a.c.d. O.D. 1593. afochnife van de eerste 5 bladzijdes van oversicht Ackember 1949 in O.D. 36, of wereryring NOTA daarin maar, D.D. 1593. Van: KA-R.A. De leden van het Executive Comile O.A. Aan: Hoofd B. 1311-9.12-12.50 No. E.469. ONDERWERP: Maandelijkse overzichten Engeland. 1. Lang gewachteen toch gekregen!! Hierbij de maandelijkse overzichten Engeland van Juli -2. December 1949 en Januari 1950. De volgende overzichten zullen ons maandelijks worden 3. toegezonden. OP KAART ACD/ In het over whit over 27-2-50. DAT: 274 11 956 1320 Dec. 1949 limit conversion PAR: RMD 3 Maant 1950 Jan Bere. Stafst vanket congres over BIJLAGEN: 7 ACD/809242 ml. 28. 2. 50 bere maandverslagen wij hen af van het door no pevelgde system. In sign kinnely & out factions in verwert, afforming wil geheime bronnen. Men er is goed gein formeerd, box over helpen sal gran gebeuren. Wor het Partiz congres mond in hit oversicht van Nov. ' 49 un catra rapport aangehondigd, dat hier niel bij is the down K.B.R.a. millen vragen, om perending er van he verhachen BD 2.3.50

THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY.

UK

SECRET

December 1949.

1. THE TWENTY-FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Na

The twenty-first National Congress was held at Liverpool in the St.George's Hall on 26, 27 and 28 November, 1949. The Hall was perhaps, an unfortunate choice: a stained-glass window depicting St.George slaying the Dragon was an inauspicious and incongruous background for the large photographs of STALIN, MAO TSE TUNG and POLLITT displayed to the delegates.

The Congress was attended by 359 delegates from the Party's eighteen Districts, 46 consultative delegates, and fraternal delegates from the Communist Parties of Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Northern Ireland and Spain. In the absence in hospital of POLLITT, the most popular of the British Party leaders with the rank and file, the comparatively small Congress was cutwardly dominated by the foreign visitors, who alone aroused enthusiasm in the audience. No Party spokesman was as cordially acclaimed as the two Czech delegates, each a Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly.

> The proceedings of the Congress were in public except for a brief private session, nominally for the election of a new Executive Committee. The election was, in fact, only a formality since a committee of senior officials had chosen the list of members at least a week earlier. There has been no radical change in the new Committee, which consists of the following :-

S. ABBOTT	Lancashire & Cheshire District Secretary.
W. ALEXANDER	Nidlands District Secretary.
G. ALLISON	Head of the Economic Department (formerly the Industrial Department).
M. BENNETT *	Yorkshire District Secretary.
Elinor BURNS	Prominent in the Co-operative Movement.
Emile BURNS V	Head of the Propaganda Department.
J.R. CAMPBELL V	Editor of the Daily Worker.
×II. COX 🗸	Welsh District Secretary.
Frances DEAN	A young and prominent trade unionist.
E. DICKENS	London docker.
K R.P. DUTT	Head of the International Department.
- L. ELLIS V	Miner; Chairman, East Midlands District Committee.
W. GALLACHER	Member of Parliament; Chairman of the Communist Party.

/J.GARDNER...

SECRET

- 2 -

Xer J. GARDNER J	Ge
G.C.T. GILESNE	Sc
J. GOLLAN V	As
F. HART 🗸	Во
/IF. HAXELL 🚽	As E
J. HORNER	Ge U
× A. HORNER	Ge
/ D. KELLY	Ra
χ I P. KERRIGAN♥	Не
W. LAUCHLAN V	Sc
L. MCGREE	Or. W
≁ I J. MAHON V	Lo
Betty MATTHEWS	So

G. MATTHEWS

A. MOFFAT N

A. PAPWORTH V

W. PAYNTER

P. PIRATIN 🪽

H. POLLITT 🥡

Muriel RAYMENT N

- Tamara RUST

J.R. SCOTT V

🤸 🦊 G. THOMSON 🧃

General Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers.

Schoolmaster.

