation and hopelessness, unsteadiness and desperation amongst the P.O.W.s.

II.

A further, exceedingly heavy load for the moral and mental bearing of the P.O.W.s rests in the Order issued lately which states that P.O.W.s are allowed to take 10 lbs. of food only with them to Germany. Germany is facing a new winter of starvation. Thousands of prisoners have saved month by month and year by year their very hard earned small pay and allowed themselves nothing, to be able to take some tins of food which is most urgently needed, and other provisions to their hungry relatives. Many have come to terms with the repeated postponement of their repatriation date and given themselves to saying: "From this country I can help my relatives in a small degree by sending food, specially food with Germans repatriated to Germany." All this has become impossible by the new Order. It has therefore caused a special exasperation as the tendency of that Order cannot be understood. The provisions in question are available on the free market in Egypt, can be bought in the canteens of the P.O.W. Camps and consumed by the P.O.W.s in any quantity. Why are they not allowed to save and take home? Nobody will be put behind and the spent money rests with the country. Finally the idea that the treatment of the P.O.W.s is not being eased or become better as would be in the natural development of things and with the growing distance from the end of the war; but on the contrary becomes harder and severer, causes very destructive and embittering effects. The prisoners cannot see any reason why they, already being put behind by a later repatriation, shall additionally be discriminated very badly and severely those fellows who were so happy to be repatriated, at an earlier date and who were allowed to take any quantity of food, urgently needed in starving Germany, free and without limit.

III.

A further great hardship and exceedingly heavy mental load is the treatment of the P.O.W.s put under "Automatic Arrest" (A.A.), namely those, whose identity is assumed to be of a war criminal demand, or will be used as a witness in such a trial. They are kept here for an unlimited time, often without knowing the reason and without sentence. Though the British Authorities had at least the identity and make enquiries, in numerous cases the prisoners concerned were put under "A.A." a few hours before their repatriation, in two cases taken down from the trooper in Port Said. It is thought that it would be no exaggeration to call this method "mental ill-treatment." Beside all aspects of

German P.O.W.s cut stone for the Commons



The sacred edifice of British "democracy" is being rebuilt with slave labour. The picture above shows German Prisoners of War quarrying stone at Holywell, near the Rutland border of Lincolnshire. The stone is for the new chamber of the House of Commons. Quarrying is by hand and pneumatic drill; blasting impairs the quality of the stone. Each block weighs three tons. We learn that 50 P.O.W.s, working in a quarry near Sheffield, said to be owned by I.C.I., staged a one-day strike because of bad working conditions. Working under arduous conditions, living on a poor diet, these German prisoners were expected to increase production by 50%. These workers slave for 7/- per fortnight. These workers soon got a taste of capitalist democracy. Instead of having their grievances settled, they were threatened with immediate imprisonment and an end put to their repatriation. We understand that the British foreman, supported the view that it is impossible to get a higher output out of the P.O.W.s because of insufficient food. To date, these workers refuse to do the extra work. Denied trade union organisation and treated on the level of slaves, they look to the best elements in the British trade union movement to help them in the battle for a decent standard of living and for speedy repatriation. Trade Unionists must struggle side by side with these workers to attain similar rights to those won by the British workers.

Ajit Roy on Tour in India Great Welcome

News from India indicates that Comrade Ajit Roy's national tour is meeting with a great response. The following report is taken from the "NEW SPARK", organ of the Indian Trotskyists.

Calcutta—

Comrade Ajit Roy addressed four meetings in Calcutta and its working class suburbs, organised by the Calcutta District Committee of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India. The first meeting was held on November 6th at the Islamia College Hall. Comrade Z. H. Khan, a well-known Trade Union leader in Bengal and member of the Calcutta District Committee of the B.L.P.I. presided. Comrade Roy in his address outlined the causes that led imperialism to change its policy in India. Imperialism has switched over from a policy of direct colonial rule to one of indirect rule. By enlisting the support of the Indian Bourgeoisie, it has extended its social base in the country. The new arrangement meant an increase in the share of the exploitation of India for the indigenous capitalists. But as far as the masses were concerned there can be no talk of freedom. Comrade Roy exposed the class collaborationist policies of the Stalinist Party which has abandoned the path of the socialist revolution. As for the Socialists, they are not even making a claim

WELLINGTON SQUARE MEETING

An open air meeting was held on the significance of the Russian Revolution. Comrade Roy said that today it is the Fourth International alone which carries on the traditions of Bolshevism. It is the only international organisation that has inscribed on its banner, the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists and the establishment of socialism through the rule of the workers.

TITAGUR MEETING — MANDEKAR'S RELEASE DEMANDED

A meeting held in the working class stronghold of Titagur was organised by the Titagur Paper Mills Employees' Union. This was attended by over 4,000 workers. After Comrade Roy spoke, a resolution demanding the immediate and unconditional release of Comrade Anant Mandekar was unanimously passed. Another resolution demanded the immediate repeal of repressive laws and the release of political and class war prisoners in the Province.

LARGE WORKERS' DEMONSTRATION

The Raniganj Local of the B.L.P.I. called upon the workers to celebrate Russian Revolution day. In response to the Party's call, the workers hoisted red flags and a huge demonstration of over 2,000 workers was held. The procession, headed by banners of the Fourth International, marched through the working class areas.

The meeting was presided over by Comrade Ramapati Pandey, a worker in the Paper Mills. Before the start of the meeting, the Chairman hoisted the flag of the Fourth International. The audience honoured the flag by giving the clenched fist salute. Comrade Ajit then spoke.

IN MADRAS Workers' Demonstration at Central Station

Comrade Ajit Roy arrived here by the Calcutta Mail. Nearly 500 workers gathered at the Central Station to welcome him. He is due to address several meetings in the City. He has been invited to address several Trade Unions and College Unions. In addition, he will address a public meeting at the Gokhale Hall and a mass rally at Tilak Ghat organised by the Madras District Committee of the B.L.P.I.

