



Workers  
of All  
Lands  
Unite

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Organ of the  
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## “Work Harder!” - For Whom?

### Labour Leaders Oppose Shorter Hours

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE EMPLOYERS, ARE EXHORTING THE WORKERS TO “INCREASE PRODUCTION”, TO WORK HARDER” IN ORDER THAT THE PRESENT MANPOWER SHORTAGE CAN BE OVERCOME.

The answer to the present economic difficulties of Britain, “. . . first and last is by increasing production”, states the Government in the White Paper, “Economic Considerations Effecting the Relations Between Employers and Workers.”

At the same time Government Spokesmen oppose publicly the demands of sections of the workers for long overdue wage increases and the shorter working week of 40 hours.

### A. Bevan Swings Right

Such a one-time “Left” Labour leader as Aneurin Bevan, says:

“This is not the time to be pushing claims for shorter hours, or for throwing spanners into the economic mechanism. . . . The Government is looking to the working class population to put forth a greater production effort.”

It is evident by this and other speeches of the Labour leaders, and

now by the White Paper, that every effort is being made to load the burdens of British capitalism onto the shoulders of the working class.

While pious references are made in the White Paper to the employers’ responsibilities in the increased production drive, it is evident that it is the working class once again, who are expected to make all the sacrifices.

### Workers’ Burdens— Employers’ Profits

The White Paper emphasises that wage increases have been won by sections of the workers in the past year, and implies that any further demands must be curbed. However, there is no mention of the fact that the rapid increase in the cost of living has already out-paced any wage gains made in 1945-6. The real position is that while wages increased by 8%, the wholesale price index reveals that prices are rising even more rapidly than during the war—the price of manufactured goods has increased by 11½%—which means that real wages lag well behind the cost of living.

For the employers however the past year has been very profitable. 1,836 companies have netted £452,500,000 compared with £430,000,000 in 1945. The profits of 604 companies in 1944 were

Is it to be doubted that the workers can gain improved wages and conditions without “throwing a spanner into the economic mechanism” only if the burden is put onto the capitalists? Under capitalism an increase of wages means a relative decrease of profits for the bosses. That is a truth which the Labour leaders themselves have repeated in the past.

The working class has had bitter experience of calls for “increased production.” After the last war similar appeals were made. Within two years a slump had hit all Europe, including Britain, and a million and a half were unemployed. The trouble now was—over production. After the General Strike there was a fever of rationalisation and again . . . increased production! The crash in 1929 put two and a half million men out of work and nearly two million were still unemployed ten years later. The workers have not



### Haulage Workers to Deakin:

## “SERVE THE WORKERS NOT THE BOSSES!”

### Class Solidarity Brings Victory BY J. DEANE

THE DIRECT ACTION OF THE HAULAGE WORKERS IN THEIR RECENT STRIKE PRODUCED THE QUICKEST NEGOTIATIONS IN TRADE UNION HISTORY. IT TOOK THE WAGES BOARD NINE MONTHS TO DECIDE TO REJECT THE WORKERS CLAIMS. AFTER THE STRIKE, IT TOOK LESS THAN THAT NUMBER OF DAYS FOR THEIR MAIN DEMANDS TO BE MET. DETERMINED MASS ACTION GOT RESULTS.

The magnificent demonstration of solidarity on the part of market workers, dockers and other sections, and the militant stand of the haulage workers, compelled the Government and the employers to grant a 44 hour week and a regulated day, without a reduction in pay. The capitalist press recognises this as a “complete victory” for the strikers.

The solidarity of the organised workers has taught the Labour Government that the workers will not lightly stand by and see the use of troops to break strikes.

Dockers, porters and others engaged in the transport industry stopped work as soon as the troops marched into their places of employment. Other sections, railway, passenger transport workers, gas and petroleum workers, shop assistants and caterers, were ready for strike action if the use of troops was extended.

Although a carefully selected and trained section of the army was used, the sympathy of the soldiers was demonstrated by the collection of money by R.A.F. and Army personnel forced to blackleg, on behalf of the strikers.

### T.U. Leaders On Side Of Bosses

The leadership of the Transport and General Workers’ Union showed once again that it stands on the side of the employers against the workers. The gap between the T. & G.W.U. leadership and the rank and file is unbridgeable; it represents the most bureaucratic and servile section of the Union leadership.

50 Unions were amalgamated to form a front body of almost

a million and a half members. By the most ingenious methods, the top clique appoints officials and the Constitution is so framed as to make it almost impossible to elect new officials.

So bitter are the rank and file at the reactionary policies of the top officials, that at the Stratford meeting attended by about two thousand workers, the reception given to Deakin, the General Secretary, was such that he had a police escort to protect him from the rank and file. At this meeting he was shouted down when he called for a return to work and the workers demanded that he leave the meeting. There were shouts of “Resign!” “Chuck him out!” “Scab!” “Serve us, not the bosses!” Above the uproar

(Continued on page 2)

living. For the employers however the past year has been very profitable. 1,836 companies have netted £452,500,000 compared with £430,000,000 in 1945. The profits of 604 companies in 1944 were 107.3%, in 1945 were 109.5%, and in the second quarter of 1946 were 120.3%, of those for 1943. All of which indicates how the increased industrial output of the past year has enriched the bosses.

## The "Right Prices"

Here is the core of the problem. We have a Labour Government, but this remains a capitalist country. All industry is run for profit, including the nationalised industries. With the increased competition on the world market it is not only probable, but absolutely inevitable that within a few years the cry for increased production will be changed to wails about over-production. Millions will flock into the Labour Exchanges

The White Paper attempts to assure the workers that the old days of over-production and unemployment are gone. "... providing our prices are right, the old fear of prolonged bad trade and unemployment should be a thing of the past."

It is evident that what is meant by "right" prices are prices which can compete with the products of other capitalist countries. This is (Continued on Page 4.)

# FREE THE SUDAN

## The Key to the Nile

The main reason given by Bevin for the breakdown of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations was that no agreement could be reached regarding the fate of the Sudan.

To assure its rule over Egypt, British imperialism maintains two footholds: (1) a large army concentration in neighbouring Palestine, and (2) The rule over Sudan through which flows the Nile.

British imperialism, of course, does not intend to liquidate these two footholds. In order to keep the first, it poses as the protector of peace between Arabs and Jews. In order to keep the second, it poses as the protector of the Sudanese from the Egyptian oppressor.

Officially, the Sudan is under Anglo-Egyptian joint rule. In actuality, large British land companies exploit thousands upon thousands of Sudanese in the fertile lands of the Sudan, while it is the Egyptian tax payer who bears the burden of the large administrative apparatus and the military forces in the Sudan. British imperialist exploitation wears an Egyptian mask.

The fate of the Egyptian masses, as also of the Sudanese masses, is bound up with the Nile. He who holds the key to the Nile can decide the life and death of these countries. It is therefore natural that the Egyptian masses resist British imperialist control of the Nile. They remember that on more than one occasion, as a retaliatory measure, the British have decreased the water supply to

Egypt and increased the supply to the large British estates in the Sudan. This took place, for instance, in 1924 as a retaliation for the assassination of the British Commander, Lee Stack.

The Sudanese masses struggling for independence have no interest in replacing the present Anglo-Egyptian rule by any other form of imperialist yoke. They want their own form of Government elected by the masses themselves.

The imperialist policy of divide and rule in Egypt and the Sudan receives aid from the ruling exploiters of Egypt, who speak about an export drive to the Sudan, the extraction of raw materials from the Sudan, and the rule of the Egyptian King over Egypt and the Sudan.

The Egyptian masses have common interests with the Sudanese masses. A growth of the Estates of the Egyptian landlords or the profits of their capitalist class brings no benefits to the Egyptian masses. It is therefore no accident that in the mass demonstrations organised last year by the "Committee of Workers and Students" in Cairo, Sudanese students were carried shoulder-high by the demonstrators who called for a common struggle against imperialism.

An end to the Bevin-Tory policy of Divide and Rule!

Evacuate the British Army from the Nile Valley and from the neighbouring countries!

# Deakin's Last Line of Support

## Scene After Stratford Haulage Strike Meeting

The scene above was taken outside the Stratford Town Hall after the meeting of the Haulage strikers at which Deakin attempted to break the strike.

While the capitalist army protected the employers interests against the strikers, the capitalist police protected Deakin.

Members of his Union called out at him "Scab!" "Serve the men not the bosses!" and "Who Pays You?"

That Deakin should have police protection when attending a meeting of workers he is supposed to represent, is an

indication of how he fails to represent their interests and democratic opinions.

The rank and file must campaign for the democratisation of the Union by the re-election of officials every year. Those officials who fail to serve the rank and file must be removed and replaced by militants who do.

The leaders must get the same wage as the men, falling when the workers' wages do and rising when the workers get a rise. The bureaucrats will soon fight on behalf of the rank and file if they had the same conditions.

# TROOP TRANSPORT

## Soldier Exposes Conditions in Monty's Modern Army

AT SEA.

27th December, 1946.

I am one of the men who was present at King George the Fifth's Dock, Scotland, at the time the five hundred refused to get on the ship.

We have not seen the newspapers or heard the news, and therefore do not know what the people at home know about it.

So we trust that your readers will be interested in the happenings of that day and after.

On our way over from Malaya it was generally believed by the troops that there had been a wireless statement from Singapore that all troops on the high seas on November 26th, would get an extension over Christmas. On top of this, statements were made in the press, that all troops on leave from S.E.A.C. would get their leave extension if they were in England ten days before Christmas.

When we were on our way back to Southampton on the morning of the 16th, it was clear that chances for an extension were practically nil.

As you can guess we were well fed up. So it was decided that we should get in touch with the press and get our grievances published.

The "Daily Mirror" was 'phoned, but nothing was said about it in the next morning's daily.

