

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (TROTSKYIST)

## PROFITS INCREASE

(see page 2)

No. 61

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## RISING PRICES: TRADE UNIONS DEMAND ACTION

### BRITISH INVESTMENTS AT STAKE IN MALAYA

**TERROR HAS BEEN LET LOOSE ON MALAYA. IT HAS BEEN UNLEASHED BY THE BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT IN A DESPERATE EFFORT TO QUELL THE RISING TIDE OF REVOLT AGAINST BRITISH COLONIAL RULE.**



A MALAYAN WORKER CAPTURED BY THE BRITISH. Note the uniform of the former Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army.

THE BRITISH CAPITALISTS HAVE A BIG STAKE IN MALAYA. EXPORTS FROM THE RUBBER AND TIN INDUSTRIES GET MORE DOLLARS FOR BRITISH CAPITALISM THAN FROM ANY INDUSTRY IN BRITAIN.

Malaya is particularly important because it is one of the few areas in Asia where the British capitalists have retained their investments intact.

In addition, it is a very important strategic area for the Pacific Ocean and the Asiatic Continent.

British troops are being despatched to the Malay Peninsula in great numbers. Disbanded members of the ill-famed Palestine Police Force, well-versed in the art of terror against defenceless colonial people, are being recruited for special duty in Malaya.

Indian socialists are protesting against the action of the Nehru Government in allowing the passage of 6,000 Gurkha troops from Nepal through India to the port of Bombay, from where they sailed to Malaya. They were commanded by British officers.

Sir Edward Gent, former British High Commissioner in Malaya—until his death—had chosen the Gurkhas as the troops best qualified to deal with the Malayan masses. The Gurkhas have been used by British imperialism for more than a century against colonial revolts in Asia. They are the "cossacks of Asia."

Bombing planes are razing whole villages to the ground.

The people of Malaya are fighting back. Already the capitalist press, ably backed by Labour Cabinet Ministers, are branding them as "bandits" and worse. Soon we will see the casualty lists of British soldiers and policemen in Malaya mounting.

Who are these "bandits" who are being hunted down so ferociously with all the fearful instruments of modern warfare? They are the very same men and women who formed the backbone of the Anti-Japanese Peoples' Army, hailed as heroes by Churchill and the rest as they marched through London in the Victory Parade. They fought the Japanese invaders of their country, convinced that the "Four Freedoms" of the Atlantic Charter would be their reward. Instead of the hoped for liberties, they got back their old exploiters, the British.

From the moment of their return, the British proceeded to re-establish the old order of things. The British administration carried on a systematic campaign against the Trade Unions culminating in the banning of the Federation of Trade Unions.

The one objective of British rule in Malaya was to get the rubber and tin industries going again so that the profits could start rolling into the pockets of the investors as they did in the halcyon days before the war. Thanks to activities of the anti-Japanese guerillas, the very same people now being hunted in the jungles, (Cont. on p. 4)

### T.U.C. RESOLUTIONS SHOW GROWING DEMANDS FOR WAGE INCREASES

THE T.U.C. CONFERENCE AGENDA THIS YEAR INDICATES THAT THE ISSUE DOMINATING DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE ORGANISED WORKING CLASS IS THE SLOW BUT STEADY RISE IN THE COST OF LIVING.

TEN UNIONS HAVE TABLED RESOLUTIONS FOR ACTION TO BRING DOWN PRICES AND PROFITS

UNDER THE PRESSURE OF THE MEMBERS, IT IS CLEAR THAT UNLESS THE GOVERNMENT TAKES ACTION AGAINST THE SWOLLEN PROFITS OF THE EMPLOYERS, AND BRINGS DOWN PRICES, WAGE DEMANDS WILL BE TABLED AND THE WORKERS WILL RESORT TO DIRECT STRIKE ACTION TO PREVENT A FALL IN THEIR STANDARDS OF LIVING.

THE ELECTRICAL TRADE UNION SAYS: "CONGRESS FURTHER DECLARES THAT THE PRESENT LEVEL OF WAGES IS INSUFFICIENT TO MAINTAIN A REASONABLE OR AN ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING, AND CANNOT, THEREFORE, SUPPORT A POLICY DESIGNED TO STABILISE OR FREEZE WAGES AT THEIR PRESENT LEVELS."

The National Union of Vehicle Builders asks Congress to abandon support of the White Paper policy on personal income because "that support was conditional on the reduction of prices and curtailment of profits, and so far the trend has been in the opposite direction."

#### FOR PLANNED DISTRIBUTION

In this connection the Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers calls for a series of investigations "into the marketing of selected essential commodities, covering all stages from producer to consumer" in order to find a means of cutting costs and making distribution more efficient. Clearly this would mean the elimination of large sections of the parasitic middle men. The resolution ends by urging that the Government should "formulate a comprehensive policy for a planned system of distribution as a whole."

All these resolutions reflect the deep uneasiness pervading the ranks of the workers about the fact that the main benefits of increased production and full employment are being reaped by the employers. The policy of the Government in giving with the left hand with the £500 million subsidy on food, and taking away with the right hand by incredibly steep taxes on beer and cigarettes which amounts to about £750 millions, cannot satisfy the working class in view of the rising cost of living.

The way to meet this problem would be to fix basic wages in all industries with a sliding scale to move up automatically with the increase in prices.

#### AUSTIN BOSSES TRY IT ON

THE strike involving 17,000 workers at Austin's in Birmingham was of tremendous importance. It can be described as the first skirmish over an issue which will become more widespread in the coming years.

Normal practice in the workshop is that piece-work timing is assessed on the basis of the operation of the worker who will have to do the job. When such timing is undertaken, the worker who has to work the machine, day-in, day-out—month in, month out, realises the need to strike an average. A thousand and one factors enter into the working day of a machine operator, which slow him down, condition his work in this or that direction.

It is an entirely different matter for a demonstrator, an efficiency expert, to take a machine through some operations at maximum speed and thus assess its output. The demand of the Austin workers: that whatever the new assessment of piece-work timing there shall be no reduction in earnings, cannot but be applauded by any worker worth his salt.

The issue of the strike reveals the real plans of the employers in the coming years: higher output and less earnings.



Tito with his Chiefs of Staff who became Members of the Political Bureau after the war. The two crosses mark Zujovic and Hebrang arrested by Tito as "Spies and Traitors."

### STALIN MOVES TO OUST TITO

## GREAT RUSSIANISM CONDEMNED BY LENIN

TITO, YESTERDAY'S HERO, SECOND ONLY TO STALIN IN THE ESTIMATION OF MEMBERS OF THE STALINIST PARTIES, IS TODAY BEING DENOUNCED BY THEM AS A LITTLE, YUGOSLAV HITLER.

