



SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

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Government's Economic Plan:

CAPITALISTS TO REMAIN IN CONTROL

FOR SOCIALIST PLANNING Workers Must Supervise and Control

DURING THE LAST FEW FEW WEEKS, THE LEADERS OF THE ENGINEERING, MINERS, AND OTHER UNIONS, MET TOGETHER TO DISCUSS THE URGENT NEED OF PRIORITY PRODUCTION OF ELECTRIC GENERATORS AND MINING EQUIPMENT. HERE IS A SITUATION WHICH CALLS FOR THE PARTICIPATION, THE CONTROL AND SUPERVISION BY THE WORKERS IN THE FACTORIES.

There have been many complaints about the production of luxury and non-essential goods in the engineering factories because the profits on these goods are higher. But the workers are not consulted and under the present "planning" of the Labour Government, profits continue to come first.

While factories producing household needs were closed during the crisis, Royal Ordnance Factories—under Government ownership!—continued to produce tanks and guns.

CRIPPS INSULTS WORKERS — THEN PRODUCES NO PLAN

Sir Stafford Cripps put forward the "plan" of the Labour Leaders in the debate on the "Economic Survey of 1947" in Parliament on March 12th. He proclaimed:

"The foundations of economic planning would be the full-time planning staff in each Government department concerned with industry or trade."

A joint planning staff would be under a full-time executive head selected for his special qualifications and attainments."

A few bureaucrats determine priorities, which are then left to the individual employers, and bureaucrats in the nationalised industries to work out. This has nothing in common with democratic Socialist planning, as the Labour leaders pretend.

What does Sir Stafford Cripps' plan amount to? A few miserable economy measures, such as a 10% cut in the railway summer services, and fuel restrictions. Such is the long heralded plan! At the same time "Home consumption is to be adjusted to reach the export target of 140%." Meanwhile, the importation of opium, fine perfumes, exotic fruits, and other luxuries for the rich continues as usual. This is no plan in the interests of the workers!

Yet the same Cripps had the insolence to assert that the workers were not sufficiently developed to control and run industry. His contempt for the working class is indicated by the attempt to palm off this as a Socialist plan.

Only the participation of the masses can make a plan possible, which will be democratically controlled, and move Britain in the direction of Socialism.

The only solution which the Labour and Trade Union leaders can offer to the crisis of production is a further intensification of labour and speed-up by working harder. This will result in increasing the profits of the capitalist class, while leaving the working class relatively worse off than they were before.

The economic factor of the present boom and a shortage of labour—a favourable position for the workers to improve their wages and conditions—disguises the fact that in reality there is no real planning of the resources of Britain at all.

Attlee proposed that plans must be worked out in consultation (Continued on Page 4.)

FOR A COMMUNIST GERMANY

Allied Victors Plan Treaty of Revenge

BY E. GRANT

THE VICTORS ARE MEETING IN MOSCOW TO DETERMINE THE FATE OF GERMANY FOR THE NEXT DECADES. IN THESE DISCUSSIONS THE REAL AIMS OF THE ALLIED RULERS ARE REVEALED. BEHIND THE PHRASES ABOUT PEACE AND DEMOCRACY, EACH ATTEMPTS TO UTILISE GERMANY AS A POINT OF SUPPORT AGAINST THE OTHERS. THE LAST THING THAT CONCERNS THEM IS THE FATE OF THE GERMAN OR EUROPEAN WORKERS, OR A FUTURE OF REAL PEACE AND DEMOCRACY.

Despite the chaos and misery which reigns, Germany at the present time is potentially still one of the Great Powers: Next to Russia the strongest power in Europe. Despite the bombings the greatest part of her industry remains intact. The German workers are highly skilled and trained. In a few years, Germany could be restored as an important productive factor in the economy of the world. She could produce a flood of goods for the benefit of the peoples of Germany, Europe, and even of the entire world. A restoration of industry on these lines could raise the standard of living of the peoples of Europe and the backward territories of the world to higher levels.

But this is not the aim of the "democratic" victors. The standards of the German and European peoples is the last thing with which they are concerned. The re-birth of German industry might very easily upset the present balance of forces between the Great Powers. Britain and America wish to prop up Germany as a possible base for the future attack against Russia. The Stalinist bureaucrats wish to exploit Germany for their benefit.

