

# Cops Smash Savoy Picket

The official strike at the Savoy Group of Hotels enters its third week as we go to press. Since this is the first strike involving a considerable number of workers which has been organised, recognised and supported by the National Executive of an important Union, it is of exceptional interest to organised workers.

According to the ballot paper, on the basis of which a large majority of catering workers employed at the Savoy and organised in the N.U.M.G.W. voted for strike action, the strike is a reply to the alleged victimisation of Frank Piazza, a waiter formerly employed at the Savoy Hotel and seeks to compel the management to respect the decisions of the negotiation and arbitration machinery.

The strike is fully supported by the London Trades Council, which, in addition to instructing its 650,000 affiliated trade unionists to observe the picket line, has been active in helping to organise 24-hour pickets. Workers of all trades and tendencies, and of all political creeds and opinions, have responded to this appeal, and to their credit, a number of students from the London University have also been on the all-night pickets.

The strike started off to a bad start, due to the confusion created in the first few days by the Union Executive, who, even at the last moment, sought to delay strike action on the plea that the Minister of Labour had set up a Court of Inquiry to investigate the cause of the dispute. The action of the management in giving an ultimatum to the strikers to return or consider themselves sacked, forced the Executive to declare the strike official.

## Action Of

### M.O.L. Management

The workers are incensed at the action of the Minister of Labour in stepping in at the last moment with a Court of Inquiry, instead of supporting such an inquiry many months ago. They feel that the action of the Minister at that stage was of assistance to the management, confusing the issue at the decisive moment.

They bitterly remark that the Minister is eager to step in when a strike may involve the comfort and well-being of members of the ruling class who frequent the Savoy Group of Hotels, but is very reluctant when the well-being of the workers is at stake.

At the Savoy Group of Hotels which include Simpsons Restaurant, Claridges and the Berkeley Hotel, a prize crop of European Kings, Queens and other aristocratic gentry, including Princess Elizabeth, have crossed the picket line to be served by scabs and blacklegs.

# An Appeal to Trade Unionists

Comrade and Fellow Worker,

As you are aware, the workers at the Savoy and its associated hotels, Claridges, the Berkeley and Simpsons, have been in conflict with the management since last October, 1946, when the great strike of catering workers took place. For the past months a struggle has been going on with the management over the alleged victimisation of a waiter shop-steward, Frank Piazza, and the workers came out on strike again on November 7th for trade union principles.

The "Socialist Appeal" stated the case for the workers as reported by Trade Unionists and Trade Union officials in an article written by an active trade union militant employed at the Savoy—Marion Lunt—who has since been sacked on alleged grounds of redundancy.

As a result of that article, the Savoy bosses have entered a libel action against the "Socialist Appeal" claiming damages. The Savoy Hotel Ltd., the most powerful of the London catering employers, has secured an injunction against the "Socialist Appeal" which effectively silences it from commenting on the background of the workers' struggle until the case is heard in the High Court.

The "Socialist Appeal" has a proud record in speaking for the interests of the workers whenever they have fought the capitalist class. This is a clear case of Big Business versus the voice of militant Labour.

A case of this kind is very expensive and we rely upon the support of class conscious trade unionists to fight it to the end. We ask you to raise the matter in your Trade Union Branch with a view to sending a donation to the Fund, and to get the maximum financial contributions from your members on a subscription list. All funds for this purpose should be sent to: SAVOY CASE, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

Fraternally Yours,

JOCK HASTON.

General Secretary, R.C.P.

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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## SWING TO THE RIGHT Revealed in Election

### Only a Bold Socialist Policy Can Change Trend

BY JOCK HASTON.

A SWING TO THE RIGHT WAS REVEALED BY THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WHERE THE TORIES SUCCEEDED IN STAGING A COME-BACK. THEY HAVE REGAINED GROUND, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE MIDDLE CLASS.

The total vote increased by over 2 million over the election in 1946. The Labour vote actually increased by half a million, but the Tory vote increased by a million and a half.

In the key industrial City of Manchester, the Labour vote increased by 27 per cent., but the Tory vote increased by 77 per cent. The Communist Party lost the nine seats they previously held.

All this is an indication of the rightward swing in British politics.

In the old traditional working class strongholds, Labour retained its support, but there was a clear lack of enthusiasm on the part of Labour workers. It was mainly in the new areas won by Labour since 1945, and especially where the middle class vote played a decisive role, that the swing back to the Tories was pronounced.

The polling in the elections was the highest for many years, in some areas reaching from 60 to 70 per cent. against the normal poll of 30 to 40 per cent.

Among the middle class previously sympathetic to Labour, and also among sections of working class housewives, a growing hostility to the Labour Government is to be discerned. What are the

reasons for this trend?

The masses, who turned hopefully towards the Labour Government in 1945, expected a very rapid change in their immediate conditions of life. But, despite the various concessions in wages, hours, working conditions and in social services, the standards of the masses have remained on a level. And since the ending of the American Loan, the tremendous gap in the balance of trade has resulted in the Government cutting further into those standards, particularly in food.

The Tory press has conducted a powerful demagogic campaign against the Labour Government, utilising the shortages, which they

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COMRADE MARION LUNT PICKETING OUTSIDE THE SAVOY.

Comrade Lunt was among the 21 pickets arrested outside the Savoy while attempting to prevent oil being delivered by scab labour, escorted by a squad of police. She has played an active role in organising the Catering workers in London.

## French C.P. Leader Admits 'Grave' Mistakes in C.P. Policy Since 1935

PARIS CORRESPONDENT—

In view of the sharp polarisation of social forces here, the new turn of the Communist Party must be appraised realistically. There is no doubt that the De Gaulle victory has shaken up the whole Stalinist Party—the ranks of the militant workers as well as the bureaucracy, which, more than anything else, feels the crumbling of its great patronage machine.

At its Central Committee meeting, Thorez declared:

"The fact that in Paris and in the big cities the R.P.F. . . . has succeeded in dragging into its tow important sections of the petty bourgeoisie, discontented and unstable, underlines the grave danger threatening the Republic and the working class. It would be wrong to underestimate this danger."

But there must have been a good deal of questioning in the ranks as to how this danger was permitted to arise, with the C.P. occupying such powerful positions since 1944. Thorez, therefore, indulged in a "self criticism" much sharper and more devastatingly self-revealing than has been the case in the past with such bureaucratic comedies. It entailed a review of Stalinist policy since the beginning of the People's Front in 1935, going through the "National Front" of the war years and the Committees of National Liberation. The trouble in this whole course lasting a dozen years, Thorez declared, was that agreements had been arrived at only at the top and the movement had not been based on genuine participation of the masses.

### "PEOPLE'S FRONT WAS IMPOTENT"

"Because of the exclusive formula of agreement at the top we admitted into the People's Front individuals who thought only of betraying the movement on the first occasion, such as Daladier and Paul Faure. That's why the People's Front was impotent against 'non-intervention' (in Spain), and against the 'pause' in which Leon Blum and the Socialist Party took the initiative. That's why the People's Front was impotent against the treason of Munich perpetrated by Daladier with the approval of the Socialist leaders. That's why the People's Front disintegrated little by little and collapsed completely with the outbreak of the war."

Then, going on to the resistance movement, Thorez became even sharper:

### "GRAVE MISTAKE IN RESISTANCE"

"It must be considered as a grave mistake that we tolerated

in the organisation and conduct of the resistance, the same faults which were fatal in the People's Front, and which were revealed to be just as pernicious for the movement of national liberation. More or less camouflaged behind the groups adhering to the Committee of National Resistance (C.N.R.), more or less whitewashed by or rehabilitated by the C.N.R., the men of the Reaction regained their courage and got into the saddle once more. . . . Today, assembled around de Gaulle, the reaction is pushing on its offensive against the working class and the Republic.

### BANKRUPT POLICY SINCE 1935

A more clear-cut avowal of bankruptcy is hardly possible. Thorez admits, black on white, the complicity of the Stalinists in breaking the revolutionary upsurge of 1936, which preceded the war, as well as that of 1944, which led to the rise of de Gaulle. Undoubtedly, there must be serious disturbances in the ranks. But does this devastating self-criticism mean a real change? What does it mean?

That it means no fundamental change in policy is clear. Thorez finds the root of the error only in the form of organisation—"agreements at the top"—not in the policy itself: that of class collaboration. His solution is confined to an organisational one: broad committees must be formed in all factories; leaders and leadership must be elected, etc. But insofar as policy is concerned, it is summed up by him, in the aim set:

"A Government which will defend with energy the Constitution and the Republic against the R.P.F. and all the plotters grouped around de Gaulle."

In other words, the policy of collaboration with the class enemy, of the defence of the bourgeois Republic, of the Constitution which consecrates private property and colonial oppression—all this is to remain the same. The form is to be changed, there are to be elected committees—which the Stalinists hope to control because of their present powerful forces—but in order to continue the same nationalist,



M. THOREZ, FRENCH C.P. LEADER WITH J. DUCLOS.

class collaboration line. Indeed, the accent of the whole policy is to be more than ever on chauvinism, on "defending the national sovereignty of France", this time, directed against the United States, in accordance with the line laid down by the Kremlin for its Belgrade Bureau.

In one of the more ludicrous sections of his "self criticism", Thorez flays himself for not realising that the Stalinists were forced out of the Government last Spring under Wall Street pressure, or in his own words, "under American orders." The Belgrade Conference had to disclose this to him.

In line with the declaration of that Conference, the whole tactic described by Thorez centres round "greater orientation towards the masses." He quotes the Belgrade declaration which says that the greatest danger for "the working class" at present is the under-estimation of its own forces and the over-estimation of the forces of the opposition camp. But just as on the international scale, the declaration written by the Stalinist spoke-man, Zhdanov, continues to lay stress on the bureaucracy's belief in "peaceful cohabitation between socialism and capitalism", Thorez continues to lay stress on his belief in national unity. More specifically, national unity with the capitalists in the

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## Trotskyists Protest Outside Mosley Meeting

### L.P.—C.P. Leadership Fail to Give Workers Lead

Members of the Revolutionary Communist Party and the "43" Group, demonstrated outside the Memorial Hall in Farringdon Road, London, when Mosley addressed his followers in London, recently.

