SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

Workers of All Lands Unite !

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Against Red Baiting

The Anti-Stalinist witch-hunt initiated by Deakin and Morgan Phillips has not had the intended results.

Far from rousing a mass movement among Trade Unionists and Labour workers to oust the C.P. from leading and controlling positions in the local and national Trade Union bodies, on the contrary, the result has been to push the best Labour workers closer towards the C.P.

The "Daily Herald" has tried to make great play of occasional defeats of C.P. nominees for Union positions. But an analysis of the tendencies in all the recent Union elections shows clearly that the Stalinists have gained fresh positions and consolidated their old ones in the apparatus of the Trade Union movement.

In the Trade Union movement, there is a considerable body of militant workers who have become extremely critical of the strike-breaking and anti - working - class activities of the C.P. in the past years. But these militants will not be drawn onto the band-wagon of an anti-red campaign.

The criticism of the Labour leaders that the C.P. uses the working class in the interests of Stalin's foreign policy and diplomacy is undeniable. But the Labour leaders would have no need to fear the activities of the C.P. if they themselves pursued a militant, anti-capitalist policy, aimed at the destructoin of capitalism nationally and internationally.

As it is, despite their protestations of being "in the middle of the road," their policy is in fact, almost completely subordinated to the foreign policy of American and British imperialism.

The Revolutionary Communists have been consistent critics of the methods of the C.P. in using the working class as pawns in the diplomatic game. But insofar as the C.P. in the present conflict, (for whatever motives), advance reforms on behalf of the workers and stand to the left of the Labour leaders, the task of socialists is to have a united front with the Stalinists against the right wing of the Labour Party.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY MEANS WORKERS' CONTROL

BY G. NOSEDA

THE PUBLICATION OF A NEW PAMPHLET "INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY" BY TRANSPORT HOUSE HAS OCCASIONED THE UNEDIFYING SPECTACLE OF A SCRAMBLE ON THE PART OF LABOUR, TORY AND STALINIST SPOKESMEN VYING FOR THE "HONOUR" OF HAVING BEEN THE FIRST TO PROPOSE THE IDEA OF THE WORKERS HAVING A "SAY IN PRODUCTION" THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF JOINT PRODUCTION COMMITTEES AND OTHER SIMILAR BODIES.

But not one of those who advocate such a policy face up to the real question involved—how are the working class to have any EFFECTIVE say in production while the real control is left in the hands of the employers or the capitalist managements in the case of the nationalised undertakings?

And not accidentally of course, for the policy advocated in "Industrial Democracy", which is, in essence, that of the Tory and Stalinist policies on this question, is designed to obscure in the minds of the workers the fundamental issue involved, namely: that an effective and real control of the production and distribution processes in industry can only be realised when the working class, through elected committees of workers and technicians have access to the "business secrets" and company books of the industrial undertakings.

The "**Daily Herald**", commenting editorially on "Industrial Democracy," writes:

> **"Labour believes that our industries will make more and better goods if the influence of the workers on production policy is extended."**

Claiming that workers' control at the highest levels is already established through the Trade Union representatives on such bodies as the Joint Industrial Council and Industrial Boards, etc., the "**Daily Herald**" continues:

> **"There will . . . have to be a great extension of joint production committees at the workshop level if industry is to meet the nation's needs. The worker at the bench must understand, if he is to do his best, the production policy of his firm. He must know also what profits are being made and how they are distributed—for, since his whole working life is bound up in his factory, 'the right of the worker to this knowledge is far greater than that of the shareholder.'"**

It is very true that the workers in industry have far more right to determine the distribution of the fruits of their labour than have the parasitical rentiers and coupon-clippers who batten on their toil. But how is the worker to effectively operate this right to the fruits of his toil while he is deprived of a real say in production and distribution of profits? This crucial question is evaded.

(*Continued on Page* 4.)

15,000 Listen to Ajit Roy in Madura

Comrade Ajit Roy addressed a mass rally in Madura held under the auspices of the Madura Unit of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India. From an audience of 5,000 at the commencement, the rally swelled to 15,000 at its end.

Frightened by the prospect of exposure before the masses by the only people who can, and know how, to fight the Stalinists—the Trotskyists, the Madura Communist Party leaders wired for help to Madras. Help came to them in the shape of their best speakers (**P. Ramamurthy** and others) and a rival meeting was organised by the Stalinists for the same day and at a spot barely **100** yards from the B.L.P.I. meeting.

Indirect Rule

Analysing the present political situation in India, Com. Roy stated that British Imperialism had formed a joint front with all the reactionary forces in India, the capitalists, the landlords, and the Princes ,and had begun to rule India indirectly through these agents.

Re-Unite Under Socialism

Speaking on the division of India and the communal riots, Com. Roy said that the only way to solve the communal problem and re-unite the country was to wage a relentless struggle against the capitalists and landlords, who were the men responsible for fomenting communal hatred.

It was by the struggle for socialism alone that the workers and peasants of India could re-unite the country.

Appeal To Socialists

Criticising the Socialists, Com. Ajit Roy said that they could be of little use to the working class so long as they remained within the Congress and adapted their policies to the needs of the Congress capitalists. If the Socialists Party broke away from the Congress and adopted a revolutionary programme. Com. Roy said, the B.L.P.I. would join them

C.P. Attempt To Break Up Meeting

The Stalinist leaders in Madura could hardly permit this onslaught on their treacherous policy and set their thugs and volunteers to break up the meeting. The workers of Madura were too accustomed not only to Stalinist betrayals but to Stalinist thuggery, and the Stalinist hooligans were easily driven off.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Com. Appan Raj, who presided, roundly attacked the Stalinists for their unscrupulousness in whining to the world when the smallest attack was made by the Bourgeoisie against them and yet in planning the most dastardly attacks on the meetings of other parties.

Anti-Fascists in Court

Anti-Fascist workers welcomed the release of the two anti-fascist members of the "43 Group" Gerald Flamberg and John Wimborne, who were charged at Bow Street Police Court recently with alleged "Attempt to Murder" the notorious anti-semite and fascist, J. C. Preen.

In dismissing the case, the magistrate said: "I have come to the conclusion there was enough doubt in Mr. Preen's evidence and in the methods of identification, coupled with the fact that when he was in the witness box he made a number of statements which I could not believe to be true. . . . I feel bound to consider he is a witness I could not believe on oath."

Preen was a member of Mosley's B.U.F. He admitted in court that he was the founder of the "**British Action Party**" and the "**Vigilantes Action Group**" and was connected with the anti-semitic paper, "**Britain Awake.**"

The case was dismissed because there was no evidence.

Anti-Fascist Convictions

However, in various London police courts anti-fascist militants are being charged and convicted for the alleged "crime" of combatting the fascists. To give a few recent examples:

Michael John Keith, arrested outside Mosley's Memorial Hall meeting in November, fined £5.

Harold Cowan, fined £2; **Percy Samuels** fined £3, **John Scott** fined £3, all three arrested after a British League meeting in Hereford Street, Bethnal Green.

Jack Myerovitch arrested outside Mosley's meeting at Wilmot Street, Bethnal Green, sentenced to 21 days imprisonment.

Capt. David Rebak, bound over for 12 months under an 1839 Act for saying "Demonstrate against Mosley" from a loud-speaker van.

Lewis Lee fined £4.

(Continued on Page 4.)

British Bosses Doing Well

1947 Profits Soar

BY G. SMITH

The exhortations of the Labour leaders to the workers to "work harder" certainly produced results—for the capitalists!

The increased production drive in 1947 proved to be, from the point of view of almost every capitalist enterprise in the country, highly satisfactory. The balance sheets of company after company record substantial rises in profits compared to 1946.

The Big Five banks, Lloyds, Midland, Westminster, Barclays and National Provincial, reported profits for 1947 *were over* 25% *higher than for* 1946. *In round figures, for* 1947, £18,282,000 *as against* £15,203,000 *in* 1946 (*before deduction of national defence contribution and income tax*).

The "Financial Times", commenting on these profits, said: ". . . no one knows, of course, what internal provisions have been made by individual banks before striking their profits."

Woolworth's £8,603,834 Profits

F. W. Woolworth's profits continue to break its own records; the latest report indicates a profit of £9,603,834, an increase of almost half-a-million pounds over the previous year.

Almost Doubled

The firm of **Raleigh Industries** (bicycles), almost doubled their 1946 profit of **£505,873.** It was increased to **£956,773 in 1947.** Their dividend remains the same at 20%, an indication of the ample reserves they are maintaining in hand.

