

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (TROTSKYIST)

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## TRIBUNAL REVEALS HOW THE RICH LIVE

Whatever else the Tribunal set up to enquire into alleged irregularities establishes, it has already established beyond a shadow of a doubt that austerity applies only to the mass of the industrious working class of the country.

*For the spivs and drones, the capitalist class with their touts, fingermen, professional bankrupts, the world of austerity is as remote from their lives as is honest sweat on their brow. They live in a world of sumptuous comfort. Suits that cost them £50; select little austerity dinners run to £15 per head; hotel bills where the sky is the limit. A world where coupons are no barrier to appearance and comfort.*

This recalls the recent currency offence cases where culprits were to be found in all grades of capitalist society, including the blue-blooded aristocracy. Thousands of pounds were illegally taken out of the country to maintain them at their accustomed standards.

The impression which has been assiduously cultivated by the capitalist press that the ruling class groans under the same conditions of austerity as the common people is shown to be sheer hypocrisy.

It is not a question of a few fiddlers who live like this; it is the way of life of a class.

The ruling class, in peace and war, in boom and slump, live in this world of luxury.

The coming to power of the Labour Government has not made any fundamental differ-

ence to these gentry. Profits and living conditions go on as before.

That some leaders of the Labour movement hob-nob with these people, sup their wine, and live in conditions of friendship is a scandal for the Labour movement. It is in such an atmosphere that MacDonalds and Thomases are bred.

This investigation, whatever its outcome, should serve as a warning to the rank and file of the Labour movement that it is necessary to exercise closer control over the living conditions, activities and friends of their elected leaders. The leaders of the working class should be paid only skilled workmen's wages and reasonable expenses to cover their out-of-pocket expenses.



**JAMES CAREY, C.I.O.,** National Secretary, shown with **JAMES KUTCHER** at the New York Herald Tribune forum, where Carey protested Kutcher's victimisation.

**WHY WERE STALINISTS SILENT?**

See article on Prof. Haldane. Page 2.

## "COMFORTS" FOR WHITES

**T**HE Minister of Transport was asked about a bathroom set aside for three Africans on board, two of them Methodist ministers, with the notice "For non-Europeans only," when the Durban Castle arrived at Capetown on October 23.

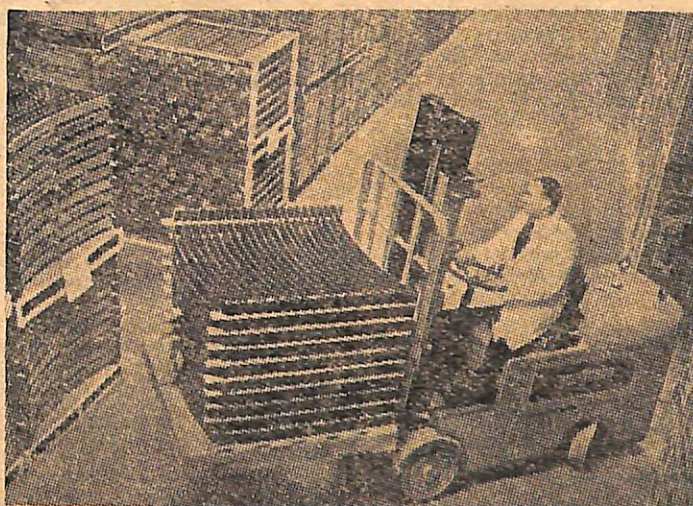
Mr. Barnes replied that the Union Castle Line had informed him they deplored racial discrimination and the arrangements on their ships "are designed to give effect to this principle whilst meeting the general convenience and comforts of all passengers."

Is it not rather a dress rehearsal for passengers before entering the land where to treat the negro as a human being is considered a crime against the dispensation of the Lord?

Dole and the Means Test. He remembers being ill-clad when the looms of Lancashire and Yorkshire were idle, and thousands of textile workers were destitute. He remembers when he and his family were starving for the goods British shipping could bring, but he couldn't even beg a job at the Docks.

These dockers are referred to as "Latter-Day Luddites." Although they do not go round breaking up machinery, their fears stem from the same basic factor: that such machinery will add further to the uncertainty of their life under capitalism. Their fear is well-founded.

They have heard the cry for  
(continued on page 4)



**THE MACHINE THAT CAUSED THE STRIKE.**

With this technique and machine, heavy warehouse goods can be stacked to a 16 foot ceiling, under full control, and swiftly handled by one man.

## COAL BOARD CRACKS DOWN ON WELSH MINERS

By **JOCK HASTON**

**T**HE issue which is being fought out at G.C.G., though widely reported in South Wales, has received little publicity in the rest of the country. Apart from an occasional reference, it has not been taken up in the Labour movement or press.

In the case of the capitalist press, they don't want to understand the issues at stake. The Labour and Stalinist press are actually dodging the issue: that this is the beginning of the greatest drive to reduce the conditions and speed up production of a section of the working class since 1921.

**£5 To £7 Cut**

If the new price list is adopted, miners at G.C.G. are required to double their output and still take a wage-cut of from £2 to £3. The miners claim that it is impossible to increase their physical effort.

This means that with the same, or even a slightly better effort, face workers will receive a few shillings over the minimum wage, a cut of from £5 to £7 per week.