More than a hundred policemen on foot and some score of mounted police aided by fascist strong-arm gangs, were used to protect Mosley.

Despite this, vigorous attempts were made by militant anti-fascists to rush the meeting. Further angered by the provocations of the fascists inside the hall, who dropped missiles onto the heads of the demonstrators, time and again the anti-fascists rushed the doors determined to teach the fascists a lesson. Only baton attacks by the police, aided by fascist "stewards," prevented the workers there from carrying this determination into full effect. One comrade of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Comrade Jock Milligan, received a blow on the eye from a brick thrown by one of the fascists three floors up and had to have treatment at the hospital.

Despite the fact that the Communist Party leaders knew of this intended "secret" Mosley meeting, only a few individual members of the Communist Party participated in the anti-fascist demonstration. Why was Mosley allowed to organise and hold such a meeting without the Communist Party

leadership mobilising its powerful apparatus and support in London to organise a militant demonstration against this piece of fascist insolence?

Prior to Mosley's meeting, the "Daily Worker", in two consecutive issues published details of the "secret" arrangements for the meeting. But no lead was forthcoming from the C.P. and Y.C.L. leaders calling upon their members and supporters to demonstrate against the meeting and teach the fascists a lesson!

The "Daily Worker", in its Monday issue following the Mosley meeting, made a miserable attempt to depict the demonstration that did take place (by the "43 Group" and members of the R.C.P.) as if the lead had come from the Communist Party. They attempted to give the impression that large numbers of their membership participated in it. The truth is that the Communist Party and Y.C.L. were conspicuous by their absence.

Every rank and file militant of the C.P. must demand an answer to the question: WHY WERE THEY NOT GIVEN A LEAD TO RALLY AGAINST MOSLEY'S MEETINGS?

## Interim Budget

### How it Affects the Workers

BY G. NOZEDA

The "Interim" Budget, despite the much publicised doubling of the Profits Tax, exacts no real sacrifice from the capitalists. The main burdens fall on the working class and the conswning public generally and the workers are now beginning to realise how seriously it affects them.

The present food subsidies amounting to £32,000,000 a year, or 3/6 per head per week, are for the present, to remain. This is a victory for the organised Labour movement which made clear that it was not prepared to accept any capitulation to the campaign of the Tories for the removal of these subsidies.

However, a heavy burden is placed on the workers by the removal of the existing subsidies of £33,000,000 yearly on cotton, wool and leather. With the abolition of these subsidies, to take effect from next year, the cost of clothing, shoes, and some household goods will drastically increase. It is estimated that utility footwear alone will go up by 8/- to 10/- per pair. Obviously, these increases will not affect very much the higher income groups.

Increased purchase tax, and further taxes on drink will bring in, the Government estimates, about £136,000,000 in a full year. A further £15,000,000 is to be raised from the increased taxes on pools and dog-racing, which further affects the workers.

The new taxation on business, the increase of the Profits Tax to 25%, and the reduction in advertisement allowances, will mean no great hardships for the capitalist, whose profits are on the upgrade. An indication of the trend is given by the "Economist" (15th November 1947), which reports that the total profits of some 2,004 companies for the year 1946-47 amounted to £388,700,000 as against the same companies' total profits of £332,100,000 for the previous year.

The increase in the Profits Tax was not unexpected by the capitalists. Indeed, some financial experts were reckoning on an increase of 30%. Whereas, for the coming year, only about £47,000,000 is levied on profits—less than the increase in profits as a whole during the part year—£151,000,000 is levied on the working class and consuming public generally by the increased taxation and the higher prices of goods that will follow the abolition of the clothing subsidies.

In his speech of November 12th, Dalton announcing a 3% interest charge on taxation arrears over £1,000 owed by wealthy tax dodgers and some capitalist enterprises, revealed that up to March 1946, the total tax arrears owed the Government from these dodgers amounted to no less than £789,000,000! This is more than it would have cost to keep the £33,000,000 subsidies on cotton, wool and leather for the next 20 years!

The extent to which tax dodging on the part of surtax payers and business firms has increased was indicated in the "Daily Herald" on 13.11.47, which reported that: ". . . many wealthy surtax payers and some business firms have been using tens of millions of their tax money to finance gambles in stocks and shares, property, commodities, and so on. They have argued that they

might as well have the use of these millions as the Treasury—and make a tax-free profit on it also.

Businesses, too, have been using the money for expansion—free of interest. Mr. Dalton, in his two previous Budgets, drew attention to the mounting arrears of surtax and the increasing reluctance of rich men to pay their taxes when due.

What tender treatment accorded to these capitalist tax-dodgers in contrast to the lower paid income groups!

The Budget contained not a hint of any cutting down in share speculation and the vast fortunes being coined on the Stock Exchange to day. Indeed, the "Evening News", on the very day after the Interim Budget was announced, reported that the "Chancellor put millions of pounds on to share values on the Stock Exchange today. His budget, the City says, is not nearly drastic enough to dispose of inflation fears, and share prices, despite a double profits tax, soared as soon as markets opened. . . ."

As far as the 25% Profits Tax is concerned, the "Financial Times" in its editorial of September 5th this year, wrote:

"It is fairly evident that since capitalist realisations can always defeat the end of profit taxes, anything which the Government might decide to do could not be a substitute for whittling down the purchasing power of the many. . . ."

What the "Financial Times" means by "capitalist realisations can always defeat the end of profit taxes" is that the capitalists can take some of their profits in the form of speculation on the Stock Exchange, buying shares and selling them, or by selling some of the shares they already have when these stand at a high price. Such profits are reckoned as "capital appreciation", and are not subject to taxation. Just one of the many "legal" ways used by the capitalists to evade full taxation on their profits.

The Interim Budget, we are told, aimed to curb the present inflationary tendency in Britain. Too few goods to be bought, and too much money available to buy them, which pushed prices higher. But the real aim, and the actual effect of the new taxes and the abolition of the clothing subsidies means that it is the purchasing power of the workers which is being cut. The capitalists are but little affected.

It is time to call a halt to the present policy of the Government, a policy which loads the burdens onto the worker. It is time to force the Labour Government to introduce a socialist policy to overcome the economic crisis of capitalism. In this, the first step must be the confiscation of the profits of the capitalists and the incomes of the wealthy. Then, and only then, can we talk about a socialist budget.



# Tory Demagogy on Potato Rationing

The introduction of potato rationing, long expected in view of the acute shortage that occurred due to the severe winter and the dry summer, has once again been made the occasion by the Tories to clamour for the removal of rationing and controls in general.

When bread rationing was introduced, the Tories and their vociferous adjunct the Housewives' League, initiated a similar campaign. But every worker knows that the rationing of bread, due to the shortage of world wheat supplies, was necessary, and did at least ensure a supply to everyone.

That there is a potato shortage, no-one will dispute. Nor will the class conscious worker raise any objection to rationing as such. Where there is shortage, there must be rationing, otherwise the bulk of the supplies will go to those with the best lined pockets.

Almost as soon as the potato ration was announced, substitute vegetables, such as swedes, parsnips and turnips, immediately went up in price, since these vegetables are outside price-control. Unless there is price control introduced here, the farmers will grow more of them than of potatoes.

At the same time the workers have a justified grievance at the lack of variety in their diet and the cuts which the Government have introduced to save dollars. Far from the further austerity demanded by the Tories and the shameful capitulation of the Labour leaders, the cuts should be restored and any sacrifices should be placed on the shoulders of the rich who have access to the choicest of foods and luxuries outside the reach of the workers.

No class conscious worker will give the slightest credence to the demagogic campaign of the Tories regarding the general food shortage, including the present potato shortage. Their policy of cutting subsidies, which they openly advocate, would raise prices tremendously and make many basic foodstuffs more difficult to buy than they are even at the present time. The policy of their class brothers in America, where food is plentiful, has resulted in the raising of prices to the highest levels ever, the increases of prices more than offsetting any wage increases which the American workers have been able to gain as a result of strike struggles. The conditions of the European peoples under the governments of the same stripe as Churchill and Eden are far worse than anything we have to face in Britain.

What the workers complain of is not rationing as such, but bureaucratic planlessness.

The small greengrocers complain they cannot get adequate supplies of potatoes from the wholesalers to meet the demand of their customers, unless they also take a certain amount of the more expensive vegetables and fruit—stuff which their customers cannot afford to purchase. The old racket of "conditional sales" is thus strengthened.

There is only one way to stop this and to ensure that available supplies of all vegetables are fairly distributed and at a price workers can afford to pay. The operation of the whole rationing scheme must be taken out of the hands of the bureaucrats of the Food Ministry and planned by popularly elected committees representing the Co-operatives, distributive trade employees, housewives, factory workers, and small greengrocers. These committees must have the right of access to the premises of the wholesalers, to examine their books and ensure that no black market deals are going on.

# Royalist Terror in Greece

The Royalist terror in Greece today far surpasses in its brutality and savagery the infamous of the Metaxas regime of 1936. Beatings, arrests, tortures and hideous atrocities—this is the everyday story of the sufferings of the Greek workers and peasants who are fighting back at the Royalist terror.

During the rule of the Metaxas dictatorship in 1936, the average number of political prisoners incarcerated on the Greek prison islands numbered about 1,000. Today, there are more than 50,000 prisoners in these isles or in concentration camps, confined under the most degrading conditions of dirt, disease, hunger and overcrowding, who are condemned to slow and painful death.

