



# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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## DOWN WITH FRANCO For a Workers' Boycott

Franco's fake referendum which empowers him to name a royal successor, organised under totalitarian terror secured the expected result. 12 million people voted yes.

But despite the threats from the Government to deprive people of their rations if they abstained, over two million did not vote. In addition, despite a campaign of arrests and intimidation, nearly a million voted no, put in blank papers, or spoiled their ballots. In the big towns where the illegal opposition is better organised the no percentages were higher.

The whole farce of the referendum was demonstrated by the official figures of the poll in Bilbao where, out of 118,000 voters, 102,000 were supposed to have voted Yes, with only 11,334 No, and 4,269 abstained. This in a city where despite the death sentence for illegal strikes, tens of thousands were on strike some weeks ago.

Serious observers even in the capitalist press have admitted that 95% of the Spanish people are in opposition to Franco. But the workers and peasants of Spain feel they have been betrayed by the so-called "democratic" powers who have in words expressed their abhorrence of the fascist dictatorship, but continue to prop up Franco by extending trade relations with his Government. To its shame, the Labour Government has also expanded trade with Spain.

The international working class cannot rely on their capitalist governments to assist the Spanish working class in the struggle to overthrow Franco. The British workers must exert pressure on the Labour Government by action organised through the trade unions. An embargo on the transport of all goods to and from Spain by the railwaymen, dockers, seamen and other sections of the workers would encourage the Spanish workers in their heroic struggle, and soon bring Franco to his knees.

The Italian postal and telegraph workers refused to handle all communications from Spain on July 7th as a protest against the arrest of the General Secretary of the Spanish Radio Operators Union. Such action on an international scale on all goods and services is the only means of demonstrating genuine international solidarity with the Spanish workers!

## STOP THREATENING THE MINERS

### Capitalist Coal Board Must Be Replaced By Workers' Control

BY TED GRANT

**LORD HYNDLEY, ON BEHALF OF THE COAL BOARD, HAS WRITTEN A LETTER TO THE NATIONAL UNION OF MINERS AS PART OF A PREPARED CAMPAIGN OF THREATS AND INTIMIDATION AGAINST THE MINERS. IN THIS LETTER HE THREATENS "UNOFFICIAL" STRIKERS WITH PROSECUTION.**

The "Daily Telegraph" of July 17th, remarks with satisfaction: "The policy of prosecuting unofficial strikers would be a reversion to the practice of the colliery companies before the industry was nationalised."

And indeed, there can be no surprise at this. Largely, the same old managers, and even in many cases, the same old coalowners, continue to run the pits. This is exemplified by the situation in South Wales where the administration has been criticised by the South Wales Executive of the Miners' Union as a result of the dissatisfaction of the miners. The officials of the Regional Coal Board are General Sir Reade Godwin-Austen, Mr. G. E. Aeron-Thomas, former coalowner, and Mr. Iestyn Williams, formerly Secretary of the Monmouthshire and South Wales Coalowners Association.

The arrogant ruling class attitude of these people is shown in the "Daily Telegraph" report of an interview in its July 7th issue with a "high official of the North Eastern Division of the Coal Board," when he said "he is seriously considering the prosecution and dismissal of the ring-leaders concerned... (in unofficial strikes)."

The ring-leaders and all the undesirable in the industry must be weeded out and got rid of. "The official described the position as 'desperate', and added 'The time has arrived when miners must properly appreciate their obligations.'"

The whole of the capitalist press as one pack, is in full cry against "unofficial" strikes, especially among the miners. The "Daily

Telegraph," organ of the former coalowners, remarked with satisfaction in its editorial of July 7th in commenting on this threat made by the North Eastern Coal Board:

"Such a statement from the mouth of a private employer would be denounced in unmeasured terms as a threat of 'victimisation', sufficient in itself to cause a strike. It does not become less formidable in its implications from the lips of an

executive of a great nationalised monopoly."

Instead of denouncing these monstrous threats and explaining the reasons for "unofficial" strikes, Will Lawther, the President of the N.U.M., gave an interview with the reactionary "Daily Mail" in which he gave the green light to the Coal Board to go ahead. "Disciplinary action would not lead to trouble in the coal fields. There would be no

(Continued on Page 4.)

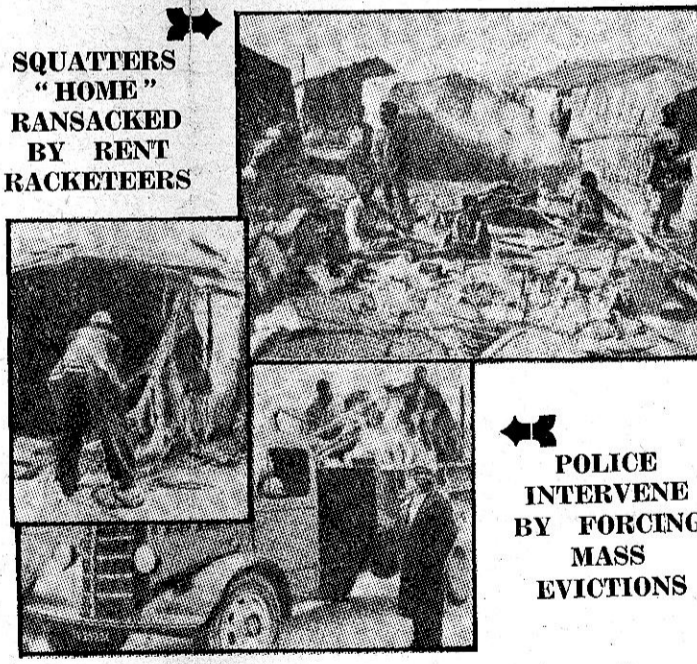
## S. African Police Raid "Tobruk"

These pictures provide an insight into the intolerable conditions of the Bantu workers in South Africa. Because their skin is black they are forbidden by law to live in the so-called "white areas" of the towns and cities, and are herded into ghettos called "locations" where they live under conditions of unbelievable misery.

Conditions prevailing in the "squatters" camps which have been set up by thousands of "homeless" black workers near the big cities are even worse.

Gangster elements terrorise the inhabitants, exact "rent" (protection money) from the squatters, and destroy their miserable corrugated iron shacks unless the "rent" is paid. The large night "Tobruk" was a family salvaging their belongings after their shanty in "Tobruk" Camp had been demolished by gangsters.

Only after the situation in these camps had become a public scandal did the South African authorities intervene in this squatters camp near Johannesburg. How did they intervene? The smaller pictures graphically illustrate the mass eviction measures adopted by the police ostensibly "to combat the gangsterism". A family whose "home" is being demolished by police are seen with their belongings in a lorry waiting to be dumped.



SQUATTERS  
"HOME"  
RANSACKED  
BY RENT  
RACKETEERS

POLICE  
INTERVENE  
BY FORCING  
MASS  
EVICTIONS

## N.U.R. Branches Protest Wages Award

The findings of the Court of Inquiry set up by the Government to examine the claims of the railway workers Unions, have met with widespread opposition by the railway workers.

The workers demanded a 40-hour week and £1 a week increase.

The Court awarded a 44-hour week, and 7/6 a week increase.

Many meetings of Branches and Depots have already expressed their disgust with these findings, and their indignation at the fact that the N.U.R. Executive have recommended their acceptance.

As an indication of the widespread revolt against the acceptance of the 7/6, we understand that Paddington No. 3, Paddington No. 2, Southall, Bermondsey, Bricklayers Arms No. 1, and Bricklayers Arms No. 2 Branches of the N.U.R. all passed unanimous

resolutions rejecting the miserable award, and calling on the E.C. of the N.U.R. to give 21 days' notice of a national railway strike unless the full demands are met immediately.

These resolutions were in the form of instructing Annual General meeting delegates. But the A.G.M. at its first day's proceedings, accepted the Award. It is clear that this was a rushed decision to allow no more time for depot and branch meetings to consider the Award and make opinions known.

It seems clear, the decision of the A.G.M. does not represent the real feelings of the rank and file, it will be necessary for the militants in the industry to demand a national strike ballot to test the genuine feelings of the railway workers.