**What N.C.B. Report Reveals**

The key to the policy of the Coal Board Executive is to be found in the published report ending 1947. The accounts show that the total operating loss before interest charges were paid amounted to £9,200,000. The loss for the South-Western Division alone amounted to £10,741,405. The balance was made up from the profits in the rest of the country. (These are the corrected figures of those provisionally quoted in the previous issue of the "S.A." as given by A. Lindsay, Financial Director of the S.W. Division of the Coal Board).

**Swansea Loss—£4,307,373**

The Swansea area, which produced 3,828,965 tons of the 22,418,864 tons of coal produced by the Division, showed a net loss of £4,307,373, or 22/6 per ton of coal produced.

According to A. Lindsay, the S.Western Division produced 12% of national coal output and was responsible for 122% of the national loss.

Earnings per manshift in the anthracite pits, he declared, amounted to 31/2 for an average production of 12.9 cwt.; in the non-anthracite pits of the Division, wages per manshift amounted to 26/6 for an output of 17 cwt., giving an average manshift wage for the Division of 27/3 for an output of 16.4 cwt. This compared with 29/3 per manshift wages for producing 22.2 cwt. for all Britain.

Anthracite wages, he declared, were 2/- per manshift higher than the average for the country while production per manshift was only a fraction over 50% for all Britain.

**A Warning**

These facts, which are to be found in the Coal Board report, are already sufficient to serve warning that the wages and output of the South Wales miners must inevitably be one of the first questions the Coal Board will tackle in the period ahead.

Wages of face workers and hauliers are to be the subject of drastic cuts. At the same time, output per manshift is to be greatly boosted over existing production.

**Plan For Capital Expenditure**

Significantly, under the section of the report headed "Looking To The Future," the Coal Board indicate that large scale

(continued on page 4)

## HELP THE FUNDS

**We need your Support**

With the publication of the October issue we announced that we were reverting to a fortnightly, that this step could only be undertaken by reducing the size and thereby the cost of publication. The new format has been very favourably received and many readers have written to say that they welcomed the more frequent appearance.

Again we remind our readers that "Socialist Appeal" imposes a heavy financial burden on the members and sympathisers of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The target is £100 per month for our Fighting Fund.

During October we received £39 3s. 8d. We appeal to all our readers to see that we do achieve our target for November.

Remember that to keep alive we need the financial support of all our readers and friends.

Please send your donations direct to me, or give them to the canvasser who sells you your paper. Every penny helps to bridge the gap.

**ARTHUR ROSS,**

**Socialist Appeal Fighting Fund,** 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

**FIGHTING FUND — OCTOBER**

P. £2 10s.; Charlie White £1 10s.; T.R. £6; Manchester 4/-; H. 1/6; Slough 14/6; P. 2/6; Enfield Readers 5/-; H.B. 1/-; G.H. 3/7; per AJB 7/6; Ilford £1; M.S. £3; G.G. 5/-; Hackney Readers 2/-; Kilburn Readers 1/3; Croydon Readers 1/6; H.L. £6; S.T. 6/-; B.P.-J. 10/-; J.P., Croydon 2/6; K.S. £4; Newcastle 2/-; West London 10/6; London DC £11 2s. 4d.

## HOW TRUMAN CAMPAIGNED

**A** BRITISH worker in America wrote during the American election campaign:

"Truman spoke last night at one of the big hotels and it was televised. Never have I heard such stuff. He went over every section of the community showing how well he was treating them—profits have never been higher... wages and conditions never better — "...the negroes, the Jews, the Catholics, the publicans and sinners, houses, wages, holidays, race equality, social services, there's nothing that won't be done if the Democrats win.

## WHY DOCKERS STRUCK AGAINST NEW MACHINE

By **ROY TEARSE**

**T**HE recent unofficial strike of stevedores at Butler's Wharf, Bermondsey, arising out of their objection to the installation of a new loading machine, requires serious consideration by the working class.

These strikers have been unanimously condemned by the capitalist press. The indictment against them is that full production is necessary for the national recovery and therefore for the "well-being" of dockers and all workers, and such strikes constitute sabotage of all this.

**"Restrictive Practices" Blamed**

The "Economist" (13/11/48) states:

"The docker is ill-housed partly because of the job-safeguarding restrictive practices of bricklayers, carpenters, and plumbers; his clothing is rationed and expensive, partly because his trade union comrades in the textile industries have objected to automatic looms; his children's schools lack textbooks partly because of the restrictions imposed by printers and binders; his whole standard of living is held down and endangered by his country's insolvency, to the cure of which the shipping industry could make a perceptibly larger contribution but for the slow turn-round imposed by his own actions.

"The general break up of the limpet tradition, the spread of a new spirit of welcome to better equipment and methods, would benefit each group out of all proportion to any sacrifices of immediate security which it would entail."

**The Dockers' Fears**

This "limpet tradition" is something born out of the bitter experience of the working class. The docker remembers being ill-housed when thousands of building workers were on the



# PROFESSOR HALDANE AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

## WHERE DOES HE STAND IN RELATION TO TROTSKYISTS?

By TED GRANT

**I**N the "Daily Worker" of November 15th, 1948, Professor J. B. S. Haldane devotes an article to the trial of the 12 American Stalinists, who have been charged under the notorious Smith Act.

*The charge is that they advocated the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.*

In this article Haldane writes: "As a Communist I was recently addressing a hundred or so students on the Communist attitude to the present tense international situation.