Assistant Editor of the Daily Worker.

Boilermaker.

Assistant General Secretary, Electrical Trades Union.

General Secretary, Fire Brigades Union.

General Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers.

Railwayman.

Head of the Organisation Department.

Scottish District Secretary.

Organiser, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.

London District Secretary.

South-East Midlands District Secretary.

Assistant General Secretary.

President, Scottish Area, National Union of Mineworkers.

Executive Council, Transport and General Workers Union.

Miners' Agent, South Wales.

Member of Parliament.

General Secretary.

Executive Council, Transport and General Workers Union.

Head of the Women's Department.

Executive Council, Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Professor, Birmingham University.

The secret session served an additional purpose, giving the editor of the Daily Worker an opportunity to emphasise to the delegates the grave position of the newspaper, which may be forced

SECRET

/to ...

- 2 -

to cease publication unless funds and circulation increase.

The main items of the public proceedings were the opening remarks by Arthur HORNER, the Political Report, ill-presented by J.R. CAMPBELL on behalf of the absent POLLITT, statements on Colonial Liberation by John HORNER, and on the Battle of Ideas by James GARDNER. a Report on the Election Programme by R.P.DUTT and closing remarks by W. GALL/ACHER. (All these have been published as a pamphlet entitled "Communist Policy to meet the Crisis" and it is not, therefore, proposed to repeat their content at length). None of these contributions was a personal one: each represented the considered views of the Political Committee and had been submitted in draft to the members of the Executive Committee; the statements by GARDNER and HORNER were, significantly, intended earlier to be delivered as part of the General Secretary's report.

The Political Report presented lucidly the Political Committee's analysis of the domestic and international situations and the short and long-term policies to be deduced therefrom. An initial section on "Britain's Crisis and the Crisis of the Capitalist World" ascribed both crises to the evils inseparable from capitalism and imperialism, attributing to the United States an ambition to subjugate and exploit Britain in a traditionally imperialist manner to enable its own capitalist economy to survive. The General Secretary logically concludes from this analysis :

> "It must be clear from the foregoing analysis that there is only one way to <u>solve</u> the present crisis and the developing slump - to abolish capitalism and the exploitation of man by man, and proceed to the building of a Socialist society".

The method of abolishing capitalism is precisely stated in a later section of the Report on "The Communist Solution of Capitalism's Crisis", as "the road of proletarian revolution, which points the way to plenty, prosperity and peace", and the section on "The Communist Party" states the role of the Party unmistakably :

> "The Communist Party is a revolutionary party, based on the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Its historic mission is to lead the workers to victory over capitalism, to destroy capitalism and replace it with the power of the working class".

The Parliamentary road to power is explicitly rejected in the section of the Report dealing with the General Election :

> "We know that the final decision for the future of Britain will be taken, not in the debates of the Parliamentary arena, but in the field of the class struggle".

Such a rejection had been implicit in the earlier decision to concentrate Party recruitment at places of work rather than places of residence, on which the Report also dwells :

> "Let us never forget Lenin's words : 'For the factory, which seems only a bogey to some, is that highest form of capitalist co-operation

> > SECRET

/which ...

which has united and disciplined the proletariat, taught it to organise, and placed it at the head of all the other sections of the working and exploited population".

"It was never more necessary than at this moment, when the working class of Britain is moving forward to great class battles, for our Party to understand certain fundamental questions about the factory and its importance The situation now demands even greater speed and energy in our fight rapidly to establish many more factory branches".

It is this emphasis on revolution which is the most striking feature of the twenty-first Congress. Revolutionary emphasis had been even stronger in the draft report prepared for circulation to members of the Executive Committee before Congress. Accompanied by an inflammatory quotation from Lenin was the sentence : "It is idle to speculate on how the revolution will come; the main point should be how to speed up the process". It was omitted from the final version probably lest opponents of the Party exploit it to the Party's detriment, just as the Daily Worker in its treatment of the Congress concentrated attention exclusively on the Party's short-term policy. This short-term policy, summarised under four headings, contains nothing new :

- "1. To raise wages and extend social services.
 - 2. To develop our trade with the Soviet Union, the
 - People's Democracies and the New China.
 - 3. To end the present oriminal and wasteful military expenditure.
- 4. To take over, in a new form of nationalisation, those essential industries whose directors are likely to panic and intensify the crisis."