In turn, Tito protests indignantly against the "unthinkable pressure and terror by the Hungarian secret police" against the Yugoslav minority. Because of Stalin's implacable determination to control every aspect of life in the satellite states, the mechanism of his totalitarian methods is being brought into the light of day.

The Sunday "Observer" of August 22nd, reported:

#### "LET'S MARCH" SAY HUNGARIANS

"In the Rumanian and Hungarian Communist Press, Tito's Yugoslavia is now called a 'murderous tyranny like Spain and Greece'; at a mass meeting held 30 miles from the Yugoslav border, Hungary's Communist Vice-Premier, Rakosi called Tito a 'gangster whose regime won't last much longer', and the crowd shouted back: 'Let's march against him'—no doubt as spontaneously as it acclaimed Tito as a friend and hero at his triumphal entry into Budapest eight months ago. Military strengthening of the frontiers is now openly announced by both Hungary and Rumania."

#### TITO COMMENCES PURGE

It would appear that Stalin was preparing the setting up of an alternative Yugoslav puppet

"Government" in Rumania with Yovanovic at its head in order to organise a coup in Belgrade, supported by "Yugoslav" aid from the border countries.

The killing of Colonel General Yovanovic, former Chief of the Yugoslav General Staff, shot while trying to escape to Rumania attests to the awareness of Tito of such an eventuality. He is purging all elements who might be inclined to support the Cominform and line up with the big battalions in Moscow. A mass purge has commenced in the Yugoslav army. Hundreds have already been arrested. The Governments of the Federated Republics of Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina have been "reorganised". In Montenegro, five Ministers have been removed, including the Deputy Premier, the Ministers for Education, Forestry and Finance, and the Chairman of the Control Commission have been dismissed. The Slovenian Government was purged

two months ago. At the same time officials are being dismissed all over Yugoslavia.

#### PARALLEL WITH RUSSIA

These dramatic events are enacted as if history designed them as a parallel with what took place in Russia under Stalin's dictatorship.

In the Russian purge of 1936-39 every sphere of Russian life was affected. The majority of the army generals, including the most able such as Tukhachevsky, were framed and murdered; the entire Governments of national Republics, not merely selected officials, were annihilated; heads of almost every industry were murdered or exiled to Siberia; the Old Bolsheviks who built the Bolshevik Party and organised the victory of the October Revolution were framed, some were brought to trial, others were not, and the majority of Lenin's Central Committee were murdered. (Continued on page 4)

### BERLIN CRISIS:

## DOWN WITH SECRET DIPLOMACY!

### FOR A UNIFIED SOCIALIST GERMANY!

NEGOTIATIONS over the Berlin crisis have proceeded in strict secrecy between the Western Powers and Russia.

Here we witness the infamies of secret diplomacy where the destiny of nations is decided behind closed doors.

There are no democratic principles involved from the standpoint of any of the participants. Neither the Western imperialists nor the Stalinist bureaucracy are interested in the fate of the Berlin and German population. Both sides "condemn" the division of Germany, both declare they stand for "unification." One thing they have in common, however, namely, that it will not be the German masses who will democratically decide the destiny of the country. The conception of "unification" on both sides is that it must be under their domination.

Thus, each side proceeds to consolidate its own sector, to buttress its respective economies... only as a prelude to the coming conflict between East and West.

Germany is the key to European economy. The consolidation of the respective sectors is bound up with the consolidation of the respective hostile camps on a European scale.

Militarists have spoken of war. But both sides recognise that widespread military conflict at this stage is remote. Neither the economies of the respective countries, nor the ideology of the populations is prepared for war. It is a case of who can maintain the greater bluff at this stage.



But whatever compromise may be reached, it will only be temporary. The German working class will continue to be used by both camps as pawns in preparation for the next world war in which the capitalist world will attempt to smash the remains of the October revolution in Russia. Only the European workers can prevent this by taking a hand in the struggle.

The foreign policy of the Labour Government and the diplomacy of the Russian Government, both of which ape the imperialists, must be rejected by the working class. Workers all over the world must demand a policy of unification in Germany which gives full expression to the self-determination of that country and the maximum assistance to the German working class to march forward to a socialist reconstruction of their economy. The first prerequisite for this is the withdrawal of all occupation troops from East and West. The military occupation is strangling the democratic aspirations of the German masses and throttling the socialist movement of that country.

**NO AUGUST ISSUE**

**AN APOLOGY**

We apologise to our readers for the fact that we were not able to bring out the August issue of "Socialist Appeal." We have found it necessary to change our printing arrangements which has caused us considerable inconvenience. We trust that in future we will be in a position to continue normal publication.

**WE NEED CASH!**

Above we give the reason for the non-appearance of the "Socialist Appeal" last month. The new printing arrangements considerably increase the cost of production of the paper, and we are now faced with real financial difficulties. We are compelled to make an urgent appeal to all our readers to help us over this period.

There is always a tendency for donations to slack off during the holiday period, but now that this is about to end we hope that our readers will rally to our aid and send as much as they can afford.

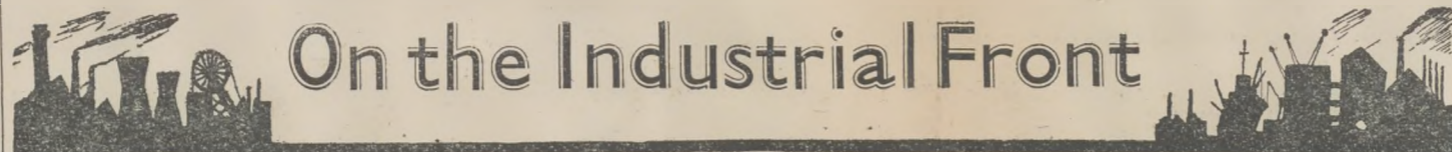
Don't leave it to the few—it's your responsibility too. Hand a donation to the "Socialist Appeal" seller or send it by post to:

A. ROSS,  
256, Harrow Road,  
London, W.2.

**BENEFITS OF COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT**

Lever Bros. and Unilever have announced a profit of £22,732,459 for 1947. This is more than £5,000,000 above the profits for 1946.

This explains the attention which the British Government and capitalists are giving to the development of Africa. A great part of the profits of Lever Bros. comes from the exploitation of the Negroes in the African colonies. They promise to become an even more lucrative field of investment with the Colonial Development Schemes. If the native populations prove ungrateful and rebel against the "benefits," they will get the appropriate answer, as shown by events in Malaya and the Gold Coast. Lever Bros. have exerted themselves mightily on behalf of the white man's burden... the trifle of £22,000,000 profits is purely incidental.