"I was severely questioned by a small group of 'Revolutionary Communists,' followers, or so they claimed, of the late Leon Trotsky.

"They said that the only path to world peace was a Socialist revolution in all countries, and that the Communist Party, because it did not advocate an immediate revolution in England, was betraying the cause of peace.

"These people also exist in America, and if they put forward the same views the indictment would at least be well founded were it made against them. I do not myself think that they should be prosecuted for holding such views, but at least they hold them, and the Communist Party leaders do not."

### Misunderstands Our Case

It is necessary to point out that Haldane has misunderstood the position of the Trotskyists. To demand an immediate revolution in Britain or elsewhere without regard to conditions and circumstances would be absurd, for the same reason as Haldane gives for America, namely: that it "would be about as likely to succeed as an attempt to knock down the Empire State Building with a hammer and sickle."

What the Trotskyists pointed out is that it is not communist policy to create the illusion that capitalism can live side by side with a workers' state for a whole historical period. Peace can be maintained, as a historical perspective, only by the overthrow of capitalism as a world system. If capitalism continues to exist nothing can prevent the outbreak of a third world war. This is the Leninist position.

### Trotskyists Imprisoned Under Same Act

However, another important factor emerges. In 1941, 18

leading American Trotskyists were framed by the witch hunters in America under this same Smith Act and brought to trial on the same charge of seeking to "overthrow the Government by means of force." They were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 18 months to a year.

### Where Was C.P.?

Instead of defending the democratic rights of the American Trotskyists, the Communist Party of America was foremost in whipping up a campaign to railroad the Trotskyists to jail. This was the first occasion on which the reactionary Smith Act was enforced. Similarly, in this country the C.P. refused to defend the Trotskyists when they were indicted under the infamous Trades Disputes Act, which has since been swept off the Statute book by the Labour Government.

### Where We Stand

To-day, the Communist Party is persecuted under the Act, under the same charge, which applies as much or as little to them as it did to the Trotskyists. As distinct from the support to the reaction which the Stalinists gave to this action against the Trotskyists, despite our fundamental political differences, our American comrades have campaigned against the prosecution of the 12 American Stalinist leaders as an infringement of the civil liberties of a section of the American working class.

### American C.P. Silent On Purged Veteran

Even to-day the American Stalinists have refused to assist in the defence of the victimised legless veteran James Kutcher who has been purged from his job because he is a member of the Socialist Workers' Party. The only left wing newspaper in America which failed to give support to the campaign to defend Kutcher and secure his reinstatement, was the organ of the American Communist Party, the "Daily Worker." Even the Liberal capitalist press has protested against the

persecution and pointed to this omission.

### An Omission

Curiously enough, the British "Daily Worker" mentioned the Kutcher case as an example of the lengths to which American reaction would go in their purge, but they omitted to mention that Kutcher is a Trotskyist.

### Where Does Haldane Stand?

If Prof. Haldane is conscientious in insisting that all sections of the movement should protest against an attack on any section of the working class movement and its democratic rights, he will demonstrate this by supporting the demand of the American Trotskyists for the quashing of their conviction and the repeal of the Act, a demand which has the backing of a large section of the American trade union movement. He will appeal to his brother-party to campaign against the victimisation of the Trotskyist legless victim Kutcher, and see that the facts are made clear concerning Kutcher's political views.

To condone an attack on one section of the labour movement, is to strike a blow against the rights of all. The Marxian attitude has always been to defend any section of the Labour movement whose rights are under attack by the capitalist class. The Stalinists here or in America have not fulfilled their obligations in this respect.

# BLACKWELL MALAYA in LIVERPOOL WHERE WE STAND

Blackwell held a meeting this afternoon. About 500 attended. He, Hastings, Simon Mahan Jnr. spoke. The meeting was unadvertised apart from a loud-speaker van touring the empty city one hour or so before it commenced. This was, it appeared a deliberate policy. Only the Catholic organisations had been notified to prevent the E.T.U. membership, etc., from counter-demonstrating.

Only three Trotskyists and one Stalinist who was friendly, voted against the Red-hunt resolution.

They probably think they are doing very well—a great deal of publicity, etc., etc. But actually it counts for little. The Catholic Church is really "going to town" against Communism here. They are mostly fellows in their 30's and are very active at political meetings, with plenty of publications, etc.

J.D.

# AUSTERITY A DOG'S LIFE!

LADY MUNNINGS, wife of Sir Alfred Munnings, President of the Royal Academy, took with her to the Lord Mayor's banquet a small black-and-tan pekinese. According to the "Daily Telegraph," Lady Munnings, during the banquet "from time to time gave him an assortment of tidbits from the table, including a lick of sherry, several sips of turtle soup and some champagne. When the toast of the King was honoured Her Ladyship stood with the dog under her right arm with his paws held up as if in salute. The performance was repeated at the toast of other members of the Royal Family." *A dog's life!*

**T**HE Newcastle Branch of the R.C.P. has drawn our attention to the fact that while the Camberwell resolution on Malaya, printed in the Mid-October issue of the "Socialist Appeal" contains some good ideas which entirely justified its publication, it nevertheless also includes an incorrect political line and thus should have been the subject of an editorial comment.

It was particularly regrettable, they add, that the editorial which dealt with Malaya, also presented an extremely bad policy statement.

