



SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the
Revolutionary
Communist Party
BRITISH SECTION of the
4th INTERNATIONAL

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“Now for the Miner’s Charter”

Nobody turns to the bankers. Money does not dig coal; Nobody turns to the industrial capitalists. Capital without mining labour won't produce an ounce of coal! Nobody turns to the “gifted” politicians, to Churchill and his gang, especially—for it was they who brought the crisis. It is to the miners they turn, for the miners are the men who produce the coal. It is they and their fellow workers who hew it and transport it, who shovel it into the furnaces and who turn it into wealth.

All the pretence and pomp of the capitalist class that it is they who are responsible for the well-being of society, that it is their “brains” and not the muscle of the miner and the technique of the mining engineer which gets the coal—at one blow all this pretence is shattered. The power of the workers is clear. The workers produce the necessities of life. The task is to assert that power by making the workers the masters of society as well as the producers.

For weeks previously the short-

TORIES CREATED COAL CRISIS FOR A PLAN UNDER WORKERS’ CONTROL

THE GREAT FREEZE-UP HAS BROUGHT THE COAL CRISIS TO A HEAD. THE MAJOR PART OF BRITISH INDUSTRY WAS AFFECTED BY THE SHUT-DOWN OF POWER, AND MILLIONS OF WORKERS WILL BE, FOR A SHORT TIME, OUT OF WORK. THE EFFECTS OF THIS CRISIS WILL BE FELT IN INDUSTRY FOR MONTHS TO COME.

Every organ and instrument of publicity is turned on full blast: “Save the Nation! Give us the coal in the hour of our need!” Bankers, Capitalists, Labour leaders, Liberals, Tories—all chant the same theme: “It’s up to the miners!”

to close down industry in the major part of Britain.

Nobody can deny the seriousness of such a situation. Nobody can fail to discuss the question why industrial life over a vast area came to a standstill on February 10th. The industrial economy of Britain is so integrated that a stoppage in the North West, the Midlands and London and the South East, must inevitably have affected the rest of the country even had they escaped the fuel cuts. The shut-down in the Midlands alone, the cessation of its large production of components must eventually be felt for a period by industries elsewhere.

As in any crisis under capitalism, the burdens fell heaviest on the workers. The employer has the possibility of building up his funds to meet special risks, of passing on his increased costs in higher prices, or of eradicating them by a thousand and one manipulations, in which a whole section of accountants and sycophants have become skilled. At the best of times the workers’ budget operates on a very narrow margin, and the stoppage intro-

In 1946, with production 41 million tons less than in 1939, internal consumption of coal was slightly higher. All the Tory demagogy in the world cannot hide the fact that the capitalists and those they represent are alone responsible for this situation. Every advanced worker knows that behind the figures of the lag in coal production lies a tale of mismanagement by extortionate coal owners, of an industry in which every penny profit was wrung only out of the blood and sweat of the miners of Britain.

The immediate cause of the crisis was the fact that for a long period, and since the end of the war particularly, production of coal has lagged behind consumption. The stocks have been further depleted year by year. Under the impetus of nationalisation, the miners, with 2,000 fewer miners employed in the industry, produced 2 million tons more coal from Dec. 14th, 1946, to Jan. 25th, 1947, than in the equivalent period a year before.

The miners showed by this hard work, a tremendous loyalty to the Labour Government, a loyalty



Tories :—“Dig Us Out of the Hole!”

FUEL-CUTS AFFECT Socialist Appeal

OWING to the fuel restrictions on printers, this issue of “Socialist Appeal” was produced under very difficult conditions. The amount of power set aside for the printing press has been drastically reduced. This has necessitated the use of a larger type-face, resulting in less reading matter.

We must forewarn readers of the

THE ROYAL TRIP No Queues—No Cockroaches

BY J. KELLY

THE ROYAL CIRCUS HAS DEPARTED FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

At the “booze ups” and guzzling parties which preceded the tour, the wives of Labour Leaders aped the court ladies in kow-towing to the “divine princesses.” As a “social function” we are assured by Fleet Street that the “departure arrangements” were a complete success.

All this brings to mind other “departure arrangements” which were not so successful. A few weeks earlier a court martial of 8 corporals recalled scenes from the troopship “Empress of Scotland” when 176 troops walked off the ship. Unlike the Royal carnival, this ship was carrying human “canon fodder” to some troublesome outpost of the imperial jail house, and naturally, since the lives of workers are cheap the conditions on board were vastly different from the battleship “Vanguard”.

Corporal Blair, one of the accused, related how the ship was badly overcrowded. “There was a queue” he said, “of 60 men for the lavatory, which was out of order for several days. The lavatory with were infested with cockroaches.” Corporal Marchant told how he slept in his own personal blankets, because those he

other pieces have been made in the Portsmouth Naval Dockyard. . . .

“The suite includes a cabin and bathroom for each member of the Royal Family, day cabins for the King and Queen, and a dining room . . . all Royal Suite specially connected with telephones.”

Obviously there will be no queuing up at the Royal bathrooms and lavatories.

Remarking on the arrangements in the cabins of the Royal Princesses the pictorial magazine “Sphere” writes that—

“... It is situated at one corner of the shelter deck, and with three portholes, cooling breezes are assured even amidst intense equatorial heat . . .”

We can be sure at least that these young ladies will not be troubled with cockroaches.

What emerges from these examples is the irreconcilable class contradictions of the system presided over by the Labour Government. The Royal parasites have the seven seas under conditions of the greatest comfort, whilst the sons of the working class in uniform are confined to pig-stye conditions on troopships

workers is clear. The workers produce the necessities of life. The task is to assert that power by making the workers the masters of society as well as the producers.

For weeks previously the shortage of fuel had been manifesting itself in numerous ways and the workers found themselves forced to devote more and more time to the search for coal, for coke, for logs or some source of warmth. Several factories were facing the necessity of a shut-down, some had already given their workers notice, when the Government announced that, from Feb. 6th, all exports of coal were to be cut, and finally decided

manipulations, which a whole section of accountants and solicitors have become skilled. At the best of times the workers' budget operates on a very narrow margin, and the stoppage introduced immediate sharp financial problems to hundreds of thousands of working class housewives. Even those who benefitted by guaranteed week agreements, received much less than their normal wages. In many cases employers suspended these agreements and workers found themselves on the dole and faced with three days waiting time before they could even draw that.

Why The Crisis?—The Facts

Every worker whether directly or indirectly affected by this crisis is asking, and seeking to answer, the question: Why did the crisis arise and what must be done to meet the situation?

Such a position could only come about as a direct result of capitalist exploitation.

Between 1920 and 1939, 20 thousand to 30 thousand miners were lost to the industry every year.

In 1920, 1,200,000 men were employed in the coal fields of Britain. In December 1946, capitalist exploitation had reduced that number to 692,000.

The period between the two wars was a period of tremendous unemployment and of almost continuous short time working for the miner.

During that time the miner was to be found more in the Labour Exchange than in the pit. To any miner in the early 1930's—who spent the major part of his life in the Labour Exchange, sitting on his heels at the corner end, or tramping on a fruitless errand from colliery to colliery so as to counter the "not genuinely seeking work" clause—it would have been impossible to visualise that in 1947 the chronic shortage in the coal fields would not be one of work but of men; and such a

shortage, that a great part of the economy of Britain would be brought to a standstill because of it.

