

THE COMMUNIST CASE

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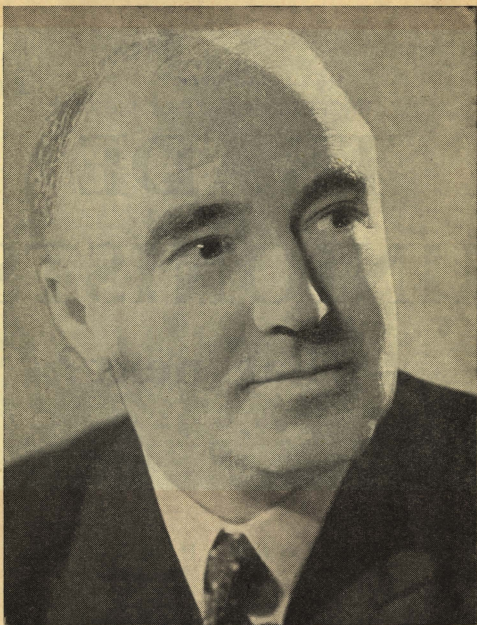
# TRADE UNIONISTS

—what next?

by HARRY POLLITT



PRICE THREEPENCE



HARRY POLLITT  
*General Secretary of the Communist Party*

# TRADE UNIONISTS

## —what next?

By Harry Pollitt

**T**HE working class in increasing numbers is beginning seriously to realise how far the Labour Government has gone in its betrayal of the programme on which it won the General Election in 1945. Such measures as the National Health Service and Family Allowances are being robbed of their significance by the lack of health centres and new hospitals, and rising prices. The new Education Act is being throttled for lack of schools. The housing programme is far from meeting the needs of the people. Above all, the idea is gaining ground that all the gains of past generations of struggle for wages and conditions are now in danger, and that the offensive against the living conditions of the workers that has carried on since 1947 (especially on wages and hours) is going to be sharpened.

Sir Stafford Cripps estimates that, given no major increase in rearmament, by 1952-53 Britain will be independent of Marshall "Aid", but only by living on standards that are not higher than those obtaining at the present time.

In their present offensive against the Communist Party, which is part of the preparations for new attacks on workers' wages and conditions, the right-wing Labour leaders know full well that we, as always, will stand to the fore in defending the gains of the past, fighting to extend them, and at the same time strengthening the ranks of all who fight to maintain peace.

We are confident that we shall be successful, because already a growing awareness of the seriousness of the fight that has to be conducted can be observed. Proof of this can be seen in the recent token strikes of the engineers and railway shopmen for higher wages, the resentment at the Government's rearmament programme and slowing down of demobilisation reflected in the lack of response and increasingly open hostility to the Territorial recruitment campaign, as witnessed by the hostile demonstrations against recruiting speeches at football and boxing matches, and the admission of *Reynolds News* (24.10.48) that this campaign is a flop.

### FACING THE FACTS

There is a great deal of sunshine talk about Britain having "turned the corner" and now being in "Recovery Lane". What are the actual facts? Until recent months the products of industry could be sold fairly easily, because there were so many shortages following the war. This

period, described as a "sellers' market", is now coming to an end and in consequence there are new problems created by increased competition for the world market—not only the great drive of the U.S.A. but also revived competition from Germany and Japan. All these new features in the situation have been aggravated by the Government's policy of cutting down capital expenditure because of excessive military commitments, which has retarded the reorganisation and modernisation of Britain's basic industries.

Consistent Government and right-wing propaganda tries to persuade the Labour movement that full employment is here to stay, that by some unstated means capitalism can now guarantee full employment. This is nonsense. Present employment levels are maintained only by the post-war replacement boom. The ominous signs of the end of the sellers' market in the export trade should be a clear warning that with this there will also be an end to full employment.