**WHY WORKERS LACK CONFIDENCE IN ARBITRATION MACHINERY**

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE IS BEING CIRCULATED BY THE EDMONTON BRANCH OF THE A.E.U. IT APPEARS THAT THE ARTICLE WAS ORIGINALLY WRITTEN FOR AND SUBMITTED TO THE EDITOR OF THE OFFICIAL A.E.U. JOURNAL BY A MEMBER OF THAT BRANCH. IT WAS REJECTED, MUCH TO THE DISGUST OF THE BRANCH.

BECAUSE of the importance of the question to which it draws attention, namely, the ineffectiveness of the existing negotiating machinery, and in view of the data here assembled, we are publishing the article.

**THE YORK MEMORANDUM AND "PROVISIONS FOR AVOIDING DISPUTES"**

We must regret that any year should pass without an examination of its industrial disputes—the open expression of the normally hidden antagonisms between worker and employer—and the means used towards their solution.

In attempting this here it is impossible to refer to every dispute occurring within recent times, for of these the majority have found a solution before attracting general attention. Of those that have developed beyond local level the majority have proceeded within the recognised channels of P.A.D. A substantial minority however, have chosen strike action towards a solution; of these we shall refer to but a few that held the interest and won active support from the rank and file membership.

Napiers, Cossors, Whitton James, Humbers, Nuffield, Lagonda, Wilkinson Sword Co., Ambrose Shardlow, Adrema, Lerners, E.N.V., Nucky Scott, are those which amongst many others contribute one common and vital factor to our examination. In each case considerable sections of the industry have completely by-passed the upper stages of "procedure" and taken the road of open strike struggle. This is so significant a factor that it demands a full understanding. Why, we must ask, has this apparatus of negotiation been contemptuously swept aside and ignored? All these workers will answer: we have learnt from past experience of the workings of this machinery and our strike is the result of a unanimous verdict of no confidence in the existing "Provisions for Avoiding Disputes."

**SOME FACTS — ONE OUT OF 70**

Is this verdict a deserved one? A brief glance through last year's Central Conference reports supplies the answer.

|                                  |    |
|----------------------------------|----|
| Referred back Locally            | 17 |
| Retained at C.C.                 | 15 |
| Failure to Agree                 | 29 |
| Suspended Sine Die               | 4  |
| Withdrawn                        | 2  |
| Decided directly against Workers | 4  |
| Decided in favour of Workers     | 1  |

Of some seventy references, it will be seen that only one was decided directly in the workers' interest—and this but an issue involving withholding of payment during an outside electrical breakdown. On all major questions involving victimization

(especially following the Fuel Crisis), dismissals of Shop Stewards, etc.—not one was settled at these conferences in the Union's favour.

**SYSTEM IS SUSPECT**

A procedure that permits the Employer to make arbitrary decisions under a cloak of "managerial functions" as to personnel and working conditions (excepting within certain specified limits), and then allows of negotiations after the event by a system of conferences that can be protracted month after month by "reference back," etc. is justly held suspect by workers when faced with an issue that demands immediate solution.

This is not only recognised by the rank and file, but Divisional Organisers, members of D.C.s and E.C.s who have repeatedly made reference to the necessity of replacing this out-moded procedure by one more in keeping with the demands of today.

A realization that delay means failure and permits of still further inroads into a Shop Organisation, whilst the original issue is being debated by persons unacquainted with the local details and feelings, forces the workers into a position of breaking Union discipline in calling for strike action.

It needs but a reference to the history of the "York Memo" and "P.A.D." to understand the real nature of this procedure. These agreements

were forced upon us at a time of an employers' offensive against a weakened union. In point of fact, the original title "Terms of Settlement" gives a far truer appraisal of these clauses than the more disarming one of "Terms of Agreement." A statement by a past President of our Union, Bro. J. T. Brownlie, correctly characterises these or any other enforced terms.

**"ONE DAY WE WILL BE POWERFUL ..."**

"I have sufficient experience of these negotiations to teach me this, amongst other things; that notwithstanding the justice or efficacy of our case, notwithstanding the eloquence in which we state our case, or the cogency of our arguments, a decision does not rest on the power of the speech of those who address you on the question... It is a matter of power, and if power rested with us we would probably not put up three speakers. We would probably give you to understand in very trite, terse and definite terms what our demand was and we should expect that it would be observed and conceded. However, we are not as powerful as we hope to be; one day we will be powerful and we will control matters in a manner that will be beneficial not only to those who are engaged directly in the industry but will be beneficial to all members of the community."

("The Story of the Engineers," by James B. Jeffreys, Page 237).

**THE KEY**

In this quotation may be found the key to all agreements—the relative power of the opposing classes—the workers on the one hand and the employers on the other. Today, with tables turned, the position is the one of which J. Y. Brownlie spoke—"one day we will be powerful and control matters... we would probably give you to understand... what our demand was and expect that it would be conceded."

Consequently, today, whilst conscious of our present power—a power fully recognised by the employers and emphasised by the election of a Labour Government—our terms must be such not only to reach out for local control but also to form the lever by which the complete socialisation of industry can be realised.

**BASIS FOR ANY AGREEMENT**

The bases of this new agreement must be around the maintenance of the status quo whilst any issue is under dispute. That no change can be put into effect until after procedure has been gone through. To concretise this into agreement form we suggest the following three basic clauses:

- (1) That no dismissals, engagements or alterations in working conditions shall take place without the sanction of the Shop Stewards Committee.
- (2) That whilst any issue is under dispute the Status Quo shall operate.
- (3) That the Shop Steward directly concerned shall be present at all levels of negotiation.

**NET PROFITS HAVE RISEN 25% INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR**

The "Economist" recently reported in its Records and Statistics Section (17.7.48), that the net profits (the profits available for dividends), of some 884 companies for the second quarter of 1948 had risen, in the aggregate, from £89,396,000 in the comparative period of 1947, to £113,996,000. This is an increase of almost 25 per cent.

Quick to follow the lead of the Government's wage-freeze policy, the employers plead that wage increases are "inadvisable" and "inopportune" at the present time. But there is no restriction placed on the increased dividends being reaped by them.