For this fight, it is necessary that militant depots and branches combine for the calling of mass meetings on local and area scales. S.B.

## Arab - Jewish Workers Strike

BY S. MUNIR

PALESTINE—

In the last few months, some important strikes of Jewish and Arab workers in Palestine have occurred. Especially notable was the strike at the Oil Refineries in Haifa at the beginning of this year, and the general one-day protest strike of 40,000 Arab and Jewish workers in the military camps on May 20th, 1947.

The capitalist press, which pretends that British imperialism dominates Palestine to keep the peace between the different communities, naturally enough did not print a word about the Arab-Jewish unity in these strikes.

The British authorities decided to dismiss some thousands of workers from the military camps. The decisions as to who was to be dismissed were placed in the hands of Jewish foremen, in the hope that this would serve as a good opportunity to bring a clash between Jewish and Arab workers. Perhaps, there is some foundation to the rumours that that was the only reason for the dismissals. However, the provocation did not succeed. The reactionary bureau leadership of the Arab Unions called on the workers to strike against the Jewish foremen. This took place at the end of March. A great majority of the Arab workers refused to accept this provocation and the strike failed.

Now, the provocation came from the Zionist side. On the 15th May, the train which carries the workers to the camps, and which does not fulfil any military function, was bombed by Zionist terrorists. The workers answered by a one day strike. The same Arab trade union bureaucrat, Sami Taha, tried again to incite the Arab workers against the Jewish workers. But he was shouted down by the Arab workers. The height of the provocation was reached when the Hagana (the official Zionist military organisation) attacked the Arab village Fejja, killing a few Arabs under the pretext that some Arab bandits either came from the village, or found refuge in it. Of course, the

British Zionists have the best evidence. In a leaflet issued in Arabic and Hebrew by the Revolutionary Communist League, Palestine Trotskyists, the political character of the strike was explained. It contained a warning of likely provocation from the Government, the Arab feudal leaders and the Histadruth (Zionist Labour organisation). It put forward the demand to extend the strike from a one day demonstration until the demands of the workers were accepted; the immediate introduction of workers' control of dismissals; and the formation of a body composed of delegates from all the military camps to constitute a permanent body representing the workers.

Workers March Out Together In the struggle against the oil colossus, the Iraq Petroleum Company, a British-American-French combine which has a capital of more than £30,000,000, and which refused a wage increase of 3 pence (7d.) per day, to the hungry workers, the Arab and Jewish workers again showed

solidarity. Notwithstanding the opposition of the official Union leaderships of both sides to any co-operation between the workers, they stood together in a sit-down strike for many days. When the Arab Union leader asked the Jewish workers present in a meeting to leave the meeting, all the Arab workers joined them and left him on his own. One Arab worker who found difficulty in expressing himself to his Jewish fellow workers, demonstrated his sentiments as follows: he stood up on the platform, and with two sticks, showed that he could not break them together, but separately they could be broken with the greatest of ease. Each stick represented the Jewish and Arab worker, while he represented British imperialism. The workers greeted this with great applause.

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The Zionists have the best evidence to prove that a Jewish state is necessary as no peace can exist between Jews and Arabs and therefore no possibility of an independent Palestine with an Arab majority, where the two communities will live in peace. The Arab feudal leaders and their lackeys are also afraid of every demonstration of workers' solidarity. Despite all these provocations, cases of solidarity action between Arab and Jewish workers occur again and again.

## T.U. BOSSES EXPULSION MEMBERS

Disband Branches

An example of high-handedness and bureaucracy in the Trade Union movement has been provided by the officials of the British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association (BISAKTA). 1,500 Yorkshire steel smelters have received expulsion notices from the Union.

The bureaucrats in this Union are already notorious for the undemocratic way in which they run affairs. But this must constitute a record in arrogance and disregard of the wishes of the members.

These 1,500 workers are threatened with expulsion from the Union because they have refused to operate a continuous working week agreement arrived at by the employers and the Union leaders, without securing the consent of the rank-and-file to the terms of the settlement.

Four Branches in the Sheffield area are to be disbanded, the local officials of the Branches are no longer recognised, and the E.C. intend to set up new branches composed of obedient stooges in their place.

Two Branches in South Wales were given notice of expulsion as well; and under this threat, according to the trade union bureaucrats, decided to work the agreement.

The Branch at Consett, Co. Durham, has also refused to accept this pernicious betrayal. Altogether 2,700 workers all over the country have been threatened with expulsion from the Union. The Union bureaucracy is even willing to partially wreck the Union rather than allow the members the elementary democratic right of having the terms of agreements placed before them and receiving assent before the officials come to terms with the employers over their working conditions.

Steel smelting, even under normal conditions, constitutes an almost unendurable strain—particularly now-a-days, when sufficient protective foods cannot be

obtained by the workers. But under this scheme, only seven clear Sundays a year would be free for the workers. This would inevitably mean a breakdown in the health of the men. Not satisfied with over-riding the protests of the members at the expense of whose sweat and toil the Agreement would operate, the Union leaders have gone even further.

They have come out openly on the side of the employers. They have requested the employers to introduce this scheme immediately, and if the men do not comply, to lock them out. The firm affected is the United Steel Company, at its works in Sheffield, Rotherham, and Stockbridge.

The men cannot afford to take this insolent action lying down. They must immediately organise a campaign of protest throughout their Union. Unions were formed to cater for the interests of the workers—not to be run at the dictates of officialdom. These bureaucrats imagine that the Union is their property, and that the workers are their servants. Far from the men being expelled, it is high time these bureaucrats should be chucked out, and real control restored into the hands of the workers.

These officials live under good conditions and work in fine offices far from the heat of the furnaces. The workers want a fighting leadership which will really represent them. They must demand that all officials should receive the average wage of the workers in the industry, and a National Conference each year for the re-election of all officials.

## Inside Germany

CREWS STARVE

Blatant discrimination against German crews is shown by the amount of rations authorised by the Ministry of Food to ships plying the Swansea-Bordeaux route. Ships Chandlers are issuing to German crews, on M.O.F. instructions only half the rations authorised for British crews on the same route.

How meagre these rations are can be judged by the fact that they are lower than those issued to Asiatic seamen. Furthermore, no spirits or beer are provided at all, while the cigarette issue is 30 per man as against 200 consumed by British seamen on the same route.

## AMERICAN INTEREST IN SCHACHT

The former President of the German Reichsbank and top ranking Nazi, Hjalmar Schacht, has been removed from the prison camp of Ludwigsberg, and been handed over to the American Intelligence Service. General Lucius D. Clay, American Commander in Chief for Germany, declared he was not interested in the financial plans of Schacht, whilst officers of the Intelligence Service affirmed that the ideas of Schacht for the stabilisation of German economy would be taken seriously into consideration.

## South African Slave Bill TRADE UNIONISM ILLEGALISED

BY CHARLES VAN GELDEREN

Since the end of the war, South Africa has been an investor's paradise. Capital has been streaming into the country from Britain and America, and already it is reaping rich dividends. The attraction is not only the natural wealth of South Africa, but the abundance of cheap labour which is provided by the millions of black workers.

To maintain this situation and thus ensure huge profits for its capitalist backers, is the chief function of the Smuts' Government. Its latest effort is the introduction of a Trade Union Bill which rivals in savagery, the worst anti-labour and colour bar laws.

### Trade Unionism Banned

The "Native Trade Unions Bill" introduced into the current session of the Union Parliament by Minister of Labour Colin Steyn, makes trade unionism illegal for African workers in gold-mining, agriculture and domestic service, that is to say, for the overwhelm-

ing majority of African workers.

It takes away completely the African worker's right to strike.

African workers will have no say in the appointment of personnel for arbitration tribunals, and the Minister of Labour is given the right to veto any agreement arrived at by the workers and the bosses.

The organising of any trade unions, other than those registered under the proposed Bill, will be illegal.

White and black workers will not be allowed to belong to the same unions.