SOCIALIST APPEAL
Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party
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Editorial

1948 & Production

The main theme which the Government and the capitalist class seek to impress on the minds of the workers in the outlook for 1948 is the need for increased efforts and exertions on their part to increase production.

The propaganda drive of the last few years has had a definite success, as evidenced by the figures of production for 1947, particularly in its closing weeks. All estimates tend to agree that over-all production has increased from 10 to 20% above pre-war.

But the improvement last year was not reflected in a proportionate increase in the real standards of the workers. Only profits have risen to record levels. Nor will this year be any different unless there is pressure and struggle on the part of the workers.

The position of British capitalism is such that it is compelled to lean heavily on the assistance of American Imperialism to tide the capitalists over the next few years. They admit that without this, the crisis for capitalism is insoluble. Anxiously the British Press reflects developments in America. They write that if the Marshall aid is delayed, there is the possibility of a financial crisis as early as April of this year. British capitalism is dependent on the whims of Wall Street.

However, it is virtually certain, with a longer or shorter delay, that aid will be forthcoming and on this basis small concessions and some improvements on the present standards may be granted.

But the long term outlook for British capitalism and for the working class is bleak indeed. This is shown in the utterances of the employers as well as of the Labour leaders. They stress that wages and prices must be on "economic levels", that is, as low as they can keep them, in order to face increasing competition on the world market once the world recovery has taken place and the present shortages of goods has ended.

Increased production on the basis of a continuance of the capitalist system will not solve the problems of the working class. On the contrary, it will merely be the prelude to the next great crisis in the form of over-production and slump, and its accompanying features of mass unemployment and low wages. The reformist policy of the Labour leaders can only prepare such a debacle in the years which lie ahead.

The internal position of Britain and the world situation calls not for the timid reforms of the Labour leaders. It calls for a radical transformation of the whole of society.

Only the nationalisation of all industry without compensation and the establishment of democratic workers' control over production; with a REAL PLAN of production based upon common ownership can prepare a better future for the British workers.

BEHIND THE ROUBLE DEVALUATION and Abolition of Rationing in Russia

BY TED GRANT

The abolition of rationing and the devaluation of the Russian rouble has aroused widespread interest among the British workers. The full implications of this change have not been made clear by the Stalinists in Russia or this country.

They have justifiably pointed out that Russia is the only country which has succeeded in financially stabilising itself.

The swift recovery is due to the nationalisation of all the means of production in the country and their concentration in the hands of the state. First on the battlefield, and now in the race for production, the superiority of state ownership and planning over the chaos and anarchy of "free enterprise" is demonstrated in practice.

However, this is only one side of the problem. As important is the effect of this conversion on the masses of the Russian people. It has been falsely described by the Stalinists as an unmitigated boon preparing a future of unbounded plenty.

An analysis of the facts shows the contradictory character of this development.

Relation Between Old and New Roubles

All cash has been exchanged at the rate of 10 old roubles for one new rouble. Every strata of the population thus loses 90% of the value of their cash in hand, or on that which they have hoarded.

This provision hits particularly hard at the peasantry, especially the upper layers who accumulated tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, and in many cases, millions of roubles during the war. Numerous collective farmers became "rouble millionaires" whom the Stalinists in Russia and Britain endeavoured to picture as having "earned" this surplus by their own efforts. We recall Reg. Bishop's "Soviet Millionaires" as an example of the Stalinist propaganda which did not differ from the propaganda of American capitalists on the theme of "local boy makes good," etc. Today, forgetting these tales, they denounce the "speculators" who did well out of the war. Here they are at least nearer the truth.

At the same time, state loans and accounts and savings in the banks are to be reconverted. Deposits up to 3,000 roubles will exchange at the rate of one to one.

Deposits up to 10,000 roubles: one to one for the first 3,000, and then 3 roubles of the old for 2 roubles of the new.

Over 10,000 roubles: the first 10,000 as above, and the balance at the rate of 2 roubles of old money to one rouble of new money.

Bonds on the state loans, a great part of which have been subscribed by the workers and peasants, will be reconverted at the rate of 3 roubles in old bonds to one rouble of bonds in the new loan, into which all previously issued state loans and savings bank certificates have been exchanged.

Bonds of the state lottery loan of 1938 are to be exchanged for the new lottery loan of December 13th, 1947, which carries interest of 3% at the rate of 5 roubles for the old, to one rouble for the new.

Meanwhile, wages are to remain unchanged. And rationing is abolished.

Inflation

During the war, owing to the tremendous destruction in Russia and the lowering of the production of consumer goods to the absolute minimum—already incredibly low by Western standards—plus the issuing of roubles by the Nazis in the occupied territories, a tremendous inflation of the currency took place. This meant the printing of millions and millions of notes without a corresponding increase in gold backing or the production of goods. Thus, according to economic laws the tendency would be for the currency to lose its value, i.e., for prices to rise. Despite the propaganda of the Stalinists to the contrary, this applies in Russia as in other countries because of the laws of commodity production, which the use of money proves still exist in Russia. This simultaneously refutes the Stalinist claim that Socialism has been established in Russia.

Laws of Money Circulation Continue

The laws of money circulation, of the production of values still continues in the transitional economy where most of the features of capitalist production prevail. During the war, an absolute minimum of certain necessities were guaranteed (although the rations were not always honoured) at low fixed prices. This was like the rationing of foods and other commodities at fixed prices in the capitalist countries of Europe. But no-one could exist on the bare rations. The people were compelled to supplement them in the so-called "free market." This "free market" was, in fact, a legalised black market similar to the situation in France today, where the black market is tolerated although nominally it is illegal. In Russia, it was officially recognised as a free market by the Government.