We do not bind ourselves to comment critically on every resolution printed in the "Socialist Appeal" from other working class bodies. In the case of the Camberwell Trades Council resolution, however, since the editorial was not a good policy statement, the criticism of the Newcastle comrades is justified.

The Camberwell resolution demanded a series of reforms such as the dismissal of reactionary officials, the cessation of military and police action and the disarming of the planters, etc. It did not, however, demand the unconditional withdrawal of British troops, the ending of British power, and the granting of such aid as the masses of Malaya might ask for to establish a government freely elected by the mass of the people.

Although the policy of the R.C.P. has been stated in previous issues, the editorial also did not do so. It was not clearly stated that we are for the withdrawal of the troops and the complete freedom and independence of the Malayan people from British domination.

Of course, we stand unequivocally for the above revolutionary internationalist position, and insofar as there was any ambiguity, a clarification is necessary.

# MEETINGS

to be held in LONDON

Dec. 5th: History of the British Working Class Since 1914. Lecturer: R. Tearse.

Dec. 12th: History of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Lecturer: J. Haston.

Dec. 19th: Labour in Power. Lecturer: E. Grant.

To be held at the National Trade Union Club, 12, Great Newport Street, W.C.2 (opposite Leicester Square Station) at 7.30 p.m.

BIRMINGHAM: The Russian Revolution 1917-1948. Speaker: E. Grant. Nov. 21st at the I.L.P. Room, 38, John Bright Street, at 7 p.m.

LIVERPOOL: Real Situation in France. Speaker: J. Deane. Sun., Nov. 21st at 7.30 at Coopers' Hall, Shaw Street, Liverpool, 1.

LONDON: Hyde Park Meetings every Sunday at 3 p.m.

# READ:

STALIN-TITO CLASH by E. Grant & J. Haston

THE MENACE OF FASCISM by E. Grant

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION by Leon Trotsky 10/-

RISE AND FALL OF COMINTERN by L. Tilak 6/-

# Scottish Crofters Seize the Land

**T**HE action of the seven Scottish crofters, who staked claims on the land of Lord Brocket, millionaire laird of Knoydart, Inverness-shire, has aroused considerable sympathy in the Labour and Trade Union movement in Scotland.

On November 9th, these crofters of Knoydart pegged out sections of this estate to the estimated extent of 10,000 acres and staked the claim of each individual to a small-holding, by name-post.

Lord Brocket answered this by obtaining an interim interdict from the Edinburgh Court of Session, which now makes these crofters liable to prosecution if they remain on the Brocket estate.

The fact that Brocket and others may have parts of land under cultivation does not alter the issue for the crofters, who are able to eke out only a mere existence in many cases, despite the back-breaking character of their work.

The Fort William Labour Party has raised the issue with the Scottish Secretary of State.

### Glasgow A.E.U. Support For Crofters

The Glasgow A.E.U. District Committee has passed the following resolution:

"This D.C. endorses the action of the 7 men of the Loch Nevis village who staked claims on land at present being unused by the landlord.

"We further ask E.C. to press the T.U.C. to have the Government nationalise this and similar misused land which can then be rented at a nominal figure by the working crofters. "Further that compensation should be based on the productive value of the land during the last three years."

This should receive the support of the entire working class movement. Landlordism not only affects these crofters, but the entire farming community and the industrial working class also. The demand must be raised that the Labour Government nationalise the land as a whole, thereby assisting not only the crofters of Knoydart, but small farmers nationally.

### Object To Ownership

Ironically enough, the petition submitted to the Court by Lord Brocket hit the nail on the head when it stated: "... the petitioners believe that for some unknown reason the local people object to the petitioners' ownership of the estate at Knoydart."

Maybe the reason is unknown to the petitioners, but it is not unknown to the average worker and small farmer in Scotland. The feeling against landlordism is particularly strong there.

### Game Preserves

They see around them huge tracts of uncultivated land, much of it fertile, maintained by these lairds as game preserves for the amusement of the upper classes from England and Scotland, but where crofters and workers from the towns are not allowed to set foot.

### Stalinists Flew Union Jack

Whilst wholeheartedly condemning British imperialism in this colonial country, it must also be recognised that the criminal policy of Stalinism has disorientated vast sections of workers and peasants. It was the Stalinists who called upon the people of Malaya to welcome the British troops in September, 1945, as the army of liberation; who flew the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes on their premises, and used every means at their disposal to plug the line that the Big Three and U.N.O. would mete out justice to Malaya.

### Withdraw The Troops

The British workers must give wholehearted support to the Malayan masses in their struggle for independence and to back it with the demand for the withdrawal of the British troops.

# WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM MALAYA

**British imperialism is increasing its onslaught on the guerillas in Malaya. Fresh troops are pouring in from Britain. A total of 65,000 armed police are used to defend the interests of the planters.**

Reporting on the war in Malaya, Mr. McDonald, British Commissioner-General in South-East Asia, gave a false picture of events to a press conference in London. According to the "Daily Telegraph," "The Government had the support of Trade Union leaders and the vast majority of the people and had been inundated with requests for arms with which to fight the Communists."

In actual fact the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions has been banned, its leaders outlawed and in many cases shot dead.

### Elections Boycotted

So far as having the people behind the Government, the reaction of the masses and the middle classes to the elections show that only a handful of the population voted. A successful boycott was organised and carried out to expose the hollowness of the new Constitution.



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Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party,

256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.

Phone: CUN 2526.