Some of the grievances given were as follows:

(1) Seeing that it was only a week off Christmas, and ours was the only home leave from S.E.A.C. which had not had an extension, we felt justified in demanding same.

(2) We felt that we were being victimised because the men from the Empress of Scotland justly walked off their boat because of the bad feeling and we were brought back to make up the number on the boat to which they were transferred.

(3) Troops from the Middle East on leave are having an extension, such troops from Italy being able to get leave every six months, while S.E.A.C. troops are very lucky if they obtain a leave in a period of years.

(4) We were also made to travel from Southampton to Scotland, that is, a 21 hour journey with only two sandwiches and water when the water was on.

It was decided while travelling up to Scotland that we should get up a petition based on the above-

mentioned grievances, which would be signed by all ranks, N.C.O.'s and Officers.

We obtained about 350 signatures without going round to all the men. It was then sent to the appropriate authorities in the Scottish Command.

By the time we reached the Dock the train was covered with chalked slogans. On our arrival at the Dock, the men got off the train and sat on their kits on the platform in a mass, defying orders to get on the ship.

Now and then the men would break into songs which gave vent to the feeling of the moment, examples, being: "I'm Dreaming Of A White Christmas", and "Only Five Days More."

The officers would come round trying to split us up into groups and trying to search out any scabs to break up this attempt of men fighting for their right to be home with their wives and children 18 months after the so-called "war for democracy" is ended.

Like this we were able to stick together. But then our mistake came. They asked: "If anyone was going on the boat." The reply, in one voice, was "NO!"

(Continued on Page 4.)

# DOCKERS PREPARE FOR STRUGGLE

## Against Forster Report

BY BILL TODD

Once again the Dockers are pushing forward for a working class solution to their problems. At a representative meeting of dockers called by the National Port Workers' Defence Committee at Canning Town, on Sunday, 26th January, in the bitter cold, approximately 80 to 100 dockers attended.

The meeting was called to prepare the first action against the Forster Report on Decasualisation published last month which as pointed out in the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal" brings no real solution to the problem of unemployment and casual labour on the docks.

### Dock Leaders Take Militant Line

Bro. H. Constable's opening remarks as Chairman referred to the complacency of the Trade Union leadership, and said they were completely out of touch with the industry.

He ended with a call to nationalise the Port Transport Industry without compensation and its operation in the workers' interests.

He then introduced Bro. McLoughlin, who outlined the part played by the Dockers in the recent Haulage Strike, which he said, resulted in 90% victory.

Dealing with the Forster Report, he said the Unions must get an agreement acceptable to the workers.

Bro. Bert Aylwood, who has recently fought a successful court action on a wage payment refused to him by the Corporation, proved that the bosses had acted illegally and now his action opens the way for over 4,000 men to push their claims.

He read extracts from the Forster Report and in plain language, showed that it was not in the best interests of the men. He went on to say that the Defence Committee had an alternative Decasualisation Scheme, which, if operated, would place the controls in the hands of the Unions and not in the hands of the small clique of ship-owners, who are never seen on the docks. He called for workers' control of the nationalised Port Transport Industry and ably refuted the reactionary arguments of Cripps that the workers have not the ability to run industry.

Apart from decasualisation, the Committee intends to lead a

struggle for the Dockers' Five Point Charter of 1945, including 40 Hour Week.

### T.U. Leaders Will Be Given Chance To Struggle

On every occasion, the Trade Union leaders will be given full opportunity to fight in the men's interest. Failing this, the Defence Committee will go ahead and prepare for what could develop into a protracted struggle. The organisation of cars, motor cycles and other practical details were being worked out.

He informed the Dockers of the Committee's work to organise a national co-ordinating committee, including haulage men, leading to a link with the railway workers. The Defence Committee recognise the need to link up with other industries as the organisation developed.

In answer to a question, Bro. Aylwood made it quite clear that they are not attempting to organise a rival break-away union, and urged all dockers to attend their Branches to force the Trade Union leaders to earn their high wages by pushing forward a militant opposition to the Forster Report. He asked them to make the next meeting called by the Defence Committee on February 9th a really mass meeting.

The meeting ended on a note of complete confidence from both the platform and the floor.

It is of great significance that a powerful rank and file organisation such as the Dockers' Defence Committee should raise the revolutionary demand of nationalisation without compensation and for workers' control. It is of great significance that one of the speakers correctly pointed out that the Labour Government's programme embraced those industries which private ownership could not run profitably.

The programme of the Committee shows a high degree of consciousness and expresses ideas which the organised workers as a whole must eventually come to accept.

## Some Facts

BY A. ROSS

A new wage agreement has been negotiated between the Newspaper Proprietor Associations and the Trade Unions. This means that our costs will be increased by 12½%.

We missed the Mid-January issue because we had no money!

We could not purchase our new allocation of paper until the members of the R.C.P. came to the rescue by subscribing a levy of £1 per member.

As the result of wage increases, our printers' costs have gone up by 12½%.

Paper prices have increased.

We did not cover our costs before. We can only keep going if we have your support, comrade Reader.

...We need another £250 to meet our bills. Make this the target!

FOR JANUARY CONTRIBUTIONS, see page 4.



The flag denoted a change of ownership. Yet also on that day, the managerial representatives, the same personnel as before the new regime, with due ceremony proceeded to all the pit-heads to address the miners. With a change of heart, bordering on the miraculous, these managers of the old hard-boiled school, stressed their desire for the success of the New Venture.

At the same period, as if in a co-ordinated effort, the capitalist newspapers of the whole country featured as their "hot news", the scarcity of coal, and also published the closure of various enterprises because of lack of fuel.

While on "our" side, A. L. Horner, Miners' Secretary—a bitter opponent of capitalist nationalisation in the past—dashed with haste to South Wales because of a "No Confidence" vote of a delegate conference of miners of that area in the personnel of the administrative body in charge of the region.

### Horner's Promises

The spectacle of Mr. Horner marathon-pacing is no surprise. He

# N.C.B. FLAG HOISTED

## What The Miners Are Thinking

BY JOHNNY JONES GWAUN-CAE-GURWEN

JANUARY THE 1st, 1947, BROUGHT TO THE MINERS OF GREAT BRITAIN NATIONALISATION OF THE MINES. ON THAT DAY, A FEW WEEKS AGO, THE FLAG OF THE NATIONAL COAL BOARD, GREEN IN COLOUR WITH "N.C.B." IN RED LETTERS IN THE CENTRE, WAS TO BE SEEN ON EVERY PIT-HEAD.

is now a staunch believer in state nationalisation under capitalism. In the "Daily Worker" of January 1st, 1947, he wrote:

"All things now become possible. The future is in our hands. The Mineworkers' Charter can speedily be realised. Wages can be higher, conditions safer, work less arduous, compensation raised to level of wages, these and other reforms can come about."

"The Coal Board is prohibited from acting in a manner which may be contrary to the well-being of the miners and their families, or be detrimental to the efficient production of coal our country needs so badly. . . ."

Perhaps Horner can reply to the host of "unbelievers" in the coal-field. If he sincerely believes, as he states "All things now become possible," why is it necessary to pay such fabulous salaries to the gentlemen who comprise the National Coal Board?

### Nine Men — £48,500 Yearly Salaries

As most miners know, these are:  
Lord Hyndley, Chairman, £8,500 yearly.  
Sir Arthur Street, Deputy Chairman, £5,000.  
Lord Citrine, Manpower and Welfare, £5,000.  
Mr. Ebby Edwards, Labour Relations, £5,000.  
Sir Charles Ellis, Scientific, £5,000.  
Mr. J. C. Grindly, Marketing, £5,000.  
Mr. L. H. Lowe, Finance, £5,000.  
Sir Charles Reid, Production, £5,000.  
Mr. B. Young, Production, £5,000.

This amounts to £48,500 yearly. This question answered would ease the minds of many miners, who are told in "The Daily Worker" that they (the miners) are earning alarmingly high wages.

### Misgivings

On the second point—"The future is in our hands"—the miners are worrying Mr. Horner. They are asking the question: "What will happen when the markets of the world are full to capacity again?"

A very large section of the miners realise that under the economics of capitalism, unemployment will again occur because of full markets; and before the "surplus Labour catastrophe", that determined action will be taken on the part of the state machine against the workers. With just such unpleasant memories of the past in their minds, and the nature of the "change", such a belief is in accordance with good class sense. The miners, or at least a huge

section are saying: The future will tell if the administration will act for the well-being of the miners and their families. But the most conservative miner is thinking about the implications of the payment of colossal compensation—£165,000,000—to the mine owners, plus £150,000,000 for reorganisation purposes, as well as the continued employment of hosts of personnel with huge salaries on various Regional Coal Boards.

### Miners Are Working Harder

Yet although there is considerable criticism, because no alternative measure has been placed before them by the miners' leadership, the miners of the whole country have adopted a "Go To It" policy, which is proved by the following figures:

The latest figures show an increase of 170,000 tons a week with a labour force of 3,400 fewer employed, compared with last year. Over the Christmas period, while the capitalist newspapers howled about absenteeism, 1,000,000 more tons were produced than in the corresponding period in 1945, despite some 4,000 fewer miners employed in the 1946 period.

Yet still there is a clamour for more coal.

These production figures show that despite misgivings about the fabulous salaries and the composition of the Coal Board, that the miners are doing their best to make the Labour Government's nationalisation plan work, so that no blame will be attached to them if the project fails.

### The Only Solution

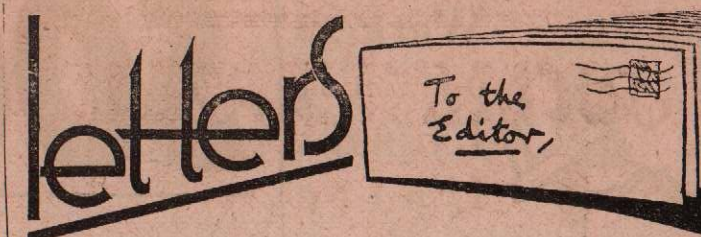
The future, unfortunately, will prove the utter hypocrisy of the nationalisation plan under capitalism, which up to the present has brought no higher wages, no better conditions nor less arduous work, but on the contrary more work and the same conditions as of old.