In the interests of quick profit, the coal owners raped the coal seams. The conditions they instituted in the pits drove every worker outside of the industry and in it, to look upon mining as equivalent to a severe form of penal servitude.

In 1940, when France fell and the coal exports to Europe were cut off, the coal owners closed the pits. Nearly 70,000 miners were tossed on the dole, driven into the army or into other industries to work and live. At that time there were 30 million tons of coal in stock. But capitalist mismanagement depleted these stocks and led to the present crisis.

In 1940 and the following years, sections of the capitalist class stressed the necessity of planning with regard to coal consumption. The Beveridge scheme of fuel rationing was put forward, not from the point of view of the workers, but in the interests of British capitalism, in whose interests a stable fuel situation was necessary. The scheme was shelved under the opposition of Tory back benchers and the representatives of gas and electricity interests. The interests of the individual capitalists and monopoly groups overrode any possibility of a concerted fuel allocation and planning.

14th, 1946, to Jan. 25th, 1947, than in the equivalent period a year before.

The miners showed by this hard work, a tremendous loyalty to the Labour Government, a loyalty which now, as in the past is worthy of better leaders.

But despite the harder work of the miners and the increase in production, industry is dependent on currently produced coal, and for some time has been living from hand to mouth. Thus the severe weather, dislocating transport completely disrupted the economy.

(Continued on page 4,

difficult conditions. The amount of power set type had to be drastically cut. This has necessitated the use of a larger type-face, resulting in less reading matter.

We must forewarn readers of the "Socialist Appeal" that the fuel restrictions may delay the production of the next issue.

We call upon all supporters and friends to send extra sums of money to the Fighting Fund to ensure that other forms of propaganda can be issued if the fuel situation continues.

the lavatory, which was out of order. The Royal parasites issued with were infested with cockroaches." Corporal Marchant told how he slept in his own personal blankets, because those he was issued with were "damp and unfit to sleep in." On the "Vanguard" however, we read about the scenes of extravagant luxury. The "Illustrated London News" remarks that—

"The Royal Suite is self contained, with its own galley and telephone switchboard. Some furniture comes from the Royal Yacht "Victoria and Albert";

conditions of the greatest comfort, whilst the sons of the working class in uniform are confined to pig-stye conditions on troopships such as the "Empress of Scotland."

The trip to South Africa is part of a propaganda "build up" to boost Empire "democracy" and at a time when the persecution of the native workers is reaching unprecedented ferocity.

The Labour Government which is supposed to represent the working class, not only does nothing to end this state of affairs, but heartily endorses these scenes of class extravagance as against the intolerable conditions of the troopships.

Demands must be forthwith pressed upon Labour M.P.s for the abolition of the useless monarchy and the withdrawal of all troops from overseas. This will be a decisive step towards ending the class inequalities of capitalism.

Form Vigilance Committees

More than 100,000 engineering workers in the West of England are expected to receive notices. In Coventry 50,000 have received notices.

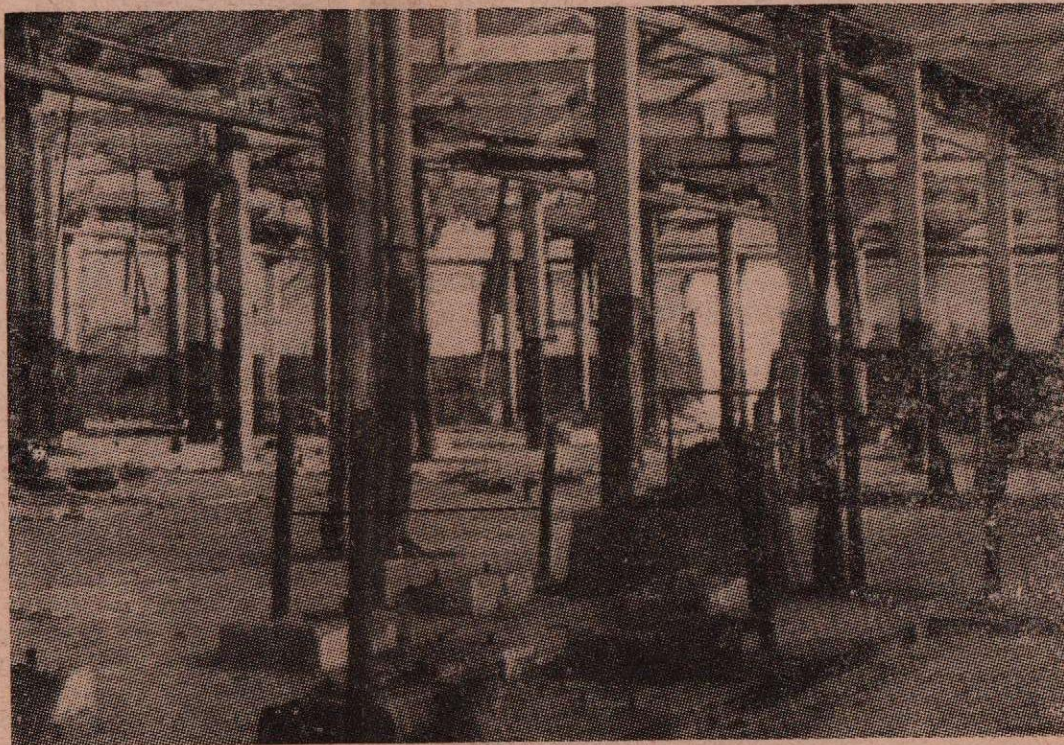
The National Joint Industrial Council of the hosiery industry decided at Leicester to suspend forthwith the guaranteed week of 36 hours. About 50,000 operatives are affected.

The Rolls-Royce factory at Derby has announced that 8,000 shift workers will be given a week's notice.

A vigilance committee representing 100,000 workers in the engineering industry in Manchester, Stockport, Oldham, Rochdale and Crewe will ask Mr. Attlee when he visits Manchester for Government support in resisting the issue of wholesale dismissal notices since the power cuts began.

Workers in all districts of the country should form Vigilance Committees on similar lines to demand **full pay while out of work** during the crisis.

STALIN'S FOREIGN POLICY



This photograph, taken from the magazine "Life" is of a Manchurian factory after the Russians had left. Countless factories in Russian occupied territories present a similar picture. The looting and robbing of the occupied territories by the Stalinist bureaucracy, in addition to the stifling of the political expression of the workers and peasants and the mass deportation of slave labour to Russia are actions totally alien to the conceptions of communism or working class fraternisation. Wholesale pillage and destruction of economy will not help to achieve socialism but can only undermine it. Had the Russian Government been operating on the lines of Lenin and Trotsky and pursuing a genuine communist policy, it would have aided the workers of Europe and Asia to overthrow the ruling class and establish free Socialist Soviet Republics. ...Instead, the Stalinist bureaucracy is fostering a spirit of hatred and cynicism that is being amply exploited by the capitalist powers.

St. Hilda's Lodge Gives Lead

At least one section of the miners are seeing through the present nationalisation set-up.

Refusing to participate in the recent celebrations, held all over the country, commemorating the "birth" of the new mining regime, the St. Hilda's miners gave as their reason that the industry operated under the Coal Board merely represented "A new play with the same old cast."

An examination of the composition of the directing personnel in the present set-up will show how right these miners are in their statement. All the old crap remains; the same colliery officials, the same bosses at the top, etc.