Sir R. Weeks, Vice-Chairman of Vickers, commenting on Cripps's speech at the Margate T.U.C., stated :

"In spite of the cheering news Sir Stafford Cripps gave us ten days ago, at the present rate of progress, and with some of the existing policies, there is no positive certainty that Britain's industrial future is secure. . . . There must be restraint in the application of improved social services and in nationalisation, and the necessary increased home productivity could only be achieved by harder work, longer hours, and the abolition of restrictive practices by employers and employees. . . . At the moment we live in a fool's paradise. Food subsidies have obviously got to be removed as soon as possible." (*Financial Times*, 27.9.48.)

It is also interesting to note the comment of the *Financial Times* (11.9.48) in summing up the Margate Trades Union Congress :

"In future it is going to be much more difficult for attacks on profits or the profit motive—either particular or general—to be sustained. The hitherto despised 'capitalist' incentive has at last been officially recognised as (at least for the time being) socially necessary."

A further significant statement was recently made by Mr. E. H. Browne, Chief Mining Expert at the National Coal Board :

"Political and economic uncertainties loom so large that they cannot be ignored, yet their effect cannot be evaluated. No one can foresee the economic future of this country, let alone the future of Europe." (*National Coal Board School*, 28.8.48.)

But perhaps the most serious and dangerous statement of all was that made by Mr. Harold Wilson, President of the Board of Trade, who stated at Southport on 5 October :

"Last year and this year the amount we could export had been determined by what we could produce and screw out of the home market. From now on what we could export depended on the cost at which we could produce."

*That is exactly the same type of statement, on the eve of a general offensive against the workers' conditions, that has been made by the open representatives of a monopoly capitalism in the past, and it has always been followed by a drive for lower wages, longer hours and speeding up of every worker on the job. But always this policy in the past has met with the sharpest resistance from the workers, and there are many signs to prove it will do so again.*

There is often a tendency to see the main issue today as the prospect



of a slump. But this is not the immediate issue. The immediate issue is the organisation of the workers to fight against the offensive of the Labour Government and the Federation of British Industries, who are out for lower real wages, speed-up, and longer hours. We know that under capitalism boom and slump periods are absolutely inevitable, but our concern is with the immediate fight. We must avoid the danger of minimising the seriousness of the position we now have to face, so that the working-class movement fully understands what needs to be done as far as the immediate line of fight is concerned.

The Marshall Plan and a vast rearmament have played a part in preventing an immediate economic slump in the United States, but despite the temporary effect on employment of rearmament in Britain, there is need to note how the Marshall Plan will accelerate the tendencies towards a slump in the countries receiving Marshall "Aid".

First, what will be the effect of rearmament? While war preparations in Britain will in some places temporarily stave off unemployment (for example in some sections of light engineering), it must be clearly understood that they also weaken the basic economy of the country. Sir Stafford Cripps admits that the whole so-called "recovery" plans of the Government will be thrown out of gear if rearmament takes place here on any large scale. Even while a partial rearmament can have further serious results for the whole economy of Britain, it cannot change the disastrous results of the general policy of the Government.

The capitalist press is now suggesting that the workers should not make further wage demands, or should accept Tribunal Awards that do not grant them their original demands on the ground that rearmament will mean additional earnings through overtime and week-end work. It is an insult to the working class to suggest that it should see in preparations for war a means of improving its immediate living standards. Every worker knows the terrible price that has to be paid if war breaks out, as their own bitter experiences in two world wars so amply proves.

But it is not even true that rearmament will bring temporary prosperity. The cost of these measures will be borne at the expense of the social services, the housing programme, and the food subsidies. It will mean less food for sale and less manufactured goods in the shops than we would have had otherwise. It means shortages, higher prices, and longer queues.

We note that the speeches of Sir Stafford Cripps and General Council leaders always express opposition to any idea of asking the workers to work harder—*but*; they are not asking for longer hours—*but*; they are not asking for wage freezing—*but*.

And behind all these "*buts*" the ground is being prepared for an actual attempt to secure increased exploitation, lower wages, and longer hours. That is what lies behind Mr. Wilson's speech to which I have already drawn your attention. That is what lies behind the statements of Sir R. Weeks and Mr. E. H. Browne.

