

Child Labour in Charity Homes

BY V. CHARLES

THE CURTISS COMMITTEE REPORT ON THE "CARE OF CHILDREN" HAS AROUSED THE ANGER OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT. IT HAS THROWN SOME LIGHT ON THE CONDITIONS OF HOMELESS CHILDREN UNDER THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

Here is a shocking tale of callousness and neglect and the victims are the children of the working class whom fate and the Capitalist System have for one reason or another deprived of a normal home life.

CHILD SLAVES

By far the worst aspect of the Report is the revelation of the exploitation of child labour which is a common feature of most of the charitable institutions.

In a home for forty-four boys and girls, aged five to fifteen, "The big boys, and girls get up at 7 o'clock. They have to light the fires and do a considerable amount of housework. They go to bed at 8 o'clock. They have to wash up at dinner time. There is a wash house attached to the girls' cottage and the elder girls, including some of those still going to school, do the washing."

In another home "There is one fourteen-year old girl at present, and the House Mother says 'She just does everything.' This is regarded as training. She helps in the kitchen, with the housework, with the needlework, and fetches the younger children from school. It is doubtful if she has any time off except when the children are in bed."

The Report states "... We were left in no doubt that a number of girls were kept on after they had reached school-leaving age for the ostensible purpose of training for domestic work when, in fact, they were simply undertaking the routine work of the house. Little, if any, attention was paid to training. ... IT SHOULD BE STATED HERE THAT WE FOUND A NUMBER OF EXAMPLES OF GIRLS OF FOURTEEN AND FIFTEEN WHO SEEMED TO BE SPENDING LONG HOURS IN GENERAL HOUSEWORK AND IN MINDING YOUNGER CHILDREN WITHOUT ADEQUATE PAYMENT OR FIXED SPARE TIME AND WITH LITTLE ATTENTION TO TRAINING. ..."

LIFE IN A CONVENT

By far the worst cases of exploitation of child labour was found in the various Homes run by one of the Anglican or Roman Catholic Religious Orders. In one of these Convent Homes, "the girls of junior age became, on leaving school at 14, employed in the Homes as laundry hands, working full hours in old-fashioned and inconvenient buildings, converted to the purpose of trade laundries. IN ONE SUCH INSTANCE £85 A WEEK WAS EARNED BY WORK FOR OUTSIDE CUSTOMERS. There was a certain vagueness about payment to the working girls. 'Half-a-crown, five shillings if they are very good' was suggested, but not with confidence: sometimes it was 'half-a-crown from time to time.' Another similar but smaller home was mainly supported by laundry earnings of £20 a week, the girls having no payment beyond a shilling a week pocket-money and from 5/- to 10/- a month banked on their account. The following was noted in one establishment as the routine of the normal day: 6.15, rise; 7, Mass; 8, breakfast; 9 to 12.15, laundry or housework; 1.50 to 4, laundry or housework; 4, tea; 4.30, Benediction; 5 to 7, laundry or housework; 7.30, bed."

ORGANISED LABOUR MUST ACT

These cases are by no means exceptional. Indeed, the Report stresses that it was the exception to find a Home where anything like decent conditions prevailed. Not only are working class children being used as slaves, but by

Squeezing Blood Out of a Stone

As of last week, with U.S. claims not yet in, the total reparations demanded by the Big Four powers and their satellites from Italy amounted to more than 30 billion dollars. The total national wealth of Italy is estimated at only 26 billion dollars. That includes all land and buildings, railroads, mineral resources, etc.

taking on work like laundry on a commercial basis, they constitute a menace to the wage standards of organised laundry workers and in a period of strikes in the laundry industry could be used as a weapon by the bosses against the workers. Every pressure must be brought to bear on the Labour Government to abolish these vile conditions without delay. Over 200,000 children are facing a black future unless something is done immediately.

The recommendations of the Curtis Committee will go some way to improve conditions, but it does not go nearly far enough. Its recommendations apply only to institutions run by Public Authorities; the various orphanages and homes run by charitable bodies and religious denominations—some of the blackest spots in the Report—(Continued on page 4.)

GERMAN WORKERS VOTE LABOUR

Demonstrate Opposition to Nazism

BY TED GRANT

THE ELECTIONS IN GERMANY ARE AN INDICATION OF THE MOOD OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE. DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE OCCUPYING AUTHORITIES HAVE THE DECISIVE SAY IN THE RUNNING OF INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT, 80% AND OVER VOTED IN ALL ZONES. A HIGHER PERCENTAGE THAN IN THE ELECTIONS IN FRANCE AND BRITAIN.

The election indicates that the German masses are recovering from the apathy and despair engendered by the ruin of Germany in the war and the oppressive rule of the conquerors. They are searching for a road into the future which will offer them hope.

SOVIET ZONE

In the Soviet Zone in the provincial elections the Socialist Unity Party received 4,019,000 votes, the Christian Democrats 2,271,000 and the Liberal Democrats 1,730,000. Many workers spoiled their votes, abstained or even voted for the capitalist

parties as a protest against the suppression of the Social Democrats, but the majority voted for the Socialist Unity Party as the only workers' party allowed to stand.

In the Soviet zone the Stalinist bureaucracy has carried out the nationalisation of all big industry that is left in the area. But the real control, and in a large number of cases, the ownership is in the hands of the Russian bureaucracy.

In order to facilitate the handling of the zone, the Stalinist bureaucracy forced through the

fusion of the Social Democratic Party and the Stalinist Party. This was to conceal the weakness of the Communist Party among the German masses, as a result of the bureaucracy and the excesses of the backward elements of the Red Army, inflamed by the chauvinist incitement of Ehrenburg and his variety.

The systematic looting and carting off of the possessions of the German masses, together with the stripping of the factories as reparations, has aroused the indignation of the German people. The attitude of the masses was demonstrated in the Berlin and Western zone.

WESTERN ZONE

In the British zone, which included the highly industrialised Ruhr, the Social Democrats received 12,000,000 votes and the Communist Party only 2,400,000. The capitalist parties received 11,000,000 for the Christian Democrats and 4,000,000 for the other parties.

In the American and French zones the Christian Democrats received the majority of the votes, with the Social Democrats close behind, while the Communist Party received a small minority.

'50% VOTES FOR WORKERS' PARTIES

But the decisive election indicating the trend in Germany was the election for the Municipal Council in Berlin. The Social Democrats received 49% of the total votes (nearly 1,000,000), the Christian Democrats 454,000 and the Socialist Unity Party almost 406,000, with the Liberal Democrats receiving 192,500.

The elections are a striking testimony to the vitality of the German proletariat, the continuance of its Socialist traditions in spite of the terrible disillusionment of the past 15 years. Despite the capitulation of the Social Democratic and the Communist Parties to the Nazis, despite their craven and sycophantic attitude to the occupation authorities, despite the hostility of the Labour and Stalinist parties in other countries which abandoned all pretence of internationalism, the German working class still clings to the ideals of communism and socialism. It is a striking fact that the percentage of votes for the 'Marxist' parties is higher today than pre-Hitler. Whereas it was 40% pre-Hitler, it is nearly 50% now throughout Germany, and 70% in the capital. In the British General Election the vote for the workers' parties was also approximately 50%.

That the Social Democrats, who even voted for Hitler in the

(Continued on page 4.)

THE FINANCIERS OF NAZISM: The German Capitalists

From Left to Right: KRUPP, VON BOHLEN, HALPACH, Dr. MERLE, VON RENTH, OF THE INDUSTRIAL FEDERATION OF GERMANY.



The German industrialists, like their British prototypes, feared above all, the organised Labour movement. Long before the war, the big iron and steel masters were giving huge subsidies to the "German Union to fight against Social Democracy." They continued, after Hitler's coming to power, to fill the coffers of the Nazi Party and its associated organisations.

These subsidies in Germany were christened "Adolf Hitler Funds from German Industry." In addition, the magnates gave the Fascist leaders direct "rake-offs" in the form of paid posts in the managements of their businesses, etc. Workers of Britain must learn the lesson. The British industrialists financed the Nazis and will just as readily finance British Fascism.

BUILDERS THREATENED WITH EVICTION

BY JAMES A DOYLE

BUILDING WORKERS IN LONDON IN MANY HOSTELS ARE FACED WITH EVICTION WITH NO PLACE TO GO AND NOWHERE TO TURN. HERE IS THE STORY OF THE PLIGHT OF THE MEN IN ONE OF THESE HOSTELS.

On November 4th, 150 building workers are threatened with eviction at Wadham Gardens Hostel, Swiss Cottage. The reason given by the Ministry of Labour for these evictions is that the men are not on W.B.A. priority work. A very poor excuse, insofar as I can prove that quite a number of those men are on priority work carrying a W.B.A. certificate.

Let me explain how these evictions arise. Some months ago I was chairman of the Thackeray Hostel Welfare Committee; we were served with eviction notices as were the Ivanhoe and many other hostels. The Committee got together and a deputation was sent to Mr. Watkins of the Ministry of Works, who explained that the hostels were pre-war hotels and were urgently needed for the accommodation of prospective buyers of British-made goods.