Before nationalisation will act in the class interests of the workers it will be necessary to sweep this "same old cast" into the dustbin.

THE HOLLOW

BY J. JONES G.C.G.—

As if in opposition to the disfigurement of the hollow, a "Piggery", the Aristocratic Home of Odour, adjoins the experimental field of open cast coal in the hollow in our Valley.

And peeping forlornly through the shattered crust of the earth, as if caressing the stone walls of the piggery, is a wild flower or two of a species unknown.

Flower lovers who have be-moaned the crushing away of their beloved flowers in the hollow, noting the resurrection, lift their eyes to the heavens in their joy and thank the Omnipotent for the hind part of the Noble Family of the Styx. While the pigs, cheer-fully unaware of the horticulturist, pressing their moist snouts in the crevices of their abode, gazing with their peculiar inexpressive eyes at the strange phenomenon of the

A SOLDIER WRITES OF HIS TREATMENT IN PRISON

Conditions in Ipoh Detention Centre, Malaya

I served 21 days out of my 28 day sentence in Ipoh (7 days were spent in my guard-room) and in these 21 days I am going to write about. Before I write about the incidents that happened there, there are one or two points that I must bring to light. Firstly, as everyone knows by reading their newspaper, pack drill has been abolished in the British Army because some poor chap died doing it in England. Secondly, doing everything at the double is supposed to be abolished.

And thirdly, if a soldier is doing bread and water punishment he is entitled to a bread ration before anyone else if there is bread in the ration store.

The main reason for my writing is because of certain incidents which happened to myself. They started on the C.S.M.'s drill parade one day. We were ploughing around in the sand and heat (which made it heavy going) for about 15 minutes double marching, when I stumbled at one about-turn and I was marched off to the cells. On the roadway to the cells I was feeling ill and the CSM ordered me to double. I ignored the order.

The cell was furnished with a wooden board raised about four inches off the floor, and it acted as a bed. At teatime my food was brought to me in the cells and it was then that I asked for my kit and blankets, and was told to wait till I got them. I received no cigarette and no bed, blankets or mosquito net that night, even though I continually asked the staff and the night guard commander.

I suffered that punishment before being tried and found guilty of any offence.

The next morning I was put in a cell. For this I got sentenced to 3 days bread and water.

ation about the Detention camp. Yet when I was admitted, there was no attempt by anyone to read camp rules and regulations to me. I explained to the Commandant that I only wrote the note because my morale was low with lying in a cell all day and getting 4 biscuits and water 3 times a day. The real reason I said this was because the CSM saw me before the interview, and he told me to say that or I would get 72 days added on to my sentence. He also said it would be cushy for me if I did as he said. Needless to say I got a bread and water ration for my next meal instead of the usual biscuits, and as is usual in the British Army, nothing was done to the member of the staff who refused me my bed and blankets the first night and who unofficially fed me on biscuits for two days.

When my punishment was finished I was kept in the cells for about a week. Sometimes I got an Indian Army Issue cigarette and other times I got none even though I wasn't on any punishment. I went two days without a wash and when I asked for one, the staff would say he wasn't on duty or else he hadn't got the keys.

The other incident occurred when I refused to dig a trench in the open in the full glare of the sun. This punishment was for sitting down for a rest after digging constantly for over an hour, and as there was no staff about to tell me to break off for 5 minutes I sat down with another

soldier for a break. We were no sooner down than a staff who had been watching all the time called us over and ordered us to dig a hole in the middle of the camp. We refused, and the next morning we were awarded an extra hour's pack drill for 3 days for refusing to obey an order.

That afternoon we were brought out to do pack drill and our packs were loaded up with sand. (I think that was abolished years ago). The soldier with me refused to do it with a sand pack, but I did it, as I was told not to disobey an order in future but to obey and complain afterwards. That night I complained to the CSM about the sand pack and he said he would see about it. The next day the staff came down and asked who complained. I told him I did and he said he would give me more pack drill to complain about. At 14.00 hours he told me to get dressed for pack drill and he sent the other soldier who refused to wear the sand pack away to clean the wash-house. At 14.25 I started doubling with the full pack on, at 14.40 I got 5 minutes break and then commenced to double till I was in a state of collapse at 15.25 hrs. I stopped doubling then as I couldn't go any further and asked to be taken to the M.O. I was refused this request and locked up in my cell again and told I would be charged with refusing to obey an order. The charge never came up and I was released 3 days later as my time had expired.



From the Ruhr

Dear Comrades,

Having just returned from the Ruhr, I want to try to give you an impression of life there today—I emphasise "try", for it is almost impossible to imagine the ruin and misery without actually seeing it.

Firstly I must refute the suggestion made in some quarters (for example, in the "Daily Worker") that the alarming reports in the capitalist press are exaggerations. On the contrary, conditions in the British Zone today, 18 months after the end of the war, are absolutely appalling, and are getting worse.

Of course, it is the workers who are getting the worst of it (as always) because, unlike the rich, they are unable to buy food, clothing, etc., from black market sources owing to the stupendous prices. For example, a pound of butter costs four or five times as much as the average worker earns in a week.

The nominal ration of 1,550 calories is hardly ever obtainable and everyone is always hungry, especially children. Meals are very miserable, consisting largely of cabbage and potato soup, with a bit of dry bread, if any is obtainable, which it often is not. During the recent severe crisis, I have known women travel fantastic distances—150-120 miles—for supplies of bread and flour, rather than freeze in huge queues for ten hours a day for nothing. Obviously, however, the majority could not do this and were forced to do without an important part of

even for the luckier ones, is reaching its final stage of usefulness, and cannot be replaced, as ordinary persons get no permits, and even children certified as urgently requiring new shoes for medical reasons must be entered on a long waiting list. The majority of children have only badly worn shoes, and it is very difficult to get repairs done, due to shortage of materials, etc. Large numbers have no shoes of any kind. Mothers are unable to obtain even such elementary items as napkins for their babies, and the gift of a tablet of English soap is very gratefully received, for the ration is extremely meagre and the quality particularly unsuitable for the tender skin of young babies.

Fuel—there is none supplied to these inhabitants of one of the world's most noted coal-mining areas—and indeed it is even a rare sight to see a factory chimney smoking.

In short, the only contrast in this desolate picture is with the conditions of British personnel, in whose establishments there is plenty of everything—food, entertainment, clothing, light and warmth—AND BULLETS! For the machine-gun is the answer that His Majesty's "Socialist" Government are preparing to give to the demand of German workers for bread, for the simple human right to live.

But the British working class must demand an end to this filthy imperialist policy that is being carried out by the cynical Labour bureaucrats.

Help Our German Comrades



Demonstrate your Class

Solidarity

Food for Communists

and Socialists. It is our

unaware of the horticultural the at the re- it, pressing their moist crevices of their abode, gazing with their peculiar inexpressive eyes at the strange phenomenon of the open cast coal question.

Clayish figures, drenched, looking depressed, pass to and fro in an aimless manner in the inanimate surroundings, the rain trickling from their faces, like tears of mortification and dismay at the failure in their search for coal in the hollow.

Yet although coal has not been produced up to the present, the search goes on unabated.

In the village in close proximity to the "Chaos Minefield", the talk varies. But nearly everyone agrees that "The prospect is a sheer waste of public money." But an even more serious angle is taken to this "experiment" by the people in a street on high ground close to the operation.

