



# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

**POLICE  
PROTECT  
FASCISTS**

See page 2

No. 59.

JUNE, 1948.

Price 2d.

## Six Wars Since World War II

### UNO Completely Ineffective

Six wars have taken place since the end of the second World War. In each and all of these, one thing stands out: The utter ineffectiveness of U.N.O. as a means of maintaining World Peace.

**GREECE:** The Anglo-American imperialists assisted the reactionary military police dictatorship in establishing itself against the wishes of the Greek workers and peasants. This led to an uprising of workers and peasants who fled to the mountains. The guerilla armies are being assisted by the Russians through its satellite powers, Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria. Greece is the last bastion of Anglo-American imperialism in the Balkans; without it the Dardanelles would be rendered virtually useless to any opponent of Russia.

**INDOCHINA:** The French imperialists are waging a colonial war of oppression against the attempts of the Indo-Chinese people to gain self-determination and the right to decide their own destiny.

**INDONESIA:** The "Liberal" Dutch imperialists are attempting to re-fasten the chains which they had riveted on the Indonesian masses before the war...The Indonesians are likewise courageously fighting for their freedom.

**CHINA:** The Chinese Red Army are waging a peasant war against the landlord-capitalist military dictatorship of Chiang Kai Shek. America is supplying Chiang with funds and equipment to carry on the war. The Russians are giving passive support to the Stalinist armies. The territory in which the fighting is taking place is among the most important from a strategic and economic point of view, in the Far East.

**KASHMIR:** India and Pakistan are fighting for the territory of Kashmir which adjoins the Soviet Union as well as China and Afghanistan.

**PALESTINE:** The war between Jews and Arabs is taking place in a decisive area for the Middle East and for the vast oil resources. Also important geographically in a war between East and West, Palestine has become the centre of intrigue and power politics between Anglo-American imperialism and Russia. Britain is backing the Arabs and America is backing the Jews. Neither is interested in the well-being of either people.

All these wars are the prologue to the coming drama of the conflict between the great powers in World War III.

The pattern is the same as that following the first World War, when a whole series of little wars broke out. The great powers manoeuvred and jockeyed for posi-

of the hand of friendship and solidarity to all the oppressed—whether they be in Germany or Asia, Africa or Eastern Europe. The establishment of a Socialist United States of Europe and the World can only be made a reality if the workers of all lands wage a class struggle against their own capitalists.

## MORRISON PREPARES RETREAT

### Capitalists Sigh With Relief

by JOCK HASTON



THE CAPITALIST PRESS REGARDED THE OUTCOME OF THE SCARBOROUGH LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE AS A SURE SIGN OF THE "GROWING MATURITY" OF THE LABOUR LEADERS, WHO WERE LOSING THEIR REMAINING SOCIALIST GOOSE-PIMPLES AND AS A RESULT OF THEIR EXPERIENCE IN OFFICE, WERE TURNING THEIR BACK ON MUCH OF THEIR PAST DOCTRINE.

Morrison's speech gave the signal for the retreat on further nationalisations and social legislation.

Despite this blunt declaration of retreat from the programme of the Labour Party, the Right wing leadership had no difficulty in dominating the Conference and retaining the votes of the overwhelming majority of the delegates.

### COLLAPSE OF THE "NENNI" WING

Preceding the Conference, it appeared that a first class row would break out over the expulsion of Platts-Mills and the strong action of the Executive on the Nenni telegram. But the leadership cut under the feet of the Left wing and the supporters of Platts-Mills, by expelling the Right-winger, Alfred Edwards the day before the Conference. After a brief debate, initiated by the Haldane Society, on the proposal that Platts-Mills be heard and which was defeated, the entire bloc utterly collapsed.

Since the "Nenni-goats" as they came to be referred to by the Right wing leaders, were the backbone of the opposition to the leadership, its general staff so to speak, their undignified capitulation took the heart out of their camp followers. This weighed heavily upon the Left wing throughout the rest of the Conference.

trolling boards of nationalised industries, the failure of the Government to really encourage and prepare the participation of the Trade Unions in these boards, the lack of democratic relations at factory and district levels, the failure of the Party to attract the youth—all these as well as foreign policy, were the subjects of a series of resolutions and several vigorous speeches from the floor.

Broadly, there was a strong feeling that the Government was not doing sufficient to curb profits and keep prices at a level consistent with the betterment of the conditions of the working class. This criticism of the Government is much more widespread in the ranks of the working class as a whole than was reflected at Conference. Unless something is done in the period of the next few years, the opposition on this score will grow to considerable volume.

### Right Wing Carry The Day

The Scarborough Conference was not one which could give gratification to Left wing socialists.

Morrison Calls For

## For Armed Forces 4s. 8d. in Every £

A recently published White paper, "Our Money, How We Get It And How We Spend It", shows that of the £3,500,000,000 the Government collects from the nation, the largest single item of expenditure goes to the unproductive cost of the Armed Forces.

No less than £693,000,000 is spent on this one item alone. This means that no less than 4s. 8d. out

of every £ of taxes collected is spent on the upkeep of the armed forces. Interest on the national debt accounts for £500,000,000 or more which is about 3s. 4d. in the £. Most of this is to pay for the past wars which the British capitalists have waged. Thus a crippling burden is imposed on the people to pay for wars past and future in the interests of monopoly capitalism.

In contrast, the important social services, Education, Housing and Health, accounts for only £562,000,000 or 3s. 10d. in the £. And, food subsidies, £400,000,000 or 2s. 8d. in the £.



and power politics between Anglo-American imperialism and Russia. Britain is backing the Arabs and America is backing the Jews. Neither is interested in the well-being of either people.

All these wars are the prologue to the coming drama of the conflict between the great powers in World War III.

The pattern is the same as that following the first World War, when a whole series of little wars broke out. The great powers manoeuvred and jockeyed for position against each other in the endeavour to secure advantageous strategic bases and fields of investment.

The League of Nations failed, as U.N.O. will fail. Even when the two small states of Bolivia and Paraguay fought over the "Green Hell" of the Gran Chaco, the League of Nations was ineffective, for behind these states stood the great imperialist powers.

### True Internationalism

If it is left to U.N.O., the Atom war will be upon us before long. The decisive differences between the powers, big and small, can only be settled by wars. Temporary agreements can only delay the final show-down, they cannot avert it. Only the international bonds of the working class can save mankind by the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a socialist system the world over. This means not pious phrasemongering about socialism and peace. It means the practicing of true internationalism the extension

of the hand of friendship and solidarity to all the oppressed—whether they be in Germany or Asia, Africa or Eastern Europe. The establishment of a Socialist United States of Europe and the World can only be made a reality if the workers of all lands wage a class struggle against their own capitalists.

## CAVE MEN of the Future

WASHINGTON. — American caves are now being surveyed for possible use in atomic warfare.

The American Speleological Society, with the blessing of the Joint Munitions Board, is conducting the survey, and hundreds of its members are now spending their spare time classifying caves for floor space, ceiling height, humidity and overhead cover.

According to the society, the United States has one of the finest natural defence systems in the world, and there is enough cave space to house every person in America.

—SAPA—REUTER.



**RUSSIAN OFFICERS SIT WHILE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS RISE IN HONOUR OF THOSE WHO DIED FOR THEIR PARTY.**

The Annual General Meeting of the Social Democratic Party in Berlin was attended by three Russian Lieutenants. When the gathering rose, two of the Russian officials rose with them, but the third pulled the other two by their tunics and they obediently sat down. The chairs on either side of them were not occupied, and most of the time they sat with their eyes glued to their programmes. Such a contemptible gesture can only rouse anger among Social Democratic workers.

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services, Education, Housing and Health, accounts for only £562,000,000 or 3s. 10d. in the £. And, food subsidies, £400,000,000 or 2s. 8d. in the £.



"We Must Save the Holy Places"

PALESTINE :

# THE TWICE PROMISED LAND

by VINCENT CHARLES

WITH THE BRITISH MANDATE OVER PALESTINE OFFICIALLY TERMINATED, THIS KEY TERRITORY IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN SPEEDILY TRANSFORMED INTO A BLOODY FIELD OF BATTLE. FROM IRAQ, TRANS-JORDANIA AND EGYPT, ARAB TROOPS ARE CONVERGING ON THE TINY, NEWLY DECLARED JEWISH STATE OF ISRAEL.

Many a British mother is rejoicing today because her son has been withdrawn from Palestine or is soon leaving its shores. The long night of anguish is over when a knock on the door might bring the dreaded news that a loved one had fallen victim to a Jewish or Arab bullet.