There is only one road, however much Trade Union officials attempt to argue to the contrary, and that is the road of revolutionary socialism which advocates that the miners and the working class as a



WOMEN FIREBRICK STAMPERS AND PRESSERS

on a strike in 1913. This picture was published by the "National Anti-Sweating League." Today women



## S.E.A.C. Soldiers Learn to Quell Demonstrations

Editor, "Socialist Appeal"

S.E.A.C.

27th December, 1946.

Dear Comrade,

In Malaya there is a Malaya Command Training School in operation and this School sends instructions round to all the Infantry Battalions to show the correct way of dealing with demonstrations, etc.

The instructors pick out two sections, one of which is supposed to represent the Garrison troops, and the other section is to represent the demonstrators.

The rest of the Battalion has to come and watch the procedure.

The section representing the demonstrators, are dressed in native clothes and are given banners and posters to carry with anti-Imperialist slogans on them—"Clear out

the British", "Unfair Treatment to Strikers", etc.

A tape or chalk line is put across the training ground which is supposed to be a road. As the "rabble" advanced, the troops give them the order to disperse once. As soon as they cross the line, the order is then given to fire. But where it differs from past orders is this:

Pre-war, the troops were ordered to fire over the heads of the demonstrators. Now, the order is "Shoot to Kill."

At this period while the press out here is full of talk about "The New Constitution for Malaya" which is going to give the people Freedom, Self Government, etc., the troops are being instructed in methods of squashing demonstrations.

Signed G . . . .

## From a Liverpool Haulage Worker

This letter written during the Haulage strike gives a picture of the conditions against which the workers conducted their victorious struggle.

Dear Comrade,

I feel I must not allow this opportunity to pass without drawing your attention to the very imminent danger there has been and still is of continuing a system of working conditions which many of you have experienced in the pre-war days, and which are still the acknowledged regulations around which any revision of your conditions and wages must be considered by the Central Wages Board. Although these conditions were immediately shelved on the outbreak of war, it does not necessarily mean they have been permanently discarded or abolished. It is the reverse that naturally must now occur as they constitute the only basis on which to work during revision by the Wages Board. I refer to the Cumulative Working Week with all its

you to be brought back. This was your off duty period, which could only be filled in by walking about and waiting anxiously and hopefully for the return so that you could jump abroad again and get home. Often being only too glad to stay on it whilst it continued on its way with a relief driver. Never being free for one hour of the 24 and always the uncertainty of when you were again to start work, day or night. Conditions so putrid that a martyr would shy at it. If recounted to an ordinary member of the public it would be received with incredulous belief that such things could really exist in Christian England in the 20th Century.

This trouble has not come because you want more money. The dread that the cumulative week will still operate provides the spur to kill once and for all this ugly demon which is raising its head again and has cruelly used you in the past. After 9 months of wages negotiations, what has been offered? Just this! An hours pay for going to the phone and contacting

## Role of Stalinists Exposed at London T.C Oppose Leninist Motion

During the autumn of 1946 the ambiguous attitude of the Labour Government in relation to the nationalisation of the Iron and Steel Industry caused considerable uneasiness among the rank and file of the Labour Movement.

Many resolutions were sent in to Government Ministers, M.P.s and the T.U.C. Although the general character of these protests reflected reformist ideas, there are signs that the working class is beginning to develop a critical attitude to the Labour Party's programme.

At the December meeting of the London Trades Council the following resolution was moved by the delegate from Camberwell Trades Council:

"This meeting regrets that the Government is apparently prepared to capitulate to the demands of the Iron and Steel Industry."

of Labour's programme in the case of iron and steel.

We therefore call upon the Labour Movement to bring the strongest pressure upon the Government in order to secure a much firmer policy against private industry in Britain."

During the debate the Stalinist secretary of the London Trades Council intervened in opposition to this resolution. He argued that the press were waiting to make front page news if the Council passed the resolution and thus went on record as opposing the Labour Government.

The effect of this statement together with the assurances from Labour leaders secured the defeat of the motion by about 400 votes to 200.

What is of significance is the minority vote. In the vote of the minority, the Stalinist secretary of the London Trades Council intervened in opposition to the resolution. He argued that the press were waiting to make front page news if the Council passed the resolution and thus went on record as opposing the Labour Government.

London Trades Council the following resolution was moved by the delegate from Camberwell Trades Council:

"This meeting regrets that the Government is apparently prepared to capitulate before the iron and steel industry."

The unsatisfactory character of the existing nationalisation steps—high compensation and no workers' control—have caused uneasiness within the movement. Now we see hesitancy in relation to road transport and the extremely probable abandonment

together with the assurances from Labour leaders secured the defeat of the motion by about 400 votes to 200.

What is of significance is the minority vote. In the minority body, during the debate, stood against the Labour Government's policy of partial state capitalism.

The growing tendency among the advanced workers to raise the questions of compensation, workers' control and socialisation of the entire economy is a welcome sign in the development of socialist understanding among the rank and file of the working class.

## Land Workers Elect Stewards

BY DAVE WEST (THAMES VALLEY)

From our members working on the land we learn of certain significant steps taken during recent weeks by the agricultural workers in Surrey, which point to a growth of militancy in this hitherto backward section of the working class movement. We are given to understand that in the Egham district farm-stewards have been set up to function on the same broad lines as shop-stewards in the factory and workshop.

This move speaks well for the growing consciousness among

## ITALIAN STRIKES

(Continued from page 3.)

Congress, which received such fulsome praise in the editorial columns of the London "Daily Telegraph" and other reactionary sources. It is precisely "private initiative", which received ample encouragement from the British and American occupation authorities, which has led Italian economy into its present blind alley. Within the framework of capitalism there is no way out for the Italian masses. Only a direct struggle for socialism can achieve this.

## The Trotskyist Programme

In sharp contrast to the treacherous reformist policies of the Stalinists and Socialists, the Partito Operaio Comunista (Workers' Communist Party), the Italian Section of the Fourth International, puts forward a short-term transitional programme, the achievement of which will immediately alleviate the condition of the people. The struggle for this programme will lead the Italian workers and peasants forward and prepare them for the final battle against capitalism and for socialism.

This programme demands a vigorous struggle against the policies of the Socialist and Stalinist misleaders of the working class. The Togliattis and the Nennis must be compelled to break their coalition with the capitalist parties and to seek power on the basis of this programme. In this way, their treacherous, class-collaborationist roles would be completely exposed.

workers on the land who in the last few years have made great strides forward in the way of trade union organisation. A few years ago talk of a £5 minimum and a 40-hour week for agriculture would have seemed an impossible demand but to-day, these are the claims of the militant section of N.U.A.W. The union officials are still pressing for a 44-hour week but the militant section will not be content with anything other than 40-hours.

Side by side with these claims the union is pressing the Government for the abolition of the tied cottage, which vicious system has rendered the greater part of the farm workers impotent to wage a fight for better conditions. We have been told that the Labour Party are worried by this demand which interferes with the property "rights" of farmers, they seek only to bring farm cottages within the scope of the Rent Restrictions Act; but the union leaders under the pressure of their rank and file intend to press their claim.

If these demands are going to become realities, if the farm workers are to take their place in the front line of working class struggle against the ruling class, then organisation such as the Egham workers have established is essential. In the space of a few years the membership of N.U.A.W. has grown to over a hundred thousand, if that membership is to use its full economic weight then it must have organisation on the job.

The struggle to obtain such organisation will be a desperate one, workers will be victimised, trade union militants sacked and black-listed. But the fight to obtain such organisation must go on and farm worker militants must have the backing of the organised working class movement. For its part, the R.C.P. will give every assistance in this fight, which must be carried forward to a policy of Nationalisation of the Land without Compensation and the running of the large farms under workers' control. Side by side with this policy must go the demand for raising the living standard of the farm worker to the level of the industrial workers.

This amounts to £48,500 yearly. This question answered would ease the minds of many miners, who are held in "strait-jackets" that they (the miners) are earning alarmingly high wages. These "high" wages are, in the majority, in the region of £4 10s. and £5, less deduction, except for a minority of piece-workers who earn more, but who lose much time because of the arduous work, which makes their average approximate to the figures mentioned.

**WOMEN FIREBRICK STAMPERS AND PRESSERS**  
The picture was published by the "National Anti-Sweating League" Today women are still the most exploited section of the working class. They are used as cheap labour and receive less—sometimes less than half than men for the same job. Workers must demand the rate for the job in the interests of their class as a whole.

# Token Strike for 5 day Week

BY N. PENTLAND

Arising from the failure of the Labour Government to institute a 40 Hour Week, there have arisen in the past few months, "official" and "unofficial" movements to secure the 5 day week.

## E.C.'s Retreat

The most recent "official" move has resulted in the Confederation of Engineering Unions E.C.'s arriving at a patched-up agreement for 44 hours in 5 days. This represents a retreat on principle in the engineering industry, the 8½-hour day having been vigorously held on to since 1919.

Directly after this agreement had been made known, a statement was issued by Cammel-Lairds of Merseyside to the effect that the management would resist every attempt by the Trade Unions to institute a 5-day week. The reasons given were that a five day week would have an adverse effect on their building programme and the trade of the country!

## 60,000 Shipbuilders

### Take Action

Such a statement by Sir Robert Johnson is sheer hypocrisy in time of temporary boom. The shipbuilding fraternity who allowed men to rot on the streets during the slump did not then have the 5½ day week as their slogan. The derelict Tyneside and Jarrow shipyards are a memorial to their profit-hungry callousness.