EDITOR: E. GRANT.

BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

## EDMONTON— A WARNING

The Labour leaders have explained the reverse in Edmonton, where Labour's vote dropped 7,000 votes and the Tories' rose by nearly 9,000, by the insidious demagoguery of the Tory campaign.

The local Tories conducted a veiled anti-Semitic campaign against the Labour candidate.

But this will not provide adequate explanation to Labour workers of this reverse. Edmonton is an overwhelmingly working class area.

The cause was rising prices, housing shortages, and the general disappointment of the masses in the fruits of Labour in office, particularly felt by the women.

Although the capitalist class are making greater profits than before the war under Tory rule, the Tories exploit the frustration of the people in the interests of big business.

The Tories could be utterly routed by a Government which attentively catered for the needs of the masses by striking at profit and privilege.

Bold action against the privileged capitalist class! Plan the entire economy on socialist lines! Draw the workers into running all phases of industry and distributing consumers' goods, and Labour's vote would soar instead of decline in working class areas.

## 10,000,000 GERMANS STRIKE

—HERE IS A PICTURE OF LIFE IN THE WESTERN ZONE

TEN MILLION German workers in the Western occupied zones came out on a 24 hour general strike on November 11th in protest against the low wages and steeply rising cost of living.

Even the correspondent of the reactionary "Daily Mail" paints a picture of the striking differences between rich and poor. In the November 13th issue, Brian Connell writes on the occasion of the celebration of St. Martin's day in the Ruhr:

"Dozens of restaurants advertised the traditional roast goose dinner, served with apple stuffing and potatoes roast in butter, washed down with the best Rhine wine.

"There ought, of course, to have been a little matter of food coupons involved, but no-one bothered.

"That goes for almost any German restaurant in any German town. There is a fixed cheap meal served against coupons. But you can have oysters and steak and caviare and delicious pigs-knuckle with sauerkraut in another room without coupons—if you can pay for it—at £2 per head."

This is how the big industrialists and speculators who financed Hitler's bid for power, live in "de-Nazified" Germany.

And here is a picture of how the masses fare.

"Yesterday I trudged for hours through the dirty pitheads and shattered steel works of the industrial Ruhr. Everywhere men with burst boots and ragged trousers told me the same story. They cannot make ends meet.

"Best paid man in this Ruhr area is the miner. He clears between 180 and 240 marks (£15 to £20) a month. Over in Essen a skilled steel worker averages up to 165 marks, which is only about £13, and many of his fellow workers get less.

"I went with them into their consumer co-operatives and worked out that the food available, on the basis of 1,800-calorie ration cards, for a family of four costs 69.75 marks plus another 8 marks for the food on a heavy worker's ration card, which most of the men have.

"This is the cheapest possible shop. Add another 10 marks for vegetables, which are off the ration, and without any weak beer (8d. a pint bottle) or sauces or condiments, and £6 15s. has gone smack.

"For weeks their meagre meat ration has consisted of

sausage, and the black market prices for extra fat and protein foods are way above their heads.

"Rents are between £2 and £3 a month, transport fairly cheap—but a miner must have at least 2 pairs of boots and 4 pairs of working trousers a year, and he must put aside at least £1 10s. a month for these.

"Krupps, in Essen, still employ 13,500 workers. The works council has just managed to get 2,000 pairs of boots at £2 10s. a pair and 2,000 overalls at the cut rate of £1 a pair. They remain unsold because no-one has money to buy them.

"A special allocation of half a ton of coal per family for only 45s. was actually brought to the doors of households in lorries. They came back full because no-one had the money to buy."

### Glorious Swindle

The capitalists are engaging in a glorious swindle at the expense of the population. Industrial output has soared by 46 per cent. or nearly half in less than five months, and even the small traders' turnover has increased by 50 per cent., but income tax proceeds have risen by only four per cent.

The unions claim that "false invoices are siphoning this money off into the manufacturers' pockets."

The tremendous radicalisation taking place in Germany can be understood in this situation. Twice as many struck work as was anticipated by the unions. Millions of unorganised white collar and clerical workers spontaneously joined the organised protest against the rising cost of living.

### C.P. Influence Declines

In spite of this Stalinist influence is rapidly declining. They recently lost 40 per cent. of their former votes in North Rhine Westphalia which is a reaction to the policies of the Russians in the East zone.

### T.U. Demands

The workers are groping in the direction of workers' control of production as the sole means

# PURGE IN HUNGARY

By BILL HUNTER

THROUGHOUT Eastern Europe a purge in the Communist Parties has been taking place. The Cominform paper in its issue of October 15th gives an account of the purge in the Hungarian Workers' Party, instituted to secure "purity of party ranks." The Hungarian Workers Party was formed from the fusion of the Communist Party with the Social Democratic Party of Hungary.

M. Farkas, Assistant General Secretary of the Workers' Party, writes that there have been observed signs of "right-wing deviation, of slackened vigilance and a weakening of the staunchness and militant spirit of the party."

He blames the "deteriorating social composition of the party" on the fact that "the enemy succeeded in some places—true, only temporarily—in causing separate party organisations to deviate from the correct political policy of the Central Committee."

"No matter how isolated these cases are in our party," he continues, "they cannot be permitted in the future."