As the carnage grows fiercer and the list of casualties mounts, the politically conscious workers will begin anew to examine the causes, and will realise that though British soldiers are no longer on Palestine soil, the present bloodshed is the direct consequence of British imperialist policy over the past 30 years.

### "Palestine For The Arabs"

The seeds of the current conflict were sown in the years 1915-1918,

when British Imperialism was engaged in its first life-and-death struggle with German Imperialism. In October, 1915, Britain, seeking the support of the Arabs for her war effort, entered into negotiations with Emir Hussein, Shereef of Mecca. As a result of these negotiations, the British plenipotentiary, Sir Henry MacMahon, wrote a letter in which he stated that Great Britain was prepared "to recognise and uphold the independence in all the regions lying within the frontiers proposed by the Shereef of Mecca." These frontiers, which were to encompass a single, united Arab State or a Federation, definitely included Palestine.

At the end of the war, the victorious British ruling class flagrantly betrayed the Arab cause. Instead of fostering a united, independent

Arabia, as promised in the MacMahon correspondence, they played off one feudal chieftain against another. They carved up the Arab territories into a number of separate entities, all of them dependent on British Imperialism or its French ally. Iraq, Palestine and Trans-Jordania became British mandates, Syria went to the French.

### "Palestine For The Jews"

To create still greater confusion, on November 2, 1917, Arthur Balfour, Foreign Secretary in the War Cabinet, had written a letter to Lord Rothschild, Chairman of the British Zionist Federation, in which the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine was definitely promised. Known as the "Balfour Declaration," the letter explicitly stated:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establish-

ment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

### Morrison Calls For "Consolidation"

The collapse of any real opposition is remarkable, when one considers the speech of Herbert Morrison, the first major contribution by the leadership, in which he indicated that the Government would proceed much more slowly with the policy of nationalisation and social legislation in the future that it had done in the past.

His line was to stress the need to call a halt to nationalisation and social legislation, to "consolidate" what had been nationalised. From his speech one could only conclude that this consolidation meant a speed up of production, and that this speed up must come primarily out of the extra effort of the working class.

Although the implications of the speech were clear, and the capitalist press commented on them freely and favourably, the speech was not once the subject of vigorous attack in the Conference.

### An Undercurrent

Nevertheless, a considerable undercurrent of uneasiness exists in the Party. The Crippsian course on wages, profits and prices is viewed with grave suspicion. The bureaucratic character of the con-

ference, the important socialist wing of the Party, a strong feeling that the Government was not doing sufficient to curb profits and keep prices at a level consistent with the betterment of the conditions of the working class. This criticism of the Government is much more widespread in the ranks of the working class as a whole than was reflected at Conference. Unless something is done in the period of the next few years, the opposition on this score will grow to considerable volume.

### Right Wing Carry The Day

The Scarborough Conference was not one which could give gratification to Left wing socialists. The "left" was weak, without cohesion or clarity of purpose. This helped the leadership.

The conclusion to be drawn from Scarborough is that while the real element of discontent which exists, did not find proper weight in the debates and it would be wrong to think that the Conference accurately reflected the genuine mood of Labour supporters, the Party has swung to the Right.

This trend was especially noticeable in the support given to the leadership in its call for discipline in the Party, and in the anti-Russian speeches, as well as the decisive trend of opposition to the national brand of Stalinists.

The more the Cripps-Morrison course is pursued, the more will the volume of criticism grow within the Party. In the days of difficulty that lie ahead, the Government will be forced to place the burdens on the shoulders of either the workers or the capitalists. They have already shown that the weight of the burdens will be placed on the shoulders of the workers. In this situation, Left wing socialists inside the Labour Party, and revolutionaries outside the Party, will gain a growing support in the struggle for a fighting socialist policy against capitalism.

### OF THE FUTURE

This is the background to the present conflict in Palestine. Jews and Arabs are paying the price for 30 years of sordid imperialist intrigues and plots. Even now,

# SOME HIGHLIGHTS OF THE SCARBOROUGH CONFERENCE

## Loss of Individual Membership

In the Annual Report of the E.C. it was stated that whereas the total membership of the Party had increased through the affiliated trade union membership, the individual membership had declined by about 40,000.

Moving the reference back, Hilda Lane, South East St. Pancras, refused to accept the excuse given by the Executive that it was due to the difficulty of securing the services of subscription collectors. The real reason, she asserted, was that the workers had expected great changes in their conditions under the Labour Government, but they had not improved and had deteriorated over the past year. The Government had not done what it could to better their conditions.

"Stop wining and dining with the capitalist class, and come on the door and hear what the workers really have to say."

Her otherwise excellent political explanation for the decline of membership, was marred by her over-statement of the case that conditions were worse since Labour came to power. By this she lost a considerable body of support which she would have probably won. There were about 6 or 7 votes in favour of her reference back. The great publicity given by the capitalist press to her statement that the conditions of the workers had worsened under the Labour Government swung the conference against her and she had to vigorously protest against the false and slanderous allegation that she was a member of the Housewives League who had strayed into the Conference. Nevertheless, in opposition to the Executive, she gave an absolutely correct and sound political motivation for the decline in the individual membership of the Party.

## Worried About Youth

The acceptance by Transport House of the resolution to raise the age limit to 25, and to attempt to rebuild the League, was a welcome step.

Why are the youth not attracted to the Labour Party? And why

in a speech given to the Fabian Society during the Conference week attempted to indicate the observable elements of the phenomenon: the social background of full employment and compulsory military service. Meanwhile, the Tories were fighting for their life, spending huge sums of money in attacking the Labour Government, and organising the middle class youth for the coming struggle.

Griffiths' solution was primarily to attract the youth on a social basis. The political role of youth and the question of indoctrinating them as socialists was pushed into the background. The reason why Labour does not attract the youth is clear: the only way youth will be inspired and participate in active political work, is on the basis of an anti-capitalist offensive. The fear of a radicalised and Left wing youth movement coming into conflict with the leadership, led Transport House to maintain a tight grip upon the Labour League of Youth which resulted in its virtual strangulation.

It is clear that the Labour leaders are becoming nervous at the lack of a support among the youth in face of the coming election.

But the League of Youth will come to nought unless Labour youth is allowed a really wide measure of autonomy, political freedom and independence, and unless the Labour movement can overcome its phase of hesitancy and really mobilise working class youth on a class basis against the growing capitalist campaign of reaction.

## Government's Foreign Policy Endorsed

In foreign policy, the Government had a resounding victory. A resolution put forward by Will Lawther in the name of the Mine-workers Union was carried by over 4,000,000 votes against a quarter of a million. It gave unqualified support to the Government.

Another resolution moved by Zilliacus in the name of the Gatehead Divisional Labour Party, was defeated by the same vote in reverse.

In his speech, Zilliacus made some excellent criticisms of the Government's foreign policy, but directed his attack on Bevin and not on the platform as a whole. He appeared to whitewash Stalinism, both inside Russia and outside, uttering not a word of criticism. In this he lost considerable support.

Every speaker in this debate showed that the movement as a

the question of Greece, he escaped completely from any real criticism on Palestine. On Greece he made an emotional anti-Stalinist appeal, and on the latter question he remained absolutely silent. The fact that Bevin's policy was so heavily endorsed reveals a sad situation in the Labour movement, particularly when it is remembered that a few days prior to this debate the press was filled with reports of the slaughter of communist and working class militants by the Greek monarchist reaction.

In this debate it was clear that Bevin's stock stood higher than ever, and although there were a few boos when he rose to speak, there was loud and prolonged applause from almost the entire assembly, especially when he sat down having concluded his reply.

During this debate as well as on other occasions, several quite violently anti-Russian speeches were made which, had they been made two years or 12 months ago, would have been roundly condemned. But these speeches were favourably received by a large section of the Conference. This is an indication not only of the failure of Stalin's foreign policy to win the support of Labour workers; but indeed that his foreign policy has pushed otherwise critical workers more solidly behind the Labour Government.

The utter rout of the Stalinists for the time being was to be seen in the total absence of Stalinist sponsored resolutions from trade unions or important divisional bodies. Unfortunately, this did not signify any development of a Left wing critical of Stalinism, but a victory of the Right wing leadership.

Attlee completely cut under the basis of the ridiculous Stalinist campaign demanding "Bevin must go" by declaring roundly and bluntly that the foreign policy is made by the Cabinet as a whole and that he took personal responsibility as leader of the Government for Bevin's foreign policy.

This declaration should put paid to the false and demagogic policy of the Stalinists summed up in their May Day slogans "Bevin Or Peace—You Can't Have Both!" By this means they distort the real issues of changing the policy of the Labour Government and replace it with the nonsensical policy of the responsibility of Bevin, "the worst foreign secretary" Britain has ever had!