Nor were other hackneyed themes of Party propaganda omitted the slavish adulation of the Soviet Union, the bitter attacks on Social Democracy, the inevitable self-criticism because of the Party's numerical and ideological weakness.

The General Secretary in his Report laid special emphasis on the "Fight for Peace" as an immediate task, expressing himself in the following terms :

> "And in the struggle for peace a very heavy responsibility lies with the British working class. It has the power to prevent war...."

A resultion of the Communist Information Bureau published on the day after the British Party Congress ended laid precisely this task on the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Britain and Western Germany. A second resolution published on the same day stressed the importance of "working class unity", which is the theme of the section of the Political Report dealing with the "Mass Movement". The third Cominform resolution condemning Tito and Titoism is equally paralleled by a sub-section of the Political Report.

More significant was the brisk public acknowledgment and endorsement by the Political Committee of the British Communist Party of these Cominform resolutions. It typifies the anxiety of the British Party to be restored to favour with its brother Parties, and in particular with the Communist Party of the

SEORE

/Soviet ...

- 5 -

Soviet Union and the Cominform. It is in this light that the Political Report to Congress should be considered. Even after the drastic revision of the Party line in December 1947, the British Party had been severely criticised for mistakes in policy, publicly and privately by the Australian Communist Party and obliquely and privately by Russian officials. The General Secretary's Report is presumably intended to still these criticisms by its affirmation of the need for a revolutionary solution of the crisis of capitalism and imperialism: it makes public the re-emergence of the British Communist Party as a strictly orthodox Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist Party and the shedding of "illusions that forms of unity developed in that historical period (i.e. the united struggle against Fascism) would take on a permanent character", illusions to which POILITT had drawn attention in his Report to the Extended Executive Committee in February, 1949. POILITT had then stated: "We must no longer tolerate the tendency to hide our ultimate nim", but had failed to define that aim as clearly as he has now The Report ought also to be considered in the light of done. the recent purges, which have not been confined to the rank and file, in other Communist Parties. The British Communist Party is now proceeding with its own rank and file purge, but its leaders cannot have been entirely happy about their own positions.

In spite of the Party's contention that every development in the existing crisis of imperialism will drive home the need for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, it is doubtful if the Party leadership has any faith in its ability to achieve a successful revolution by its own efforts in the near future. The need for a private meeting to disclose the serious state of the Daily Worker and the Party's complaint that by 8 December only 10,000 copies of the printed report of the Congress had been seld do not suggest either a widening of Party influence or a widespread interest in its affairs; and POLLITT's defiant words on the subject of Communists in the trade unions - "The way forward is not to plot discreetly behind closed doors" - are not borne out by a secret instruction issued at Congress that trade union officials might conceal their Party membership. union officials might conceal their Party membership.

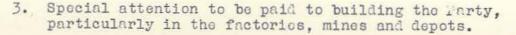
2. THE GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

Emphasising the words of the General Secretary that "the aim of our Congress is to mobilise and prepare for the General Election", a further letter has been sent from Party head-quarters to all Districts, candidates and agents. In an attempt to stimulate activity in constituencies where the election is being fought, the letter sets out the following tasks :

- The organisation of public and factory gate meetings 1. at which Tarliamentary candidates should speak; the organisation of sales on the widest scale of the Congress reports, "The Socialist Road for Britain" and the Daily Worker.
- An immediate general canvass of the constituency in 2. the name of the Communist Party branch, but not in the name of the prospective candidate.

SEGRET

/3. Special ..



- 4. A vigorous campaign to raise first the £150 deposit, and then the further £250 estimated as an essential requirement of the election fight.
- 5. The establishment of Party groups in every ward or polling district of the constituency.
- 6. The enrolment of polling district organisers in each polling district.

Party Districts were also instructed to consider the question of candidates for the municipal elections to be held in May 1950.