All the Powers are forced to abandon the plans of the de-industrialization of Germany put forward at Potsdam, which would have restricted Germany's production of steel to the maximum of 5 million tons and thus reduced the whole of her industrial output to extremely low levels.

But the Anglo-American Imperialists were faced with the dilemma that with German production restricted to such low levels, the only first class industrial power on the Continent of Europe would be the Soviet Union. Moreover, the ruin of Germany would mean the ruin of Western Europe as a whole. German industry and industrial products are necessary for the economy of the other countries within the Western sphere.

It is for these reasons, and not at all any change of heart, that the policy of Britain and America has undergone this change in relation to Germany. Under the phrases of "democratization" proceeds the most sordid calculations of the interests of Western capitalism.

However the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy proceed from no higher motives. They wish to

enslave Germany by imposing upon her the huge burdens of reparations of 10,000,000,000 dollars (approximately £250,000,000) at 1938 prices, to be spread over a period of 20 years. This amounts to half the total exports of Germany in a pre-war year. It would place an intolerable burden on the shoulders of the German working class.

Simultaneously with the discussions on reparations goes the discussion on the Constitution which the victors are to impose upon the German masses. Here the Allies regard the problem purely from the point of view of the best method of manoeuvring Germany in the interests of the competing Powers. Thus the Russian bureaucracy favours a centralised Government and administration, while American Imperialism wishes to impose a Federal Constitution because she believes she can play off the reactionary and backward states, especially those such as Bavaria which are mainly Catholic, against any danger of social revolution in the other States. The French Imperialists wish to Balkanise Germany, with the Ruhr under the control of the Big Four Powers, though nominally a part of Germany.

Bevin announces that the "nationalisation of key industries" should not be under the central German Government, but puts forward the fantastic scheme that this should be under the Regional States. At the same time the Anglo-American Imperialists object to the demands of the Russians for reparations because they do not wish to strengthen Russia and reparations for themselves, apart from what they have seized, would embarrass and not benefit them. Meanwhile in the mutual recriminations Molotov was forced to admit that the reparations programme in the Soviet zone had included "the incorporation of some German factories into the Soviet system." i.e. that these factories in Germany were being directly used as the property of the Russian state.

In the meantime while the Allies are blustering and threatening each other on the international field, clashing in Europe, Asia and Africa, and denouncing one another's aggressive and war-mongering intentions, they still



BRITISH SOLDIER ESCORTS JEWISH REFUGEE ON SHIP FOR CYPRUS



Towards the end of last year the 400 ton ship "Four Freedoms" arrived in Haifa with 200 immigrants aboard. They were seeking refuge after the nightmare of fascist oppression in Europe during the war. And when British troops were instructed to transfer them to the ship "Empire Heywood" for internment in Cyprus they resisted desperately. British soldiers were forced to transfer them one at a time. It is the duty of the world working class to prevent tragedies of this nature which are now taking place. The working class must demand that all countries open their gates to these oppressed victims of Nazism. To support their immigration to Palestine against the wishes of the Arabs who are fighting for their own freedom from the shackles of British imperialism would only doom them to further tragedy. They would become a tool of reaction. The Canadian Government has announced that they will allow the immigration of some of these unfortunate people to Canada. Britain and other countries of the world must follow suit. Open the gates of all countries!

Hotel Workers' Militant Stand

Steward Victimised

BY T. REILLY

1,000 Hotel workers of the Savoy Group showed splendid solidarity when they stopped work in defence of a shop steward who was victimised. The spirit of the strikers was excellent, and many non-unionists were enrolled into the union. Workers of all nationalities were involved, including Jamaicans, Africans, Burmese, Indians, French, and so on.

The workers went back after a week of struggle against these hotel owners who must be regarded as among the most reactionary employers in the catering line, and the spearhead of all attacks against the workers in this trade.