At the time of the 1946 "Plebiscite" carried out under conditions of organised terror not only against militant workers, Socialists, Stalinists, Trotskyists, but even against Liberals, armed British troops stood by "maintaining law and order", 40 death sentences were carried out on Greek militants under the "emergency measures" introduced at that period. By August 20th of this year, 439 death sentences, under the same "emergency measures" had been executed upon militants, the last reported one taking place in Salonika. At the present time, batches of militants are being executed at the rate of 10 to 20 a day.

A further measure aimed against the freedom of democratic expression is the recent law by which printshops that publish papers

whose policy is allegedly "against the safety of the State" are to be seized and closed down, its staff arrested and summarily charged before courts-martial. This law provides for heavy prison penalties, and in some cases, death sentences for the responsible people. The Greek Trotskyist press, like other working class publications, is forced to publish its paper illegally.

Today, there still remain in Greece, 5,000 British troops whose task it is not to safeguard and protect Greek socialists and Left wingers, but to uphold the semi-fascist Royalist reactionaries in putting down the workers and peasants. Among the British troops stationed there, many are asking why a Labour Government should thus assist the Greek reaction. Without the aid of Anglo-American imperialism in the form of arms and supplies, troops and "advisers" the reaction could not maintain its dictatorship.

Workers of Britain! Trade Unionists and members of all Labour organisations! The struggle of the Greek workers and peasants is your struggle. Our class duty demands that our voice be raised in protest and in support of our class brothers in Greece.

Demand that the Labour Government end its reactionary policy against the Greek working class. Demand that every British soldier stationed in Greece be brought back immediately and that the policy of aiding the Royalist reaction by means of supplies, "military advisers", and military equipment be ended!

# The Facts About the BIRMINGHAM BUS STRIKE

BY F. ATKINSON

For over two years, Birmingham Corporation Transport employees have been seeking a revision of the notorious Joint Industrial Council rates. They point out that new employees are entitled to a commencing wage of £4 13s. 0d., subject to compulsory stoppages amounting to 4/- a week.

After 10 years' service, the average rate of pay rises by only 8/-, or less than a shilling increment every year.

Exactly how unattractive the job is, can be gathered from the Liverpool Street Garage Publicity Committee's estimate that since 1939 there has been a labour turnover of 20,000 in personnel—all of whom have had to be trained and equipped. Normal requirements are only about 6,500. Regular employees report that there is a constant shifting of staff, which makes duty rotas chaotic.

## £1 Increase Demanded—1/6½ Offered!

On September 16th last, an application was made for an increase of £1 a week. After a fortnight's delay, the Transport Committee rejected the men's claim and piously suggested they should go to the National J.I.C.

The garages replied by terminating overtime, including the eighteen month old All-Night Service, Sports Specials, and other non-vital trips.

This stung the Labour-controlled Transport Committee into action, and an immediate summons went out to a visiting Emergency Committee of the J.I.C.

After a purely perfunctory investigation, this body found against the men. And, as if to add insult to injury—offered an attendance bonus amounting to the princely sum of 1/6½ per week! Even this depends on perfect time-keeping over 13 weeks, and one "late for duty" cuts the sum down by a quarter.

Some garages struck at midnight on Saturday, November 1st. But the tie-up was not complete till 24 hours later. T. & G.W.U. officials, begged the men to return, as the strike "could serve no useful purpose" and was "holding up production." Needless to say, these officials had not reflected on the loss of production due to the 110,000 working days lost by the platform staff through sickness in 1946-7.

## The Role Of The Labour Leaders

Councillor Gibson, Chairman of the Transport Committee, and an official of the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union, made the statement that average wages earned at four garages were between £7 and £7 7s. a week. The four garages concerned were glad to hear that they had been granted a £2 rise—on paper!

As to the Councillor's claim that the men should first apply to the J.I.C., leading trade unionists explain that this is incorrect since the national rates are established as a MINIMUM, and not as a maximum wage. If this were not so, how does Councillor Gibson explain the fact that Coventry busmen can earn a basic wage as much as £2 over the equivalent Birmingham rate?

The previous week, the Labour leaders had been telling the electors how cheaply they get municipal services and how Aneurin Bevan's new Bill would mean a reduction in the rates of 4/-. Profit from the trading branches of the Corporation averages out at £4½ millions every year. If the Labour Lord Mayor, Ald. Bradbeer, (who also played his part in breaking the strike) had voluntarily cut out all banquets and other junketing in 1947, the busmen could have had their real several times over. And this refusal came from a Labour Council that only three weeks ago voted a £750 wedding present to the royal couple.

To crown the strike-breaking activities of the Labour leaders, the Ministry of Fuel and Power gave a special unrestricted issue of petrol to ALL motorists on a very generous scale—three gallons to 10 h.p. cars, and four and a half to cars over 10 h.p. to help break the transport strike. In the first two days, 40,000 gallons had been issued to 15,000 motorists at the rate of 400 an hour at each distributing centre. A supreme irony! The "black" petrol was issued in showrooms plastered with posters urging motorists to sign petitions against the abolition of the basic ration! Needless to say, very little of this petrol was used to get the workers to work. There was bitter comment on the large number of empty cars on the road.

The role of the E.C. of the Birmingham Trades Council (which is Stalinist controlled) in attempting to break the solidarity of the strikers must have disgusted every Trade Union rank and file in the City. On the sixth day of the strike the E.C. issued a statement urging the strikers to return. The action of the E.C. was all the more disgraceful, as they attempted to sugar their strike-breaking pill by

appearing to sympathise with the strikers. Had this body felt any real sympathy, it would have attacked those responsible for refusing to accede to the workers' just claims. Instead, the E.C., together with the Tory press, placed the onus on the strikers for holding up production, and demanded they resume work immediately.

## Lessons:

If there is anything that this strike proved it is that Gren and Ison are no longer fit to lead. Their policy was such that it was difficult to know whether they represented the Transport Committee or the Transport and General Workers Union. If these officials were paid the average wage obtaining in the industry, so that their own livelihood depended on getting a rise for the men they claim to represent, they would soon put up a militant struggle.

One of the weaknesses of the strike was the lack of unified action by all garages. The busmen came out by separate decision of the various garages, and did not return as a unified body. A Central Strike Committee composed of delegates from the garages was an urgent necessity to control and co-ordinate the actions of all the Corporation Transport workers. Such a Committee could then have made contact with "Midland Red" workers, as well as transport workers in neighbouring towns, particularly West Bromwich, whose services interlink with those of the Birmingham Corporation.

What must be seriously discussed by the Transport workers is the formation NOW of a Central Committee that really represents the feelings in the Garages, with delegates from the depots to prepare for future struggles.

# Interview with a German Worker

HAMBURG.

I was sitting in the bar talking to Oskar. We were drinking the tasteless concoction that passes for beer in Germany today and talking about old times—Oskar's old times, not mine.

For Oskar is one of those workers you can often meet in Hamburg. He has passed through every stage of the working class movement twice over, and is still ready for more. Long before I was born he was studying the Spartacus letters and organising soldier's cells in the Kaiser's army; and at a time when most of the revolutionaries I know were just beginning to find out what Marxism was all about he was taking part in mass demonstrations and fighting the police on Rathausmarkt. When I was a babe of two he was on the barricades with a rifle. And when Hitler was nothing more to me than a foreign politician with a funny moustache, Oskar was having hell beaten out of him in a Nazi jail.

But he survived the brown terror, and he survived the war; and he is still there, ready for the next round in the battle that has filled most of his fifty years. Oskar is a fighter, one of the best that Red Hamburg ever produced.

But he is often despondent these days, and there is much that he finds difficult to understand. It was hard for him to realise that the Communist Party of Germany, which he had helped to build out of the cream of the European working class, had become the degenerate organ of a despotic regime that had nothing in common with the Soviet Republic of Lenin and Trotsky. It is hard for him to realise that European socialism has dissolved itself into a sea of treachery and opportunism. And it is hard for him to grasp that the party of the British workers is supporting and carrying through the policy of robbery and despoliation that was announced last week.

There are 682 firms on the list for dismantling, most of them in

the British zone. And Oskar's is one of them. "Alan" he said to me, "why in the hell don't they send over some atom bombs and put us all out of commission at once? Don't the workers in England realise that we are being sentenced to slow starvation?"

I told him that someday the workers will see that they are getting nowhere with Attlee's comic opera socialists and would do something about it. That then they will learn to work with the workers of Germany, and not against them. In fact I tell him what I have had to tell all kinds of workers: that one day the British working class will wake up and see what is being done in its name.

But Oskar was still depressed. "I can see all that," he said, "but when? We Germans are going under fast. We are beginning to feel that struggling on is not worth the candle. I know that my comrades are going to fight—as they fought at Holmags. But you can't fight without hope at all. If the workers outside are going to gang up with their Governments against us, then the fight's over before it starts." We talked further, but you can't chase away the blues on German beer. And Oskar, as a German, is not considered fit to go into one of our clubs for a real drink (this is part of the programme of teaching Germans "democracy"). So we parted, and Oskar went to sort himself out at home.

Demontage, the fancy word they use for pulling factories to pieces and taking them for reparations, is the key practical question in Germany today. Nobody can get away from it, not even if he can afford some black market booze. The factories it is intended to dismantle do not, it is true, make up a large percentage of the total number of the plants in the two zones. But an idea of their importance to Germany's economic life can be gained by thinking over the size of the labour force considered necessary to break them down. 35,000 men working for two years and pulling down every hope of Germany's being able to stand on her own feet again! That is the concrete meaning of demontage.