This is what one of the householders stated:

"During the last 60 or 70 years, or maybe more, levels or slants were driven into the earth, fringing the foundation of our homes—how many we are not sure, we know of a few. These old levels and slants are now full of water. So long as the water keeps in, there is no danger. But we are scared of the possibility of the water being drained out because of the terrific tumbling and shifting of earth in the hollow, which is on a much lower level than the old slants and levels. If such an incident occurs, nothing could stop a subsidence of the ground, and with it the crumbling down of our homes—with them perhaps our lives."

And in a more angry tone, concluded: "This tomfoolery must cease. It is of no useful purpose."

Mr. Morgan of this Scared street, who said these words, speaks for the people who are afraid for their homes and lives.

Shinwell, Minister of Fuel, in the best tradition of a Prussian Officer, threatened the closure of many pits because in his opinion, the miners were not pulling their weight. Yet such an unproductive venture as this hopeless quest in relation to the colossal cost, is allowed to continue.

The next morning I was put in and described the aims and order. For this I got sentenced to 3 days bread and water.

For my first meal, I got 4 biscuits and a pail of water. I asked the staff what my official bread ration was, and he ignored me and walked off. I had biscuits and water for 6 meals and then I wrote a letter home telling my people about the treatment in this camp. The letter was censored by the Camp Commandant, who had me up for writing lies and defamation of character, as I had told of the M.O. refusing to treat me when I complained about swollen groins. He ordered me out of the M.I. room and told me to go and take my punishment, when I asked him to look at the lumps on my groins.

At the interview with the Commandant he threatened me with a Court Martial for writing inform-

Hotel Workers Want Speedy Negotiations

Impatient with the dilatory manner in which their demands on hours and wages are being handled, the Hotel workers recently demonstrated an example of working class initiative and militancy.

Whilst the leaders of the N.U.G. & M.W. were negotiating with the Hotel bosses, the workers' representatives marched in a solid body into the building, stood outside the conference room, and burst forth into the song: "Only Five Minutes More."

In their recent struggles these workers have demonstrated a spirit which should constitute a warning to the bosses that they are in no mood to be trifled with, and, given a firm and determined leadership which has learnt the lessons of the defects of their previous struggles, should make important inroads into the miserable nature of their present conditions.



Orphaned German Children

Demonstrate your Class Solidarity
Food for Communists and Socialists. It is our Duty to keep them alive

All Aid to:

H. CHASE
 256 Harrow Road,
 London W.2.

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

A hunting we will go!

Though weighed down with the burden of our own struggle against the elements and saddened beyond measure at the thoughts of what our less "fortunate" brothers are suffering on the continents of Europe and Asia, let us pause for a moment to consider the plight and the problems of our rulers. In the "News Chronicle" of 4th February, we read:

"To attend a meet in Ireland yesterday Master of the Hounds, Mrs. James Hanbury offered £78 for a private plane to fly her from Northolt, as regular London-Dublin services had been cancelled through bad weather.

'I don't care what the weather's like', she said, 'I must not miss the hunt.'

She contacted three chartered firms in Croydon and one arranged to fly her over but Mrs. Hanbury rushed off to the station. 'I shall have to go by sea now,' she said. 'I might just get there in time with luck.'

A second example showing the importance of this "sport" in the minds of the parasitic fraternity who live on the backs of the toilers, is provided by the Will of Capt. Robert Bingham Brassey, who left £163,000. His testament states

"I want my funeral to be conducted in as simple a manner as possible. No hunting shall be stopped and no mourning shall be worn."

Thus we see that while the capitalist system, from which they profit and which, as a consequence, they seek to perpetuate, plunges the entire planet into untold degradation and misery, our capitalist rulers are preoccupied with the really important things of life.

Let Us Pray

To conclude, let us join with the worshippers of Rochester, who, at the request of the Bishop of Rochester, are offering up this prayer in every church in the diocese for the rest of this month:

"Let us pray that the industrial workers of Britain may cease to bring hardship and loss upon their fellow countrymen by strikes, absenteeism and idleness."

And perhaps they will now add: "And for the Labour Government, and Mr. Shinwell to be committed to eternal purgatory for permitting it to snow and freeze, so that the workers have the excuse of the fuel shortage to cover up their idleness"!

Had Marx still been with us, methinks he would have found an even stronger word than **Opium** for this.

for supplies of bread and flour, rather than freeze in huge queues for ten hours a day for nothing. Obviously, however, the majority could not do this and were forced to do without an important part of their miserable Belsen-type rations. One friend of mine, a survivor of 12 years in Hitler's concentration camps, expressed it like this: "When do we stop getting calories, and have something to eat for a change?"

Owing to the terrible bomb devastation, housing in the civilised sense of the word hardly exists at all. Vast numbers of people live in horrid, insanitary hovels, cellars, air raid shelters, or shacks built from bomb debris. It is common to find eight or nine persons having only one room for all purposes. Against this background, evictions for the benefit of B.A.O.R. wives are an abomination, bitterly resented by the Germans, and viewed with deep indignation by the average British soldier.

Clothing, especially footwear,

But the British must demand an end to this filthy imperialist policy that is being carried out by the cynical Labour bureaucrats in the name of British Labour. We must not allow British workers in uniform to be used to hold our German class brothers in subjection. We must demand the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces in order that the German workers can determine their own destiny. Despite the long years of betrayals and false leadership by the Social Democrats and Stalinists, despite the Hitler terror-regime, the German workers still possess that strong revolutionary will for Socialism which enabled them to write such epic, if tragic chapters in working class history after World War I, and given a free hand, they will join with us in that "last fight" of the "Internationale"—the struggle for a United Socialist States of Europe and of the World.

Camberwell Trades Council

Protest at use of Troops

5th February, 1947.

To the "Socialist Appeal".

At the last meeting of the Council the following resolution was passed and I am instructed to forward same to you for your consideration and support:

"This meeting condemns the Labour Government for using the armed forces as strike breakers. The strike of the transport workers could have been easily averted if the Government had carried out its duty to deal with the men's grievances. In the face of an actual strike it is impermissible for the Labour Leaders to use the military against the workers involved.

We recognise that the maintenance of essential supplies is the responsibility of the State

but the intervention of the Government has merely aggravated the situation and has assisted the employers.

We urge all sections of the Labour Movement to raise the strongest protest.

The persistence of industrial unrest reflects the dissatisfaction of the working class with the rule of the employers. It must serve as a warning to the Labour Government to cease their policy of building up private enterprise and state capitalism. To retain the support of the workers it is necessary to proceed with speed and determination to achieve socialisation of industry with the economic power wielded by the organised working class in the enterprises on behalf of the State"

Yours fraternally,
 C. W. LAWS,
 Secretary.

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

Treaties of Revenge

The Peace Treaties between the Allies and the defeated satellites of Germany; Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland were signed on February 10th. These treaties are the outcome of the bargaining between the Anglo-American Imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucracy. The provisions in them have been imposed forcibly on the defeated nations.

The provisions of these treaties are compounded in the same way as the shameful Treaty of Versailles which was denounced by Lenin, Trotsky and the Comintern, including at that time Stalin, for its shameful brigandage and robbery of the exploited peoples.

They warned of the disastrous consequences this Treaty would have for Europe and the world.