Shop Steward Refuses To Blackleg

Fresh from the victory of last October when the hotel workers won the right to organise as trade-unionists, the employees of the Savoy Group, comprising the Savoy, Berkeley, Simpson's and Claridges, have discovered that the management ignored the recent agreement by continuing their old policy of intimidation on anti-trade union lines.

The next morning Frank Piazza was sacked. Within a very short time, about 90 per cent. of the hotel workers went on strike in his support. Within a few days, the workers of Claridge's, Simpson's and Berkeley's followed suit.

Singapore T.U.s Boycott French Goods

Eight Trade Unions in Singapore, at a meeting held on Jan. 30th, passed a resolution to organise a boycott of all French ships in respect of loading and unloading them.

All these 8 Unions are either directly or indirectly connected with the loading and unloading of French ships. Among them are the Singapore Dockers' Union, the Singapore Seamen's Union, the Charcoal Workers' Union, the Rice Transport Workers' Union, the Godown Workers' Union, and the Lightermen's Union.

Other resolutions passed were (1) That a letter of protest be sent to the French Consul in Singapore.

(2) That a telegram be sent to the Viet Nam Government supporting its struggle.

(3) That a Manifesto be issued to explain the boycott decision.

(4) The letters be sent to all commercial bodies explaining the boycott decision. This magnificent solidarity with the struggle for freedom by the Indo-Chinese sets an example to the workers of the West. It is the duty of the working class of all countries to boycott the sending of goods to the imperialists.

In Simpson's, for instance, the workers had been promised payment of 10% for working Christmas day and Boxing day. Having agreed to this, the proprietors tried to palm off 7/6 instead, which the employees rightly refused to accept—even to this day. The manager, according to one picket, said he is too busy to discuss this question.

This firm can easily afford to meet the workers' demands. The end of the financial year shows that they made the high profit of £404,231, which is an increase of £8,559 over last year. The ordinary shareholder gets a 12% dividend. (Continued on page 4.)

FRENCH C.P. Ministers Vote for Indo-Chinese War

The Stalinist weekly "WORLD NEWS AND VIEWS" publishes a table showing the "strength of communism" in terms of members, M.P.'s, and Cabinet Ministers belonging to the Communist Parties throughout the world. Those who believe that ministers in a capitalist parliament constitutes a strength for communism, might look at the behaviour of the French C.P. Ministers over the question of Indo-China.

A Cabinet crisis threatened because they refused to vote confidence in the Government's Indo-China policy. True, they bear as much responsibility as anyone for this policy, since they have favoured part of the various Governments since France began this colonial war in 1941. When the French Trotskyists organised meetings and demonstrations to protest against the massacre of Indo-Chinese workers and peasants by French imperialism, and the police violently broke them up, the "Communist" Party remained dead silent. But at last they spoke. "L'Humanité," French Stalinist paper, wrote: "The interests of France demand that peace be signed in Indo-China. Otherwise the nation must be told that millions of French and thousands of young Frenchmen are needed for a terrible colonial war which must be continued without the slightest chance of obtaining any advantage."

Presumably it is only by virtue of the fact that the Indo-Chinese violently resisted, that made these "communists" oppose the war. France's "national interests" are their sole concern. Of communist solidarity with oppressed peoples, there is not a trace. (Continued on Page 4.)

Ex-Daily Worker Editor Confesses Stalin's Guilt in Trotsky Murder

Budenz Discloses Details of 1940 Murder Preparations Implicates leaders of Communist Party in G.P.U. Conspiracy

BY JOHN G. WRIGHT

Sinister and secret details connected with the assassination of Leon Trotsky by Stalin's killer in Mexico, August 1940, have been disclosed by Louis F. Budenz, former Managing Editor of the American

As an eyewitness and direct participant, Budenz, who served the Kremlin loyally for ten years, now supplies conclusive evidence that top operators of Stalin's secret police worked for years on American soil to prepare for the murder of Trotsky.

American Stalinists, including Budenz himself, helped pave the way for the assassin "Frank Jackson" to worm his way into Trotsky's home. Involved in the preparation for this crime were the then highest placed leaders of American Stalinism, in particular, Earl Browder and Jack Stachel.