A sub-committee of representatives of the Daily Worker, the Organisation Committee and the Parliamentary Department of Party headquarters, and London District has been established to take charge of the Daily Worker's election campaign. The main task of the sub-committee, which will meet fortnightly, is to increase sales. It has decided to appoint a Daily Worker organiser in each constituency.

3. THE FIGHT FOR PEACE.

As part of its propaganda campaign, the British Peace Committee has prepared a questionnaire which it proposes to send to all candidates at the General Election. This reads as follows :

- "1. Do you agree that Great Britain should not be the military ally of the Soviet Union against the United States or of the United States against the Soviet Union, but should base her relations with both on the United Nations Charter?
 - 2. Do you accept, in relation to the Soviet Union as well as the United States, the fundamental principle of the United Nations Charter that all differences between us must be settled by peaceful means and that we must not try to settle them by force or the threat of force?
 - 3. If returned to Parliament, will you :
 - (a) Insist that Britain must not be submitted to war under the Atlantic Pact by the United States and will not go to war except in defence of our own country, or as part of collective action decided upon by the United Nations Security Council, where no decision can be taken without our vote?
 - (b) Demand the withdrawal of United States forces from British territory?
 - (c) Speak and vote for cutting the defence budget by at least £4,000,000? (sic)

SECRET

(d) Suggest the ending of conscription?

/(e) Insist ...

(e) Insist on this country's right to trade with other countries according to its economic interests and not at the dictates of United States strategy, and use this right to cut down imports from dollar countries to a minimum and to increase by every means in our power our trade with the sterling and soft currency areas, more particularly Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and China?

SECRET

(f) Insist on the banning of the atom bomb with the destruction of all existing stocks?

A similar questionnaire was sent to the Labour and Conservative candidates before the recent South Bradford byelection.

Disagreement between K.ZILLIACUS, M.P., and the British Peace Committee has ended in the former's resignation. The chairman of the Committee announced in a recent statement to the Press that it had been clear for some time that Mr.Zilliacus had been "travelling in a different direction from that of the majority of the Committee"; this had been shown by the support he had given publicly to the Tito regime. The chairman described as ridiculous the accusations by ZILLIACUS that the Peace Committee was a "self-elected leadership", since the Committee was "democratically elected by the British delegation to the World Peace Congress after its return to Britain", and its leadorship was enthusiastically acclaimed by the British Peace Congress of October, 1949. Other causes of disagreement were claims by ZILLIACUS that the Peace Committee was subservient to, and took orders from, Paris, and the fact that the Yugoslav Press had been expelled from the British Peace Congress.

Communist Party headquarters has issued a letter to District Secretaries condemning the Government's campaign for civil defence as part of the war plans of Anglo-American Imperialism. A call is made for exposure of the true meaning of the civil defence measures, for local authorities to refuse to spend local rates on these measures, and for the people not to participate in them.

4. THE WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL.

The declared aim of the National Committee for Celebration of International Women's Day, a propaganda vehicle used by the Communist Party, is to promote the well-being, rights and status of women. At a meeting of the Women's Advisory Council of the Communist Party, Mrs. Freda GRIMBLE, acting secretary of the Committee in the temporary absence of Miss Elizabeth Acland ALLEN, gave an account of its Annual General Meeting. She said that the Committee was planning to establish fact-finding commissions in London on "women's wages and equal pay", on "women as citizens", and on "women as mothers", the last to include such subjects as care of children, cost of living and housing. In the celebrations of International Women's Day on 8 March, it had been decided that the themes should be peace, international solidarity and the fight for the Women's Charter. Delegates would be invited from China, America, Czechoslovakia, Russia and the colonies. In London a special feature, "The

/Voice ...

SECRET

Voice of the People", was to include a mother from the Rest Centres, an anti-Fascist fighter from Hackney, and an unemployed man or his wife. Alan BUSH was to be invited to compose a "suitable song" about the Women's Charter.

SECRET

Meetings have been arranged in South Wales, London and Glasgow for Marian RAMELSON on her return from the Conference of Asian Women in Peiping. In addition to giving an account of the conference and the Council meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Moscow, RAMELSON will speak on the need for recognition of and trade with China.