All the talk of Mr. Tewson and Mr. Lawther about the "new status and responsibilities of the trade union" is only meant to cover up the real policy, which is (1) to prepare the trade unions passively to accept the policy of the Labour Government and big business; (2) to stand for

the complete dependency of Britain on the U.S.A., which in reality means dependence on capitalism, the age-old policy of right-wing Social Democracy. It is the responsibility of the working class to find another solution—a Socialist one.

## BRITAIN AND THE MARSHALL PLAN

The right-wing trade union leaders are making support of the Marshall Plan the central feature of their entire position.

*They make the claim that the Marshall Plan is essential for British recovery. The opposite is the case. It is not a plan for recovery, but a plan for the domination of Britain and Western Europe by the U.S.A.*

On the part of U.S. big business, the aim of the plan is threefold; to help to postpone the economic crisis in the U.S.A., to make Europe economically dependent on American products while weakening the basic economy of Britain and Western Europe, and to form the centre of the war plans of the U.S.A. against the U.S.S.R. and the workers' movement of Europe.

The goods coming to Britain as the result of the so-called "aid" do not include steel and only minute quantities of vital steel-making machinery; and these goods are the key to any real recovery in Britain. At the same time, under American pressure, the allocation of steel to British shipbuilding has been cut down.

The terms of aid fundamentally undermine British economic and political independence. British production targets are now subjected to the American-dominated Marshall organisation in Paris: all capital projects using "aid" have first to be submitted to the U.S. for approval. Final control of British financial and trade policy is now in U.S. hands; pounds set aside to pay for the "grants" can only be spent on projects of which the U.S. approves. Full access to U.S. investment in British colonial territories is assured with priority to U.S. requirements for colonial raw materials (including uranium for atom bombs). Annual economic reports must be submitted by Britain to the U.S.A. Free trade with Eastern Europe is barred by American interference. Britain is compelled to export precious coal and steel as "unrequited exports" to bankrupt Marshall countries.

All of this affords endless opportunity to U.S. big business to dominate and decide policy for Britain, and it is clear the U.S. are insisting on cutting down housing and social services.

What have been the actual economic developments since the plan came into force?

- (1) Priority in the share-out of Marshall dollars for the building up of German heavy industry; a tremendous increase in recent months in German steel production, based on ample supplies of scrap and rich Swedish ores to the German steelworks at a time when British steelworks are starved of these materials. The dismantling of any more factories in the British zone of Germany is prohibited by America.
- (2) Revival of Japanese industry and exports: General McArthur has a plan for £250 million exports for Japan by 1950 (including textiles and ships).

- MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
- (3) Cut down in steel for British shipbuilding; big increase in U.S. State subsidies to their shipyards; 50 per cent of Marshall goods must be carried in American ships. British shipyard orders and construction have begun to fall off.
  - (4) *The Times* (26.10.48) points out that Marshall aid exports are competing with Britain (especially in food, drink, and tobacco). "It has always seemed that E.R.P. . . . might make things temporarily more difficult for particular groups of British exports, since American shipments would be more freely available".

This is why there is a reduction in some export targets.

- (5) The use of more steel for defence is meaning less for re-equipment and exports. Mr. Wilson, President of the Board of Trade, stated (26.10.48): "... defence may further limit the availability of scarce materials for use in export industries."
- (6) The diversion of £124 million of British sterling area exports—mainly the most valuable—as "unrequited exports" to bankrupt France, Italy, etc., while U.S. snatches the long-term markets. It is not surprising that this has caused the biggest row yet in the Organisation of European Economic Co-operation, since it is directly *anti-recovery*.

Therefore we can see clearly through all the Transport House hypocrisy that the "strings" attached to the Marshall Plan are only there as window-dressing to please Congress, that "enlightened" people like Truman, Hoffman, and Marshall would never *really* use them to subjugate Britain. *They are using these clauses up to the hilt and interfering now on all fronts on behalf of American big business.*

The whole effect is not recovery but further economic disruption. Yet the whole basis of the right-wing approach is that for this plan the workers should be speeded up, hours lengthened, and real wages reduced. The notorious Anglo-American Production Council is now starting to operate. The keynote of it will be rationalisation and speed-up. This is clear from the analysis of British industry made by the U.S. industrialist, Cotton, who states in the *News Letter* of the American Federation of Labour:

"For more than half a century British labour unions have clung to the philosophy that a man who works too hard or increases his output an hour, soon works himself out of a job. Before modernisation can take place, British labour and management must change their traditional thinking and become modern in outlook."