By 1944, it has been calculated that so-called commercial prices were 40 or 50 times higher than those of rationed goods. The "Economist" of 20/12/47 says: "This enormous gap, it must

be remarked, was not between rationed and unrationed goods, essentials and luxuries, but between rationed and unrationed goods—bread, meat, butter, etc.—which could be bought on or off the ration. (One kilo of wheat bread on the ration cost 3 roubles while its "free" price was about 120 or 150 roubles). In the middle of the war, when transport and distribution of food was disrupted the spontaneous rise in prices was even higher than in 1944." Prices of so-called luxuries, of course, rose to even more fantastic levels than those of "bare essentials."

Prices Of Necessities Raised Last Year

In the intervening period, from the post-war reconstruction to the present, the bureaucracy strenuously endeavoured to bring down the price of goods on the "free" market. In 1946, the prices on the free market were 'only' 3, 5, or 6 times higher than the rationed prices. "In the course of 1946 the commercial prices in Government shops were reduced at least three times—by the end of the year they were roughly 50% lower than at its beginning." ("Economist," 20th December 1947).

And the "Economist" basing itself on official Russian Government decrees and statistics, adds: "... the extremely low prices for goods bought on the ration were raised by 200-300% in September 1946." At the same time as prices of workers' necessities were raised by this fantastic level, the constitution of an attack on the meagre standard of living of the Russian workers, minimum rates of output for the same wage were raised by 20 to 25%. This constituted a further reduction in the standards which could only be made up by an increased intensity of labour. At the same time, piece-rates in Russia were made universal for all branches of industry and even agriculture. They have been extended to the remaining industries where time-rates were still the rule.

Because of the drastic fall which this would have meant for the lowest paid strata of the workers, all workers earning below 900 roubles a month had their wages raised by 10 to 35%, although this did not compensate for the increase in prices.

From the above, it can be seen that the workers benefit only to a

limited extent by this reform. The main driving force behind the re-introduction of a stable currency is the endeavour to increase production by giving an incentive to piece-work. This is based purely on capitalist principles inherited from the past. It is on this basis and the tremendous achievements of reconstruction which brought industry up to pre-war production, that the end to the inflation and a stabilisation of currency has been prepared.

Conversion Will Increase Inequality

Far from introducing socialist equality the conversion has precisely the opposite effect. It is true that for certain basic minimum demands such as bread, the prices will be actually reduced. But man does not live by bread alone. The reason for the rationing of goods is to ensure "fair shares for all" even in capitalist countries such as Britain. The abolition of rationing introduces a more subtle form of rationing—too well understood by the workers everywhere—"rationing by the size of the purse."

Bureaucratic Inefficiency

After the long enforced abstinence due to the war and even before the war, there has been a rush on goods—even at the high prices for those which have been withdrawn from the ration. The better-off layers of the population are frantically purchasing everything they can lay their hands on. And according to the correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph," after wages were paid on December 19th in the new currency: "... the situation at the end of the first week after the end of rationing, reveals a chaotic state of affairs. ... Food shops were besieged by enormous queues. No person was allowed to buy at one time more than strictly limited amounts of butter, meat, sugar, cheese and other produce, regardless of the size of his household. Bread became practically unobtainable, and what could be got was of poor quality. Eggs became unobtainable."

As a result prices rocketed in the open-air collective farm markets, where prices are uncontrolled. ... Soon meat, butter, cheese and other produce were being sold at from two to three times the official prices."

The inefficiency of the bureaucracy in their uncontrolled domination of the regime is revealed



TED GRANT

by the comments of "Pravda" and "Izvestia" on this situation. With regard to the queues, "Pravda" wrote:

"Often their presence is explained by lack of organisational ability on the part of the trading organisations and various small shortcomings in the shops—shortage of scales, cash registers, not in good condition and so on."

Conversion Under Lenin And Trotsky

This is not the first time that such steps have had to be taken in Russia. The rouble was restored to a stable basis in the period 1922-24 by Lenin and Trotsky. But so far had the runaway inflation gone at that time, that one rouble in the new currency was made equal to 50,000 old roubles issued in 1923, or to 5,000,000 roubles of the old currency issued in 1922. But no such glaring differences in wages were introduced to enhance and intensify inequalities between different strata of the population. The bureaucracy, even after the beginning of its degeneration, were compelled to live approximately at the level of the workers on working-men's wages. Despite this, though Lenin and Trotsky were alarmed at the growing tendency of the bureaucracy to raise itself above the level of the working class with the backwardness of Russia and the failure of the revolution in the West, they were compelled to take to capitalist forms in order to put industry and trade on its feet. But the Bolsheviks declared openly the capitalist character of this operation which introduced the "norms of bourgeois right" in the distribution of objects of consumption.

Stable Currency Essential

In the past, the Stalinist bureaucracy did enormous damage to the

(Continued on Page 4)

Russian and British Standards A COMPARISON

With the currency reform and the abolition of rationing, the Russian Government published figures of prices of different commodities in Russia. In view of the fact that since 1928 no figures whatsoever have been published as regards real wages, cost of living or index of retail prices, we can use these official figures to get some picture of the standard of living of the Russian workers.

According to the fourth Five Year Plan "the average annual earning per worker by hand and brain engaged in the national industries of the U.S.S.R., shall increase by 1950 to 6,000 roubles." According to this Plan the average earnings will be 500 roubles per month. The Stalinist statistics include in the "average", the incomes of directors of factories, chief engineers, skilled, unskilled and even the charwomen. Therefore, it is certain that even if the Plan is fulfilled the unskilled worker will receive less than 500 roubles. Certainly, today an unskilled worker's wage is far below this.