In the London area the Party has decided to develop mass activity among women. This will be conducted in "key constituencies", and will include the development of the fight around education, the main issue being the cutting of the L.C.C. programme by two-thirds; the organisation of women canvassers; the development of the peace movement, and associate membership of the International Women's Day Committee; and assistance to women on how to answer "doorstep and queue arguments".

5. THE DAILY WORKER.

In an article on 31 August in the Daily Worker, Barbara NIVEN announced that the sum of £9,500 which the Party hoped to raise at this year's Christmas bazaars was the highest figure ever set. Its need was explained by the monthly budget of the Daily Worker for the first half of 1949, which was as follows :

Income.

Expenditure

Expenditure	C		£.
Newsprint & production Transport Editorial Administration Fighting Fund	1,020 1,920 270 250	Circulation Advertisements Jublications, etc. Fighting Fund Monthly deficit	11,350 1,960 3500 <u>3,500</u> 17,160 750
Wages & fixed charges	10,450	Monority dor road	17,910

The Daily Worker Central Bazaar was opened by the Dean of Canterbury at St. Pancras Town Hall on 9 December.

6. THE COMMUNIST PARTY & THE STRIKES AT LONDON POWER STATIONS.

On 12 December a strike began at Brimsdown power station and spread within a few hours to the stations at Littlebrook and Taylors Lane. The strike was unexpected, since a mass meeting was to have been held on 15 December at which the merging of local bonuses into the 1¹/₂d. an hour national increase would have been explained to the workers. Similar grievances over wages did not exist at Barking power station, but the workers came out on strike on 13 December in protost against the use of troops at the other stations. By the morning of 17 December the strikers at all four stations had gone back to work.

The refusal of the men at Brimsdown, Littlebrook and Taylors Lane to wait for explanations of the new scheme suggested prompting by subversive elements. Little is known,

SECRET

/however....

however, of the activities of individual members of the Communist Party employed at the power stations. But, even if individual Communists were active, there is no information to suggest that either Communist Party headquarters or any lower Party formations were responsible for the instigation of the strikes.

SECRET

Communist activities after the strikes had begun provide a further instance of the difference in tactics between the national headquarters and the London District headquarters of the Party. The policy of the latter was to give immediate support to the strikers, whatever the nature of the dispute, whereas the former was prepared to fight only for the withdrawal of troops.

London District headquarters does not appear, however, to have met with much success in implementing its policy. Although it was kept informed of events at a high level, such as the activities of the National Joint Industrial Council and the British Electricity Authority, by Horace WARD, an area organiser of the Electrical Trades Union and a member of the Communist Party, it found difficulty in making contact with Party members employed at the power stations and in obtaining information about the situation at the stations; it also found difficulty in persuading other organisations to pass resolutions of sympathy with the strikers. In addition to these efforts, an emergency meeting of Party borough secretaries in the London District was held on 15 December with the object of organising increased sales of the Daily Worker outside the power stations.

The part played by Frank FOULKES, the Communist President of the E.T.U., caused annoyance at London District. On 12 December, FOULKES, speaking in his capacity as President of the National Joint Industrial Council, condemned the strikers. There is reason to believe that London District asked Party headquarters to persuade FOULKES to repudiate his statement, but it is not known whether this was done nor indeed whether Party headquarters wished to do so. Officials at Party headquarters, however, were in touch with Frank HAXELL, the Communist Assistant General Secretary of the E.T.U., and their policy, as given to HAXELL, was that the strikers should return to work once the troops had been withdrawn.

In spite of recent bold pronouncements by the Party that trade unionists should go into action for increased wages to mitigate the effects of the "developing slump", Party headquarters still appears unwilling to risk giving its open and whole-hearted support to industrial disputes. Further, FOULKES' condemnation of the strikers appears to be another example of the policy of Party headquarters that Party members who hold positions in the unions should behave in public with propriety.