Mill Owners Claim Increased Costs

Leaders of the employers' organisation, the **Yarn Spinners Association,** are seeking the Government's permission to increase their prices as a result of increasing costs of production **including wages,** fuel and transport. It would appear that profits could well-stand such extra costs, for **last year the cotton mill-owners paid bigger dividends than in any year since the 1920 boom.** Average profits rose from under £10,000 per company to **£14,000.**

Other companies in this industry have some very handsome profits to show for the past year too. **T. J. Ware and Sons,** carpet and furnishing fabric manufacturers, for instance: their profits during the last three years shows a sharp increase from £71,000 to **£197,000,** and their dividends have increased from 5 to 20%. Another firm in the same line, **John Crossley and Sons,** who manufacture carpets and spin cotton, woollen, worsted, hemp and jute yarns for these purposes, made a record trading profit of **£334,000 in 1947** against £204,000 for the previous year, they are raising the dividend from 12½% to 20%.

Boot And Shoe Profits Soar

Boots and shoes have proved a good source of profits; **William Timpson,** footwear manufacturer and retailers, increased their net profits (before tax) from £387,749 in 1946 to **£404,294 in 1947. Benefit Footwear** is paying 25% dividend on the £150,000 Deferred Ordinary capital for 1947, compared with 10% for the preceding twelve months. But the worker will still have to pay the extra cost of his boots or shoes now that the Labour Government has removed the subsidy on leather.

Exports Swell Bosses' Income

The "produce for export" policy of the Government certainly helped to swell the trading profits of **Thomas W. Ward,** which increased by 88% in 1946-47. **"Much of the extra business done during the year has been in the export sphere. . . ."** says the Company's report, announcing a total profit of **£824,836** in 1947 against £440,760 for the previous year.

Bosses Fight Wage Increases

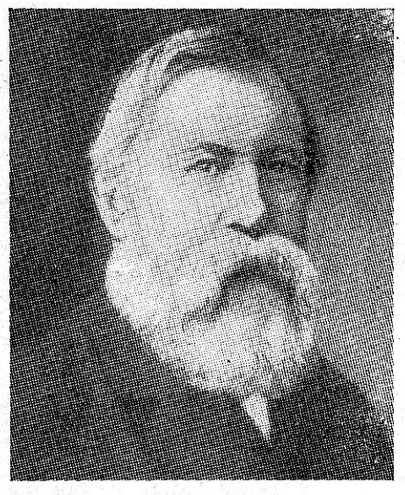
These examples are but a few that indicate the general rising trend. Yet, according to the Tories,

(*Continued on Page* 4.)

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO—100 YEARS

BY JOCK HASTON

Struggle for World Communism Continues



ENGELS

A hundred years ago, few people were aware of the various theories of Socialism and Communism. Only a handful understood and professed the scientific communist doctrine expounded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and for the first time formulated into a Manifesto-Programme by them in the name of the Communist League.

That tiny handful were men of vision. In addition to their doctrine they were imbued with tremendous optimism for humanity and its revolutionary future. This optimism found full expression in the introductory passages of the Communist Manifesto: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism." And indeed it seemed to the authors of the Manifesto that the citadels of reaction were about to fall. Tremendous revolutionary movements of the German, French and European masses were under way. The revolution of 1848 began in France on the 24th February. The upheaval in Paris found a ready echo in Vienna, Milan and Berlin; the whole of Europe right up to the Russian border was drawn into the great revolutionary struggles. The working class of Britain was at the height of the great Chartist movement. Everywhere, reaction stood in fear and trembled.

When the February revolution commenced, in France, thinking people were under the spell of the previous French revolution of 1789—the experience of which dominated the whole of European history. Consequently, and inevitably, this coloured the ideas of the Communists, also.

The victory of the capitalist class so frightened them that it drove them back into the arms of the monarchist-feudal reaction which had just been overthrown. It seemed to revolutionary communists a certainty that the decisive struggle had commenced. This struggle, they thought, would be fought out in a long, continuous period of revolutionary change, which must inevitably end with the victory of the working class.

To the small band of revolutionaries, it seemed that the death knell of capitalism was already tolling; that the socialist revolution, and with it the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery and capitalist bondage, was close at hand.

LESSON OF HISTORY

But history was to prove the optimism of the revolutionaries of 1848 premature One of the central ideas of Marx and Engels as part of the *Materialist Conception of History* is that no ruling class leaves the stage of history and is overthrown until it has developed the productive forces to the limit of its own particular method of production.

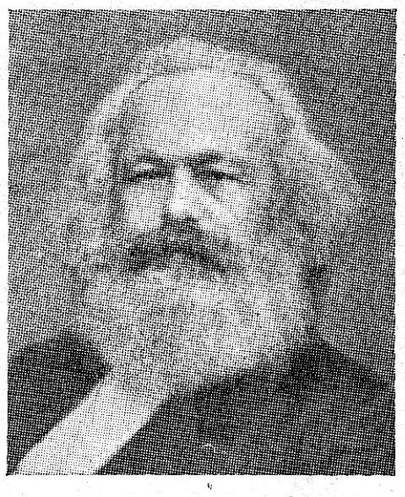
Reviewing the lessons of that period in his 1895 introduction to "The Class Struggles in France," Engels said:

"History has proved us and all who thought like us, wrong. It has made it clear that the state of economic development on the Continent at that time was not, by a long way ripe for the removal of capitalist production; it has proved this by the economic revolution which, since 1848, *has seized the whole of the Continent, has really caused big industry for the first time to take root in France, Austria, Hungary, Poland and, recently, in Russia, while it has made Germany positively an industrial country of the first rank—all on a capitalist basis, which in the year* 1848, *therefore, still had great capacity for expansion."*

Generations of workers were yet to sweat and toil and die for capitalism before its end was in sight.

Free competition and developing manufacture had to give way to modern monopoly, to giant combines and cartels and to finance capital. Modern reactionary imperialist war, with its world-wide ramifications and destruction, which does not drive humanity forward but destroys its means of production to an ever increasing extent had to replace the progressive wars of the capitalist class against the feudal reaction. Today, capitalism stands stripped and naked: it has brought mankind face to face with destruction in the shape of the atom bomb.

But even in its decline, the ruling class has demonstrated a tremendous tenacity and ability to maintain its control. It has shown great capacity to hold on, to create fresh economic and political support among the new middle class, the aristocracy of labour, and the most backward layers of the workers. At the same time, despite mass unemployment, crises and wars, the workers have shown that the ideas of millions of people change slowly and they have not yet developed a communist consciousness in their decisive mass. One of the principal reasons for this is the falsification of Communism taught by the Stalinists. That the workers will develop this communist consciousness is certain. Capitalism is in a blind alley and



MARX

there is no other way out. The aim of the Manifesto was to assist in developing that communist consciousness.

Probably no other single political document has been translated into as many languages as the Manifesto. Millions of copies have been sold; it has been and will be discussed in every corner of the globe. Workers groups in every nation, of every colour discuss, debate, and circulate the Manifesto. For the Manifesto is the catechism of the working man.

(*Continued on Page* 4.)

LABOUR DEFEAT IN COVENTRY

Town's Meeting Packed by 4,000 Tory Supporters

COVENTRY—

REACTION HAD A TRIUMPH IN COVENTRY ON MONDAY, JANUARY 5th, AND CONVERSELY THE LABOUR MOVEMENT SUFFERED A DEFEAT.

The Labour controlled City Council called a Town meeting to discuss the new 95 Clause Municipal Trading Bill. This Bill will give the Council the right to establish new municipal undertakings, such as taxi, laundry, hotel and radio relay services, district heating and a smokeless zone.

This followed a previously adjourned meeting of the previous Monday. The first meeting had been packed with small traders and hostile elements who had shown violent opposition to the Bill. The Labour movement should have been warned by this turn-out and made an effort to arouse the working people, who would benefit by this progressive Bill, to the need to rally to the meeting and defeat the tactics of its enemies.

Instead, the Labour Party leaders limited themselves to a circular calling upon their members to attend, and probably hoped for the best. Because of this total lack of leadership, what happened was the worst.

LABOUR CAME UNPREPARED

To the few hundred workers who attended in support of the Bill, the reaction had answered with three to four thousand opponents. Labour apologists argue that the early starting time (7.30 p.m.) was responsible for this fiasco. This is a weak excuse. Workers have made bigger sacrificces than rushing home at 5.30 to get ready to attend a meeting at 7 or 7.30 if they considered it necessary. And that is the point. Nothing was done by the Labour movement, Labour Party, Trades Unions or Trades Council to create that frame of mind.

The Coventry "**Evening Telegraph**" continued its work for Big Business; the Chamber of Commerce rallied its members, and the Tories naturally mobilised their support. The Labour movement did nothing. No factory or open air meetings; no Unions publicly called the industrial workers to support the Bill; nothing at all was done to popularise and propagandise the Bill among the working class and small people.

The outcome was that on Monday, 5th January, the reaction was standing four deep and **four thousand strong** an hour before the meeting began, and the 1,300 capacity Central Hall had an overwhelmingly hostile audience, made up of small masters, shopkeepers, hotel owners, Tories and near-Fascist hooligans.

