



SOCIALIST APPEAL

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of All Lands
Unite

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

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BUDGET HITS THE WORKING CLASS MAKE THE RICH PAY!

HENRY WALLACE

What He Stands For

BY TED GRANT

Henry Wallace, the American "Liberal", has been addressing a large number of meetings in Britain attacking the present policy of Truman.

At the same time as Wallace condemns the American moves to establish world domination, especially directed against Russia, by propping up reaction in Greece and Turkey and elsewhere, he claims that Roosevelt's policy was entirely "different" and even "progressive." But under the Roosevelt administration, the same policy of furthering the world domination of American imperialism was pursued.

In his speech at Manchester, under the auspices of the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils, Wallace demagogically stated:

"... in the manpower and equipment of America and Britain we have the resources to do the job of peaceful world reconstruction. ... Never in our history has farm and factory production approached our present record heights. Fifty-eight million American workers, devoted to useful production, can launch a great offensive against our real enemies, poverty, homelessness, disease, and hunger. American fertiliser plant and farm machinery can transform the lives and standards of hundreds of millions within a generation. American machine tools and equipment for power plants, docks, and railroads can start poverty-stricken peoples on the road to modern life."

Wallace is no Socialist. He is no representative of the working class. All this would be true if Wallace did not cynically ignore the fatal flaw in such schemes: capitalists are not interested in production to benefit the peoples of the world, or even their own.

If the productive forces in the world were to be utilised for the purposes of construction, the entire planet could be transformed and the standards of living and level of culture raised to undreamed of heights. This is not possible under capitalism. Plenty under this system can only produce crises of over-production, slumps and unemployment, because of the basic necessity of the capitalist class to make profits. Despite the hunger and famine in dozens of countries, potatoes in millions of bushels have been destroyed in America because there was a "surplus". It was not profitable to feed the starving peoples—therefore the American capitalist class preferred to plough and crush the potatoes into the ground. So it is under Truman. So it was under Roosevelt.

The American capitalists openly forecast a new "economic recession" in the immediate future. This springs from the economic laws of the system, not the desires, good or bad, on the part of the capitalists.

In reality, these sugary phrases of Wallace serve the same purpose as did Roosevelt's New Deal propaganda.

THE BUDGET OF DALTON HAD CERTAINLY NOTHING OF SOCIALISM IN IT. VERY LITTLE OF IT COULD EVEN CORRESPOND TO THE REFORMIST THEORIES WHICH HAVE OUTLINED THE POSSIBILITIES OF BUDGETING CAPITALISM OUT OF EXISTENCE. HERE WAS NO GREAT ATTEMPT AT A REDISTRIBUTION OF INCOME, NO DRIVE AGAINST CAPITAL, NO ATTEMPT TO INCREASE THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE WORKERS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE CAPITALISTS — MEASURES WHICH IN THE PAST THE LABOUR LEADERS HAVE DECLARED COULD LEAD STEP BY STEP TOWARDS SOCIALISM.

Dalton's speech, and the Labour Government's Second Budget in no way departs from the principles of capitalist economics.

Faced with the necessity of cutting down on dollar expenditure, the Labour Government reacts in a typical capitalist manner—by placing burdens on the working class. While the vast military expenditure continues, while the upkeep of all the imperialist commitments of British capitalism continues to add to the dollar drain, the Labour leaders meet the dollar problem of British capitalism by a tremendous increase of the tax on tobacco. Such a method of cutting tobacco imports is a blatant blow at the workers, the poorer section of the population, a rationing system, not according to need, but according to income.

The Budget takes little from the capitalists. The much heralded profits tax is exceedingly weak, and hardly likely to cut very much into the golden harvest which the employers are reaping out of the reconstruction increase in the level of industrial activity since the war. Altogether it is a Budget with which the capitalist class cannot be very displeased!

Like the last one, this Budget will benefit mainly the rich and strike at the poor. Small remissions in income tax will not prevent the burdens of the war and the reconstruction being at the expense of the working class. At the same time, while the entire total of Social Services will be approximately £500,000,000, the amount on military expenditure will be £899 million. This compares with £348 millions in 1938, when the "National" Government was preparing for war, and the Labour leaders objected to this enormously inflated war expenditure.

Although taxes have been reduced on one or two items, and abolished on one or two, the purchase and other indirect taxes which bear heavily on the workers

lavishly to finance the imperialist aims of the ruling class. Approximately 1,200,000,000 dollars were spent on military commitments abroad and the occupation of Germany in 1946. An estimated 700,000,000 dollars will be squandered in the same way this year. This too, of course, will receive the plaudits of the Tories.

The workers who put Labour in power did so with the expectation that the Government would make serious inroads into the activities of Big Business and increase the living standards of the masses. This Budget indicates that far from carrying out the wishes of the working class, the Labour Government is continuing a traditional policy of capitalist budgeting.

The workers in the Trade Unions and Labour organisations must demand a reversal of this policy. Make the Rich Pay! Abolish all indirect Taxes! Withdraw the troops from abroad. Expropriate the capitalist class!

The tax on tobacco will save only about 30,000,000 dollars. But at the same time the Labour Government can spend dollars

the subsidies which have held down the prices of the workers' necessities. Here Dalton, the "socialist", openly accepts the capitalist solution to cut into the purchasing power of the workers. Dalton further warned:

"Imports must be severely limited. Much of this would be disagreeable."

The workers, then, can look for further measures of sacrifice in the future.

The tax on tobacco will save only about 30,000,000 dollars. But at the same time the Labour Government can spend dollars

Glasgow Dockers Fight Sackings Bosses Preparing General Offensive Against Dockers

BY ROY TEARSE

On March 24th, 3,800 Glasgow Dockers struck work against the first attempts of the bosses' plans to transform the industry once again into a casual sweatshop.

The outcome of this strike will be of nation-wide importance to the dockers in their fight against the miseries of casual labour.

The strike was caused by the decision of the Glasgow Port Authorities to sack 500 men.

The Excuse for the Sackings

This decision stems from the work of the Fact Finding Commission introduced by the Minister of Transport in 1946 to investigate the position of the various ports. And the main argument of the Regional Port Controller in justification of this action is that with the maintenance of the present personnel the Port would be rendered uneconomical, and, it is claimed, the port is unable to meet the guaranteed wage of £4 2s. 6d.

When the Port Authorities talk about the Port being rendered "uneconomical", however, they do so in one sense only: namely, that it impairs the ability of the employers to wring their profits out of the sweat of the Dockers, or any other section of the working class. This was amply demonstrated in the negotiations in London on Monday, March 17th, between the Union's and Employers' representatives, over the question of the "guaranteed week." In answer to

a modest demand by the Trade Unions of 6/- per half-shift, and a "fall-back" (i.e. for a full week) of £4 16s. 0d., the balance to be made up out of the National Dock Scheme, the Employers offered 3/- per half shift, with a "fall-back" of £4 2s. 6d.

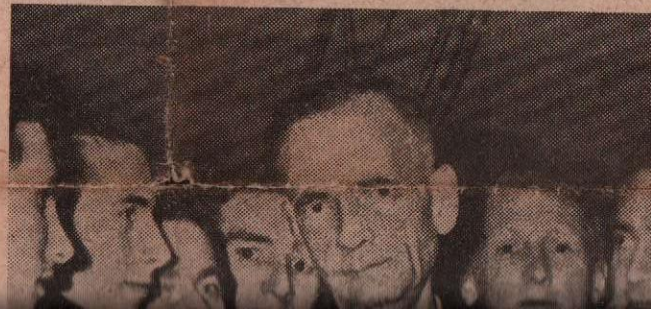
Apart from the specific case of the Glasgow Docks, this policy of the Employers will make casualisation in its most effective form (i.e. by outright sackings) a widespread phenomenon in the coming days, with the rapid dissipation of the funds of the national scheme. This can be readily seen by this immediate example in Glasgow, where, largely as a result of the fluctuations of levy on cargo from 25% to as low as 7½%, it has been the employers' profits that have benefited, and the Dockers who have suffered as a result of the alleged incapacity of the Port to maintain the 500 on the basis of the rates in 1947.

Bosses Speak Out!

Despite the statement of the Ministry of Labour on April 10th that "the Minister wishes it to be known that there is no foundation in the further statement that has been made that these discharges in Glasgow are designed as the forerunner of discharges at other ports," the employers have very much different ideas in mind. In the "Journal of Commerce and Shipping Telegraph" (the paper of the Port and Shipping

who must be removed from the future permanent register."

The article continues, "In Manchester there is an average daily surplus of 457 out of an inflated register of 2,600" (costing the owners another £105,000. R.T.) ... "In Liverpool and Birkenhead, out of a total of 15,800, there are some 3,500 surplus to requirements, on the basis that one-fifth of each gang is un-



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Wallace openly revealed his calculations when he said that he (Continued on Page 4.)

parcs with £348 millions in 1938, when the "National" Government was preparing for war, and the Labour leaders objected to this enormously inflated war expenditure.

Although taxes have been reduced on one or two items, and abolished on one or two, the purchase and other indirect taxes which bear heavily on the workers still remain.

In his speech, Dalton warned of further sacrifices for the workers. Joining the chorus of the financial correspondents of the capitalist press, he declared that there was too much purchasing power. To cut down the purchasing power he announced the Savings drive would continue, but, important for the workers was his warning:

"Up to this point the policy of stabilising the cost of living increase had been wise and abundantly justified, but it had become more and more costly and now, he had no doubt, we must review it again."