The extent of the Right wing anti-communist trend in the Party was shown by the rejection of a mildly critical resolution opposing the witch-hunt undertaken by the leadership. A resolution endorsing the anti-communist campaign was carried by a crushing majority. The criticism of Stalinism, much of it one hundred per cent. correct, could unfortunately bring no comfort to the Left-wing anti-Stalinists who had much more in common

## Steel Nationalisation

In moving a resolution demanding the nationalisation of the steel industry, H. Ratner, of the Salford D.L.P., expressed the fear of his Divisional Party that the Government were retreating on the nationalisation of this industry in the face of Tory pressure. Ratner warned the conference against the Tory fellow-travellers in the ranks of the leadership of the party. He made an attack on Cripps for his statement last year, that the workers are not capable of controlling industry.

In reply to the discussion, Bevan, for the executive, declared the intention of the Government to nationalise the industry during the lifetime of this Parliament, but, he declared, because of the wide ramifications of the industry which was a tremendous monopoly they had to plan the legislation carefully so as not to disrupt production. In addition to this, the experience of the Government in nationalising the other industries had taught them that careful preparation was necessary. It should be left to the Government, therefore, when the Bill should be introduced.

This declaration undoubtedly satisfied the mass of the delegates. Uneasiness was allayed, and when the Salford resolution was pressed to a vote about 100 delegates voted for it, the rest of the conference supported the leader.

## Wages and Prices

A resolution to freeze prices and profits was moved by J. Stanley of the Construction Engineers Union was counterposed by a vague resolution presented by Arthur Deakin. It asked Conference to reject the Government's attempts to freeze wages, while at the same time making pious appeals to industry to reduce its profits. It demanded in particular that prices of essential goods be more extensively and effectively controlled — no subsidy should be withdrawn if a price increase would follow; all profits to be more rigidly controlled and a more stringent tax to be introduced. All inefficient processes in the distribution of consumers' goods be eliminated and rents to be reduced.

In support of this resolution several good speeches were made. Union delegates pointed to the terrible adverse effect on the wage claims of the workers which were in the process of negotiation when the White Paper on the wage freeze was issued.

Noteworthy were the speeches of J. Braddock representing the

Braddock pointed out that the delegates could let the leadership get away with it at this Conference, but they should remember that they had to report back to the workers who mandated them, and he was sure that no delegate would get the support of his electors, for a blank cheque to the leadership on this issue.

P. Morgan used the figures of the Government to show that net profits, after taxation, were up on last year and it was no use the platform declaring they were heavily taxing profits. He showed from the Government papers the rise of prices in the past year and how these adversely affected the conditions of the workers. Winding up, he demanded a capital levy on all incomes of over £2,000, stringent tax on all capital gains, price control to be operated by democratically elected committees of housewives, shop assistants, co-op and small shop proprietors, the tying of wages to the cost of living.

In accepting Deakin's resolution on behalf of the platform and rejecting the second, Dalton made a leftish speech. He denied that the Government had, or even intended to freeze wages. He "warned" the capitalists that if they did not voluntarily limit profits, the worst offenders would be on the priority list for nationalisation.

Deakin's resolution was carried with only a few against, and the Stanley resolution was defeated with the same vote in reverse.

But some consolation was given to the Left wing when later the platform was defeated on a similar proposition, when it proposed the rejection of a resolution proposed by J. Cox of the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society opposing any reduction or withdrawal of food or other subsidies which would threaten the living standards of the mass of the people, and demanding the continuation and further extension of price control to all goods in short supply. A weak speech by Edith Summerskill failed to carry the Conference in favour of the proposal of the platform to reject the resolution. This defeat should be a warning to the Executive not to heed the Tory chatter about withdrawing the subsidies and letting prices rise.

## Control and Management of Nationalised Industries

The one big debate which undoubtedly worried the leadership somewhat, was that on the control of nationalised industries. The resolution expressed concern at the

## 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 consumers goods in short supply and the fixing of prices in collaboration with and under the control of committees elected from the co-operatives, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shopkeepers.
7. A rising scale of wages to meet any increase in the cost of living, to be assessed at regular intervals by workers' and housewives' committees and the trade unions, with all wages based on a guaranteed minimum; a falling scale of hours with no reduction in wages to absorb the unemployed, who must be fully maintained while not working; a maximum week of 40 hours without loss of earnings.
8. Abolition of the Monarchy, the House of Lords and the law of inheritance; the immediate repeal of all strike-breaking and anti-labour laws, and the introduction of full electoral rights for men and women in the armed forces.
9. Dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia; abolition of conscription and military law; clear out the reactionary officer caste; for the election of officers from the ranks. The establishment of military schools by the trade unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker-officers.
10. Withdrawal of police protection from fascist meetings; illegalisation of anti-semitism and the propagation of race hatred of any description. For direct workers' action through the formation of defence guards based on a united front of all working class organisations to combat fascist provocation and defend workers' organisations, premises, and meetings from fascist attacks.
11. Immediate freedom for the colonial peoples to choose their own form of Government and the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.

## Youth

The acceptance by Transport House of the resolution to raise the age limit to 25, and to attempt to rebuild the League, was a welcome step.

Why are the youth not attracted to the Labour Party? And why, in the face of the increasing activity of the Young Tories, have the Labour Leagues of Youth tended to collapse? Jim Griffiths,

In his speech, Z... made some excellent criticisms of the Government's foreign policy, but directed his attack on Bevin and not on the platform as a whole. He appeared to whitewash Stalinism, both inside Russia and outside, uttering not a word of criticism. In this he lost considerable support.

Every speaker in this debate showed that the movement as a whole stood in fear of a third world war.

Although Bevin came in for some severe criticism from the floor on

The extent of the Right wing anti-communist trend in the Party was shown by the rejection of a mildly critical resolution opposing the witch-hunt undertaken by the leadership. A resolution endorsing the anti-communist campaign was carried by a crushing majority. The criticism of Stalinism, much of it one hundred per cent. correct, could unfortunately bring no comfort to the Left-wing anti-Stalinists who had much more in common with the Communist Party militants than with the Right wingers who worked arm in arm with the European and world reaction.

goods be eliminated and rents to be reduced.

In support of this resolution several good speeches were made. Union delegates pointed to the terrible adverse effect on the wage claims of the workers which were in the process of negotiation when the White Paper on the wage freeze was issued.

Noteworthy were the speeches of J. Braddock representing the Liverpool Trades and Labour Council and that of P. Morgan of the Erdington Divisional Labour Party.

## Nationalised Industries

The one big debate which undoubtedly worried the leadership somewhat, was that on the control of nationalised industries. The resolution expressed concern at the bureaucratic system of management and administration adopted in nationalised industries and argued that: (1) administrators should be chosen from persons among workers who had sound practical knowledge of the industries; (2) that the principle of workers' participation in management through trade unions should be adopted in practice; and (3) that special attention should be given to the training of managers and administrators from the ranks of the workers. Robert Openshaw of the A.E.U. and J. B. Figgins of the N.U.R., both made quite good speeches criticising the bureaucratic set-up which controls the nationalised industries and demanding that the workers and their representatives be brought more fully into the organs of control at the highest and lowest levels.

In most instances, said Openshaw, control was still in the hands of the wrong people. It was wrong to nationalise industry and then leave it in the hands of the Tories. Greater consideration should be given not only to more efficiency, but to people willing and determined to make nationalisation a success. The monopoly of brains was not that of one class. There were sufficient brains in the trade union movement to warrant greater representation and control.

In a forceful speech, Figgins declared that a complete feeling of disillusionment followed the wave of enthusiasm among the members of the N.U.R. when the industry was first nationalised. On the Transport Commission and other statutory committees there was a great overweight of people brought up with an ideology absolutely opposed to that needed for making a success of nationalisation. From top to bottom the administration should be shared, with the rank and file having an opportunity to say who should be appointed to managerial and supervisory positions.

They were supported by speakers from A.E.S.D. and U.P.O.W.

Their main opponents from the floor were Will Lawther and Arthur Deakin.

Summing up for the platform J. Griffiths urged the supporters of the resolution to withdraw it and send it to the Executive promising that the matter would be fully discussed between the National Executive and the T.U.C. On this promise the resolution was withdrawn and what may have been a really important defeat for the platform was avoided.

But the split in the Trade Unions on this issue is a clear indication of the tremendous feeling among the workers on this question which will undoubtedly express itself again in the near future.

With eff. conary greetings,  
T.R.