R.C.P. APPEALS TO WORKERS

The Coventry Branch of the Revolutionary Communist Party had foreseen what would probably happen and had prepared leaflets, posters, and a plan to take the floor in support of the Bill inside the Hall. Whilst fur-coated, well-dressed reactionaries and hooligans answered our slogan-calling with threats and howls of derision, individuals and groups of C.P.ers and Labourites stood around the fringes of the crowd in a demoralised uneasy silence.

The stand of our Party comrades eventually bore fruit and we gathered around us some late arriving politically conscious workers. Tories took the opportunity to do some Labour-baiting from the steps of the Hall to a large crowd who were unable to get in. Comrade Williams challenged them to let him address the crowd. While he was addressing them, the police, who had stood benevolently looking on whilst the Tories spoke, suddenly decided to let the crowd in, and so broke up the meeting.

ANTI-LABOUR CROWD

The audience inside was as hostile to Labour as the crowd outside. Despite the nervous affability of the Deputy Mayor, (a **Tory**) who was chairman, they vented their reactionary spleen by hooting and shouting down every supporter of the Bill. Their mood was such that they would have voted down every one of the 94 clauses if their own leaders had not soft-pedalled. On one occasion they voted down the City Finance clause (without which no city affairs could be run) and then had to retract and vote for it when the position was explained to them.

LABOUR SUPPORTERS ABSENT

The Labour Councillors who were called upon to propose and second the various clauses, gave concrete reasons for the different proposed projects and exposed the racketeering, profiteering and inefficiency in the privately owned undertakings.

What was lacking, however, was an organised team of competent speakers from the Labour and Trade Union movement. No leader from any of the individual Trade Unions, which have an approximate membership of 50,000 organised workers, took the floor.

The parts of the Bill which excited the most venomous opposition were those which sought to get powers to establish municipal taxi-cabs, wireless relay system, concert halls, district heating, laundry service and a smokeless zone.

Some Labour workers managed to get the microphone and they correctly pointed out that the opposition came from the unthinking, selfish and profiteering elements who were being duped by Big Business. That business men were not the only rate payers in the city: on the contrary, the greatest bulk of ratepayers were workers and they needed the things the Bill proposed to give.

JOHN WILLIAMS SPEAKS FOR R.C.P.

The R.C.P. representative, John Williams, who took the microphone twice, welcomed the Bill and said that the Revolutionary Communists on this occasion supported the action of the Labour Council. They had criticised it in the past because of its timidity and lack of Socialist action, but in the present circumstances he called for support because the Council for once was proposing something that would benefit the workers. He drew attention whilst speaking on the wireless diffusion clause, to the scandalously high price of radios, and said that the relay system would be a boon to thousands of workers and small people unable to pay such inflated prices. As he rose to speak on the Hotels clause, the enraged reaction tried to shout him down with cries of "Communist". After asking for one of the democracy that Tory "democrats" were always talking about, he said that no one there could deny that neither in the past or at the present time had the Coventry hotels catered for the working people. Whilst supporting the hotel clause he called upon the Council to see that their proposed hotels were not reserved for the friends of the Chamber of Commerce. They should provide good accommodation at prices suited to the workers' pockets.

END THIS COMPLACENCY

After 4½ hours the meeting ended at midnight with the reactionaries carrying the day. They had insistently prolonged the meeting and demanded votes on every clause, confident that they had a majority. They defeated the eight hated clauses and succeeded in forcing a public poll upon the Labour council.

The success of the Tories, Coventry "**Evening Telegraph**" and the Chamber of Commerce in rallying the unstable middle-class elements, is a local symptom of a national phenomenon. Big Business is having its cake and eating it. It benefits at the expense of the middle and labouring classes, through Labour's policy of state capitalism and "Capitalist subsidisation," which could be crystallised in a slogan "Big Business, enrich yourself." At the same time it makes capital out of its victims' difficulties in its preparation to assume full political control at a later stage. As the Municipal elections and the campaign over basic petrol show, it is having some success.

The only real solution of this problem of the drift of the middle class away from Labour, is a complete change in Labour's programme nationally. This doesn't absolve the local Labour movement from responsibility. This Bill is progressive, it could get the support of the small people as well as the workers. Labour's sin was that it was too complacent.

What must be done in the future to ensure that this Bill becomes law?

We Revolutionary Communists, as small as we are, tried to play our part and give our class a lead, in exposing the enemy. We will do our duty in the campaign to win the Bill at the poll, but the whole of the movement must be organised, our whole class must be rallied. We must give a display of organised strength that will demoralise the Capitalist plotters and sober up the stampeding middle class.

The fight for the Bill will be a test of strength and Labour must win.

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

MARDY PIT TO CLOSE

THE NEW YEAR WAS USHERED IN BY THE NATIONAL COAL BOARD DELIVERING A BODY BLOW TO THE WORKERS OF G.C.G.

The Mardy Pit is to be closed on the plea that it is uneconomic. According to Alf Davies, coal at Mardy is costing £6 a ton to produce. At Steer it costs £3 2s. 0d.; and £3 a ton at East Pit.

The miners are transferred to Steer and elsewhere, and this is arousing considerable discussion and a large measure of disquiet.

Despite the fact that the Mardy miners accepted the Report of Inquiry re the closure of the Mardy Pit, when the Committee's Transference Plan came up, the voting was 63 for, and 54 against. Many miners of G.C.G. claim that the Mardy Pit has years of coal reserves although sunk in 1884. Ever since vesting day there has been talk of reorganising the pit by mechanisation, etc. Yet nothing was done. In fact, hauliers at the pit were allowed to work on the minimum for months on end which naturally lowered the production substantially. This was used in evidence at the Inquiry re the closure of the pit, and the men feel it was a deliberate policy of the management in allowing the hauliers to remain on ca-canny to speed the closure of the pit. With workers' control of the pit, the matter would have been settled by the investigations of the workers' direct representatives and the recommendations of the workers would be acted upon.

No serious socialist worker can be for the continuation of working an uneconomic project. On the contrary, we are for the most efficient production technique. But advances in efficiency must not result in worse conditions for the workers: it must lead to better conditions and wages.

Every worker in G.C.G. knows that men transferred from Mardy to Steer will not have the same or better conditions of work.

How The Transfer Will Affect Steer Pit

Comrades: Steer miners will welcome workers from Mardy to work beside them. In doing so it is necessary to examine concretely what the situation is likely to be at the pit.

Steer pit, in a literal sense is closing itself by mismanagement. There has been no development of new areas of coal of any considerable length since nationalisation. The result of the failure to develop the mine has been the break-down of an old custom and the introduction of "double shifts". This, before the transfer of the Mardy workers to Steer.

At Steer, the number of "gappers" who labour for days on end at the minimum wage is considerable. This is likely to be increased by the addition of the Mardy labour force. "Dead work" will now be done by four, instead of two as before. The inevitable result of the increase of the labour force at the pit will be to undermine the bargaining power of the workers as a whole. Wages, in these conditions, must begin to decline.

The task of militant socialist and communist workers is to see that nationalisation is NOT carried out at the expense of the workers.

Insist, through your Committee, that **not a penny in wages is lost by the closure of Mardy and the transfer of the miners to the Steer.** There must be no deterioration of conditions for any section of the workers. If sacrifices are necessary to ensure a future of socialist equality, we will know when and how to make such sacrifices. But not a single sacrifice must be made by the miners while the industry continues to pay the burden of compensation. Not a penny must be sacrificed by the miners while N.C.B. officials have salaries 20 to 30 times the wages of the coal producer. Demand democratic control of all aspects of production and at all stages by the miners themselves. Only then will decisions affecting pit closures or any other aspect of mining policy be determined in the interests of the workers. This is the message we of the Revolutionary Communist Party send to the miners of G.C.G.

(From a Supplement issued by our G.C.G. comrades.)

Abolish the Lords

Labour's Timidity

The timorous step of the Labour Government in shortening the time which the Lords can hold up legislation from two years to one, is really in violation of the declared policy of the Labour Party.

A Labour Party resolution, passed at National Conference, calls for the abolition of the House of Lords.

The following law, introduced by the revolutionary capitalist class under Cromwell against the Lords, as representative of their enemies of that time, the feudal aristocratic landowners, is an example of resolution in facing their enemies from which the British workers can learn a valuable lesson.

The Labour Government must be forced to display the same resolution as did the capitalist class in their revolutionary day. The House of Lords and the Monarchy must be abolished.

ACT ABOLISHING THE HOUSE OF LORDS *
March 19, 1648-9.

"The Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, finding by too long experience that the House of Lords is useless and dangerous to the people of England to be continued, have thought fit to ordain and enact, and be it ordained and enacted by this present Parliament, and by the authority of the same, that from henceforth the House of Lords in Parliament shall be and is hereby wholly abolished and taken away; and that the Lords shall not from henceforth meet or sit in the said House called the Lords' House; or in any other house or place whatsoever, as a House of Lords; nor shall sit, vote, advise, adjudge, or determine of any matter or thing whatsoever, as a House of Lords in Parliament; nevertheless it is hereby declared, that neither such Lords as have demeaned themselves with honour, courage and fidelity to the Commonwealth, nor their posterities who shall continue so, shall be excluded from the public councils of the nation, but shall be admitted thereunto, and have their free vote in Parliament, if they shall be thereunto elected, as other persons of integrity, ability and qualified thereunto ought to have.