In the following table, we took as our point of departure, the assumption that a Russian worker earns 600 roubles per month, or 138.4 roubles per week. From the above, it is clear that this is much higher than the income actually earned by the mass of the Russian workers, particularly the unskilled.

And on the other hand, as the basis for price calculation, we have taken the prices from Zone 1, in which prices are the lowest in Russia and which were published in the Soviet Weekly Supplement, December 18th, 1947.

Column 3 in our table shows how many units of wheat bread, for example, a Russian worker can buy, who lives in Zone 1, for 138.4 roubles per week.

Column 4 shows how many units an English worker could buy for his full week's wages, on the basis of average weekly earnings of £5 3s. 6d. (average figure of Ministry of Labour Survey for British workers, April 1947).

The comparison shows that the Russian workers' wages, comparative to prices, are far lower than in Britain. Thus, if a British worker spends his full week's wages on bread alone, he can buy 9.5 times more than his Russian brother; beef 7 to 11 times more; butter 15 times more and men's shoes 5 times more, etc.

NUMBER OF UNITS AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES CAN BUY

Commodity	1. Russia	2. Britain
Wheat Bread (first grade)	lbs. 50.2	480.7
" " (second ")	" 76	—
Rye Bread	" 109	—
Beef	" 10.8	79-127
Butter	" 4.9	77.2
Milk	Pints 69-97	247.2
Sugar	lbs. 22.2	412
Eggs	Number 99-138	706.3
Tea	lbs. 1.9	36.4
Coffee	" 4.1	41.2
Beer	Pints 17.3	88.2
Cigarettes	Number 557	618
Men's shoes	Pairs 0.5	2-1.5
Women's shoes	" 0.5	1-4
Women's jackets, semi-wool	Number 0.7	1.1-2.3
Stockings, women's cotton	Pairs 19.4	25-27
Cape-de-Chine	Yards 1.7	23-25
Men's suits, single-breasted, semi-wool	Number 0.3	0.6-1.5
Men's suits, wool	" 0.1	0.2-0.3
Rubber overshoes	Pairs 3.1	9.5
Women's cotton dresses	Number 0.2	3.5-6
Women's woollen dresses	" 0.7	0.8-2.1
Matches	Boxes 692	824
Combs, women's toilet	Number 34.6	103-154
Gramophones	" 0.15	0.6
Radio receiving sets (5 valve)	" 0.23	0.17
Wrist watches	" 0.15	0.3-0.5

Split in French S.P. Unity Talks With Trotskyists

The Central Committee of the P.C.I., French Section of the Fourth International, adopted a resolution at its Plenum on December 21st, welcoming the break of the "Revolutionary Socialist Action" with the Social Democratic Party of France.

The Central Committee of the P.C.I. records its satisfaction at the resolution adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Youth (S.Y.) establishing fundamental agreement between the Socialist Youth and the P.C.I. and the possibility of immediate fusion. It considers that after a thorough-going discussion and political clarification, the three organisations should participate in the construction of a unified revolutionary party.

As the first step towards unification, the P.C.I. decided to organise a united front between the three organisations, above all in the trade union field and in the factories with the aim of strengthening and broadening the revolutionary trade

union tendency "Front Ouvrier" and to propose the holding of regional conferences towards the establishment of this united front and for the conduct of a joint campaign for trade union unity.

The C.C. also recommended to its youth section to participate in the regroupment of the revolutionary youth as the first step on the road towards the regroupment into a united revolutionary party.

The C.C. greets the decision of the Socialist Youth authorising the militants of this organisation to work in one of the revolutionary adult organisations and welcomes the Socialist Youth comrades who have come to reinforce the ranks of the French Section of the Fourth International.

Resolution of the National Committee of the Socialist Youth on Revolutionary Unity

Adopted at its Meeting on December 13th and 14th, 1947.

The National Committee of the Socialist Youth notes that the discussions and actions undertaken with the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (P.C.I.) have demonstrated that, despite some differences, fundamental agreement on the revolutionary programme exists between our two organisations.

Consequently, no serious obstacle can arise to the building of a revolutionary party uniting the Socialist Youth and the P.C.I.

It greets with joy the break with the S.F.I.O. (Socialist Party) on the part of the Revolutionary Socialist Action group as well as the desire expressed at its national conference to participate in the regroupment of all revolutionary militants and organisations. It notes that the political motion adopted by the R.S.A. defines essentially a political orientation similar to that of the Socialist Youth and the Parti Communiste Internationaliste and that, consequently, it appears desirable from now on, after a thorough-going political discussion and clarification, for the three organisations to participate in the construction of the united revolutionary party.

In the immediate period ahead, the National Committee of the S.Y. decide to reply favourably to the proposal formulated by the R.S.A. conference for close unity of action. It considers that this unity of action must be realised in the first place in the industrial field and calls upon the militants of the three

organisations and the revolutionary trade unionists to collaborate closely in building up the revolutionary tendency within the C.G.T. During the months which have passed the S.Y. has been in the front ranks of the struggle for the unification of the vanguard forces. This struggle is not yet finished. The principal aim of the S.Y. remains that of working for the construction of the revolutionary party. But today our organisation must seek to present itself before the young workers in its real form as a youth movement. Although a great number of our militants are absorbed by adult tasks, the Socialist Youth must broaden and rather to its ranks all the youth who are determined to struggle against capitalist oppression and to be faithful to proletarian internationalism.

The National Committee calls upon all young revolutionaries, regardless of what political adult organisation they belong to, to join the ranks of the Socialist Youth, to build together with us, the organisation of the youth who remain loyal to the class struggle and to the red flag of the proletarian revolution.

Lecture Series on— Marxist Economics

Held at the R.C.P., 256 Harrow Road, W.2.

Commencing, Sunday, January 11th, at 7 p.m.

(nearest tube, Royal Oak).