This is the Bill which the Government of General Smuts is trying to impose on the workers of South Africa—the same Smuts who drafted the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, with its honeyed phrases about freedom and liberty. It now becomes clear why the King bestowed on him the Order of Merit during his recent visit to the Union. Smuts was being rewarded by his King for his services to the capitalist class and British imperialism. For the Bill is directly in the interest of British finance capital investments in South Africa. Behind it looms the sinister shadow of the Chamber of Mines.

By introducing the clause giving the Minister the right of veto over agreements between employers and workers, it can be assured that secondary industry will not be able to tempt African labour away from the mines by offering higher wages. The British owned and controlled Chamber of Mines has long been

(Continued on Page 4.)

## R.C.P. May Day Contingent





For June

Table listing contributions for the Fighting Fund in June, with columns for names and amounts in pounds, shillings, and pence.

Comrades! We need double this sum to keep our paper going. Please make every effort to double your contributions for July. Readers and supporters will donate if they are asked.

A. ROSS, Treasurer, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

C.P. Press Silent on Budenz Evidence

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

NEW YORK— After a total silence of more than two weeks, the March 23 "Worker" finally takes note of the book "This Is My Story," written by its former editor and Communist Party national committee member, Louis F. Budenz.

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

For a Marxist understanding of the Spanish situation, read: "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain" by Felix Morrow 5/-

Miners' News



Lancs. Coal Board Force Strike "Same Old Gang in Control"—say Miners

BY BOB ALLEN The strike of surface workers in fifteen pits in the Tyldesley-Mosley Common-Atherton area from 24th-29th June, although of comparatively short duration, is a symptom of the deep uneasiness felt by miners nationally.

The Coal Board has behaved strictly in the tradition of the worst type of pre-nationalisation mine-owners. Under the new National Agreement with the Board, the underground workers were given a Five Shift Week, with no reduction in pay, and no increase in the length of the working day.

In other words the surface workers got no appreciable benefit at all from the five day week. The justice of the surface workers' case is recognised by everyone connected with the mines. It is significant that the underground workers in the affected pits, although not directly concerned in the dispute, came out solidly in sympathy with their mates on the surface.

Bureaucrats And Bosses Run The Coal Board

Yet, in spite of the fact that the grievance of the surface workers is known to be completely justified, the Coal Board has turned a completely deaf ear to the men, and has stood pat on the cynical, typically Boss position, of crying "No negotiations while the men are on strike."

What Has Happened To The N.U.M.?

The leadership of the N.U.M. behaved disgracefully throughout the strike. A comment by a striker very aptly sums up the situation: "Once the Union gave us ideas and a lead against the owners; now the Coal Board gives all the ideas to the Union against the miners."

60,000 Tons Lost - Coal Board Responsible

60,000 tons of coal were lost during this strike, and the general unrest in Lancashire has led to a serious drop in output.

The N.U.M. Must Really Fight For The Miners, Not Act As Office Boys For The Coal Board

But where the N.U.M. leadership openly goes on to the side of the Coal Board, and fights against the men, it is necessary to set up machinery to co-ordinate the struggle. Not to leave the N.U.M. but to fight for a militant policy and leadership, and take it out of the hands of the Board's supporters is the chief task.

SOME PICKINGS!

THE way in which the Trade Union bureaucrats live and regard the Trade Union movement was shown by the report of the Committee of Privileges on the move to pension off Mr. W. J. Brown of the Civil Service Clerical Association.

Bus and Tram Sunday Strike

Disatisfaction over wages and bad working conditions in the transport industry expressed itself in large scale strike action by tram and bus workers throughout the country.

The Miners Must Control The Mines

Unless the mines come under democratic control from below, from the actual mine workers, the Coal Board will continue in the old way. Why should the miners have to fight and strike over these issues time and time again?

The Youth Are Absent

The main speaker was a distinguished looking gentleman with white hair who was introduced as the Minister President of Hesse.

Inside Germany:

CONDITIONS IN THE U.S. ZONE

FROM AN AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT.

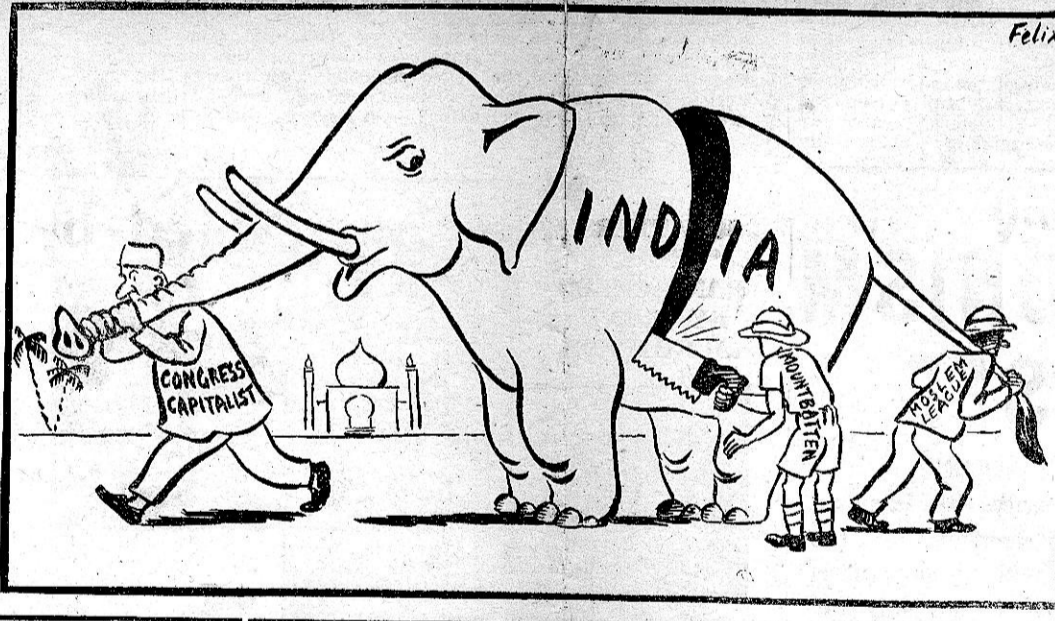
Frankfurt, June, I have been here approximately one week. Naturally, in that time, I could only have the briefest impressions.

I cannot say much of what is taking place outside of the American zone which I visited. Conditions are reputed to be worse than in the German zone.

Frankfurt is in ruins, of course, with the exception of Heidelberg it is a mass of rubble. Only the American compound in Frankfurt seems to be preserved from the pre-bombing era.

You will get some idea of the wage conditions and relative value when I tell you that the workers earn about 180 marks a month and that this represents the price of two and a half packets of American cigarettes.

The "Daily Herald" last month pointed out that a boom is taking place in bus shares. That shareholders and gamblers are making a lot of cash on such shares which had gone up by £10,000,000.



From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

THE Association's car to remain in Mr. Brown's possession until he reached the age of 55, and a lump sum payment of £500 to be made in respect of running and maintenance expenses during that period.

PAY "PRIVATE AFFAIR"

THE Tories and Labour leaders in Parliament have had several clashes on the method of appointment of officials to the Boards of the Nationalised industries and the demand that the salaries of the Staffs of the Boards be made public.

Building Bosses Reap Huge Profits

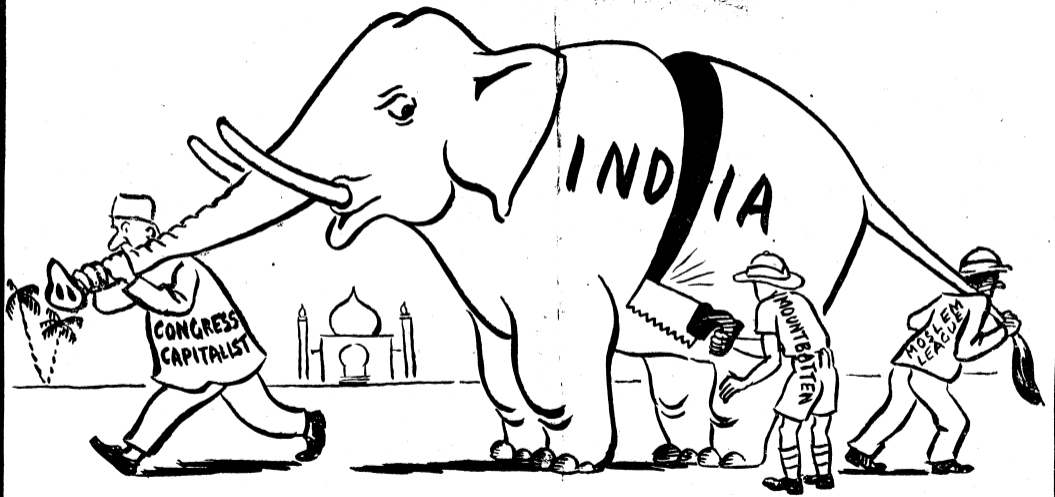
The employers in the building industry continue to reap huge profits from the exploitation of the workers, to give an example, 20 building materials groups made a profit for one quarter of 1946, of £2,822,000 as compared with £2,640,000 for the corresponding period of 1945.