And be it further ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no Peer of this land, not being elected, qualified and sitting in Parliament as aforesaid, shall claim, have, or make use of any privilege of Parliament, either in relation to his person, quality, or estate, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

* "Select Documents of English Constitutional History."

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

PICTURE OF A PATRIOT

THE "**Evening Standard**" of 24th January, in writing on the death of a Mrs. Corrigan, wife of the American millionaire steel magnate who left her his £12,000,000 fortune, flashes the light momentarily on the "patriots" in the capitalists circles.

"In these 20 years she became known in London, as in New York, as the most lavish hostess of her time.

"Many tales are told of her Mayfair parties. Mrs. Corrigan paid £5,000 in rent for Dudley House, Park Lane, for the two months' season of 1939. A large picture of Mussolini stood in her boudoir.

"War found Mrs. Corrigan in France. She received the Croix de Guerre for her work among the troops at the front and among prisoners in concentration camps.

"Back in London, Mrs. Corrigan opened the Wings Club for young Allied Air Force officers in 1943."

* * *

WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT

MORE than 2½ years after the war has ended the American Government has released for publication, details of the pacts and conversations between the Nazis and the Stalinist bureaucracy in the years 1939-41, before Russia was attacked.

They reveal the utter cynicism of the Stalinists who assisted Hitler with supplies and diplomatic support in return for a section of Poland and Eastern Europe.

The details are unsavoury for a State claiming to be Socialist and very embarrassing for the Stalinists and their satellites in the various "Communist" Parties who have failed to comment.

But the moral indignation of the "democratic" politicians and press in Britain and America is nauseating in its hypocrisy. **They suppressed this evidence from the Nuremburg trials purely for diplomatic expediency.** At Nuremberg they assisted the Stalinist bureaucracy in preserving a conspiracy of silence on the challenge to produce evidence, justifying the Moscow Trials, namely the so-called evidence that Trotsky was in the pay of the Nazis.

Now, because they are conducting a diplomatic offensive against the Soviet Union, they expose the shady power politics of Stalin in the past in order to cover their own crimes. . . . When thieves fall out. . .

* * *

WHEN 'ERB WAS A BOLSHIE

THE debate on the House of Lords, like the royal wedding, gave the Labour tops yet another oportunity to demonstrate their servility before the established institutions of the ruling class. Morrison was profoundly "shocked" by the suggestion of Emrys Hughes that, failing the abolition of the House of Lords, its powers of veto should be reduced to one month. To get through all the processes of a Bill within a month, said Mr. Morrison, was "Bolshevism gone mad.' He said he had almost arrived at the "shocking" conclusion that what we want are "not two chambers but three."

At the risk of shocking him still further, we would like to remind 'Erb that so recently as 1934 the Annual Conference of the Labour Party adopted the "Bolshevik" proposal to **abolish** the House of Lords. But what is a democratic decision of his Party to a defender of hereditary institutions and privilege!

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Letters To the Editor,

ON THE ROUBLE

Llanelly.
Dear Comrade, 17.1.48.

In the "**Socialist Appeal**" of Jan. 1948. Ted Grant makes the following comment in regards to the devaluation of the rouble:

"The rouble was restored to a stable basis in the period 1922-24 by Lenin and Trotsky. But so far had the runaway inflation gone at that time, that one rouble in the new currency was made equal to 50,000 old roubles issued in 1923, or to 5,000,000 of the old currency issued in 1922."

My objection is, that this figure 5,000,000 is not correct, hence it does not give the true extent of the inflation of that period, 1922-24.

"**Soviet Weekly**" also gives the same figures.

In "**Outline of Political Economy**" by Lapidus and Ostrovityanov, Martin Lawrence, 1929, we get the following statements:

"At the begining of 1922 a per-war rouble was equal to 28,000 Soviet Roubles. Everybody was a multi-milionaire or billionaire. But on the other hand, an article which before the war cost a few roubles, in 1922 cost many millions. The figures used in counting money in 1922 were known before the war only in measuring the distance between stars. This gave rise to technical inconveniences as a result of which the Soviet Government resorted to a new denomination of its money tokens, i.e., to their renaming, calling every 100 roubles of the 1922 issue, 1 rouble of the 1923 issue. But this technical operation, which eased the counting of money, did not in any way stop its further depreciation. Page 266.

"Properly speaking, the money reform, which was fully enforced in 1924, began with the issue of stable currency by the State Bank in the form of chervonetz in 1922. . . . The chervonetz issued by the State Bank in 1922 in virtue of this right, was essentially not paper money, but a banknote. It had a 25 per cent. gold security and stable foreign currency behind it, while the rest was secured on bills of exchange and commodities. The issue of the chervonetz could not be utilised as a means of covering the deficits of the State Budget. That deficit was still covered as before by the emission of paper money which was depreciating at an even more rapid rate than before. Pages 266-267.

". . . After the chervonetz had proved that it could hold its ground, thus providing the stable currency so necessary for the development of Soviet national economy, the paper rouble could be abolished. This was actually accomplished on Feburary 5th, 1924, when a decree was published with regard to the issue of treasury notes. Page 267.

"After all these measures had been taken the issue of paper money was stopped, and the paper in circulation was exchanged for treasury notes, at the rate of 50,000,000,000 roubles per treasury note of one rouble. The money reform had been achieved, the Soviet paper rouble expired and the Soviet economic system henceforth had a firm and stable currency." Page 268.

Well Comrade its obvious, arising out of the above statement, that inflation did not stop at the 5,000,000 mark but went on to the 50,000,000,000 mark.

Enclosed is 10/- P.O. for one year's subscription, the remainder put in the Fighting Fund.

Yours Fraternally,
E. G. REES

Housing in Camlachie

THE recent by-election in Camlachie focussed more attention on this slum-ridden district of Glasgow. Some of the facts that emerged are indicative of the filthy housing conditions in which the people living in Camlachie are condemned to exist.

A. J. Cummings, reporting on the by-election campaign, writes in the "**News - Chronicle,**" (24.1.48): "many fine, brave patient souls live in Camlachie, but thousands of them exist in physical condition which are a disgrace to civilisation.

"One man, who, with his wife and five-year old child, dwells in a characteristically bug-ridden, rat-infested hole, told me it was a great improvement on the place he had formerly occupied a few hudnred yards away. Families are crowded together in hovels in which no decent farmer would keep a pig, and in the unfortunate event of a family being deprived of its pigsty there is literally no other pigsty to go to.

"In Camlachie 58% of the houses have either been condemned as unfit for human habitation or are acknowledged to be unfit. From a quick appraisal I should say this is a conservative estimate. In the Mile End district alone single-apartment homes, giving shelter very often to whole families, number nearly 1,600 and two-apartment homes, nearly 3,000. . . . in Camlachie, which breeds bugs and rats by the million. . . ."

Cummings remarks:

"I am told by a Glasgow City Councillor that since the war, £9,000,000 worth of materials has been approved in Glasgow for building enterprises of one kind or another — cinemas, banks, essential and unessential factories and so forth—of which only the equivalent of £900,000 has been allotted to houses for the working population."

There is a Labour majority on the Glasgow City Council, and a Labour Government in power! This is a condemnation of their failure to plan building in the interests of the most needy. A Socialist building scheme would have its emphasis on the housing needs of the population. At the same time there is an urgent need for the equitable reallocation of existing housing space, not on the basis of wealth.

Whats on

DEBATE
S.P.G.B. v R.C.P.
"Which Party Should The Working Class Support?"
12th Feb., 8 p.m.
Carnegie Library,
Herne Hill Road, S.E.24.
Harry Young — S.P.G.B.
Roy Tearse — R.C.P.

* * *

Manchester Branch R.C.P.
Lecture
THE NATURE OF FASCISM
On SUNDAY, 8th FEB.
at 7.30 p.m.
Speaker: T. Dunmore.
Questions and Discussion at
The R.C.P. Rooms, 26 Ducie St., (near University), Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester, 15.

* * *

CROYDON WORKERS
BOOK THIS DATE!
A Public Meeting will be held at Kingsley Road School, Mitcham Road Estate, on Tuesday, 9th of March, 8 p.m. Come and hear the policy of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

* * *

LONDON DISTRICT COMMITTEE announces a MARKXIST DAY-SCHOOL
Sunday, Feb. 8th, at 256 Harrow Road, Paddington, W.2.
3.30 p.m. Lecture:
"The Marshall Plan and the Workers"
Speaker: **Bill Hunter.**
5.30 to 7 p.m. Tea (provided at Centre).
7 to 9.30 p.m.
"Mock Parliament"— to debate a Trotskyist Bill, "For Nationalisation of the Means of Production under Workers' Control."
Open to Supporters and Sympathisers of the R.C.P.
Charge for the Day-School, including Tea, 1/-.