# FOURTH INTERNATIONAL NOTES



## LETTER FROM PERU:

### Government Repression

Lima, April 26, 1948:

Dear Comrades,

The Government is tightening up against our organization and is preparing to take measures against us. The measures of oppression started with the imprisonment by the Peruvian police, of Nelson Capelline, the militant miner's leader of the P.O.R. (Trotskyists) of Bolivia who resided in Lima. Nelson Capelline was ex-

#### FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE

Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

#### CONFERENCE

### Socialism & Peace

SATURDAY, JUNE 26th.

This conference is sponsored by the 1948 Research Group and your application for a credential card and agenda should be forwarded together with 1/- to the Secretary at 324/5, High Holborn, London, W.C.1.

pelled from Bolivia (his native country) as a result of the failure of the general strike at the end of 1947. After residing a few months freely in Lima, the Peruvian police arrested him, possibly in complicity with the Government of Bolivia, accusing him of being "an international agitator."

We know that the Peruvian police tried to make him reveal information about the P.O.R. organization in Peru. And in particular, about the identity of its leaders. Naturally, Comrade Capelline refused to fulfill this role of an informer.

Nevertheless, it appears that the police were able to get through other sources, the desired information. Its first step against the P.O.R. was the imprisonment of Leoncio Bueno, editor of "Revolucion", on Saturday, April 24. Comrade Bueno was arrested in his factory, where he works as a textile worker. The comrade is being held incommunicado in the police headquarters and we don't know his fate. No doubt the Government will take as its excuse some article from "Revolucion". Up to this date, we do not know exactly what are the accusations against him. As is to be expected, the press, from Stalinist to the reactionary, including the "Apra", did not say one single word about this police measure.

The arrest of Comrade Bueno must be considered as the first step

in the anti-Communist campaign of the Peruvian Government. It does not surprise us at all that the Trotskyists should be the first to be affected by this campaign of the Peruvian capitalists and Yankee imperialism. We know that the Yankee Embassy has us marked. It is worth while to restate that the Apra, a middle class party, which was reduced to the status of an opposition by reactionary manoeuvres is the first to demand of the Government "strong measures against communism." As an agent of Yankee imperialism, the "Apra" attacks Stalinism furiously, but in the same ferocious way, also any other tendency opposed to Yankee imperialism, and with much more force, the revolutionary movement.

There can be no doubt about the anti-Communism of the feudal-capitalist Peruvian Government. Nevertheless, the barely hidden support that Stalinism is giving to the Government and to the reaction has, until the present, given a certain original form to the anti-Communist campaign of the Government. So, in the municipalities nominated by the Government (anti-democratic municipal representation called "committees of notables") there are quite a number of Stalinist and Stalinist fellow-travellers. In view of this, the "Apra" is engaged in anti-Communist competition with the Government and reaction, going as far as to accuse the Government and reaction of being "agents of Russia", which is the height of nonsense.

To counter-act this campaign, the Peruvian Government presented in

the Bogota Conference together with the U.S. and Chile, a motion against "communism and any other form of totalitarianism." Strange as it may appear, the Government and the reaction are preparing to accuse the "Apra" of "communism." Already the reactionary press and the Government propaganda are accusing the "Apra" of being a variant of "communism." On the other hand, it is quite evident that the Stalinists, notwithstanding their betrayals and their miserable role as agents of the Government and the reaction, will become victims of the anti-Communism.

In the face of the Government's anti-Communism the Stalinists are trying to find a basis of unity with reactionary groups and are, telling them, there is no 'communist' danger, but only an imperialist danger. In accordance with their "tactic" the Stalinists refuse to recognise any other enemy than Yankee imperialism. That is how they capitulate to the native capitalists, and, through them to the very same imperialism.

We beg you to utilize this information, to reproduce it in your publications, as a case of urgency. We want to let you know that our fate is very insecure. Prisons and concentration camps are awaiting us. We know that the Government is preparing to send the "communists"—real ones and phoney ones—to concentration camps in the Amazonic jungles (Satiro). We beg you to publicise this information in the revolutionary press.

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.

## PALESTINE:

(Continued from Page 1.)

though Britain has ostentatiously given up her mandate over Palestine, the Imperialists are not so easily giving up their booty. Trans-Jordan, Iraq and Egypt, three of the States whose troops are now fighting on Palestine soil, are British puppet states, whose rulers try to hold the balance between the demands of their imperialist masters and the insurgent Arab nationalist movement. The famed Arab Legion, spearhead of the attack on Israel, is officered, equipped and paid by the British Imperialists. Without tacit approval from Whitehall, it would not be participating in the present operations.

British imperialism has vital interests in the Middle East, interests which it has no intention of peacefully surrendering. According to the usually well-informed "New York Times" of May 10, the British Government has informed the United Nations Palestine Commission that it wants assurances concerning the protection of her economic interests in Palestine after the termination of the mandate, with special reference to the Iraq-Haifa pipeline and the installations at the latter port; the monopoly of the Iraq Petroleum Co., for oil prospecting in Southern Palestine; civil aviation rights; and the extraction of potash from the waters of the Dead Sea.

While appealing to the United Nations, British Imperialism hopes that its faithful stooge, Abdullah of Trans-Jordan, and his allies, will be able to keep the Arab masses in check and so safeguard some of her investments in the "much-promised land."

#### America's Role

American Imperialism, of course, is hoping to gain from the weakened position of her British rival in the Middle East, and in fishing

for the large Jewish vote in the elections in America, we saw hasty recognition of Israel. The Zionist leaders for their part, having for so long stoged for British Imperialism, are quite ready to swop masters and to play the lackey to Wall Street instead of the City.

Stalinist Russia has a vital strategic interest in the Middle East and this is the main reason why the "Communist" Parties have made their "volte face" on the Palestine issue and now support the claims of Zionism, flying in the face of the Arab Stalinist Parties. The Middle East is becoming a testing field where the Great Powers try out their strength in preparation for the Third World War.

Meanwhile, for the Jewish and Arab masses the present conflict can bring only increased misery. The only way forward for Palestine is as an integral part of a genuinely free Arab Federation, with full guarantees for the rights of racial and religious minorities. This requires, in the first instance, the opening up of the closed Zionist economy and the integration of Jewish and Arab economies. It requires a complete break of the Jewish labour organisations from Zionism and of the Arab national movement from the feudal effendis who will inevitably betray it to imperialism. The Jewish workers must merge themselves into the national-democratic movement of the Arab masses and join with them in a united struggle against the common enemy—Imperialism.

Published by E. Grant,

256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

Printed in Gt. Britain by C. A.

Brock & Co. Ltd., (T.U.), W.10.

# GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER : SHOWS REAL DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL INCOME

by  
**GEORGE NOSEDA**

THE WHITE PAPER ON "NATIONAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1947" IS THE SECOND PUBLISHED BY THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT SINCE IT CAME TO OFFICE. THE STATISTICS CONTAINED IN THIS WHITE PAPER RELATING TO TAXATION, WAGES, PROFITS, AND PERSONAL INCOMES OF THE PAST YEAR, ARE WORTHY OF STUDY.

The general picture from these figures is that of an overall improvement for the capitalist class in relation to their "share" of the national income in the form of rent, interest and profit. Although wages have risen by a few per cent., profits have risen by about 22 per cent.

### Profits Rise

The following figures, from Table II of the White Paper, shows how the aggregate which accrued to the capitalists in the form of rent, interest and profit, has steadily increased in the last four years.

1944 ...	£2,248 millions
1945 ...	2,390 "
1946 ...	2,594 "
1947 ...	2,884 "

Between 1946 and 1947, rent, interest and profit increased by £290 millions. The total increase from 1944-47 was £646 millions.

But, we will be asked, what about the profits tax which has been increased under the Labour Government? The answer lies in the figures. The White Paper clearly indicates that, as a whole, the taxation of the capitalists' profits has decreased progressively since 1944. Here are the figures:

### The Fall In Profits Tax

1944 ...	£517 millions.
1945 ...	475 "
1946 ...	391 "
1947 ...	286 "
1948 ...	250 "

This is further emphasised by an examination of the progressively lower percentage taken in the form of profit tax from rent, interest and profits for the same years.

### Profit Tax As Percentage Of Rent, Interest And Profit

1944 ...	23%
1945 ...	20%
1946 ...	15%
1947 ...	10%
1948 ...	8½%

Note that the figures for 1948 in these two tables are taken from the Budget Financial Statement of this year, the other years from the White Paper.

### Workers' Share Of National Income Diminishes

It is the practice, in these White Papers officially sponsored by the

Government, to lump together for the purposes of calculating personal income, other than rent, interest and profit—not only the wages of the working class, but salaries and forces' pay. It is impossible from these figures, to separate the large salaries paid to directors and others who draw large remuneration, from the small salaries proper, namely clerks, nurses, shop assistants, civil servants and others. Properly speaking, the salaries on the scale drawn by directors should be considered as a share in profits.