For months the capitalists have campaigned for the reduction of



KURT SCHUMACHER, leader of the German Social Democrats, made "radical" speeches in Britain. But when the German workers take action in defence of their living conditions, his speeches take a different colouration. At Oberhausen he attacked the demonstrations of the German workers. Urging "discipline", Schumacher said: "The Party was not prepared to let German workers be led to ruin through hooligan tricks of irresponsible elements." He seeks to canalise the struggles of the workers into "safe" channels. This is the classical role of Social Democrats who fear bold action on the part of the working class. Such policies serve the interests, not of the workers, but of the ruling class and the occupying powers.

100,000 STRIKE IN MADRAS

For Release of Arrested Trotskyist Leader

BY V. KARALASINGHAM

While Bombay and Calcutta are in the throes of communal clashes, the class struggle in Madras reached a new dramatic height today when over 100,000 workers downed tools in protest against the Congress Government's arrest and detention of Comrade Antonypillai, Trotskyist President of the Madras Labour Union.

Comrade Antonypillai who is a member CC Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (Trotskyist) is also a member of the General Council of the All India Trade Union Congress.

Panic stricken by the magnificent unity of 14,000 Buckingham and Carnatic Textile Mill workers who are on strike since the 11th of March, and anxious to appease the European owners of the Mills and to demonstrate to the imperialists the willingness of Congress to defend imperialist interests, the Congress Ministry sought to break the strike by arresting the President of the Union, Comrade Antonypillai. On 28th March Comrade Antonypillai was arrested because he had, in the words of the Government Communique, "fomented an illegal strike, challenged the authority of the Government and offended against the law requiring the immediate return to work of the strikers."

The Madras Minister, Congressman Ramasami Reddiar, followed this up with an appeal to the strikers to return to work. This was adding insult to injury. The infuriated strikers immediately set out to galvanise the other Unions in the City to protest against the arrest of their strike leader. The Stalinists tried to sabotage this move by playing for time but were caught in the whirlwind of mass indignation. Unwillingly they were swept into this massive strike action.

Despite the frantic appeals of the Congress bosses, including the Prime Minister, who made a special appeal over the radio, well over a lakh (100,000) workers

joined in the protest strike. The protest strike embraced the entire City Transport services, Trams, Buses, Trains, the haulage workers in the Harbour, Tannery Workers, Municipal and Shop employees, M.S.M. Railway Workshop workers (Comrade Tony is also President of this Union) and Engineering Workers.

Monday, 31st March, the day of the General Strike was quite reminiscent of the August 1942 days. Armed Police at every ten yards, Gurkha troops and Motor Cycles with Machine guns, Armed Trolleys patrolling Railway lines. This was the Congress answer to a protest of the masses!

The protest strike raised a hue and cry in the Congress Press. The Conservative "Hindu" called for special legislation to illegalise strikes of this nature. There was not a single capitalist paper in Madras that did not denounce the strike. This howling found a feeble echo across the Palk Strait, in Ceylon where the imperialist "Times of Ceylon" traced the source of all trouble in "the export of Ceylonese Bolsheviks to India"!

Despite the unmistakable mass protest of a one day General Strike the Congress Ministry has so far not yet released Comrade Antonypillai. The strike of the textile workers still continues. The Madras Provincial Committee of the All India Trade Union Congress has notified the Government that if Comrade Antonypillai is not released steps would be taken to organise a General strike in the whole of the Madras Presidency. This will bring the Government to its knees.

The Russian Brides AND THE "DAILY WORKER"

The Capitalist press has seized on the refusal of the Soviet Government to allow the fifteen wives who married British subjects to leave the Soviet Union.

A letter in "Reynolds" correctly points out they have not given like publicity to the plight of the children of American Negro soldiers in Britain who were not allowed to marry the mothers because of the reactionary regulations of the American Army. This campaign on the part of the capitalist press is shot through with hypocrisy.

Nevertheless coming after the unprecedented and reactionary ban on marriages with foreigners, this petty and cruel action shows clearly the real attitude of the Soviet bureaucracy towards the Russian masses.

The "Daily Worker", in a frantic and embarrassed fashion has tried to justify and whitewash this action of Russian bureaucrats by references to the tens of thousands of Russians in Germany, and by the printing of fantastic letters. So far as the Russians in Germany are concerned, there is no ban on their going home. And even if there was, does this justify the action of the Russian Government?

One letter in the "Daily Worker" (10th April) printed without comment, is worthy of quoting. In justifying the ban, Rutland Baughton, Newent, Glos., writes:

"... Until I began to think the matter out it seemed inhuman and likely to afford new arguments to anti-Soviet people here.

Then these ideas came to my mind:

1. The shorter endurance of emotions based on sex as compared with the emotions based on patriotism. In its first urgency, passionate love is capable of swamping patriotism.

A large part of patriotism is connected with habits and customs, and if love is not reinforced by friendship, and the sympathies which arise in the national traditions, a married woman may be very unhappy in a foreign country.

The other day I heard a young woman (a foreign war-wife) weeping and asking to be sent back to her own country. We have enough divorce complications of our own without adding unhappy Russian brides to unhappy American brides.

2. The possible bourgeois bias of the few Russian women preferring Englishmen, and especially Embassy officials, to their own countrymen. This is the only possibility with any sinister implications.

The fact that so many Russian women fell in love with British Embassy officials may mean that such officials are especially loveable men. And at the time they were married it must certainly have seemed to them that those officials were as anti-Fascist as themselves.

Now that our Foreign Office seems to be pursuing an anti-Russian policy the wives may not even want to come here unless they themselves are anti-Soviet.

Some day intermarriage among peoples will be free; but all sorts of difficulties will arise until the peoples themselves are free—especially from the sort of men who seem to be running our foreign policy today."

That such a letter should be printed in a so-called "socialist" or "communist" paper is a disgrace. To any conscious socialist the letter speaks for itself.

Such an occurrence in Lenin's day would have been impossible. But to the bureaucracy which has sent whole small Republics, men, women and children to Siberia, such a storm as has been provoked by action against fifteen people is surprising and unexpected.

No doubt the Stalinist bureaucracy could not visualise the disgust which such actions would evoke among the British workers. The important thing for them is that even 15 people, not under their direct domination or tied to the bureaucracy through their jobs, would be dangerous. They might talk to their husband's friends and reveal the lack of workers democracy in the Soviet Union.

The episode is symbolic of the real attitude of the bureaucracy which has nothing in common with Lenin's ideas of what a workers' State and workers' democracy should be.

Ministry of Labour on April 10th that "the Minister wishes it to be known that there is no foundation in the further statement that has been made that these discharges in Glasgow are designed as the forerunner of discharges at other ports," the employers have very much different ideas in mind. In the "Journal of Commerce and Shipping Telegraph" (the paper of the Port and Shipping employers) of March 31st, there appears a special article pointing the way to their policy in the coming period.

Referring to the Dock Workers' (Regulation of Employment) Order 1947 and the 40 days grace in which they can lodge their complaints, the article states: "In stating their case for reasonable (!) reductions in man-power in the cargo-handling industry, the employers will cite many instances of what has been termed 'industrial blackmail' (i.e., the dockers' fight against speed-ups and sweated conditions.R.T.) "... The ship-owners maintain that this heavy man-power complement was imposed on them in lean times."

Quoting the present handling costs of cotton bales as 1/5d. each, the article goes on to argue that with mechanisation, etc., "and the removal of all surplus labour in the transfer process, there is no reason why the handling costs should reach higher than 6d."

After giving innumerable examples of how dockers can be dispensed with, the writer bluntly lays bare the reason for this policy of the employers. Referring to the Clyde: "These 460 idle men are costing the ship-owners over £105,000 yearly, discounting the expenses of hundreds of others

ful... permanent register." The article continues, "In Manchester there is an average daily surplus of 457 out of an inflated register of 2,600" (costing the owners another £105,000.R.T.) "... In Liverpool and Birkenhead, out of a total of 15,800, there are some 3,500 surplus to requirements, on the basis that one-fifth of each gang is unnecessary." "... Taken over the whole country and allowing one-fifth of the estimated number of dockers as being surplus to actual needs, but required by trade union procedure, one-fifth of 70,000, or 14,000 men, are drawing nearly £8,000,000 per annum from levies on cargoes."

In view of the foregoing, it is clear that Isaacs' statement is so much eye-wash, and merely an attempt to split the dockers and prevent the carrying out of the threat of a national stoppage.

Attitude Of Labour M.P.s

When the officials of the Union contacted Labour M.P.s in the House of Commons in an attempt to obtain an interview with the Minister of Transport, Barnes, he claimed that he was "too busy" with the Transport Bill to see them!

However, after further efforts, they were able to interview, among others, Mr. Strauss, Under Secretary to the Minister of Transport. No satisfaction was obtained. In answer to the demands of the Dockers' representatives that the Government, if they were going to sack anyone, should sack the employers by nationalising the in-

(Continued on page 4.)

March on May Day Behind R.C.P. Banner

LONDON—

The successful turn-out of the London comrades last May Day in the annual march to Hyde Park has given added confidence in planning our participation this year... The London District Committee has prepared new banners, red flags and a large number of poster slogans.

Our Croydon comrades are well to the forefront in their district where they are taking part in the local Trades Council demonstration under their own banner. This Branch has been represented on the May Day Committee.

Local Branch propaganda organisers had a central meeting to discuss the plans and a bold campaign is to be undertaken by Branches to popularise the programme of our Party.

We expect a good turn out of Party members. Readers of the "Socialist Appeal" are invited to come along and bring their friends and children. It will be a real tonic to many socialists to march in our contingent behind our revolutionary banner and slogans.

The R.C.P. marches with the North West London section of the demonstration to Hyde Park.

Members and sympathisers are asked to meet outside the Party premises, 256, Harrow Road, W.2, not later than 1.30 p.m. on Sunday, May 4th. Comrades who find it impossible to do so can link up with us at the Prince of Wales, Harrow Road, where we meet the main body of the demonstration. The marchers assemble at 2 p.m.