Began in 1936 Budenz's confession places the beginning of these preparations in

December 1936. This is a significant date. It was on the eve of the Second Moscow Trial which was staged in January 1937. Trotsky was at that time aboard a Norwegian oil tanker en route to Mexico. The GPU was busy before he had even set his foot on land.

To penetrate the Trotskyist organization and to establish connections for the killer, the GPU required specific information. Since the American Trotskyists were at the time members of the Socialist Party, additional information about left wing Socialists was likewise required.

Because of his previous, even if brief, contacts with Trotskyists,

Budenz, who was then labour editor of the "Daily Worker", was selected for the task of "co-operating" with the secret GPU network.

In his disclosures Budenz confirms the charge repeatedly made by Trotsky in his lifetime that at least one representative of the GPU sits within the Central Committee of every national Stalinist section and exercises unbounded authority. The selection of Budenz was approved by this semi-public, semi-private figure.

Budenz's meeting with the GPU chief in charge of "Anti-Trotskyist" activities, "friend Richards" by name, was arranged

Stalinist "Daily Worker" and member of the National Committee of the American Communist (Stalinist) Party. These revelations are made by Budenz in his book "This Is My Story" which will be shortly released to the public by Whittlesey House.

by Jack Stachel, in the presence of a member of the party's Control Commission. Both of these C.P. leaders emphasized that any and all instructions issued by "Richards" took precedence over all other duties.

Assisted G.P.U. Budenz conferred with "Richards" and accepted the assignment, which included collecting all sorts of information concerning the Trotskyists. Always a bitter enemy of Trotskyism, Budenz does not hide even today that he was eager to assist the GPU in every possible way. He supported and defended, as he still does, all the monstrous false charges con-

cocted by the Kremlin, above all, those presented in the Moscow frame-ups.

Budenz was kept busy for months working for the GPU. "The agents in charge were shifted"—Richards, for instance, replaced "Richards"—But Budenz's work continued unabated. He was shown photographs for purposes of identification. He checked on addresses and individuals. He was consulted on the selection of spies to penetrate the Trotskyist ranks.

Throughout this period he was at the beck and call of the GPU, dropping all other assignments to gather the required information. By his own admission he con- (Continued on Page 4.)



WE NEED YOUR HELP!

Dear Comrades,
Owing to the financial position of the "Socialist Appeal" we have been compelled to miss the Mid-March issue. Our paper runs at a loss even if every issue is sold. We therefore have to rely on the loyalty and sacrifices of our readers to contribute towards our funds over and above their sales and subscriptions.

We ask every comrade who supports our ideas to demonstrate their solidarity with our paper by sending a donation to ensure its regular appearance.

No matter how small, we assure you every penny helps. Our funds are made up from the pennies and shillings of the revolutionary workers and supporters of the Fourth International. Please show your active solidarity with the ideas of Trotskyism by sending as much as you can.

All donations to:
Arthur Ross,
256, Harrow Road,
London, W.2.

For March Contributions, see Page 4.

Down with Capitalist Conscription!

NEW SERVICE BILL

A Betrayal of Labour Workers

BY T. REILLY

The new call-up plan of the Government enforces military conscription for many years to come. 67 Labour M.P.'s have decided to oppose the National Service Bill. The opposition, like that on foreign policy, was of a very mixed and muddled nature. Mainly it rested on the mis-use of manpower in face of the needs of industry; to a lesser extent on criticism of the Government's foreign policy; and a few M.P.'s opposed on pacifist grounds. Those who opposed on grounds that it wasted manpower, had no difference in principle. Major Wyatt, who moved the amendment emphasised that very few of its supporters were against conscription, and argued that 750,000 men in the forces would be indispensable, but a million was too many.

On the other hand, the pacifist opposition was principled, but totally unrealistic. The capitalists have shown that they are prepared to massacre half the world to protect their class interests. If the workers are to achieve their emancipation from capitalism, they must be prepared to fight for it. The question is: for what purposes are these forces required?

The text of this Bill was published on Wednesday, March 13th. Instead of using the word conscript in future, the term "National Serviceman" will be applied under the Government's "National Service Bill." What a futile effort on the part of the Labour leaders to cover up a policy of betrayal!