Since this arbitrary statement, shipbuilding workers of Belfast, Merseyside, and Glasgow have taken co-ordinated action by refusing to work on a Saturday morning. Since Saturday, 11th January, approximately 60,000 workers on the Clydeside have not reported for work each week-end. Except for a small yard at Govan, the stoppage was 100%.

The Glasgow A.E.U. District Committee has endorsed this action

and have circularised their support to all yards along the river.

## Stand Firm On The Demand For A 40-Hour Week

The real demand that must be voiced by every worker is that of the 40-hour week. The 44-hour agreement lengthens the working day and proves to the employing class that the official Trade Union E.C.'s accept inroads into trade union principles without resistance.

The task for all workers must be that of continuing the struggle for an 8-hour day, 5-day week. This demand is within our reach. Through Trade Union Branches and Workshop Committees must go forward the demand that the E.C.'s use the organised strength of the movement to gain this demand. Conferences and protracted negotiations have resulted in retreat from original demands. Only by using the militant methods on which the trade union movement was founded, can our demands be achieved.

## Belgian Dockers Lead Struggle

The fight of the Belgian workers against ever rising prices and against the wage freeze, has entered on a new and more bitter phase with the strike of 14,000 Antwerp dockers.

conditions not less arduous work, but on the contrary more work and the same conditions as of old. There is only one road, however much Trade Unions attempt to argue to the contrary, and that is the road of revolutionary socialism which advocates that the miners and the working class as a whole must conduct a struggle for workers control of the mines, for an end to the payment of compensation which places colossal burdens upon the miners and workers as a whole, and for the immediate application of the Miners' Charter.

The dockers resisted all attempts of the Government, bosses and Trade Union officials to break the strike, and held out for a month against a vicious campaign of intimidation and pressure.

Only the Trotskyist P.C.I., Belgian Section of the Fourth International, has undertaken a courageous campaign of solidarity with the dockers.

On the 6th January, the P.C.I. called a meeting of solidarity attended by over 1,000 dockers which was addressed by Comrade Vereeken of the P.C.I. and Comrade Dooremans, a leader of the strikers.

## The Call For The General Strike

In face of the mounting pressure, the Belgian T.U. Federation was forced to organise mass demonstrations on December 5th. In some regions the demonstrations were sabotaged by the leadership. But in the big cities like Antwerp, Liege, and especially Charleroi, the demonstrations and the mass meetings accompanying them witnessed a mass demand from factory delegates to end the policy of class collaboration and go over to the organisation of a General Strike in order to bring wages and working conditions in line with the continued rise in the cost of living.

The reflection of this tendency was shown in the National Convention of the Belgian Trade Unions, where a resolution demanding that the Unions go over into action no later than January 31st, 1947, received the votes of 65 delegates against 163, with 50% abstention.

necessarily mean they have been permanently discarded or abolished. It is the reverse that naturally must now occur as they constitute the only basis on which to work during revision by the Wages Board. I refer to the Cumulative Working Week with all its attendant horrors.

Very many of you here will recall the birth of this wicked and pernicious system, and how it was forced upon us by those whom it did not affect, and how agreements for its adoption were pressed home with the excuse that if we did not accept them our job must inevitably cease to exist. (What lies and distortions these excuses were when you consider that the Railways had already acquired this branch of transport for use by themselves and coming at a time when there were millions of unemployed).

You who were affected will remember them. Going out at all hours of the day or night, standing about in cold wet streets, waiting for the normal public to get up so that you could find somewhere to pass away the period until your vehicle was returned to

will still operate provides the spur to kill once and for all this ugly demon which is raising its head again and has cruelly used you in the past. After 9 months of wages negotiations, what has been offered? Just this! An hours pay for going to the phone and contacting the demon to ascertain its wishes regarding your future tortures. I am not speaking as a layman who is not suffering this. I have been through it with you all. Its effect on me has been exactly the same as it has been on you and may be again.

Just think. Just reflect. Don't worry about £. s. d. Think of the life your women led under this system. Ask them if they would like such conditions to return and having asked them act accordingly for until you once and for all kill this monster whose return is imminent, you will not enjoy a minute's peace of mind or body. And resolve today that come what may you never again will agree to its inclusion in formulating or revising your conditions of work.

Thank you,  
J.O.

Liverpool Transport Striker.

# Stratford Rail Workers Victory

BY P. NORMAN

## Railway Men Win Dispute

After two months ban on overtime, Railway Shopmen of the Stratford L.N.E.R. maintenance sheds have recently won wage increases amounting to 33½ per cent. on existing rates.

This means that craftsmen and labourers will receive approximately 16s. 8d. per week rise, making a wage total of £6 5s. 0d. per week. Provincial rail workers increase will be slightly less. Despite the fact that this may appear substantial, it is only half of the amount claimed. When in September the E.W.O. was lifted and a 47 hour week was instituted, earnings fell by as much as £2. A claim for 30s. increase was forwarded by the men, but was rejected. This led to an instant ban on overtime, not a go slow movement.

## Terrific Local Press Campaign

During the period of the ban a terrific London and district press campaign was conducted against these men. Practically every day, either the "Evening Standard" or "News" carried a tirade against these workers for what these sheets called, a "go slow" strike.

The main object of this campaign

was to place the blame of the inefficiency of the L.N.E.R. onto a section of very poorly paid workers. As any regular traveller on the Southend-Liverpool Street line will testify, this line could not be equalled for inefficient running.

Not content with vile statements from press and radio, the campaign brought reactionary and unfounded accusations from the Walthamstow coroner, who blamed the men for the deaths of two platelayers. Such lackeys of private enterprise forget the many hundreds of railway workers killed each year by the profit hungry, anarchic rail transport companies. They merely pass these deaths as "acts of God" or "misadventure."

## Wages Must Rise With Cost Of Living

The task of the railway men must be that of demanding through their Unions a scale of wages that meets the present real rise in the cost of living.

£40 million yearly has been guaranteed to the rail companies for the past 6 years. The Trade Unions must demand that the coming nationalisation must be accomplished without compensation and the industry must be run under the control of the workers themselves.

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

## What is Happening in Stalinist Russia?

BY T. CLIFF

We publish here the first of a series of articles on the Soviet Union with the object of bringing before the British workers the real situation in Stalinist Russia, based on facts. The workers in Britain are becoming more and more uneasy about what is taking place in Russia, and in order to answer these growing doubts, the Stalinist Parties have poured out a spate of lying propaganda about the situation in Russia. These articles are based entirely on official Russian material and their accuracy cannot be challenged. Even when other sources have been quoted, they have been checked with the original Russian sources. — Ed.

## The Bureaucrats in Industry

### I. WHO CONTROLS PRODUCTION?

Immediately after the revolution, it was decided that the management of every plant would be in the hands of the trade unions. Thus the programme of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) adopted at the Eighth Party Congress (held March 18 to 23, 1919) declared:

"The organised apparatus of social production must primarily depend upon the trade unions. . . They must be transformed into huge productive units, enrolling the majority of the workers, and in due time all the workers, in the respective branches of production.

"Inasmuch as the trade unions are already (as specified in the laws of the Soviet Republic and as realized in practice) participants in all the local and central organs administering industry, they must proceed to the practical concentration into their own hands of the work of administration in the whole economic life of the country, making this their unified economic aim. Thus protecting the indis-

soluble union between the central State authority, the national economy, and the broad masses of the workers, the trade unions must in the fullest possible measure in-

bureaucracy tried to undermine the Troika without officially renouncing it. Thus, a resolution of the Central Committee of the Party decided ("Pravda," 7th September, 1920) that the Workers' Committee of the plant "may not intervene directly in the running of the plant, or endeavour in any way to replace plant management. They shall by all means help to secure one-man control, increase production, plant development, and, thereby, improvement of the conditions of the working class."

The manager is in full and sole charge of the plant. All his economic orders are unconditionally binding on all the workers. He alone shall select, promote and remove personnel "taking into consideration" "the opinions of the party and the trade union organisations," but is not to be bound by them.

# CRISIS IN AMERICAN C.P.

## NEW LEADERS — SAME OLD POLICY

BY DAVID JAMES

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA IS IN THE MIDDLE OF A SEVERE CRISIS. DURING THE PAST FEW MONTHS MANY GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS, FROM TRADE UNIONISTS TO PROMINENT INTELLECTUALS, HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY FOR CRITICISING THE LEADERSHIP.

For the first time since 1930 when the Trotskyists were expelled, the opposition groups are conducting an organised fight after expulsion, attempting to change the Party's policy and leadership. This, as well as the numbers involved gives the event a most serious aspect.

### Death and Resurrection of the American C.P.

The American C.P. was dissolved in May 1944, its leadership abandoning all pretence of standing for socialism and supporting the capitalist Democratic Party. This was carried through under the leadership of Earl Browder.

A year later, following on a sharp article by the French Stalinist, Duclos, which criticised Browder for betraying Marxism, the Party was reconstituted. William Z. Foster became the new leader.

Both of these remarkably cynical actions were carried out under the instructions of Moscow. The first, like the dissolution of the Comintern itself, was the price paid by Stalin for collaboration with American imperialism. The second occurred when relations between Russia and America worsened, and Stalin felt the need of a means of blackmailing his "allies".

Browder, Foster and Duclos acted as puppets of Stalin. The "Marxism" of one meant no more than the opportunism of the other. But as usual, Stalin's infallibility must be maintained, so Browder was attacked as the villain of the piece (although all the Stalinist leaders had supported him at the time), and he was expelled from the Party.

### "Continuity"

It soon became clear that nothing had really changed. Foster indulged in more radical talk, but it remained talk. In every essential Browder's line was carried on.