The table below gives the reported net profits for the second quarter of 1947 and 1948 of 884 various industrial groups.

| Group                       | No. of Companies | Preceding Year (£000's) | Latest Year (£000's) |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Breweries                   | 24               | 2,418                   | 2,847                |
| Building Materials          | 28               | 1,965                   | 2,356                |
| Coal                        | 18               | 2,518                   | 1,282                |
| Canals and Docks            | 3                | 123                     | 217                  |
| Electrical Manufacturing    | 18               | 2,944                   | 3,429                |
| Engineering                 | 56               | 2,380                   | 2,709                |
| Financial, Land, etc.       | 59               | 2,345                   | 2,706                |
| Entertainments              | 10               | 958                     | 928                  |
| Food                        | 33               | 3,164                   | 3,336                |
| Gas                         | 4                | 243                     | 229                  |
| Hotels, Restaurants         | 12               | 910                     | 899                  |
| Iron and Steel              | 28               | 6,558                   | 7,989                |
| Motors, Cycles and Aircraft | 21               | 3,818                   | 4,285                |
| Newspapers, Printing, etc.  | 30               | 4,871                   | 6,156                |
| Oil                         | 8                | 15,657                  | 27,026               |
| Rubber                      | 135              | 176                     | 681                  |
| Shipbuilding                | 3                | 1,333                   | 1,257                |
| Shipping                    | 18               | 3,005                   | 5,725                |
| Shops and Stores            | 42               | 4,322                   | 4,478                |
| Tea                         | 53               | 1,575                   | 1,878                |
| Telegraph and Telephone     | 1                | 107                     | 127                  |
| Textiles                    | 36               | 2,195                   | 2,599                |
| Tobacco                     | 6                | 1,407                   | 1,427                |
| Tramways and Omnibus        | 10               | 1,531                   | 2,679                |
| Trusts                      | 75               | 3,899                   | 4,078                |
| Warehousing                 | 4                | 253                     | 268                  |
| Waterworks                  | 1                | 120                     | 101                  |
| Other Companies             | 168              | 18,600                  | 22,307               |
| <b>Totals</b>               | <b>884</b>       | <b>89,396</b>           | <b>113,996</b>       |

Instead of relying on the "voluntary" promises of the employers to limit their profits, the workers in industry must press the Labour Government to ensure that improved wages and conditions are the first charge upon the surplus product of industry. Only a militant struggle will impress upon the Labour leaders the need to curtail profits instead of wages.

**NATIONAL INSURANCE ITS BENEFITS AND ITS WEAKNESSES**

By J. HINCHCLIFF

THE NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT IS NOW IN OPERATION. DESPITE THE THREATENED SABOTAGE BY REACTIONARY SECTIONS OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION, THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT HAS SUCCEEDED IN INTRODUCING ONE OF ITS MOST PROGRESSIVE PIECES OF LEGISLATION.

For the first time we have an all-embracing social security scheme which eliminates many of the smaller worries which beset working class families.

The inclusion of wives and children into the benefits of the scheme relieves many families from the endless worries of the hateful "doctor's bills." To know that the whole family is covered for all medical, dental and optical treatment is worth a great deal to the harassed worker who has quite enough to worry about as it is. If the far-reaching plans for the development of the hospital services becomes a reality, we will enjoy an unequalled service for the maintenance of our general health.

**Capitalism Dictates Starvation Allowances**

The way in which the Labour Government IS COMPELLED to starve the workers in this way, exposes the basic illusion of its most ardent believers for if you operate within the limits of capitalism you must obey its jungle laws! Irrespective of what we may LIKE to think, because we are still living in a profit-and-loss society it is not possible to give any sort of full maintenance.

The capitalists must ensure that when the worker is unemployed or sick, that he is given sufficiently little as to exert constant pressure to drive the wages of the employed workers down.

"Ah," our friends may argue, "haven't you forgotten that we have full employment now? Gone are the long periods on the dole—there is no need to pay such sums as £5-£6 a week which would be necessary for full maintenance." Even assuming that mass unemployment is a thing of the past (and we don't) such an argument makes full maintenance all the easier, since the available funds are correspondingly larger. Indeed, the Labour Government has so much "faith" in its full employment policy that we are now paying on the basis of there being over a million out of work. What is wrong with utilising these surplus funds?

In reality the Social Security legislation redistributes the income of the working class without touching the rich at all. To talk of the fact that the rich pay weekly contributions as well as the poor is so much hypocrisy. 4/11 or 6/2 per week to the wealthy is mere chicken feed. To the worker it is a lot of money. Similarly, to justify the payment by the workers of 50% of the cost of Workmen's Compensation on the grounds that "all must pay their share" is downright deception. It is the capitalist who exploits the worker, NOT the other way round. It is the capitalist who is responsible and who gets all the profits, NOT the workers.

**It Is Good, But ...**

Whilst granting the Labour leaders credit for such progressive legislation (which the Tories would never have introduced), we must not blind ourselves to some of its basic shortcomings. For, quite apart from the section which gives us such excellent health services, there is the all-important section which grants unemployment and sickness benefits.

It is here, strangely enough, that we see some startling weaknesses. To put it bluntly, the benefits are worse than the pre-war Tory allowances!

**Can You Live On 1/10d. A Day?**

Before the last war under a Tory Government, a single unemployed worker received 18/- a week. In terms of present day buying standards, the sum is worth at least 30/-. Under the new scheme, he will receive only 26/- a week. Before the war Workmen's Compensation was considered an employer's liability and the worker made no contribution. Under the present scheme, the employers are saved £11 million a year. The workers now pay, for the first time, nearly 50% of the total charge.

A man and wife will receive 42/- a week or 3/- per day per person. A man, wife and one child will receive 49/6, or 2/4 per person per day. If you are married with three children, this works out to even less, to 1/10d. per person per day.

**For Full Maintenance**

In a Socialist PLANNED economy, in which the material resources of the country would be fully utilised; and in which the workers would have adequate and democratic control, the spectre of unemployment would permanently disappear and possibility of full maintenance for all sick, disabled or temporarily unemployed workers would become a reality. As it is, the results of a policy which merely tinkers with capitalism; which leaves the control in the hands of the capitalists, must inevitably give us capitalist legislation with all its evils.

In the pre-war Labour Party programme was written the demand for work or full maintenance, and a maintenance grant of £3 a week minimum. Today that is worth at least £4 10s. and it is the duty of the Labour movement to insist that its leaders fulfil that pledge.

**EDWARDS DEFENDS CAPITALISM**

NEWCASTLE.—

In August Alfred Edwards, M.P., came to speak against Steel Nationalisation. He professes to be a Socialist, but his speech was a defence of capitalism, and was applauded as such by a predominantly Tory audience.

**No L.P. Opposition**

Although his theme was a defence of the ideas for which he was expelled from the Labour Party, and an attack on the Government's schemes of nationalisation, no leading member of the local Labour Party rose to oppose him. Perhaps they knew it would be difficult, for along with his pro-capitalist arguments, he made some shrewd criticisms of the Labour leaders' inconsistencies.

**Boss Would Draw Compensation**

For instance, he dealt with the belief, widespread among the workers, that nationalisation would mean that wages, not profits, would be the first charge on industry. A year or so, he said. Under private enterprise, depression meant that workers were paid off, and profits fell; under the present nationalisation schemes workers would still be paid off in a depression but the former owners would draw their dividends unchanged, in the form of interest on Government bonds

paid to them by way of compensation.