Added to this, the large rings have continued their plundering of the public without hindrance. The British Portland Cement Co. made a total profit in 1946 of £1,176,873 as compared with £678,216 in 1945.

Every building worker knows what Bevan the Labour Minister of Housing, refuses to face up to is the sabotage and black marketeering that is rampant in the building industry.

DEBATE

WHICH PARTY SHOULD THE WORKING CLASS SUPPORT— THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY or THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN at Bethnal Green Central Library CAMBRIDGE HEATH ROAD, E.2 Wednesday, 16th July, 7.45 p.m. Speakers: JOCK HASTON, R.C.P. DESMOND FENWICK, S.P.G.B. ADMISSION FREE



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# U.S. Workers Hit Back

## Against Congress Anti-Labour Bill

BY C. CHARLES

BY OVERRIDING THE PRESIDENTIAL VETO AND PASSING THE HARTLEY-TAFT SLAVE LABOUR BILL, THE AMERICAN CONGRESS HAS DECLARED OPEN WAR ON THE ORGANISED WORKING CLASS.

To find a suitable comparison for these laws which, as the "MILITANT" organ of American Trotskyism, states, places the Labour movement "in danger of losing all its hard-won rights at one legislative stroke," one would have to go back to the Combination Laws of the 19th Century.

### AMERICA'S SLAVE LABOUR BILL

America's organised workers, 15,000,000 strong, are not taking this frontal attack of the bosses lying down. Already the vanguard of America's 400,000 miners are out on strike. Shipyard workers, auto workers and railwaymen are ready to join the battle against the forces of reaction and to fight for their hard-won rights as trade unionists. The entire American Labour movement stands ready to take up battle stations. From the first moment that the Bill was introduced into the House of Representatives, they showed their determination to fight. The day before the House passed the Bill, 20,000 Chicago packinghouse workers staged a one-hour stoppage of work. The "Militant" reports: "They marched from the plants . . . many of them still in blood-stained work clothes, into the square facing the general offices of Swift & Co. There they shouted approval of resolutions denouncing the Bill. Business drive against labour. This great demonstration was called 'said one of the Union spokesmen, 'to let Chicago, the world and the boys in Congress know that the packinghouse workers won't take repressive anti-labour Bills lying down.'" "This was typical of the mood of the workers up and down the country, a mood which was intensified on the day the Bill was passed by Congress and awaited the veto or approval of the President.

### Union Leadership Curb Militancy

Instead of encouraging the fighting spirit of the workers, and organising a nation-wide campaign against the Bill, the cowardly leadership of the American Federation of Labour and the Congress for Industrial Organisation made every effort to curb the militancy of their followers. When Union after Union were pushing forward the demand for a 24-hour general strike, Murray and Green urged them to concentrate on sending letters and telegrams to Congressmen and to Truman. Despite the valiant efforts of the Trade Union leadership to lead the struggle into harmless channels, the workers have shown that they

are not to be deflected from their determination to carry on the fight against the Bill on class lines. The demand for the 24-hour strike, first put forward by the American Trotskyists, is growing and signs are not wanting that far from curbing strikes, as its main purpose, the passing of the Bill will unleash a new wave of gigantic industrial struggles which threaten to throw all the economic plans of Wall Street out of gear.

### Working Class Political Party Needed

The passing of the Taft-Harvey Bill by Congress, with a 3-1 majority, is impressing on the American workers the need for a political party of their own. Trade Union militants are asking themselves why American Labour permits the intolerable Wall Street monopoly of politics to continue. The question of building a Labour

Party has pushed itself right to the foreground of American working-class politics. Congress, as at present constituted, is in a vicious, anti-labour mood. It wants to put the American workers in chains so that American capitalism can prepare for its imperialist conquest of the world without fear of trouble at home. The Taft-Harvey Bill is only a sample of what is to come.

As long ago as April 12th, when the anti-labour laws were still in the rumour stage, the "Militant" wrote:

"This danger to labour is real. It cannot be met by relying solely on the strike weapon. The unions can defend themselves against this political assault only by forging their own political weapon—that is, an independent Labour Party."

### Stalinist "Peoples' Party"

As the demand for a genuine Labour Party gains increasing support among the organised workers of America, the enemies of Labour are trying to divert it into a harmless capitalist "Third Party" movement. Foremost in this betrayal of Labour are the American Stalinists. They are pushing the idea of a "Peoples' Party," under the leadership of "progressive capitalists" of the ilk of Henry Wallace, Ickes, Pepper and La Guardia. In support of this, they bring forward the same arguments they used in defence of the "Peoples' Front" and during their 1945 campaign for a "Labour and Progressive" Government in this country.

A Labour Party, they say, would repel other sections of the population, such as the farmers and the middle classes. To this, the "Militant" gives them a clear-cut answer:

"Labour will never command confidence from others, if it does not display confidence in itself, its own power, programme and party. The Unions have already shown that they are capable of combating the industrialists and their government stooges on the economic arena. Once the organised workers undertake to lead the political struggle against the monopolists, they will win increasing sympathy and support from all other oppressed sections of the American people."

## RELEASE VETTER!

For "improper" association with an English girl a German P.O.W., Werner Vetter, has been sentenced by a British court-martial to a year's imprisonment. Permission to marry had been previously sought by the couple, and this had been refused by the authorities. Their 11-week old baby is thus denied a father and the girl her husband for no other reason than that Vetter had been born a German.

A few weeks ago a British A.T.S. girl who married a German P.O.W., perforce secretly, was informed that her marriage was "illegal", her husband was court-martialled and sentenced. . . . He was a German P.O.W.

In sharp contrast to this reactionary racism on the part of the British authorities, has been the widespread protests against the vicious sentence imposed upon Vetter. This has been voiced by British soldiers in Germany and abroad, as well as by workers in Britain. 50 workmates of the girl concerned signed a petition of protest demanding the release of Vetter.

The Nazi racial theory of the "Herrenvolk" was propagated in order to inflame national hatreds and prejudices to serve the ends of German capitalism. The war was supposed to have been fought to destroy all such racial ideologies. Now the British blimps continue in the familiar Nazi traditions. It is a disgrace to the Labour movement, and the ideals of "national workers solidarity" that this should be allowed to take place under a Labour Government.

The P.O.W.'s are compelled to stay in England as slave labourers 25 months after the end of the war. 575,000 prisoners of war under the control of the British authorities, are forced to live unnatural lives starved of the affection and love of the womenfolk at home.

A campaign on behalf of these P.O.W.'s is an elementary internationalist duty that must be undertaken by the workers in the British Labour movement. They must demand that all German P.O.W.'s who wish to do so should be allowed to return to Germany immediately. Those who remain in Britain should be entitled to full rights of citizenship and freedom of movement. Such a campaign would help to cement the bonds of class solidarity between the British and German workers and help to destroy the racial prejudices fostered by the remnants of the Nazis in Germany and the reactionary forces in Britain, who alone will benefit by inflaming racial hatreds.

**Demand the immediate release of Werner Vetter! Demand that the P.O.W.'s be allowed to go home!**

## Editorial

### Labour's Policy of State Capitalism

The Government has announced its intention to establish a "Colonial Development Corporation" with total borrowing powers of £100,000,000 and operating on commercial principles.