We as a deputation, saw the sense of this argument and we had the assurance of Mr. Watkins that as long as building workers wished to remain working in London, he would guarantee them a bed. A bed was found for the workers who had been served with eviction notices.

No Alternative Accommodation

But, the 150 workers served

with eviction notices last week were not given alternative accommodation! Yes, workers, we are told: Take our directions and get out to the doss or the ditches, which so many workers were used to in pre-war days. This time it is a Socialist Government and not a Tory Government which is responsible.

Not only have they broken their word to accommodate the building workers who wish to remain in the London area. But they also refuse to adhere to their own ruling that a building worker must be working on a W.B.A. Licence. Sufficient proof is in the fact that of 10 men working for a particular contractor, with their questionnaire form filled in to the effect that they are all working on a W.B.A. certificate job, the Ministry rule that 8 of those men can remain living in the hostel.

(Continued on page 4.)

121 Trotskyists in French Election

Defend Revolutionary Communist Programme

Vishinsky Attends Mass 'Daily Worker' Silent

Workers of Britain and the world were confronted with the astounding report in the capitalist press that 5 members of the Soviet delegation to U.N.O. attended "solemn Pontifical Mass at St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Fifth Avenue, New York on Sunday, 27th October."

The "Daily Express" reported:

"The attendance of Soviet Vice-Foreign Minister Vishinsky and Ambassador Novikov at a Mass for U.N.O. in St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Cathedral on Fifth Avenue is page one news with pictures in New York newspapers, with one exception, the Daily Worker. Of course, the British Daily Worker has also maintained a discreet silence.

This gesture of black reaction has taken place at a time when the Stalinist Parties in every country of the world have been waging a campaign against the "black reactionary" role which is being played by the Vatican.

Stalinism thus takes another step in its degeneration from the principled Marxist attitude towards diplomacy and religion, the 'optimism of the people.'

What Has Happened to The Red Army

"The army is a copy of society and suffers from all its diseases, usually at a higher temperature."

Trotsky.

The following facts on the present character of the Soviet Army (previously the "Red Army") have been recently published widely in the Swiss press. The following is an extract from one of these which we reprint from the French Trotskyist paper "La Verite."

"Recruits undergo two years military training in military academies in the sixteen Soviet Republics. For the first six months they are taught only saluting, with a course of physical training. They are trained in special schools where they learn the laws of military discipline in general. They do not really begin to learn the use of arms until after six months, following which they are given practical training and after that, theoretical instruction. For the first six months recruits do not receive any leave.

Military training is based largely on the Prussian model. The Russian soldier must be able to stand motionless at attention for an hour and a half. Other examples can be given of different methods of training used, as indicates the answer of a Russian officer who was asked his opinion of discipline in the Swiss army. He replied:

"We would make a Russian soldier repeat it twenty-five times in front of everybody if he saluted like a Swiss soldier does."

In Russia as in the German army, N.C.O.'s are saluted by rank and file soldiers.

When a Subaltern wants to speak to an officer, the Russian military code demands that (a) He make three steps 'stebschritt' (a sort of goose step); (b) That he remain at attention; (c) That he make his report after the officer gives the command to stand easy, after which a half turn to the left (whoever makes the mistake of turning to the right is liable to be sternly called to order or reprimanded).

Following this the soldier leaves the officer with three steps 'stebschritten.' When a Subaltern and an officer meet, the Subaltern must march 'stebschritten' at five yards distance, and must salute with head turned. His left hand must be in line with the seam of his trousers. In garrison towns special patrols supervise saluting.

121 candidates of the French Trotskyist Party will defend the revolutionary communist programme in the forthcoming French elections.

The P.C.I. is presenting to the workers 16 lists of candidates.

As we go to press the complete list of candidates of the International Communist Party (French Section of the Fourth International), has not yet been issued from the provinces. Here is a list of six of the candidates:

SEINE, 1st Sector: Paul Parisot, Secretary of the P.C.I.

SEINE, 3rd Sector: Pierre Bousset, Member of the Political Bureau.

SEINE, 5th Sector: Pierre Frank, Member of the Political Bureau.

SEINE-ET-OISE: Yvan Craipeau, General Secretary.

PUY-DE-DOME: Gerard Bloch, Member of the Central Committee.

GIRONDE: Madeleine Forcade, Member of the Central Committee.

The Sunday Observer, October 27th, comments: "... the Communists, who until now have been the most homogeneous and best disciplined of the leading parties of the world have been waging a campaign against the 'black reactionary' role which is being played by the Vatican."

The British Revolutionary Communist Party has collected £25 from among its members towards the election campaign of our French Party.

These rules also apply to officers, inferiors saluting superiors, etc. When soldiers and officers leave the army they must hand in all equipment. On leave, bayonets and all arms must be left behind, only officers may carry revolvers. Officers may also wear civilian clothes which a soldier may do only after two years' service.

Officers and N.C.O.'s leave the recruits' training school after four months and undergo three years' special training. Every kind of fraternisation between officers and soldiers is strictly forbidden. Only in special cases when one is a personal friend of a Communist Party member can one speak familiarly to another, which was the rule in the Red Army in its first revolutionary period.

About ten per cent. of N.C.O.'s are Party members. Ninety per cent. of Red Army officers are Party members. Political Commissars of the former sort have been abolished. Before they had the same rank and responsibility as officers commanding the army. Today the political commissar exists as an adjutant attached to a commander-in-chief and subject to his orders. This adjutant is responsible for the politics and education of troops. He has approximately the same functions as an education officer in capitalist armies.

COMPARISON OF MONTHLY PAY IN ROUBLES

Infantry soldier	10
Corporal	100
Sub Lieutenant	650
Lieutenant	800 to 900
Major	1,200
Commandant	2,500
Brigadier General	3,500
Artillery Soldiers	15
Bombardier	150
Artillery Lieutenant	750
Captain	1,000
Superior Officer	1,500 to 2,000
General	3,000

Such are normal peace time rates. It must be added that now, (Continued on page 4.)

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l'Humanité

JOURNAL COMMUNISTE

DE ZÉRO A CINQ MILLIONS D'HOMMES

Le Roman héroïque de l'armée rouge raconté par son créateur: Trotski

1920



? Have you given a donation this month? Have you made any effort to collect anything for the fund? If not, please act now. October List will published in the next issue.

Harold Atkinson,
256, Harrow Road,
London, W.2.



From a Young S.P.D. Comrade

THE PRESENT S.P.D., ITS LEFT WING, AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS COMMUNISM

BRITISH ZONE, GERMANY. 1.10.46.

GERMANY—

First of all I've to say, that all following is my own opinion, but that all that I write, can be regarded as the German public opinion for every German in my age and with the same ideas than me. I don't write in bribery by cigarettes, money, or anything else, but I write in strong hope to see a real socialistic world-regulation in the next future.

The real attitude of the S.P.D.

What means S.P.D.? It means: social-democratic party of Germany. When you hear that, you'll think, that the S.P.D. is a socialistic party on a democratic basis; but that is not true. The S.P.D. is very far of a real socialism, for its leadership are non-socialists, but materialists. The more they speak of socialism, the more they mean materialism. They only are party-members for to get something extra. I think, it will be very interesting for you to be told, that the party-functionaries get extra food—rations from Sweden, as well as chocolate, what another German, except on the black market, can't get. Farther they look for very good jobs in their profession, and they get them. Some work for a fantastic wage in the party-offices as officials. When you look more and more into the interior of the S.P.D., you think it is nearly the same than the passed nazi-party: the same hypocrisy towards the outside—and the same pompous life of the party-bosses, in the inside. The old members don't concern with all that—but we, the youth, know, what the only one way-out for us is: An international-socialism on the democratic base of Marx and Engels.

The left wing of the S.P.D.

The fundament for the left wing in our party is the youth. The same youth, which fought with the biggest enthusiasm for the nazi and capitalist against the socialistic revolution during the last war, fights now for a better Germany, for a better Europe, for a better world, for a real international-socialism with the same enthusiasm. We have been on the wrong way once, but once only, that cannot happen to us a second time again. We will not suffer, that the people of the

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

BY J. KELLY

COSSORS and the STALINISTS

National Council of Shop Stewards Reveals Its Real Position at London Delegates Meeting

"We do not want to extend the Cossor Strike, because if we did, who would collect money for all of us?" This statement was made by a Communist Party Shop Steward at a recent London Conference of the Stalinist controlled National Council of Shop Stewards. It reflected the attitude of the organisers who supported the policy that sufficient money should be collected to keep the Cossor strikers going,

without extension of the strike.

Despite the present support the C.P. are giving in this struggle, no attempt has been made by them to broaden the strike.

Several delegates opposed this move to isolate such an important struggle, pointing out that since the victimisation of the six shop stewards was part of an offensive of the Employers' Federation, we could expect more of this in the future unless the engineering bosses were taught a sharp lesson. Whilst emphasising the necessity to avoid adventurism, they urged the need to prepare in an organised fashion towards this end. *Plessey Shop Stewards Committee* tabled a motion for an all-London half-day token strike, but withdrew it under pressure from the platform.