**Reduce Compensation!**

During question time, Comrade David James, of the R.C.P., pointed out that depression, when it came, would be due to that system of private enterprise which Edwards had been praising, and which had made pre-war Tyneside a derelict area. The present nationalisation policy was one of State Capitalism, but the conclusion was that nationalisation should be extended, and that compensation should be drastically reduced or eliminated altogether. Only in that way would the threat of depression be removed.

**"A Matter Of Opinion"**

Edwards' reply was that this was a Communist policy and was logical enough, but greatly undesirable, and that it was a matter of opinion whether capitalism caused depression. The Tories cheered enthusiastically. No-one else rose to defend Communism—the Stalinist leaders were also absent—and the other opposition, mainly from rank-and-file Labour Party members, concentrated on the subject of profits. A renegade Labour M.P., particularly one of Edwards' ability, brings more aid and comfort to the Tories than an open Tory. For this reason, Socialists have the duty to expose his arguments whenever he appears. As this meeting showed, only the Revolutionary Communist programme presents a logical alternative.



- "Behind the TITO-STALIN CONFLICT. Trotskyist Analysis." by E. Grant & J. Haston ... 3d.
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*Meeting*

**THE REAL SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA**

Speakers:

W. HUNTER

W. AINSWORTH

I.L.P. Room,

38, John Bright Street,

BIRMINGHAM.

SUN. SEPT. 19th. 7 p.m.

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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## Editorial

### COAL POLICY

The Coal Board's announcement of the loss of £23 millions in the 1947 balance sheet was, of course, utilised by the Tories to discredit the nationalisation of the industry.

Naturally, they did not draw attention to the fact that of this loss, £15 millions consisted of interest paid to the ex-owners of collieries and royalties. And that compensation is being paid for pits now declared to be useless. They did not point out that distribution which remains in the private hands of some 25,000 merchants, also reaped a huge profit from the industry.

Can the Tories deny that the industry was in a hopeless mess before it was nationalised? That private enterprise preferred to ruin the industry rather than introduce modernisation because it would have affected their profits?

The Tories jubilantly declared that coal is being subsidised because of this loss. But they failed to show that many of Britain's industries—privately owned at that—are also being subsidised. For example, the much-lauded steel industry receives a subsidy of £22 millions a year from public funds.

In an effort to shift the responsibility for the loss, the Coal Board and the Union Executive link together the concessions that have been granted to the miners with the trading loss. They give the impression that the Coal Board is something of a miners' benevolent society.

The essence of the matter is that the miners were in a favourable position to gain concessions because of the shortage of labour in the pits and the tremendous demand for coal in the present economic upswing. The pressure of the miners forced the Government to make concessions, not the benevolence of the Coal Board. Even now, no one with any real knowledge of the industry would venture to assert that the miners are overpaid. Despite the propaganda posters, surface workers receive £5 per week, and thousands of underground workers receive no more than £5 15s.. Mining remains one of the hardest jobs and certainly the most dangerous.

With the capitalist press in full cry, Lawther and Horner join in with the Coal Board to demand extra labour from the miners, and an end to "unofficial" strike action.

It should be elementary to "socialists" and "Communists" such as Lawther and Horner, that any real improvement in output which will not undermine the conditions of the miners, can only be achieved by intensive mechanisation. Yet the total capital expenditure on modernisation was little more than the interest paid to the ex-owners—£19 million.

### FOR WORKERS' CONTROL

While responsibility is laid at the door of the miners, they are denied responsibility for the running of the industry. The Coal Board is run by capitalist representatives on strict capitalist lines. Those "labour representatives" on the national and district boards, have severed all connections with the union and have given responsibility for labour and welfare questions. There is not even a formal connection between the so-called "workers" representatives and the miners.

If the industry is to be run for the benefit of the miners and the working class, it must cease to be operated as a state capitalist enterprise. It must be run on socialist lines. As a first step the management must be in the hands of workers' representatives from the Trade Union, under the control of the miners. A plan of production for the mines must be democratically discussed throughout the industry. The technical experts and the miners together can by this means plan the production of the industry in the interests of the miners and the community as a whole. Instead of contemptuously dismissing the constructive opinions and ideas of the miners as was glaringly revealed in the case of the Waleswood men's alternative plan of production, a really democratic discussion and collective effort can come to fruition.

In such a socialist plan, there would be no room for excessive compensation, for uncontrolled bureaucracy, or for the pits to be run in the interests of private enterprise and the capitalist class.

So long as the greater part of Britain's industry remains in private hands, the nationalised sectors will continue to be run for their benefit. There can be no half-way house of nationalisation: either it must be a step towards total nationalisation and complete control by the working class and its representatives working on a socialist plan of production, or the state capitalist measures will end in disaster and discredit for the labour movement. Intensive effort on the part of the miners will in the long run, under the present capitalist system, produce unemployment in the pits and in other industries when the present economic boom comes to an end and the new cycle of capitalist economic activity reaches depression once again.

### U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS:

## LABOUR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY

### TROTSKYIST CANDIDATES CALL FOR A BREAK WITH CAPITALIST PARTIES

THE AMERICAN TROTSKYISTS ARE PUTTING UP TWO CANDIDATES IN THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. COMRADE FARRELL DOBBS IS STANDING AS CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT AND COMRADE CRACE CARLSON FOR VICE-PRESIDENT. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY HAS CONTESTED THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, AND THEIR CAMPAIGN MARKS A BIG STEP FORWARD IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Socialist Workers Party is waging a vigorous campaign throughout the United States, holding meetings in all the principal cities, collecting signatures, and addressing the American working class through a series of national radio broadcasts. One broadcast was delivered from the National Convention of the Party. We produce here a radio speech by presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs, in which he outlines the Trotskyists' main programmatic demands for a Labour Party and a Workers' and Farmers' Government. Tremendous interest has been created by these broadcasts, and the Party is receiving shoals of letters asking for more details of its programme and new branches of the Party are being formed.

### FARRELL DOBBS' RADIO SPEECH

Working people of America! In recent years it has become more and more difficult to tell a Democratic politician from a Republican. Together they have knifed every proposal for social legislation—from anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills to minimum wage raises and housing appropriations. The Republicans and Democrats teamed up to pass the Taft-Hartley Act, and they are now devising even more deadly weapons to be used against the unions after the elections.

Now, for a few months before the elections, these twin servants of monopoly capitalism are staging their customary quarrel over the political swag at Washington.

Truman charges: "This Congress is the worst we've had since the first one met."

Halleck, the Republican leader of the House, snaps back: "There are a lot of people who think Mr. Truman is the poorest President we have had."

Both politicians are telling the truth. Many millions are agreed that both the Democrats and Republicans ought to be thrown out of office. People are turning away in revulsion from these discredited parties and are looking for a new party.

More than that. The working people of this country are looking for a new kind of party. They want a party they can control and call their own; a party that will advance the cause of the workers, and not deceive and degrade labour for the benefit of the profiteers.