The suffering and misery of the last war were the deadly fruits of this Treaty of robbery and plunder.

The same familiar pattern of reparations and annexations is the pattern of the present treaties. On the already weakened economy of Europe, grievous wounds are inflicted. Italy greeted the Treaty by a ten minute strike of protest, and the proclamation of a national day of mourning. Thus, the victors, Anglo-American imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy give grist to the mill of reaction in all the defeated countries.

Like all the imperialist treaties of the past, imposing national humiliation, economic distress and territorial dismemberment on the defeated nations by the victors, the foul brew of national hatreds and chauvinism is stirred up, inevitably to sow the dragons teeth of new wars and calamities for the suffering peoples of Europe.

These treaties give the lie to the talk of peace, tranquillity and prosperity for bleeding Europe. They have nothing in common with the conception of a democratic peace, let alone a peace based on Socialist principles.

The first proclamation of the young Soviet government set up by Lenin and Trotsky was one in favour of peace and self-determination for all the peoples of the world: a peace without annexations and indemnities, of fraternity between the peoples. But the Bolsheviks cultivated no illusions in their propaganda as to how such a peace could be achieved.

Only the stern struggle of the workers against their masters, only the implacable struggle for the overthrow of capitalism could bring a democratic peace. The workers of the victor countries, no more than the workers of the vanquished could benefit from the extortions of their masters.

The advanced workers of the victor countries have a tremendous obligation, a moral responsibility to oppose and struggle against all the exactions and discriminatory measures in these treaties. Such a struggle must be part of a campaign of class friendship, of class fraternity to the peoples of the defeated nations. Only the breaking down of the national frontiers can prevent the outbreak of a new war.

RALLY TO AID VIET NAM!

Colonial Workers Forming Brigade. BY C. VAN GEDEREN.

There is a conspiracy of silence about the war which French imperialism is waging against the people of Viet Nam. Hardly a word appears in the capitalist press, except for an occasional laconic announcement of a new offensive by the troops of General Leclerc. The B.B.C. is completely silent about it. The "Daily Worker" only protests because Admiral D'Argenlieu refers to the Viet Nam struggle as a "Marxist plot."

PROTEST MEETINGS SUPPRESSED

In France the ruling class make frantic efforts to keep from the workers—and from the colonial people in North Africa—the news of the imperialist bloodbath in the Far East. Meetings of protest are



banned or brutally suppressed Indo-Chinese in France are threatened with deportation to Africa if they carry on any campaign on behalf of their compatriots.

A meeting called by the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French Trotskyists) at the Palais De La Mutualite, in Paris on January 24th was forcibly broken up by the police. Yvan Craipeau, General Secretary of the Party, who made a speech protesting against these methods was savagely clubbed and, with about twenty comrades, dragged off to the Police Station where they were detained for part of the night. This is the second occasion that the "Socialist" Minister of

silence they acquiesce in the foul work going on in Indo-China on behalf of the Banque d'Indo-Chine and Michelins. What a different story from 1925, when the Communist Party rallied the French working class against the Krim war; when Henri Barbusse issued his splendid "Appeal to the Intellectuals and Workers", protesting against French imperialism's bloody subjugation of Morocco. Today a "Communist" is Minister for Defence and a "Socialist" is Minister for the Colonies in this very Government which is carrying on the bloody war against the Viet Nam. Today they serve, not the workers of France or the exploited people of the colonies, but the interests of Finance Capital and the rubber millionaires.

But it is in vain that the French and British capitalist press keep the news of the Indo-China war in the background; it is in vain that "Humanite", "Populaire" and the "Daily Worker" join in the conspiracy of silence. The news cannot be kept from the colonial and backward peoples to whom the struggle of the Viet Nam is assuming the role which Republican Spain played in 1935-36.

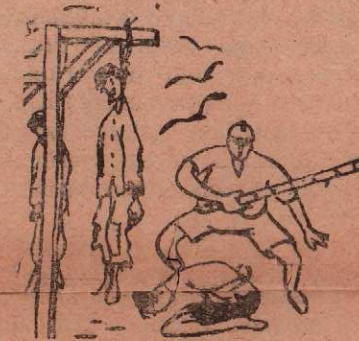
Today the heroic people of the Viet Nam stand in the forefront of the battle for the right of all colonial and backward peoples to be free. Just as workers from all countries poured into the International Brigade to take their places alongside their Spanish brothers in the fight against Fascism so today, from Burma and India and Ceylon, from all over colonial Asia, contingents are making their way to Indo-China to

Admiral D'Argenlieu has appealed for reinforcements to bring his troops up to a strength of 250,000. Hanoi was defended street by street and house by house. French communications with Haiphong are precarious. The aerodrome at Gialan is continually under fire.

But the heroic fighting of the Viet Name and their colonial allies is not sufficient for victory. Like the Spanish Republicans, the people of the Viet Nam need more than firearms; they need to be armed with a programme which will bring all the latent revolutionary forces of Indo-China into action; a programme which will bring all the peoples of Asia into the struggle and rally the workers of the world to their support.

PROGRAMME FOR VICTORY

The workers and peasants of the Viet Nam will not be able to win their independence except through a programme which will bring about a revolutionary transformation of their country. This programme will demand the expropriation of the large landowners;



Mass Rally in Ceylon

Colpetty, Colombo.
27th Jan. 1947.

BY ROBERT GUNAWARDENA

I write to give you a brief report of the first mass rally of our Party since the unification of the Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the two Trotskyist parties in Ceylon. The rally was held on Saturday, 8th January, at Galle Face green—the biggest in Colombo—and was attended by about 10,000 workers and others.

The rally itself was preceded by a huge demonstration in which more than 5,000 workers paraded the main streets of Colombo on their way to the meeting place. The slogans they shouted proclaimed their determination to "Smash the capitalist-imperialist alliance," "Destroy the reactionary Soulbury Constitution," "Save the Indo-Chinese people from French Imperialism" and not to "load a single ship carrying arms, men or supplies to the French Imperialists in Indo-China."

The purpose of the meeting, besides being the first held by the Party since the unification, was to announce the Party's final election list and to inaugurate officially its election fund. This was the opening of the second front—the parliamentary front—against the new slave constitution. The Imperialist are attempting to establish a Royal Agency of the people of even seas under the Party's great 27 candidates for the Parliamentary elections, contesting all seats in the City of Colombo.

The advanced workers of the victor countries have a tremendous obligation, a moral responsibility to oppose and struggle against all the exactions and discriminatory measures in these treaties. Such a struggle must be part of a campaign of class friendship, of class fraternity to the peoples of the defeated nations. Only the breaking down of the national frontiers can prevent the outbreak of a new war. The Socialist United States of Europe is the only realistic policy which can preserve peace and lead to undreamed of plenty for the peoples of Europe. The parties of the Fourth International in the former "Allied" as well as the former "Axis" countries stand for the unity and fraternity of all the toilers in the common struggle against capitalism, for the unity and solidarity of the working class in achieving the aim of a Socialist Europe.

Under the hammer blows of events these reactionary treaties will be seen to have no more power and no more permanence than the treaties of the past. The only question that remains which is vital for the future of European civilization is whether they will be destroyed by the forces of reaction, leading to the decline and collapse of Europe, or whether it will be under the blows of the victorious Socialist revolution in Europe.