A charge of 6d. will be made at the door.

Lecturer: I. LANDIS.

LECTURE I.

Sunday, Jan. 11th at 7 p.m.

"THEORY OF VALUE"

What is Value? — Importance of Theory of Value — Classical Political Economy (Physiocrats, Adam Smith, Ricardo) — Epigones of the Classical Political Economy (J. S. Mill) — Marx's Critique of Political Economy.

LECTURE II.

Sunday, Jan. 18th, at 7 p.m.

"THEORY OF VALUE"

From Political Economy to Economics — Criticism of the Subjective Theory of Economics (Marginal Utility Theory of Value).

LECTURE III.

Sunday, Jan. 25th, at 7 p.m.

"SURPLUS VALUE"

Different Explanations by Bourgeois Economists of Surplus Value — Marxist Criticism — Marxist Explanations of Surplus Value.

NOTE: The other four lectures in this series of seven on "Marxist Economics" will be elaborated in a later syllabus. Copies of all the syllabuses in these Central lectures can be obtained from the L.D.C. Education Organiser, Comrade J. Smith, 256 Harrow Road, London, W.2.

PUBLIC MEETING

100 Years of the Communist Manifesto 1848-1948
Trotskyism Leads the Fight for Communism.

CONWAY HALL

Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

Friday, Feb. 6th, 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:

Bill Hunter Roy Tearse

Questions and Discussion.

DEBATE

"Which Party Should the Working Class Support?"

GEO. HANSEN (R.C.P.)

D. FENWICK (S.P.G.B.)

EALING TOWN HALL

(Lecture Room)

Thursday, 5th Feb., 7.30 p.m.

Unite Against Red-Baiting

(Continued from Page 1.)
the diplomacy of Stalin needs adventures.

What Pollitt Said Before

While it seemed that Anglo-American imperialism would arrive at a compromise favourable to Stalin, Pollitt and Co., were prepared to sacrifice the interests of the working class to cement that unholy alliance. The workers were taught that capitalist imperialism could live peacefully side by side with Russia and could be transformed peacefully into 'Socialism'. Strikes were broken and the workers taught not to press too hard for better conditions to demonstrate to the capitalist class that the Stalinists could be real allies. All this is to be clearly seen in the policy statements issued by the C.P. during this period.

Stalin's Diplomatic Tools

But the international situation deteriorated. The relations between Russia and its satellite powers, and America with Britain and its satellites grew worse. It became clear that new tasks would be set the Stalinist Parties in the Western countries.

The first strike in the wind was the formation of the Cominform. This was followed by the adoption of a more aggressive policy on the part of the Stalinist Parties on the Continent. Now it is the turn of the British Stalinists.

It is too early to say whether the new line will be fully operated and a complete change of policy will be made, or whether it is still largely a threat, aimed at the Government to adopt a more friendly attitude towards Russian demands, or else. Certainly, the policy can readily be changed again to the right, and as easily. The new Anglo-Russian trade agreement will ensure that at least in those industries catering for the Russian trade the Stalinists will pursue the old policy. But the deterioration of the relations between Britain and Russia has most definitely reached the stage when greater pressure against the Government will be made through Pollitt and his organisation.

Analyse The Change

Our statement that the Communist Party changes its policy not primarily as a consequence of the needs of the working class of this country, but in line with the foreign policy of Stalin, may be hard to swallow for many loyal members of that Party. Nevertheless, an examination of Pollitt's statement, and the counterposing of the arguments for the new line against the arguments of yesterday, should speedily convince those who are capable of reasoning and do not act out of blind loyalty, that what we say is true.

Pollitt's Justification

Listen to Pollitt explaining the basis of the new policy:
"What are the main features of the international situation? That the differences which existed between the Big Three Powers during the war, both in regard to strategy and war aims, have, because of the policy of the U.S.A. and Britain in refusing any genuine forms of economic and political co-operation with the Soviet, deepened to the point where today there exist in the world two different camps."
Consequently:
"... it is necessary that important changes in the policy of the Communist Party to meet this situation should be made."
But, while Pollitt now says:
"... the development of two camps was never accidental (which should have been self-evident to and predictable by any honest Marxist—J.H.) but arose out of fundamental differences in

regard to defeating Hitler. Anglo and American imperialism were only concerned to get rid of their competitors in the world markets and preserve their dominant position in the world markets."

Let it be recalled that it was he and his party who most violently opposed the Revolutionary Communists, who consistently taught the workers that this development was inevitable unless capitalism was overthrown.

"Scare Stories"

In reply to these arguments of the Trotskyists, Pollitt sneered, in "How to Win the Peace," Sept. 1944, "who really believes the scare stories of the coming domination of the rest of Europe by Anglo-American imperialism?"

In a later pamphlet he returned to this question and went even further: "We now live in a world where the most powerful section of the capitalist class no longer has as its main aim the destruction of the Soviet Union, but recognises that there is no real solution for the basic post-war problems except in co-operation with the Soviet Union and with the new popular democratic governments now arising in Europe." ("Answers to Questions," page 9).

Carried To Its Conclusion

And this monstrous deception was pursued to its logical end in a whole series of pamphlets in which the C.P. advocated that it was possible for world peace to be maintained without the overthrow of capitalism, that state capitalism was a progressive policy to be pushed forward and supported by the working class together with the progressive capitalists, that capitalism could be peacefully transformed into socialism and, that, Churchill, Eden and their gang could be looked upon as faithful allies in this transition!

Stalin's Needs In 1944-45

This policy, which caused a considerable revolt within the Party, could only be understood as the necessary outcome of Stalin's diplomatic needs and aspirations of 1944-1945.

Pollitt Squirms

The change in line is very difficult to justify, and Pollitt squirms in reply to Morgan Phillips, who in the "Daily Herald," correctly accuses the Communist Party of advocating "before the General Election" a "National Government" to be formed from 'all Parties supporting the decisions of the Crimean Conference.' In other words, a National Government under Mr. Churchill.