This is an important day and an all-out effort will be made by comrades to sell at least a thousand copies of the "Socialist Appeal."

Like last year, our Party will be the only workers' organisation giving a courageous revolutionary communist lead to the British and International workers. Our participation in the march will demonstrate that there is a real alternative revolutionary party in this country as against the Stalinists and Labour reformists.



WE NEED YOUR HELP

Comrades,

To date we have only £30 in the Fighting Fund for April. Please help to reach our target by sending a donation by return of post.

We rely on the devotion and self-sacrifice of our readers and supporters to keep the paper of revolutionary communism before the British workers.

Do your bit by sending a donation to:

A. Ross,
256, Harrow Road,
London, W.2.

Stop The Vegetable Racket

"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."

—from "The Policy of the R.C.P."

The prices of vegetables are reaching scandalous proportions. Cauliflowers are being sold at 2/- to 2/6d. each; cabbages are unobtainable for less than 1/6d. per pound. Carrots have come down from 10/- a pound to 2/-. The humble turnip tops, once the poor housewife's standby at 2d. per pound, is today retailed at 1/-.

This is the result of the unbridled speculation in the necessities of the people ever since the Ministry of Food released vegetables from price control.

Green and root vegetables are essential elements for a properly balanced diet. The fantastic rise in prices has compelled many working class housewives to do without these vital foodstuffs. In many instances, they buy a bare minimum, just sufficient to ensure that the children will have of



Industrial Notes



Distributive and Clerical Workers' Conferences

CLERICAL WORKERS CONFERENCE . . . from a correspondent Clerical and Administrative Workers Union

Among the many questions before the annual conference of the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union were the difficulties faced by the organisation of clerks on a craft basis, the problem of redundancy in offices, a call for strike action to secure recognition of the union from the National Coal Board, workers' control, and foreign policy.

In his presidential address Scouller criticised the building trades workers and the coal-miners. This was used as a means of demanding more strenuous efforts to "aid production" on the part of the clerks and other office workers. Here was no socialist answer to the crisis of under-production. In typical reformist fashion Scouller attacked the manual workers, exhorting them to work harder. Later, the executive committee asked conference to reject a motion calling for workers' control of industry, which would benefit the workers and at the

same time facilitate enormously the possibility of increased production.

Brother G. Smith, of the S.E. London General Branch who moved a motion for workers' control criticised the presidential address because it wished to separate the industrial from the clerical workers, and explained that in the struggle against the capitalist class the union must send out a call for workers' control of industry. The delegate explained the role which should be played by clerical, professional and administrative workers in the control of industry in co-operation with the manual and other workers on the job. This delegate gave a concrete answer that would unite all sections of the workers in the struggle against the capitalist employers.

The General Secretary, in his report of the position of colliery clerks in relation to the National Union of Mineworkers, accused this union of waving the big stick and of oppression in insisting that all workers should be members of their union. He proposed that in an effort to secure recognition of the C. & A.W.U. by the National Coal Board, a ballot should be taken of the colliery clerks on the question of strike action. In the main, the colliery clerk delegates wholeheartedly supported the proposal for strike action; but other delegates were very apprehensive of the advisability of strike action involving a struggle against another trade union, against another workers' organisation.

The remainder of the delegates, however, with few exceptions, spoke in vague terms of retaining the colliery clerks, deploring strike action, and simply paying lip service to the idea of industrial unionism at some future date. Bro. Smith put the case for industrial unionism, calling upon the Executive Committee to work out a perspective of industrial organisation for colliery clerks and other clerks employed in special industries with the clear perspective of such clerks being organised in the trade union of their industry. He recalled the ineffectiveness of craft organisation in the present epoch of capitalist monopoly organisation on the basis of industry, and urged that all workers can only be effectively organised to struggle against the big employers by the weapon of the industrial union.

A motion calling for a "complete reversal of Labour's foreign policy and the inception of a socialist policy" was, unfortunately, reduced to an amendment to a Stalinist inspired motion on the same subject. An Executive

Council amendment noting "with satisfaction the steady line of socialist policy adopted by the Labour Government" was passed on a card vote by 13,720 votes to 10,700.

The deliberations of the Conference revealed that the main struggle was between an advancing Stalinist faction and the Executive Council, although the position of revolutionary communism on a number of questions was heard and gained some support.

* * *

U.S.D.A.W. CONFERENCE

The first Annual Delegate Conference of the Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers (U.S.D.A.W.) met at Blackpool during Easter. The conference, the first of the newly amalgamated U.S.D.A.W. embracing the former N.U.D.A.W., Shop Assistants' and J.B.E. Unions, was attended by 2,000.

The Agenda contained a large number of resolutions, including such questions as foreign policy, conscription, the armed forces, workers' control, Palestine and Greece. Also on the agenda were many trade resolutions from branches regarding wages, war bonuses, negotiations and national agreements affecting the trades represented. Regarding the trade resolutions, the Executive Committee succeeded, despite the feeling among the delegates of having been side-tracked, in getting the majority referred to Special Trade Conferences.

Due to the crowded nature of the agenda many important subjects were merely formally moved, seconded and without any discussion, were carried. In this way such important resolutions on the Armed Forces, the Closed Shop, Spain, Nationalisation of the Steel Industry, Workers' Control and Conscription were dealt with.

Anti-Conscription Resolution Carried

The worst example of the unfortunate lack of opportunities for the delegates to fully discuss policy was in relation to the Conscription resolution. This resolution was proposed by the Leeds No. 2 Branch and read, "This A.D.M. reiterates its opposition to industrial and military conscription and protests against the proposal of the

Labour Government to embark upon a policy of military conscription in peacetime. It instructs the Executive Council to frame a resolution on such lines for inclusion on the agenda of the Labour Party Annual Conference."

This resolution was supported by the E.C. Only half-a-dozen speakers were able to speak from the platform, among these B. Tribe, an E.C. member, who spoke against the Government's use of troops as strikebreakers, and whom, he stated were being maintained to carry out an imperialist policy overseas. Many delegates wished to speak, but their agenda papers were waved in vain, and cries of "vote" curtailed what undoubtedly would have been a militant and lively discussion.

Foreign Policy

The most discussed item on the agenda was a Stalinist-inspired motion on Foreign Policy. The amendment moved by a Norwich delegate, made no concrete contribution, but spoke glibly of "free democratic countries" and hinted of the menace to "socialist Russia". In opposition to the resolution, W. Padley, erstwhile I.L.P.er, made a violent attack on the Stalinist spokesman, but intimated that there was much he could accept in the resolution. Not once did he make any criticism of Bevin's policy but tied himself up with the right-wing leader Hogan, who called for support of Bevin's foreign policy. Between Padley's "democratic socialism" and the Stalinist line there was a united front insofar as the discussion was, (in the words of a delegate) a "carve-up". Few rank-and-filers were able to contribute and the resolution was defeated.

The very general amendment urging the Government to "increasingly strive for a democratic Socialist alternative to an otherwise inevitable conflict between Soviet communism and American capitalism," and outlining general steps to this end was carried by 118,521 to 91,805.

Of the future for the workers in the distributive industry every one felt that a big task lay ahead. The organisation of the unorganised workers in shops, factories and warehouses is of primary importance. Many new workers in these trades will be organised into the trade unions and it is up to the militants to see that they are encouraged to take their stand in the fight that is coming against the big combines who now sweat those "flat-footed" shop-workers. Perhaps once they had fallen arches, but now they are on their toes! A DELEGATE



From the Camberwell Trades Council

The two following resolutions were adopted by the Camberwell Trades Council and after being forwarded to the respective Ministers, copies were sent to the "Socialist Appeal" and other Labour publications by the Secretary of the Trades Council, C. W. Laws.

Price Control Of Vegetables

"We urge that the Minister of Food takes immediate steps to control the prices of all vegetables, and to strictly control the distribution and sales of same, by forms of control which will ensure supplies freely reaching the intending consumer, and the elimination of the practice, or possibility of, supplies disappearing under the counter—vide Mr. Strachey."

Unemployed Fund

"With the huge sum of £158,000,000 in the Unemployment Insurance Fund, we the delegates of this Trades Council, ask that the 3 waiting days' period be abolished, and the present unemployment benefits be raised to meet the present cost of living, and that payment be paid for every day unemployed."

The Camberwell Trades Council is one of the most militant and

progressive in London, and we are pleased to give publicity to the resolutions. Regarding the request to the Minister of Food, to introduce "forms of control", which are not specified, however, we have the following comment to make:

Control of vegetable prices and the prices of other consumers' goods is essential and should be laid down in law. But the form of control should not be left to the Minister; it has to be enforced by the working class. The most democratic form of control is consumers' committees. These should be elected from representatives of the Co-ops., the distributive trades, small shopkeepers, from the factories and from housewives. Such committees would draw all sections of the working class who are concerned with the buying and selling of food—and especially the housewives—into real forms of socialist activity in daily life.

A representative body such as the Camberwell Trades Council, having realised the necessity for price control, is in a magnificent position to ensure the setting up of consumers' committees.

(Editor)

Paddington Rent Racket

Sent to "Socialist Appeal"

The following letter illustrates the tragic plight of thousands of working class families forced to pay rents out of all proportion to their means. The acute housing shortage and the advantage taken of the helpless tenants is a condemnation of the Labour Government's inaction on this matter. Even where the Rent Tribunals have made some reductions in the rents, their powers are limited and no lasting protection is given to the tenants. The Labour movement must expose such rackets and demand action against the profiteering property-owners immediately. — Editor.

W. J. Cowan,
13, Statham Street,
Paddington, W.2.

paying something around 16/- to 19/-.