McArthur Bans General Strike

Japanese Workers Demand Resignation of Government

Paris, 6 February.—The reactionary regime of General McArthur is fast revealing itself to the Japanese workers and peasants. Chosen for his record in suppressing the Philippine movement for independence, McArthur attempted to mask the Allied Military regime in a democratic cloak, and by trying to appear as a force independent of the reactionary Yoshida government.

The flimsy cloak has been ripped off McArthur by his recent action in halting the general strike of 5 million Japanese workers called by the All-Japan Central Strike Committee.

McArthur issued a verbal statement in which he threatened the union leaders with "imprisonment and severe punishment" if they did not cancel the strike order.

For a time the General Strike Committee carried on with its strike preparations until McArthur's statement was read to a group of union leaders and members, after which they were called separately to smaller rooms. The doors were locked and the union

representatives completely cut-off from each other and their unions. When the delegates asked to be allowed to contact their unions the request was refused. Unable to confer and under immediate threats the delegates agreed to call the strike off.

Two hours before this action of McArthur, Yoshida dismissed five of his Cabinet Ministers and appointed 5 conservative Ministers to replace them. It is clear that the two events are directly linked. Both McArthur and the puppet Yoshida Government are preparing for an offensive against the rising movement of the workers.

The immediate demands of the workers are freedom from income tax, payment of wages during strikes and a 200 per cent. increase in wages. The Central Strike Committee declared that the strike would be an essentially political one directed against the Yoshida Government and demanding its resignation. The union-leaders have petitioned the Four Power Council for an investigation into McArthur's order and methods.

savagely clubbed and, with about twenty comrades, dragged off to the Police Station where they were detained for part of the night. This is the second occasion that the "Socialist" Minister of the Interior has given this practical demonstration of his "democratic principles".

"SOCIALISTS" AND "COMMUNISTS"

Most scandalous of all is the silence of the "Socialist" and "Communist" Parties. By their

alongside their Spanish brothers in the fight against Fascism so today, from Burma and India and Ceylon, from all over colonial Asia, contingents are making their way to Indo-China to join the struggle of the Viet Nameese against French imperialism and for freedom.

ARMS ARE NOT ENOUGH

It is clear from the very meagre reports which do get into the papers that the Viet Nam is putting up a stiff resistance to the superior arms of French imperialism.



nationalisation of industry and transport without compensation; the convening of a Constituent Assembly preparing the way for a government of workers' and peasants' councils (Soviets).

Such a programme could be the guarantee of victory, not only for an independent Indo-China but for the whole of the colonial world.

are a Royal parasites people of seven The Party's great seas under 27 candidates for the Party any elections, contesting all seats in the City of Colombo and a fair number of seats in the up-country areas where the plantation workers are concentrated.

But most interest has been caused by the decision of the Party to put forward one of its front-rank men, Comrade Edmond Samarakody, to fight the leader of the reactionary Ceylonese capitalists, D. S. Senanayaka (would-be Prime Minister). (Continued on Page 4.)

Piece Work In Russia

ATOMISATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

BY T. CLIFF.

(PART II.)

In the first years after the revolution, the conditions of work of the Russian workers were determined by collective agreement between the State Economic Administration on the one side, and the trade unions on the other. Every year the collective agreement fixed two things: firstly, a scale of relative wage rates which gave the wage of workers of different sorts as multiples of the wage of the lowest category of workers; and, secondly, the wage of this lowest category itself.

But, from the end of 1933, many of the collective agreements were not renewed, and from the end of 1935 no collective agreements whatsoever were in existence.

("Soviet Labour Law," Text-book published by the People's Commissar for Justice, Moscow, 1939, page 61.)

From thereon the higher State Economic Administration determined the Wage Bill. But the manner of distribution is left in the hands of the Director. Already in 1934, Ordjonikidze, People's Commissar of Heavy Industry, said at a Conference of Executives of heavy industry:

"As directors, administrative officials, and experts, you must personally occupy yourselves with wages in all their concrete details, and not leave to any one this most important matter. Wages are the most powerful weapon in your hands."

("Pravda, Sept. 22, 1934.) And Andreyev, a member of the Politburo, declared on another occasion:

"The wage scale must be left in the hands of the heads of industry. They must establish the norm."

Besides the abolition of the collective agreements, another factor connected with it brings an atomisation of the working class: **piece-work is pushing aside time work.**

On 1st Jan., 1938, 75 per cent. of all the workers in large scale industry were paid on piece-work rates. Of these, a great section (32% of the 75%) were paid at progressive piece-rates. (A Bergson, "The Structure of Soviet Wages, A Study in Socialist Economics," Harvard Economic Studies, 1944, page 159.)

The piece rate system, fixed by every Director (with the help of the engineers and Stakhanovists), brings with it a great differentiation in the norms in different enterprises. Thus, for instance, **"the basic wage of spinners producing twist No. 54 in two neighbouring cotton mills, varies from R.8.61 to 9.15."** ("Labour in the Socialist Community", Moscow page 24.)

Even more complicated are the different systems of bonuses. Thus in the Urals Machinery Works, there were 270 different methods of calculating premiums; in the Podolsky Machine Works there were 142 methods of calculating the premiums earned by the engineering and technical staff, 106 methods for the ordinary workers, and 35 for the clerical staff. ("Ibid," page 243.)

The most effective means of disorganising the working class is the "socialist competition" which receives its clearest expression in the Stakhanovist movement.

STAKHANOVISM

On 5th May, 1935, Stalin put forward as the slogan of the day "the cadres decide everything." A few days later, on 15th May, at a conference of directors and technical staff, Ordjonikidze demanded the increasing use of differential piece-rates and the heightening of the norms in piece-rates. On 30th August, in the presence of the pit managers, the party representative and the editor of the local paper, the miner **Alexei Stakhanov,**

using a pneumatic hammer, mined in 6 hours, 102 tons of coal, in place of the usual quantity of 6-7 tons, and earned R.225 (i.e., more than the monthly income of a miner.) The press declared the start of "socialist competition."

In October of the same year, the miner **Andrei Gorbatiuk** mined 405 tons in one day, or four times more than Stakhanov. The sisters Vinogradov, weavers, instead of tending the usual 26 automatic Northrup looms, began to operate 216 looms. Workers in other industries followed in their footsteps, and the "socialist competition" spread over the whole of industry.

How did Stakhanov achieve his successes? Firstly, by rationalisation. While before the experiment Stakhanov used to drill and also push the coal aside with a shovel, there was now a better division of labour. **The bigger output was connected with an increase in the number of assistants.** Besides this rationalisation, which in the higher industrialised countries was a long established achievement, Stak-

(Continued on Page 4.)

HOW LABOUR LEADERS FIGHT COAL CRISIS

(Continued from Page 1.)

Everyone, even the Tories, talks of the necessity of planned measures to meet the crisis. The Tories hypocritically attack the Labour Government for not taking planning and rationing measures before, and utilise attacks on Shinwell's past contradictory statements to hide the responsibility of the coal owners. Every serious worker will firmly counter this Tory demagoguery and fight against their attempts to make anti-Labour, anti-Socialist electoral propaganda out of the crisis.

However, this does not mean uncritical acceptance of the Labour Government's measures to end the shortage. Fighting for the correct measures, for working class measures will not only be a fight against Tory interests but also against a leadership that is not prepared to take the necessary socialist measures against the employers.