The class-collaboration policy of official American trade unionism is notorious. It would be interesting to know in what Labour struggles in America in defence of the living standards of the U.S. workers these American trade union representatives of the Production Council have ever taken part.

The aim of the Anglo-American Production Council, dominated as it is by the representatives of the American Trusts and the F.B.I., is a mammoth rationalisation and speed-up drive, for which the anti-trade union American employers are notorious throughout the world. The speed-up in the United States does not mean the American worker is getting the benefit of it. The high cost of living and increasing incidents on the job are what he has to suffer. For example, in 1939 there were 1,600,000 American workers injured or killed on the job, but in 1946



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT  
this figure had risen to 2,000,000. Just as the Taft-Hartley anti-trade union Act in America was introduced by these bosses, so they will eventually want a similar Act in Britain. And the present frame-up against the leaders of the Communist Party in the United States will be followed by a demand that a similar policy should be operated here.

### OUR POLICY

*Those who accuse us of having a policy that aims at sabotaging economic recovery are lying. Ours is the only Party in the country to put forward a policy that could have led to real economic recovery in the interests of the working class and lasting peace.*

Even in the document sent by the British Government to the Marshall Aid Administration it is clearly shown that in mid-1948 the working class had increased production 20 per cent above pre-war, but working-class standards are lower and will stay lower in the future.

The Government's production policy will not benefit the workers or solve Britain's problem because its general policy is wrong, and the real test of that policy is where it has brought the working class. The reward for all that the working class has done during and since the war is now increasing poverty, the shadow of war, and the prospects of a new offensive against all existing living standards.

At the bottom of everything the Government and the employers are doing, there are two main aims:

- (1) To lower wages and lengthen hours to cut the costs of production for more effective competition for the world market to maintain and increase the profits of monopoly capitalism.
- (2) For a rearmament policy to make Britain the American outpost for a war on the Soviet Union.

*It is the Government and right-wing Labour leaders who are sabotaging a real policy of economic recovery, which we Communists have always fought for and which can only be achieved on the basis of our policy.*

The Government's report to the Americans on its revised economic plans for 1948-49 shows that it does not expect to be able to increase production much above last year's level. Manufacturing output in the second quarter of 1948 was 24 per cent above pre-war; for 1948-49 it is put at only 25-30 per cent above pre-war, because its growth is limited by raw material supply, particularly steel. It is also significant that according to this report, exports which were 34 per cent above pre-war volume in the second quarter of 1948 are only to be 37 per cent above pre-war volume in 1948-49—that is, practically no rise is expected, presumably because of the raw materials difficulties and, even more, the economic difficulties in selling many export products.

It is therefore clear that the Government's production drive in manufacturing industries cannot have as its main object *to produce more* over all. Its purpose is to produce about the same amount *more cheaply*—that is, either with lower wages per worker or by getting the job done with fewer workers and making the rest "redundant". That is why posters about "More from each means more for all" are giving way to posters about cutting costs.



Is it any wonder then if workers believe that "a man who works too hard or increases his output per hour, soon works himself out of a job"?

*The principal issue now is the political fight against policies that are reducing the workers' standards of living and to ensure that the trade unions carry out their historic function under capitalism, of defending trade union conditions against the capitalist policies of any Government or leadership that attempts to carry them through.*

## REMEMBER THE PAST

We must remind the workers of their past experiences. Older workers will remember the past, but there are millions of trade unionists who have now reached adult age who have not had these experiences. We must remind them of such facts as the "Increase Production—The Gateway to More" campaign launched in 1919-20 by Clynes, Hodges, Brownlie, and others in a very similar situation to that which exists now.