7. PARTY ACTIVITY AMONGST COLOURED PEOPLE IN THE U.K.

SECRET

The Welsh District has reported to Party headquarters on its work amongst coloured people in Cardiff. The report makes it clear that little is being done and that even less has been done in the past. There are only seven coloured Party members in Cardiff, and of three coloured students who

/joined...

joined the farty there a year ago only one remains. "The Coloured Worker", first published by the Welsh District in April 1949, appears only every two months and has a sale of no more than 200 copies.

There are in Cardiff two organisations, nominally independent of the Party but in which it is represented, whose purpose is to promote the interests of coloured people - the Colonial Defence Association and the more recently established United Committee of Colonial and Coloured Peoples Organisations in Cardiff.

The Colonial Defence Association, which has existed since 1937 at least, has been under the secretaryship of Harry O'CONNEL, a Party member of West Indian origin. Its membership has always been small and, despite the framing of ambitious programmes of activity and expansion, little appears to have been done until 1948. The Welsh District, which had hitherto shown little interest in the Association, is now giving it publicity in the "Coloured Worker", whose October issue defined the Association's aims as :-

- "1. To organise under the banner of the Colonial Defence Association a powerful, 100% organisation of Colonial and other people who are interested in the problems of Colonial peoples.
 - 2. To lead and direct the struggle against all forms of racial discrimination.
 - 3. To fight for the removal of the many grievances of the Coloured Peoples.
- 4. To work for unity between coloured and white workers and against all those who endeavour to divide them on the basis of colour.
- 5. To work for equal trade union rights and conditions on all schemes of employment irrespective of race, colour or nationality."

It is planned that the Association should take control of the "Coloured Worker" in 1950.

Although the Welsh District claims that coloured people are turning increasingly to the Colonial Defence Association and to the Party for advice and support, instancing a successful campaign on behalf of coloured seamen against discrimination, it remains to be seen if the difficulty of persuading coloured people of different races to unite in a common front will be overcome.

The Colonial Defence Association was affiliated in 1945 to the <u>United Committee of Colonial and Coloured Peoples</u> <u>Organisations</u> formed in Cardiff in 1944. Until recently the United Committee appears to have been no more active than the Association, but during 1949 it too organised a campaign on behalf of coloured seamen. Reporting to Party headquarters early in 1949, the Welsh District listed the component organisations as follows :-

SECRET

/The Somali ...

SECRET

The Somali Youth League. The Indonesian & Malayan Society. The Allouia Society (a Moslem religious society). The International Muslim Society (composed principally of Somalis). The Kroo Associations. The Sons of Africa. The Colonial Defence Association.

Although the District classified several of these organisations as reactionary, it claimed that the United Committee itself was led by Party members.

SECRET

- 11 -

It is clearly anomalous that the Colonial Defence Association should be linked in affiliation to the United Committee with other organisations each of which represents a specific racial Or religious group. Such groups could equally well be affiliated instead to the Association, whose broad aims are identical with those of the United Committee. It is not clear if or how the Party proposes to resolve this confusion, but a developing association between the Colonial Defence Association in Cardiff and the Party-controlled New International Society on Merseyside may foreshadow the foundation under Party aegis of a single national association for coloured peoples.

8. THE BRITAIN-CHINA CONFERENCE FOR FRIENDSHIP & TRADE.

The Conference took place on Saturday and Sunday, 3 and 4 December, 1949, at the Beaver Hall, London. It was attended by 386 persons, of whom 328 were delegates representing, according to the Credentials Committee, 1,750,000 people. Among the organisations represented were 126 trade unions and trade union branches, several trades councils, 4 Labour Party branches, the Women's International Day Committee, the Central Union of Chinese Students, the Student Labour Federation, the Young Communist League, the International Youth Council, the China Campaign Committee, the British United Aid to China, the British Soviet Society, the Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R., the British Peace Committee, the Socialist Medical Association and the Workers Educational Association. The Communist Party was represented at national, district and branch levels.