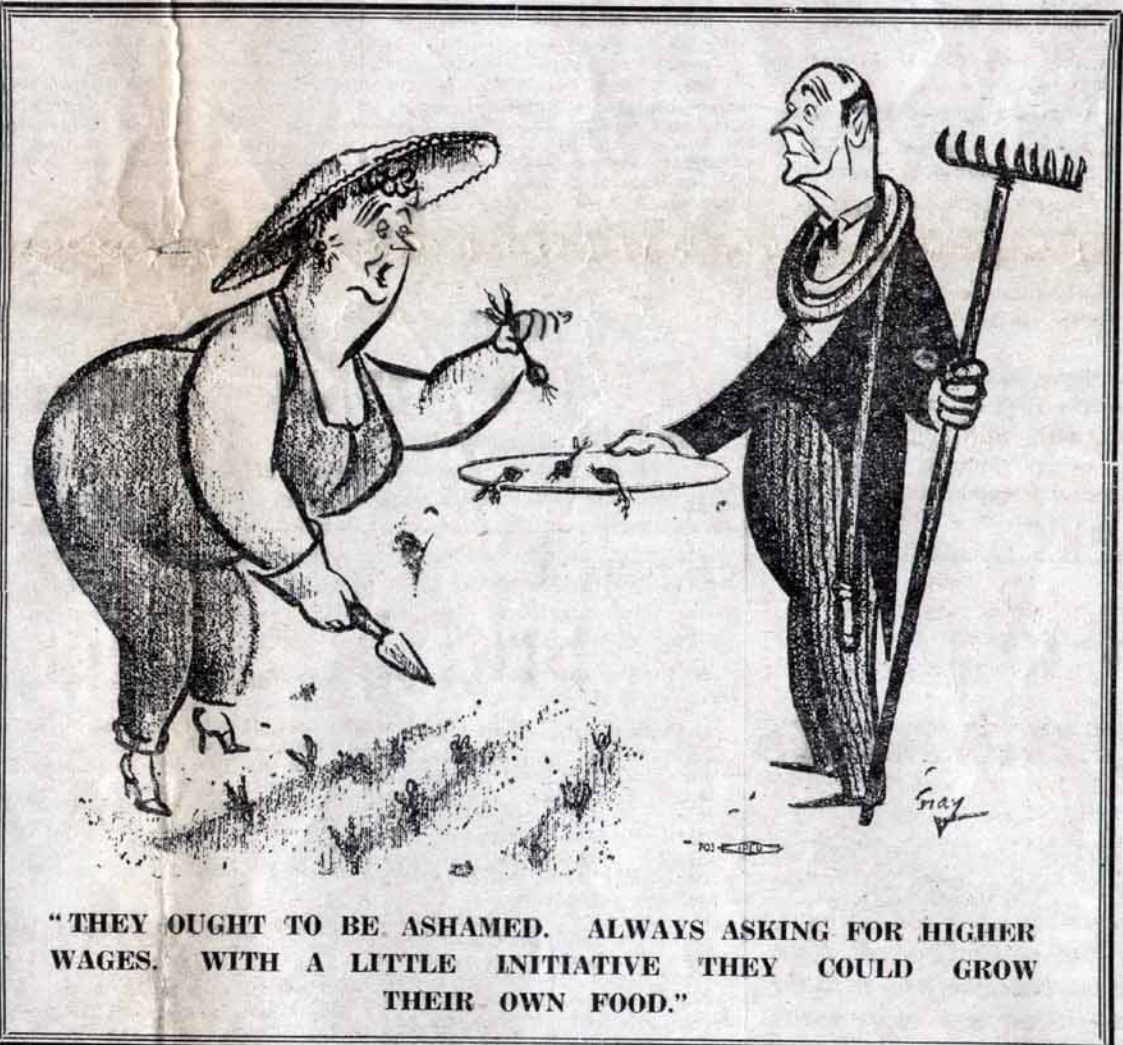
The workers will fight it, of course, as Oskar said they would. The leaders of the S.P.D. have not yet said anything to commit themselves, and the protest of the K.P.D. was only a mild one; but the workers in both parties are getting ready to resist the economic executioners.

Schumacher, leader of the S.P.D., and no revolutionary, pointed out at the party conference in July: "... by all calculations, no matter how little has been sent in reparations, I say that in reality Germany has more than fulfilled the reparations programme... the patents, the production techniques and the results of German scientific research have been put at the disposal of the world... large tracts of our food producing land have been taken, not from Hitler's Third Reich but from the territory of the Weimar Republic..." No, Schumacher is no revolutionary. He does not challenge the right of the Imperialists to take reparations. He merely points out, as a good accountant, that Germany's books balance and that there is nothing owing to anybody. And he is right.

The German workers owe nothing to anybody. If the failure of their leaders to stop Hitler can be laid at their doorstep—and I know that it can't—then they have paid ten thousand times over. You have only to be in their shattered homes and see their miserable rations to see that. No, Hitler was the creature of world capitalism; and the books will not be properly balanced and the account squared until world capitalism is overthrown.

"But," I can almost hear Oskar saying, "if the workers are going to gang up with their Governments against us, then the fight is over before it starts." And he wasn't talking of demontage only; he meant the fight for socialism.

ALAN McDONALD



# PARTY BUILDING

GLASGOW: Comrade Roy Tearse addressed the Open Forum on Sunday evening, Nov. 16th, the subject being "The Labour Government and Revolutionary Perspectives." An audience of about 150 gave a good reception to a hard-hitting speech which dealt at length with the attitude of the revolutionaries to reformism, the character and need for participation in the current struggles of the working class and the need for the revolutionary party.

Comrade Tearse also publicly repeated a challenge to debate with any prominent member of the Communist Party "That Stalinism has betrayed the interests of the Russian Revolution." This challenge was made the previous week to the Stalinist, Quinn, after he had spoken on the 30th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The Forum Committee, announcing the challenge, stated they would be able to stage the debate in two weeks time. No answer was forthcoming from the Stalinists...

On Saturday, Nov. 15th, the Branch carried out a new canvass

in Blantyre, a mining area at which 64 "S.A.s" were sold in about one hour's work. It is intended to maintain and develop this sale throughout the winter. On Sunday, the Regional Conference of the S.T.U.C. at which Marquand spoke was covered and 66 "S.A.s" sold.

ANTI-FASCIST ACTIVITY: London comrades have been active against the fascists at Ridley Road, Brixton, Earl's Court, etc. Comrade Gus Bayes was arrested at Ridley Road for failing to give up the pitch to the fascists. Although our meeting was the only one in progress, the police once again discriminated against us in favour of the fascists. He was fined 40/-, of which 10/- was collected outside the court from sympathisers. We are getting good meetings at Brixton where we took the pitch from the fascists. The rank and file of the C.P. and Y.C.L. are friendly.

The North and South London local press, the national press and the radio have mentioned us in con-

nection with the anti-fascist struggle.

Two comrades in North London toured the local shops adjacent to Ridley Road, and on the basis of the Party's work against fascism, they collected over £10 in 4½ hours.

Our Open Letter to the members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. has had a good reception from anti-fascists, and support is forthcoming from friendly Stalinists. Over 2,000 were distributed.

COVENTRY: Our comrades have covered all the L.P. election meetings with "S.A." Good initiative is shown by participating in the discussion at C.P. meetings. An Anglo-Soviet rally nearly developed into a debate with one of our comrades and the speaker on the question of Soviet millionaires. 65 "S.A.s" were sold at Pollitt's meeting.

WALES: Comrade Haston had a good meeting at Neath where over 75 persons attended. A number of contacts were made. In the streets 95 "S.A.s" were sold the previous afternoon.

# £50 Needed For Loudspeaker and Van

Comrades:

Our efforts to reach the £100 target to buy a Loudspeaker and Van to combat all forms of fascist propaganda is attaining some success. Mosley's attempt to make a come back must be met by a strong united workers' front. Let every anti-fascist send a donation to aid the work of the R.C.P., and help to stamp out the menace of fascism.

The issue is simple: we are poor: the fascists are rich.

Donations are urgently required.

|                                      | £          | s.       | d.        |
|--------------------------------------|------------|----------|-----------|
| CARRIED OVER ...                     | 35         | 15       | 6         |
| C. Oxford .....                      | 1          | 0        | 0         |
| Bert (Govan) .....                   | 5          | 0        | 0         |
| Wales .....                          | 4          | 0        | 0         |
| Newcastle .....                      | 13         | 2        | 0         |
| North London .....                   | 7          | 2        | 0         |
| S.A. Readers, (Birmingham) ...       | 1          | 8        | 6         |
| Croydon .....                        | 6          | 6        | 0         |
| Sam B. ....                          | 7          | 8        | 0         |
| Dave G. ....                         | 15         | 0        | 0         |
| Thames Valley .....                  | 1          | 0        | 0         |
| Nigerian .....                       | 1          | 0        | 0         |
| Featherstone Readers                 | 1          | 0        | 0         |
| South Kirby Readers of S.A. ....     | 5          | 0        | 0         |
| J. B. (Coventry) ...                 | 7          | 6        | 0         |
| Anti-Fascist Shop-keepers in Dalston | 9          | 6        | 10        |
| <b>Total to date ...</b>             | <b>£54</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>10</b> |

TARGET - £100.

# Jewish M.P.s

People keep writing to ask how many Jews there are in Parliament and in the Government.

In some cases the requests come from those who wish to rebut anti-Semitic challenges that Parliament is "Jew-ridden"; in others, from those who claim that British politics are dominated by Jews. One correspondent asserted that there are 150 Jews in the House of Commons!

Actually, there are only 28... One is an Independent; one is a Communist. The rest are members of the Labour Party.

The four Jewish members of the Government are Mr. Shinwell, Mr. Silkin, Mr. George Strauss and Lord Nathan. None is at present in the Cabinet.

(From the News Chronicle, November 11th—A. J. CUMMINGS.)

For a Marxist understanding of the Spanish situation, read:

## "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain"

by Felix Morrow

5/-

Obtainable from: Business Manager, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.



# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party,  
256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.  
Phone: CUN 2526.  
EDITOR: E. GRANT.  
BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

## LEGALISED JEW-BAITING

At Liverpool Assizes on November 17th, 1947, James Caunt, proprietor and editor of "The Morecambe and Heysham Visitor", was found not guilty of "seditiously writing and publishing, in an article in the newspaper, a seditious libel concerning people of the Jewish faith and race resident in Great Britain."

Coming on top of the Hamm case, this verdict will come as a shock to the whole Labour movement. It is the go-ahead signal for which the anti-Semites and the propagators of racial hatred have been waiting. From now on, there will be no let-up in the spreading of their poisonous filth—unless it is halted by the efforts of the Labour movement.

If ever there was an act of wilful anti-Semitic propaganda, it was this article of Caunt's. It began: "There is very little about which to rejoice greatly except the pleasant fact that only a handful of Jews bespoil the population of our borough."

"The foregoing sentence may be regarded as an outburst of anti-Semitism. It is intended to be, and we make no apologies neither do we shirk any responsibilities or repercussions."

Further on the article said: "Violence may be the only way to bring them (the Jews) to the sense of their responsibility to the country in which they live."

In the course of his evidence, he brazenly declared: "I intended to be offensive to the Jews."

### "LIBERTY" TO INCITE

Despite this, the Judge could say in his summing up: "It is the highest degree essential, and I cannot over-emphasise the importance of it to you that nothing should be done to destroy or to weaken the liberty of the press."

This was a clear indication to the Jury that "liberty of the press" included the right to slander and vilify minorities and to incite to violence against them. This is the red light for the Labour movement!

Anti-Semitism is one of the most useful weapons in the armoury of the reactionaries of all stripes. It is used to divert the attention of the workers and the lower-income groups of the middle class from the real cause of the evils which afflict them—the capitalist system. Not for nothing did Hitler proclaim that if the Jews were not there he would have had to invent them. Capitalism in its dying agony needs a scape-goat. The Jews and other racial minorities are ready at hand. Anti-Semitism is the trick that fascists use to smash the Labour movement, to rob the workers of their hard-won rights—including the right of free speech.

Now, after the Caunt verdict, Home Secretary Ede will no longer be able to blandly maintain that the Government has sufficient powers to deal with anti-Semites and Fascists. Clearly the law is on the side of reaction. The organised working class movement must demand that the Labour Government change this state of affairs. Race hatred in any form—anti-Semitism, Vansittartism, the colour bar—must be outlawed. The police must be instructed that the person and property of those who advocate racial hatred and fascist doctrines will not be protected when the justly infuriated workers seek to settle with them in their own fashion.

But to appeal to the Government is not enough. Experience has taught that the Edes will seek to shelter behind the letter of obsolete laws and prate about "liberty" rather than submit to the pressure of the workers who elected them to office. Workers Defence Groups for the protection of organised Labour and threatened racial minorities are the only effective answer to the Fascists and the race-mongers.

The Caunt verdict was a verdict of capitalist law. Organised Labour will give a different judgment. It will pronounce Caunt guilty of spreading the most vicious anti-Semitism and thus faithfully serving the cause of reaction. In its own time, and in its own way, the Labour movement will pronounce sentence on Caunt and it will be a judgment which he and his kind will not be able to escape.

## Palestine Partition Will Lead to Bloodshed

BY S. MUNIR

The Chiefs of Staff are putting the finishing touches to plans for alternative bases when the withdrawal from Palestine goes through. Vast construction schemes are preparing new bases in Kenya, Somaliland and the Sudan, with forward bases in Cyprus for the Navy, and Transjordan and Iraq for the land forces.

"The malicious plan, for which Imperialism and Zionism are making propaganda"—those were the words in which the Palestine Arab Stalinist Paper "Al-Itihad" characterised the Partition plan for many years. The Jewish Stalinist Paper, "Kol-Ha'am", was not shy in denouncing Partition in similar words. The opposition to Partition was, perhaps, the only thing on which the two Stalinist parties in Palestine, the Jewish and the Arab one, were united.

However, both will have to change their attitude. The partition of Palestine, which has always been regarded not only by Marxists, but even by the Arab Stalinists, and by the Arab National Movement, as an imperialist plan designed to lead Palestine towards communal troubles and mutual bloodshed between Arabs and Jews—this malicious imperialist plan has been approved

(Continued on Page 4.)

# JOBS FOR BUREAUCRATS

## Demand Workmen's Wages For All Labour and Trade Union Officials

BY HARRY ANDREWS

The Tories are gunning against the Labour leaders for their "nepotism" and "gluttony for privilege". The hypocrisy of the Tory humbugs is boundless. The whole capitalist edifice is built and maintained on graft, corruption, privilege and nepotism from the foundations to the pinnacle.

And the capitalist politicians have sought at all times consciously to draw the Labour leaders into the atmosphere of corruption and privilege in order to choke and stifle any militancy or class-consciousness on the part of the workers' representatives.

Who doesn't remember the famous observation of Ramsay MacDonald when he sold out: "Tomorrow every Duchess will be wanting to kiss me?" And the late Lady Houston taunting the workers: "You make your leaders, we will buy them!"

More recently we recall the descriptions of the nauseating scenes in the bars of the House of Commons when the present Parliament first assembled—the back-slapping, "hail-fellow-well-met" approaches of the old Tory foxes to the new Labour members.

If today, the Tory pack are in full cry against "jobs for the boys," their complaints have no ethical or moral base. The Labour leaders are taking to themselves too many plums of office which the representatives of the ruling class consider should constitute their birthright. That is the source of the quarrel.

But in condemning the hypocrisy of the capitalist politicians we seek no excuses for the Labour leaders. On the contrary, we believe it to be the duty of all genuine socialists to expose the nepotism of the Labour leaders, not to leave this to the Tories. And further, to point the line of action for the workers, whose fears and misgivings on these questions may well drive sections into apathy and cynicism, or even out of the Socialist movement.

There is plenty of cause for grave concern in the ranks of the Labour movement. Almost every week brings its announcement of some new controlling Board, Council, or Advisory Committee. Not committees for the operation of State enterprises under workers' control, but bureaucratic set-ups composed of highly-paid capitalist administrators, redundant Army tops, top Union leaders, and titled labourites.

An outstanding example is the administration of the Colmanes. Apart from the National Coal Board, from which Sir Joseph Hallworth and Ebby Edwards draw colossal salaries, there are eight Regional Boards all decorated with Labour leaders, including two Chairmen: Sir Ben Smith, and J. L. Webb of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The notorious bureaucrat, Lord Citrine, has now netted a £5,000 a

year job as Chairman of the new Electricity Organising Committee, with E. W. Bussey the E.T.U. general secretary to keep him company.

Civil Aviation provides quite a few plums of office for both active and retired Union leaders. Lord Duketon adorns the Aeronautical Research Council. B.E.A.C. has its I. J. Hayward; B.S.A.A.C. J. Stephenson, Building Workers' Union leader; and B.O.A.C. has Newlands of the T. & G.W.U.

The Bank of England Directorate provides a plush seat for George Gibson who, besides retaining the general secretaryship of the Hospital Workers' Union, is now Chairman of the N.E. Area Electricity Supply Board at a salary of £4,000 a year.

Transport is another happy hunting ground for Union leaders. Dockers' Union chief, Jack Donovan, is on the Docks and Inland Waterways Executive; in the Transport Commission there are J. Benstead and W. P. Allen general secretaries of the N.U.R. and A.S.L.E. & P. respectively. These Railworkers' Union leaders, salaries in their new jobs are each £5,000 a year, and they have both insured themselves against a change of Government by signing up 5-year contracts! Also in the Transport Commission as a full-time London Transport Executive is John Cliff, former T. & G.W.U. assistant secretary with £3,500 a year. And Co-op. Director, T. E. Williams receives £750 a year for part-time duties. At the summit of the London Transport administration is Lord Latham whose appointment was announced by Transport Minister, Barnes, less than a month after he had denied, when challenged by Tories, that he was making such an appointment!

This is by no means a complete chronicle of the extent to which the Labour bureaucrats have penetrated the lucrative administrative posts created by the Labour Government. Nor is it an extensive exposure of their monetary rewards. On the contrary, one of the most disturbing features from the standpoint of the rank and file supporters of the Labour Government is the manner in which Morrison and Co. persistently resist the Tories' demands for public investigation of the method of making appointments and a revelation of the emoluments received by the bureaucrats. What a tragic commentary on the Labour leaders' conception of Socialism was Morrison's defence of the "right" of the various honours created by the Labour Government to the same "freedom and privacy" as independent capitalist

enterprises to conceal the salaries of their staffs!

### Open The Books!

We say, let the workers know what salaries and fees are paid not only to the directors of the State enterprises but to private capitalist enterprises too.

We Trotskyists have always contended that the representatives of the workers should be paid the same wages as skilled workers. In departing from this principle the Labour Movement has created a privileged social stratum which has raised itself above the working class and is now subject to the direct pressure of the ruling class. Such leaders become careerists, interested not in the struggle of the workers, but in their own jobs and conditions of life; in favours and titles, and flattery from the ruling class. They become the transmission mechanism of bourgeois "respectability" and "responsibility" in the ranks of the working class. Objectively they are the agents of the ruling class in the workers' movement.

That's a pretty harsh characterisation. But facts must be faced. What other conclusion is to be drawn from the manner in which the Labour leadership behave. Consider the salaries and privileges of the Government tops.

The Cabinet collect between them some £150,000 a year in salaries all of which goes into their own pockets, despite the fact that it accrues to them only because of the positions they hold in the Labour movement. In addition, five Ministers receive rent free accommodation worth more than £4,000 a year, not including Chequers, the country residence of the Prime Minister. The annual cost of maintaining cars for Senior Ministers is some £1,000 per head.