It led, despite the great strikes of 1919-20, to the all-out attack on wages in 1921, when 7,200,000 workers had their wages reduced by £317,000,000. It led to 1922, when 7,600,000 workers had their wages reduced by £218,400,000. Every worker in the engineering and shipbuilding industries and every miner suffered a great reduction in wages, as the older workers will tell you when you mention this period to them.

In 1924 there was a Labour Government. It called on the workers then, as now, "not to press for wage advances", not to "embarrass the Labour Government". It was described by Ben Tillett as "the best Tory Government the country has seen for years". It was denounced by Ernest Bevin because of its attitude towards the wage demands of the workers.

At the Liverpool Labour Party Conference in 1925 under the leadership of Morrison and MacDonald, final measures were taken to prevent members of the Communist Party having any individual rights inside the Labour Party. Then Baldwin came out with his slogan, the "Wages of all workers must come down."

In October, 1925, twelve leaders of the Communist Party were arrested and sent to prison, and it is now admitted that this was to get these leaders out of the way while the Tory Government was preparing to enforce Baldwin's slogan, which led to the General Strike and miners' lock-out of 1926.

The history of the General Strike and its betrayal by those holding high position in the present Labour Government and Trades Union Congress needs to be recalled, as well as the epic struggle of the miners during their nine months' lock-out in 1926, when their wages were drastically reduced and their working hours extended, and when other sections of the working class soon had to experience similar sacrifices.

In 1928 the right-wing trade union leaders gave full support to the policy of class-collaboration known as Mondism,\* and through this policy

\* *Mondism*: The open collaboration of the trade unions and the employers' organisations on the line of the recognition of common interests. Initiated by Sir Alfred Mond of Imperial Chemical Industries in 1927, and responded to by Ben Turner, then chairman of the T.U.C.

4,900,00 workers had their wages reduced by £32,200,000 in 1931-32, a fact which the textile workers of Lancashire and Yorkshire above all others have great cause to remember.

These are grim and terrible facts which need again to be remembered alongside the sufferings of millions of unemployed and their families in those periods.

## WAGES AND PRICES

We fight against any speeding up of the workers; against longer hours; against wage freezing or wage reductions. We are for a drastic reduction of profits and lower prices. Here let us be on guard against the red herring that is now being trailed, that it is better to obtain a reduction of prices and thereby increase the real value of wages, rather than go in for a policy of higher wages whose value is quickly offset by a rise in prices. It sounds very plausible and often takes a trick, but it is a very dangerous policy. What fall in prices, such as Mr. Tewson so confidently promised, has taken place since the March conference of Trade Union Executive Committees? None, but on the contrary the cost of living has steadily gone up, and Mr. Bottomley, Secretary of Overseas Trade, complained on October 18 that there had been a

“progressive deterioration of the terms of trade which had loaded the dice against us”.

Moreover, the Government has been responsible for raising prices by its taxation policy and the removal of essential subsidies. Trade union action can directly win wage increases, and the stronger and more united this action is, the greater will become the pressure on the Government to lower prices.

We demand that all the facts in relation to wages, salaries, directors' fees, profits, and reserves of each firm and industry shall be published. The objections of the Federation of British Industries to such publicity must be swept on one side. It is necessary to have the cards on the table in regard to domestic affairs, as well as foreign, if we are to enable the workers to keep their feet firmly on the ground in their fight against the Government and the F.B.I.

## RE-EQUIPMENT OF INDUSTRY

We stand for the reorganisation and re-equipment of all the basic industries, particularly coal and cotton. In these industries the workers are constantly being told to work harder, while the mill-owners refuse to place orders for new machinery, and the Coal Board is cutting down its development plans.

It must be realised that we cannot, with Britain's present resources, have steel for the mills and mines, and for aeroplanes and battleships at the same time. But we also demand that when increases in production do take place through modernisation, that the workers shall share in it by higher wages and shorter hours.

## “DOWN TO BRASS TACKS”

The favourite phrase just now in right-wing trade union circles is that the workers need to get down to brass tacks. Nothing suits us better, because the facts are on our side.