#### Labour Party Would Get Response

Never were conditions more favourable for the launching of a national Labour Party. This party would command immediate response from 15 million unionists and their families who represent the mightiest organized force in this country. It would arouse the hopes of unorganized workers who stand to gain from every advance by the unions. The Labour Party could count on firm support from the Negro people who already regard the C.I.O. as their main ally in the fight against discrimination. The nation's youth who are being groomed for another imperialist slaughter and the working farmers, who are disillusioned with the capitalist

parties, would rally to the Labour Party. An independent party launched by the unions will challenge and displace both the Democrats and Republicans and will become the foremost party in the land. In office this party of labour will legislate and act for the people, not for a few plutocrats. It will pursue a policy of genuine aid and friendship toward the workers and colonial

#### R.C.P. STATEMENT TO "DAILY WORKER" PEACE CONFERENCE

The "Daily Worker" has declared that it hopes this Conference will serve as a "starting point for a Great Campaign around which, irrespective of political differences on other issues, millions of people will gather. In the "Daily Worker" of June 17th, Major Tufton Beamish, right-wing Tory M.P., was publicised as one of the speakers. Yet, despite the fact that Liberals and Tories can gain admission, and the "Daily Worker" calls on "Conservatives, Liberals, Socialists, Communists, or Seventh Day Adventists" to unite for peace, the Revolutionary Communist Party, a working class organisation, has been refused credentials.

The excuse given by the Conference Secretary, when he finally replied to our application after receiving two registered letters, was that: "the Editorial Board have advised me that they do not consider you to be an organisation interested in peace, and therefore we do not propose to send you delegates' credentials." Signed: W. Day.

The R.C.P. has a consistent record of struggle against capitalism and imperialist war. The R.C.P. fought against the last imperialist war when the organisers of this Conference were supporting it, and giving Churchill, De Gaulle and Roosevelt uncritical support.

The delegates to this Conference may disagree in whole, or in part with the policy of Trotskyism. But they cannot but concede that our policy is entitled to be heard at any anti-war conference. We appeal to those delegates who are interested in democratic discussion, to protest from the floor at the bureaucratic exclusion of the Revolutionary Communist Party. We appeal to the delegates to demand from the Editorial Board a degree of that democracy which they so readily demand in other working class organisations.

POLITICAL BUREAU



FARRELL DOBBS

peoples in the rest of the world, instead of menacing them with atom bombs.

The Socialist Workers Party would support such a party launched by the unions. We would advocate that our programme be made the programme of the Labour Party.

However, the top union officials have blocked this path for 1948. These pigmies in politics cling desperately to the corrupt two-party system, hoping by some miracle to find a candidate they can palm off on the workers as a "friend of labour."

The failure of the union officials to launch a Labour Party has enabled Henry Wallace to come forward as a self-styled champion of labour in this presidential campaign. Many who are fed up with the two old-line parties are inclined to believe, or at least to hope, that the Wallace party will satisfy their demands.

Wallace—who for the last 15 years has played the game of capitalist politics—now sets himself up as a new political Messiah. Let us review his record, and then examine his programme, to see whether his new party deserves support.

As Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace, who to-day promises abundance, was responsible for destroying pigs and ploughing under cotton while millions of his countrymen went hungry and ill-clad.

As vice-president this "crusader for peace" peddled the imperialist lie that American participation in the Second World War would make "The Four Freedoms" prevail and establish "The Century of the Common Man." Now Wallace himself admits that the billions and brass hats are using the military victory to undermine the freedom of the people.

As Secretary of Commerce, he gave silent consent to Truman's strike-breaking actions against the miners and railroad workers.

Wallace parades as a champion of the Negro people. What struggle for Negro rights did he lead while in high office? Wallace didn't even dare oppose Jim Crow practices in the Commerce Department in Washington, which he was supposed to be running.

Wallace pretends to be leading a fight against war. He seeks to mislead the people with

the fiction that the United Nations can protect the peace.

#### United Nations A Fraud

The United Nations can no more be relied upon to prevent war than the dead and buried League of Nations it has replaced. The United Nations is not an agency for peace. It is a front organization for American imperialism. Its function is to furnish the diplomatic ballj-hoo for a third world war.

Wallace knows that. So do the Communist Party traitors to the working class, who support this Wallace swindle.

The truth is that the fight for peace is inseparable from the fight against the capitalist system, which needs and breeds war for profit. Peace can be achieved only by rallying the people of this country in a struggle against the ruling capitalists to take the powers of life and death out of their hands.

Wallace cannot lead the American people in a genuine anti-war struggle, because he is committed body and soul to the preservation of the capitalist system. He has already served notice in the press that, once war is declared he will climb on the military bandwagon. He's not an anti-war fighter to the last ditch—but only until the first shot is fired!

This third party bossed by millionaire Wallace, who declares that he is "the best friend capitalism has in the United States to-day," is surely not the kind of party American labour wants. The workers need a party of their own, a party they can trust to protect their welfare without compromise or betrayal.

I am confident that the working people will find the Socialist Workers Party to be the kind of party they are seeking. The Socialist Workers Party is as different from the capitalist parties as day is from night.

Our members are almost all workers, housewives and young people. We welcome men and women of all colours and nationalities into our ranks on an equal basis.

You will meet members of the Socialist Workers Party wherever the going is tough, wherever extra energy and devotion are needed to defend labour against the employers.

Our finances come from the working people in nickels, dimes and dollars. No bankers or corporation paymasters give us funds the way they finance the Republicans and Democrats.

Our aims are the most realistic and at the same time the most noble a working-class party can have.

That is why I have proudly accepted the Socialist Workers Party nomination for the presidency.

#### Workers and Farmers Government

The Socialist Workers Party is irreconcilably opposed to the war plans of American monopoly capitalism and its political stooges in Washington. Its candidates are pledged to oppose every militarist move, from the peacetime draft to the Marshall Plan, and to fight every measure aimed against the civil rights of the American people. The Marshall Plan and the Taft-Hartley Act are but two sides of the same capitalist coin. The Marshall Plan is intended to finance police regimes for the suppression of labour abroad just as the Taft-Hartley Act is used to break strikes here in America.

So long as capitalism endures, hunger, police violence and war will ravage the world.

To guarantee enduring peace and clear the road for a new era to progress, we summon every working man and woman to support the programme of the Socialist Workers Party. It is a programme of struggle for a Workers and Farmers Government. It is a programme to end the oppressive system of capitalist misrule.

The Workers and Farmers Government will abolish the ruinous power of the greedy profiteers over the lives and welfare of the American people. It alone will reorganise industry and agriculture into a planned economy which will guarantee abundance, freedom and security to all.

War and poverty, fear and race hatred will then disappear, and like cannibalism and slavery become relics of a barbarous past.