MICHELSON EXPOSES C.P. LINE

Bro. Michelson, leading Stalinist spokesman, reeled on the party line in "left language." He was, he said, perturbed by the situation in the industry, because it was clear that the outdated procedure of the York Memorandum was being used by the employers to drag out victimisation negotiations and use the interim period to make further inroads into the shop stewards' movement.

He instanced the example of Bro. Stacey, the victimised Shop Stewards' Convener of Napier's, Liverpool, whose case had now proceeded through the whole gamut of protracted negotiations leaving him still walking the streets. In the meantime, Napier's management proceeded to whittle down what was once a powerful Shop Stewards' Committee to a ghost of its former self. Declaring that Cossor's was a similar case, Michelson denounced the York Memorandum, which helped the employers but insisted that the Union Executives should abide by it because it was still "procedure."

This position was opposed by the delegates from *Morgan Crucibles* who argued that the strike should be officially recognised. Sensing a serious mood in the conference, the platform maintained that the Unions must honour agreements such as the York Memo whilst they were policy, and that it was impossible to officially recognise Cossor's Strike until procedure had been gone through.

In other words, while denouncing the Stacy victimisation, they proscribed the same experience for Cossor's—all in the name of "procedure."

BOSSSES VIOLATED PROCEDURE

Of course, the employers are using the nineteenth York Agreement to destroy workshop organisation, and it is precisely because of this that it is criminal for union executives to stand by an

agreement by which the trade union movement is being attacked. After the experience of the Spacey case, they should tell the employers bluntly that they have had enough, and are officially recognising the Cossor workers. The fact that this is not done exposes the treachery of the union officials and the Stalinists.

Michelson's insistence that the National Council of Shop Stewards could not bring pressure to bear on the E.C.'s due to the fact that the workers had abandoned procedure by going on strike, ignored the fact that it was not the workers who had broken the York Memorandum but the employers. The first implication of the York Memo is that Federated employers will recognise the existence of workers' factory organisation. By the wholesale sacking of the stewards, Cossor's management in the first instance, flagrantly violated the whole agreement.

MILITANT RESOLUTION

The delegates were clearly fed-up with the excuse-makers such as Michelson. Their answer to the policy of the Communist Party was summed up in the following amendment moved by Bro. Fred Emmett, well known trade union militant in the London area:

"This conference of shop, factory and branch delegates pledges its full solidarity with the workers of Cossors on strike against the victimisation of shop stewards.

In order to bring this fight to a successful conclusion the conference:

1. Calls on the D.C.s of Engineering and Allied Trade Unions to convene an emergency conference of delegates from all factories and branches to decide on measures to be taken to bring the Cossor strike to a successful conclusion.
2. Calls on D.C.s to immediately organise an all-London campaign for raising funds for the strike, and to gain official recognition for the strike from the Union Executives.
3. Calls for the 'blacking' of Cossors and a refusal to handle supplies or work of any kind, and for strong deputations to be sent to the appropriate ministries urging the cutting off of supplies, and the cessation of prison work.
4. Recognising that the implementing of these points will require pressure and careful organisation, decides to set up from this conference a committee

So scared were the platform that this would be adopted that they hastily wangled it so that the amendment was not put to the meeting. This example of sharp practice left a nasty smell, especially amongst non-party delegates, because there is little doubt that the line proposed is the only

policy to aid the Cossor workers. All serious members of the Communist Party, we are sure, will also recognise this and oppose the policy of their leaders.

Apprentices Demand Decent Wages

BY H.R.

Agitation and discontent over the scandalously low rates of pay is growing among the apprentices in the Engineering industry.

On Friday, 18th October, a mass meeting of several hundred apprentices at the Metropolitan-Vickers Factory, Trafford Park, Manchester, was held outside the work gates during the dinner-hour.

J. McDonald, chairman of the Metro-Vickers Apprentices Association pointed out the scandalous rates of pay that engineering apprentices were receiving. At 16 years, a trade apprentice gets £1 8s. 0d. per week; at 17 he gets £1 13s. 0d. Every worker and working-class mother knows how impossible it is to feed, clothe and decently maintain a growing lad on 33/- per week.

The meeting at Metro-Vicks was part of a campaign by the Manchester A.E.U. Joint Committee and A.E.U. Junior Workers Committee.

What next for the Apprentices?

The demands of the apprentices for higher pay are entirely justified. How are they to win them? Unfortunately the speakers at the Metro-Vickers meeting gave no concrete directives and announced only that the aim of the meeting was to show the Trade Union Executive that the apprentices are not satisfied. The negotiations were to be left to the Trade Union officials.

The probability is that after months of protracted negotiation through the labyrinth of the usual channels, a few extra coppers will be granted—the rise in the cost of living having meanwhile nullified the small increase. The apprentices will thus be in much the same position.

The next step for the apprentices is to build up and consolidate in each factory and area, strong apprentices' associations democratically controlled by the apprentices themselves and free from any managerial strings; to prepare to link them nationally into a wide movement to formulate a programme or an "Apprentices Charter."

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

IT'S NOT A QUESTION OF BRAINS!

Associated Press recently reported "After a long discussion, the Allied Control Council rejected a proposal that the brains of the changed Nazis should be examined to determine scientifically what makes an international criminal."

Examination of the brains of the Nazi gangsters might have contributed something to scientific knowledge, but those who suggest this as a scientific method of determining what makes an international political "criminal" are the ones who should have their brains examined.

In the first place such research could only be made on a woefully inadequate scale for very few war criminals have been brought to book. If it is considered that the size or weight or state of health of the brain is a decisive factor in determining a political criminal, then it would be necessary to have available for dissection the grey matter of the entire capitalist class of all nations, to say nothing of the Stalinist bureaucracy!

But it is not a question of physiology. It is a question of economics. Scientific research carried out on that plane will show beyond doubt that the capitalist system is the cause of war and the breeding ground of everything rotten in present day society, including fascism and war criminals. Those who seek the causes in the brains of a few hanged gangsters are concerned not with scientific revolutions, but with obscuring scientific truth.

ROGUES BARGAIN

A major blow against the gangster diplomacy of the international capitalist class, was dealt by the Russian revolution of October 1917. The Bolshevik Government headed by Lenin and Trotsky, opened the archives of the Tsarist Foreign Office and published all the secret treaties con-

cluded between pre-revolutionary Russia and her capitalist "allies". These showed clearly the rotten double dealing that was going on. It showed how the "allies" were double crossing each other. This caused consternation and fury in the diplomatic chancelleries. And it engendered a great confidence on the part of the world working class in the Bolshevik regime.

Today a very different position appertains. Stalinist Russia, throwing overboard a basic tenet of Bolshevism — No Secret Diplomacy — is taking the lead in concluding horse deals with the capitalists directed against the proletarian revolution.

In the House of Commons on October 14, Mr. Reid (Lab. Swindon) asked: "Has any evidence been obtained from the archives of a secret German-Soviet treaty in connection with the German-Soviet non-aggression pact of 1939?" Major Mayhew replied for the Government that the agreement had been found "but the question of publication was a different matter."

The international slanging match which has been going on for months shows that it is not out of any solicitude for the Soviet Union that the British Government does not publish the Stalin-Hitler horse deal. What they fear is to expose their own backside. For they are involved up to their necks, together with U.S. imperialism, in secret treaties with the Stalinist bureaucracy. What it does expose is the rottenness of diplomacy, capitalist and Stalinist alike. The whole crowd of them have "ganged up" against the European Revolution. It is the only factor which makes possible even the fiction of the "United Nations". But the turn of the revolution will come. And it will sweep away all secret diplomacy. The archives will be opened to the workers of the world.

WELSH BUSMEN SCORE VICTORY

Rank and File Force T.U. Bosses into Action

BY HEATON LEE

Refusal by the Western Welsh Omnibus Company to implement the findings of the Court of Inquiry set up by the Minister of Labour in April of this year, was responsible for the strike of 6,000 Welsh busmen covering South and West Wales, and Monmouthshire.

The original dispute was in connection with the attempt of the Western Welsh Omnibus Company to foist a set of "Model Conditions" on to a section of their employees which had been recommended by the Court of Inquiry. The employers insisted that the wage increases granted by the Court of Inquiry were conditional upon the acceptance by the workers of the "Model Conditions."

But it is a recognised fact that in any award made by a court of Inquiry a "better-conditions" clause operates. That is to say, that under no conditions can employers force workers to accept new conditions which are worse than those they already have. It was made quite clear to the workers at a Delegates' Conference called after the sitting of the Court, that whilst wage rates were binding on the Companies concerned the application was purely optional, it being pointed out that staff, who were already enjoying better conditions, would naturally not be expected to apply.

After having waited 8 months for their claim to go through the cumbersome arbitration machinery the workers were granted a wage increase. Then the employers refused to implement the findings of the Court. For seven more long months the union bureaucrats played around with the case.

Here was a clear-cut case. The employers were obviously in the wrong. The union bureaucrats admitted it but refused to use the only language the bosses understand. Instead they continued to "negotiate." The result: "Our patience has at long last been exhausted," said the workers.