### Stalinist "Self-Criticism"

Ever since the Yugoslav dispute, the Cominform paper has been full of articles on the necessity for "criticism and self-criticism" in the Stalinist parties. What precisely these terms mean is plain from the above statement of Farkas. "Self-criticism" clearly does not mean the right of the party rank and file to criticise the Central Committee. Farkas does not say that correct criti-

cism of the Central Committee will not be permitted. But, of course, it will be the Central Committee who will decide what is correct or not. And if the rank and file can only determine whether his criticism is correct by finding himself outside the party, such a state of affairs in actual fact means barring all criticism and inner party life.

### "No Place For Groupings . . ."

In any case, the limits of this self-criticism were made quite plain by Farkas himself in a speech at the Unity Congress of the Workers Party reported in the Cominform journal of June 15th. After using to-day's stock phrases of Stalinism: "Criticism and self-criticism should become law for the party's development" he added ominously, "there should be no place in our party for groupings and factions."

This means that if two or more party members raise a similar criticism or "self-criticism" they will find themselves fiercely condemned as an enemy grouping.

### Expel Fascists!

Farkas comments in his article: "We must ruthlessly expel any former functionaries of fascist or other reactionary organisations." This is a tardy confirmation of the reports that the Hungarian Communist Party had taken in, among other doubtful elements, former leading members of fascist organisations.

Rakosi gave the reasons for the Communist Party doors being opened wide to dubious elements, who joined obviously because of the power it wielded due to the occupation of the Red Army.

### "Not Experienced . . ."

In 1945, the Social Democratic Party was far stronger than the Communist Party. Rakosi comments:

"In the summer of 1945, for instance, it frequently happened in the course of factory committee elections, that the Social Democrat comrades, using the arguments that they had double our membership in the factories, insisted on getting two-thirds of the majority. This argument carried weight with the masses not experienced in politics."

## £100 FINE

THE Mayor of Famagusta, Cyprus, has been fined £100 for making a political speech without the correct permit from the authorities. He had only obtained a permit to speak on the building workers' strike!

## CHRISTIAN VIEW OF WAR

THE Dean of Chichester, Dr. Duncan Jones, speaking at the Church of England Assembly at Westminster, has declared: "The Christian view of war is that righteousness is more important than peace. If you believe that righteousness is the first thing, then you must be prepared to use military measures."

Praise the Lord, but save the ammunition!

In Hungary, as in other Eastern European countries, the Stalinists insist on a list of nominations being voted for en bloc as against the democratic free play of individual nominations for union and factory committees. The list was supposedly based on the relative strength of the parties. Rakosi's statement is therefore revealing in that, even where the Social Democrats had twice the membership of the Communist Party, only "inexperienced masses" would argue that the larger party should be entitled to greater representation!

### 12% Read Party Paper

That the workers are in the Stalinist Party, mainly out of economic necessity, can be seen by some figures recently issued by Josef Revais, editor of "Szabad Nep," Workers Party newspaper. The paper is read by only 12% of the party. At the big MAUAG factories, for example, where 6,000 out of 8,000 workers are party members only 780 read the party newspaper!

### The "Mishkol Incidents"

Faced with the big support for the Social Democrats, the Stalinists recruited what they could. The elements who entered can be gauged from Rakosi's statement that

"We have not forgotten the Mishkol incidents when part of the party membership was influenced by anti-Semitic and even anti-democratic provocateurs"

and the statement of Farkas that "We must expel . . . former gendarmes, reactionary officers of the army and police, Horthy supporters returned from the West, where such elements are found in the party."

### An Example

Farkas gives an example of bureaucracy in the party's leading bodies.

" . . . at the Budafok electric factory, 5 out of every 6 members of the party committee are office workers. And during committee meetings the worker-member is usually sent elsewhere to a job."

Here we see the method of the Stalinists in selecting one or two examples of bureaucratic excesses, while leaving untouched the roots of the problem: the bureaucratic party regime.

Bureaucracy can only be minimised and countered if the workers' party wins a popular base and institutes a democratic regime in the party and in which the workers freely participate in the government. The nature of Stalinism breeds bureaucracy. The purges are part of the process.

There is no doubt that the purge will include also elements who criticised the bureaucratic and anti-democratic methods of the Stalinists.

### Meaning Of The Purge

The purge itself is instituted bureaucratically from above by the Political Bureau. It entails freedom to criticise only those tendencies already specified from the top. Any criticism of the line already adopted, or of leaders not under a cloud, will place the critical among the "anti-party" elements.

One is permitted to criticise that which the leaders criticise in their past policy. One is permitted to criticise a leader already in disgrace. Above all, one is permitted to criticise oneself. But the present policy remains inviolate.

The purges can no more cure the party of the regime of bureaucratism than did the Russian purges. They represent the welding of the party into a supine instrument of the Moscow bureaucracy.



# WALES - THE CINDERELLA IN COAL BOARD'S PLAN

(continued from page 1)

capital expenditure is already planned and under way.

**SCOTTISH DIVISION:** "... Altogether, 32 schemes involving major reconstruction of existing collieries, are being carried out over a period of two years..." etc.

**NORTHERN DIVISION:** "... Reconstruction work is in progress at 19 collieries, and plans are being prepared for the reconstruction of 15 more..."

A similar situation in the NORTH EASTERN DIVISION and the NORTH WESTERN DIVISION.

**EAST MIDLANDS DIVISION:** "... there is no need for new pits to be sunk for at least 5 years... the Divisional Board's plans, however, envisage reconstruction and modernisation of existing pits on a large scale..."