Working men and women of America!

The fate of civilization depends on the working class. Take the road of independent political action to establish a Workers and Farmers Government.

You can set out on that road in the 1948 elections by casting your vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

Join with the Socialist Workers Party in its unceasing struggle to build a society in which life on this earth will be a thing of beauty and a thing of joy.

## THE KOSENKINA CASE

### STALINIST SECRET POLICE METHODS EXPOSED

The Kosenkina affair has created a sensation in America. According to some observers it has had a more devastating effect on the attitude of the mass of the population towards Russia than even the Czech coup or the Berlin affair. The "Daily Worker" complains that the capitalist press is utilising the affair to whip up hatred against the Soviet Union. True enough. But the activities of the Russian Secret Police and the representatives in the Consul unfortunately provide them with plenty of ammunition for whipping up feeling against Russia.

The facts of the case are that Mrs. Kosenkina and another Russian teacher named Samarin were recalled to Russia and afraid to return. They apparently got in touch with a White Guard organisation of which Tolstoy's daughter is a leading member.

According to Countess Tolstoy, Mrs. Kosenkina fled to her farm because she feared she would be shot if she returned to Russia. Mrs. Kosenkina showed her a statement addressed to the Soviet Consul which read: "I do not want to go back to my country which you call 'Soviet paradise' and which I call 'gaol'."

Mrs. Kosenkina was "rescued" by Lomakin, Russian Consul General, who refused to accept a writ of habeas corpus from the American Supreme Court. It was when she heard this news on the wireless that Mrs. Kosenkina made her desperate leap for freedom.

#### Russian Consul Fears Exposure

The fact that the Russians had something to hide was shown by the refusal of Lomakin to allow a subpoena to be served on her, or himself to appear at the Supreme Court. To cover the traces of forcible abductions by the Russian Secret Police, the M.V.D. (formerly G.P.U.) in foreign countries, the Russian Ambassador made fantastic allegations that Mrs. Kosenkina and another teacher Samarin and his wife and children had been kidnapped by the American Government and the White

Guards. If there was any truth in the matter they could have recourse to the American courts and could have exposed the whole situation there. Their failure to ventilate the whole matter through the American courts indicates their fear of exposure of the methods of the M.V.D. in foreign countries which is only a reflection of the terror which exists in Russia under Stalin.

#### Samarin Testifies Before Committee

The other Russian teacher Samarin had also contacted the White Guard organisation and refused to return to the Embassy or to Russia. Testifying before the notorious Red-baiting "House of Representatives" un-American Activities Committee on August 14th, he publicly de-

nied the allegation of the Russian Embassy that he had been "kidnapped" by the White Guard organisation. He stated he wished to renounce Russian citizenship. If he returned to Russia he would be undoubtedly shot or imprisoned in one of Stalin's concentration camps.

These Russian teachers, disillusioned in Russia, have turned to the White Guards and are willing to testify before the reactionary un-American Activities Committee. That is the result of the activities of the M.V.D. and the education gained under the Stalin regime.

#### The Girl In Sweden

A similar case has received publicity in Sweden, the case of a young Russian girl on whom the Russians are exerting pres-

(Continued on page 4)

# MALAN MOVES AGAINST AFRICANS

The real interests which Malan and the Nationalist Party in South Africa represent in their anti-black campaign are indicated by the contemptible attack on the unemployed African and non-European workers.

## Unemployment Benefits Reduced

The Minister of Labour, Mr. B. Schoeman, has issued instructions that the number of African and Indian workers receiving unemployment benefit must be drastically reduced. This, despite the fact that contributions have been paid by these workers while in employment.

Unemployed workers are offered work at greatly reduced rates, and struck off if they refuse. Alternately, they are offered work on farms or in mines at starvation wages in the case of Africans, and on sugar plantations at low wages in the case of Indians.

## Malan's "White Supremacy"

In this can be seen the real meaning of "White Civilisation" and "White Supremacy." It is a cover to procure cheap

labour for the landowners, mining magnates and industrialists. Malan expresses this policy in a more naked and cruder form than the "liberal" Smuts. Fundamentally there is no real difference.

## Even Indirect Representation To Go

In addition, the Cape Province, where some "liberal" rights operate, is to be brought into line with the rest of South Africa where the non-Europeans have no democratic rights at all. The four indirect (white) representatives in the Assembly and the Senate representing eight million non-Europeans and Indians, are to be abolished.

## No "Mixing" With Whites

The few natives and coloured people who have been allowed to attend universities will now be prevented from "mixing" with the white race.

Not only will Africans be prohibited from living in white areas, but whites will not be allowed to live in African areas without special permission.

Africans will not be allowed to travel in the same buses or trains as Europeans.

And this shameful barbarism takes place in one of Britain's Dominions without protest.

# KOSENKINA CASE

(Continued from page 3)

sure to return against her wishes. Threats have been made indicating the possibility of forcible abduction.

## History of Abductions

These are merely incidents in a long and terrible history of abductions, murder, and frame up by the Russian Secret Police, feared by every Russian inside and outside of Russia. When Krivitsky mysteriously died after having broken with Stalinism, the American press remained indifferent even though Krivitsky made a public declaration that if he was found dead, he would have been murdered by the Russian secret police. Only because of the international conflicts are these activities of the Stalinists being featured by the American imperialists.

The Stalinist bureaucracy insists on complete totalitarian control and tolerates not the smallest opposition, whether it be revolutionary or from the right.

Therein lies the reason for the drive against Tito. Therein lies the reason also for the infamous Moscow Trials in which the cream of the Russian revolutionary movement was obliterated. That is the reason why Ignace Reiss was murdered in Switzerland when he broke from the G.P.U. That is why seven secretaries of Leon Trotsky were assassinated, and after 18 attempts on the life of Trotsky, he was finally assassinated by Stalin's agent Frank Jackson. Budenz, former editor of the American "Daily Worker" has revealed how the American Communist Party leadership helped to prepare these numerous attempts on the life of Trotsky, and exposed the connection between the assassin and Stalinism. No less than 27 members of the Mexican Communist Party were implicated in the attempts on the life of Trotsky.

## Citizens Cannot See Outside World

And stemming from the same basic source: the regime of terror and the fear of its citizens seeing the outside world, the Russians have barred marriages between any Russian subject and foreigners. Pressure is being exerted on the Russian wives of British men to divorce their husbands. One has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for allegedly bribing an official to extend her permit to remain in Moscow rather than be deported back to Archangel.

Why does the bureaucracy fear even individual contact of

Russians with the outside world unless they can exercise direct control over their actions? They fear the contrast between the terror regime in Russia with even the capitalist democracies, with all their shortcomings and defects. The comparison from the point of view of free speech, the right to strike, and living conditions is so unfavourable to the Stalinist regime that they dare not permit even individual rumours to penetrate the Stalinist edifice built on deception.