Junior Ministers subsist on a somewhat lower plane, being compelled to travel in cars drawn from a pool at the cost of some 1/4d. per mile. They have, however, "runabout" aeroplanes at their disposal, and some insight into the extent to which their ideas and outlook have become divorced from that of the working class and their own backgrounds is provided by the following item. It was written, without any semblance of reproach, by "Chanticleer" in the "Daily Herald," under the caption "Dignity Saved":

"Two junior Ministers, John Freeman and George Lindgren, Parliamentary Secretaries to the Ministries of Supply and Civil Aviation respectively, were just had what the K.A.F. would call a 'shaky do'."

"Returning by air from Bristol they were coming into land at Heathrow when the pilot of their Ministry runabout plane found the undercarriage was jammed."

"They held a conference in the air and decided it was infra dig to make a crash landing at Heathrow. So they flew to Gatwick, where the pilot made a perfect belly-landing."

"Then the two Ministers hopped quickly into another air- (Continued on Page 4.)"

# FIGHT THE FASCISTS WHILE THEY ARE WEAK

An Appeal to Members of  
the C.P. and Y.C.L.

We publish here an Open Letter to Members of the CP. and Y.C.L., which has been circulated by the London District Committee of the R.C.P.

### COMRADES:

Two years after a so-called war to end fascism, the reactionary bands of fascist thugs are beginning to creep out of their holes and insolently to flaunt their anti-semitic, anti-working class propaganda in the streets of London and other towns of Britain.

There is no need to explain to militants of the Y.C.L. and the Communist Party what fascism means and how it menaces, above all, the most class conscious and active elements fighting for the emancipation of the working class from the shackles of capitalism. Fascism means the complete destruction of ALL the organisations of the working class, trade unions, political parties, cultural and sports organisations, together with the hard-won rights they possess—free speech, press, the right to organise and strike, etc.

Already today, when they are extremely weak, these anti-Labour thugs have begun attacking the workers' organisations. They have attacked the headquarters of the Communist Party in Bristol and in Bethnal Green, London, and the Labour Party rooms in Bethnal Green. In Ridley Road, Dalston, a meeting organised by the Communist Party was broken up. Since then, the fascists have insolently invaded the Dalston area to hold meetings the every Sunday evening. The crowding insult to the organised workers and Jewish population in the area has been the announcement that Mosley intends to speak at Ridley Road.

At first, the leadership of the Communist Party and Y.C.L. reacted in a militant fashion to this fascist provocation, despite criticisms we have of their policy there. They organised demonstrations in the area and began a campaign to counteract the meetings and propaganda of the fascists. At the same time, they introduced resolutions in the Unions and Labour movement for the banning of fascist organisations and the illegalisation of incitement to race-hatred. The rank and file members of the Communist Party and Y.C.L. played an important role in this campaign.

But instead of putting a firm CLASS LINE, and explaining to the workers the need to win over the middle class to the banner of socialism as the only means of fighting fascism; the Communist Party put forward the idea of uniting with "progressive" Tories and Liberals—representatives of the very class which supports and needs fascism. The very people who, when their class interests are at stake, will rally to the side of fascism against the working class.

Then, without any adequate explanation even to their own members, the leaders of the CP. and Y.C.L. abandoned, really deserted, the militant struggle against fascism. The official policy of the CP. is to keep away from Ridley Road and elsewhere, where the fascists hold their meetings. Thus they allow the fascists a free hand in carrying out their anti-working class and anti-Semitic propaganda, in working class and Jewish areas.

This united front meeting held at Ridley Road calls upon all working class organisations to unite their forces against the fascists and to organise common platforms and defence organisations with the object of destroying fascism. It calls upon all workers to refuse to print, transport, or handle fascist propaganda of any sort, and upon the Union Executives to make this a rule. It calls upon the Government to make illegal, the propagation of anti-Semitism or race-hatred in any form, and to protect any section of the population which enforces this law, or is engaged in any activity against the fascists."

Our policy to fight fascism is embodied in the following resolution, passed by a mass meeting of about 2,000 workers and anti-fascists at a recent meeting at Ridley Road:

"This united front meeting held at Ridley Road calls upon all working class organisations to unite their forces against the fascists and to organise common platforms and defence organisations with the object of destroying fascism. It calls upon all workers to refuse to print, transport, or handle fascist propaganda of any sort, and upon the Union Executives to make this a rule. It calls upon the Government to make illegal, the propagation of anti-Semitism or race-hatred in any form, and to protect any section of the population which enforces this law, or is engaged in any activity against the fascists."

COMRADES OF THE C.P. and Y.C.L.: FASCISM CAN ONLY BE FOUGHT BY THE MILITANT ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS. GIVE MOSLEY THE "WELCOME" HE DESERVES IF AND WHEN HE COMES TO RIDLEY ROAD. AS THE FASCISTS ARE BOASTING HE WILL!

We ask you to consider this problem seriously. Help us to set an example to the rest of the Labour movement; despite all our political differences let us wage a common struggle against the fascists! Let us close our ranks against the fascist menace!

FOR A UNITED FRONT OF ALL WORKING CLASS ORGANISATIONS AGAINST FASCISM! DEMAND A MILITANT POLICY FROM YOUR LEADERSHIP NOW!

SMASH FASCISM WHILE IT IS STILL WEAK!  
INTO ACTION AGAINST THE FASCISTS NOW!

Issued by the London District Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, (Trotskyist), 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2, November, 1947.

### Ajit Roy's Meetings in India

Comrade Ajit Roy spoke at two meetings in Calcutta. One was attended by 150 and the other on the Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, was attended by about 400.

Comrade Roy addressed the meeting in Bengali. He plans to leave Calcutta for Madras in a fortnight, where 14 meetings have been arranged for him to address in 14 days.

## GREECE: A British Soldier Speaks

An eye-witness account of the cruelties and atrocities committed against militant Greek workers and peasants, men and women alike, is contained in the following extracts we give from the statement publicly made by ex-Corporal H. Starr, who was, before his demobilisation, stationed with British troops in Greece.

Ex-Corporal Starr in his statement said:

"... on the way back from collecting stores we saw a crowd and Greek soldiers dressed in British battledress uniforms mounted on horses. They were carrying human heads of bandits, or rather, Communists, killed in a clash between the Greek army and the guerrillas. . . . We were not Communists, but we knew that it was God help you if it was known that you held Communist sympathies! You may be shot, beaten up or deported to one of the barren isles off the coast of Greece.

"I cerved with the British Military Mission to Greece for just over two years and I have yet to read an account of the Greek situation which gives a true unbiased account of life in Greece today. The police are all-powerful and their methods are those of the Gestapo at their worst. Then there were the inhuman beatings. One of these incidents nearly led to armed warfare between our fellows and the Greek troops. . . . I was one of 25 British Tommies and five officers stationed in the Greek Army barracks there, which we shared with Greek troops under instruction.

"They began to beat up men and women in this barracks one day while motor cycle engines were revved up to drown their screams. About thirty women were beaten up on this occasion. One of them



Head of a young Greek is paraded through a Village Street. Corporal Starr saw nine such heads in the parade—eight men's and one woman's.

was a cripple girl, hobbling on crutches. At least one other woman was pregnant. They took the cripple girl's sticks away and lashed her repeatedly across the face and stomach with them. All of the women were injured when they had finished with them, and were in a state of collapse. Then they were left in a compound under a boiling sun. . . . I think the women who were beaten up were afterwards taken away to imprisonment on the islands. I last saw them being driven towards Larissa. We never saw any of them again.

"... These are not the only beatings which I witnessed. I also saw men beaten up in the police station at Larissa while I was there on Army business. . . ."

No worker in Britain can remain unmoved at this account by the ex-Corporal, of the cruelties and excesses suffered by the workers and peasants of Greece at the hands of the Royalist reaction. The organised working class of Britain must protest at the Labour Government's policy of support to the Sophoulis-Tsaladaris Government.

See Page 2.



# 'Austerity' Wedding

The Royal wedding is over. Resembling an oasis of luxury in a desert of growing privations, the event shone with true regal splendour. Government representatives from many parts of the world came with the remnants of the world's monarchy to celebrate the event.

"Very great care has been taken to avoid offence against the spirit of an austere hour," wrote the "Observer". "It was typical of our Royal Family to hurt no sensibilities and to set an example of economy and moderation."

As evidence of this desire for simplicity and modesty were the royal banquets entertaining the rump of the European monarchies, and lavish expense on clothes, food, and the waste of the labour of hundreds of workers in preparation. "Inside the state rooms," wrote the "Daily Telegraph," "the scene was one of splendour, recalling pre-war days. Not since 1939 have so many tiaras and such magnificent jewels been seen at a London function. . . . Thus was displayed the "spirit of the austere hour"!

Along the route, were the posters ironically displaying the words: "WE WORK OR WANT"! What sickening hypocrisy! When the workers draw their Family Allowance of 5/- per child per week—EXCEPT THE FIRST—our "austerity" Princess will draw nearly £125 per child per week, including the first. The cost of maintaining the Royal Family is a heavy burden on taxes. The King's Civil List amounts to £410,000 a year, including "Household expenses" of £152,800 a year. The Princess receives an allowance of £15,000 a year. And while the budget has been introduced to "mop up excessive purchasing power," the income of the Princess is to be increased, and a Select Com-

mittee of the House of Commons is to examine the question of the future income of the couple.

That a Labour Government tolerates such relics of a bygone age is a betrayal of the traditional republican attitude of the Socialist movement.

Britain is the last great power to cling to constitutional monarchy. As a bulwark in the defence of capitalism it is a valuable asset to the capitalist class. The propaganda which pictures the Royal Family as a politically neutral factor in society, and a force which makes for its general stability has undoubtedly succeeded in deceiving the more backward sections of the workers.