Pollitt tried to indicate in the "Daily Worker," that this was not true.

"The official policy of our Party," he replied, "was stated in its election manifesto as: 'The key to the future is the defeat of the Tories and the return to Parliament of a majority of Labour and Communist members.'"

Come Off It!

Come off it, Pollitt! Remember the opposition at the 1945 Congress? And what was the crisis about in the C.P. at the January 1946 Congress? Let us recall a few facts.

The Aberlery delegate to the 1945 Congress moved an amendment to the policy resolution proposing that progressive unity should exclude any section of the Tories. John Gollan on behalf of the Executive, urged the delegates to reject the Aberlery motion, because the C.P. could not afford to turn its back on any allies, not

matter from what source they came. There was one vote for the Aberlery amendment.

"Your Vote"—The C.P.'s Advice In The General Election

Every politically active worker will remember the Election Special issued by the Communist Party entitled "YOUR VOTE". It was here that Mr. Sensible (read Pollitt) counselled the workers: "We've got to change the House of Commons and the Government at the next election. But provided we get a new House of Commons with a strong majority of Labour, Communist and Liberals, I believe the Labour Party should then form a new National Government and invite others, including Tories like Churchill and Eden to participate." Think what a Government like that could do!

Forgotten

Or perhaps Pollitt has forgotten his own statement to the 18th National Congress of November, 1945, when he admitted that:

"It becomes clear, in the light of the Election results and the political developments that had taken place, that the proposal (put forward after the Crimea Conference) to form a Coalition Government, including the Tories, after the election, was a political mistake."

All the wriggling in the world will not get round the fact that Morgan Phillips was fundamentally right in this particular criticism of Stalinist policy.

But voo to the Communist worker who sighs with relief at the new line, who forgets or turns his back without further thought on the old line, and says, Here's to to-morrow! For the new line is no more the product of Marxist thought than the old.

The Little Maggot

"In our anxiety to drive for increased production," Pollitt confessed, "we have sometimes done far too little in the fight for wages and conditions, and on occasions placed ourselves in a

position where we seemed to be holding back the struggle for the workers' demands."

This seems like an honest confession and criticism of past policy. Unfortunately, so it will be taken by the overwhelming majority of C.P. members. But there is a little maggot in this apple which fell from Pollitt's confessional tree. It was not accidental that the C.P. seemed to hold the workers back. It was the necessary and inevitable outcome of the policy of class collaboration pursued by the Party which stemmed from Stalin's foreign policy at that time.

Justified Strike-Breaking

Pollitt justified this strike-breaking at the 1946 Annual Conference of the C.P., and agreed that the activities of the C.P. compelled "our comrades to be stigmatised as strike-breakers and blacklegs."

"It is true," he said in reply to criticisms of the Party's scabbing line in the dock strike, "we have no lead for ten days—and that was no crime because we considered the strike to be ill-advised. . . . Our line was to advise the dockers to go back to work. . . . It was a positive line and it needs fighting for and because comrades got chased in fighting for it—all right—it is not the first time and it will not be the last."

("World News and Views," Report of Jan. 1946 Conference of C.P.).
Yes, Brother Pollitt, that was the Party line. That is why the members of the C.P. not only seemed to, but did play a reactionary role in the recent struggles of the working class. That is why the Stalinist organisers dared not show their faces in Gethsemane during the recent miners' strike.

Not Isolated Cases

Nor was the strike-breaking against the dockers an isolated instance. Communist Workers' Look through the files of the "Daily Worker." With the exception of the recent Savoy strike and the half-hearted support given to the Cossor strike several months ago, when the employers undertook to smash the Stalinist fraction in the factory, the C.P. has actively opposed every strike. The shame that follows in the wake of such

active strike-breaking has demoralised considerable sections of the C.P. membership.

We Will Fight Together

However, whilst we refuse to forget the past, if the new line means that the Stalinist militants have the green light to go ahead and fight, our militants will be found together with them against the trade union bureaucrats and the capitalist class.

"No further cuts or shortages for the workers must be tolerated," said Pollitt, "and steps must be taken to secure for them immediate wage advances to meet the rising cost of living." Last week, to say this, to mean it, and fight for it, was "Trotskyism!" But we Trotskyists don't mind if Pollitt, for whatever reasons, has been "converted," and is prepared to go all out to achieve this aim.

"Seek To Work In Unity"

"At all times," he continued, "we should seek to work in unity with every section of the Labour movement who have aims similar to our own and who are desirous of ending a halt to the present reactionary policies."
"In every local Labour organisation and working-class locality, we should at once commence to popularise our general line of policy, at the same time as we try and win forms of united action with all who are prepared to be identified with the fight."

Perhaps We Will Get A Reply?

Our criticism of this "general line" and its basis is sufficiently well-known to readers of the "Socialist Appeal" not to need re-statement at this point. But, insofar as we agree with the need to fight against the reactionary policy of the Labour leaders and the Trade Union bureaucrats for better wages and conditions and on many other questions in which the workers are in daily conflict with the capitalist class, we take up Pollitt's appeal. Perhaps now we will get a reply to some of our numerous letters addressed to Pollitt at King Street, proposing a united front against the fascists and on other questions?

Lacking Revolutionary

Communist Base

Lacking a firm revolutionary communist base—geared as it is to bringing pressure to bear in the interests of Stalin's diplomacy—the new policy will lead to an adventurous ultra-leftism directed against the Labour Party and Government. Such an adventurous policy must be combated ruthlessly where and when it raises its head. Alternatively, it is most unlikely that the Stalinists will break completely with all their previous policy and it is certain that they will not adopt a consistent revolutionary line.