## Could Not Happen In True Democracy

These things could not happen in a democratic regime. They could not even take place in a civilised capitalist democracy. They would be unthinkable in a healthy workers' state, where the workers exerted democratic control. No amount of bluster



BUILDING THE YOUTH RAILWAY WHEN TITO WAS A "GREAT DEMOCRAT."—Stalinist parties throughout the world organised youth volunteers to build this railway as a practical demonstration of support for Tito's model "New Democracy." Stalinist youth caught in Yugoslavia during the Cominform-Tito crisis have returned to their respective countries bewildered at the sudden change.

# PROGRAMME 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.

# MALAYA:

(Continued from page 1)

little damage had been done to the tin mines and rubber plantations. The old game of exploitation could be resumed with the least possible delay.

Only one thing stood in the way—the development of the national and class consciousness of the workers and peasants. They had fought for freedom, not for a return to colonial slavery. The Malayan people took up the struggle once again—this time to drive imperialism from their land once and for all. To this the Labour Government replies with machine gun and bomb.

Malaya gives the lie to the propaganda that the Labour Government has put an end to the old imperialism. If it has re-

treated from India, Burma and Palestine, it is only because the struggle for national independence in those countries was so powerful that Britain could no longer hold on to the old position. In Malaya they hope desperately to prove strong enough to impose British rule on a people who do not want it. This monstrous imperialist plan can be defeated and will be defeated, if the organised Labour Movement of Britain give their full support to the fighting workers and peasants of Malaya.

Demand the restoration of the democratic rights and the lifting of the ban on the Communist Party.

Hands off Malaya! Bring the troops home! Not a penny, not a man for Britain's latest Colonial War!

# STALIN MOVES TO OUST TITO

(Continued from page 1)

The purges of Stalin numbered hundreds of thousands.

## "DAILY WORKER" DESCRIPTION

The "DAILY WORKER" of August 20th wrote:

"... it has been recognised that General Yovanovitch was, and other leading officers of the Yugoslav Army are, in opposition to the Tito regime and that the dictatorial clique ruling the country is now resorting to the physical liquidation as well as the oppression of its opponents."

"The stage-managed conference of the Yugoslav Communist Party reached unanimous decisions and resolutions of support were said to be pouring in from party organisations throughout the country."

"... First, the civilian masses have little opportunity of developing their criticisms as all opposition is met with repressive measures."

"A further sign of the widening opposition is the removal of members of governments..."

"The Yugoslav people have no wish to be governed by a Napoleon or to fall victim to adventurous economic policies..."

## SILENT ON RUSSIA

With a change of word perhaps, in essence the picture here described is identical to that in Russia, right down to the description of Stalin fulfilling the role of Napoleon as leader of the counter-revolution. But, the "Daily Worker" raised no voice of protest against the physical liquidation of the Old Bolsheviks, against the extermination of whole governments, and against the "unanimity" of all conferences and decisions in Russia. To this day it has not issued one word of protest at the fact that the Russian Communist Party

has not convened a Conference for ten years.

## NATURE OF STALINISM

The Russian Stalinists by their very nature cannot but insist on unconditional submission to their dictates. That is the real cause of the conflict. It cannot be found either in the nature of the Tito regime, nor in the economic criticisms which the Cominform has made. Whatever criticisms have been made of the Tito regime by the Cominform apply equally to the other countries of Eastern Europe.

## RIGHT OF SELF DETERMINATION

But from the standpoint of national freedom and the right of nations to self determination as understood in the Marxist movement, the Yugoslavs have the right to resist the encroachments of the Great Russian bureaucracy in the control of the state apparatus. The course of events in this struggle demonstrates in itself the degeneration of the Stalinist regime.

## LENIN ATTACKED STALIN

This anti-communist attitude on the national question was already marked in the early stages of Stalin's bureaucratisation of the Russian Bolshevik Party. Lenin was already conducting a struggle against Stalin on this question in the months before his death. Attacking Stalin's administrative high-handedness and spite against the alleged nationalism of the Georgians and others, Lenin wrote in letters addressed to the Political Bureau of the Bolshevik Party at the end of September 1922: "Spite in general usually plays

the worst possible role in politics."

Stalin's struggle against the perfectly justified, even if exaggerated, demands of the nations formerly oppressed, Lenin indicted as a manifestation of Great Russian bureaucraticism: "It is necessary, of course, to hold Stalin and Dzherzhinsky politically responsible for this whole downright Great Russian nationalistic campaign."

## JUST OUT!

## "BEHIND THE STALIN-TITO CLASH"

### TROTSKYIST ANALYSIS

By TED GRANT and JOCK HASTON

PRICE 3d.

FOR DOCUMENTS FROM YUGOSLAVIA

Read Workers' International News

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In a letter to Trotsky dated March 5th 1923, dealing with the same question, Lenin wrote: "Esteemed Comrade Trotsky: I urgently request you to take upon yourself the defence of the Georgian affair (the rights of the Georgian national Republic) at the Central Committee of the party. The thing is at present under prosecution at the hands of Stalin and Dzherzhinsky, and I cannot rely upon their impartiality. Indeed, quite the opposite. If you would agree to take upon yourself its defence, then I could be at rest..."

## PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNISM

The Leninist attitude on the national question has nothing in common with Stalin's bureaucratic Great Russian chauvinism which we see reflected in the Yugoslav events. In the platform of the Bolshevik Party written in April 1917, Lenin laid down the principled attitude of Marxists towards the national question thus:

"As regards the national question, the proletarian party first of all must insist on the promulgation and immediate realisation of complete freedom of secession from Russia for all nations and peoples who were oppressed by

tsarism, or who were forcibly annexed to, or forcibly retained within, the boundaries of the state.

All statements, declarations and manifestoes concerning the renunciation of annexations which are not accompanied by the realisation of the right of secession are but bourgeois deceits practiced on the people, or else pious petty-bourgeois aspirations.

The proletarian party strives to create as large a state as possible, for that is to the advantage of the toilers; it strives to bring about CLOSER TIES between nations and the FURTHER FUSION of nations; but it desires to achieve this aim not by force, but by a free, fraternal union of the workers and toiling masses of all nations.

The more democratic the Russian republic is and the more successfully it organises itself into a Republic of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, the more powerful will be the force of VOLUNTARY attraction towards such a republic on the part of the toiling masses of ALL nations.

Complete freedom of secession, the broadest local (and national) autonomy, the detailed guarantees of the rights of national minorities—such is the programme of the revolutionary proletariat."

Nothing can be added to this. It remains the programme of genuine communists. Every communist and socialist worker will support the right of the masses of Yugoslavia to determine their own destiny without coercion, pressure, or military threats from Great Russian Stalinism.

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