**WEST MIDLANDS DIVISION:** major reconstruction on a considerable scale.

## S.W. Division—The Cinderella

But when we come to the SOUTH WESTERN DIVISION, there is an entirely different story.

The difference is so important that we quote this section in full:

"A detailed study of the anthracite coalfield was carried out to see how the output of the existing mines could be increased and their efficiency improved. Plans were considered to reorganise these mines. Two were shortly to be closed, and closure of nine others was considered. In the rest of the Division six major reorganisation and concentration schemes are being considered. Work has continued on a horizon mining scheme at Llanharan colliery begun before nationalisation, and production should begin soon. This will be the first horizon mining project with underground locomotive haulage to come into operation in South Wales. Work was also continued on the reorganisation of Ffaldau colliery which has been closed before the vesting date. This work should be completed in 1948. A major reconstruction is planned at Nantgarw involving the reorganisation of the existing colliery on modern continental lines, to produce an annual output of 750,000 tons, with coke ovens and by-product plant. This scheme should be completed by 1957. In addition to the reconstruction of existing mines, some large new mines will probably be required in this Division during the next 10 years."

In contrast with the optimistic picture and concrete financial details of extensive planning and reconstruction in other areas, the S.W. Division is the Cinderella of the Coal Board.

The closure of the pits indicated has already commenced in the Swansea Valley.

## The Perspective

What this involves for the South Wales miners was revealed by A. Lindsay in his report to which we have previously referred. He posed the possible perspective of South Wales being closed down altogether and production being shifted to other areas.

Almost literally, he said, the Coal Board is not prepared to spend a penny in new capital development unless the South Wales miners substantially increase their output without extra cost.

It is crystal clear from the evidence that the major portion of the funds required for the extensive development of South Wales is to come out of the sweat and blood of the miners.

## What Policy For N.U.M.?

What lessons are to be drawn from these facts and events? What policy should the Miners' Union pursue in the face of this pressing and indeed terrifying situation? We do not presume to answer these questions in this article, but we hope, however, to raise the issues squarely for discussion, so that instead of the cowardly evasion which charac-

terises the policy of the leadership of the S. Wales Miners' Union, a clear and decisive lead can be given. Instead of a policy which allows the miners to be chopped down pit by pit to a minimum, the miners need a militant national policy which will preserve their maximum conditions in S. Wales.

## Future N.C.B. Policy

It should be abundantly clear that the problem of South Wales is but part of the more general problem of future Coal Board policy for the country as a whole. Having taken an industry which was ruined by its former owners, the Coal Board has not only to provide capitalist industry with cheap coal, but find sufficient funds to mechanise and modernise the industry. It also has to find the money to pay the interest charges amounting to some £15,000,000 which goes into the pockets of the former owners.

This programme can only be achieved by the sweat and toil of the miners. Thus a new period has commenced in the relations between the miners and Coal Board. The policy of reforms and concessions which were undoubtedly introduced in the first flush of nationalisation, and which created a widespread response on the part of the miners, is to be wedded with a policy of rationalisation, speed-up and increased task work.

The attempt to bind the Union to participate in penalising absentee workers is one aspect of this policy. The failure of the top leadership to secure the support of the rank and file is to the credit of the latter.

Wherever possible, the policy of the Coal Board aims to end the system of contracting according to tonnage, and introduce in its stead, payment according to task: stint or yardage. Where the latter method is already in practice, the drive of the Coal Board is to increase the task.

This was the issue at stake in the Grimethorpe dispute. The miners at the pit succeeded in defeating the Coal Board's imposition only as a consequence of the widespread strike solidarity of thousands of Yorkshire miners.

No socialist worker will try to justify the maintenance of unproductive units, except in special circumstances—and then only as a temporary measure to be liquidated as rapidly as possible. But every socialist will oppose a policy which depresses the standards of the miners who slave and die in the industry while the former owners are maintained with their old conditions and incomes.

Either the industry must be subsidised until the replanning has created the economic conditions for providing decent standards for the miners and cheap coal, or else the conditions of the miners must be sacrificed to the needs of capitalist economy.

## Coal Was Subsidised Before

The capitalist press has played up the Coal Board losses. Firstly, to discredit nationalisation, and secondly, to bring pressure for a reduction of costs, including miners' wages. They decry any form of state subsidy as a means of temporarily helping to maintain the industry. Yet for several years before the Government took over, private coal capitalism was heavily subsidised by the state. The industry was in debt to the Coal Charges Fund to the extent of £27,500,000. Millions of pounds in profits were pocketed by the owners during this period. There is no principle of socialist policy which says the coal industry cannot be subsidised for some time to come.

## S.W. Division Hit By Disease

In the local Board report, £9,658,426 is given as the figure paid out to miners and their families in compensation for

accidents, death and disease. £2,133,011 paid in the S. Western Division alone. What this means to the miners and their families cannot be visualised by the middle and upper classes. G.C.G. is one of the villages most heavily hit by the hazards of the industry. Scores of young men are broken and bent before their time, desperately fighting for breath, their lungs loaded with dust and flooded with a black inky morass that takes them quickly and in great numbers to the little cemetery. Readers of "Socialist Appeal" are familiar with this through the articles of Johnny Jones, himself now out of the Steer pit, his health ruined by nystagmus.