I am the only tenant who has been given notice although my rent has been paid up to date.

Dear Sir,

vegetables from price control. Green and root vegetables are essential elements for a properly balanced diet. The fantastic rise in prices has compelled many working class housewives to do without these vital foodstuffs. In many instances, they buy a bare minimum, just sufficient to ensure that the children will have one or two green leaves on their dinner plates. The health of the workers is being seriously undermined by the lack of fresh vegetables in their diet.

Conditional Sales

Who is responsible for this state of affairs? The chief racketeers are the big wholesalers in Covent Garden, Spitalfields and other central markets up and down the country. Vegetables are being supplied "on conditions". To get a bag of spring greens, or a sack of potatoes, retailers have to buy so many pineapples (selling, until recently, at 20/- to 30/- a piece), or South African plums (4/- per pound), or grapes or other luxury fruit.

Small greengrocers from working class areas, knowing that their customers cannot afford to indulge in these exotic luxuries, simply go without the greens as well. Scores of small men have been compelled to shut up shop—beaten to the wall by the vicissitudes of "private enterprise."

The big wholesalers don't worry much about this—the luxury hotels and West End restaurants are prepared to pay anything for vegetables. There is little danger that they will be left with piles of rotting greens on their hands.

What's on

Advertisements for this column will be accepted from Party branches for the nominal sum of 1/- per issue. Copy to be received no later than one week before date of issue.

ILFORD — Discussion Group, Wednesday, April 30th at 263, Wanstead Park Road, Ilford at 7.30 p.m. "Russia and the International Situation". Speaker: Ted Grant.

the organised worker and housewives themselves. Appeals to Food Minister, Strachey, have proved fruitless. The Ministry has openly declared that it is not capable of imposing efficient controls. It is for the working class housewives and the organised Labour movement to take control into their own hands and make sure that these foods, at present in short supply, go to the people who need them and not to the idle rich who patronise the big hotels and restaurants.

Committees must be formed from the elected representatives of the Co-ops, distributive trade employees, factory workers, housewives and small greengrocers, which will have full control over the distribution of all vegetables.

Special efforts must be made to draw the market workers from Spitalfields, Covent Garden and other central distributing centres into the committees. They must have full authority to act in the name of the Committees, in the event of the wholesalers attempting to sabotage the distribution plans. The market workers have given many instances in the past of their splendid solidarity with their class brothers. They would eagerly respond to such an appeal and give it their full support.

Committees

Will End Racket

This is an issue which affects the entire working class and the whole Labour movement must be mobilized to give effect to the demand for Committees of Control. The Labour Government must be compelled to assist in the setting up of such Committees and give them every facility to ensure that the distribution plans work smoothly. Representatives of the Committees should have the right of access to the premises of the wholesalers, to examine their books and to ensure that no under-cover black market deals are going on. From the market gardeners to the consumers, the whole process of distribution must be under the firm control of the Committees.

The democratically elected committees of workers, housewives and small greengrocers would speedily put an end to the vegetable racket and divert available supplies from the luxury tables of the rich to the humble homes of the workers.

C. VAN GELDEREN

A motion calling for a "complete reversal of Labour's foreign policy and the inception of a socialist policy" was, unfortunately, reduced to an amendment to a Stalinist inspired motion on the same subject. An Executive

the delegates to fully discuss policy was in relation to the Conscription resolution. This resolution was proposed by the Leeds No. 2 Branch and read, "This A.D.M. reiterates its opposition to industrial and military conscription and protests against the proposal of the

it is up to the militants to take their stand in the fight that is coming against the big combines who now sweat those "flat-footed" shop-workers. Perhaps once they had fallen arches, but now they are on their toes! A DELEGATE



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From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

HALDANE, HOLMES AND MARX

QUOTING Haldane's recent broadcast on materialism, Walter Holmes wrote, on April 8, in the "Daily Worker":

"Materialists think that the gap between non-living matter and human beings is not absolute, and has in fact been bridged by evolution. So perhaps they can love their country more fully than those who think otherwise." And his comment was:

"If all Socialists had seen as clearly into this matter as Haldane, we should not so often have heard such passionate but un-Marxist and unmaterialistic declarations as, 'Socialists have no country,' or, 'The accident that I was born in England means nothing to me.'"

One such "passionate but un-Marxist and unmaterialistic declaration" of ancient vintage comes to mind: "The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got." Holmes might have quoted those

words, but he chose not to. Why? They are taken from the famous "Communist Manifesto" of 1848, one of the most important works of . . . Marx and Engels!

MORE NEWS OF THEIR MAJESTIES

DETAILS of the Royal tour of South Africa are not getting the same prominence these days. Perhaps there has been a dearth of news lately. Looking through the South African press we have found a few interesting items about the tour that well deserve publicity here.

There were a good many pictures in the press of this country showing the Africans doing "tribal" dances when the royal circus visited Johannesburg. These so-called tribal dances are an artificial fake organised by the mine managers for precisely such occasions as this in order to fool people into believing that their slaves are "savages". What was not explained, though, was the fact that all non-Europeans, other than

these performers, were excluded from the celebrations! Whites only were allowed to mix with the democratic King of Mr. Bevin's "Socialist Britain."

It is gratifying to learn, in face of this, that not everywhere were there to be found Africans ready to perform before the Royal set-up whilst all others of the same colour were barred from the Royal presence. In Bloemfontein the Africans of Batho Location decided not to participate in welcoming the Royal family, and rejected a request for a choir to sing when the King and Queen arrived in the centre city.

NOT only did the South African authorities build "Potempkin Villages" in the countryside to fool the Royal visitors, they built oases in the cities, when necessary. In Port Elizabeth they built a green oasis in the park in which the Royal family were entertained, but the other one—and the workers' gardens, due to water restrictions—remained as dry as deserts.

demand action against the profiteering property-owners immediately. — Editor.

W. J. Cowan,
13, Statham Street,
Paddington, W.2.

Dear Sir,

As an ex-service man, I was faced with the problem of finding a home for myself and my wife. After tramping the streets of London, I had no other option than to accept a furnished room from a landlord, Mr. Kamerman. He demanded 12 weeks money in advance, a sum of £30 before giving me the key. We had either to give him this money, or lie in the streets. There is no bathroom in the house, and only one lavatory for the 11 residents. The room is furnished with utility furniture. We supply our own crockery, pots and pans, and lino, etc., and pay for our own gas and electricity. The landlord keeps the rebate from the meters. There are no carpets on the floor, which is only half covered with linoleum. The rent was £2 10s. per week.

Tribunal Dismisses Case

We went to the Tribunal for Marylebone and Paddington. The case was heard on November 17th, 1946, and the rent was reduced 5/-. The case was arranged by the previous tenant. We were not satisfied with this, so we applied again. The case was then heard on March 12th, 1947. The whole house was up before the Tribunal on this occasion. Every case was dismissed, except one, who lives on the ground floor whose rent was reduced from £3 to £2 2s., and she has two rooms and the lavatory on her floor, while I have only one, and pay 3/- more. We therefore applied again for a re-hearing of the case. Apart from the aforementioned considerations, it was pointed out that the services of the house were not carried out, the house not being cleaned since last December although the Tribunal allowed £5 per week for services. The case was re-heard on the 22nd March. All cases were dismissed again.

My wife is seven months pregnant and unable to work. My wages are £4 10s. per week.

I went to Paddington Town Hall, as I had notice to quit from the landlord. I told them that my wife and I were faced with the pavement for a bed. The lady in the Housing Department asked me "Why did you get married when you had no house?" I asked "Is that the answer I get?" She replied that "Some people here did more than soldiers abroad." Is this British justice?

Landlord Lives In Council House

The landlord is living in a house requisitioned by the Council for bombed out people, while he owns this house, letting rooms. His address is 34, Sussex Gardens,

paying something around 16/- to 19/-.

I am the only tenant who has been given notice although my rent has been paid up to date. The reason is that the landlord knows that I am determined to expose the intolerable conditions under which the tenants are living at exorbitant rents.

I am writing to you and my M.P. I am faced with the pavement as a bed and I will resist every effort to see my wife on the streets in her condition.

Hoping you publish this letter.

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EDITOR: E. GRANT.
BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

Editorial

"Super Planners" Captains of Industry

The one great lesson which emerged from the fuel crisis, was the need for a planned economy. A genuine Socialist government would have tackled the problem by immediately calling a series of regional and national conferences of workers' representatives in order to draw up a plan based on the interests of the working class. They would have set up committees of workers and technicians to put this plan into operation. And, as the necessary basis for efficient socialist planning they would have rushed through emergency measures to take over all the major industries and to place them under workers' control.

These are the measures which a SOCIALIST government would have taken. But, since coming to power the Labour Government has given ample evidence that Socialism is the last thought in their "plans".

In foreign policy, Bevin simply carried on where Eden left off, basking in the plaudits of the Tories. So also in home politics Attlee and Company are determined to show that they can run capitalism as well as, if not better than, the old ruling class.

Churchill, seeking controllers for the various branches of industry during the war, turned to the captains of industry. His successor at No. 10 Downing Street, seeking a "Super-Planner" turns to the same source. The choice has fallen on Sir Edwin Plowden. And who is this Sir Edwin Plowden? A convinced Socialist? A loyal member of the Labour Party? No such thing! These are not the requirements which Attlee and his colleagues seek in one who is to direct Labour's planning effort. Sir Edwin Plowden represents the biggest of big business. He is a director of one of the greatest monopolies in the country, British Aluminium, a company with a capital of £4,500,000, controlling with its subsidiaries, 93 per cent. of Britain's Aluminium output during the war.