However, to see how the real income of the workers has been affected since the end of the war, it is necessary to take together all the sources of their income; wages, salaries, and the pay and allowances of the armed forces. If calculations are made on this basis, it will be seen that after direct taxes, these earned incomes increased from 1945 to 1947, by only 7%. Yet even this figure can be called an over-estimate. For these incomes include: (a) "once for all" payments in the form of war gratuities and demobilisation leave payments, which totalled £96,000,000 in 1947; and (b) a number of transfer payments, part of which went to the capitalist class in the form of E.P.T. refunds and war damage payments.

Real wages have not increased in proportion to the increase in the national income. Bearing in mind that in the same comparative period, 1945-47, retail prices have risen about 10%, it is clear that real wages have remained almost stationary, according to the official figures. It is also clear that net profits have risen even more than prices.

### Prices 68% Higher Than 1938

Taking 1938 prices as 100, and calculating on the basis of figures given in previous White Papers (including the 1948 publication), the "Economist" published figures

of price indices which shows the increases since 1938, as follows:

1938 ...	100
1944 ...	150
1945 ...	153
1946 ...	157
1947 ...	168

These figures show that in the last two years alone, prices have risen 15 points.

The burden of indirect taxation is borne mainly by the working class. No less an authority than Cripps stated that "... Indirect taxation of all kinds bears ... proportionately more onerously upon the lower incomes ... " (Hansard, 12.2.48). And the figures given in Table 23 of the White Paper show how heavily the burden of indirect taxation has increased:

### Indirect Taxation On Personal Consumption (Less Subsidies)

1945 ...	£1,110 millions
1946 ...	1,166 "
1947 ...	1,260 "
1948 ...	1,307 "

The 1948 figure is taken from the Budget Financial Statement.

### 8 000 People Get Net Income Of £4,375,000 A Year

The tables which show the distribution of private income retained by individuals show that in 1946, there were 165,000 people who disclosed incomes of over £2,000 a year to the tax authorities, and had an average income of £2,000 a year or £39 a

week, after tax. And there were 8,000 people who disclosed annual incomes of over £10,000. The net income, after taxation, of these 8,000 amounted to £4,375,000 a year, or £85 per week—not counting any additional income accruing to this wealthy class from tax free "expenses accounts."

### Planned Socialist Economy—

#### The Only Answer

These statistics from an official publication reveal the hollowness of the talk of some Labour leaders that the capitalist class are being "taxed out of existence." The figures show that the capitalists continue to reap unearned benefits under a Labour Government. So long as the Labour Government continues to try and run the capitalist system "more efficiently", the capitalist class will continue to take the cream of the national wealth created by the labour of the working class.

Such parasitism on the national wealth of Britain will only be eliminated when the capitalist system is replaced by a planned socialist economy, in which there will be no need, and no place for a class of profiteers and coupon-clippers. The first step in any real socialist planned economy, would be the ending of such vast inequalities as exist between workers and capitalists in Britain today. Under a socialist economy, more production would mean not more profits for the employers, but higher living and cultural standards for the mass of the people.



### MAY

	£	s.	d.
South Wales .....	3	6	
J.D., Birmingham ...	2	6	
Hampstead .....	10	6	
per T.R. ....	12	0	
Slough .....	2	10	
May Day .....	8	6	4
Charlie White .....	2	0	0
North London .....	4	6	
M.S. ....	3	0	0
A.D. ....	4	0	
A.K. ....	10	0	
Liverpool .....	3	5	
H. Lee .....	4	0	0
Newcastle .....	3	1	
Glasgow .....	2	12	4
	£22	15	0

## We Need Your Pennies

### Comrade Readers!

The "Socialist Appeal" is in financial difficulties. Last month's Fighting Fund receipts dropped steeply as can be seen from the above figures. We lose money on each issue, and rely on the members of the Party and readers of the paper to keep us going.

Increased costs of printing and paper is imposing a crippling burden upon us. All other working class papers have increased or are preparing to increase their price. We wish to avoid this if possible. This depends entirely on the response to our appeal for assistance.

The only paper which consistently supports and helps the workers in their struggles and puts forward a militant internationalist policy deserves support. Please donate as much as you are able

A. ROSS,

256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

Many of our readers cannot afford to donate substantial sums. But even a few pence from all readers can make a difference. Give the extra pennies to the "Socialist Appeal" seller and thereby help to maintain the paper.

## Ceylon C.P. Admits "Error" In Supporting Capitalists

There is reprinted in "People's Age", organ of the (Stalinist) Communist Party of India, issue of 14.3.48, the following remarkable passage from the speech of the fraternal delegate from Ceylon to the recent Second Congress of the Communist Party of India, Dr. S. A. Wickramasinghe:

"The general elections were held last year after a period of 11 years. Of the 101 seats in the House of Representatives which included six nominated seats, the Left parties secured 20 seats. The Communist Party contested 14 seats and won five. With regard to the 15 other Left seats, it is necessary to offer a few words in explanation.

"All the 15 members belong to two parties which call themselves Trotskyist parties and both claim to be the official branch of the Fourth International. . . . The success of those two Left parties was entirely based on their policy of identifying themselves with the struggles of the people for economic and political freedom.

"Our Party made the same mistakes as the Indian Party and attempted to differentiate between the various national bourgeois leaders as progressive, reactionary and neutral. During the general elections the other Left parties were able to take maximum advantage of our mistakes. The masses responded to a complete exposure of the national bourgeoisie." (my emphases.—M.U.)

### Trotskyists Opposed Ceylon Capitalists

Seen in the context of the events at the Second Congress of the C.P.I., at which the Indian Stalinist leaders admitted 'mistakes' as far back as 1936 and condemned their whole policy of a national front with the capitalists, this statement comes as a complete volte face on the part of the Ceylonese Stalinists.

The two parties to which Dr. Wickramasinghe refers are the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, and the dissident group led by Dr. N. M. Perera, which was expelled from the Fourth International for defiance of party discipline in January, 1947. This dissident group has nine seats in the Ceylon House of Representatives, while the Bolshevik-Leninists have six M.P.s.

Both groups fought the general election last summer on a programme of opposition to the United National Party of the Ceylonese capitalists. This with the aim of exposing ruthlessly before the toiling masses their utterly abject role in relation to the new colonial strategy of British imperialism.

### Election Agreement Proposed

In this connection, it may with advantage be recalled that in the period immediately before the election campaign the Bolshevik-Leninists addressed a letter to the Stalinists proposing an electoral agreement on a platform of merciless opposition not only to the U.N.P., but to all the bourgeois communal groups (Tamil Congress, Ceylon Indian Congress, etc.).

Trotskyist Party, into a united front with the Fourth Internationalist militants, it even now fights viciously against a revolutionary programme.

### Reject Workers' and Peasants' Government

Rejecting utterly the Leninist slogan of a Workers' and Peasants' Government, the Stalinists in Ceylon counterpose to this correct demand the insipid conciliationist formula of the 'Democratic Front.' Disillusioned at last in their hopeless attempt to force the native bourgeoisie into opposition to the Anglo-U.S. bloc, the Stalinists seek to mobilise the petty-bourgeoisie and to force it to bring pressure to bear on the Government to re-orientate its foreign policy in the direction of an alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy. Hence the repudiation by the Stalinists of revolutionary methods and a revolutionary programme; hence their continued, savage and completely consistent efforts constantly to undermine the struggle of the toilers in Ceylon for national economic and political freedom, workers' power and the advance to socialism.

M. USMAN

10th May, 1948.

## CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNISTS AT MASS



# BAN ON PROCESSIONS

## Fined For Killing Coloured Man

The Parliamentary debates on the death penalty suspension for murder revolved very largely round the question: Is it a deterrent? Different people have different ideas on

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# BAN ON PROCESSIONS

## Blow At Workers Organisations

The Government ban on all public processions of a political character in the London Metropolitan Police District (700 square miles), for three months was a victory for reaction and a blow at the working class and its organisations.

Like the Public Order Act of 1936 under whose provisions the ban was introduced, this measure affects the Left wing parties. No sooner was the ink dry on this order, than the ban was applied to the proposed Communist Party demonstration to the Greek Embassy and a ban placed on the use of loudspeakers at their meeting in Hyde Park.

In Glasgow the Labour magistrates imposed a ban on the Stalinists' use of a public hall for a political meeting. This was rescinded because of large scale protests.

The ban on the demonstration to the Greek Embassy followed the holding of a Mosley demonstration in North London on May Day. The Government, with the enthusiastic backing of the Tories, gave formidable police protection to this fascist provocation. 834 police were used. Two police men for every fascist. Chuter Ede

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**THE MENACE OF FASCISM**  
 What it is and how to fight it  
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replying to a question in the House stated that "... 297 foot police, 48 mounted police, 72 police in tenders, a wireless van and 6 motor-cycle orderlies were engaged on May 1st to protect Mosley's demonstration. 411 police were in reserve, some of whom were used for a short time."