Thus the C.P. continues to support Truman's Democratic Party,

alleging that there are "pro-Roosevelt" forces within it which justify such support. Instead of campaigning for the independence of the workers from the capitalist parties, it urges support of charlatans such as Henry Wallace.

The worst example occurred last autumn during the elections for Governor and Senator in N.Y. State. After putting up a hard fight to get their own candidates on the ballot, they withdrew in favour of Mead and Lehman, capitalist candidates of the Democratic Party, and violent anti-communists.

### Expulsion of Opposition Groups

Although the Stalinist leadership does its best to miseducate and poison the rank and file, there remain a large number of honest workers in the ranks of the C.P.

The great strike struggles, and the increasing sharp tension between the workers and capitalists

(whether Democratic or Republican), have had their effect on these workers. The Stalinist line of class collaboration is ever more difficult for them to swallow. Many have rebelled, and seizing upon the "Marxist" criticism levelled at Browder by the present leadership have directed it against this leadership itself.

Of course, they were immediately expelled. There is no freedom of discussion inside the Communist Party. Criticism is only allowed if it is inspired by the Kremlin; if it comes from the rank and file workers it is ruthlessly crushed.

But the expelled groups have been very active and have issued bulletins for circulation within the C.P. There are several different groups, but they appear to have one thing in common, namely that they attack the present leadership but retain confidence in Stalinism as an international movement.

Thus a group called the "New Committee for Publications", in its

of San Francisco engineers describes how the local C.P. tried to break the strike of Local 68, International Association of Machinists, instructing its members to attack the strike leaders as Trotskyite, "which was a damned lie as usual." When they refused, "the liquidation of the branch was announced, with a ruling: 'There will be no discussion of this.' Expulsions came thick and fast."

Four maritime workers in San Francisco, rank and file union leaders, were expelled for saying the Party is "too conservative", and "reformist." It will be remembered that Harry Bridges, Stalinist Union leader on the West Coast, made the famous proposition in 1944 for the no-strike pledge to become permanent in peace as well as in war time.

### The Illusions of the Oppositionists

The fact that the expelled members still remain Stalinist in outlook, and believe that in fighting the present reformist line they are defending a "true" Stalinist policy, shows that the crisis is really serious. This is not the disillusionment of a few individuals but the internal decomposition of a party.

But if they retain this outlook they will be unable to find their way to a genuine Marxist policy. In order to understand the actions of the American Stalinist leaders, they must be viewed as part of the corruption of the world Stalinist movement. Otherwise it is impossible to understand why there was no opposition to their course from any Communist Party, including the Russian, but indeed much support (e.g., from Harry Pollitt). It is impossible to understand the unanimous endorsement of the Russian proposal to dissolve the Communist International, or Stalin's embracing of the Church. It is impossible to understand why the French C.P., which the oppositionists believe to be truly Marxist, has clung to a coalition with the capitalists and supported colonial oppression. Or the policy of strike-breaking carried out by the French and British Stalinists. To understand these facts means to link them together, find their origin through the class-collaborationist Popular Front to the first rise of the conservative Stalinist clique in Russia, the fountain-head which

## FRENCH PRINTERS' STRIKE

TROTSKYIST PAPER  
PRINTED BY STRIKERS  
WITHOUT PAY

In its issue of 12/1/47, the "Observer's" Paris correspondent recorded that during the great strike of Rotary operators which prevented the publication of all the French dailies and most of the weeklies, was able to buy only the Anarchist "LIBERTAIRE", and the Trotskyist "LA VERITE."

During the strike itself, the Trotskyist "La Verite" was permitted to appear by the strikers. Trotskyists the world over share with their French brother party its pride in this reward for loyal and faithful service to the cause of the working class.

From the first "La Verite" was the only working class paper which proclaimed its solidarity with the striking printers and during the strike, with the co-operation of the Strike Committee, it came out with special issues, giving the widest possible publicity to the men's case.

In addition to this, the Editorial Board of "La Verite" placed itself at the disposal of the strikers in case they wanted to publish their own paper. In appreciation of this gesture of solidarity, the Rotary workers printed the special issues of the paper without pay.

### The Stalinists And "Socialists"

The strike once again revealed the strike-breaking role of the Communist (Stalinist) Party and the "Socialist" Party. Rather than agree to the demands of the workers, which would have enabled them to bring out their own papers, they preferred to show their solidarity with the newspaper millionaires.

In France, as elsewhere, only the Trotskyists prove themselves to be on the side of the workers in their struggles against the bosses. All the other so-called working class parties show ever more openly that they serve the interests of the enemies of the working class.

again to Stalinism, which comes to the same thing.

The Stalinist leaders know this. They fear the attractive power of Trotskyism, which is emerging on the American political scene as a party to be reckoned with. Consequently they are making desperate attempts to silence the Trotskyists, by physical violence. In Youngstown and New York, Stalinist gangs have attacked sellers of the "Millitant" (American Trotskyist paper): in the last

## Heaton Lee Has Accident



HEATON LEE

Many comrades will sincerely regret to hear the news that Comrade Heaton Lee, the Party's Provincial Organiser, has met with an accident whilst travelling on his motor-cycle on party work, and is now in hospital. At one stage it was thought that he would lose one leg, but we are pleased to say this will not be the case. He will, however, have a permanent stiff leg. Comrade Lee will be in hospital at least until March, and comrades and friends are invited to write to him at F.O.U., Royal Gwent Hospital, Newport, Mon.

first bulletin of October 28th, 1946, says:

"We wish to 'shake' the 'unity' of the C.P., U.S.A., because facts have already fully demonstrated—for all who wish to see—that this 'unity' is based on support of capitalism and refusal to fight capitalism."

But it goes on to call for "a real Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist Party in the U.S."

A group in the Bronx district of New York, and two writers,

## WAR AGAINST VIET-NAM

BY C. VAN CILLEREN

whole economic life of the country, making this their unified economic aim. Thus protecting the indissoluble union between the central State authority, the national economy, and the broad masses of the workers, the trade unions must in the fullest possible measure induce the workers to participate directly in the work of economic administration. The participation of the trade unions in the conduct of economic life, and the involvement by them of the broad masses of the people in this work, would appear at the same time to be our chief aid in the campaign against the bureaucratisation of the economic apparatus of the Soviet Power. This will facilitate the establishment of an effective popular control over the results of production."

(Quoted from N. Bucharin and E. Preobrazhensky, "The A.B.C. of Communism" published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, London, 1927, pages 401 and 402.)

Participating in the running of industry together with the workers' plant committees, were the party cells. Together with these, and under their control, worked the technical manager. These three together formed the Troika.

Of this workers' control nothing remains today. For some years the

## II. THE PRIVILEGES OF THE INDUSTRIAL MANAGERS

After the October revolution, the Bolsheviks were faced with a contradiction. On the one hand they strove for the highest equality in the incomes of the people. On the other hand they needed for production those old experts who had formerly worked hand in glove with the exploiters under the capitalist system, and who were not ready to work conscientiously unless they were paid higher salaries than the workers.

The Bolsheviks solved this contradiction firstly by keeping stringent workers' control over the industries, which means also over the experts, and secondly by giving the technicians higher salaries, but within fixed relatively moderate limits. Under the Tsar, the higher employees—managers, head bookkeepers, important engineers, scientific experts, etc.—were paid many dozen times more than the ordinary labourers. Now, "in accordance with the decree issued in the autumn of 1919, the minimum income was 1,200 rubles and the maximum was 4,800 rubles, the latter figure being the maximum for the 'specialists' as well." (N. Bucharin and E. Preobrazhensky, "Ibid," page 302.) Today these limits do not exist any more. The income of the managers of industry are composed of the following three main elements: (1) Salary; (2) bonuses; (3) a share in the directors' fund. Besides this they enjoy a great share in the social services. The last element will be dealt with later. Here we shall discuss the first three.

In 1937, the salary of a manager was not permitted to pass the 2,000 roubles per month limit and in some cases a 1,400 limit unless the Government gave special permission. (It is to be noted that the rouble of 1937 is not to be

The Troika is something quite impermissible. . . . The Troika is a sort of administrative board, but our economic administration is constructed along totally different lines." ("Pravda," 11 March, 1937.)

The new management of industry was very clearly defined by the official manual "Economics of Socialist Industry" published by the Economic Institute of the Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1940):

"Each plant has a leader endowed with full power of decision, hence—fully responsible for everything: the plant manager." "One-man control implies strict demarcation between the administration on the one hand, and Party and trade union organisations on the other. This strict demarcation must be applied on all levels of industrial management. Current operations in fulfilment are the tasks of the administration. The chief of a workshop, the manager of the plant, the head of the Glavk, have full powers, each within his field, and the Party and trade union organisations may not interfere with their orders."

compared with that of 1919 insofar as its value is much higher.) The Soviet Government has published no figures about the wages of workers after 1935. The only figure it did publish was the average income of all workers and employees—a figure which was based on averaging the incomes of charwomen, unskilled labourers, skilled workers, experts, chief engineers, managers, etc. In 1937 this figure was 230 roubles. That millions of workers received far less than this is clear not only from the way this average was calculated, but also from the fact that the Government found it necessary in the same year to introduce a minimum wage of 110 roubles per month for piece workers. There were certainly millions of time workers who, even after this decree, received less than 110 roubles per month. That even the piece-workers who received this amount made up no insignificant number is clear from the fact that this decree necessitated the additional expenditure by the Government of 50,000,000 roubles. This goes to show that 1,400 or 2,000 is certainly no mean salary.

The main income of the manager is not his fixed salary. More important than this are the bonuses. These are dependent on the over-fulfilment of the Economic Plan. Thus, for instance, for every decrease of 1 per cent. of the real cost of production below the planned cost, the manager, his assistant, the chief engineer and his assistant, receive a bonus of 15 per cent. of their salary except in the iron and steel industries, where the percentage is 10. For every per cent. of increase of output above the Plan, a manager of a mine and his close assistants re-

(Continued on Page 4.)