How is the Labour Government attempting to solve the problem? The Labour leadership have been forced to attempt to plan the consumption of coal. They will institute a system of rationing, or of

stricter priorities. In face of the major problem—that of the low production of coal due to the shortage of man-power, they will try to attract labour to the mines by granting a few concessions to the miners and persuading the union leaders to agree to a speedy introduction of foreign labour. The acute shortage of manpower may even force them to speed up demobilisation, even though it weakens the defence of British Imperialism abroad.

Every worker will demand the production of a plan. A plan not only to allocate the consumption of coal, but also to plan production; to eliminate waste, to increase manpower and mechanisation. The main question to answer is: How are these measures of planning to be carried out, and in whose interests?

There are two ways of planning to meet the fuel shortage. First—the capitalist way. The committees and boards the organs of planning will allocate the fuel supplies in accordance with the needs of British capitalism. Their plan will result from a desire of the capitalists to see that nothing stands in the way of utilising the

favourable post-war market. In the same way as an individual employer with a full order book offers better conditions to attract workers and passes the cost onto the price of his product, so concessions will be offered to the miner to attract labour. Because there will be no control by the workers when fuel allocation is planned in a capitalist manner, inevitably there will be abuses in the shape of luxury consumption.

The Labour leaders have chosen this capitalist plan. The so-called General Staff to direct the battle for coal is staffed with employers' representatives and stooges. There are on it no live representatives of the Trade Unions and working class.

In the organs of planning of the Labour Government—in the various Trade Committees, in the Nationalised Boards, the capitalist representatives remain supreme, even though these bodies are coloured with one or two trade union bureaucrats. Its plans are drawn up by the Labour Ministers in conjunction with high ranking civil servants, powerful employers, and trade union bureaucrats removed from the workers.

These organs of planning which today plan to meet a shortage of fuel and to aid the motor car manufacturers, the chemical, textile and finished goods manufacturers, to exploit a favourable world market, tomorrow, when world production has increased, and competition is driving down sales, will plan to meet over-production, to rationalise production and slash the workers wages as in 1921, a few years after the end of the last war.

In discussing the fuel shortage in a speech at Gateshead on Feb. 1st, Dalton declared:

"The coal owners have been sent packing. The wretched private coal owners, before they fitted, left us with stocks of coal lower than ever before in our history. This winter we have had coal cuts and shed the electricity load. That is entirely the responsibility of private enterprise in the mining industry."

It is necessary to say, in answer to this: "Yes, Mr. Dalton, we agree with you. But if you are really serious in your speeches, if you really mean what you say about the coal owners, then why place the Lord Hyndleys back in control? Why pack the National Coal Board and the regional boards with these very coal owners or their accountants and representatives? These people retain their connections with the rest of capitalist industry, hidden or open. If you wish to prove that your speeches mean something, remove these people from the boards and management of industry and replace the boards with democratically elected representatives of the workers and mining engineers. End Capitalist management and introduce workers' management. Otherwise it must be clear to everybody that at Gateshead you played the old Parliamentary game of telling the audience, particularly an audi-

(Continued from Page 3.)

The Trade Unions, after the October Revolution, decided to decrease the differences between the incomes of different workers as much as possible. The Second Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions stated: "It is impossible to forget that the basis of the establishment is the labourer of average capacity working at average risk and intensity. Chief attention must be turned on this, that this . . . strata of labourers be paid more justly." ("Ibid,"

the law laying down that a worker is never to receive less than two-thirds of the established norm. The main aim of Stakhanovism was to split the workers, to make them compete among themselves, to raise a privileged layer out of the ranks of the workers who would be tools of the bureaucracy.

Of course Stalin, with his usual hypocrisy, described the aims and characteristics of Stakhanovism in very different terms. Thus in his speech at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites

The Policy of the R.C.P.

1. Nationalisation of the land, of all atomic processes, of all large financial, insurance, industrial, distributive and transport enterprises without compensation, and the operation of these enterprises on the basis of an overall production plan under control of workers' and technicians' committees.
2. Abolition of business secrets. All company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers committees.
3. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers goods in short supply under the control of committees elected from the co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shopkeepers which will eliminate the black market.
4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants committees; a state financed national house-building plan to be directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum and a falling scale of hours to absorb the unemployed, who must be fully maintained while not working; a 40-hour week maximum without loss of earnings.
6. Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords; full electoral rights for all from the age of 18; and full political and civil rights for men and women in the forces; the immediate repeal of all strike-breaking and anti-labour laws.
7. Abolish Conscription: For the dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia.
8. For the abolition of military law; clear out the reactionary anti-labour officer caste from the armed forces; for the election of officers from the ranks. For the establishment of military schools by the trade unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker officers.
9. Full and immediate freedom for India and the other colonies to choose their own form of government; the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.
10. End secret diplomacy and a peace of vengeance and plunder; end race hatred, anti-semitism, Vansittartism and the colour bar; the withdrawal of British troops from Europe and Asia and a peace based upon the self-determination of the peoples of Europe, Asia and the world.
11. 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.
12. Full support and active co-operation with the European workers against all occupying forces, for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a United Socialist States of Europe; unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for world socialism.

CEYLON BALLY

(Continued from Page 3.)

Minister) in his own carefully selected rural constituency. The Party announced an Election Fund of two and one-half lakhs of rupees to which it asked the public to contribute generously.

The following resolutions were also passed at the meeting:

1. "This mass meeting of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party declares its complete solidarity with the heroic people of Viet Nam in their armed struggle against the hired hordes of French Imperialism and calls on the working class of Ceylon to demonstrate this solidarity by refusing to load a single ship bound for Indo China

to them the status of mere Associations, and warns the entire working class of Ceylon that this anti-working class measure, though directed in the first instance against the Government workers, is a prelude to a determined onslaught on the entire body of the working class of Ceylon on the part of the British Imperialists and their native agents. This meeting further calls on the workers of this country to fight this measure with all the resources at their command."

3. "This mass meeting of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party demands the immediate and unconditional release of Comrades

ment of the...
pressing their...
method were...
production...
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State...
the eve of a Stakhanov record day, the output of the mines would fall below the average, on the day of the Stakhanov record it would rise 40-50 per cent., then the next day the output of most of the mines would drop below the pre-Stakhanov level." ("Za Industrialsiu, Jan. 8, 1936).

Another description tells us: "Under the pressure of the danger of not fulfilling the plan... to throw themselves headlong into taking the plan by storm by all sorts of wild, often plundering use of equipment, material and tools, through a tremendous amount of overtime work, the delivery of incomplete products... Increasing the percentage of spoilage..." (page 297).

(O. A. Yermansky, on "The Stakhanov Movement and Stakhanov Methods," Moscow, 1940.) These reports expressed the fear of the bureaucracy that the Stakhanov method would over-reach itself.

The main aim of the Stakhanov movement was to increase the piece-work norms. The norms rose in machine construction in 1936 by 22 to 40 per cent.; in metallurgy 23-37 per cent.; textiles 25-30 per cent.; building trades 54-80 per cent. In later years the norms were raised even more. A great part of the workers could not reach the norm. Thus, for instance, of all the workers in the metal industries, 60 per cent. did not reach the norm, and therefore did not receive even the insufficient wages they had received before the raised norms. ("Problems of the Trade Union Movement", Moscow, 1938, No. 7).