The main function of the police was to attack the 1,500 or so anti-fascists who were demonstrating in protest at the fascist demonstration. They understood better than the complacent Labour leaders the danger which fascism represents to the workers and their democratic rights and organisations.

Under this protection, Mosley and his lieutenants were allowed to mouth their anti-Semitic, anti-working class filth. And between a wall of police they attempted to march to Hyde Park, a march which came to an inglorious end at Holloway Road, owing to the opposition of the anti-fascists.

Mosley circumvented the ban on marches in the Metropolitan Police district by trying to organise a march outside the banned area, thanks to police support. It was not the fault of the authorities that it was not a success.

And in Parliament, Tories vied with the Home Secretary in praising the police for defending the fascists who, incidentally, were provocatively giving the fascist salute and shouting "Seig Heil"!

Already dozens of Trades Councils, Union Branches and some Labour Party Branches have sent resolutions of protest to the Home Secretary demanding that the fascist movement be made illegal.

Workers in London and throughout the country generally must demand that all restrictions on the rights of the workers to march in any part of London be lifted. At the same time the demand must be insistently put forward for the introduction of legislation illegalising fascist propaganda and the propagation of race-hatred in any form, including anti-Semitism. This legislation must contain provision for the protection of any section of the population which takes action to enforce such a law against fascist activities in any shape or form.

T. REILLY



"Communists" at mass—The Rev. Josef Plohar, Catholic People's Party Minister of Posts, with Communist Ministers Capicka (Justice) and Nejedly (Education), and J. Topinka, head of the National Committee of Moravia and Silesia, at the installation of Dr. Josef Matocha, as Archbishop of Olomouc, Czechoslovakia. The picture was published in the "IRISH TIMES", 8th May, 1948. The Stalinists use religion as a prop for their rule. In Russia, the Orthodox Church wholeheartedly supports the bureaucracy as it formerly did the Czar. In Poland and Hungary, the Catholic Church remains the State religion. In Italy, the Stalinists voted for Mussolini's Lateran Treaty with the Vatican to become part of the Constitution. Now, with the Vatican lining up behind

Anglo-American imperialism, the Stalinists in Britain have rediscovered the role of religion as part of the oppressive apparatus of the ruling class in every age. Says Sean O'Casey in the May 4th issue of the "DAILY WORKER", describing the revolt of the peasants against the Church: "But whether orthodox or heretic, the rebels had lost all respect for the privileges of the wealthy Churchmen, 'the Caesarean clergy' allied to the upper class in resistance to the demands of the poor.' Take that in Catholic fellow-workers. Allied to the upper classes against the demands of the workers—as they are now, the lot of them from the Vatican down to the rawest bishop." It only remains for the Stalinists to explain to ALL THE WORKERS the attitude of Stalinism to religion in the above-mentioned and other countries.

## PARTY ACTIVITY

**Comrade de Silva's Meeting**

Colvin De Silva, leader of the Trotskyist group of M.P.'s in the Ceylon Parliament, made a successful tour of London and the provinces speaking to working class audiences on the Colonial Problems.

At the Holborn Hall we had a packed meeting with a number of the audience standing. The collection amounted to the sum of £12 and the non-ticket holders contributed another £2 at the door. The Ceylon Students Association organised a crowded meeting at Nutford House. In Manchester, Birmingham and Slough, the local comrades were well pleased with the meetings. Lack of time prevented Comrade De Silva from speaking in other towns. An excellent meeting was held at the Glasgow Forum.

**R.C.P.**

**May Day Rally**

For the third successive year, our London comrades participated in the May Day procession to Hyde Park organised by the London Trades Council.

The London Labour Party boycotted the May Day demonstration.

Our slogans put forward a positive working class programme as opposed to the Stalinist, Left reformist and "Bevin Must Go" propaganda. The flag of British Imperialism, the Union Jack, headed the C.P. contingent and was in evidence among the branches.

As on previous occasions, the C.P. tried to prevent our contingent from marching. This time they used a car in the attempt to cut us off from the main part of the procession. Failing, after several efforts to do so, the driver attempted to knock down our comrades carrying the main banner.

On top of all this, they appealed to the police to arrest our comrades. But in spite of all their efforts, the R.C.P. marched into the Park singing the International.

May Day was a success for the party. Thousands of London workers in the demonstration and on the side walks saw our slogans and banners, and the "Evening News" reported that "There was a large contingent of Communist Party members with 'Trotskyist' (Fourth International supporters) in the rear."

**Anti-Fascist Pamphlet**

The hard work put in by one North London comrade in getting shops to take our anti-fascist pamphlet is certainly worth recording as an example that can be followed up by others. To date, he has 12 shops selling the pamphlet, some have also taken "Socialist Appeal", and the area has not yet been exhausted.

Proposed

In this connection, it may with advantage be recalled that in the period immediately before the election campaign the Bolshevik-Leninists addressed a letter to the Stalinists proposing an electoral agreement on a platform of merciless opposition not only to the U.N.P.; but to all the bourgeois communal groups (Tamil Congress, Ceylon Indian Congress, etc.).

**Stalinists Split Left Wing**

To this proposal, the Stalinists did not reply. They not only did not agree to the B.L.P.I. proposal but, on the contrary, put up candidates in precisely the constituencies contested by the Left parties. While withdrawing their original decision to support the U.N.P., they thus in practice helped the U.N.P. by splitting the votes of its opponents.

**Admit "Mistake"**

Now Wickramasinghe admits the "incorrectness" of that policy. He admits that the Trotskyists won votes on the basis of their "policy of identifying themselves with the struggles of the people" and of their "complete exposure of the national bourgeoisie."

Does this, then, indicate a fundamental change in the policy of the Communist Party of Ceylon? Does it signify the entry, under massed revolutionary banners, of the Ceylonese Stalinists into the proletarian struggle against the imperialist-capitalist alliance in Ceylon? Absolutely otherwise. The new line of the Ceylonese Stalinists, like the "left" turn of their Indian counterparts and of the "Communist" Parties throughout the world represents, on the contrary, their response to the call of the Belgrade Cominform. Despite the fact that the Communist Party in Ceylon has been forced, through the strength of the

## Fined For Killing Coloured Man

The Parliamentary debates on the death penalty suspension for murder revolved very largely round the question: Is it a deterrent? Different people have different ideas on this. Some very odd, to say the least. In South Africa the authorities seem to decide such matters on the basis of the colour of the skin of the persons involved.

The Cape Town "Guardian" of April 15, reports:

"Michael Christoffel van der Merwe, a European farmer of Humefield in the Jansenville district, was last week found guilty of culpable homicide by a Jury. On December 29, while drunk, he had shot at a coloured labourer, Gert Symon, who died some hours later. He was also found guilty of possessing an unlicensed firearm. It was stated that Van der Merwe had given five different versions of what had happened to the police and the doctor.

"He was fined £125 or one year on the first count, and £10 or one month on the second.

"The judge, Mr. Justice Gardiner, said that when trying a case the week before he thought he had met the biggest liar, but now he was not sure. The sentence he was passing on Van der Merwe should act as a deterrent on him and on the public."

Such are the workings of "democracy" in the Dominion of the pious moralist, Smuts.

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# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.  
Phone: CUN 2526.

EDITOR: E. GRANT.

BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

## Editorial

# PROFITS & WAGES

## THE CASE OF THE VEHICLE INDUSTRY

The delegates at the recent Conference of the Labour Party heard a great deal about "more and more production" from various Party leaders. This was the main theme of Morrison's speech.

The increased profits of the vehicle building enterprises over the past two to three years, provide a good example of the situation which prevails generally. They show that it is not the workers who reap the benefits of increased production, but the employers and the parasitic coupon-clippers. On this the Labour leaders remain silent.

In 1947, Park Royal Vehicles reported a total profit of £175,626 with a net profit of £62,368. Another vehicle firm which had a total profit of £54,131 in 1946, showed a jump in 1947 to £130,739. Net profits for the two periods were £24,275 and £43,390 respectively. Duple Motor Bodies' total and net profits in 1947 were £167,820 and £46,803 respectively. Another firm which more than doubled its profits is Spurling Motor Bodies. Their total profits rose from £91,608 in 1946, to £215,341 in 1947.

From these figures, it is evident that the vehicle employers could well afford to meet a wage claim from the workers in the industry.