Let no one be lulled by the Government's statement on the limited nature of conscription. The Bill states: "Full direction of young men between the ages of 18 and 26, for 18 months compulsory full time service, followed by five and a half years part-time service with the Reserve."

The number of persons affected will be: 294,000 in 1949; 210,000 in 1950; 200,000 in 1951; and ... 210,000 in each of the two following years. The equivalent of 60 days will have to be devoted to training over the period of five and a half years. A study of conscription in the 1914-18 war will show how subtle methods were used over a long period of months in gradually introducing the principle in stages. After all the country was kidded in June 1939, by the "Military Training Act". Conscription was only supposed to operate for 3 years. It is still with us today after nearly 8 years.

Despite all the phrases about the need of manpower for industry, Britain's conscript army, eighteen months after the war (Dec. 1945) is twice as large as the force existing during the same period after the first world war. According to Mr. Bellenger the army has now 700,000 more men than in 1939. The British Army also absorbs more of the population, relatively speaking, than other large capitalist powers.

For example: British Army 896,000, represents 1.90% of population. U.S. ... 0.87% " " France ... 1.07% " " The fantastic figure of 500,000 persons are involved in supplying the armed services. And the hypocritical spokesmen of both Governments—Tory and Labour—said the

Industrial Notes

BY S. NOLAN

Post Office Workers Demand Control

State Ownership is not Socialism

In its issue of March 8th the "Post", organ of the Post-Office Workers contains the provisional resolutions for the Annual Conference of the Union, to be held on May 12-16th, 1947. This massive document of 83 pages gives a clear insight into the conditions and militant struggles of the Post Office Workers.

At the end of the war, an entire reorganisation of the Post Office took place; new grades were created to rationalise the work, and the post-war Postal services led to the introduction and extension of split-duties, and an all-round increase in the volume and complexity of the work. The new scheme was designed to extract more work for proportionately less pay; and was introduced by a "Nationalised Undertaking"—already notorious for the exploitation of the workers in its employ. Against the United Front of the Capitalist State the Union has been able to make little headway. Unable to bargain on the basis of the demand for a supply of labour, and deprived of the right to strike, the U.P.W. was an impotent giant, entirely at the mercy of the State-Employer.

In May 1946, in negotiations with Dalton, the Union was granted a meagre Consolidation Bonus to bring wages into line with other industries but were told bluntly that under the wage-freeze policy of the Government, any further increases would be detrimental to the economy as a whole.

The coming to power of the Labour Government, and the repeal of the Trade Disputes Act, which enabled the Post Office workers to affiliate to the T.U.C.

and the Labour Party, created considerable illusions that there would be a new order, and a policy in support of the workers. The events of the last year and the pro-capitalist policy of the Labour Government have largely shattered these illusions. The General Secretary, Mr. Geddes, said, in his Annual Report . . .

"The Year has been bitterly disappointing in that the high hopes we entertained that a Labour Postmaster-General would bring new ideas and a greater regard to the workers' point of view have proved utterly unfounded. . . . No one at Union Headquarters believes that there has been any difference whatever in the approach to our problems since Lord Listowel became Postmaster-General; on the contrary, we believe if there has been any change it has been in the direction of placing the permanent officials more firmly in the saddle than ever before."

Struggle For A Living Wage

The price increases of the past year have eaten into the small pay of the rank and file on the executive for wage increases and better conditions has reached tremendous proportions.

Resolution 19 says sharply:

"Conference views with alarm the inflationary tendency in the present economic situation and instructs the E.C. to press through all possible channels for the rigid control of prices and limitation of profits."

Over 100 branches support a resolution calling for a 5% minimum wage from 21; a rise of wage in-

crements, and a general increase of all scales by 10/- per week.

That these demands will not be granted willingly by the Government in the present economic situation, is fully recognised by the Union. For one thing, the Government's policy of wage-freezing is allied to . . . their resolve to cut the Civil Service and Post Office by some 80,000 workers. There is already a commission sitting to introduce mechanisation and eliminate redundant labour, and the Government is determined to reduce the staffs by the indirect "democratic" method of making conditions unworkable. Geddes remarks in this connection:

"I have no doubt the Postmaster-General, or his representatives will find these White Papers very useful in the immediate future. I have no doubt the Postmaster-General will feel quite justified in rejecting any claim submitted by the Union; turning these flimsy sheets into impenetrable armour behind which he will stand with dignified self-satisfaction."