This Corporation will operate on approved capitalist-imperialist lines. "There is of course no question of giving the corporation any general monopoly in Colonial development. It is not intended to supplant private enterprise but to supplement it. It will encourage private investment." Thus spoke Mr. Creech Jones, the Colonial Secretary in describing the Scheme. And he added that the Government would welcome "private enterprise and investment" in the Colonies.

All the spokesmen of British capitalism, both Tories and Liberals, the whole of the capitalist press from the "Daily Mail" to the "Chronicle" have welcomed the scheme. In the House of Commons the Tories were especially enthusiastic about the "important part played by private enterprise in the scheme." An editorial in the "Daily Express" of June 26th, correctly describes the scheme as one of "State capitalism". The "Daily Telegraph" of the same date editorially points out that this policy is a direct continuation of the policy of the Conservatives. It explains clearly why the British capitalist state has to undertake the task directly of developing these undertakings "The new Corporation is designed to shoulder such burdens as individual pioneers could not themselves bear in the initial stages of big new enterprises, and which consist in finding not merely money but skilled direction and labour."

The individual capitalists and monopolies have not sufficient capital to advance such enormous sums, thus the State advances the money for the benefit of the capitalist class as a whole.

This Scheme comes after the Ground Nuts project advanced earlier, which will be run independently as a Corporation, and which will also entail large outlays of capital on the part of the Government.

The objective behind the development of Britain's Colonial Empire—principally African—is clear. British Imperialism strives to make up part of the losses caused by the retreat and sharing of power with the native capitalist class in India and the other parts of the Asiatic continent. The aim is to promote the interests of Imperialism in the undeveloped colonies, where the national consciousness of the peoples and the anti-imperialist movement is still in its early stages. By means of huge State enterprises—mainly agricultural, cheap foods and raw materials can be supplied for the benefit of the British industrialists. Still greater amounts of capital will be forthcoming, if necessary, for new schemes in the future, according to the plans of the Government.

In these schemes there is not a particle of Socialism. This is State Capitalism in its worst form: the direct exploitation of the colonial peoples for the benefit of capitalism at home. The colonial peoples have no voice whatsoever in the development of these plans. The phrases about the beneficial and civilising effect they will have on the colonial peoples are intended to lull the uneasiness that might be aroused among the conscious and anti-imperialist, Socialist workers in the Trade Union and Labour movement. Always, Imperialism attempts to disguise its predatory character with the hypocritical pretence that it benefits the dependent and subject peoples. The coating of "Socialism" over a foreign and alien rule will not make the black man's burden of the white exploiters upon his back any more bearable.

## NEWS FROM MADRAS

**BOMBAY—**  
 The Madras Government, early on June 10, declared the Madras Labour Union to be unlawful and promulgated Section 144 Criminal Penal Code in the city.  
 The Government press note says: "The Madras Labour Union, during the last one year, has been responsible for two illegal strikes in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. As the conduct of the Union president, Mr. Anthony Pillai, has been obstructive throughout the negotiations for a settlement, and as he is leading an illegal strike without shewing the slightest interest in the welfare of the workers, he was arrested and externed."  
 The Press Note alleges that there are two major cliques inside the Union: one advising the workers to go back to work and the other insisting on the release of

Mr. Anthony Pillai. "The Union is torn by internal dissension and is incapable of working on true trade-union lines. It has become an hotbed of power politics and shews no consideration for workers, who are mostly ignorant of the real issues involved. The irresponsible individuals who are opposing the Acting President's endeavour to secure an honourable settlement have been taken into custody to day", adds the Government communique.  
 The M.L.U. is the oldest registered union in India. It has a membership of 13,500 of the 13,800 employees of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. It owns a two-storied building and has its own press and newspaper. The building has now been sealed up by the Police.  
**M. Usman**  
**P.S.—Mrs. Pillai now under house arrest.**

## WOMEN IN THE U.S.S.R. Revolutionary Gains Undermined by Stalin

BY T. CLIFF

The degree of humanity's progress is measured by the condition of women. When inequality prevails, even biological differences become the source, on the one hand, of subjugation, and on the other, of privileges. If, therefore, we examine the changes in the position of women in Russia from the October Revolution until to-day, it will throw a clear light on changes in the regime as a whole during that period.

### What did the October Revolution Give to the Women

On Dec. 19 and 20, 1917, two decrees appeared over the signature of Lenin, "About the Dissolution of Marriage" and "About Civil Marriage, Children and the Registration of Marriages." These two laws deprived the man of the privilege of domination in the family, gave full freedom to the woman to decide her marital fate, and, as a self-evident right, to decide her surname, domicile and citizenship. Neither had the right to keep the other in the marital tie against the other's wish, and a divorce was granted freely to anyone demanding it. The decree went on to explain that as Russian society was poor and had not sufficient children's institutions, the father would be obliged to give alimony in case of a separation.

No legal difference whatsoever existed between a registered and an unregistered marriage, the children of an unregistered marriage having exactly the same rights as those of a registered one. If man and wife separated, the property was divided equally between the two.  
 Since the bearing of children is connected with the most intimate aspect of life, and society has no right whatsoever to prevent the woman who bears and nurses the child from deciding whether she is to have it or not, but on the contrary should assist her in carrying out her decision, all women were allowed to practise abortion in the first three months of pregnancy. (In this connection the state did its best to penetrate the remotest corners of Russia in order to carry out these decisions; thus, for instance, special trains equipped with everything necessary for birth control toured all parts of the country). The pregnant woman received maternity leave of eight weeks before the birth, and eight weeks after, with full pay.

All these decrees, whose aim was to bring equality to women, could not be carried out in full owing to the poverty of Russia at that time. Nurseries were few and far between, there were few kindergartens, and most conspicuously lacking, were public kitchens which could take the place of the private kitchen and eliminate its drudgery.  
 The Stalinist bureaucracy gradually undermined all the decrees promulgated by the Bolsheviks after the Revolution which aimed at the equality of the sexes.

### The Restoration of the Capitalist Family

On June 27, 1936, a decree was promulgated instituting a fee for divorce: instead of the three roubles formerly requested to cover expenses, for the first divorce, the couple now had to pay 50 roubles, for the second 150, for the third or any subsequent one, 300 roubles.  
 A decree of July 8, 1944, declared that:  
 "Prospective applicants for a divorce will henceforth be obliged to state their reasons and satisfy the courts that these reasons are serious and valid. Both parties must appear personally before a lower court which hears all the evidence and then seeks to determine if it can effect a reconciliation. If this is believed impossible, the petition can be carried to a higher court. Witnesses must be heard in both courts."  
 The same decree raised the divorce fees to 2,000 roubles. That this put divorce quite out of the reach of the average worker will be readily understood when one remembers that the average wage, which includes everybody's earnings from the salary of the most highly-paid director to the wage of the lowest paid unskilled workers

was 3,467 roubles in 1938. (We have no figures for 1944 itself). For the elite of Russian society, 2,000 roubles is a mere trifle!  
 The same decree of July 8th abolished unregistered marriages, declared that only the children of a registered marriage had legal rights against their fathers, and that only legally married people had the rights of pension, inheritance, alimony, etc.  
 The courts are not to recognise any demands from unmarried women, not to investigate the paternity of an illegitimate child for the sake of granting alimony or getting any other help from the father. The children must also take the name of the father who is the head of the family. "The words 'Head of the Family' were absent from the population census of 1937. . . . Perhaps that is the reason why Yakovlev, the head of the 1937 census department, and his assistants, were purged as Trotskyists! In the census of 1939 the 'mistake' was corrected! The Russian press of these years is full of rosy stories about the family life of Marx and Engels; they forgot that Engel's marriages were never registered."

**Preaching Priests' Morals**  
 In the book "Letters to the Parents" the well-known pedagogue A. S. Makarenko 1940 writes: ". . . social morals demand that sexual life be restricted to marriage, an overt union of man and woman for the purpose of happiness and the breeding of children."  
 The youth paper "Komsomolskaya Pravda", of July 27, 1935, writes that sexual life outside the family "drives us into meanness, filth and barbarism." The same paper, on November 21, 1938, attacks promiscuity among young men and women, referring to girls' chastity with honour and respect. The whole Stalinist press follows this line.