PUBLIC MEETING

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

CONWAY HALL
Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
Friday, Feb. 6th, 7.30 p.m.
Speakers:
Bill Hunter **Roy Tearse**
Questions and Discussion.

DEBATE

"Which Party Should the Working Class Support"

GEO. HANSEN (R.C.P.)
D. FENWICK (S.P.G.B.)

EALING TOWN HALL
(Lecture Room)
Thursday, 5th Feb., 7.30 p.m.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party
256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.
Phone: CUN 2526.
Editor: E. GRANT
Business Manager: D. GRAY

For a Socialist Foreign Policy

The speeches in the Parliamentary debate on the dream of a Union of Western Europe sombrely reflect the impasse of the imperialist nations. Bevin clutches at the idea of "Western Unity." Churchill calls for a show-down with Russia before it is too late, and speaks already of the next war.

The American and British imperialists are ceaselessly intriguing and planning the creation of a powerful Western Bloc in opposition to the powerful Eastern Bloc dominated by the Stalinist bureaucracy. This, not with the objective of establishing peace, but in preparation for a future war which must come if capitalism survives.

Every intelligent capitalist economist and politician recognises today that the separate and divided European states are doomed under this system with their competing national economies and narrow restricted markets.

Hardly had the words been uttered by Bevin before the French announced their devaluation of the franc. Despite urgent pleas of the British, the French capitalists refused to change their course. Herein lies the mortal weakness of competitive capitalism. After the first world war, similar schemes were advocated. They inevitably ended in fiasco.

At the same time while the capitalists can offer no solution to a Europe which has been bled and tortured for 30 years, the solution of the Russian bureaucracy is no better. Molotov threatened Britain, France and America with "squalls" if they tried to carry the Plan through.

Thus we have the diverting, if unedifying, spectacle of the capitalists decrying the police-state regimes which have been established by the Stalinist bureaucracy on the one hand. On the other the Stalinists solemnly re-discovering the "imperialistic" aims of the capitalist class before, during and after the war.

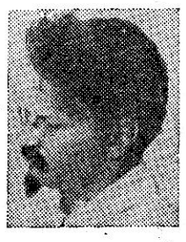
Unfortunately, this "re-discovery" of the nature of imperialism by the Stalinist bureaucricy and its "Communist" Parties, is not a return to Communism. For at the same time they offer nothing but the reactionary and worn-out nationalist cries of "defending the nation" in France, Britain, Italy and other Western countries against the encroachments of dollar imperialism. While proposing trade agreements with the East, they fail to show the only solution: a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the integration of the economies into a united Socialist system.

The answer to the Utopia of a Western capitalist union lies in showing what could be achieved in a Union of States under democratic working class control. The peoples of the world including Germany and Russia and Eastern Europe have inexhaustible possibilities in human labour which once released from the fetters of capitalism and the antiquated national states can solve the problems of the world.

Achievements of the Communist Manifesto

By LEON TROTSKY

Summarised by Trotsky on the 90th Anniversary of the Manifesto (An Extract)



TROTSKY

The Materialist Interpretation of History

1. The materialist conception of history, discovered by Marx only a short while before and applied with consummate skill in the *Manifesto*, has completely withstood the test of events and the blows of hostile criticism. It constitutes today one of the most precious instruments of human thought. All other interpretations of the historical process have lost all scientific meaning. We can state with certainty that it is impossible in our time not only to be a revolutionary militant but even a literate observer in politics without assimilating the materialist interpretation of history.

Driving Force of History—Class Struggle

2. The first chapter of the *Manifesto* opens with the following words: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." This postulate, the most important conclusion drawn from the materialist interpretation of history, immediately became an issue in the class struggle. Especially venomous attacks were directed by reactionary hypocrites, liberal doctrinaires and idealistic democrats against the theory which replaced "common welfare," "national unity' 'and "eternal moral truths" as the driving force by the struggle of material interests. They were later joined by recruits from the ranks of the labour movement itself, by the so-called revisionists, *i.e.*, the proponents of reviewing ("revising") Marxism in the spirit of class collaboration and class conciliation. Finally, in our own time, the same path has been followed in practise by the contemptible epigones of the Communist International (the "Stalinists"): the policy of the so-called "People's Front" flows wholly from the denial of the laws of the class struggle. Meanwhile, it is precisely the epoch of imperialism, bringing all social contradictions to the point of highest tension, which gives to the *Communist Manifesto* its supreme *theoretical* triumph.

Anatomy Of Capitalism

3. The anatomy of capitalism, as a specific stage in the economic development of society, was given by Marx in its finished form in *Capital* (1867). But already in the *Communist Manifesto* the main lines of the future analysis are firmly sketched: the payment for labour power as equivalent to the cost of its reproduction; the appropriation of surplus value by the capitalists; competition as the basic law of social relations; the ruination of intermediate classes, *i.e.*, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry; the concentration of wealth in the hands of an ever diminishing number of property owners at the one pole, and the numerical growth of the proletariat, at the other; the preparation of the material and political pre-conditions for the socialist régime.

Capitalism Brings Pauperisation

4. The proposition in the *Manifesto* concerning the tendency of capitalism to lower the living standards of the workers, and even to transform them into paupers, has been subjected to a heavy barrage. Parsons, professors, ministers, journalists, social-democratic theoreticians, and trade union leaders came to the front against the so-called "theory of impoverishment." They invariably discovered signs of growing prosperity among the toilers, palming off the labour aristocracy as the proletariat, or taking a fleeting tendency as permanent. Meanwhile, even the development of the mightiest capitalism in the world, namely, U.S. capitalism, has transformed millions of workers into paupers who are maintained at the expense of federal, municipal or private charity.

Recurring Crises

5. As against the *Manifesto*, which depicted commercial and industrial crises as a series of ever more extensive catastrophies, the revisionists vowed that the national and international development of trusts would assure control over the market, and lead gradually to the abolition of crises. The close of the last century and the beginning of the present one were in reality marked by a development of capitalism so tempestuous as to make crises seem only "accidental" stoppages. But this epoch has gone beyond return. In the last analysis, truth proved to be on Marx's side in this question as well.

Theory Of The State

6. "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." This succinct formula, which the leaders of the social democracy looked upon as a journalistic paradox, contains in fact the only scientific theory of the state. The democracy fashioned by the bourgeoisie is not, as both Bernstein and Kautsky thought, an empty sack which one can undisturbedly fill with any kind of class content. Bourgeois democracy can serve only the bourgeoisie. A government of the "People's Front," whether headed by Blum or Chautemps, Caballero or Negrin, is only "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." Whenever this "committee" manages affairs poorly, the bourgeoisie dismisses it with a boot.

Political Struggle

7. "Every class struggle is a political struggle." "The organization of the proletariat as a class [is] consequently its organization into a political party." Trade unionists, on the one hand, and anarcho-syndicalists on the other, have long shied away—and even now try to shy away—from the understanding of these historical laws. "'Pure" trade unionism has now been dealt a crushing blow in its chief refuge: the United States. Anarcho-syndicalism has suffered an irreparable defeat in its last stronghold—Spain. Here too the *Manifesto* proved correct.

Conquest Of Power

8. The proletariat cannot conquer power within the legal framework established by the bourgeoisie. "Communists openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." Reformism sought to explain this postulate of the *Manifesto* on the grounds of the immaturity of the movement at that time, and the inadequate development of democracy. The fate of Italian, German, and a great number of other "democracies" proves that 'immaturity" is the distinguishing trait of the ideas of the reformists themselves.

Workers' Democracy

9. For the socialist transformation of society, the working class must concentrate in its hands such power as can smash each and every political obstacle barring the road to the new system. 'The proletariat organized as the ruling class"—this is the dictatorship. At the same time it is the only true proletarian democracy. Its scope and depth depend upon concrete historical conditions. The greater the number of states that take the path of the socialist revolution, the freer and more flexible forms will the dictatorship assume, the broader and more deep-going will be workers' democracy.

World Character of Socialist Revolution

10. The international development of capitalism has predetermined the international character of the proletarian revolution. "United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat." The subsequent development of capitalism has so closely knit all sections of our planet, both "civilized' 'and "uncivilized," that the problem of the socialist revolution has completely and decisively assumed a world character. The Soviet bureaucracy attempted to liquidate the *Manifesto* with respect to this fundamental question. The Bonapartist degeneration of the Soviet state is an overwhelming illustration of the falseness of the theory of socialism in one country.

State Withers Away

11. "When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character." In other words: the state withers away. Society remains, freed from the straitjacket. This is nothing else but socialism. The converse theorem: the monstrous growth of state coercion in the U.S.S.R. is eloquent testimony that society is moving away from socialism.