We challenge these leaders to go among the rank and file of their own unions and tell them the kind of arguments they are putting up in their private conversations with Ministers or in the board rooms of the nationalised industries, or in their private conversations with the employers.

Let these leaders go and tell the miners that they are prepared to recommend wage-cuts to keep the Labour Government in power. Let them go and tell their members to work harder, to speed up, to fine their fellow workers for absenteeism. They will get the surprise of their lives, and will thank their lucky stars they are elected for life and do not have to come up for periodical and democratic election.

## NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY

How far the right-wing Labour leaders will go in their betrayal of trade union principles is seen in their attitude to the recent strike of French miners, who are refusing to work for wages which are less than 10s. a day underground. No working class in the world will stand in more need of international assistance and solidarity than the British working class.

The drive of the American Administrators of the Marshall Plan to force Britain to reduce the price of its coal for export by two dollars a ton; the great inroads into the Yorkshire woollen markets for high grade cloth now being made by Japan, who are selling at 6s. to 10s. per yard cheaper than the Yorkshire price; the coming on to the market of German and Japanese products (especially coal, steel and lead) at far cheaper prices than Britain can charge because they are based on far lower labour costs, are the straws in the wind proving the urgent need for international trade union solidarity to prevent the workers of one country being made the weapon for reducing the wages of workers in other countries.

Again, it is essential to remind the younger trade unionists how effectively this weapon was used against their parents in the past. The former distressed areas of South Wales, West of Scotland, Lancashire, and North East Coast were the ghastly monuments to the high development of this process. Let the young workers also realise that again the days of blind alley jobs are here; that it is work without prospects of a career; that there is no prospect of houses for young married couples: and if this is the situation now, what is it likely to be unless they organise and spur their fellow workers on to change the present Government policy?

Yet this is the moment chosen by the right-wing trade union leaders to launch their attack against the World Federation of Trade Unions,



and in doing so, to use the Communist bogey in the same way as they do against members of our Party in official trade union positions at home.

The organised workers need to stick together now more than at any time in history. They need trade union unity at home and unity with the trade unions of all other countries. This is the only way to champion and defend their present and future interests. Our Party, especially the active members in the factories and the trade unions, in upholding the principles of trade union unity at home and campaigning to strengthen the World Federation of Trade Unions, is confident of the support of all workers loyal to the real aims of trade unionism.

## TRADE UNION RESPONSIBILITY

We need also to understand what is behind the high-falutin and deceitful propaganda about "the new responsibilities of the trade unions". This idea is being put forward as the cover under which the real responsibilities and obligations of the trade unions to their membership will in fact be surrendered.

These alleged new features of trade unionism are expressed as follows in the October issue of *Labour*, the official organ of the Trades Union Congress:

"There is still a considerable background of opposition in the trade union movement to any idea of more production, based on the traditional conflict in industry between management and workers.

"The plain fact is that the trade union movement of this country has ceased to be a mere opposition movement and has claimed and been accorded responsibilities which it will have to assume."

Now this type of propaganda is presented as if it were something new, born out of the brain-waves of the Backroom Boys of Transport House. Yet if you turn to the discussion on Mondism\* at the Trades Union Congress at Swansea in 1928 you will find a similar policy being put forward by Citrine, Thomas, Clynes and Bevin, and on their advocacy a policy of class-collaboration was adopted when these people stated:

"Faced with the situation that now prevails in this country, the Council has taken the view that the third course (Mondism) was the only one that it was possible to take if the trade union movement was to endure as a living, constructive force.

"That policy affords the best hope of raising the status, security, and standard of living of the workers whom the Council represents."

But did it? That is the question that needs to be put and answered. Between 1928 and 1933, those terrible years of the great depression, there were not only millions of unemployed, the Means Test, the Hunger Marches, but 10,700,000 workers had their wages reduced by no less than £47,300,000.

We must be on guard against allowing developments to take place which can disarm the workers and subsequently face them with a drastic lowering of their standards of life, lower even than they are at the present time.