So the whole of the Western Welsh services numbering some 2,000 workers came out. Their dispute was then referred to the unofficial rank-and-file South Wales and Border Counties Busmen's Council, which met and called out all the Busmen in South and West Wales, and Monmouthshire.

AUTHORITY OF UNOFFICIAL COUNCIL

The most significant aspect of the subsequent strike of 6,000 busmen which paralysed road transport from Fishguard to Gloucester is the tremendous authority of this unofficial rank and file Busmen's Council. On it are represented delegates from the majority of the trade union branches of the three trade unions (T.G.W.U.—N.U.R.—M.G.W.U.) which cater for the bus workers in the area.

That the Busmen's Council had this undeniable authority among the 6,000 rank and file busmen, was recognised by the national leadership of the N.U.R. A meeting of the Executive Committee of the District Council (official) of the N.U.R. attended by S.F. Greene—the national organiser of the N.U.R.—was held in Neath on Wednesday, 23rd October.

This official body called in both the Central Strike Committee and the Western Welsh Strike Committee (both unofficial bodies) during its 10-hour session.

From then until the end of the strike all negotiations between the official union machine and the rank and file were carried on through the unofficial bodies.

Proposals submitted by the N.U.R. District Council to the two strike committees were ultimately made acceptable then referred by the unofficial bodies to the rank and file of Western Welsh for agreement.

Their acceptance of the proposal was then referred back to a full meeting of the South Wales and Border Counties Busmen's Council at which 44 delegates, from 3 unions embracing the whole of Wales, attended.

RESUMPTION OF WORK DECIDED
After a lengthy meeting the Council issued the following statement:

"In view of the fact that a basis for settlement has been arrived at over the Western (Continued on page 4.)

Closed Shop on the Railways

BY SID BIDWELL

The July N.U.R. Conference decided to demand of the four main line companies and the L.P.T.B. that trade union membership be made a condition of service. It was also decided to ask the A.S.L.E. & F. and the R.C.A. for their support.

The date of settlement is given as June 29th, 1947—an indication of the determined mood of the conference delegates. A few days after this date, the 1947 Conference will take place and the National E.C. will have to make its accounting. There is little doubt that the great body of rail workers have reached a stage where they are no longer prepared to tolerate the non-unionist parasites.

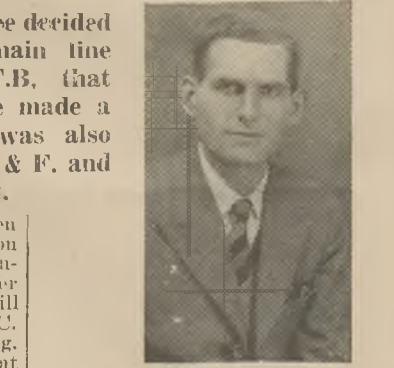
For An All-Out United Struggle

The N.U.R. is the largest railway union, and has never let up on its principle of industrial organisation. Nevertheless, it recognises all the T.U.C. affiliated unions, many of which are craft unions. The shopmen (whose conditions lay behind the conciliation grades) and the locomotive men are split between craft unions and the N.U.R., and the clerks are chiefly organised in the R.C.A. But this should not prevent an all-out united fight to close the industry. In the process of the struggle for the closed shop, the members of all the trade unions will learn the lessons of unity and the uselessness of inter-grade and craft strife which has sapped their energies and played into the hands of the bosses.

For the active N.U.R. members it is not a simple question of posing membership of that union to the sectional unionists. Such methods have proved a dismal failure for the past 33 years. The militants of the three unions must get together, work out a plan of action, and immediately propose amalgamation within the sectional unions. The structure of the amalgamated organisation can make ample room for grade and occupational problems to ensure that they are expertly dealt with. Fusion will never be initiated by the craft-union bureaucrats of the sectional unions; nor will it be accomplished by the leaders of the N.U.R.

The Problem Of The Break-Aways

A few railwaymen on the L.P.T.B. have found their way into the T. & G.W.U. breakaway,



SID BIDWELL

the N.P.W.U., but in negligible numbers. However, the breakaway Union of Railway Signalmen is treated more seriously by N.U.R. officials. This Union, which has linked itself up with the unofficial Federation of Trade Unions not affiliated to the T.U.C., has succeeded in enrolling a few thousand signalmen.

The N.U.R. propaganda is deplorable. They make great play of the fact that the U.R.S. is not recognised by the Railway companies and its financial difficulties. Figures of past settlements on behalf of signalmen are brought forward to dazzle the eye.

All this cuts no ice with the men enrolled in the breakaway, for they know only too well that all workers' organisations are beset by financial difficulties, and that recognition demands a struggle. They also know that the old wage increases were nullified by the rapid rise in the cost of living.

The Solution

What the N.U.R. militants must propose to eliminate the U.R.S. and all breakaway tendencies, is that the large union be thoroughly democratised, the leaders kept on working men's wage levels, and subject to periodical re-election. A fight must be waged for the full terms of the N.U.R. programme (which now needs overhaul) on behalf of all grades.

There must be no reprisals against the members of the breakaway and sectional unions. The door of the N.U.R. membership should be thrown wide open for membership with full benefit, including benevolent funds for proved members of breakaways.

By these methods craft and sectional tendencies can be removed and invincible industrial organisation built.

Russian Revolution ANNIVERSARY MEETING

HOLBORN HALL
GRAYS INN ROAD W.C.1.
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18th

at 7.30 p.m.
Speakers: TED GRANT
JOHN GOWER DAVID JAMES
QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION

Organised by the Lon on District Committee REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY (Trotskyist) 256 Harrow Road, W.2

"As Cabinet Ministers and

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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

WE STAND FOR—

The nationalisation of the banks and all industry without compensation to the capitalists, and their operation under the direct control of workers' committees.

MORRISON and the PROFIT MOTIVE

Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, has discovered a way of squaring the circle! The profit motive is to stay in industry but the profiteers must be reformed.

In the past "The working of the profit motive in Britain had been marred by abuses. . . ." But under the benign regulation of the profit motive by the Labour Government, all this will be altered. The lion will lie down with the lamb.

Curiously enough, all this is connected with the need for an intensive effort by the workers to increase production which now, different from the bad old days will be purely in the interests of the workers themselves! Part of industry is to be nationalised but the remainder must remain under private enterprise. All this would now work for the benefit of the nation. And the workers must leave to the Government the question of profits, "It is for Government and Parliament to concern themselves with the 'boss's profits.'"

Morrison is thus bringing forward time-worn fallacies which have been exposed in elementary Socialist classes for the past decades.

It is not "bad" capitalists as distinct from "good" capitalists, who are responsible for the slumps and crises of capitalism, but the inexorable working out of the laws of the capitalist system. To call the "labour", i.e., labour power sold by the worker a "service" instead of a commodity alters nothing. Changing the name of a thing does not alter its nature. Nor can it alter the fundamental fact that the working class are exploited in the interests of the capitalists. The profits of the capitalists are gained FROM THE UNPAID LABOUR OF THE WORKING CLASS. The capitalists invest part of the surplus produced by the workers, and spend part. But the workers can never absorb the goods they produce, over a long period because they can never get sufficient in wages to cover the consumer goods which are produced. It is this which produces slumps and crises. No amount of regulation and controls will prevent a new slump in the next few years.

Even the nationalised industries will not be run for the benefit of the workers, for as Eden jeeringly commented in a recent speech, they will be State capitalist enterprises which will have to provide cheap fuel, gas, electricity and other services for the capitalist class and its State.

The problem of production cannot be solved under capitalism. The present campaign for speed-up and more intensive effort on the part of the workers means increased exploitation, and profits for the employers. It will mean increased unemployment and misery for the masses at a later stage.

After the bitter experience of the last decades, the working class recognises that the present period of "full employment" is fostered by the shortages caused by the destruction in the war, which has resulted in the present boom. But that position cannot last more than a few years. It can only prepare the way for a catastrophic slump.

There is only one way to get increased production in the interests of the "nation", and not the bosses. That is by taking over all big industry without compensation AND RUNNING IT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE WORKING CLASS. Only then can the resources of the country be properly run and planned in the interests of the masses. Undreamed of increases in production could be obtained with the initiative of the technicians and workers employed and unleashed for the benefit of all.

With a real socialist planned production the workers would be willing to make the greatest sacrifices and undergo the greatest strain knowing that this would not be in the interests of a parasitic clique of capitalists, but for the benefit of the working class.

But Sir Stafford Cripps has discovered that the workers are too ignorant to exercise control of production! This can only be done at the present time by the all-wise bosses!

Together with the technicians, and in conjunction with them, the workers who every day of their lives experience the running of all industry and transport, are the most capable of directing and organising the national economy. It is all humbug; it is all capitalist deception, that the present owners of industry, or the State as such, possess mysterious sources of knowledge denied to the working class. The capitalists leave the running of industry to technicians who are hired for this purpose. The technicians can be hired and controlled by the workers and work for the benefit of society.

The reason for bureaucratic control of the nationalised industries is not based on the ignorance of the workers but is purely political; a decision in the interests of the employing class.