No Fatherland

12. "The workingmen have no fatherland." These words of the *Manifesto* have more than once been evaluated by philistines as an agitational quip. As a matter of fact they provided the proletariat with the sole conceivable directive in the question of the capitalist "fatherland". The violation of this directive by the Second International brought about not only four years of devastation in Europe, but the present stagnation of world culture. In view of the impending new war, for which the betrayal of the Third International has paved the way, the *Manifesto* remains even now the most reliable counsellor on the question of the capitalist "fatherland".

Historical Background

of the Communist Manifesto

BY C. VAN GELDEREN

Towards the end of November, 1847, there took place in London the second congress of the Communist League. Present at the congress was Karl Marx who, with Frederick Engels, had joined the organization some time earlier and the change of name from "Federation of the Just" to "Communist League." The Communist League was the first international organization of the working class with a Communist programme. Article 1 of its "Rules and Constitution" read:

"The aim of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the bourgeois social order founded upon class antagonisms and the inauguration of a new social order wherein there shall be neither classes nor private property.

The historical significance of this second congress of the Communist League lay in the fact that it was on this occasion that Marx and Engels were commissioned to draw up a manifesto which would bring the views of the League before the world. This proposal came after a lengthy debate—the congress sat for at least ten days—in the course of which Marx had elaborated his theoretical conclusions. Marx's views on the process which would transform capitalist society into socialism was accepted by the majority of the delegates. The modern, scientific socialist movement was born.

What was the significance of Marx's contribution to the discussion?

The Utopians

There had been Socialists before Marx, many of them great men who carried on a heroic struggle against the misery engendered by Capitalism. Best known of these were the Utopian Socialists, **Robert Owen** (171-1858), **Charles Fourier** (1771-1837) and **Saint-Simon** (1760-1825).

Most of these Utopians were middle-class intellectuals, frightened by the growth of social distress and concerned at the action of the masses who were rising up in revolt against the terrible conditions under which they lived. They sought to ameliorate the suffering and abolish social inequality. Other Utopians same from the ranks of the swiftly-disappearing small producers, ruined by the competition of large-scale industry and the concentration of capital. Some, like Robert Owen, came from the ranks of the capitalist class itself and their socialist convictions sprang from humanitarian motives.

The Utopians were the first to subject modern capitalism to a thorough and devastating criticism. They showed that the hopes which the French Revolution had aroused in mankind—that the destruction of feudalism and the establishment of political liberty meant happiness and progress for all—were unfounded. On the contrary, the condition of the workers was very much worsened once political power was in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The French Utopian, Fourier, showed that under the existing order of society a large number of people — merchants, some manufacturers, lawyers, tax-collectors, the military, and many others—lived parasitic lives, doing no productive work. He and Owen advocated the abolition of the difference between town and country—which has since become a classic aim of revolutionary socialism—and the need of reorganising the educational system upon the unity of productive labour and learning. Apart from Owen's experiments at New Lanark, this latter demand was not translated into action till after the victory of the Russian proletariat in 1917.

Abolition Of The State

Saint-Simon, with what Engels called his "genius's breadth of vision," was vaguely aware that economic conditions form the basis of political constitutions. In his writings we find a clearly exposed conception of the final aim of the Socialist movement—the transformation of political government over men into the administration of things and the guidance of the processes of production. Here, clearly foreseen, was the ultimate abolition of the State.

While the Utopians recognised that the development of capitalism was creating intolerable conditions for the great mass of the people, they suffered from the illusion that to change the economic and social order would be a very easy task. All they had to do was to carry on propaganda in favour of the future society—whose physival shape they had mapped out down to the minutest detail. If they could persuade a sufficient number of people, and especially a representative section of the possessing classes who, after all, disposed of political power, to support their schemes, all would be accomplished. There would be no need for any sort of political struggle. A revolution? Perish the thought!

"Should not the rich first of all be turned on to the right road?". Cabet, one of the leading French utopian socialists, was asked. "Undoubtedly," was his reply. "It is useful to begin with them, for the rich and the educated have greater influence among the rich, and even among the poor. But can we rely upon being successful among the rich? Why should we have any doubts on this score? Are there no enlightened, just and generous people among the rich?"

The utopian Socialists were aware that the workers were the most oppressed section of the population, but they had little faith in the ability of the workers to free themselves from the chains of capitalism. They preferred to seek the support of benevolent representatives of the bourgeoisie, or to supplicate tender-hearted monarchs.

Reformism

Other "socialist" theories were being advocated at the same time. In France, Proudhon was putting forward the idea of mutual credit institutions and all-embracing co-operative associations. His compatriot, Louis Blanc, was anticipating by about a century, the Stalinist "Popular Front," claiming that society as a whole, including the capitalists, was interested in the establishment of socialism. **"If the bourgeoisie is moved by good intentions,"** he wrote, **"it will do everything to regenerate the country. Let them amalgamate with the people and take the initiative in changing over from competition to association."** Louis Blanc believed implicitly in the power of universal franchise. By the exercise of the vote alone the "people" could eliminate their enemies and bring about the transformation of society. The vote was all-powerful, there was therefore no need for force.

"Let us leave force to our enemies," he wrote, **"the people look to their emancipation not in the use of crude force, but in order."**

Marx and Engels tore through the arguments of Utopians and reformists, alike. They showed that capitalism was not simply the work of evil men with evil intent but a necessary product of historical development; that economic development prepares and makes inevitable the replacement of the capitalist by the socialist system of production. They showed how the capitalist system of production came into being and how, in the course of its development, the private ownership of the means of production becomes a fetter on its further growth. The socialisation of the means of production becomes equally indispensable and inevitable. And this transformation would come about, not through the good-will of the ruling class or sentimentally inclined crowned heads, but through the class strugle. The proletariat and only the proletariat could accomplish the task. To them history had assigned the role of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and ushering in the new, socialist order of society. This they could only do by securing political power, through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Scientific Socialism

Socialism ceased to be a Utopian dream. Through the genius of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels it had been transformed into a science.

In the "Communist Manifesto," the two founders of scientific socialism gave the first concise exposition of the theoretical conceptions they had worked out.

"This work," wrote Lenin, **"gives with the clarity and distinction of genius the new conception of the world, consistent materialism, embracing also the sphere of social life, dialectic materialism as the most comprehensive and profound theory of development, the theory of the class struggle and the world-historical revolutionary role of the proletariat, the creator of a new communist society."**

A few weeks after the manuscript was in the hands of the London printer, the February revolution in Paris broke out. In the beginning of January, 1848, events in North Italy had inaugurated the "Year of Revolutions". On January 18th, Sicily and Palermo were in open revolt and a provisional government had been set up. Only a few weeks after the March revolution in Germany the first copies of the Manifesto entered that country.

This was the background against which the Communist Manifesto was written.

Communal Fighting in Palestine

For a United Socialist Palestine

The picture above is of two members of Irgun. Irgun represents a section of the Jews who, driven desperate by the persecution in Europe have resorted to acts of terror. They try and find salvation in the utopia o fan independent Zionist State for Jews.

But far from partition solving the problem for the Jewish people in Palestine, it makes their situation even worse. It ushers in a terrible civil war, especially so when the small size of the population is taken into account. The whole of the Arab world has been inflamed by this reactionary measure. The Arabs correctly regard this as a division of the country which they have inhabited for over a thousand years.

In the meantime, the imperialists can continue to play the Arabs against the Jews, according to the given relationship between the Great Powers and the situation in the Middle East.

The partition is a disaster for both Arab and Jewish masses in Palestine. It assists the reactionary Arab feudal landowners to retain their hold over the Arab peasants. And the Jewish masses are pushed into the arms of their capitalist masters.

Only a firm unity between Arab and Jewish masses for a United Socialist Palestine with full autonomy for the Jews, can solve the problem of Palestine.

Toronto Trotskyist Election Gains

Ross Dowson Polls 15,000 Votes

TORONTO, CANADA, Jan. 1.—

The Trotskyist candidates in Toronto's municipal elections registered impressive gains.

Final returns gave Ross Dowson, Revolutionary Workers Party candidate for Mayor, 15,423 *votes, and Harry Clairmont, R.W.P. candidate for Board of Control,* 4957.

Dowson, sole opponent of the Tory incumbent Saunders, polled over 11% of the total vote cast. Clairmont, one of seven candidates for the four offices on the Board of Control, polled 5.7% of the highest vote.

The last week of the campaign witnessed the most vicious red-baiting drive that this city has ever seen. Mayor Saunders hysterically lashed out against the opponents of his slate for Board of Control as "godless men unfit to administer the city." In Ward 5, a concentrated working class area, the capitalist candidates campaigned on a straight anti-communist basis.

Under the impetus of the campaign 39% voted, a 9% increase over last year. But the red-baiting campaign fizzled out. Although Smith, the Stalinist candidate for the Board of Control, went down to defeat for the second time, he received 49,319 votes—7,087 more than last year. Defeated in other wards, Stalinist candidates in Wards 4 and 5 were returned with an increased vote.