There is, however, a stronger realisation of the dangers of this policy

\* See page 9.



today than there was in 1928, and it is this which compels the right-wing leaders to recognise it in the first part of the quotation from *Labour*.

The significance of the attempts to place trade unionism on "a basis of responsibility" is, of course, clearly understood by the responsible press organs of capitalism such as *The Times*, which declared in a leading article that the British trade-union movement

"... is discouraging wage claims. It is turning away from many long-held prejudices and principles."

There is certainly an attempt to get this carried through, and the attack on the Communist Party is part of the strategy to make this possible. But it is an entirely different question to believe that the right-wing leaders are going to succeed in their aims.

There are millions of new trade unionists who can now be mobilised to fight against this policy of surrender to capitalism. The new strength of trade unionism does increase its responsibility, but it is one that is in the direction of strengthening the fight to improve the conditions of the working class and to weaken capitalism, and advance the developments towards Socialism.

The "new responsibility of trade unionism" finds no acceptance by the Labour Government when it comes to giving the trade unions more direct connection with the Nationalisation Boards, or in the actual composition of these Boards. Then it is stated these must be composed mainly of the representatives of big business. It finds no recognition such as could be seen in the legal recognition of shop stewards, making it compulsory for workers' proposals on works' committees to be carried out, or in the opening of the books of firms for inspection by the shop stewards.

The Labour Government does not grant equal pay for equal work, nor does it abolish the application of the National Arbitration Order which is so extensively used to prevent the workers from fighting and winning their wage demands. Indeed, even *The Times* (6.9.48) jeered at those who are so fond of using this phrase about "new responsibility" when it stated :

"It is remarkable that the Labour movement in undisputed power has been content to accept a form of nationalisation which gives men from their ranks quite a minor place in the control. Many leaders from the past would rub their eyes if they could see it."

The facts show that the right-wing leaders dig up high-sounding phrases to cover their real aims of securing class collaboration that betrays the real functions of trade unionism. Unless this policy is challenged it can have the same disastrous results in 1948-49 as it did in 1928.

While the right-wing trade union leaders prattle about "the new responsibility of the trade unions", Herbert Morrison is busily showing what he understands by this phrase. Speaking at the Conway Hall, London (24.9.48), after deprecating the workers putting forward their demands, he made a statement which ought to be stuck up in every factory canteen and Trade Union branch room :

"The right to bargain remains, but the need and justification for coercion and hard pressure against the private employer has disappeared with the appearance of a new type of employer who can be depended on not to use coercion or unfair pressure against the workers."

So now you know that our big industrialists have all had a change

of heart! We are sure every worker they employ for their private gain has as yet failed to notice it.

After this shameful surrender of every basic Trade Union principle, and of the day-to-day experience of millions of trade unionists, no one can say that they have not been warned of what will be the grave consequences of the "new trade unionism", unless it is repudiated and defeated by the working class.

Railwaymen, both in the traffic and shop side of the industry, will not be thinking just now that they are not being coerced by the Labour Government and the Railway Executive!

*We call on the workers to stand out as the champions of a fighting, militant trade union movement; one that fulfils its real historic function under capitalism, and one that is serving the present and future interests of the working class. The fight for 100 per cent trade unionism, the largest possible attendance at trade union branch meetings, the democratic election of Shop Stewards in every department and representing every trade, and the democratic election of Shop Stewards' Committees representing the whole factory, should be our determination.*

We doubt if ever the Trades Councils had a more important and decisive role to play in the trade union movement than at the present time. Their co-ordination of local experience, their unifying influence, their surmounting of barriers as between one rival union and another, are all needed on a larger scale than ever before. Any strengthening of the trade unions can lose its total effect if it is not accompanied by the strengthening of the Trades Councils. The aim of every active trade unionist should be not only 100 per cent members of one's own union, but 100 per cent affiliation of all eligible organisations to the local Trades Councils and a great strengthening of the work of the various Federations of Trades Councils.