### The Prohibition of Abortion

That abortions were very widespread in Russia is clear from the following figures from the "Statistical Review" (1929) Moscow. For every thousand of the Moscow population, there were, in the year 1925, 31.6 births, 9.7 abortions; 1926—29.7 and 16.3 respectively; 1927—25.6 and 19.2; 1928—22.7 and 27.9; 1929—21.7 and 35.2. The reason for the widespread abortions was clearly economic, and there are only two ways to keep their numbers down: the one, to improve the economic situation of the masses, the other to send the gendarme with his heavy boots to trample upon the most intimate aspects of life. The Stalinist bureaucracy chose the gendarme.  
 On June 26, 1936, abortion was declared a criminal offence. Of course, the women of "high society" have means of circumventing the law. It is the working woman who suffers.  
 With the greatest hypocrisy "Pravda" explains the reason for the law: ". . . abolition of capitalist exploitation in the U.S.S.R., the rise in the material situation, and the tremendous rise of the political and cultural level of the toilers make it possible to revise the decisions of 1920." (25.5.36.) If life has become so rosy, why the prohibitive law?

**Where there are Privileged there are Pariahs**  
 Stalinist jurisprudence did not stop here. Fines were imposed on



The new Profits Tax, which replaces the former Excess Profits Tax, was debated during the Committee stage of the Finance Bill (embodying the Budget proposals) on June 11th.

The Tories, of course, pressed for a reduction of this tax. From their point of view the capitalists can never make enough profit. However, Major Bruce (Labour, N. Portsmouth), quoted from the Industrial Annual Results Summary of the "Investors' Chronicle" of June 7th, which reveals greatly increased dividends all along the line:

Allied Industrial Services have increased their dividend from 36% to 50%;  
 British Thermostat from 18½% to 23½%;  
 Leicestershire Colliery and Pipe Company, Oddenino's Hotel and the "Daily Mirror" have all doubled their dividends.

Douglas Jay (Labour, N. Battersea), quoted similar figures, such as the 22½% tax free dividend plus a 2½% tax free bonus of Morris Motors, all in spite of the fuel crisis! Major Bruce further quoted from page 982 of the "Investors' Chronicle":

"May was a good month for most sections of the Stock Exchange. Indeed, for industrial equities it was a banner month, to judge from our Industrial Share Index. For this Index last month not only wrote off a fuel crisis losses; it reached a higher level than that established at the end of January, before the crisis."

The following statement of Douglas Jay, a Government supporter, again reiterates the declared policy of the Labour leaders to make British capitalism work:

"The Chairman of John Sumner Ltd. said that increased profit results for 1946 were due to improved production and greater efficiency all round. That is a very satisfactory state of affairs under a Labour Government."

But even he acknowledged that ". . . profits and dividends are going up and that, in those conditions, there is a stronger case for increasing the Profits Tax, rather than reducing it."

The progress of the reduction of taxation of Big Business under the Labour Government was traced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Dalton:

"When the Excess Profits Tax was reduced, in my first Budget, to 60%, there was a great blaze of excitement on the Stock Exchange. . . . they could not believe that it was coming down lower than 20%; and when we took it off altogether in the second Budget, there was another blaze of excitement on the Stock Exchange, very naturally." (1) He added:

"It is extraordinary how ungrateful certain sections of the community are," (1) and continued, "It should always be kept in mind, in discussions of this tax, that this is a very mild and partial replacement of the Excess Profits Tax, the removal of which has undoubtedly enabled a large number of industrial concerns very substantially to raise their dividends."

This is in great contrast, however, to the further burdens placed on the shoulders of the working class, such as the Tobacco Tax. And such measures are being carried out in the name of Socialism!

Not only was there no word of criticism from the "Communist" M.P. Gallacher, but he even greeted the proposals in the following words:

"I ask the Chancellor to go ahead in the action he is taking. I shall be happy if he succeeds in carrying out a peaceful revolution." (1)

Such a comment has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. It is permeated through and through with the spirit of reformist parliamentarianism of the worst type. It serves to screen the State Capitalist measures of the Labour leaders and palm them off as the first stages of the Socialist revolution.

## Bulgarian Constitution "Neither Soviet Nor Communist"

The new Bulgarian Constitution, characterised by President Kolarov as "neither Soviet, nor Communist, but Bulgarian and progressive", was ratified by the unanimous vote of the 292 deputies present, out of a total of 366.

The absent 74 deputies, oppositionists, were accused by Kolarov of having "calumniated the Soviet Union and democracy from the floor of Parliament" and asserted that the "reactionary attempts at restoration will be smashed."

(Continued on page 4.)

# 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 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.

## S. Africa

# Trade Unionism Illegalised

(Continued from Page 1.)  
pressing for such a measure to prevent "unfair competition" and the "disruption and dislocation of the labour market."

### Africans Demand "Democracy"

This Bill marks the latest effort on the part of the Smuts' Government to keep the African worker "in his place."  
Since the end of the war, the Africans, many of whom served overseas in the armed forces, have been demanding a little of the "democracy" the war was supposed to have been fought for, and of which Smuts is such an eloquent champion. They have been demanding a decent standard of living for themselves and their families—adequate wages to meet the rapidly rising cost of living, and houses fit for human beings to live in instead of the miserable tin shanties in which most of them are compelled to live in all the big towns and on the farms. Trade Unionism has made rapid strides among the African workers and it is to curb this development that this Bill has been introduced.

Strong pressure from the workers—white as well as black—has compelled the Government to withdraw the Bill for the present parliamentary session, with the promise to introduce it in a modified form next session. The more progressive Trade Union leaders realise that if this Bill, even in a modified form, is allowed to go through, it would be the thin end of the wedge. Trade Unionism would be undermined and the deepening fissures in the South African working class which will result, would make it easy for the Government to start a drive directed against the entire labour movement.

### Labour Movement Must Act

South African workers will need the full backing of the British working class in their fight against British imperialism and its agents. Every Trade Union branch, every section of the Labour Movement must send its protests against this Bill to the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, Trafalgar Square, W.C.2. The Labour Government must be compelled to take steps to stop this brutal exploitation of African workers. British capitalists must not be allowed to grow fat on the enslavement of the black-skinned workers of South Africa.

# Women in the U.S.S.R.

(Continued from Page 3.)

unmarried people and on childless couples. On the other hand, women with many children received grants, as follows:—

	Single Grant	Monthly allowance
Third child ...	400	80
Fourth " ...	1,300	120
Fifth " ...	1,700	140
Sixth " ...	2,000	200
Seventh and eighth child ...	2,500	250
Ninth and tenth " ...	3,500	300
Above ten ...	5,000	300

What miserable compensation for the abolition of the right of abortion! One small quotation from "Pravda" will show us the extent of the "magnanimity". The issue of May 17, 1938, says that the "fee for a child in the pioneer camps should not be more than the cost of maintenance—250-350 roubles a month."

While the Bolsheviks under Lenin allowed pregnant women eight weeks' maternity leave before the birth and eight weeks after, with full pay, the decree of July 8, 1944, allowed only five weeks before and six weeks after the birth, while full pay was given only on condition that the woman had worked for six years previously in the same place; she received 80 per cent. if she worked from three to six years, 60 per cent. for two to three years, and 50 per cent. for less than two years.

The meanness to which the Stalinist bureaucracy descends when dealing with the working woman is clear from the instruction of the Commissar of National Health which forbids physicians to

permit women "to absent themselves from work because of diagnosed menstruation." (Obzor Sotsialnovo Strakhovaniya, 1930). The same meanness was shown by some women of the Stalinist aristocracy who wrote to "Izvestia" demanding that servants be bound to their places of work. (Dec. 30, 1940.)

Among the lowest of the pariahs in every society are the prostitutes, and it is no accident that the 1937 census questionnaire included among the professions—servants, vagrants and prostitutes. The fact that the 1937 census figures were not published, and that in the 1939 census these items were not included, speak for themselves.