The C.C.F. took a bad beating. Running only 9 candidates for the most unimportant of 41 posts, it elected only one candidate. Its campaign was indistinguishable from that of the capitalist candidates.

Major Force

Only the R.W.P. made substantial gains.

Last year's R.W.P. candidate for Mayor, Murray Dowson, polled 3,201, or 3% of the poll. The R.W.P. this year, running its National Secretary, Ross Dowson, polled 11% of the total vote. Despite Smith's expensive campaign, Clairmont, a first-time candidate polled almost 5,000.

The significance of the big Trotskyist vote is underlined by the fact that the Tory Saunders, was endorsed by the powerful A.F.L. Council. Although the C.C.F. dominated C.I.O Council did not endorse him, many prominent CC.F. leaders did.

The Marshall Plums

The Marshall Plan includes a few rich plums for Big Business which aren't publicized in the press

The bill Truman submitted to Congress contains a provision that the U.S. Government guarantee dollar - for - dollar private American investments in Western Europe, up to 5% of the total amount of the Marshall Plan.

This guarantee applies to investments by U.S. corporations or foreign corporations in which Americans own an interest.

If Congress votes the full $17 billion, this means the government could underwrite against loss $850,000,000 in private corporation investments ! !

("The Militant"—U.S.A.)

THE FRANC DEVALUATION

How it will affect French and World Economy

BY T. CLIFF

The French Government has decided to devalue the franc and establish a free market in gold and foreign exchange. The official value of the franc, which was 119 to the dollar and 480 to the pound will from now on be 215 to the dollar and 864 to the pound. Besides this official price the free market will buy and sell dollars at about 340 francs to the dollar.

What importance does the French Government's decisions have? What are the reasons for it and what will be its results? The answers to these questions will expose the bankruptcy of declining capitalism.

The Causes of the French Government's Decision

Two main associated causes led to the French Government introducing the new financial manipulation:

(1) French exports lag badly behind her imports; and
(2) The position of French reserves in gold and foreign exchange is catastrophic.

Despite the tremendous export drive, France's exports pay for only about 60 per cent. of her imports, leaving her with a monthly trade deficit of about 10,000 million. Besides this, she pays about 2,000 million francs a month in transport freight to other countries ,and the same amount again on other overseas expenditure (mainly military).

This adverse balance of payments has caused her reserves of gold and foreign exchange to be nearly exhausted and has jeopardised the stability of the financial system. While at the end of 1939 French gold reserves amounted to 2,709 million dollars, in January 1945 they amounted to 1,779 million dollars, and in August 1947 to only 544 million. The foreign exchange reserves held by the Central Bank of France declined from 821 million francs at the end of 1938 to 3 million francs in August 1947.

Exports lag behind imports not because French production has dropped. On the contrary, production is above the pre-war level on the whole, and particularly in such key industries as coal, steel, electricity, building materials and a number of heavy industries. Nor is the world market to blame: it is hungry for goods and the demand is much above the supply. Furthermore, the real wages of the French workers, according to official statistics, are less than half of pre-war.

Exports lag as the result of two main factors: firstly the inflationary spiral, which makes French products very dear compared to products from other countries; secondly the high tariffs the United States puts on all imported goods and the rising prices she demands for all exported goods.

The Right-Centre Schuman Government cannot get rid of the inflationary pressure by a capital levy, by heavy taxation on the rich, by a strict control of prices exercised by workers and consumers' committees. It tried to do so by imposing more taxes on the rich, but, being immediately attacked from the right, it capitulated with inefficient half-measures. Now the French Government are forced to try another manipulation.

The Character of the New Gamble

By cutting the value of the franc to nearly half the French Government hopes that the price of French goods abroad will decline. This will allow the French industrialists to undercut their competitors on the world market, and so will increase French exports.

On the other hand, the fact that French importers of all goods except a few necessities such as coal, wheat and raw materials, will be compelled to go to the free market to buy the dollars and other heavy currency needed to pay for the imports, will immediately mean a rise in the price of imported goods. In this way the Government hopes to decrease the volume of imports.

The new measure is intended to encourage export in general, but especially export to the dollar countries. On the other hand, it is intended to discourage imports in general, and especially imports from the dollar countries. The clause permitting a free market for dollars side by side with the official market will mean that a French capitalist who sells his goods in the United States will receive dollars which he will exchange for 340 francs; this he will then exchange for sterling at the official rate. It will thus turn out that a pound sterling will be exchanged not for 4.93 dollars but for less than 3. This will encourage the French capitalists to reap additional fat profits by exporting to dollar countries and then importing from the sterling area.

Another reason for the new arrangement is that millions upon millions worth of gold and foreign exchange is hoarded by rich French capitalists. The French Government hopes that the new free market price of 340 francs to the dollar in place of the former 119, might induce them to disgorge these fortunes. This would increase the reserve of gold and foreign exchange in the hands of the Government.

The Social Character of the Gamble

The devaluation of the franc is a "compensation" to Black Marketeers. It is an inducement to cut imports and increase exports—an inducement to the industrialist—the exporter, the importer—at the expense of the workers and poor middle class. Thus even before the French Government's pronouncement, the Black Market had already anticipated it, and prices rose in the two weeks previous to it by 50 to 100 per cent.

Financial System will not be Saved

The French Government is trying its best to postpone the inevitable catastrophe. But it can use only palliatives; it cannot provide a solution. The new financial manipulations may possibly for a short time increase exports; but as the prices of imports rise and the prices received for exports decline—which the new regulations will ensure—France's balance of payments will be as bad as it is now, even though the volume of exports rises and of imports declines. The French workers will be further exploited in order to increase exports, their standard of living will remain terribly low and even be cut in order to keep imports down and still the balance of payments will not improve. Even the inducement to the Black Marketeers to sell their hoards to the Government will most probably have meagre results. Since the Government has devalued the franc, they will examine the possibility of a further devaluation. They will keep the dollars and wait and see.

But French capitalism is in such a desperate financial position that it is compelled to gamble with any palliative which might save them for another short period—perhaps till the Marshall Plan comes to the rescue.

Bankruptcy of Capitalism

The catastrophic financial position of France is the result of the disruption of the world division of labour, the destruction of Germany which held the key position in the European division of labour, the decline of Europe as against the United States, etc. The new franc manipulation will cause a further disruption in the world division of labour. Britain's export difficulties will increase as French exports rise. And the dollar will become even more powerful relative to the pound, while sterling is in danger of collapse. British capitalism will be driven to increased efforts to export while doing its best to close its doors to imports from France. Thus, confronted with the first difficulties in exporting, the French capitalists forget all talk of the Western bloc and put a knife in the back of Britain. Britain behaved similarly a few months ago, when, in order to strengthen the base of sterling, she decided on the abolition of the convertibility of sterling into dollars. This was used by the French Government as an argument to justify their unilateral devaluation action. The winds of economic adversity will bring the different capitalist countries of Europe back to the jungle law of capitalism: "Each man (or country) for himself."

It is possible that United States imperialism will hasten the introduction of the Marshall Plan in order to save European capitalism by stabilising the currency of the countries of Europe, by slackening the strain in their balance of payments, by increasing their purchasing power. The Marshall Plan will possibly encourage an extension of the division of labour among the capitalist countries of Europe. But this will be only a temporary measure lasting at most only a few years. When the slump comes, when the crisis of overproduction breaks out, each will try to increase its exports while cutting imports from other countries.

If today every capitalist country in Europe is blindly trying to save itself even if the others drown, this will increase tenfold when the slump comes.

No Stability Under Capitalism

Hitler Germany tried to "unite" Europe by the sword. Marshall tries to "unite" Western Europe by increasing the dependence of all the European countries on United States capitalism. Bevin's scheme for a bloc of the Western capitalist countries as an independent factor standing on its own feet, is a fraud. European capitalism by itself will be shattered to pieces, every national capitalism stabbing the other in the back. Only under the patronage of dollar imperialism, can "unity" of a Western bloc be achieved.

Real unification of the economies of Europe and the world is an urgent need for the working people. It can be achieved only through the socialist revolution and the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe and the World.

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.

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.

Anti-Fascists in Court

(*Continued from Page* 1.)

Chief Inspector Watson Didn't Know !

The partiality of the police was evidenced in the case of three anti-fascists arrested outside a Mosley meeting in Bethnal Green.

Chief Inspector Watson, in evidence, was asked by the magistrate, Mr. Raphael, **if it was right to describe the meeting as a fascist one?**

"I can't say it was," replied the Inspector.

"Come ! We are not babies, Chief Inspector!" said the magistrate. **"It was a meeting in support of Sir Oswald Mosley.?"**

"'It was," replied Watson.

The State, in the shape of the police and courts, stand there as an allegedly "impartial" force to see that there is "law and order." Chuter Ede admitted that Mosley's meetings are protected to the tune of 100 or more policemen.