It is these men whose wages the Coal Board want to cut by half.

The miners of G.C.G. have not received any large measure of support from the other miners in the Division at the present time. It is generally felt that the Arbitration award on G.C.G. is not a good issue on which to fight. Nevertheless, there is considerable disquiet among the other miners, especially in Swansea Valley.

## Shadow Over The Valleys

Already a large number of pits have their own disputes with the technical commissions of the Coal Board who are hard at work increasing the task. Over the Anthracite Valleys as a whole, nothing is more sure than that the conditions of the miners will be depressed to the levels of the lowest paid pits in the Division, unless a determined and unified policy is worked out by the Union leadership and fought for by militant action by the rank and file.

## For A Universal Wages Policy

If a man works hard and in dangerous conditions, he should be paid accordingly and not on the basis of how much coal he produces. This means a national wages policy.

Instead of dodging round this issue, the leadership of the South Wales miners must face it squarely, work out a policy which gains the best conditions for their members and prepare them to fight for it with all the militancy which they traditionally command.

## PROGRAMME OF THE R. C. P.

The Revolutionary Communist Party stands for the establishment of a system of society in which class divisions and the exploitation of man by man have been abolished and the introduction of a communist mode of production and distribution in which people produce according to their ability and receive from society according to their needs. The R.C.P. declares this to be an international task, to be undertaken by the British working class in close collaboration with the workers and exploited masses of all lands, and is united for this purpose on a world scale with revolutionary Marxists of other lands in the organisation of the Fourth International. Towards the attainment of its goal, the R.C.P. strives to win the support of the majority of the British working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers' Government, on the basis of the following transitional programme:—

1. The nationalisation of the land, all atomic processes, all large financial, insurance, industrial and distributive and transport enterprises without compensation and their organisation on the basis of an overall production plan, with control of production at all stages in the hands of democratically elected committees of workers and technicians.
2. Foreign trade to be concentrated in the hands of the State.
3. Abolition of the national debt with provision for the repayment of small savings.
4. Abolition of business secrets. All company books to be open to inspection by the Trade Unions and Workers' Committees.
5. Luxury hotels and mansions to be requisitioned and all existing housing space, to be controlled and allocated by tenants' committees. An end to luxury building and the establishment of a State-financed national housing plan, drawn up and operated in collaboration with the building trade unions and tenants' committees.
6. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers goods in short supply and the fixing of prices in collaboration with and under the control of committees elected from the co-operatives, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shopkeepers.
7. A rising scale of wages to meet any increase in the cost of living, to be assessed at regular intervals by workers' and housewives' committees and the trade unions, with all wages based on a guaranteed minimum; a falling scale of hours with no reduction in wages to absorb the unemployed, who must be fully maintained while not working; a maximum week of 40 hours without loss of earnings.
8. Abolition of the Monarchy, the House of Lords and the law of inheritance; the immediate repeal of all strike-breaking and anti-labour laws, and the introduction of full electoral rights for men and women in the armed forces.
9. Dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia; abolition of conscription and military law; clear out the reactionary officer caste; for the election of officers from the ranks. The establishment of military schools by the trade unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker-officers.
10. Withdrawal of police protection from fascist meetings; illegalisation of anti-semitism and the propagation of race hatred of any description. For direct workers' action through the formation of defence guards based on a united front of all working class organisations to combat fascist provocation and defend workers' organisations, premises, and meetings from fascist attacks.
11. Immediate freedom for the colonial peoples to choose their own form of Government and the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.
12. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; for the overthrow of the privileged Stalinist bureaucracy and the re-introduction of workers' democracy in Russia.
13. An end to secret diplomacy; a peace without annexations or reparations based upon the self-determination of nations; the unconditional withdrawal of British troops together with all occupation forces from foreign soil.
14. Unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a United Socialist States of Europe and for world socialism.

## Docks Strike :

(continued from page 1)

more production before, and they have seen this followed by unemployment for millions. Any "limpet tradition" has been forced upon them by the system in which they live. And they are not convinced, Labour Government or not, that they are finished with this ugly scourge. They see the employing class still in the saddle in industry; even the nationalised industries are controlled by representatives of the employing class. They know these people well. Under their tutelage they have learned that new machines have brought unemployment and low wages. New machinery under capitalism means a greater exploitation of labour and more profits for the boss.

## Want Guarantees

They do not oppose new machinery as such. No worker in his right mind would do so. But so long as they have no guarantee that such innovations will lighten the burden of their class, whilst at the same time bettering their conditions, there will be repetitions of the Butler's Wharf incident.

Only under socialism will such conflicts disappear, because then new inventions will for the first time be introduced

for the benefit of those who work.

In the meantime the workers have the right to safeguard their security NOW.

## Share the Work— Without Loss Of Pay

The employers claim that there is a need for displaced manpower in other industries. Even when the workers have taken the ownership and control of industry out of the hands of the employing class, it will be necessary, at least in the initial stages, to move labour power from industry to industry. But the working class would see to it that their comrades involved would not materially suffer as a consequence.

They must see to it that the men at Butler's or any other wharf, do not suffer as a result of the introduction of this machine. Any workers so displaced must be offered IMMEDIATE alternative employment, with at least the same conditions of work and wages as they have now, and full compensation for any material or other loss sustained by moving to other work. Until this has been carried out, reduce the hours on the docks, share out the work available, without any reductions in total earnings.



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