The Conference was divided into three sessions. The chair was taken successively by Professor A.B. FARRINGTON of University College, Swansea, a member of the Historians' Group of the Communist Party; Mr.Harold DAVIES, M.P.; and Stanley MAYNE, general secretary of the Institute of Professional Civil Servants and a member of the Communist Party in 1948, who was acting in his personal capacity. The principal speakers were Alan WINNINGTON, the Communist journalist recently returned from China; L.C. WHITE, general secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association and well known for his association with the Communist Party, who was speaking in his private capacity; R. PALME DUTT, vice-chairman of the Communist Party; Jack DRIBBON, secretary of the Conference Committee and member of the Communist Party, who presented the Committee's report; Dr. E. TUCKMAN, a medical missionary who has recently returned from China, where he worked with a Friends Service Unit; and Lord STRABOLGI. The following resolution was moved by

SECRET

/J.PLATTS ...

J. PLATTS-MILLS, M.P., and carried unanimously :-

2

"This Conference representing all sections of public life in Britain, welcomes the establishment of the People's Republic of China. For years the Chinese people have been involved in bitter struggle and now, at long last, this struggle for the ending of corruption and oppression has succeeded. For the first time in her history, China has established a permanent and stable Government based on the will of the people. In the short period since its formation the Government has already taken steps to raise the living standards of the people. Its constructive efforts will make famine, plague, and flood things of the past. The Chinese people are now building their trade union and co-operative movements, their industry and trade. The new economic and cultural development of the country has begun.

This Conference, in welcoming the declaration of the New Chinese Government for friendship and trade, calls on the British Government to withdraw recognition from the Kuomintang Government and immediately establish diplomatic relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty. British support for the People's Republic of China's claim to her rightful place as a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation will assist the development of better relations between the Great Powers and strengthen the bonds of peace between the people of the world.

The new China offers tremendous opportunities for the development of trade with Britain. She needs engineering and other goods to repair the ravages of war and build up her industrial and agricultural resources. Britain in turn urgently needs trade with China in order to help maintain her living standards and prevent possible unemployment. We delegates to this Conference declare that friendship between Britain and China, the exchange of trade and scientific, cultural and other information will lead to an enrichment of the people of both countries.

Believing that such friendship and trade with China is essential to our welfare, we friends of China welcome the calling of this Conference and endorse the steps taken by the British-China Conference Committee to foster and extend our friendship with China. We instruct the Conference organising committee to strengthen itself and increase its numbers from among all those who are desirous and anxious to establish permanent friendship between Britain and China. We further instruct the Committee to do all in its power to carry out the principles of this resolution, to take all possible steps which will cement the ties of friendship between the peoples of our two great nations and to form now a new Britain-China Friendship Association which would bring together in a permanent organisation all those individuals and organisations who seek friendship with China.

I.

This Conference in greeting the people of China pledges itself to build an unbreakable, everlasting bond of friendship".

(Some amendments were proposed, and this is the final version adopted).

The principal theme of all the speeches was the need for an early recognition of the Chinese People's Republic by the British Government and the importance of developing trading relations with the new Republic. Reference was also made to the part which the new China could play in the fight for peace and to the immense cultural contribution it could make. A subsidiary theme was the condemnation of the British policy of strengthening the defences of Hong Kong, which should be handed back to China. The proceedings began by the reading of a message of greetings from MAO TSE TUNG and concluded with a unanimously carried resolution that a telegram be sent to MAO TSE TUNG pledging the Conference to work for friendship between Britain and China.

It was announced at the end of the final session that the vice-presidents of the new Britain-China Friendship Association, whose formation was announced in the resolution, were :-

R. PALME DUTT Ronald CHAMBERLAIN, M.P. Harold DAVIES, M.P. Professor A.B. FARRINGTON.

The Beaver Hall was only two-thirds full for the Conference and Professor FARRINGTON, in closing the first session, remarked that the delegation to the Conference could have been larger.

The Conference was organised on familiar Communist lines. The Standing Orders Committee, under the chairmanship of Jack WODDIS of the Far East Committee of the Communist Farty, was chosen beforehand, and its composition was approved unanimously early in the proceedings. Those who wished to speak were carefully selected by the Committee and limited to five minutes each.

The Communist Party, ever since the formation of the Conference Committee in May 1949, had studiously attempted to avoid being regarded as the sponsors of the Conference, and officially participated in the Conference only as one of the many organisations represented.

SECRET