For A United Front

By all means, however, let us unite the militants of the Labour movement—all who are prepared to struggle on a concrete policy of working class demands.

Up till now only the R.C.P. has openly and consistently supported workers who have been involved in strike struggles against the capitalists and Labour bureaucrats, in the Trade Unions and through the columns of the "Socialist Appeal."

Only we have urged a militant and united fighting policy against the rising fascist reaction. With the Stalinist Party and the "Daily Worker" actively supporting the workers in future struggles, there should be more power at the elbow of the working class.

No Alliance With The Right Wing!

In the Trade Unions and factory organisations it is not only because of their tight organisation, but because they are active and do the daily donkey work that has allowed the Stalinists to entrench themselves. At all times we will seek to gain the support of the working class as against the policy of the Stalinists. We will continue to expose their policy and criticise it and fight it together with the militants of the Labour Party, where and when it becomes necessary! But we will not ally ourselves with the Trade Union bureaucracy in their manoeuvres against the Militant Stalinist workers.

We will fight against any attempt to exclude communist workers from the Trades Councils or from Trade Union positions on the basis of bureaucratic manoeuvres. We will unite together with every militant and with the Stalinist workers against any attempt to reintroduce a new version of the black circular. For real freedom and democracy and against reactionary witch-hunting in the Trade Unions.

For Unity In Action

We believe that the leaders of the Communist Party will discourage any form of united action between their militants and ourselves, as they have done in the past. But that unity of action has grown considerably in the past twelve months. A friendly atmosphere has grown up between our members. That friendly spirit and unity of action is bound to grow. Without dropping a single one of our criticisms of their policy, and without asking or expecting the leaders of the Communist Party to do anything different regarding their criticism of our own, we say:

On the basis of the new line announced by Pollitt, if it is seriously carried into effect, there are many issues upon which the Trotskyists and Stalinists can fight together. Let us unite where we can, and fight together, to ensure the victory of the workers in their day to day struggles against the capitalists and for the defeat of the rising reaction.

Savoy v. Socialist Appeal

The Savoy libel action against the "Socialist Appeal" arising out of an article stating the workers' case, is likely to be heard some time in Easter. The article was written by a former employee of the Savoy, an active trade unionist now "redundant."

As we go to press the "investigation" by the Executive of N.U.M.G.W. into the activity of Arthur Lewis and the other leaders of the Savoy workers strike has concluded, but no "verdict" has been issued.

The Savoy Hotel has employed the services of Mr. Gilbert Paul, K.C., who is one of the foremost advocates in the country. If we are to put up an adequate defence, we must also employ the services of a K.C. This will involve us in a great deal of expense. We urgently call upon Trade Union branches and members of the working class to assist us in this case against the most powerful catering employers in the country. This is a class case and deserves the support of all sections of the Labour movement.

Among the contributions received are £3 Clapham and Brixton A.U.B.T.W.; £2 Edgware A.E.U. No. 3; £1 Leyton A.E.U.; 10/- C.A.W.U., S.E. General; 10/- A.U.B.T.W., Croydon. We wish to thank these and other branches of unions and individual trade unionists and friends for their generous contributions. But we must have funds to carry on with the case. As a matter of urgency, please raise the question in your trade union branch and ask for a collection sheet. Branches wishing for further information should write asking for a speaker from the "Socialist Appeal."

JOCK HASTON,

General Secretary, R.C.P.

ROUBLE

(Continued from Page 2.)

and to the building of a Russian industry through planning (which Stalin originally opposed when first advocated by Trotsky) by imagining that because the state owned the means of production, they had complete control of the economic forces, and that the laws of money economy did not apply in Russia. It was at this time that Trotsky warned that "inflation is the syphilis of a planned economy." He explained that for a planned economy in the transition stage between capitalism and socialism, a stable measure of value is absolutely necessary:

"The nationalisation of means of production and credit, the co-operativising or statifying of internal trade, the monopoly of foreign trade, the collectivising of agriculture, the law of inheritance (since abolished by Stalin—etc.)—sets strict limits upon the personal accumulation of money and hinders its conversion into private capital (usurious, commercial and industrial). These functions of money, however, bound up as they are with exploitation, are not liquidated at the beginning of the proletarian revolution, but in a modified form are transferred to the state, the universal merchant, creditor and industrialist. At the same time, the more elementary functions of money, as measure of value, as means of exchange and medium of payment, are not only preserved, but acquire a broader field of action than they had under capitalism."
After the inflation introduced once again during the First Five Year Plan, through the incorrect methods of Stalinism, the bureaucracy was compelled to introduce a reconversion operation. Experience forced on the bureaucracy what the Marxists had seen in advance. The aims of the bureaucracy in the last conversion were similar to those of the present one.

Capitalistic Inequalities Remain

While the lower layers are harder hit immediately than the lower ranks of the workers by the reconversion which destroys a large part of their savings, in the long run it is the upper layers of the bureaucracy and the most privileged strata of the workers who will benefit. The differences between the mass of the population and the ruling upper strata, which reached alarming proportions during the war will be intensified. While there will be a little improvement in the absolute standards of the workers—in return for a bigger exploitation of labour power—the differences in the standards of the workers and the bureaucracy will receive a new impetus.

Even within the working class, the difference in the standard of living will become intensified between the ordinary workers and the Stakhanovites (what workers in capitalist countries call "pace-makers"). Stakhanovites receive a higher rate, far above the actual proportion of their higher output to which the norm is adjusted. Thus, the differences within Russian society will become greater, and correspondingly, the greater will be the antagonism between the masses and the ruling caste.