Perhaps Sir Edwin will have the assistance of a committee of workers or accredited Trade Union representatives? Nothing of the kind! For an Industrial Consultant to the "Super-Planner" the Labour Govern-

THE MYTH OF FULL EMPLOYMENT UNDER CAPITALISM

BY BILL HUNTER

THERE HAS BEEN NO MORE ASSIDUOUSLY CULTIVATED MYTH THAN THAT OF FULL EMPLOYMENT UNDER CAPITALISM. DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS A THOUSAND AND ONE ECONOMISTS, JOURNALISTS, SPOKESMEN FOR THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT AND THE COALITION GOVERNMENT WHICH PRECEDED IT, NOT FORGETTING THE COMMUNIST PARTY — HAVE EXPENDED MUCH TIME AND ENERGY ATTEMPTING TO PERSUADE US OF THE POSSIBILITY OF REMOVING THE SCOURGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT WITHOUT A COMPLETE OVERTURN OF CAPITALIST RELATIONSHIPS.

Between the two World Wars, the mass unemployment and the misery it entailed seared into the consciousness of the British working class. "Ernie, when we have done this job for you, are we coming back to the dole?", one of the workers leaving for the Second Front called out to Bevin. That cry summed up the state of mind which compelled the Coalition Government to produce its full employment proposals in an attempt to persuade the workers that the bad old days were past for all time.

To-day, the Labour Government informs us that full employment is here and here to stay. The workers can participate wholeheartedly in the production drive; without qualms they can give up the Trade Union practices which were their protection in the past; that "over production" and mass unemployment is gone forever!

Marx On The Industrial Reserve Army

Many years ago, Marx pointed out that unemployment, or what he called an industrial reserve army, was a necessary product of capitalist production. He pointed out that "the increased pressure which, through competition, the members of the reserve (the unemployed—B.H.) exert upon those that are in work, spurs these latter on to overwork, and subjects them more completely to the dictatorship of Capital." Despite the fact that Marx wrote over ten thousand words in "Capital" on the part which unemployment plays as an aid to capitalist exploitation, one so-called Marxist was telling us not many months ago that:

"A full employment policy will increase profits (by increasing sales) and give them (the capitalists—B.H.) some measure of certainty in planning their production programmes, at the same time it creates more employment and earnings for the workers."

("Answers to Questions," by Harry Pollitt, p. 44.)

All those who held before the workers the prospect of a post-war

Germany. Even then, with the best will in the world on the part of the capitalists such periods of "full employment" can only be temporary because of the economic laws of capitalism itself.

During the last few years, it has been necessary for the capitalists to pay lip service to the idea of full employment. Even so, their cynicism has not remained hidden. The "Times", unlike Harry Pollitt, told the truth about full employment when it declared:

"Unemployment is not a mere accidental blemish in a private enterprise economy. On the contrary, it is part of the essential mechanism of the system, and has a definite function to fulfil.

"The first function of unemployment (which has always existed in open or disguised form) is that it maintains the authority of master over man . . . the absence of fear of unemployment might go further and have a destructive effect upon factory discipline. . . . In peace time with full employment, the worker would have no counterweight against feeling that he is employed merely to make profits for the firm, and that he is under no moral obligation to refrain from using his new-found freedom from fear, to snatch every advantage he can."

(23rd Jan. 1943.)

Why The Present Labour Shortage

In the post-war period the illusions of the workers that a Labour Government could introduce full employment have been strengthened. The fact that there have been less than 400,000 unemployed, has led Government spokesmen to declare to the Labour movement that the prospect of a shortage of labour exists for some years to come. However, the post-war situation of labour shortage in Britain in no way shakes the Marxist contention that full and continuous employment under Capitalism is a myth and a delusion. We can state, knowing full well that the future will prove its correctness, that the present period of labour shortage in Britain is purely temporary, and not due to the reforms of the Labour Government. Immediately after the last war there were also less than 400,000 unemployed.

The reason for low unemployment lies in the exceptional demand for the products of British Capitalism both at home and abroad caused by war conditions. It is the post-war market and the growth of military commitments over pre-war, which has resulted in this demand for man-power.

The effects of this situation on their relationship with the workers

are viewed with no great rapture by the capitalists. Reformists and Stalinists have, of course, argued that the more workers employed, the more wages paid, and therefore the more purchasing power to buy the goods produced and prevent over-production. However, the capitalist is not concerned with wages as purchasing power but rather as costs of production. According to the laws of capitalist economy worked out by Marx, the more wages received by the workers the less profits for the bosses. The profits which the capitalists make are obtained from the "unpaid labour" of the working class. Any increase in the share of the working class can only be at the expense of the share of the capitalists, and vice versa.

Bargaining Power Of Workers

For the capitalists the disadvantage of a period of "full employment" is the increase in the bargaining power of the workers.

Marx declared that, taking them as a whole, the general movements of wages were regulated by the expansion and contraction of the industrial reserve army and the development of the class struggle. With the lessening of unemployment, the lessening of competition between workers for jobs, the bargaining power of the workers is



enormously strengthened. Given the free working of the law of supply and demand, with full employment, with no industrial reserve army, wages must rise steadily. Without the state imposing a compulsory wage stop, the capitalists can only rely on the trade union leadership to prevent this. Beveridge states in his "Full Employment in a Free Society," (p. 202):

"The successful working of a full employment policy, if free collective bargaining for wages continues, will depend ultimately on the degree of responsibility with which bargaining is conducted."

In this post-war period, the trade union leadership have certainly attempted to show due "responsibility in their bargaining." They have been ready listeners to the employers' doctrine that an inflationary spiral must of necessity follow any "irresponsible" drive for wage increases. However, despite their readiness to accept the "implications of a full employment policy," with the diminished strength of the industrial reserve army of unemployed, the pressure of the workers has broken through and has either forced the trade union leadership forward with wage claims, or resulted in unofficial strikes.

This explains the terrific propaganda of the capitalist press at the present time for increased production, increased wages only if production is increased. An industrial upswing is the most advantageous time for the workers to improve their conditions. Hence the barrage of propaganda heaped by the Trade Union and Labour leaders in order to hold back the workers. When the inevitable economic "recession" takes place, the employers, from an economic point of view, will be in a favourable position to launch a brutal onslaught on the standards of the workers.

Talk Of Full Employment Will Be Dropped

Yet all is not dark! There is a gleam of light on the horizon! The "Times" financial editor has discovered that the evils of a high level of employment are not likely



monopolies in the country, British Aluminium, with a capital of £4,500,000, controlling with its subsidiaries, 93 per cent. of Britain's Aluminium output during the war.

Perhaps Sir Edwin will have the assistance of a committee of workers or accredited Trade Union representatives? Nothing of the kind! For an Industrial Consultant to the "Super-Planner" the Labour Government once again turns to Big Business. This important post is to be occupied by Sir Robert Sinclair, Chairman of the giant monopoly, the Imperial Tobacco Trust. In this way, the Labour Government guarantees, in advance, that any planning which will take place will be in the interests of the capitalists and not in the interests of the workers who placed them in power.

By these appointments, the Labour Government has shown that they share the views of Sir Stafford Cripps—that the workers are not fit to control. These gentlemen forget that it is the workers, by their labour and sacrifices who built up the great Labour, Trade Union and Co-operative movements and that it is entirely due to the efforts of the workers that Attlee is today in 10 Downing Street, instead of Churchill. But he wasn't placed there in order that the old capitalist game should carry on. Labour was put into power to put an end to capitalism and to bring the socialist society into being. This cannot be done by placing the economic life of the country into the hands of "super-planners" drawn from the ranks of the monopoly-capitalists. Not only will these people block the road to socialism, they will sabotage every progressive step taken by the Labour Government and, try and bring about its downfall.

Out with the representatives of capitalism in high places! Replace them with elected Committees of Workers' representatives with full control over the national economy. That is the way to end capitalism; that is the road forward to socialism!

U.S. LYNCH MOB Cut Off Negroes' Hands Jury Acquits Identified Killers

U.S.A.—March, 1947.

An all-white jury in Shreveport, La., last week acquitted five members of a Louisiana lynch mob after they had been identified by one of their youthful victims as the murderers of Negro war veteran John C. Jones last August. Two of the lynchers acquitted were Webster Parish deputy sheriffs.

The young Negro who took the stand as a witness in the trial was Albert Harris, Jr., 17-year old school boy who had been jailed together with Jones on a trumped-up rape charge. They were released, only to be seized immediately outside the jail by the lynch mob, which took them into the

swamps near Minden and tortured them with whip, blow-torch and meat cleaver until both were left for dead.

Jones' face was charred with a blow-torch and his hands were chopped off. But Harris recovered and escaped to the North where he got into touch with the NAACP and provided the evidence to bring members of the mob to trial.

But even direct identification of the lynchers—which is something rare in the South—was not enough. A carefully selected Jim Crow jury let them go scot-free. It is still as easy to get away with murder of Negroes in the South as it was to get away with murder of Jews under Hitler.

of certainty in planning their production programmes, at the same time it creates more employment and earnings for the workers."

("Answers to Questions," by Harry Pollitt, p. 44.)

All those who held before the workers the prospect of a post-war world of perpetual full employment, built their case in one way or another on this argument that full employment can be instituted with the co-operation of the capitalist class. To any Marxist or real Communist, however, it is evident that full employment is viewed by the capitalists as a danger to their system, and anything approaching it will be accepted by them without qualms, only if it is accompanied by an iron repression as in Nazi-



HOUSING CONDITIONS OF CONSTRUCTION WORKERS WHO BUILT DNEIPROSTROI DAM.