# VIET-NAM

BY C. VAN GELDEREN

SUPPORTED BY FRENCH SOCIALISTS AND STALINISTS

The "All Socialist" Government of France, headed by Blum, launched a full-scale war against the Indo-Chinese Republic of the Viet-Nam, which is being continued by its successor. Every day brings reports of fresh troops—including the dreaded Foreign Legion—embarking from French and North African ports for the Far East.

In Indo-China, the soldiers of French imperialism are meeting with stiff resistance as the Viet Nameese battle for their independence.

Admiral d'Argenlien and General Leclerc, notorious for the role they played in Indo-China after its "liberation" in 1945 have again been sent out by the Blum Government to crush the struggle of the people of the Viet Nam.

### Slander Campaign Against Colonial People

...In France the capitalist press are spreading the usual slanders about the colonial peoples, their alleged cruelties and so on. This revolting display has not had the desired effect of raising the enthusiasm of the French workers for



the campaign in Indo-China. A considerable number of these workers served in the colonies during the war and they know full well from which side the acts of cruelty come.

The paper of the Socialist Party, "Populaire" and of the Communist Party, "Humanite" maintain an embarrassed silence over the events in Indo-China. Only the Trotskyist "La Verite" has been conducting a fighting campaign for solidarity with the colonial people in their struggle for freedom.

At the session of the French Assembly on 10th December, 1946,

the Stalinist and Socialist deputies voted for a resolution expressing:

"... to our French combatants in Indo-China their affectionate sympathy and saluting their efforts to maintain in the Far East the civilising and pacific presence of France."

Not a word of greeting to the colonial slaves battling for independence, from these miserable misleaders of the working class.

The Stalinists call for negotiations with Ho Chi Minh (head of the Viet Nam Government), in order to save Indo-China "for the French Union". (This is the new euphemistic name given to the French Empire but it has not prevented the French imperialists from carrying out the same old policy of brigandage and murder in the colonial countries). Leon Blum, the former Prime Minister who had the full support of the "Communists" and "Socialists", as well as of all the capitalist parties, has openly declared: "Negotiations cannot be considered as long as peace and order have not been re-established in Indo-China." Against this "L'Humanite" can utter only the feeblest of protests.

Meanwhile, the "Socialist" Minister for the Colonies, Moutet, who is in Indo-China to "investigate" the situation, made a violent speech attacking the Viet Nam within 24 hours of landing in Saigon.

### Colonial Workers Aroused

The heroic struggle of the Indo-Chinese has aroused the enthusiasm of colonial peoples everywhere. From Burma comes news that a contingent of Burmese volunteers have left for Indo-China to take their place at the side of their Viet Nam brothers. In India and Indonesia, mass meetings of workers and peasants have declared their solidarity with the people of the Viet Nam.

That is why the French ruling class is anxious for a speedy end to the struggle in Indo-China. Its continuation might infect the whole of Asia, and the colonial empires not only of France, but of Britain and Holland may go up in the flames of a successful people's rising.

that this unity is based on support of capitalism and refusal to fight capitalism."

But it goes on to call for "a real Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist Party in the U.S."

A group in the Bronx district of New York, and two writers, McKenny and Minton of Norwalk, Conn., bring similar ideas forward. They accuse the leadership of "having no defined, clear position on immediate political action," of "tailing behind bourgeois allies, or merging with them, or abandoning an independent class conscious, revolutionary position." They contrast the American C.P. with its brother parties in Europe, and with the teachings of Stalin, which they claim represent genuine Marxism.

Most important, workers' groups have been expelled for opposing the C.P.'s industrial policy. A group

breaking carried out by the French and British Stalinists. To understand these facts means to link them together, find their origin through the class-collaborationist Popular Front to the first rise of the conservative Stalinist clique in Russia, the fountain-head which has destroyed the Communist International.

### The Role of Trotskyism

The Stalinist betrayals which are now leading to this opposition were forecast long ago and have been closely followed and analysed in the light of Marxism by the Trotskyists. The oppositionists will recognise that Trotskyism, the Socialist Workers' Party in America, represents genuine Marxism; or they will desert Marxism altogether, or capitulate

(Continued in next Column.)

to be reckoned with. Consequently they are making desperate attempts to silence the Trotskyists by physical violence. In Youngstown and New York, Stalinist gangs have attacked sellers of the "Millitant" (American Trotskyist paper): in the latter case which happened at meeting C.I.O. National Maritime Union one comrade was beaten unconscious and four girl comrades were injured.

But just as the expulsions cannot stop the disillusion which is setting in in the ranks of the American C.P., such attacks cannot stop our comrades from showing the correct Marxist policy, and in the final analysis gaining the support of the mass of worker members of the "Communist" Party who are looking for a genuine Leninist way out of the crisis of capitalism.

# ITALIAN STRIKES

## "We Want Work, Not Charity!"

BY C. BIVANCO

In the worst winter which Italy has known since the end of the war, the Southern parts of the peninsula are witnessing a series of militant strikes and protest movements.

This movement reached its peak in the General Strike against the high cost of living which paralyzed Naples last month. Despite efforts on the part of the Trade Union leadership (Stalinist, Socialist and Christian Democrat) to end the strike, the solidarity of the Neapolitan workers was complete till they received some concessions from the Government.

### Mass Demonstrations

Following the partial success of the Neapolitan workers, the Trade Unions in Bari called for an organised demonstration on December 27th. The unemployed and Housewives joined the great mass processions of Trade Unionists through the streets. Thousands of demonstrators invaded the City Hall, sacked the luxury shops and emptied food stores. Placards inscribed "A Coffin for the Police Prefect!" "We want Work not Charity!" "Our Children are Dying of Hunger!" were carried in the demonstrations. The police and army opened fire on the crowds, killing one and wounding several others. Thus the coalition government of Communists (Stalinists), Socialists and Christian Democrats once again demonstrated on whose side it is—on the side of the bosses, against the workers and peasants!

In protest against this brutal act of provocation and the spilling of workers' blood, a 24-hour General Strike was immediately called. It was 100 per cent. effective.

### Clashes With Police

In the town of Palmi, on the west coast of Calabria, 2,000 people demonstrated against the food shortage.

Similar demonstrations have been taking place in the Puglia region,

one of the poorest parts of Italy. These demonstrations are usually headed by the "reduci", ex-service men or returned prisoners of war, who are foremost in their demands for better jobs and more food. On several occasions the demonstrators have come up against the police and the army, and there have been bloody clashes.

Caserta and Cantazaro are other important towns in Southern Italy which have joined the movement of strikes and protests that is sweeping the area.

### Role Of "Communists" And "Socialists"

The workers and peasants of Southern Italy have been driven to these desperate measures because they have come to realise that there is nothing to be got from the Government. Only the organized strength of the working class and their own militant action can find a way out of the crisis.

Southern Italy has always been one of the most backward parts of Europe. Illiteracy is as high as 43 per cent. and the region is almost wholly dependent on primitive peasant agriculture, all the big industrial concerns being concentrated in the north. This was the case under Fascism and in the "democratic" period which preceded the advent to power of Mussolini. With the "liberation" by the Allies and the installation of a government which includes the leaders of the Communist and Socialist Parties, the workers of Southern Italy looked for a new deal. All they have got from the coalition government has been an abundance of promises, and bullets from the rifles of the police and soldiers of the new Republic.

### Unemployment And Starvation

No one with the slightest knowledge of conditions in Italy will be surprised at the rising tempo of the class struggle as reflected in the wave of strikes and demonstrations. Since the "liberation" the condition of the masses has been growing from bad to worse and there can be no doubt that if there is no improvement in the near future the present action of the workers and peasants is only a portent of the violent struggles which lie ahead.

For some time now official estimates have placed the number of unemployed in the region of three millions. There can be no accurate accounting for only a minute section of the unemployed receive any sort of unemployment benefits. For the rest there is no need to register. With the large families which are prevalent in Southern Italy, this means that over six million men, women and children are living on the starvation line. While ex-Fascists and war profiteers grow rich and fat out of the Black Market and live on the fat of the land, millions of workers and peasants are unable even to buy the barest necessities of life. Against all this the Christian Democrat - Stalinist - Socialist Government is impotent.

### The Way Out

Togliatti, the Communist Party leader, has put forward the need for a "new course" to "save the economic life of the nation." This "new course" calls for "ample liberty for private initiative." These words sound almost identical with those of President Truman in his recent message to the American

(Continued on page 2.)

## U.S.S.R.: Bureaucrats in Industry

(Continued from Page 3.)

ceive 4 per cent. of their salaries. (Orders of the Commissariat for Fuel: 20th June, 1939—and for ferrous metallurgy—16th July, 1939, Industriya, 21 June and 21 July, 1939 respectively.) If the output of pig-iron exceeds the Plan by 5 per cent. the top administrators receive a bonus of 10 per cent. of their salary for every per cent. above the Plan: if the output exceeds the Plan by 6-10 per cent., the bonus is 15 per cent. of the salary for every per cent. above the Plan. Thus, if the output is 10 per cent. above Plan, the top administrators receive a bonus of 125 per cent. of their salary.

Of course, Russian statisticians are in no hurry to publish data about the real magnitude of the bonuses the top bureaucracy receives.