The rosy dream of class collaboration will be shattered on the rocks of the class struggle. With the workers, or with the employers—that is the choice. There is no middle way. Morrison, Cripps and the rest of the Labour leaders have placed themselves on the side of the bosses!

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

INSPIRED THE WORKERS

TERRIFIED THE CAPITALISTS

BY BILL HUNTER

Twenty-nine years ago this month, news of a world-shaking event began to trickle out of Russia to the war weary masses and their incredulous rulers. Under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the Russian workers and peasants had seized power. They had overthrown a Government, born on the tide of a revolution nine months before, a government revolutionary in words, but lacking in deeds.

In the outside world, the worker in the blood and slime of the trenches, the toiler in the field or at the bench, with wonder and hope heard the news that a workers state was in creation in Russia. The banker in his counting house, the capitalist politician in the halls of government, with horror and loathing heard that the workers had seized the land, the workers had seized the factories, and the Soviet leaders were appealing over the heads of the warring governments to the oppressed and suffering millions, for peace in a shattered world.

For the first time in history the toiling masses had grasped the state power firmly in their hands under a revolutionary Marxist leadership.

Testing Time For Social Democracy

The events in Russia before the November Revolution were the historic testing time of the Russian equivalents of our Labour leaders. After the first revolution in March 1917, they were given the support of the overwhelming mass of the workers and peasants. These masses were disgusted and weary in face of the barbarities of a war from which, not they, but their rulers were reaping the benefit. The workers had revolted against their intolerable working and living conditions, the peasants hungered for the land on which they laboured in the interests of the landlords and banks. They looked to the socialists, to the Mensheviks for the fulfilment of their hopes, and placed them in the leadership.

These leaders, riddled with the spirit of compromise, proceeded to hand the power over to the capitalists. Instead of going forward to smash completely the power of the exploiters, by aiding the workers and peasants to take over the factories, banks, land, and mines, they held back the workers' struggles against the capitalists, the peasants' struggles against the landlords. They sought to strengthen the capitalists by entering into a coalition government with them. And behind the backs of the suffering masses who had placed them in power, they planned a bloody intensification of the slaughter on the Eastern front. The workers and peasants were thus won to the Bolsheviks as the only consistent revolutionary force, the only force capable of carrying out their will by giving the land to the peasants, bread to the workers and peace to the peoples.

Most Maligned And Slandered Government

The world ruling class met the November revolution and the expropriation of the Russian exploiters with a cry of hatred. Their animosity knew no war-

frontiers. Among the Allies and the Central Powers alike, the Soviet Government became the most maligned and slandered government in the world. The capitalists tried desperately to prevent their own workers from becoming infected with the "Bolshevik virus." With a barrage of slander and misrepresentation they attempted to drown the revolutionary international propaganda of the Bolsheviks, who were appealing to the workers of the world for aid, and urging them to overthrow the war mongers.

In an attempt to deaden this propaganda, which found ready roots among the war weary millions, the German ruling class accused the Bolsheviks of being in the pay of England, while the Allies accused them of being a German puppet government. The German press declared "In the Bolshevik movement the hand of England is clearly seen." In America, the anti-Bolshevik propaganda included the publication of documents purporting to prove that the Bolsheviks had signed an agreement with the German Banks for the joint exploitation of Russia, and that they had received 50,000,000 roubles of gold for the upkeep of the Red Guard, in return for which the lists of candidates for the Bolshevik Central Executive Committee were submitted to the German General Staff for endorsement!

Capitalist slanderers and forgers worked night and day to discredit the Bolsheviks, as they always will to discredit any revolutionary workers' movement. Towards the end of 1920, Scotland Yard forged an entire issue of "Pravda," and filled it with false

news. This was admitted by the Home Secretary in answers to questions in Parliament during March 1921.

Churchill In The Forefront

In Britain, right from the first day of the revolution, the capitalist wolf pack went in full cry, led by Winston Churchill howling about the "poison peril from the East." The fact that the Bolsheviks signed peace with Germany, thus carrying out the will of their own people, and not that of the Western banking houses, intensified their onslaught. It is a fruitful task for any worker to make a close study of the hysterical slanders of our rulers at this period, their deliberate forgeries and distortions, to discredit the first workers state. Here we can learn what methods they will always adopt when their power, privilege and profits are threatened. Throughout the turbulent post-war years, wherever the spectre of revolution reared its head they met it with deceit, slander, and military and economic attacks.

Glory Of World Working Class

That the Soviet Union withstood the onslaught of British and world capitalism, that it withstood the long years of intervention and civil war, is to the glory of the world working class. It was the mutiny in the French fleet, the dockers' strike and the threat of a general strike in Britain, the demonstrations of solidarity by the workers in every capitalist country, which played a great part in defeating the intervention of the capitalist powers. The existence of the Soviet Union as the first workers' state, the propaganda of the Bol-

sheviks, had a profound effect on the working classes of the capitalist nations. Ludendorff writes in his Memoirs—"Looking back I can see that our decline obviously began with the outbreak of the revolution in Russia." When the peace negotiations between the Soviet Union and Germany broke down in 1918 and the German army was ordered to advance, the German soldiers shot 42 officers and the advance had to be carried out by volunteers. The problems of morale and workers' discontent, posed before Ludendorff by the Russian Revolution, were posed before every capitalist general and politician.

That the Soviet Union stood, shows the firmness of its foundation and pays tribute to the faith with which it instilled the masses, both of Russia and the world. The Soviet Union owes its existence for 29 years to the fact that it was born as the result of a revolutionary transformation.

The aim of the revolution was to place power firmly in the hands of the working class, abolish all privilege and rank, and oppression, and for the first time, introduce a genuine democracy for the toilers. Lenin and Trotsky placed in the forefront of their programme four conditions on which the revolution should base itself from the start:

1. Soviets (workmen's, peasants, soldiers' committees) elected directly by the masses and with the right of instant recall.
2. The abolition of the standing army and its replacement by the armed people.
3. No permanent bureaucracy—all to take part in the functions of government.
4. No officials to have a higher wage than the average workman.

Under the regime of Stalin the soviets have long been abolished. In their place exists a totalitarian parliament—a caricature of a bourgeois parliament since only one candidate is permitted to stand in Russian elections. Under the regime of Stalin ranks abolished by the revolution have been reintroduced and privileges far surpassing those of the generals in capitalist countries, have been created for the military caste.

Under the regime of Stalin a caste of bureaucrats has been entrenched, a caste which has raised itself above the people, living like millionaires, and which has usurped the power from the workers' state.

Under the regime of Stalin the limitation of the wages of officials to that of a skilled man has long been abolished and instead Byzantine excesses are indulged in by the bureaucrats and a capitalist their savings has been introduced into the Socialist constitution.

Lenin's teachings have long been forgotten and to draw attention to his words as the fundamental basis of the workers' state in Russia today, would court certain execution for "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism."

Since the revolution there has grown up a monstrous bureaucracy, and, one by one, the conquests of that revolution have been lost, till the nationalised property alone remains. The ruling bureaucracy, while seeking to use the traditions of Bolshevism when it suits its interests, tramples upon the Bolshevik ideas. The tremendous events of November 1917 however,

still exert their influence today. The support given by the workers of Europe to the Stalinist parties, is given in the belief that they represent the ideas and theories which accomplished that successful November overturn. Events have proved, and will continue to prove otherwise.

Despite the fears of the ruling classes, the last war was not followed, or accompanied by a second November, 1917, a second successful revolution. Yet the situation at the end of the second world war was immensely favourable for the overthrow of capitalism. In every country on the Continent of Europe the capitalist class was discredited, having in the main collaborated with the Nazis. The workers, in the countries which the German army occupied, were already armed, and in many areas occupying the factories. They gave mass support to the Stalinist parties, whom they believed, were a revolutionary force. Had these parties, masquerading under the name of Communism, possessed even an iota of Leninist policy and theory, they could have gone forward to the final routing of discredited capitalism and today the workers would have been masters of Europe. But, instead of leading the workers forward to the new society, they bound them to the old. Delaying as did the Mensheviks in Russia, they proceeded to lay the basis for a return of the self confidence of the capitalists. In the name of national unity they collaborated with their rulers and aided in disarming the workers and rehabilitating the capitalist state machine. They deluded the workers that the solution of their problems lay along the road of Parliamentary manoeuvres. In flagrant violation of Leninism, they entered the capitalist coalition governments maintaining the suppression of the colonial peoples. The tale of their betrayals of the principles of the Russian revolution has been told, step by step, in the "Socialist Appeal" and other Trotskyist publications.

The betrayal of the world working class is also a betrayal of the Soviet Union. Despite the glorious victories of the Soviet Union and the fact that it has survived the war this does not solve the problems of the revolution nor does it mean that Russia is moving towards a Socialist system of society. Under the Stalinist bureaucracy the movement is in the opposite direction. Only a new revolution in Russia which will uproot and destroy the parasitic bureaucracy will lead Russia back to the principles of Communism. This can best be served by the struggle against world capitalism and imperialism and the introduction of workers' regimes which would spell the end of Stalinism in Russia and throughout the world.