Housing in Russia

Some Facts and Figures

BY T. CLIFF

The concentration of the means of production in the hands of the state, and their planned use, caused a tremendous rise in Russian production, notwithstanding the mismanagement, embezzlement, etc., which inevitably result from the lack of democracy and any control by the workers over the officials and managers, but because of the rule of the officials, the masses drew no material benefits from the big successes of the plan. Let us exemplify this by giving some facts about the housing activity of Stalin's Government in the same years that the annual production of cement, the most important building material, about quadrupled itself.

In this article we propose to show only the housing conditions of the Russian masses under Stalin's regime. In the next article we shall show the food and clothing situation, and in the one following the conditions in schools, health and social services.

While the urban population increased very rapidly during the Five Year Plans, the bureaucracy was not at all zealous in its allocation of workers, machines, and materials to build houses for the increased number of workers. While the Russian press was proclaiming Russia's supremacy over all other countries in the sphere of house building, the actual housing situation was far from inspiring, as the following table shows:

4.2 metres, or 44 sq. feet, is the average floor space per person! And this includes not only the bedroom, but the passage, kitchen, bathroom, lavatory, etc. Besides, we must not forget that the bureaucrats have much more living space than the average, so that the masses have even less than this amount.

Comparison With England

In order to understand how little this is, we must remember that in England "The Ministry of Health normally allows a maximum of two people to a house containing only one room of 110 sq. ft., or over. The number allowed increases with the number of such rooms, being 2, 3, 5, 7½ and 10 for houses up to five rooms in size. This standard is now considered by many to be too low."

("Facts for Socialists," 15th edition, Fabian publication, March, 1944.)

Years.	Urban population (in millions)	Total Floor Space (million sq. metres.)	Floor Space per capita (sq. metres.)
1927/8	26.3	160.0	6.1
1932	35.6	185.1	5.2
1937	50.2	211.9	4.2

Thus, English law, that of a capitalist country, does not permit less floor space per person than 55 sq. ft. (and this not including kitchen, bathroom, lavatory, etc.) if the house has one room, 77 sq. ft., for a house of two rooms, 66 sq. ft., for a house of three rooms, 57 sq. ft., for a house of four rooms, and 55 sq. ft. for a house of five rooms.

Effects Of The War

The war caused the housing situation in Russia to deteriorate considerably. The German imperialist army left 25 million people homeless (according to the Russian papers)—. Faced with this acute situation, the Government promised the construction of housing space of 84 million sq. metres in the Fourth Five Year Plan (1946-50). This will give a little less than 3.5 metres per capita to the homeless population. But let us not too readily assume that even this meagre plan will be realised. We must remember that the house-building quota of the First Five Year Plan was 53 million sq. metres; actually only 25.1 million sq. metres were built. The Second Five Year Plan promised 64 million sq. metres; only 26.8 were built. At the same time

the urban population increased much more than the plan laid down.

The Russian papers, which do not give any figures summing up housing activity on a national scale, nevertheless do publish letters, and many small news items and articles showing the terrible neglect prevailing. A few examples will show this.

The paper "Trud," of 2nd April, 1946, tells us that in the province of Krivoi Rog the following is the picture of housing: 43 iron mines are already in operation, and another 15 will be put into operation during the year; the number of workers in the mines is bigger than it was before the war, and in addition there are thousands of temporary workers busy rebuilding the destroyed plants; furthermore, two-thirds of the dwelling houses of the district were destroyed or very heavily damaged.

Despite all this, building activity is almost non-existent. Even where houses are begun, their completion is always long over due, because of the lack of windows and doors, the impossibility of finding hinges and other essential parts. The local brick factory, whose output,

(Continued on Page 4.)

thought on the standards of the workers.

Talk Of Full Employment Will Be Dropped

Yet all is not dark! There is a gleam of light on the horizon! The "Times" financial editor has discovered that the evils of a high level of employment are not likely to be so long with us after all! On Monday, March 24th, he opined:—

"... the relentless pressure for higher and higher wages and, general increase in labour cost, which was threatening to undermine Britain's competitive power in many industries, seems certain to be halted by the very under-employment which the fuel crisis has created. It is true that most businesses still cling on to surplus labour in the continuing belief that others will snap up anybody disengaged for a moment, but the genuine sellers market for labour is precarious to say the least of it, except in the few proportionately under-manned basic industries."

To the capitalist, unemployment is the necessary disciplinarian of the workers, and necessary to keep wages and the cost of production down. For them, "full employment" is, at best, a phrase with which to fool the workers. As increased competition creates a decreasing demand for their commodities, as the labour shortage becomes a surplus, so "full employment" will be dropped from their vocabulary, and also, we may remark, from that of the Labour leaders. However, because of the full employment promises of today, the disillusion of the workers will be all the more severe as the labour surplus develops in the future. It will be possible then, for them to see practically and sharply, that, except for brief periods in war and its aftermath—and in preparation for war—capitalism can never give "full employment" and that a real, full and constructive employment is impossible without the overthrow of the capitalist system.

EVERY WORKERS' LIBRARY SHOULD CONTAIN:

The First Five Years

of the Comintern

By LEON TROTSKY
(Recently Published)

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I.L.P. CONFERENCE

Last of the M.P.'s Offer Resignation

The I.L.P. Conference, which met on April 6th, 7th and 8th, constituted the most critical in the whole history of the party. The proceedings had the character of the last twitchings of a dying body. At the end of the Conference an air of depression hung over all the delegates.

The circulated agenda contained a varied collection of resolutions, most of which were pervaded by pacifist or reformist sentiments, and patently reflected an absence of revolutionary thought within the party. Even the few amendments put forward by the "lefts" which attempted to raise class issues were invariably defeated. The general demoralisation of these "lefts" in face of the hopelessness of the position, was demonstrated by the Battersea delegate, **Hugo Dewar**, when he only formally moved their most important amendment to a pacifist resolution on Foreign Policy and disarmament and did not even attempt to argue the case. On his own statement it was pointless to do so.

Apart from the public session on the afternoon of the 6th, and a short public session on the 7th, when a nebulous resolution on workers' control was discussed, the remainder of the Conference was held in private session.

In the first of these private sessions a resolution supporting the proposal that I.L.P. members be permitted to join the Labour Party was defeated by the pacifist and sectarian wing. The proportion of voting was much the same as in 1946, and on much the same basis.

A resolution presented by the N.A.C. that a "Socialist" Federation be established with Commonwealth, and that a permanent joint committee of the two parties be set up to carry out joint activities, was carried. This was after the proposal to fuse with Commonwealth had been defeated, although the door was left open for further negotiations.

But it was after this session that the sparks began to fly, with the suspension of practically all the remainder of the agenda and the continuation of the private session right up to the end of the Conference.

On the morning of the 8th, Carmichael (whose Parliamentary

Report, signed with Campbell Stephen, had not contained a particle of Socialist criticism of the Labour Government) handed in a letter to McNair stating that in view of the decision not to go into the Labour Party, he could not remain in the I.L.P. and would go into the Labour Party himself.

This desertion of Carmichael was taken up in full cry by the rest of the right-wing affiliationists. Campbell Stephen, the other M.P., followed suit and announced his intention of leaving.

It was reported that Branch after Branch would fold up and go into the Labour Party.

The general attitude of the pacifist-sectarian wing was "let them go". But all the delegates recognised that the party was rapidly moving to complete collapse and that, whatever happened, there was not much hope left.

The Conference was rent from top to bottom during the discussion. And, in declaring that an emergency existed, the Chairman, **Bob Edwards**, accepted an emergency resolution calling for a special conference to be held in the near future to re-discuss the whole question of the Labour Party. This was carried. It only means that if the Special Conference decides to go into the Labour Party, the I.L.P.'s existence is finished; if it does not decide to go into the Labour Party, it will be torn in two, half going into the Labour Party, the other half not, with its continued existence as a political force limited to a very short period of time.

During the past twelve months, leading elements such as Brockway, McGovern, Padley and others have deserted the sinking ship and joined the Labour Party. The leading figures that remain are itching to join them. After the Special Conference the Parliamentary representation will be gone, and with it the only string that holds the I.L.P. together.

R.T.

GLASGOW DOCKS STRIKE SOLIDARITY with the German Workers

(Continued from Page 1.)

dustry, and give it to the Dockers to operate, this "representative of Labour" stated that he was "not prepared to go into that question." Despite all the arguments of the Dockers, he refused to budge, his only "positive" statement being that strike action by the men would be taken as a "challenge to the Government." In this, Strauss clearly admitted on which side he stood—with the employers against the men.

Telegrams from the Dockers to the Prime Minister, Barnes, and Isaacs, have been conveniently ignored. And a deputation of the Dockers to the Glasgow Labour-dominated Council was similarly ineffective. True to form, Labour Lord Provost **Hector McNeill**, flatly refused to even meet a deputation from a body of 2,000 Dockers who had marched to the City Chambers.

Glasgow Workers Support Dockers

The general sympathy of the Clydeside workers for the struggle of the Dockers is demonstrated in the fact that on Tuesday, March 25th, the Executive of the Glasgow Trades Council publicly expressed its support and contacted the Minister of Transport by telegram, demanding the re-instatement of the 500 Dockers. On Wednesday, this attitude was endorsed by a full Delegate meeting of the Trades Council. The Quarterly Meeting of the Glasgow District A.E.U. Shop Stewards, on March 30th, passed a resolution declaring its unqualified support of the Dockers and demanding that the Government intervene by effecting the re-instatement of the 500 dismissed Dockers.

A splendid demonstration of international class solidarity was shown when two American Seamen, from a ship tied up in the Port, approached the Dockers with £26, collected among their mates, for the Strike Fund.

On Thursday, the Regional Port Director, demonstrating his worry, despite the veneer of a "hard front", pleaded with the Dockers to return, on the basis of a promise that after June 30th there may be some jobs vacant, and if so he would give the sacked men priority. The Dockers rightly refused such an overture, which would have been tantamount to unconditional capitulation.