The third source of income is the Director's Fund. Its official aim is to build houses for the workers and employees, clubs, canteens, creches, kindergartens, to give bonuses for outstanding achievements at work, etc. From what sources is this fund drawn? The profits of the Plant are divided between the plant itself and the higher state administration of industry. The proportion is determined by the state at intervals. The share of the state can not be less than 10 per cent. in any enterprise. In 1937 industry as a whole gave 48 per cent. of all its profit to the State (Economics Socialist Industry, "Ibid," page 548). The part which remains in the hands of the director of the plant is divided into two. A part goes to develop the plant, the rest remains in the hands of the director and is called the "Director's Fund." According to a Decree of 19th April, 1936, 4 per cent. of the planned profit, and 50 per cent. of the profit above the plan is to go to the Director's Fund. One Russian economist has given figures of the size of this fund:

Realization of Plan in %	Director's Fund in R.000.000	Director's Fund per worker.
Petroleum industry 104.1	21.7	344.92
Meat Industry ... 118.6	51.9	752.69
Spirit industry ... 108.8	86.0	1,175.0

(G. Poliak, "On the Director's Funds in Industrial Enterprises", Planned Economy, No. 4, 1938, page 61.)

As has already been mentioned, the average wage of all workers and employees was 250 roubles per month in 1937. The above figures show that by exceeding the Plan only a few per cent., the Director's Fund per annum in the petroleum industry comes to more than one monthly average income, in the meat industry, to three, and in the spirit industry, to more than four and a half. Other industries present the same picture. The table shows how huge are the sums concentrated in the hands of directors

# Glasgow Bin-Men Win WAGE INCREASE FOR ALL SCOTLAND

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT STRIKES THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN GLASGOW FOR A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD, IN WHICH 1,800 GLASGOW CORPORATION WORKERS WERE ON THE STREETS FOR FOUR WEEKS, HAS ENDED IN PARTIAL VICTORY FOR THE STRIKERS. THIS DISPUTE OVER THE QUESTION OF WAGES INVOLVED BIN-MEN, ROAD SWEEPERS, ETC.—WORKERS WHO CLEAN UP THE CITY'S FILTH.

The unpleasant nature of their task in society was responsible for the tremendous degree of sympathy shown in their struggle by the general public. BY ROY TEARSE

Homourous comments about the notable lack of willingness on the part of the student youth to black-leg on the city's "scavengers", in contrast to their efforts to break the Manchester Transport strike, was rife among the workers. Probably the lack of clothes-pegs to hook on their noses damped their ardour for black-leg activity in such an unpleasant occupation.

Deserted by their Trade Union officials, kicked around by the Labour dominated Glasgow Council, the strikers have had a real taste of the role of reformism in action.

### The Bin-Men's Case

In a statement issued by the Strike Committee, appealing to the workers of Glasgow for support, it was pointed out that the Bin-men raised in their trade unions in April 1946, their need for a "substantial increase." Their average wage for a 48 hour week amounted to £3 19s. 0d. after deductions. It was six months later that the officials made application for an increase. In November, the Joint Industrial Council offered 1/6 per week in the form of bonus, which was rejected by the unions. Following this the J.I.C. postponed reconsidering the matter until January 24th, 1947.

Realising that their demands were being played about with, the men raised the demand for action. Meetings of all the men were held and an overwhelming decision for

strike action was taken.

During the whole of the strike, their ranks remained absolutely solid, there not being one black-leg.

Apart from their miserable wages, the terrible conditions under which these workers operate have deepened their grievances. It constitutes a stain on the record of the Labour movement for such conditions to have been allowed to go on unaltered by a Council that has been dominated by Labour Party representatives for years past. Among other things, in practically every depot there is an acute shortage of washing facilities. In the largest depot, at Govan, there are 3 baths between 400 men, and after the first three have bathed, other workers have to wait 1 1/2 hours for further hot water to wash the city's filth off their bodies. At Anniesland Depot there is one wash-hand basin between 30 men, with no hot water. At Haghill 3 baths among 180 men. At Cathcart there is not even a wash-hand basin, and if anyone wants a wash they have to get water in a pail that they must take out of the Midden.

The same position could be repeated endlessly. For bin-carriers, working both day and night shifts (no extra rates for the night shift), who finish their daily toil smothered from head to foot in ashes and other refuse there is no special or extra clothing supplied.

### Role of T.U. Leaders

Throughout the strike, the Trade Union officials played the same miserable role as their counterparts in the Transport and all other strikes. They have repeated the well-worn phrase of "use the

constitutional machinery" like an endless gramophone record. Whilst showing a lethargy bordering on paralysis in taking up the men's demands, they became veritable human dynamos in an attempt to get the men to call off the strike. Their every speech and action was directed towards this end. And, although they refused to ballot the members for strike action, they lost no time in getting together behind the backs of the Strike Committee and issued a ballot, after the men were on the street, asking them if they wanted to return to work.

Even more disgraceful was the fact that after the ballot organised by these officials (McGinniss of the G. & M.W.U., Brannigan of the Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association and Meikle of the T. & G.W.U.), showed an overwhelming majority in favour of continuing the strike, they did not take a single step to make the strike official, as would have befitted any genuine representatives of the working class. It was just one more effort on the part of the Trade Union bureaucrats to break the struggles of the workers from whose pennies they get their fat living.

### Conduct Of Labour Council

Coupled with this betrayal by the Trade Union leaders, the conduct of the Labour dominated Council has been a disgrace.

On the morning of January 23rd, a day before the J.I.C. met, the strikers staged a demonstration and sent a delegation to meet the City Council. When the vote was taken as to whether or not the Council should hear the deputation, the Moderates (Tories) cynically

placed the responsibility on the shoulders of the Labour Councillors by refraining from voting on the issue. Not one Labour Councillor voted to hear the deputation—only four votes (2 I.L.P. and 2 "Independents") being cast in favour.

### Tories Attempt To Cash In

The Tories and their press have attempted to make political capital out of the activities of the Labour Councillors. They have attempted to place the whole blame for the situation on the Labour Councillors and white-wash themselves. And it is not the fault of these Labour renegades that the Tories have largely failed in these efforts.

After the demonstration on the 23rd, some newspapers carried headlines to the effect that at the demonstration workers had shouted "Down with Labour"—"Give us Churchill", in an effort to further this campaign.

In answer to this the Strike Committee promptly issued a statement condemning this report as a fabrication and stating: "Whatever criticisms we have of the Labour Party, we are 100% against the Tories."

The workers of Glasgow must demand an immediate explanation from their "representatives" on the City Council for their conduct during the strike. It is the duty of Labour workers to demand Ward meetings to clean up this miserable situation. They must carry a determined struggle to prevent a repetition of such anti-working class conduct by those who are put into office on the basis

(Continued at foot of next Col.)

## HAULAGE STRIKE

# Solidarity Gained Victory

(Continued from Page 1.)

Deakin tried to divert the men by attacking our leaflet and shouted "Are you going to allow yourselves to be influenced by irresponsible Trotskyists?"

### R.C.P. Policy Well Received

The leaflet headed "Stand Firm" received good response, many workers taking bundles to distribute in their workplace. The leaflet condemned the trade union leaders for refusing to support the workers by recognising the strike and paying strike funds; it condemned the Labour Government for the use of troops as strike-breakers and called upon the strikers to appeal to the soldiers; it urged the workers to call for solidarity from other sections of the workers and to establish a national co-ordinating Committee to link up all sections of the strikers including all industries.

Considerable publicity was given in the capitalist press to our leaflets and special strike supplement. The "Evening Standard", even hinting that a sedition charge should be brought against the R.C.P. for urging the strikers to appeal to the soldiers.

The main weakness of the Strike Committee was its attempt to prevent the spreading of the strike. The inexperience of the Committee made them susceptible to the pressure of the Union bureaucrats. They sought to confine the strike to haulage workers and appealed to dockers, and other sections not to come out in support. The market workers and dockers came out in spite of this, and had it not been for their solidarity, the haulage workers would have been smashed by the bosses and the Labour Government.

### Power Of The Workers

The strike experience has given an impetus to the "unofficial", that is, rank and file, movement in other sections of industry.

Beginning as a strike over immediate economic demands, the movement developed into a direct challenge to the Government and its reactionary intervention on behalf of the employers. The solidarity of the workers defeated both the Government and the employers. This victory will pro-

foundly affect the future struggles of the workers. They have seen the power of the organised unity of the working class. Without the toil of the workers, industry and the country can be rapidly paralysed. The whole of society rests on the backs of the working class. Once they withdraw their labour, the real situation in society is revealed. If the workers act together they will succeed. The dockers recognised this principle in coming out in support of the haulage workers and asked for support from them in return when their coming struggle is on.

### Bosses Fear Solidarity Strikes

The capitalist press and Government openly voiced their fears of a victory in the haulage strike, because of the effects on other sections of the working class. All recognised the inevitability of unofficial movements by other sections of the workers. All lamented the fact that the top union bureaucrats have forfeited the confidence of the rank and file.

After many years of bitter experience, the workers are beginning to lose patience with the protracted negotiation machinery which extends over months and sometimes even years, and which is always weighted in favour of the bosses. They are beginning to see that only direct action gains the desired results.

Instead of the Labour Government coming out on the side of the workers, and assisting them in their just demands, they have commenced a propaganda campaign in favour of the employers. The White Paper on Relations between Employers and Workers opposes wage increases and shortening of hours.

The dockers are preparing for action if their demands are not conceded. The railway workers, the builders, the ship-builders, and others have placed their demands before the employers. The solidarity of the workers with the haulage strikers, their willingness to take sympathetic strike action, indicates that the working class is preparing to struggle in defence of its rights before the advantageous position of "full employment" disappears in the slump.



— from the BRANCHES  
BIRMINGHAM  
ANTI-CONSCRIPTION

### TRANSFORMATION AT PARTY CENTRE

Visitors to the Party Centre will

lets were distributed and a special supplement on the strike was sold. They were enthusiastically received. In Liverpool in particular

## The Policy of the R.C.P.

1. Nationalisation of the land, of all atomic processes, of all large financial insurance industrial institutions

than one monthly average income, in the meat industry, to three, and in the spirit industry, to more than four and a half. Other industries present the same picture. The table shows huge are the sums contained in the hands of directors and executives numbering thousands of workers.