British workers must see to it that not only is legal action taken against the fascists, whose mere presence constitutes a provocation to the workers and Jewish minority, but that they are given adequate protection when chasing the fascists off the streets.

A Government claiming to represent the workers does not sound as "impartial" protector of the community including the workers' mortal enemy, the fascists. It should be there to protect the workers' interests and ensure that the fascists cannot continue to propagate their pernicious race hatred and anti-labour policy.

BIRMINGHAM DAY SCHOOL

"The French Situation"

Speaker: TED GRANT

I.L.P. Rooms, 38 John Bright Street

(Near Alexandra Theatre)

Sunday, 8th February, at 3.15 p.m.

Struggle For World Communism Continues

(*Continued from Page* 1.)

GUIDE TO ACTION

Marx and Engels further developed and made more comprehensive and precise their theoretical principles, upon the basis of which the Manifesto had been written. Years of scientific, economic, historical and philosophical study went into the structure of Marxian theory. But more than this: by the vigour with which they threw themselves into the struggle of the working class against the capitalists and the flexibility of their tactics, they showed that Marxism was no dogma, no passive philosophy of contemplation, but a scientific theory backed by action. The task was not to bemoan the evils of the world, or rest content with interpreting it; the task was to change it.

WORKERS AND THE STATE

In the course of a hundred years, rich in historical conflict and development, great changes have taken place. During their lifetime the authors of the Manifesto indicated what they believed had been outdated, and what lessons and experiences of the working class in great struggles should be incorporated into the Communist programme. Out of the experience of the glorious Paris Commune of 1871, when the working class held power in their hands for the first time though only for two months, they drew the conclusion that **"one thing especially was** proved by the Commune, viz., that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." The workers would have to smash the capitalist state machine, with its standing army, police, its courts and bureaucracy.

DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY

In its place they would have to establish a Government controlled by working men as a first, transitional step towards communism: *the dictatorship of the proletariat.* But this dictatorship visualised by Marx and Engels had nothing in common with the terrifying caricature which the capitalists and reformist socialists depict in their fight against communism. Nor yet was it a regime which in any respect has the slightest similarity to the monstrous Stalinist dictatorship in Russia today. In the introduction to Karl Marx's book, the "*Civil War in France,*" Engels wrote in March 1891 :

"Against this transformation of the State and the organs of the State from the servants of Society into masters of society—a process which had been inevitable in all previous States—the Commune made use of two infallible expedients. In the first place, it filled all posts—administrative, judicial and educational—by election on the basis of universal suffrage of all concerned, with the right of these electors to recall their delegate at any time. And in the second place, all officials, high or low, were paid only the wages received by other workers. The highest salary paid by the Commune to anyone was 6,000 *francs. In this way an effective barrier to place-hunting and careerism was set up, even apart from the imperative mandates to delegate to representative bodies which were also added in profusion.*

This shattering of the former State power and its replacement by a new and really democratic State is described in detail in the third section of "The Civil War."

The Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 went further than the Paris Commune. The land and all the basic industries and the banks were nationalised. The power of the old ruling class was destroyed. The Soviet system was, in its beginnings, the most democratic which humanity had yet brought into being. But to complete the revolution it was necessary that the workers in the advanced countries come to the aid of backward Russia. The failure of the German revolution and the backwardness of Russia in economy and culture forced the Bolsheviks to retreat. But under Lenin and Trotsky they openly declared they were forced to retreat.

LENIN ON INEQUALITIES

When the wages of the specialists were increased to five times that of the workers Lenin warned that this was against the principles of the Commune and was very dangerous even as a temporary expedient.

". . . *We have had to resort to the old bourgeois method and to agree to pay a very high price for 'services' of the biggest bourgeois specialists. All those who are familiar with the subject appreciate this, but not all ponder over the significance of the measure that has been adopted by the proletarian state. Clearly, such a measure is a compromise, a departure from the principles of the Paris Commune and of every proletarian state, which call for the reduction of all salaries to the level of the wages of the average worker, which call for a struggle against careerism, not in words, but in deeds,*

"*Moreover, it is clear that such a measure not only implies the cessation—in a certain field and to a certain degree—of the offensive against capital (for capital is not a sum of money but a definite social relation); it is also a step backward on the part of our socialist Soviet Government, which from the very outset proclaimed and pursued the policy of reducing high salaries to the level of the wages of the average worker.*

". . . *To conceal from the masses the fact that the enlistment of bourgeois specialists by means of extremely high salaries is a retreat from the principles of the Paris Commune, would be tantamount to sinking to the level of bourgeois politicians and to deceiving the masses. Openly explaining how and why we took this step backward and then publicly discussing what means are available for making up for lost time, means educating the masses and learning from experience together with the masses how to build up Socialism.*"

So also the Bolsheviks believed that the suppression of democratic rights not only of the reformists, but within the party itself, was a temporary retreat forced upon them by the civil war and the war of intervention which was being waged by the imperialist nations.

Today in Russia, specialists are paid, not 5, but 20 and 50 times more than the wages of the ordinary working man. All opposition to the regime, from whatever angle, is ruthlessly crushed. The Soviets have been destroyed. There is not a vestige of control *by the workers over the bureaucrats, who live like Lords.* The Stalinists try to impress the workers of the world that this system is *Socialism* as it was understood by the Marxists, that Stalin is the continuator of Lenin's policies. The Stalinist dictatorship has nothing in common with the democratic rule of the working class in the Paris Commune : the dictatorship of the proletariat

The experience of the Russian Revolution proves that nationalised property is not enough. Communism is not possible without the fullest and freest democracy; and with complete control in the hands of the producers. In contrast to the private property of the capitalist class, the State property established by the revolution contains the basis for a great advance in human culture. In defending that State property from attempts at restoration by the capitalist class the Trotskyists at the same time fight for the overthrow of the Stalinist dictatorship and for the introduction of real democracy and equality based upon soviets. The Trotskyists continue in the traditions of Marx and Engels and with the principles and the ideas of the Communist Manifesto.

Industrial Democracy

(*Continued from Page* 1.)

The **"Daily Herald"** writes :

"Up to now, 'Industrial Democracy' points out, effective consultation is still unknown in the great majority of firms. Where an employer is antagonistic to consultation, should he be compelled by law to accept it, or should persuasion be relied upon?"

In this, is exposed the bankruptcy of the Labour leaders and the other advocates of "joint committees." Clearly a policy which leaves the capitalist-employers and managements free to determine whether **they** will carry out any measures in industry and production in the interests of the workers is a capitulation to the interests of the capitalist-exploiters.

The "Communist" Party, like the others who now rush to advocate this, distort the essence of real workers' control, which Lenin pointed out could only be realised when that control is effectively in the hands of the workers and their organisations, through the fullest accounting of all the processes of production and industry.

The policy of "joint consultation" between workers and employers is a caricature of this Leninist position, because it relegates the role of the workers to "advising" the capitalists, who are left free to ignore, at their pleasure, the advice of the workers in industry. Experience of the war-time Joint Production Committees demonstrated this. The workers who participated in them found that their role was to deal with how to increase production by disciplining the workers for absenteeism. Questions affecting conditions and wages were ruled "out of the scope" of the J.P.C.s !

As against the fraudulent policy of workers' "participation" and 'consultation", the organised working class must demand the abolition of all business secrets and that all company books be open to the free and unfettered inspection of Trade Union and workers' committees. This is the first essential step if real workers' control is to replace employers' and capitalist managements' control of production.

Only when the workers have such genuine control in their hands through democratically elected committees of workers and technicians will it be possible to go forward and plan production in their interests and as part of a Socialist overall plan in Britain.

Bosses Doing Well

(*Continued from Page* 1.)

the capitalist press and leading industrial magnates, the present inflationary tendencies in Britain are largely the result of the workers having "too much" money and nothing to buy with it. The "cure" advocated is, of course, that the spending power of the workers must be "restricted." To this end, they are conducting a campaign of pressure on the Labour Government to implement a policy of restricting the wage-demands of the working class, to end the food and other subsidies, and thus increase the cost-of-living of the workers. This is the capitalist solution to inflationary tendencies.

No Mention Of Profits

Naturally they make no mention of any restrictions on **their** ever-increasing profits, they take it for granted that they will be free to accumulate more and more at the expense of the working class.

Workers Demand Increased Wages

At the present time, sections of the workers are pressing for wage-increases. The London busmen are pressing for increases ranging from 11s. to £1 a week. The **"Economist"** (17.1.48), commenting on this states:

"If the claim is conceded, it will add enormously to the wages bill and will be followed by similar demands from other sections of transport workers . . . to grant the claim would lead to further pressure from other industrial workers. . . ."

The Labour leaders would be taking a step in the interests of the workers in industry if they confiscated the profits of the capitalists, ploughed them back into the industries concerned, and ensured better conditions and wages for the workers. But only the organised pressure of the working class can enforce any steps to this end, for the Labour leaders are too timid to take action against the "sacred" profits of the capitalist-class.

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