Only the Trotskyist movement carries on in the traditions of the Russian revolution. Minority parties, as the parties of the Fourth International are today, we are confident that, tomorrow, the workers will be forced by events to recognise the correctness of our programme. We are confident that the workers, in their majority, will realise that the Bolshevik theory which made the Russian Revolution possible, which made possible the mighty spectacle of the Russian workers and peasants proving that the oppressed classes can rule; that this theory offers the only way out of the nightmare of capitalism. We are confident that the future will prove that the true inheritor of this theory, the true inheritor of the traditions of the Russian Revolution, is the Fourth International, world party of Trotskyism.

LENIN AND TROTSKY, 1917



German P.O.W.s Told: 'Too Red' — Nazis Selected for Repatriation

There are in Britain at the present time, 388,000 German Prisoners of War. They are employed mainly on agricultural work or on Government local building projects. They provide a source of cheap, unorganised labour to farmers and other employers who hire their labour from the Government.

Living in mass camps, these unfortunate prisoners are forbidden to have contact or communication with the civilians in Britain, and it is a criminal offence for a British civilian to speak or even pass a cigarette to these German prisoners.

Recently there has taken place organised demonstrations on the part of some thousands of P.O.W.s, demanding that they be repatriated in accordance with the terms of the Geneva Convention. In Suffolk, some of these soldiers working on farms conducted a form of strike, despite great risk of arbitrary punishment involved, by donning tools at 5 p.m. sharp. Others in Oxfordshire and elsewhere developed a campaign in the form of leaflet distribution.

Government's "Plan"

On September 13th, the press published a Government plan for the sending home of 15,000 P.O.W.s per month. Apparently the Government felt under compulsion to at least pretend that it was not violating the terms of the Geneva Convention in relation to prisoners of war.

In reality, however, very little is changed. What are the facts? Even if this plan was adhered to, (according to the "News Chronicle" of September 13th, the first group which will return in October counts only 8,000) it would take over 2 years before all these German prisoners reached their homes. Or to put it bluntly: the

Labour Government intends to hold defenceless worker-prisoners in this country for another two years to exploit them as slaves.

Almost simultaneously with the publication of this plan, it is revealed that German prisoners of war are being brought to Britain from Germany. The "New Statesman and Nation" reported that apart from holding half a million, the Government is bringing reinforcements to Britain.

Here is an example how the scheme is worked in practice, as related by a German prisoner:

"Too Red"

"From the largest camp in this region the authorities have specially selected one man (of what magnitude!) to be repatriated. In this camp there are several old workers, with families dependent on them and skilled in their trade, who spent many years in Hitler's concentration camps. One might have thought that it would have been one of these that would be selected for release. Sad illusion, alas! These comrades were informed that they were too red (some of them had been in the German revolutionary movement even at the time when it was led by Karl Liebknecht, and Rosa Luxemburg) to be eligible for release at the moment, and that they were disqualified anyhow, because they came from the Russian zone to which they wanted to return.

One Nazi Selected

Instead, the Camp leader was selected—a member of the Nazi Party!

Needless to say, the comments of the P.O.W.s on this was hardly any more favourable than was their reception of the news that the Nuremberg Tribunal had let off Papen, Schacht, and Fritzsche scot free.

Everyone knows that his release is due to the very friendly terms on which he found himself with the Camp Commandant.

We have good reason to believe that this is far from being an isolated incident, but that it is what is happening in P.O.W. camps all over the country."

Release The Slaves!

There has been a great hue and cry in Britain over Hitler's use of slave labour. But Hitler's slaves received more than 1½d. per hour!

In its policy towards these German prisoners, the Labour Government acts as lackeys of the capitalists. It betrays and discredits the basic traditions of class solidarity and democratic liberty gained by the working class movement by decades of struggle.

Socialist and Communist Workers! Protest against the continued imprisonment of German fellow workers. Demand the immediate and unconditional repatriation of all prisoners of war in Britain or British held territory. For international solidarity!

U.S. Shipyard Firm Stole 1,600 per cent. War Profits

Reprinted from the "MILITANT", U.S.A.

The facts in the current scandal, the staggering profits made by the big shipping corporations in World War II are so smelly, that they have broken through all efforts to conceal them. Even as Wall Street is preparing for World War III and still bigger profits, some of the facts about the billions they swindled out of the last war are now leaking out.

Evidence placed before the House Merchant Marine Committee by the Maritime Commission last week revealed that 19 shipbuilding firms made an estimated \$356,000,000 in profits on a total investment of \$22,979,275. This represents 1,600 per cent. in profits over capital investment.

The biggest shipping monopolists are trying to shift the brunt of the inquiry against the Henry Kaiser interests. This wartime new-comer in the monopoly game invested only \$100,000 in one of his corporations and drew out the prize of \$43,647,026 in profits.

But the other shipping swindlers did just as well. Permanente Metals Corporation invested \$460,000 and reaped a profit of \$58,840,885.

Bethlehem-Fairfield Shipyards invested \$1,000,000 and got back \$53,906,980 in profits.

California's Shipbuilding Corporation invested \$600,000 and squeezed out \$44,423,014 in profits. Oregon Ship Building Corporation reaped \$40,930,564 on an original investment of \$550,000.

North Carolina Ship Building Corporation invested \$3,000,000 and profited to the tune of \$27,645,029.

Todd Touston Ship Building Corporation gained \$13,678,303 on an investment of \$689,200.

Marinship Corporation got \$11,871,840 on its investment of \$500,000.

On a tiny investment of \$600, the St. Johns River Ship Building Corporation came up with \$208,000 in profits!

Five other firms: J. A. Jones Construction Co., Consolidated Steel Corporation, East Coast Shipyards, McClosky & Co. and Southeastern Ship Building Corporation invested a total of \$9,889,811 and came out with \$30,443,617 to the good.

JOCK HASTON

will speak at the following places during the month of November:

SHEFFIELD

Burngreave Vestry, (1d. car stage from City Centre) Fifth Park via Pitsmoor WEDNESDAY, 20th NOV., at 7.30 p.m.

Subject: THE FUTURE OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

NOTTINGHAM

The People's Hall, Heathcote Street, THURSDAY, 21st NOV., at 7.30 p.m.

Subject: THE LENINIST ATTITUDE TO THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

ROTHWELL, Nr. LEEDS SUNDAY, 24th NOV., at 7.30 p.m.

Subject: THE LENINIST ATTITUDE TO THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

CEYLON GENERAL STRIKE

Trotskyists in Leadership

A general strike took place in Ceylon during the last weeks of October in sympathy with those sections of the workers striking for higher wages and the right to organise in trade unions.

According to reports in the "Times" and the "Manchester Guardian," the strike was led by the Ceylon Trotskyists. The "Times" stated:

"The so-called Trotskyists who organised the strike also command road transport, gas-works and hospital services unions which are expected to strike at any moment."

On 23rd September, the "Manchester Guardian" reported the arrest of Dr. Perera, a Trotskyist leader in Ceylon:

"The Ceylon strike leader, Dr. N. M. Perera, was arrested at dawn today and later released. A deputation of strikers received by the Governor refused to come to terms without Dr. Perera's attendance."

"Another Conference was held with the Governor in the afternoon at which Dr. Perera was present but the strike situation remained unchanged."

The bulk of the strikers were employed at Government-owned establishments, railways, postal and

electrical undertakings. The railway and electrical workers who came out on strike, were joined by 3,000 harbour workers, and they were joined by thousands of workers in essential government departments.

The fact that the strike developed into a general strike is an indication of the tremendous militant mood developing among all sections of the Ceylonese working class. A very important factor that betokens the likely success of the strike is the uncompromising leadership of the Ceylon Trotskyists, which unlike the reformist traitors at the head of the trade unions, will not capitulate to the government or sell the workers out.

There are in Ceylon two Trotskyist Parties, the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (Ceylon Unit), official section of the Fourth International, and the Lanka Sama Samaj Party, of which Dr. Perera is a member. Fusion negotiations have begun between the two organisations.

Builders Threatened with Eviction

(Continued from Page 1.)

and 2 must get out.

This proves the hopeless muddle the Ministry of Labour, Red Lion Square have got into. But the fact of the matter remains that the building workers are the sufferers.

"You Want Houses — We Want Homes"

Yes, we workers who gave our best during the blitz, who came from Ireland, Wales, Scotland and the Midlands of England to keep the roofs over the heads of our fellow workers' families, and those workers who were out in the battlefields, are today faced with the prospect of eviction with the mountain for a doorstep and the moon for a blanket.

In this article I have given you

the truth in a plain building worker's fashion. Think it over, and help us to help you. You want houses, we want homes. The hostels have been our homes for years; we are prepared to continue to live in hostels and build our homes.

If you are prepared to fight with us, help us by having the matter taken up at your trade union branch. Write to your local M.P. and support us fully in any line of action we may deem it necessary to take. Only in this way can we achieve justice for the building worker and decent living accommodation for the people of Britain.

As we go to press, notices have been withdrawn from 50 of these building workers on W.B.A. The fight is continuing for the others.

Trotskyists Contest Elections

INDIA, September 17—

The Trotskyists in Ceylon plan a full list of candidates in the coming election.