Yet, when the 20,000 vehicle workers came out on strike recently for a long-overdue wage increase, the employers resisted and the Government took no steps to ensure a settlement in favour of the workers.

This is the situation in almost every industry where workers are tabling wage claims to meet the rising cost of living. The pious phrases of the Labour leaders that increased production "must be accompanied by an equitable share of the proceeds" (Shinwell), will not weigh very heavy in the workers' wage packets unless the Government changes its policy of leaving it to the good-

# Jews in British Society

The fascists attempt to arouse the basest prejudices of the small business men and shopkeepers and of backward workers against the Jews. They utilise a deep-rooted superstition dating back to the middle ages that the Jews own, control and manipulate the finances of the country, indeed of the world! Around this matter they do arouse a support among ignorant people—shopkeepers who meet the competition of Jewish shopkeepers in the same street, or workers who happen to have Jewish landlords.

Even if it were true that most of the country was owned by Jewish capitalists, this would make little difference to the tasks confronting the working class. It makes little difference to the system whether the capitalists are Jews or Gentiles. Both are subject to the laws of capitalist economy and act accordingly. In countries like Spain where there were no Jewish capitalists (the Jews had been expelled in 1492), poverty, hunger and exploitation of the workers were among the worst in Europe because of the economic circumstances of that country. As is known, the class struggle in Spain culminated in civil war between the workers and the fascists. The Spanish fascists had to find other demagogic slogans. It is interesting to note that De Gaulle is not resorting to anti-semitism at present.

However, many people, even in the workers' movement give credence to the myth that the Jews control the country. It is necessary for every class conscious worker to know the facts regarding the real relation of the Jews to British society in order to combat the seeds of anti-semitism.

There are in Great Britain and Northern Ireland only 370,000 Jews out of a total population of 48,000,000. That is, there are 7 Jews to every 1,000 non-Jews, or less than one per cent. of the population.

### Finance Capital

The big banks, together with the insurance companies control the country's economy. Yet there is not a single Jew on the Bank of England, either among the Directors or its Executive officials. The Big Five have in all, 150 Directors, of these only four are Jews.

In international finance, the greatest banking company in the world is J. P. Morgan & Co. In this company too, there are no Jewish partners and not a single Jew in a leading position.

The Stock Exchange, which dominates the dealing in stocks and shares, and is regarded as a mysterious influence by many small businessmen, is according to the fascists, dominated by Jews. But in fact, on the Stock Exchange Committee there is only one Jew.

### Transport

Before the nationalisation of the Railways, the number of Directors on the L.M.S. was 18; on the L.N.E.R. 22; G.W.R. 20; Southern

There is a widespread and false misconception that the Jews in British society hold the controlling positions in the banks, entertainment, newspapers and a number of big industries. This idea is carefully fostered by every reactionary tendency in Britain, particularly anti-labour and fascist organisations. Even on the periphery of Labour and Trade Union movement this entirely false conception is held by workers, who cannot be associated with the reaction. Socialist propagandists have the responsibility to combat this propaganda with facts and figures. To this end, we publish the following chapter of the pamphlet "THE MENACE OF FASCISM—WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO FIGHT IT," by Ted Grant, which contains a considerable amount of factual material on the subject.

In its attempt to find a scapegoat for the ills of a disintegrating system, fascism adopts a technique of "Jew-baiting" familiar in the period of feudal decay. All the crimes of monopoly capitalism are blamed on Jewish finance capital. All the discontent of the small shop-keepers and professional men is turned into anti-semitic channels. Mosley considered this too useful a weapon in the arsenal of his "programme" to let go.

### The Press and Cinemas

There are in all 116 daily newspapers and 17 Sunday papers in Britain. Despite the myth that the Jews control the press, there was only one Jew who was director of a newspaper combine; he was Chairman of the "Daily Herald" but is now dead.

Gaumont British and Odeon Companies were at one time controlled by Jews. They have now passed into the hands of A. J. Rank, the most powerful figure in the film world, who is in control of some 600 cinema and practically of all the important studios.

The third large corporation, the A.B.C. was never owned by Jews.

### Parliament

Another fascist lie which has gained an ear among some backward sections of the population is that the Jews control the Government and Parliament. In fact there is not a single Jew in the Cabinet. There are only 28 Jewish M.P.s of 640. The four Jewish members of the Government are Shinwell, Silkin, George Stransky and Lord Nathan. None is at present in the Cabinet. (A. J. Cummins, News Chronicle, 11.11.47).

### Black Market

It is popularly believed that the Jews dominate all black market activities. The facts are that the overwhelming majority of prosecutions both of big and small businessmen for black market offences have been against Gentiles who have no connection with Jewish enterprise. The capitalist press focuses attention on those cases involving Jewish offenders precisely to give the impression that they dominate the black market. Profiteers, whether they be Jews, Gentiles, Irish or Scotch, do not overlook the possibility of extra profit, whether their transactions are legal or not. The whole history of capitalism proves this. The plunder of India, of China and Africa was not carried out by Jews. The slave trade was carried on by religious gentlemen, one of the most notorious of whom named his ship "The Jesus".

decisive industries there is hardly any Jewish capital at all. In iron and steel, engineering, chemicals, automobiles, shipping and rubber, and before nationalisation coal and railways, Jewish capital is negligible. In the great armaments concerns such as Vickers, there is no Jewish capital. However, in certain secondary industries, where the Jews have been traditionally concentrated in different countries, Jewish capital plays an important role. Even here, it is not dominant.

### Tailoring and Furniture

Some facts: In the Tailoring trade one quarter of the total trade is in the hands of Jews, in the Furniture trade one

seventh, in Jewellery one-fifth, in the Boot and Shoe trade one-eighth, two-thirds of the Fur trade, but only eleven per cent. of the Electrical and Radio trade, less than seven per cent. in Cosmetics. In Food shops one-sixth of the trade in London is owned by Jews, but only one sixteenth in the provinces.

In Tailoring, Montague Burton's is a Jewish firm. The 50/- Tailors are Gentile. In the Bazaar trade, Woolworths, which owns 762 Branches with a capital of £12,500,000 is non Jewish. Marks and Spencer is a Jewish firm owning 236 Branches with a capital of £3,950,000.

### Chain Stores

In so far as chain stores are concerned, the Co-operatives, part or the working class movement, are owned by the workers. This is the largest chain store in the country. There are 92 chain store groups with a capital of £150,000,000. The Drapery and allied trades constitutes about a third of the capital invested. Half is controlled by non-Jewish firms (Harrods, Selfridges, John Lewis and Barkers). The Unilever Combine which dominates the groceries and provisions trade is not, as commonly thought, composed entirely of Jewish capital. The only Jewish capital in this concern is that owned by the Dutch Jews, the Van den Burghs.

On the retail side in the grocery and provision trade, Home and Colonial Stores, Maypole Dairies, and even Liptons are not controlled by Jews. The biggest meat combine in the country is the Union Cold Storage which controls 5,000 branches. This is a purely non-Jewish firm. The Jews are totally absent from the Dairy combines: Southern Dairies, United Dairies and Express Dairies are gentile firms. In the Drug trade, the monopoly stores—Boots, Taylors, Timothy White's, Savory and Moore's, and Hodders, are all owned by non-Jews.

The decisive section of all industry is controlled by Gentile capital. The number of small Jewish shopkeepers, retailers and middlemen, gives a false impression of the role of the Jews in business. In the decisive section of finance the role of Jewish capital is small. Thus, the elimination of the Jews would remove none of the injustices of the capitalist system.

The great majority of Jews in Britain, contrary to popular belief, are workers, employed mainly in tailoring, furniture trade and a fairly high proportion of shop assistants. About 15 per cent. of the Jews gainfully occupied are in trades and industry on their own account. Of the total population, seven and a half per cent. are occupied in trade.

The struggle for the emancipation of the working class is not between races or religions. It is one of class against class. Every trace of anti-semitism, or any form of race hatred cannot assist the oppressed, it can on the contrary only aid the exploiters. Workers of all nationality, religion,

## GREEK EXECUTIONS: Protest to Bevin

10th May, 1948.

Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin,  
Secretary for Foreign Affairs,  
House of Commons,  
Whitehall.

Sir,

The Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist Party condemns the execution of 200 Greek democrats, communists, socialists and trade unionists in the past week, and the plan to execute a further 800 in the near future.

This "legalised" murder of opponents of the Greek Government underlines once again the military-fascist character of the regime. The Revolutionary Communist Party calls upon your office to demand an immediate cessation of these slayings and the unconditional release from prison of all these Greek working class militants whose only "crime" is that they fought against a reactionary regime which has proven itself incapable of mobilising support among the population.