In Italy, it was the "politically neutral" King Emmanuel who called Mussolini to power; in Greece and Spain, the Monarchy has always been linked with repression and violence. It was the King of Belgium who did not hesitate to discard so-called neutrality in favour of collaboration with the Nazis. Under similar circumstances, the British Monarchy would play a similar reactionary role in this country.

The Royal Wedding expresses once again the glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity which exist in capitalist society, and which they personify in its naked form. It raises again the need to demand the abolition of such hereditary institutions as the Monarchy and the House of Lords, institutions which form an essential part of the general defence of capitalism and reaction.

# GROWING CRISIS IN FRANCE

The reshuffled Ramadier Cabinet, which was set up after the municipal electoral victory of De Gaulle is already discussing resignation and the formation of a new and "stronger Centre" Government. In the meantime De Gaulle is demanding new elections immediately and threatening "It would not do to keep legitimacy too long in abeyance."

Because of the change in foreign policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the presence of the mass discontent, the Stalinists have changed their "line" in France. From complete collaboration with the capitalists and active sabotage of the workers' struggles, they have placed themselves at the head of the revolt of the workers against their worsening conditions. Having used the Stalinists to stem the revolutionary wave after "liberation", the French and Italian ruling class, have now swung into the orbit of American imperialism. This bloc of Western Europe with the United States constitutes a menacing threat for the long range war with the Soviet Union. It is this which dictated a change in line of the Communist Parties in France and Italy.

The worsening conditions of the French masses has led to a series of great strikes. The "Socialist" leaders are desperately attempting to build up a "Third Force" between the Communists and Gaullists out of the remnants of the parties which were practically wiped out at the General Election. Meanwhile, they have announced stern measures against the danger from the Left. Their role is similar to that of the Governments in Germany before the Nazis came to power. By directing their blows against the working class, they smooth the path to power for De Gaulle.

All the so-called Liberal elements will rally to De Gaulle when faced with the choice. Already the British "Economist" world famed as a journal of Liberalism has come out decisively in favour of De Gaulle. All serious observers agree that the Ramadier or any other Government of the Centre which might follow it, can only be stop-gaps before the final solution.

In this situation, the Stalinists are not putting forward a programme of struggle, for power. They have been content to vie with the Gaullists in nationalist propaganda. The statement of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party after the municipal elections, declares the problem as: "The restoration of French independence and the preservation of Republican institutions, national sovereignty or subordination to foreigners, democracy."

# Jobs for Bureaucrats

Officially lays down that all functionaries shall be paid skilled workers wages; that any Party member accepting a paid post in state or municipal administration as a representative of the Party, shall hand over his salary to the Party and receive only the wages of a Party official. This flows logically from our ultimate aim: the creation of a workers' government in which all delegates and officials shall be subject to election and recall and shall receive only workmen's wages. It must become a fundamental principle of the entire Labour movement.

The development of a leadership capable of leading the workers' organisations in such a struggle must begin with an immediate move to curb the aspirations of the officialdom of the movement. Throughout the Trade Unions and Labour Parties there must be a drive for all officials, both in the Labour organisations and in the State apparatus to be subject to election and recall and to be paid the same wages as a skilled worker. We believe that only through such a struggle will it be possible to cleanse the workers' movement of careerism and bureaucracy and to develop a militant leadership capable of serving the interests of the working class. At the same time it is necessary to conduct a ceaseless struggle for workers' control of the nationalised enterprises. By these means the whole basis of nepotism and corruption will be swept away and the road cleared for the construction of a Socialist society and an end to the whole rotten capitalist system with its inequalities and privileges.

Contrast this with the attitude of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Our Constitution speci-

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# SWING TO THE RIGHT

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allege are due to the incompetence of the Labour Government and the restrictions on private enterprise. Those who voted Tory were deluded into believing that things would have been better had the Tories held the reins of Government. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is the Tories who are bringing pressure on the Labour leaders in Parliament to remove food subsidies, to cut the social services, and to freeze wages and really launch an all-out attack on the workers' standards.

In addition to the economic factors, the coal crisis of last year, the dollar crisis, the expulsion from Parliament of the ex-Labour M.P., G. Allighan, for corrupt practices and the censure of Walkden, M.P., for a similar offence, has left an odour around the Labour leadership, undermining the confidence of wavering elements of the middle and working class. In this atmosphere, Tory charges of nepotism on the part of the Labour Government has had a certain effect, particularly since the Labour leaders can give no effective reply.

The present difficulties, instead of impelling the Labour Government to the Left by a real offensive against capitalism, has on the contrary, impelled them to the Right, creating an atmosphere of uncertainty and retreat in their own ranks. The press propaganda for a coalition; their repeated statements and hints that the Cripps-Bevin wing favour a coalition have not been effectively refuted. Among the Labour workers, there is a feeling that in the tops of the Party a genuinely coalitionist tendency exists, and this in turn, further tends to undermine the confidence of the rank and file.

Within the Labour Party, the continued inactivity over the past two years has turned to anarchy in the face of the unpopularity of the recent cuts. While the pressure from the Trade Unions has forced the Labour leaders to act with caution, the absence of any real pressure from the ranks of the Labour Party itself gives room for manoeuvring.

While the Tory machine has been conducting a great political offensive and has succeeded in mobilising a political youth movement, which, throughout the year has actively campaigned against Labour, the Labour Party has not been able to arouse an active campaigning spirit in the Party or among the youth on the basis of their present policy. Local Labour Parties carry out the minimum of propaganda-agitation activity. The Labour League of Youth hardly exists. The undoubted strengthening of the Right wing of the Labour leadership has not been countered by a corresponding and effective movement to the Left from below.

Zilliacus and the pro-Stalinist wing gain a certain response, but there is no really basic support among the more militant workers, among the more militant workers, for their policy, within the Labour Party. The "Keep Left" and "Party" are the only groups of similar tendencies are incapable of arousing an active response; it is doubtful whether they seriously want. Meanwhile, a dangerous tendency with growing support has

sprung up, with an anti-Russian and American Quisling outlook. Raymond Blackburn, M.P., George Dallas, ex-Chairman of the Labour Party, and many others are holding public meetings campaigning against "The Menace from the East."

Taken as a whole, the situation today is a very serious one for the working class and has dangerous possibilities for the future. The defeat in the elections was the first warning of the consequences of a policy of surrender to the capitalists by the Labour Party leadership. Fascism today is at present an ineffective force. But the new middle class Tory youth can readily go over to fascism in a short space of time.

In the existing conditions of world economy, no serious socialist worker believes that a utopia can be created in Britain overnight. Nevertheless, the conditions of the masses can be improved. But only on the basis of a conscious and militant offensive against capital and with the aim of introducing socialist measures whereby the technicians in direct democratic control. 33 per cent of the national income after taxation goes to the capitalists in the shape of rent, interest and profit. The major part of this portion of the national income, which is not derived from labour by hand or brain, but is purely parasitic, can be used not only to improve the lot of the working class but of the middle class as well, who are feeling the lash of capitalism.

A bold radical policy of this kind, driven forward by an inspired and determined leadership, could and would stir the fighting spirit of

the workers and would undoubtedly gain support among the middle class. But the Labour leaders have no intention of carrying out such a policy, and it is necessary to say bluntly, nor are they capable of fighting for such a policy.

It is high time for Labour workers to call a halt to the retreat in face of the capitalists. The cuts in workers' standards, the scandalous police protection given to Mosley and the fascists against the workers, the continued use of troops to break strikes, the use of the police by the Savoy employers against workers fighting for a trade union principle, these and other actions of the Labour Government can only shake the confidence further of militant sections of the Labour movement.

The only way to change the policy of the Labour leaders is by mass pressure of the rank and file. In every branch of the Labour and Trade Union movement a start must be made to create locally and nationally, committees of struggle to force the Labour leaders to begin a socialist offensive, or to replace them with elected representatives who are ready to carry out such an offensive.

The Revolutionary Communist Party assisted in getting Labour in power. At the same time, we warned of the inevitable failure of the Labour leaders to carry out a socialist programme and urged the workers to rely only on their own organised strength. Experience is bearing out the correctness of this. We are sure that future events will convince the workers that the Labour Party is incapable of overthrowing the capitalist system, and that only a mass revolutionary party basing itself on the ideas of Marx and Lenin can establish a socialist society in this and other countries.

# Thorez Admits Errors

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moving picture, automobile, aviation and similar industries threatened with American competition more directly than others.

Just as the Stalinist policy aims to utilise the world mass movement it seeks to unleash in order to arrive at a compromise with Wall Street, the new policy of the French Stalinists aims at doing the same for a compromise with its own ruling class. Once having achieved a compromise, the phrases will be changed, and the struggle called off. The extent to which Thorez has gone in his "self criticism" is indicative of serious unrest in the ranks of his party. The worsening economic situation drives the workers to more decisive class struggles than the splintered, partial strikes which the Stalinists have felt constrained to lead up till now. The gains made in the strikes are being wiped out by rising inflation. The threat of de Gaulle takes on a serious aspect since the elections, and brings pressure for a showdown from the right. Thus, the new turn of the Stalinists, despite its motivations, opens up a wedge in the present

situation which leads to the perspective of a decisive class battle.

The proper utilization of this wedge, so as to make a revolutionary working class solution possible, depends upon the successful intervention of a conscious vanguard with a Leninist policy. This vanguard exists in the Trotskyist Parti Communiste Internationaliste. In the current issue of its central organ the P.C.I. carried a joint manifesto with the Socialist Youth which has recently broken away from the party of Blum and Ramadier. Entitled "On the Alert Against Dictatorship," the manifesto analyzes the "growth" of the de Gaulle régime, castigates the "reformist" and "Stalinist" and calls for the preparation of a General Strike by united front action to beat down any attempt, illegal or legal, to set up the planned Bonapartist dictatorship, and to form a government of the workers' parties based on mass control and a positive anti-capitalist programme: the establishment of a living minimum wage, the sliding scale of wages to combat inflation, workers' control of industry.