A preliminary slate of 15 nominees has already been announced by the Ceylon Unity of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, section of the Fourth International.

The constituencies and the names of the candidates are as follows:

COLOMBO NORTH:
Soma Wickramanayake

COLOMBO CENTRAL:
M. Henry Peiris

COLOMBO SOUTH:
Bernard Soysa

WELAWATTE-GALKISSA:
Dr. Colvin R. de Silva

AMBALANGODA-BALAPITIYA:
P. H. William de Silva

BADULLA: J. C. T. Kotalwala

HAPUTALE: A. Patchamutti

GAMPAHA: Edmund Samakody

NEGOMBO:
Dr. Hector H. Fernando

KALUTARA:
Cholmondeley Goonewardene

KOTAGALLA: S. Chelliah

MASKELLIYA:
T. E. Pushparajan

NUWARA ELIYA:
Lorenz Perara

BANDARAWELA:
Hector Abayawardena

DEHIOWITA:
H. J. Dharmawardena

The Ceylon Unity of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party (India) announces that this list of candidates is subject to revision "if and

when" any electoral agreement is reached among the working class parties.

AMERICA

The American Trotskyists, the Socialist Workers' Party, are running eighteen candidates in the forthcoming Congressional Elections.

In a vicious attempt to stifle all small workers parties, the Democratic Party has appealed to the New York Supreme Court to ban the S.W.P., and three other minority parties from the poll. Thousands of dollars have been spent to ensure the success of this blatant attack on democratic liberties. The Judge chosen to hear the case is known to be prejudiced, as he ruled against the Trotskyists in similar circumstances in 1940.

The S.W.P. has appealed to all the Parties involved (the Stalinist C.P., the Workers Party, the Socialist Party) to make a joint defence and to all working-class organisations for support. Not merely has no response to the appeal for joint defence been given, but the "Socialist Party" of Norman Thomas has appealed to the Courts to restrain the S.W.P. from using "Socialist" in its name. This treacherous attack was launched after the Democratic Party's offensive on the minority parties had begun.

Among the list of candidates are Joseph Hansen, Grace Carlson, Farrell Dobbs, George Breitman, and William E. Bohannon.

GERMAN WORKERS VOTE LABOUR

(Continued from Page 1)

Reichstag after the Nazis came to power in a futile effort to retain a legal existence, should not only have retained their support, but gained at the expense of the Communist Party can only be explained as the revulsion of the masses from the totalitarian Stalinist regime.

In Berlin the process is striking. Here, pre-Hitler, the Stalinists were the strongest Party—far stronger than the Social Democrats. To-day, despite the overwhelming superiority of the "Socialist Unity Party" in resources, propaganda apparatus, paper, etc., they were overwhelmingly defeated. The Stalinists also suffered heavy defeats in their traditional strongholds—Hamburg, the Ruhr, Leipzig and Dresden.

The German workers want socialism; but they want a genuine workers' democracy, not the caricature of Stalinism, which has no power of attraction for those who have witnessed it at close quarters.

Schumacher, leader of the Social Democrats proclaimed the victory as one "denoting the desire of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism." In this reformist party received the votes, not as an uncritical approval for the policy of reformism, but because there was no alternative.

The significance of the vote for the Christian Democrats is that it confirms a trend which has developed throughout Western Europe. The defeat of the Nazis has completed the disillusionment of the middle class. The capitalists have organised the despairing middle class round the banner of "Christian Democracy" as a counterweight to the workers' parties and to socialism. The absence of a bold revolutionary policy by the workers' parties which could rally the middle class, has resulted in their crystallisation round this axis.

COLLAPSE OF THE NAZIS

However, what is confirmed by the elections, is the utter collapse of the Nazis. The assiduous cultivation of the myth by the Tories, Labour and Communist Party leaders that the fascists possess a mass basis in Germany has been shown to be utterly false by this election.

The isolated deeds of terror and violence have been met with hostility from the working class. In Stuttgart, the bomb planted by the Nazis as an act against the American military government was answered by a 15-minute protest strike by 125,000 Stuttgart workers. This was not for love of the American military government, but as a warning to the Nazis.

ALLIES MODIFY POLICY

The antagonism between Anglo-American imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy which has openly manifested itself since the collapse of Nazi Germany has led the Allies to modify their attitude towards the German problem.

Germany still remains the heart of Europe and her destiny largely determines the relation of forces and the destinies of the European peoples. Under stress of economic facts and the game of power politics, the Allies are abandoning the policy of "Vansittartism" and the "pastoralisation" of Germany. But this does not mean a change of heart on the part of the great powers; it merely means that they desire to use Germany as a pawn in the struggle for mastery over Europe, and as points of vantage against each other.

Molotov's recent speech in favour of a united Germany, and opposing the separation of the Rhineland, which was echoed by a fervent spate of propaganda by the Socialist Unity Party for a united and centralised Reich, is a reflection of the Stalinist plans to win the support of the German masses, and dominate Germany.

Byrnes' speech suggesting revision of the present Polish frontier with Germany (which has meant the annexation of an enormous stretch of former German territory in Silesia) was the American rebuttal.

Now Bevin, too has criticised the extent of the Polish annexations as a thrust against the Kremlin.

While in the Anglo-American zones, industry has remained on a stagnant level, in the Russian zone reconstruction has developed under the control and for the benefit of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Taking advantage of the refusal of the Stalinists to integrate the economy of their zone with Western occupied Germany, the Allies have used this as a pretext to renounce the terms of the Potsdam Agreement. The American imperialists are even toying with the idea of a loan to Germany.

Bevin has emphasised the new policy in his latest review of foreign policy in the House of Commons. The level of industry to be allowed in Germany is to be revised on a much higher level. In the British zone, coal, steel, heavy engineering, chemicals and other heavy industry to be nationalised under military government control. The Social Democrats, leaning for support on British imperialism and a Western orientation, have eagerly jumped at the hint, and while hailing Bevin's references to industry have commenced an agitation against the unjust frontiers in the East. Thus, while denouncing the Socialist Unity Party for reflecting the interests of Moscow, the Social Democrats anxiously reflect trends of British foreign policy.

FOR A COMMUNIST GERMANY

But the disagreements between the Allies, and the attempt to balance Germany against each other, will have unexpected results for the victors. In the Eastern zone a continuation of the revival of Germany for the benefit of the occupiers, is bound to give rise to a critical mood among the masses. In the Western zone the organisation of German industry will crash on the contradictions of restored capitalist economy. It can only lead Germany to a new economic slump and collapse, as did the revival after the last war.

The nationalisation of only heavy industry under bureaucratic military control, without planning, control and initiative in the hands of the German workers, can only prepare the way for a new reaction.

The long-term effects of a restoration of industry will not be to



the liking of the Allied rulers of Germany. It will restore the self-confidence and energy of the working class. It will prepare the way for their revolutionisation, particularly among the youth of the Social Democrats and Stalinist Parties. This can prepare the way for the genuine Marxist party in Germany—a mass Revolutionary Communist Party which will fight for a communist solution.

The road out for Germany lies in the integration of dynamic German industry with European economy. This would lead to an undreamed of increase in the standard of living of the German and European peoples. But it is absolutely impossible under capitalism. Only a Socialist Germany united with a Socialist Europe can bring peace and plenty to Europe.

The workers of Britain must assist the rebirth of German socialism by demanding the withdrawal of all the armies of occupation. Let the German workers deal with the Nazis and their capitalist backers. The election results demonstrate that they have the will and the desire to do so. The German workers will give short shrift to any attempt at Nazi revival if they have the power to do so.

Welsh Busmen

(Continued from Page 2)

Welsh dispute, it was decided by the Council's Central Strike Committee to order a resumption of work as and from Sunday.

Further evidence of the authority of the unofficial Busmen's Council was provided by the fact that at a mass meeting of Swansea Busmen in spite of the instruction of the District Organiser of the T. & G.W.U. to return to work, a decision to await the word of the unofficial body was made.

Other significant features of the South Wales busmen's strike were the solidarity of the workers who were inconvenienced by the strike. Such solidarity is explained by the growing tide of resentment against

the cumbersome constitutional arbitration machinery, and the officials of the Trade Unions who shunt all grievances into this dead end.

This resentment has now found organised expression—the democratic rank and file Busmen's Council, many of the leading members of which raised the next step for the council:

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DEMOCRATISATION OF THE UNIONS

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE REPEAL OF THE NATIONAL ARBITRATION ORDER WHICH MAKES ALL STRIKES 'UNOFFICIAL.'

T.U.C. 1946

BY C. VAN GELDEREN

THE FIVE DAY CONGRESS OF THE T.U.C. REVEALED THAT THE PROCESS OF THE "GROWING TOGETHER" OF THE TRADE UNION APPARATUS AND THE STATE HAS GONE VERY FAR SINCE THE COMING TO POWER OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

The prediction of the "Daily Telegraph" that the Congress would develop into a first class trial of strength between the Socialist Government and its most powerful prop, the Trade Union Congress, has not been borne out by events.