Cautiously, the local capitalist press is introducing the hoary old story of food being held up by the action of the Dockers. The responsibility for the holding up of any food lies with those who have forced the Dockers to take this action in defence of their elementary rights.

But even the meagre "feelers" of such propaganda have not met with success. The general attitude

they don't need you they put you in the queue for the Dole."

Troops Again Used As Blacklegs

The first attempt to break the strike was by the diversion of Glasgow-bound ships to other ports. The Liverpool dockers took the lead in answering such methods. On March 29th, the Glasgow "Daily Record" reported: "The **ARNOLD MAERSK**, which was diverted from the Clyde two days ago to Liverpool because of the Glasgow dockers' strike, is on her way back to the Clyde with her cargo undischarged" . . . "Dockers refused to handle her cargo" . . . one docker stated "we will not handle cargo from Glasgow."

Since then, dockers at Leith, Greenock and other ports have declared their intention of refusing to unload cargoes which would normally be handled by the Glasgow men.

On April 3rd, 300 soldiers were brought in to unload the **Arnold Maersk**, whose cargo of oranges they claimed, was threatened with going rotten. Public statements were made that they only intended to use troops on this one ship; it was apparent they were feeling their way towards a bolder use of troops. On April 10th, after a few days respite, they used troops on the **S.S. Gracia**. On this occasion they could not use the excuse of endangered cargo, as this ship is fitted with refrigerating gear.

The Labour Government, elected by the dockers and other workers, is showing more and more its complete alignment with the bosses. Under the guise of "No Intervention" it intervenes in the most vicious form, by compelling worker-soldiers to blackleg on others of their class.

Share Out The Work — No Reduction In Pay

The spirit of the Glasgow dockers today is born out of their fierce determination not to return to the conditions of casual labour which pertained between the two wars. Their fight is that of dockers as a whole. Raise the demand in the Trade Unions and Labour organisations that the Government: **Withdraw the troops immediately; that it sacks the bosses, not the workers, by nationalising the industry without compensation, with its operation under workers' control. Demand an end to all casual labour, whether it comes under the category of part-time work or outright sackings. In the event of a disparity between the ports at any given moment, demand a sharing out of the work by a reduction of hours, WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY, on the basis of the full operation of the guaranteed weekly wage demanded by the**

every possible way, is the key question of the moment. Valuable time was lost in this respect, insofar as moves to establish effective contact had not been made until almost a fortnight of strike activity. But the action of the Glasgow dockers, in sending delegates to all the ports, particularly London and Liverpool, to enlist immediate active support, marked a real step in breaking down the barriers of isolation from which they have suffered.

It is very few dockers who have much feeling—other than disgust—for the bureaucrats of the T. & G.W.U., who have not spared any efforts to split the dockers from port to port and prevent a solid national front. One cynical comment is to be heard around the Liverpool docks. For 20 years union members have urged the officials to get a loud-speaker van to assist the Union work along the docks. At long last the van is hired—to tell the men not to strike.

But of particular importance in appraising the lessons of this strike was the manner in which the leaderships of the Liverpool Dockers' Welfare Committee and the London Port Workers' Defence Committee reacted to the tasks that confronted them.

In Liverpool, **Bro. Campbell** has made most dockers uneasy at unexplained overnight switches of policy. Campbell's vacillations have led to confusion.

All dockers will remember the three weeks campaign some months back when Campbell was speaking of a break-away Union (which the Trotskyists strongly opposed). Then overnight, the idea was dropped and has never been explained to this day.

When the Glasgow delegates were in Liverpool, Campbell delivered a rousing speech, advocating a sympathy strike with Glasgow. Two days later, Campbell was saying that there must be no strike in Liverpool. What can serious workers make of this? A fortnight passed without moves to support the Glasgow men. During this strike, the local leaders should have undertaken the task of holding an open rank-and-file conference from all ports to discuss the strike nationally.

Considerable confusion was also caused by the lack of a clear lead from the London Port Workers' Defence Committee. The mood of the men was one of sympathy and solidarity with their Glasgow brothers. On Friday, April 11th, this solidarity was raised to a decision for strike action, when **Bro. Constable** and others, upon the visit of the Glasgow delegates, called for action.

On April 13th, a meeting was called by **Donovan** in an effort to break the solidarity of the men and prevent a strike. Faced with a threat of strike action, the Union bureaucrats went on the offensive

The desperate conditions imposed upon the German working class by British imperialism led to mass demonstrations in the Ruhr. In this key working class area 350,000 miners joined with thousands of other manual workers and German housewives in mass token strikes and protests against the recurring failure to obtain even their meagre rations.

Under the slogans "**FOOD FOR ALL**" and "**WORK YES, STARVE NO!**" almost the whole of the working class of the Ruhr belt voiced their demand for a food ration that would at least keep them and their families alive.

While hundreds of miners' wives picketed the mines, their men folk took part in the demonstrations. The miners marched despite the vicious threats of the British occupation authorities that the extra rations and "privileges" granted to the miners would be withdrawn if they participated in the protests. This was a magnificent gesture of solidarity with their fellow workers, traditional to the Ruhr miners.

The miners demanded that the small "privileges" which they receive must not be made at the expense of the rations of other sections of the workers, as at present, but that all should receive the same basic rations and extra rations should be imported.

Workers Starved — Racehorses Fed!

In Wuppertal, 40% of the population received only 3½ lbs. of bread per week instead of the official minimum ration of 5 lbs. per week. The remaining 60% of the population received none at all! Added to this, it was announced that there would be a cut in the fat ration from ½ lb. per month to 2 ozs. for the next rationing period.

In striking contrast, is the great care and consideration given to racehorses in the British zone. Valuable fodder that could be fed to dairy cattle is being given instead to racehorses.

In reply to a question on this in Parliament, **Hynds**, Minister in charge of Germany, stated that "Fodder rations for 969 racehorses, and 500 trotting horses is being supplied." A Control Commission official remarked: "These animals are far too valuable to be destroyed." More valuable than the lives of German workers, no doubt!

Former Nazis Continue To Hold Posts

The demand for the removal of former Nazi officials from im-

portant positions of control in which they continue by protection of the British authorities, is one of the foremost demands put forward by the German workers.

The pious claim of the British Labour Government that they are "re-educating the German workers in the methods of democracy" is thus exposed as empty phrasemongering, to cover the continued anti-democratic and anti-working class rule over occupied Germany.

German Workers Demand "Socialisation" Of Mines

Recently the German miners voiced the demand that the North German Coal Control Committee be abolished and replaced by **Socialisation of the Mines**. Side by side with this, they demanded "Control by the Trade Unions."

Thus, the German miners are indicating their realisation that control and administration can and must be democratically conducted by the workers themselves.

The Tasks Of The British Workers

The class conscious workers in Britain have a duty to demonstrate their international solidarity with the German working class and aid their struggle for improved conditions. Workers! Demand that the Labour Government takes action instead of confining itself to empty platitudes about "re-educating the German workers in democratic methods." The Labour leaders claim that they are in power to further the interests of the workers. But the interests of the British working class are bound up with those of the German and European workers. Then demand that German industry and large landed agricultural estates be nationalised without compensation to the owners and placed under the control of the German working class. Demand that the deNazification measures be carried out by German workers, who can be relied on to do the job. And as the first step in aiding the German workers struggle to determine their own destiny, the British troops of occupation must be withdrawn.

N. PENTLAND

HOUSING IN RUSSIA

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according to the Plan, should have been 16,000,000 bricks in 1945, produced only 6 million. The tile factory, whose output should have been 600,000, supplied only 54,000 tiles of very poor quality.

According to "Trud" of 30th March, 1946, in the coal trust, Molotov, the housing plan was realised only 50 per cent. The situation as regards sanitary and health arrangements is also very bad. Of the budget announced for

HENRY WALLACE

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expected he would gain support for his policy when the inevitable depression affected America. The American workers are in no mood to tolerate a new slump without mass protest. Without a "radical" alternative, they would break away from the old capitalist parties and move towards Socialism and Communism as a way out. Consequently Wallace's liberal phrases act as a convenient means of preventing the break away of the workers in America, especially the organised workers, from capitalist policies and the traditional Republican and Democratic capitalist parties.

When Wallace was questioned at his Hanley, Stock-on-Trent meeting, he said that in all probability he would not form a third party in American politics. Thus even a Liberal, capitalist set-up, would only be undertaken by Wallace, in order to prevent the formation of a genuine Labour Party, based as the British Labour Party has been on the trade unions, and organised on a class basis.

That this is so, is shown by the fact that Wallace still remains in the Democratic Party, which is united with the Republicans to support Truman in his Imperialist course: the course of American Big Business. Between him and Truman there are no fundamental divergences on principle. It is purely a question of the division of Labour. Both serve the same interests. But Wallace represents a reserve weapon of American imperialism. Truman indicated this recently when he pointed out that Wallace intended to support the candidates of the Democratic Party at the next election.

The policies of Wallace, no more than the policy of Trumanism can solve the problems of the American or world working class. Only the unity of the workers, leading to a Socialist Europe and a Socialist World can produce that "One World" which can abolish want and oppression, fascism and war.

loans to individual miners to build their own houses, only a fifth was distributed, and only a half of the latter sum was spent, as it was impossible to find building materials.

Quality Of Houses

"Trud" of 23rd March, 1946, says that in the Electro-Steel Factory, a new house was built for the workers—containing twelve flats. Those lucky enough to get a flat here, found great difficulty in moving in, as the passage and stairway were so narrow, that the furniture could not be got through. The ovens were out of order and consumed an inordinate amount of fuel. The stoves had place for only one pot.