We have no statistical data on how the Director's Funds are distributed. The only indication we have is from Yvon "L'URSS telle qu'elle est", Paris, 1938, page 111. He writes that in the paper "Za Industrialization" of 20/4/37, figures were published concerning

chief accountants 6,000, the president of the trade union 4,000, the head of the workshop 5,000, the distribution of the other 5,000 roubles is not indicated. They doubtless served to compensate the thousands of workers. This example is no doubt more glaring than many another, but the fact that such an excess can occur indicates the degree to which the industrial bureaucracy is independent of the masses, and one-man management, together with the Director's Fund are certainly excellent conditions for the increasing prosperity of the directors.

# TROOPSHIP

(Continued from Page 1.)  
With the impression that we were not getting on the boat, we then waited for alternative orders. They asked sergeants and then corporals to form up on the right of the men, which they did and were thereupon marched away apparently to different destinations. Time passed and then we were told that the N.C.O.'s had consented to get on the boat.

In this way they were able to split us, telling each group that the others had decided to go on. By this method and by individual orders, etc., they were able to decrease our ranks slowly, until after three odd hours, there were only about 14 men left.

At this point the fight was useless, due to our smallness of numbers.

On reaching the boat, we could see how we had been tricked and a mass walk-off was already being discussed. In about a half-an-hour some hundred or so were on their way to the gang-plank, where officers and M.P.'s were concentrated.

As the gang-plank was only accessible through a narrow passage, only the vanguard were able to make a break in comparatively small numbers. Since they were loaded with kit they made easy meat for the M.P.'s. However, only about eight were able to reach the bottom, two making a complete get-away.

With this warning the M.P.'s quickly pulled up the gang-plank and the ship pulled out. As we pulled out "The King" was played and as can be expected, the men felt it to be an insult. As though by some pre-arranged signal, the troops let out the loudest BOO of the day, some chanting "Red Flag! Red Flag!"

When we were on the station we were told that we would have the best of food. Now we are on the ship the food is easily the worst I have had in my life. One example—the potatoes which were served up still had earth on them.

On top of this, pipes all over the ship have been leaking, causing water to enter the troops' messing and sleeping quarters. The engines break down every few hours, causing the ship to slow down, and one of the cook-houses to be put out of action because they were running on steam heat. With the food being served cold and complaints of the small quantities—all these things are angering the troops.

The officers admit that the ship is not in a fit condition to carry troops.

We hope it will be a warning to those who may be fooled into voluntary subjugation by the army recruiting campaign. And let it also be a reminder to the British working class that workers in uniform are forced against their wishes to occupy those places we are said to have liberated.



## JANUARY

	£	s.	d.
Leeds	14	0	0
Southall	2	0	0
"AMY"	2	0	0
Manchester	16	0	0
Thames Valley	1	8	0
Todd	1	3	0
West London	12	6	0
"Valley Pals", Wales	5	0	0
K.D., Neath	10	0	0
Newcastle	1	6	9
Labourer, N.E.M.	1	0	0
W.H., Birmingham	9	5	0
Hampstead	1	16	4
N. London	1	15	3

Glasgow	2	4	0
Liverpool	6	4	1
East London	-	13	6
Ilford	2	10	0
"Ticker"	1	0	0
R.J., Tredegar	5	0	0
Trooper, B.A.O.R.	7	6	0
Croydon	2	2	2
Mrs. G.H.	1	0	0
Sapper B.	5	0	0
Birmingham	1	3	0
Sgt. J.C.F., India	5	0	0
Aberdeen Sympathiser	18	0	0
Demobbed Soldier (B.T.)	15	0	0
M.L.	2	2	9
Susan	20	0	0
R.N.	2	2	0
Birmingham Collection	1	0	0
A.J.B., Croydon	1	0	0
Colonial Marxist League	10	0	0
Sympathiser	50	0	0
Sheffield	13	7	0
M.S., South Africa	3	0	0

TOTAL £146 7 5

## — from the BRANCHES BIRMINGHAM ANTI-CONSCRIPTION MEETING

The Birmingham branch held a successful meeting in the I.L.P. Rooms recently, when an attentive audience of 60 heard our Party's case on Conscription. Comrade Ainsworth, who acted as chairman, used his own experiences in the Army to back up our Party's opposition to conscription. The audience was significantly youthful in composition, and listened to Comrade Jock Haston outline our policy with great interest. There was a lively period of questions and discussion, and the meeting represents a step forward for our comrades in the area.

## AGAIN—THE JUMBLE SALE

Comrades are once again reminded that we need material for the next Jumble Sale. We thank those comrades and friends who have already sent us their old clothes etc., but we still need some more before we can fix a definite date. Will you please arrange to send us something within the next few weeks.

# "Work Harder"

(Continued from Page 1.)

the old, old story! As always, full employment in Britain, the maintenance of the foreign trade of British capitalism, rests upon the possibilities of defeating its competitors. As competition increases on the world market, so also will increase the demands on the workers to maintain "right" prices by increased effort and reduction of wages. Many workers will remember the attacks on their standards which took place after the slump of 1929 in the name of maintaining "right" prices for the export trade.

## Manpower Shortage?

The White Paper states: "To provide the 75% increase in volume of exports alone would mean employing more than 2 million workers on export trade; if this increase of exports had to be achieved without any increase in the pre-war rate of output per head, this would mean withdrawing 560,000 more workers from supplying goods for the home market. Obviously it would be quite impossible to spare so big a part of the labour force from production for the home market. The additional exports, like the additional goods that are needed at home, cannot be got without increasing output per head and raising the whole level of production."

This is a deception. Even without increasing the output per worker, it is very simple to assure

## TRANSFORMATION AT PARTY CENTRE

Visitors to the Party Centre will be struck by the transformation which is gradually taking place. Comrades Ted Shields and Bill Todd are spending their demob leave at their own expense, in making "structural improvements" at the Party headquarters. Comrade Todd generously donated £20 of his gratuity for the purchase of materials.

## BELFAST

Our Irish Comrades held a successful meeting addressed by Comrades T. Merrigan and Jock Haston on the role of the Labour Government. Approximately 100 attended and many questions were asked by young members of the Socialist Republican Party. In the audience were a number of ex-internees who have broken with the I.R.A. and are seeking a political banner.

## TRANSPORT STRIKE

As most of our readers are now aware, the Party's activities in relation to the recent Transport Strike received quite a degree of national press publicity. Two leaf-

lets were distributed and a special supplement on the strike was sold. They were enthusiastically received. In Liverpool in particular, the reception to our printed "Socialist Appeal" supplement was very good. Our comrades gave the paper away to the workers as they went into the meeting, asking those who liked the paper to pay as they came out. 330 were distributed—200 were paid for at the end of the meeting!

# Meetings

LIVERPOOL DEBATE—"Which Party for the Workers? Revolutionary Communist Party or Socialist Party of Great Britain?" Sunday, 9th February, at 7 p.m., in the Coopers' Hall, Shaw Street.

ROTHWELL, Nr. LEEDS—Old Band Room (behind "Coach and Horses"). Roy Tearse Industrial organiser R.C.P., on "The Trade Unions and the Labour Government." Admission Free. Sunday, Feb. 9th, at 3 p.m.

## —For Whom?

but in the interests of the workers not of the few. Production for use but not for profit.

To speak about increasing the wages parallel with an increase in production is hollow phrasemongering so long as the workers do not control production, do not see exactly what part of the product goes as profits, so long as they are prevented from knowing what patents are held secret by capitalist monopolies in order to prevent increases in production that will threaten their private interests and profits.

It is true that the standard of life of the British masses is low and a tremendous increase in production is necessary to assure better conditions. But only socialisation, that is, nationalisation without compensation for the employers and the placing of all industry under workers' control can assure this increase for the benefit of the producers. Only an all comprehensive socialist plan together with the establishment of a monopoly of foreign trade which will protect the economy from the slumps abroad, can bring a high standard of life for the working class. Such measures would bring the greatest enthusiasm, the greatest sacrifices for the building of a communist Britain as part of a communist world.

## Produce For The Workers!

Increased production is needed—

# The Policy of the R.C.P.

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

of their promises of "pie in the sky" to the working class.

## Militant Policy Of Bin-Men

In relation to the conduct of the Union leaders, the lesson was drawn in the strikers' statement, as follows:

"The lessons of this strike are many and varied, but the most prominent (as has been taught by every single dispute in any industry over the past period) is that if the workers are to substantially improve their conditions, they must transform their Unions into fighting organisations by removing those officials who at present hold office and organise to replace them by worker-militants who are prepared to stand on the platform of working class struggle. They must demand that all officials are subject to regular election and immediate recall, and paid exactly the same wages as the workers on the job. They must struggle to break the Industrial Truce which ties the workers hand and foot with the employers' organisations, as a first step towards a determined struggle against the boss."

Rarely has such a spirit been demonstrated by a body of strikers over the past period, and although there were organisational shortcomings this was in no way due to the lack of energy and enthusiasm of the Strike Committee. It was just one further demonstration of the fact that, abandoned by the leaders of the organisations they have built up over decades of struggle, the workers, side by side with their struggles to transform the Unions into fighting organisations, have in many senses to learn all over again the best methods of organisation in such strike activity.

On January 24th the J.I.C. decided to award the Cleansing workers 7s. 6d. (5s. 6d. short of their £5 demand), and also to re-

duce their working hours from 48 to 44. That this does not fully meet their demands is clearly realised by the strikers. But they have decided to return to work after their four week stand, determined to take the question up further on a local scale with the Glasgow Corporation (the 7s. 6d. concession they have forced now applies to all such workers in Scotland). Nevertheless, they have undoubtedly forced the hand of the J.I.C. by their strike action, whose previous award of 1s. 6d. gave an indication of what they really would have preferred to grant.

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