An important factor in rousing the interest and vigilance of the workers on the job is by regular reporting back to them at factory meetings of what takes place on Works' Committees, at branch meetings and trade union conferences, District and Confederation Committees. Such procedure also helps to break down many of the existing barriers between full-time trade union officials and their rank and file members.

The campaign for trade union unity on a national and international scale now assumes a burning importance. The right-wing leaders are making their plans to split the trade unions on a national and international scale. This is part of their campaign to cut off the advance guard of the working class from the trade union movement and make it easier for the capitalists to carry through their attacks on all the workers. The workers should fight for real democracy in the trade union movement and against every attempt to impose a new Black Circular in any shape or form. We stand for the periodical democratic election of all trade union officials, and are absolutely opposed to the method of appointment or election for a life-time of any full-time trade union official.

There is also need to be on guard against too great a concentration of power in the hands of Trade Union Executive Committees, which succeeds in destroying interest in what is going on in trade union

branches, by creating the impression that "what's the use of attending the Branch of my union, it's all cut and dried before we get there". There is need for far more autonomy on the part of both Branches and District Committees. This would help to avoid such ready acceptance of agreements that were weighted against the workers, while at the same time it could be an important factor in speeding up negotiations and avoiding the time-lag between the workers making their demands and decisions being reached upon them.

We warn trade unionists that they need to be on guard against the well-organised reactionary religious influences now at work to use the trade unions as their instruments for pursuing reactionary industrial and political aims. These influences can only disrupt the British trade union movement, as has been the case wherever they have gained the leadership of the movement.

It is notorious that where such elements have obtained the leadership of any Continental or Latin-American trade union the wages, hours of labour, and living conditions of the workers are the worst that can be found.

No Communist fears a democratic election. They welcome it and will always support democratic procedure throughout the trade union movement against those who, with "democracy" on their lips, aim by their deeds to make the trade unions the subordinate organisations of capitalism.

If, however, the policy we are putting forward is to meet with success, it demands a tremendous strengthening of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League and increasing the influence and circulation of the *Daily Worker*. The stronger the Communist Party and the *Daily Worker*, the stronger and more effective does the working struggle and organisation become, whether on the job, in the Branch room, or the District or Executive Committee of a trade union, or in negotiations with the employers.

We are confident that the results of putting our policy into effect will be the development of a powerful working-class movement in the fight for rising living standards and for lasting peace; increased strength and unity of the trade-union movement on the basis of the fullest democracy, and no toleration of Black Circulars in any shape or form.

The period we are moving into will face the organised working class of this country with great responsibilities. Questions of bread and butter, war or peace will be decided by the action of the workers in industry and the unions. We are quite sure that the British working class will recall its great traditions and emerge victoriously from the struggle with the reactionary right-wing leaders, the Tories, and the Federation of British Industries. In this struggle the Communist Party, true to the interests of the workers, will be to the fore. We appeal, therefore, to every working man and woman, to join our ranks, to strengthen the forces which alone can free Britain from want and the shadow of war, and take us all forward along the road to real Socialism.



# YOUR GUIDE TO ACTION

In the present complicated situation it is only Marxism which can point the way forward for the working class. Here are some of the Marxist classics which are particularly appropriate for study at the present time

	s.	d.
What is Marxism? .. .. .	2	0
Value, Price, and Profit .. .. .	2	0
Wage Labour and Capital .. .. .	1	0
Deception of the People .. .. .		6
Imperialism .. .. .	3	0
War and the Workers .. .. .		6
Socialism and War .. .. .		6
Left-Wing Communism .. .. .	1	6
What is to be Done? .. .. .	2	6
State and Revolution .. .. .	1	6
Lenin and Stalin on the State .. .. .		6
Fundamental Problems of Marxism .. .. .	2	6
Marxism and the National and Colonial Question .. .. .	10	6
Dialectics of Nature .. .. .	12	6
Anti-Dühring .. .. .	8	6
Marx, Selected Works, Vol. I .. .. .	12	6
History of the C.P.S.U.(B) .. .. .	1	6
The Foundations of Leninism .. .. .	1	0

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