The R.C.P. adds its voice to the demand that the Labour Government bring pressure to bear upon the Greek Government to end the persecution of communist and socialist workers and militant trade unionists; that the Government gives all aid to these persecuted workers, instead of assisting the Greek reaction in establishing its brutal rule by the massacre of the flower of the working class of the country.

Yours faithfully,

JOCK HASTON.

workers are tabling wage claims to meet the rising cost of living. The pious phrases of the Labour leaders that increased production "must be accompanied by an equitable share of the proceeds" (Shinwell), will not weigh very heavy in the workers' wage packets unless the Government changes its policy of leaving it to the goodwill of the capitalists to "voluntarily" limit their dividends and profits. It will only do so under the pressure of the workers.

whether they are Jews, Gentiles, Irish or Scotch, do not overlook the possibility of extra profit, whether their transactions are legal or not. The whole history of capitalism proves this. The plunder of India, of China and Africa was not carried out by Jews. The slave trade was carried on by religious gentlemen, one of the most notorious of whom named his ship "The Jesus".

#### Transport

Before the nationalisation of the Railways, the number of Directors on the L.M.S. was 18; on the L.N.E.R. 22; G.W.R. 20; Southern 16, and the L.P.T.B. 7. Of these only one was a Jew and one was of Jewish extraction, though his family had been of the Christian faith for several generations.

#### Heavy Industry

Of course, Jews do play a role in business. In Britain in the

Greek Government to end the persecution of communists and socialist workers and militant trade unionists; that the Government gives all aid to these persecuted workers, instead of assisting the Greek reaction in establishing its brutal rule by the massacre of the flower of the working class of the country.

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General Secretary.

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The struggle for the emancipation of the working class is not between races or religions. It is one of class against class. Every trace of anti-semitism, or any form of race hatred cannot assist the oppressed, it can on the contrary only aid the exploiters. Workers of all nationality, religion or creed must stand together against the common enemy—capitalism.

# The Wallace Third Party Movement

We Print Below the Resolution on the Wallace Movement Adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party, American Trotskyists

The Wallace third party movement emerges as a consummation of the post-war fight, primarily over foreign policy, waged within the Democratic Party since Roosevelt's death. This has been and remains within the framework of capitalist class politics.

The class character of the Wallace movement, as a capitalist splinter party, is not altered either by its middle class composition or by the penetration of its apparatus by the Stalinists and their fellow-travellers.

The Wallace movement objectively expresses the interests and outlook of those elements among the U.S. ruling class who believe it expedient to conciliate the labour movement at home and the Kremlin abroad. Their stamp is placed upon the movement by Wallace, the millionaire publisher and self-proclaimed defender of capitalism and "Americanism." This ex-Secretary of Agriculture and Vice-President under Roosevelt and Secretary of Commerce under Truman holds the reins of the movement in his own hands.

## Capitalists Could Turn

The capitalist character of the Wallace movement is not altered by the fact that the monopolists are at present united in opposing it. Big Business to-day, drunk with power and bent on world domination, is opposed to any policy of conciliation either in domestic or

foreign affairs. Wallace cannot hope for any appreciable support from decisive capitalist circles at the present time. But under different circumstances, at a later stage of the development of the capitalist crisis, they could easily turn to him, as they turned to Roosevelt, in an attempt to head off an independent class movement of the workers.

Wallace's third party programme and propaganda are cleverly designed to appear as an anti-war, pro-labour, liberal alternative to the Truman party of war, depression, and assaults on labour's rights and civil liberties. That is why it evokes a response among workers and Negroes who take its phrases and promises at face value and cherish illusions about the progressiveness of Wallace.

## Who Controls Wallace?

But this fairly wide mass sympathy for Wallace is by no means a sufficient reason for class-conscious workers to participate in his party or to give it critical endorsement. Nor can such sympathies and illusions alter the capitalist character of the movement—or impart to it a Labour Party character. Roosevelt and other bourgeois demagogues had far greater allegiance from organized labour without meriting or receiving the slightest endorsement from the revolutionary vanguard.

What is the relationship of forces within the Wallace camp? The

liberal bourgeois politician, Wallace, personally dominates and directs it, setting its tone and formulating its policy. He is subject to control by no one. The Stalinists, concerned solely with their pressure campaign for a compromise agreement between Washington and the Kremlin, obediently follow in his footsteps while the organized labour movement is conspicuously absent. Actually, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois liberals are in command, the Stalinists serve as their lieutenants, and the ranks trail along.

The unions have no way of exercising control over Wallace, his party or his programme. Under these circumstances millions of votes garnered by Wallace can enhance his personal influence and prestige, increase his bargaining power in negotiations with the Democratic leaders, and give him all the greater independence from the labour movement.

A genuine mass political party of labour cannot be built in this country without the participation and support of the unions. The established economic organs of the working class provide the only serious and solid foundations for the independent political activity and organization of American labour. Thus the indispensable minimum requirement for giving critical support to a third party movement is that it be based upon a significant section of organized labour and subject to its control and pressure.

The Wallace party does not emerge as a political expression, however inadequate and perverted, of the unions. It arises out of the

failure of the union bureaucrats to open up a new political path for the workers. It cannot be regarded as an aid to independent political labour organization but as a spurious "progressive" substitute for a Labour Party. Wallace has moved in to fill the vacuum that should be filled by a genuine Labour Party to exploit the widespread revulsion against the Democrats and Republican and the desire for a new political road.

Some workers may feel that since the success of any third party depends upon labour support, the Wallace movement must inevitably gravitate in that direction; and that if they plunge vigorously into this movement, it might be possible to switch it from its present wrong course over to the Labour Party track.

The premise of this reasoning is false. In determining a correct attitude toward a political formation like the Wallace movement, it is false to proceed from purely or mainly tactical considerations, or guesses on the possibilities of using it to good advantage. That is the wrong end from which to begin. This new political current must first of all be approached from the standpoint of class principle.

The chief function of the Wallace party is to deceive the workers with demagoguery against Big Business rule and to take command of the anti-war and anti-imperialist struggle of the masses in order to sell them out sooner or later.

## Left The Door Open

Apart from its relations with the union movement the Wallace formation has not even as yet completely

detached itself from the Democratic Party. Wallace has announced plans to back liberal Democrats and progressive Republicans in 1948. He has left the door open to make peace with the Democratic command after the 1948 campaign, and possibly before, and lead his "Gideon's army" back into that cesspool. The destiny of the movement hangs upon this single individual, his decisions and his ambitions.

Despite attempts to belittle the Wallace movement, it will undoubtedly attract considerable popular support and it seriously imperils Truman's election. Moreover, the Wallace candidacy not only damages the presidential prospects of the Democrats but delivers a blow to the two-party system. That is the most favourable factor to its credit from the standpoint of political progress. This break with the Democratic Party helps to shatter the hold of the two-party system upon the workers and to unsettle the whole political situation, setting new political trends in motion, spreading new ideas and raising more sharply the question of labour's independent role in politics.

The heightening of political conflict should be utilized to expose the servility of the labour bureaucrats to the Democratic machine, to advance the need for the Labour Party—and lay bare the Wallace-Stalinist adventure as a spurious substitute for a Labour Party and a false answer to Labour's political problems.

But these objective consequences flowing from the emergence of the Wallace movement cannot provide justification for its support. A Marxist analysis of the Wallace third party movement at its present stage of development dictates the following attitude toward it.

## Expose the Demagogue!

1. Principled opposition to this political adventure undertaken by an ambitious capitalist politician and backed by the Stalinists. This adventure aims at channeling anti-war sentiment, exploiting the discontent with the capitalist regime, and making a deal with Wallace's former Democratic associates at home and a deal with the Kremlin on the field of foreign affairs.

2. Sharp exposure of the fake "peace" programme of Wallace and his associates, their subservience to imperialism, their reformist panaceas and their false methods of struggle against war and capitalist domination. Instead of joining the Wallace phrasemongers and Stalinist sell-out artists or giving their candidates critical support, we, as Marxists, must counterpose to them our working class programme and methods of struggle against the war danger and capitalist evils. At the same time, in opposing and criticising the Wallace movement, it is important to acknowledge the validity of many of its arguments against the present bi-partisan government and its policies. These constitute a common bond between us and the rank and file supporters of this movement and differentiate our condemnation of Wallace from the utterly reactionary opposition of the Labour bureaucrats.

3. The union militants must combat BOTH the Wallace-Stalinist third party and the A.F.L. and C.I.O. bureaucrats who support the old-line capitalist parties and candidates. Union militants must continue to fight for the formation

of a genuine party of labour, based on and controlled by the unions.

4. We call upon all workers and all supporters of the struggle for socialism to support and vote for the Socialist Workers' Party candidates. Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice-President in the 1948 national elections.

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