# Italian Workers Reply to the Fascists

Following the pattern set by Mussolini after the first World War, the neo-fascists have begun a series of provocations against the working class.

In Sicily, the Fascists fired on a peaceful May Day demonstration of workers, their wives and children. The workers replied by a general strike of protest over all Italy. In the last few days in the village of Mediglia near Milan—stronghold of the working class—a member of the Uomo Qualunque ("Party of the Common Man"), one of the neo-fascist organisations formed in Italy since the collapse of Mussolini) fired on a demonstration of the workers and peasants from the shelter of his house, killing one and wounding another seriously. The workers stormed the house and immediately killed the murderer responsible.

Further provocation was the placing of a bomb in the headquarters of the Communist Party in Milan. The workers swiftly replied by a general strike in Milan AND IMMEDIATELY TOOK REPRISAL ACTION AGAINST THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE NEO-FASCIST ORGANISATIONS, the Uomo Qualunque and Movimento Sociale Italiana, which were set on fire and sacked.

But the workers were not content to remain on the defensive and with sure instinct began the counter-attack. In nearly all the cities of Italy, big and small, the workers have gone into action against the fascists. Demonstrations of over a hundred thousand in Milan, tens of thousands in other cities, have not stopped at Verona, Bari, Cremona, Rome, Bologna, witnessed militant attacks on the headquarters of the fascist organisations. Even in Naples and Palermo, former strongholds of reaction, the workers have gone into action. The backward South of Italy has followed the lead of the North.

Naturally, the police, who have always been conveniently absent or inactive when the fascists have attacked the workers in Italy in

the past, have been called out to protect the fascists. Troops have been called out in many towns to assist the police. Tear gas and firearms have been used against the working class.

BUT THE WORKERS HAVE SHOWN THAT FASCISM WILL NOT BE SMUGGLED INTO POWER BY THE CAPITALISTS WITHOUT A FIGHT. The terrible memory of the victory of Mussolini and the means by which he was brought to power and tyrannised over the workers for two decades, is too fresh in their minds.

Italian capitalism is in a desperate situation—far more serious than after World War I. In an article in "The Times" of November 7th, which if anything underestimates the situation, it is described thus:

"In Italy there are 1,250,000 workers without jobs. Low output in manufacture and farming has meant serious impoverishment, aggravated by inflation, bringing with it an inequality of suffering and a waste of resources. The shops are full of luxuries and there are no clothing coupons, but the average worker must spend 90% of his income on food to provide his family with 2,600 calories a head a day, whereas he spent 65% of his income before the war to provide them with 3,000 calories. The middle class, the lower salary groups, teachers and Civil servants, suffer most. To get even the present inadequate supplies of food and materials for industry, requires large imports, and the Government is happy to see one month ahead in paying for these overseas purchases."

The Government is bankrupt; the masses have reached the limits of their endurance. The middle class is disillusioned with the democracy and all the promises it made to them. Being unorganised, they are even worse off than the

# Heard In Parliament

BY R. RALPH

Leading Labour spokesmen in Parliament have on many occasions reassured the Tories that they have no intention of abolishing the capitalist system. On the contrary, their cry, oft repeated, is "we want to make capitalism more efficient." Such speeches, needless to say, are in a somewhat different tone to those made, for instance, by the Minister of Fuel to a miners' gathering. However, it was on this note that Attlee pleaded with the Tories for national unity during the debate of October 21.

"The party opposite," he said, "unlike the party on this side of the House, seems to claim that because this party has a different point of view from them, therefore, they cannot support its efforts."

But why should the Tories want to share responsibility for the economic crisis? The "different point of view" centres round the same problem—how best to administer capitalism.

"When we were in the war," continued Attlee, "we came into the Government and we did not attempt to upset the capitalist system. We had to accept it because that was the will of the majority of the House."

But what is the "will of the majority of the House" today?—that capitalism should continue or that it should be abolished and that the first transitional stages of socialism introduced? Attlee's plea to the Tories for "unity of effort" is a clear answer to that question, which makes his talk about "not attempting to upset the capitalist system" as so much humbug, for the Labour leaders have never contemplated it—except perhaps in bad dreams.

On October 30th, a written answer by Hugh Dalton, showed how the Labour Government's benevolence to the capitalists works out in practice. It revealed that the total amount of Excess Profits Tax that has been refunded to business firms was £202,000,000, after deduction of Income Tax! This effectively explodes the myth of "equality of sacrifice", for what the Government takes from the capitalists with one hand, it gives back with the other, while ever increasing burdens are placed on the working class.

In a speech in the House of Commons on 24th October, Mr. Clement Davies, M.P., gave some interesting figures on the world situation, which he described as "in an even worse condition than

it was before the war started." He said:

At this time there are roughly 19,000,000 men in the world under arms. Forty nations are spending, in this time of economic crisis, something like £7,000 million per annum on the preparation for war, which is £2,500 million more than was being spent in 1938, before that terrible war started. Today, there are more men in uniform throughout the world than there were in 1938 and 1939, although the armed forces of Germany, Italy and Japan are now non-existent. . . . In this coming year the United States are devoting 34 per cent of their enormous budget to military purposes; Russia, so far as we know, even on the published figures, is devoting 40 per cent; and we in this country are devoting something like 26 per cent of our budget to those purposes.

"One of the main causes for our troubles today is our shortage of labour. Yet at this time we have still over 1,000,000 men in our Armed Forces, and according to official figures something like 450,000 men whose whole time is occupied in providing food, clothing, munitions, and so on, for the Armed Forces. I think that figure of 450,000 is a very low estimate; I would put it at very nearly double; but taking it at 450,000, and taking our Armed Forces today at 1,200,000 it amounts to 1,650,000 men; a figure even today, in excess of the 1,500,000 people devoted to the most important matter of all, our export trade; a figure which is very nearly twice the number in the coal, 'nearby for figure far in, including the agricultural prisoners of war. In fact, two years after the end of that devastating war, we can say that today our greatest industry in this country—which is face to face with the situation described yesterday so eloquently by the right hon. and learned Gentleman—is still the military industry."

# PALESTINE PARTITION

(Continued from Page 3.)

and supported in the U.N.O. by Russia!

The argument of the Russian delegate to U.N.O. that the tension between Jews and Arabs made the creation of an independent unified State impracticable, was taken directly from the lexicon of Imperialism. Instead of demanding the unification of the countries of the Arab East, which have been split up by imperialism for more than 30 years, the Stalinist bureaucracy has given support to a new partition.

Far from being a "solution" of the Palestine problem partition will only aggravate the tension between Arabs and Jews and divert the struggle of the oppressed workers and fellahen of the Arab East from a true struggle for national and social freedom into anti-Jewish, chauvinist channels. Partition of Palestine means not only a danger to the existence of the Jewish minority in that country and to the Jewish communities all over the Arab East; it is also a blow to the class struggle of the Arab Labour Movement which emerged out of the development of the war years, a blow to the agrarian revolution. It is a wedge in the heart of the Arab countries whose progress can only be guaranteed by their unification.

All these considerations have become irrelevant to the Stalinist bureaucracy, when it comes to making a diplomatic deal with Imperialism.

## Divide—And Let Others Rule For You!

How to explain the recent policy of the British Government for Palestine? It was sheer imperialist hypocrisy when Mr. Creech Jones told the U.N. Committee on Palestine that "the British Government were ready to assume responsibility for giving effect to any plan agreed to by the Jews and Arabs." He wished to make the world believe that Britain had played in Palestine the role of the disinterested conciliator. But what are the facts?

A few weeks ago, on Friday, October the 24th, a Jew was arrested in Tiberias and summoned to appear in the Court on the charge of "disturbing public security" because he had distributed leaflets of the "League for Jewish Arab Co-operation" calling for peace between Arabs and Jews!

At the same time, British officers are training the armies of the Arab States and preparing them for their "task" in Palestine. And the "Zionist military force" "Haganah," whose main purpose

is to combat the Arab National movement, is today permitted semi-legality by the British authorities—an army which at less propitious times for the British, has been illegalised.

This does not prevent Sir Alan Cunningham, the British High Commissioner, from hypocritically "warning" Jews and Arabs that chaos and bloodshed might follow British evacuation!

British imperialism has been weakened to such a degree that it cannot afford any longer to rule every country in the Arab East directly by its military forces. Strategic readjustment has become necessary and local rulers must be found who will be ready to direct the class struggle into as much communal trouble as possible. After an education of almost 30 years under the British mandate, both the Zionist leaders and the Arab feudal lords and capitalists seem to be regarded as adequately trained for the task.

The Middle Eastern and the British working class must frustrate these malicious plans. No diplomatic deal between American Imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy will keep the workers of the Arab East from fighting for full unification of the Arab countries, with equal rights and autonomy for the Jews in a united Palestine. The Trotskyist groups in Egypt and Palestine will continue to expose the hidden policy of British High Commissioners and military envoys, to plunge the Arab East into communal bloodshed, British workers! Demand the withdrawal of all troops and communal warmongering military missions from the Middle East!

(Continued from Column 1.)

cracy or fascism, these are the two aspects of this one problem."

The French Stalinists long for a coalition with the capitalists, which would orientate its foreign policy on the Eastern bloc instead of the West. In return for this they would abandon their present agitation. They are not placing the problem squarely of a struggle for workers' power and the destruction of the capitalist system as the only way out. The formation of Vigilance Committees in the factories and streets to defend the organisations and rights of the workers is a step forward. But unless it is linked to a struggle for power, can only leave the working class suspended in mid-air and lead to a terrible defeat.

A complete break with the capitalist parties and the formation of a C.P. and S.P. Government linked to the Committees of struggle, is the next step forward for the working class.