The women of high society, who are the main customers of the Perfume Trust headed by Mme. Molotov, do not need holidays with pay in case of pregnancy! For them a few thousand roubles for divorce is a mere drop in the ocean! They have their means of circumventing the law. It is the woman as a whole, and especially the working women, who suffer from these cruel laws.

# COST OF LIVING INDEX

## A New Phoney

BY G. NOSEDA

After many years and much pressure from the Labour movement, the old cost-of-living index (based on the average expenditure of a working class family in 1904), has been replaced by a new "interim" index. It can be stated that the new index is no more a true reflection of the real cost-of-living today than was its long out-dated predecessor.

It is no accident that the new index is introduced at a time when the Labour Government is preparing to make drastic cuts in the food subsidies—in fact, it is part and parcel of this policy. Whereas the old 1904 index gave a "weight" of 60% for food, the new index gives 35%. It is clear that reductions in the food subsidies will mean increased prices for the consumers and that such increases will not be reflected so sharply in the new index as it would have done even on the old index.

The "Economist", (29.4.47), commenting on the new index stated: "The difficulties which arise, when it comes to devising a new index are of two kinds, technical difficulties of statistics and issues of public policy... the issue of public policy is that, since any imaginable new index of the cost-of-living will almost certainly show a bigger rise in prices than the old index... the improvements of the index may lead to widespread claims for higher wages—or alternatively, to still higher subsidies to bring the new index down to the level of only 32% above September, 1939, at which the old index now stands. The Committee's proposed temporary index would attempt to dodge this issue by basing itself on 100 at the time it is introduced and not being calculated back to before the war."

And precisely to dodge the issue of bringing wages more in accord with the real cost-of-living today, is the purpose of the Government in introducing the new index. The White Paper explaining the new index states: "This new interim index of retail prices differs fundamentally from the old 1914 (1904) index in that it will simply show the changes that have taken place from 17th June, 1947 onwards... it will not show the rise in the cost-of-living since 1937-38. In other words, this simply

means that the tremendous increase in food prices that have occurred in the years since 1938, and the consequent increased expenditure on this item, are not reflected in an index which gives a "weight" of only 35% to food. This is the 'sleight of hand' trick by which the Labour Government seeks to play the capitalist employers' game: cutting food subsidies and passing the increased costs onto consumers on the one hand, and warding off justified demands for wage increases because of rising costs, on the other.

At the present time, the weekly cost of the rations is just over 5s. 3d. per person. In addition, the Government pays the food trade 2s. 3d. each week for each person rationed. This is the food "subsidy" and amounts to £7,000,000 a week. Dr. Edith Summerskill, Parliamentary Secretary to Strachey, the Labour Minister of Food, stated in reply to a question in the House of Commons (June 20th), that the Government expects to save £15,000,000 on the milk subsidy and £6,250,000 on the tea subsidy by April, 1948, and even more in the following year. Under discussion in the Government is the question of cutting similarly other food subsidies.

The burdens of such cuts will be borne by the working class housewife. Meanwhile the food interests and big monopoly stores continue to make huge profits without any action being taken against them by the Labour Government. On the contrary, the Labour ministers show a marked regard for the capitalists' "right to profit." Recently, sweets and chocolate prices went up for the consumers, but higher profits for the wholesalers are assured. Strachey, replying to a question in the House of Commons (4th June) involving the new profits margin affecting sweet retailers said, "The new market will allow distributors a gross cash profit of £24,000,000,

which is some £5,000,000 more than a year ago."  
Food combines like the Home and Colonial Stores Group (which includes Home and Colonial Stores, Maypole Dairy Co., Meadow Dairy, Allied Suppliers Ltd., Food Products Investment Ltd., and Lipton, Ltd.) made a profit in 1946 of £1,208,948 or £248,515 more than in 1945. The gross profits of 12 Food Trusts in the third quarter of 1946 amounted to £1,083,948. Since huge profits are being coined throughout the food industry.

The clamour of the Tories for the reduction of food subsidies goes hand in hand with the employers' pressure for a cost-of-living index that would conceal the real rise of living costs and allow them to "legitimately" reject or trim down, justified wage claims. The Labour Government has capitulated to this pressure in both cases, by already commencing subsidy cuts on tea and milk and the introduction of the new interim index, an index which does not truly reflect the increased cost-of-living for the workers. These measures of the Labour Government react to the advantage of the profiteering Food Trusts and Combines and the employers, and penalise the working class family.

Approximately two-and-a-half million workers engaged in industries where wages are tied to the cost-of-living indices, will be affected adversely by this interim index as the cost of food continues to increase. Many millions more of working class homes will also be affected. That is why a campaign must be undertaken in the Labour movement to bring pressure on the Labour Government to demand a GENUINE cost-of-living index to replace this fraudulent successor to the old 1904 index.

A cost-of-living index that is a true reflection of working class expenditure can be authoritatively compiled by Consumers' Committees consisting of housewives, co-operatives, trade union and factory representatives and small shopkeepers. The setting up of such consumers' committees by the Trade Union and Labour movement is the first and necessary step towards real and genuine cost-of-living indices. But linked to such a campaign, and as an integral part of it, must be the demand for a rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living, with a guaranteed minimum.

# Dollar Imperialism

## Plans for Europe

Anglo-French Imperialism is proceeding with the Marshall plan in face of the opposition of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has denounced the Scheme as intended to assure the economic domination by Anglo-French capitalism over the smaller nations of Europe.

So far, of the Eastern European satellites of Russia, only Czechoslovakia (obviously in agreement with Russia) has agreed to send delegates to Paris.

Obviously, behind the scenes the Russian bureaucrats are still negotiating for a compromise with American and Anglo-French imperialism on terms favourable to them in Eastern Europe. Trade talks between Britain and Russia are proceeding.

Bevin continues to praise the "generous and unselfish" action of American imperialism. But Molotov has correctly shown the intentions of America, through the instrumentality of Britain and France to integrate the economy of Europe in such a way as to draw Europe into dependence on the dollar bloc, for the long term struggle against Russia.

The Marshall plan can only be understood on the basis of the alignment of class and national forces on an international scale. It is part of the class struggle and the game of power politics being

played by the Great Powers. The peoples and the small states of Europe are regarded as pawns in the grim struggle for domination of the European continent, and above all the fight against the Socialist revolution.

### Capitalist Crisis Of Over-Production

What constitutes America's strength is simultaneously her greatest weakness: her enormous productivity and her wealth and abundance. In a letter to the "Times", one of the Labour M.P.'s indicates the problem with which America is faced.

"Except for the war period, America never, since 1929, provided at home or abroad sufficient purchasing power for the consumption of goods up to her 1929 production, and with production two or three times as great, what can stop a slump greater than 1929-31?"

America has stepped into Britain's shoes as the world's banker, insurance agent and the greatest exporter of manufactured products. She is the greatest creditor nation in the world. And simultaneously she is the biggest

exporter of agricultural products on the planet. She wishes to pour a flood of goods on the world market without allowing her victims to pay for the tribute in the form of exports to America. That is why two-thirds and more of the world's gold is in the vaults of America's banks.

But there is a limit to the drain of gold. The impoverished and weakened nations of Europe have reached that limit. That is why there is talk of an international dollar crisis by the end of 1947. This is easily understood when the figures of America's trade in the first quarter of 1947 are considered. The exports of American goods and services amounted in 1947 to 4.9 billion dollars, while imports only amounted to 1.9 billion dollars. At this rate, and if anything the gap is widening, by the end of the year the amount of exports would be 19.6 billion dollars and imports only 7.6 billion dollars. This leaves an American surplus of 12 billion dollars. At the utmost, the nations of the world could provide five billion dollars in gold leaving a gap of 7 billion dollars which it is impossible for them to bridge.

If Europe ceases to buy American goods it would mean catastrophe for Europe, but also for America. Economic crisis in Europe just at the time when the American home market is reaching saturation point, would mean terrible economic convulsions in America too. Without these exports, there looms the prospect of the greatest unemployment in American history.