Evils Of Piece Work

In reply to the arguments of the Stalinists that "the workers were working for themselves" (which is of course untrue: a great portion of the national income is consumed by the top layers of the Stalinist officials), Trotsky replied:

"In the struggle to achieve European and American standards (of productivity) the classic methods of exploitation, such as piece-work payment, are applied in such naked and crude forms as would not be permitted even by reformist trade unions in bourgeois countries."

"In any case, state ownership of the means of production does not turn nature into gold, and does not surround with a halo of sanctity the sweat-shop system, which wears out the greatest of all productive forces: man. As to the preparation of a 'transition from socialism to communism' that will begin at

the exactly opposite end—not with the introduction of piece-work payment (and money—etc.) but with its abolition as a relic of barbarism."

Thus, while the Stalinists were extolling the piece-work, Trotsky explained the idea of Marx, that it is "the most suited to capitalist methods of production."

In the endeavour to earn enough and to improve their deplorably low standards of life, the masses are compelled to strain themselves to the utmost and thus increase the productivity of labour. This is what lies behind the conversion plans. For the workers to increase production over the low level which obtains in Russia even at the present day, their wages must be reflected in the language of money. The Moscow radio extolling the Decree on December 14th, boasted: "The currency reform will increase the significance of money in the national economy. . . ."

Marx And Money And The State

Marx, writing on the significance of money in society, wrote in "Capital":

"Along with the extension of circulation, increases the power of money, that absolutely social form of wealth ever ready for use. 'Gold is a wonderful thing! Whoever possesses it is lord of all he wants. By means of gold one can even get souls into Paradise. . . . But money itself is a commodity an external object, capable of becoming the private property of any individual. This social power becomes the private power of private persons. . . . In its qualitative aspect, or formally considered, money has no bounds to its efficacy, i.e., it is THE UNIVERSAL REPRESENTATIVE OF MATERIAL WEALTH, because it is directly convertible into any other commodity. . . ."

What is taking place in Russia is an indication that Socialism and abundance have not been achieved. Together with the Stalinist terror enshrined in the monstrous state machine, goes the tyranny of money. Trotsky, analysing Stalinist society said:

"These two problems, STATE and MONEY, have a number of traits in common, for they both reduce themselves in the last analysis to the problem of problems: PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR. (Our emphasis). State compulsion like money compulsion is an inheritance from the class society. . . . In a communist society, the state and money will disappear. Their gradual dying away ought consequently to begin under socialism."

Pointing to the inevitability in the transitional period for the need for money both as a stimulus to increasing the productivity of labour in backward Russia and for the economy of Russia, Trotsky wrote:

"The dynamic Soviet economy, passing as it does through continual technical revolutions and large-scale experiments, needs more than any other, continual testing by means of a stable measure of value."

These measures of the bureaucracy will no doubt stabilise the situation for the coming period. They will serve to increase the productivity of labour, and with it, increase exploitation. The rate of development of industry will at the same time be accelerated. Here we see the dual role of the bureaucracy: as guardian of inequality and as a factor in the development of the forces of production.

On the foundations created by their labour, the workers' confidence will increase. Their achievements, based on state ownership will bring them more and more into conflict with the privileged bureaucracy, and will drive them to a new political revolution and towards the restoration of workers' control and workers' democracy. From then, the real transition to socialism will commence.

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German Pastors' Appeal

(Continued from Page 2.)

much more sensible of such punishment than anybody else.

We German Pastors, now as P.O.W.s in Egypt, have consciously been silent to the Public of the unnecessary cruelty and partly open injustice, as for example corporal ill-treatment of P.O.W.s in detention compounds, and have endeavoured to bring these things out of the world by means of personal interviews with British Authorities, in the opinion that this was due to autocratic orders by subordinates, as it happens in every human community. We have earnestly asked ourselves whether we may leave that out of the question any longer in the present situation. We had thereby in mind, that—with good reason—our people and the Evangelische Kirche were reproached with having been silent where we should have spoken. The Evangelische Kirche in Germany has shown its penitence to the whole world in this neglect in the Declaration of Stuttgart in October 1945.

In earnest self-examination we have come to the opinion, that being further silent to the injustice, have been exercised and being exercised yet, we would become guilty with regard to our office to take care of the souls, which is ordered us; to our conscience, to our Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland and to our German people; to own fellow prisoners, and last but not least to God the Lord, at whose tribunal we all will have to testify ourselves once. We would have to be silent if our late enemies of the bygone war told us, that were their intention to reap revenge and retaliation upon us. In that case we would have told our fellow-prisoners: Behold, where injustice and atheism can lead to: behold,

how the terrible rule of vengeance operates. Then we would have bowed silently under God's tribunal. But our late enemies have not said so, but have formally proclaimed that they came in the name of justice and humanity, and in the spirit of Christendom leaving taken part in the war and ended it, and they intended to lead our people in this spirit on a new track.

But this gives us the courage and the right; it is our holy duty as spiritual fathers of our brethren in captivity with us, to pray with all earnestness to the British people, its Government, and leading officials, no longer to remain inactive upon the sight of injustice having been committed and still being committed on the P.O.W.s in M.E.; but to take practical, efficient, and just measures to comfort the immense mental need and despair of these prisoners, which is extending from day to day.

We feel the bitter, deep sorrow, that otherwise our fellow-prisoners in the Middle East will lose the last and best thing we have been trying to show them in the spirit of Christ: the belief and the confidence that this world is not ruled by power, not in the spirit of revenge and vengeance, not the right of the powerful will have the last word; but that social life within the people and people among each other is possible in the spirit of right, justice, humanity, reconciliation and brotherly assistance.

In the name and by order of the Protestant Pastors, now P.O.W.s in Egypt.

(Sgd.) NORBERT RUECKERT, Pfarrer Dekan für Middle East 380 P/W. Camp.

11 October, 1947.

POLICY OF THE R.C.P.

The Revolutionary Communist Party stands for the establishment of a system of society in which class 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 consumer 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.