But the Post Office workers want action not talk. Resolution 20, supported by seven branches states bluntly:

"Conference instructs that the membership of the Union be halloed in regard to the Union's strike policy being reinstated."

The Demand For Workers' Control

If their past economic struggles have been frustrated by the bureaucratic stranglehold of the State, this has only served to teach the Post Office workers that changes of government make absolutely no difference, and that without control by the workers themselves, the slavery of the workers is intensified if anything when the State, the Capitalist State takes over an industry. The millions of revenue obtained from Post Office surpluses are never used to better the conditions of the workers but grabbed to satisfy the avaricious appetite of the Imperialist State. The slogan of Workers' Control is the number

one demand on the Union's programme, for only through such control and supervision by the workers can their interests be protected.

The Post Office workers however realise that Joint Consultative Committees in which the Union is the prisoner can satisfy nobody except the Treasury.

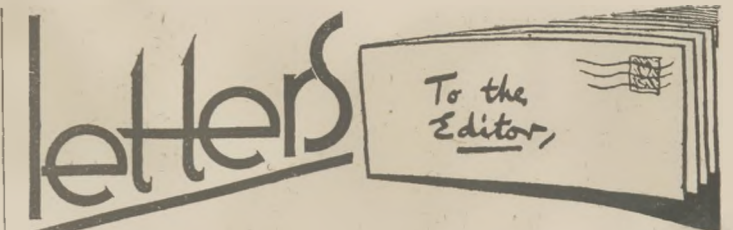
Whilst the Executive of the Union demands that the Government . . .

. . . set up Joint Administrative Boards for socialised industries, on which trade union representatives elected by and responsible to their membership shall sit in equal status with the management; and further instructs the General Council to devise machinery for the operation of similar joint administration at workshop level." (Resolution 17).

The workers on the other hand go much further. They state: (Resolution 137)—

"Conference disassociates itself from the view expressed by the General Secretary on the Post Office Board at Annual Conference 1946, and demands the complete re-organisation of the Post Office Board on a socialist basis, insists on the removal of those permanent officials who have so long been used to working on the Tory basis of exploitation and instructs the Executive Council to press this matter with the Labour Government."

This demand can only be carried out if committees elected by the workers in the Post Office control and direct the operation of the Post Office with the "experts" as consultants. The Post Office workers here show that they already realise that the Capitalist State acts like any other employer. The position in the Post Office is that the Capitalist State acts as the representative of all the employers and functions in its capacity as employer in a similar way. Having a long experience of this, the Post Office workers are giving a lead to the working class, especially in the industries which will now be nationalised.



Soldier "Mutineer" Describes Conditions

We print here a statement from one of the 350 soldiers who walked off the troopship H.T. Rajula, sailing from Japan to Singapore.

British Commonwealth Occupation Force, JAPAN.

KURE, JAPAN—

"Here is an account of our trip from Japan to Singapore, and anything I have omitted will be seen in the press here.

We embarked on the troopship on the 15th February, 1947, and approximately 5 p.m.

The trouble first started after we had had our first meal on board that night, which consisted of a little white stew, washed down with tea that tasted as if it had been stewed for hours.

Later, we waited for an issue of blankets and hammocks. After seeing the livestock on the blankets, that was the last straw. The walk-off began about 10 p.m., roughly 350 troops participated in some.

After being made wild promises on the quayside about conditions on board, they returned on board, but found no hot tea as the newspapers had been informed.

We lay out in the bay the following night, as we expected to avoid another walk-off. We sailed early morning of 17th February, the first halt being Hong-Kong. During this time we had the experience of waiting for water, to be turned on when they felt like doing so. It was nothing to wait 30 minutes in the morning or at night for a wash, and then find the water had been turned off again when your turn came. This also applied more so to drinking water.

Squatters Fight: Letter from East Twickenham Defence Assoc.

20, Napoleon Road, Twickenham, Middlesex.