### Three Aims

So American capitalism tries to kill three birds with one stone. She hopes to hold back the danger of Socialist revolution. She is compelled to give goods away to ward off the economic slump. And simultaneously, she hopes to build up a Western European and Central European bloc in order to weaken Russia and prepare for the inevitable military struggle against the Soviet Union.

America proceeds from the usual sordid motives of Imperialism. In this programme there is no way out for the peoples of Europe. The carrying through of the programme will mean the temporary uplifting of the economy in Europe, to a great extent the restoration of the productive power of Western Germany if it even succeeds, in its objects. But this, only to prepare for even greater crisis of over-production on a world, and especially European, scale than in 1929-31 within a few years.

But the alternative offered by the Stalinist bureaucracy is even more barren. The maintenance of the national sovereignty of the European nations can only aggravate the problems of Europe. When Bevin and Bidault point to the fantastic customs dues and numerous states into which the European continent is divided, which aggravates the economic

# Co-Op Workers Strike For Higher Wages

BY T. REILLY

With a firm determination, nearly 4,000 workers of the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society stopped work on Saturday, July 5th, demanding an increased wage of 25/- for all over 21 years, and 15/- for juniors. Each day sees more workers supporting the strike and already over 90% are out.

It is the same old sordid story of how the negotiating machinery plays around with a wage claim for months on end, and the only way open to militant workers was to call for a show-down by strike action. Negotiations have been going on for about 15 months.

The wages of Co-op workers are quite low and it is noticeable that the Co-op flouts another of the early principles of the society by giving female labour an unequal rate for the job. A male shop-assistant gets the meagre wage of £4 19s. 6d., and the women doing a similar job get a much lower wage of £3 15s. 6d. With income tax deducted a single man receives only £4 5s. 11d. Hardly a monument to proud co-operative principles.

The claims of the Union are for 11s. 6d. and 8s. 0d. It is interesting to note that when the Union put forward this programme some time ago, the Co-op counter-claimed for a 4/- reduction in wages. The basic wage is only 73/- for males, and 47/6 for females, the rest is made up of a war bonus. Juniors receive very much less.

The strikers belong to the Woolwich Branch of U.S.D.A.W. At a meeting held last September, when 5-600 workers were present, full support was given to a resolution sent to the A.G.M. asking for a basic rate of 84/-. The resolution was shelved. When the branch met on the 3rd June, it elected a

Strike Committee of 16, and a sub-committee of 3 for the South-West area.

Strike action has already resulted in the London Section of U.S.D.A.W. asking the Union to get negotiating machinery reorganised.

The Strike Committee have handled the situation quite successfully and in a very democratic manner with the solid support and backing of the workers. A strike bulletin has been issued informing the strikers of the latest position, keeping them in close touch with events. Pickets and a splendid courier service were highly organised.

Needless to point out, "Reynolds News" attacked the strikers more vehemently than the capitalist press.

Such a struggle around wages is a national one, and concerns all workers in the Co-op Movement. The full weight of the Society is directed against this demand of the R.A.C.S. workers, fully realising and aware that wages taken up by workers in all sections of the industry. For this special reason, the strike movement needs the support of other areas to attain its specific demand.

If the Union's claim of 11s. 6d. and 8s. 0d. is met it can be said that it will be only due to the strike action taken by the R.A.C.S. workers and the general militancy among Union members themselves.

# Conditions in the U.S. Zone

(Continued from Page 2.)

a man there who was less than fifty, I asked myself: where is the German youth and German manhood? True enough, there were four to five millions dead and a couple of more million prisoners of war still unreturned to Germany, but we must remember that before the war Germany had a population of 60 millions. That same afternoon I went to a meeting at the Frankfurt Tiergarten which was under the auspices of the Communist Party. The meeting was devoted mainly to making propaganda for the establishment of a so-called united party of the Communists and Socialists, such as now exists in the Russian zone. When I saw so many young people pouring out of the trams to get into the Tiergarten or Zoo I thought for a while that the youth had come under the influence of the Stalinists. Actually, it was not so at all. In the area of the Zoo reserved for the meeting, the audience, which was almost as large as that of the morning meeting, showed very little variation in age from that of the earlier meeting. The young people came to the Zoo only to amuse themselves by watching the animals, and by taking in the circus and the rides.

Revolt is a process. The German youth did not have the chance to experience this process. Nazism did not crumble piece-meal as Italian fascism did. It collapsed all at once not from within but by blows from without. That is the tragedy of Germany and of the German youth. Western and Russian militarism rushed into the vacuum and over the partitioned remains established their militarist alternative to the Nazi system. In their swift advance they swept aside even those feeble beginnings of independence and control which the German workers had set up at the moment of collapse. Is it then any wonder that the German people are not inspired or convinced by the pretended superior ideologies of their conquerors?

The experience of protest and struggle begins only now. In the strikes of the Ruhr miners and the hunger demonstrations, the German workers, housewives and students began to assert themselves and to believe in themselves. It remains only to make the proper connection with their present situation and the Nazi catastrophe.

problem and helps to absorb the life-blood of Europe, they are perfectly correct. Even under capitalism, America has shown what marvels can be achieved by organising economy on a continental scale. The resources of Europe are even greater than those of the American continent. But the method of "unification" proposed by them will merely mean the domination of the smaller by the bigger Imperialist nations, who in their turn will be dominated by the biggest of all. There will be no real unity, or even the abolition of the armies, tariffs and other evils which are stifling Europe. They cannot even approach the fringes of the solution.

Only the complete destruction of capitalism in Europe can break down the old barriers of the nation-states of the past. The economic and political unity of Europe can only be achieved by the masses of Europe in struggle against the capitalists and now also against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Against the Marshall Plan, the workers must pose a genuine plan for the Socialist United States of Europe which would really map out the resources of Europe and organise them for the benefit of all the peoples of Europe in fraternal union.

## Left Wing Parties

The young people that I have met have no faith in the Social Democracy and, if anything, speak of joining up with the Communists. The Christian Democrats thrive most among the farmers and non-workers. No one whom I met had a good word to say for the Russians and I found it somewhat of a contradiction that many at the same time should want to support the German Stalinists. It is just that where the choice is between the Social Democracy and the Communist Party the latter by its greater protests against the prevailing misery, appears to be the party of action. In their justified impatience, the workers and the youth want some immediate results and many are, therefore, prepared to subordinate the fact that the Communist Party is linked to Moscow. They even rationalize their approach by insisting that German communism would never be like Russian "communism". The support of Stalinism has a confused and, one might say, desperate character.

However, not always must one choose between the Social Democrats and the Stalinists. For example, in Offenbach, a city of 70,000 just outside of Frankfurt, the centrist Labour Party is well organized and in the last municipal elections polled over 15,000 votes. I believe it was the highest vote of all the parties. Recently, also in Offenbach, a conference of all the Left parties took place which included representatives from the Labour Party, the Socialist Labour Party (S.A.P.), the Communist Opposition (Brandlerters), Left Socialists, Trotskyists, and from other groups. Committees of correspondence were set up preliminary to working out programmatic proposals for a future congress. I cite this to show at what an elementary stage are the parties able to programme in Germany and why the Left which is still largely without proper newspapers and literature, is beginning only now to compete with the already established Social Democrats and Stalinists.

Some die-hard Nazis may try to keep alive the Hitler legend with stories of his betrayal by the German generals but the disaster is so complete that time and understanding can only reinforce the bankruptcy of Hitlerism.

## Help The German Trotskyists

Who can supply all the links of understanding in the chain which has brought the German people to their present terrible position? Who will be able to tell them what the war was about, of the poison of Nazism, the responsibility of the Social Democrats and Stalinists for Hitler's coming to power, the counter revolutionary role of Stalinism and its betrayal of the Russian Revolution and a thousand other things without an understanding of which they will not be able to emerge from their present ideological chaos in order to prepare the German revolution?

Who, indeed, can properly educate the German working class if not the tendency in the German Labour movement which has followed and given the answer to all these questions in the course of the last twenty years? Without boasting we can truthfully say that only the Trotskyists can supply what the German proletariat and youth urgently require. The task cannot be postponed. German Trotskyism must be supplied with every aid which will enable it to establish itself as an open and active current, as the ideological teacher of the German working class.

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