The bureaucracy, of course, has abandoned the "General Law on Wages" promulgated on 17th June 1920 by the Council of People's Commissars, under Lenin, which laid down that anybody exceeding the norm in piece-work was never to receive more than 100 per cent. above the normal earnings. Neither does the bureaucracy have any regard to the other clause in

Of course, Stalin, with his usual hypocrisy, described the aims and characteristics of Stakhanovism in very different terms. Thus in his speech at the **First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites** on 17th November, 1935, he said:

"Wherein lies the significance of the Stakhanov movement? Primarily in the fact that it is the expression of a new wave of socialist emulation, a new and higher stage of socialist emulation... the Stakhanov movement is at bottom a profoundly revolutionary movement... Its significance lies also in the fact that it is preparing the conditions for the transition from Socialism to Communism." (J. Stalin, "Leninism", Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1942, pages 546/7).

The cruel whip of competition for the barest necessities of bread, clothing and shelter this is what is covered by the phrase "socialist emulation," the "profoundly revolutionary movement" the harbinger of the "transition from Socialism to Communism."

The callousness of the Stakhanovist system is shown quite clearly by the following fact: until April 1936 there existed in Moscow a Labour Institute whose special task was to see that the norm was set so high that the average worker could not increase his standard of living. In April 1936, having fulfilled this mission, it was abolished.

The bureaucracy has deliberately developed differences in income among the workers which are incomparably greater than even in the time of Czarism and in the capitalist countries to day.

According to a census of June 1947, the wage earners in Russian industry were classified according to their average daily wages thus:

Earnings in Kopeks.	% of Wage Earners.
Less than 51	14.6
51-76	23.7
76-101	18.8
101-151	20.4
151-201	9.6
201-301	8.9
301-401	2.6
More than 401	1.4
	100.0

(Bergson, "Ibid," p. 226.)

establishment is the labourer of average capacity working at average risk and intensity. Chief attention must be turned on this, that this... strata of labourers be paid more justly." ("Ibid," page 182).

But the strengthening of the position of the bureaucracy brought with it a change in this tendency, and the differentiation in the incomes of the workers became more marked. Thus, according to the figures of October 1934, wage earners in Soviet industry were classified according to their earnings:

Earnings in Roubles.	% of Wage Earners.
Less than 50	3.6
50-60	1.8
60-80	7.1
80-100	11.6
100-120	13.3
120-140	12.8
140-160	10.7
160-180	8.5
180-200	6.7
200-220	5.1
220-240	4.1
240-260	3.2
260-300	4.6
300-340	2.6
340-380	1.6
380-420	1.0
More than 420	1.7
Total	100.0

From 1935, with the inauguration of the Stakhanovite movement, the differentiation between the incomes of the workers grew bigger by leaps and bounds. But the Russian statisticians found it necessary **not to publish any figures either about the division of the workers according to their earnings in the whole of industry or in any branch of it.** But this silence speaks more loudly than words.

It is interesting to note that in capitalist countries, the more primitive the country, and the weaker the organisations of the workers, the more reactionary are the labour laws, the greater the differences between the wages of skilled and unskilled workers.

Are YOU Helping the Fighting Fund?

management and introduce workers' attention. Otherwise it must be clear to everybody that at Gateshead you played the old Parliamentary game of telling the audience—particularly an audience of miners—what they wanted to hear.

Another Labour Minister, Mr. Isaacs, made a speech in the middle of the fuel shortage in which he declared:

"It will have taught us we must be ruthless and determined to go on with our schemes of socialisation of our industries. We will get a straighter deal out of the electricity companies and railways when they are nationalised."

Mr. Isaacs, despite the "radical" conclusions he drew here made no mention of ensuring that straighter deal by eliminating the capitalists from control. One of his Cabinet colleagues, Stafford Cripps, has already blurted out the truth and expressed the Government's opposition to the removal of those capitalists and their replacement by the workers. Yet that is the only way to guarantee the "straighter deal"—for the workers!

Nationalisation without the control of the workers means that the workers continue to be exploited. The only difference being that the workers are no longer exploited in the interests of individual capitalists but of capitalism as a whole.

FOR REAL SOCIALIST PLANNING

A real workers government determined to end capitalism would solve the fuel crisis by planning in a working class manner. Its first step would be to immediately grant the Charter of demands put forward by the miners. Its next, to guarantee full wages to the workers suffering under the cut. Those wages could be guaranteed out of the profits of the employers, from the compensation paid to the coal saboteurs, and the swollen unemployment fund. The Government would then close luxury hotels and end luxury production. It would institute a strict fuel rationing and call on the workers to set up committees in every district of representatives of workers organ-

(Continued in next Column.)

the heroic people of Viet Nam in their armed struggle against the hired hordes of French Imperialism and calls on the working class of Ceylon to demonstrate this solidarity by refusing to load a single ship bound for Indo-China carrying arms, men or supplies to the French Imperialists."

2. "This mass meeting of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party condemn the reactionary proposal of the Board of Ministers to refuse recognition to Trade Unions of Government workers and to accord

Three Trotskyists in Bolivian Parliament

News from Bolivia indicates that the Trotskyist movement is securing a mass basis among the workers, especially in the tin mines. In the recent parliamentary elections, they secured three seats in the Lower House and one seat in the Senate.

So successfully have our comrades assisted the workers in conducting a fight for their rights that the Bolivian capitalists have become alarmed and are demanding repressive legislation among them.

isations, Co-ops, and housewives to ensure the carrying out of its fuel economies. It would explain to the workers that an efficient plan needs the socialisation of all the major industries at once. It would call upon the workers to help the Government by introducing workers' control of production until the State was ready to take over, and by this means to prevent the remaining capitalists from sabotaging socialist planned production. This is what the Bolsheviks did in backward Russia in 1917. It would be a hundred times easier to carry out this policy in modern and advanced Britain of 1947.

Such a government would prepare a national plan based on the workers' interests. Such a plan would be drawn up, not by capitalists and their representatives with a trade union leader looking on, but drawn up by representatives from the workers' organisations and committees, and the technicians' organisations.

workers of this country to fight this measure with all the resources at their command."

3. "This mass meeting of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party demands the immediate and unconditional release of Comrades Daniel Weerasena and Hemasiri Silva, the two remaining political prisoners in Ceylon."

With International Greetings,
Fraternally Yours,
ROBERT GUNAWARDENA,
Acting Secretary.

Some time ago, the Bolivian Minister of Labour, Amelio Alcoba, spoke of the intense activity of the Trotskyists in a statement to the press. After denouncing their activities, he issued the open threat: "I think I will propose to the Government the passing of legislation against these elements."

Our Bolivian comrades have replied to this threat by intensifying their revolutionary activity among the workers.

A plan for the allocation and production of coal, drawn up in such a manner and coupled with workers' management in the nationalised industries, carried out with the aid of workers' and technicians' committees, would give the miners and, the workers in general tremendous enthusiasm. Sure that the plan was firmly in their interests the workers would have a real incentive to raise production. Based on the strength and needs of the workers the plan would cut across the sectional interests of the capitalist class.

A government which introduced such a plan would solve the import problem, not only by cutting the costs of production at home and exporting cheaper, but by calling on the aid of the workers of Europe and the world in Socialist reconstruction. Such a government would be making real steps toward Socialism in Britain.