That this process of identifying the Trade Unions with the capitalist State is a conscious one on the part of the Transport House leadership, was clearly revealed by Mr. Charles Dukes in the Presidential Address with which he opened the conference. Referring to the Government's nationalisation policy, he said:

"Traditional trade union practice constrained us to drive the hardest possible bargains with employers, and to impose many a restrictive measure to protect the workers' investment in the industry."

There have been good reasons for the reluctance of unions to countenance the piece-work system, and those techniques of time and motion study, and methods of scientific management, associated with capitalist industry, but I suggest that in the new situation resulting from socialising legislation and the closer association of unions with these problems of industrial management, the unions will have to reconsider their attitude towards many of these restrictive methods and practices."

In plain language, the Number One spokesman for Transport House makes it clear that the Trade Union bureaucrats will support any attempt to introduce the Bedaux or Taylor systems or other forms of speed-up and rationalisation processes in the nationalised industries. This is a grave danger against which the organised Labour Movement must be on guard. Not one of the delegates showed a proper awareness of what was involved in this infamous proposal of Dukes, and the "Daily Worker" also, was silent on this question.

THE CLOSED SHOP

The discussion on the Closed Shop ended in a typical compromise. Delegate after delegate rose to defend the traditional conception of the Closed Shop—to compel employers to make Trade Unionism a condition of employment. This embodies the elementary working-class demand for the right to hire and fire. Under pressure from the General Council, the final resolution left it to each industry to decide what form the "Closed Shop" should take.

40-HOUR WEEK

Despite valiant efforts on the part of the platform—ably assisted by "Communist" Arthur Horner, to draw the red herring of increased production across the discussion on the Forty-hour Week, the rank-and-file delegates refused to be sidetracked. Many of them have vivid memories of the grim days of unemployment and slump and they know full well that when the present "boom" is over, the employers will be in a far stronger position to resist the demands of the workers.

Delegates made it clear, in no uncertain fashion, that the organised workers of Britain were out for the Forty-hour Week and that nothing was going to stop them getting it. They passed a resolution in favour of an immediate approach to the Government to make the forty-hour week law within the shortest possible time, and from the mood of the speeches it was evident that the workers in the Unions were not inclined to stop at supplication to the government to achieve this objective.

A WAGES POLICY FOR LABOUR

There was an air of unreality about the discussion on a National Wages policy. Mr. Deakin, on behalf of the General Council claimed that the present wage-negotiating machinery was all that was required, a statement to which numerous "unofficial strikes" in the past twelve months give the direct lie. But the demand that the Government fix a national minimum wage is one which the Congress rightly rejected. We are living in a period of rising prices and the minimum wage which might prove adequate to-day to cover the bare necessities of life, will be hopelessly inadequate in a year or two. Wages must be pegged to the cost of living. The Labour Movement must fight for

a sliding scale of wages corresponding to the rise in the cost of living.

During the discussion on production, many delegates voiced the uneasiness of the rank-and-file Trade Unionists at the Government's nationalisation policy and there were strong objections to the high rates of compensation paid. Not one delegate, however, drew the necessary sharp distinction between the Labour Government's nationalisation policy, which leaves the capitalist system intact, and a genuine policy of socialism. This would have raised the issue of paying any compensation at all and would have introduced the thorny question of "Workers' Control."

Arthur Horner put forward the Stalinist position which aims at a revival of the war-time Joint-production Committees. He was supported, not surprisingly, by Lord Citrine, whose comments on this score is quoted with approval by J. R. Campbell in the "Daily Worker."

UNEASINESS GROWS

Notwithstanding the success of the platform in keeping the Congress in line, the Brighton Conference, much more than the Bournemouth Conference of the Labour Party, revealed a growing dissatisfaction within the trade union movement at the policy pursued by the Government. This was shown most clearly in the debate on Foreign Policy, where the resolution condemning the Government's policy was only narrowly defeated, despite the dramatic intervention of the Prime Minister himself.

Attlee's attack against the Stalinists was dictated by the formidable support they gained among the delegates at the T.U.C. This reflected the penetration of the C.P. into the T.U. machinery. Attlee utilised the totalitarian regime of the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to obscure the role of the Labour leaders as agents of British imperialism.

It is true, of course, that much of the opposition came from Stalinist-controlled delegates, who back the policy of the Kremlin, which is every bit as reactionary as that of Bevin and Byrnes, the euphemistic references to the Soviet occupied territories as "new democracies" notwithstanding. There is, however, a genuine rank-and-file uneasiness at the Labour Government's line-up behind the expansionist plans of American Imperialism; at Bevin's active support of the Dutch and British Oil magnates in Indonesia; his cynical defence of the suppression of the Greek Trade Unions; and the Labour Government's open boast of the "continuity" of British Foreign Policy, which means the "continuity" of the same imperialist policies pursued by the Tories.

Mr. Attlee's sharp attack on the Communist Party and the Soviet Union was nothing less than an attempt to cover up the Government's sordid record in the field of foreign policy—undoubtedly its most vulnerable point.

THE LESSON OF BRIGHTON

The Brighton Congress drives home once again the necessity for the Trade Union movement to purge itself of the old leadership and to build up a new leadership from the ranks. Most of the present leaders of the movement rose to these positions in the days when the capitalist system could still make concessions to the workers. Even where they have not been corrupted in one way or another, they are hopelessly inadequate to the tasks which confront the Trade Union movement in the present period. With the current shortage of labour and the desperate need of British capitalism to increase production, the organised workers are in an impregnable position to launch a full-scale attack on the citadel of capitalism and to take it by storm. They are being held back by the bureaucratic machine and by a cowardly and corrupted leadership.

Brighton has revealed that the first stirring of revolt is there. The Trade Unionists of Britain must now go forward to a policy of struggle, not only against the bosses, but against the official leadership which acts as the agents of the boss class within its ranks.

Child Labour

with some "social work." The Trade Unions, the Co-operative Movement and the Labour Party must draw up a plan to undertake the supervision of all destitute or bereaved children. This abominable system of child slavery must be abolished NOW.



The Government in nationalising the mines is inheriting all the problems created by the coal barons in their rapacious exploitation of the mining industry. In the debate on the coal situation on October 16th, the Government, however, put the onus on the workers. Having richly compensated the coalowners, the Government appeals to the miners to sweat as never before to produce more coal for the rehabilitation of British capitalism. Indeed, what Mr. Bevin said in the debate on Housing on October 21st applies equally to the coal industry: "We had to intervene to improve conditions in the foundry and brick industries, and in industry after industry. In other words, the Socialist Government had to come to the rescue of capitalism in each one of the industries."

How perfectly the latter sentence sums up the whole policy of the Labour Government at home and abroad. And so the function of a "socialist" government is to "come to the rescue of capitalism!" Such "socialists" defile the name of socialism every time they utter it.

Let us turn to one of our so-called "Communist" representatives, Mr. Phil Piratin. He spoke of the present period in Britain as "this first stage of Socialism!" during the debate on amendments to the Fair Wages Clause on October 14th. The Communist Party too, sows illusions in reformism and in the possibility of a peaceful transformation to socialism through the capitalist parliamentary machine.

From this point of view it is no different to the Labour Party—both serve to betray the cause of socialism.

The Foreign Under-Secretary, Mr. Mayhew, in reply to a question on October 14th, revealed that £11,000,000 had been spent on supplying arms and equipment to the Greek Government. This figure only covers up till January 1946. Subsequent estimates are not yet complete, but the British Government will bear the cost of maintaining the Greek Army until March 1947, as the Greek Government cannot pay—and the original scales are to be increased. And in addition the cost of maintaining British troops there comes to a further £1,000,000 a month.

This "coming to the rescue" of Greek reaction is thus costing the British worker a tidy little sum.

Red Army

(Continued from Page 1)

officers' pay is tax free and that officers have the right according to a recently passed law, to permanent allowances.

These facts have never drawn an answer or denial from Stalinist leaders although they have received wide publicity.

RED ARMY UNDER TROTSKY

When Trotsky created the Red Army social and economic distinctions between all ranks remained extremely slight. The Red officers—especially those who belonged to the Communist Party, were restricted to an extremely spartan mode of life. In 1924, the pay of a corps commander was 150 roubles, corresponding roughly to the wage earned by a well-paid metal worker. It was 25 roubles below the "Party maximum," the largest monthly salary that a member of the Party was allowed to accept in those days. The commander of a division received 100 roubles per month, and a company commander 43 roubles. A group leader, non-commissioned officer received 15 roubles a month.

Military titles officers' hierarchy were liquidated and saluting was abolished. There was no special officers' mess and the meals of officers and men were prepared in the same kitchen. Communist officers seldom wore the badges of their rank off duty. The oath of the Red Army soldier contained a vow of allegiance to international socialism and world revolution. The army was based upon the conception of the armed militia.

Not only has the name of the Red Army been changed by Stalin, but the entire structure and social and economic relations have changed. Communist workers have the duty to analyse these changes, and draw Marxist conclusions.

Workers International News

Theoretical Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

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(Continued from Page 1)

are not touched upon.

As the children concerned are the sons and daughters of the working class, the organised Labour Movement must take full charge of them. They must be delivered from the hands of the charitably disposed Duchesses and other members of the ruling class who try to ease their consciences