The correspondent of "Trud" who visited the new house says that it looked old and dilapidated. The walls and ovens were full of cracks, and the plaster was already falling off.

Powers Of The Managers

The same paper says that the machine factory of Dniepropetrovsk received prefabricated parts for the workers' houses. But the Director of the factory took the building workers off the construction of workers' houses, and put them to work building a house for himself. In the meantime many of the prefabricated parts disappeared—nobody knows where.

In a letter to the paper "Trud" a Red Army Soldier's wife complains that while four people live in one room, the payments for the room are shockingly high and without any stability. For instance, in January they paid 28 roubles for heating, while in February they paid 148 roubles. The management of the house claimed that the price of fuel rose very much, but the paper proves that the management was to be blamed, having wasted the money of the tenants owing to its lack of accounting skill, or other, worse reasons. ("Trud", 8th April, 1946).

In such a situation it is very easy to understand what a tremendous weapon the Director of the factory or mine has at his disposal if, as an Order of the Commissariat of Labour of 26th November, 1932, allows him to do, he can take the worker's living quarters away from him as a punishment for any misdemeanour or disobedience, determined arbitrarily by the manager himself.

**ARE YOU HELPING
OUR FIGHTING
FUND APPEAL?**

action of the Dockers. The responsibility for the holding up of any food lies with those who have forced the Dockers to take this action in defence of their elementary rights.

But even the meagre "feeler" of such propaganda have not met with success. The general attitude of the queuing housewife is one of sympathy for the Dockers. Even when the Dockers agreed to the unloading of 385 tons of bacon, which may have gone rancid, from one ship, it is reported that widespread comment from working class women in the queues was: "They should have let it rot!"

Talk about the "national interest" by the gutterpress is not having its desired effect among the dockers. A cynical joke is going the rounds of the strikers in relation to the fact that during the war, for "national effort", in working 24 hours a day under all sorts of conditions, 3 B.E.M.s and 1 George Cross were presented to Dockers. One Docker commented: "When they need you they put you in the queue for Medals, when

right sagging. In the port at any given moment, demand a sharing out of the work by a reduction of hours, WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY, on the basis of the full operation of the guaranteed weekly wage demanded by the Unions.

This is the immediate answer to the policy of the employers. It must receive the widespread support of the entire working class movement.

Full support for the Glasgow Dockers! For the immediate re-instatement of the 500 men!!

REACTIONS OF LONDON AND LIVERPOOL COMMITTEES

The establishment of the firmest links with their docker brothers in every port, and the contacting of all sections of the organised working class, enlisting support in

the visit of the Glasgow delegates, called for action.

On April 13th, a meeting was called by Donovan in an effort to break the solidarity of the men and prevent a strike. Faced with a threat of strike action, the Union bureaucrats went on the offensive and at the same time gave pledges to the London Dockers that they would combat any attempts to sack dockers who were employed prior to the outbreak of the war. These pledges, in the absence of any campaign on the part of the Port Workers' Defence Committee, were sufficient to gain a majority against strike. The strike in London, despite the action taken by about 300 dockers and stevedores, did not materialise. The Port Workers' Defence Committee, which conducted no campaign, allowed the bureaucrats to take the initiative, and thus failed to live up to its pledge to Glasgow.

In spite of this, the London dock workers are convinced that they themselves will be involved in a similar struggle in about July of this year.

TRUTH ABOUT ROAD HAULAGE MONOPOLIES

Why Tories Oppose Nationalisation

BY G. NOZEDA

The Tories are loud in their protests against the Labour Government's Transport Bill. Their protestations are allegedly on behalf of the "small man" in the industry. The hypocrisy of these protests is exposed by the facts below which demonstrate that the road haulage industry is largely the province of the big monopoly transport interests.

Foremost among the big haulage operators are the Railway Companies themselves, which own 10,163 lorries. They also own Carter Paterson and Hay's Wharf Cartage Company. Carter Paterson has 1,769 lorries and owns Bean's Express of Sutton and Company, and Sutton and Company (Manchester) 192 lorries. Hay's Wharf Cartage Company owns Pickfords, Norman E. Box (number of vehicles unknown). The L.M.S. owns Joseph Nall and Company, 132 lorries, and Wordie and Company with subsidiaries, 288 lorries. The L.N.E.R. owns half of Currie and Company, Newcastle, 300 lorries.

Other big haulage firms, though running on an "A" licence, are in fact subsidiaries of traders. Thus, Thomas Allen (143 lorries) belongs to Coast Lines; Bristol Haulage Company (300 lorries) to Bristol Industries (which owns cold stores and ice factories); Metropolitan Transport Supply (500

lorries) belongs to International Tea Company's Stores (£5 million company controlling Kearley and Tonge, Ridgeway's, John Quality, G. L. Mason and Company); Mickleover Transport (800 lorries) belongs to United Dairies; and Wincontan Transport and Engineering Company (155 lorries) to the directors of Cow and Gate.

Of the big independent haulage firms, some are public companies, such as Transport Services (572 vehicles), and McNamara (over 500 vehicles). Among the big private companies are Bouts-Tillotson (350 lorries); H. & G. Duffield (210 vehicles); T. M. Fairclough (197); Glasgow Hiring Co. (130); and Brittan Transport Holdings, controlling Road Deliveries, H. Pye and Sons and Pye & Counties Transport (293 vehicles).

The squeezing out of the small man is illustrated by the rapidity with which the big firms are expanding; thus, Bouts-Tillotson in

1933-34 owned 140 lorries; today it owns 350. Metropolitan Transport Supply owned 120 lorries in 1928, and 500 today. Transport Services was only formed in 1936, but today it controls 25 subsidiary companies.

23% of all "A" licences are owned by only 1.2% of the total operators; nearly a quarter of the vehicles are owned by 1/500th of the total number of operators.

The proposed compensation terms to be paid to the road hauliers under the Labour Government's Transport Bill adheres rigidly to the usual "business methods" of the capitalist class and is worked out in each case on the following rules:

- (1) The value of the vehicles, allowances being made for depreciation.
- (2) The rest of the firm's assets on a valuation.
- (3) Goodwill to be bought for a sum equal to anything from 2 to 5 years' profits, the actual period to depend on the facts of each case.

It is clear that as far as the "small man" in the road haulage industry is concerned, far from their interests being menaced by any nationalisation measures as such, it is the capitalist transport monopolies that are actually crushing them out of business.

(Continued in next Column.)

To Hold Posts

The demand for the removal of former Nazi officials from im-

adding the German workers struggle to determine their own destiny, the British troops of occupation must be withdrawn. N. PENTLAND

C.P. Press Silent on Trotsky Murder

"WORKER" ARTICLE SUPPRESSES ALL MENTION OF BUDENZ'S EVIDENCE THAT STALIN IS GUILTY

New York, April 1.—After a total silence of more than two weeks the March 23, "Worker" finally takes note of the book, "This Is My Story" written by its former editor and Communist Party National Committee member, Louis F. Budenz. Its evasive treatment of the Budenz confession is even more damning than its previous silence.

This article does not have a single word to say about the evidence presented by Budenz that Leon Trotsky's murder was prepared in New York City by G.P.U. agents, assisted by prominent leaders of the American C.P.

The U.S. "Daily Worker" says nothing about Budenz's admission that he himself was drawn into this plot. It does not even attempt to refute his charges that Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, and other C.P. leaders had a hand in the plot.

Not a word about Budenz's detailed account showing how the assassin "Frank Jacson" was selected and groomed for the job, which blows up the Stalinist falsehood that "Jacson" was a disillusioned Trotskyist.

It maintained silence even after March 17, when District Attorney Frank J. Hogan, was urged by a delegation of prominent citizens to summon a special grand jury to investigate the G.P.U. murders hatched in New York.

Now "The Worker" is trying to divert attention from Budenz's disclosures of G.P.U. activities and crimes, by deliberately restricting its comment upon his book to the issue of Catholicism versus Stalinism. The article condemns

When the Tories protest against the Transport Bill as the "champions" of the small men, they are, in fact, seeking only to protect the interests and profits of the transport monopolies. The Labour Government, far from compensating these transport monopolies lavishly, must be forced by the demands of the organised working class movement in Britain to expropriate and nationalise the transport industry without compensation to the Big Monopolies and operate it under the control and management of the workers. Only in this way will transport be operated in the interests of the working class instead of to the profit of a handful of monopolists.

Budenz for being a "hypocrite" whose "real conversion is from the cause of labour to the cause of labour's enemies." In truth, Budenz's switch from Stalinism to U.S. Imperialism means that he has gone from the camp of labour's enemies inside the labour movement into the camp of their own enemies.

The reader of "The Worker" article is not given a single clue about the nature of Budenz's charges. There is simply a blanket statement that his sensational revelations are "lies". None of the facts about the crimes of the G.P.U. that Budenz cites in his book are referred to—no attempt is made to refute them. For these facts are dynamite.

This silent treatment is in accord with the policy followed by the Stalinists in the past. Budenz himself cites the example of the case of Ignace Reiss, murdered in 1937 after he broke with Stalinism and joined the Fourth International. The Stalinist press in this country was forbidden to mention the case because it was "too hot to handle". Although Budenz does not give the reason, the fact is that the Swiss police caught the G.P.U. red-handed in the crime.

Budenz also relates that when he was editor, he was instructed not to touch the case of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, who in 1937, "walked into nowhere one day on the streets of New York." Budenz says that a "Comrade H." a prominent C.P. national committee member, told him that Miss Poyntz had been "liquidated" by the G.P.U. Budenz was instructed not even to "allude to it in the press" because it was "hot cargo". Obviously Budenz's revelations about the G.P.U., confirming Stalin's murder of Leon Trotsky, are even "hotter cargo."

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