"Socialist Appeal"
Dear Comrade,
On November 2nd last, squatters occupied No. 1 Montpelier Row, East Twickenham, an aristocratic 18th century building which had

long been empty. Their action drew public attention to the scandalous failure of the Tory controlled local council to requisition unoccupied buildings in this district, and it was possible for this association, which was formed in November, to collect 220 signatures to a petition demanding that the Council take over unoccupied dwellings and built on vacant land. The squatters themselves had been evicted from their former homes on the day they decided to occupy the house and had only entered it after being refused ANY alternative form of accommodation by both the local council and the relieving officer. Throughout this bitter winter, without either gas or electricity, with leaky pipes and windows from which glass had long since disappeared, five families have lived in this house. Among them were three expectant mothers and ten young children.

The house itself has 14 rooms, and according to estimates in the possession of Twickenham Council, could be converted into three flats for approximately £700. There are a number of similar dwellings in the area. The estimated cost of conversion is, incidentally, lower than that for erecting an equal number of prefabricated bungalows. The usual argument of shortage of labour and materials is, of course, brought out by the local council when challenged, but during the past year quite unnecessary luxury building has been carried out in full view of local residents.

The squatters have now been informed by the Middlesex County Council, the present owners of the house, that they intend to demand possession in the near future. This association will, however, continue to fight for some alternative accommodation for the squatters, and for the requisitioning of the house. We are writing to you and to other working class newspapers in order to give the widest possible publicity to this further damnable example of large houses standing in wealthy neighbourhoods, whilst the families of the poor are thrown into the street.

Yours fraternally,
E. J. EUSTACE,
Secretary,
East Twickenham Tenants' Defence Association.

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From LEFT and RIGHT
BY AGITATOR
WHAT THE EXPORTS BRING IN
THE slogan "Fill the ships, we'll fill the shops" screams at the workers from factory walls and handbills. But they might well ask "fill the shops and with what?" For while the struggle to procure the essentials of a worker's life looms large, we read in the "News Chronicle" that in Mayfair "Sold over the counter as ordinary shopping items" are to be found:
"Caviare, ten guineas a pound;
Paté de foie gras, 35 shillings a tin;
Marrons glacés, £1 for a box of 16 (total weight 1 lb. 2 oz.);
Truffles 26s. 6d. a pint."
Nobody would claim, of course, that this is the general position. But it does show that the wealthy capitalists can get what they want within the framework of the Labour Government's economic policy, and the workers can't.
The existence of such expensive luxuries which have been exchanged for exported products or sterling, side by side with the shortages of essentials for the elementary needs of the masses who are being exhorted to work shifts and make all kinds of sacrifices to step up the produc-

FOREIGNERS BANNED

TUCKED away in an obscure corner of the back page of the "Daily Worker" on 22nd March, was the laconic announcement that Marriages between Soviet citizens and "aliens" were prohibited by decree of the President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.
According to the "Manchester Guardian" only 27 marriages between Russian women and British soldiers have taken place. Of these brides, only twelve have so far been allowed to leave the Soviet Union and join their husbands and it is stated that Bevin is to intervene with the Russian authorities on behalf of the other fifteen.

Such an edict is unprecedented in modern history. Even the arch-racist, Hitler, never went so far. But had he done so, it would have been expected and understood, and forthrightly condemned by the workers everywhere.

Coming from the Kremlin this monstrous ukase, will cause much soul-searching in the ranks of the loyal Stalinophiles. But surely none will dare try and reconcile this marriage ban with the Marxian battle-cry: "Workers of the World Unite"! At the time of writing, the scribes of the "Daily Worker" have not seen fit to comment.

"AN OFFICER AND A GENTLEMAN" ?

CLASS interests, like water, find their own level. Von Rundstedt, one-time Commander-in-Chief of Hitler's army, was recently taken to Germany as a witness at the trial of some of his fellow officers. He was taken to Herford by special plane, and at Herford was awaited by a staff car and received a salute from a field officer!
"The British at least know how to treat a soldier of my rank", he is reported to have commented to an escorting British officer.

This is the treatment of the gangsters really responsible for the crimes of Hitlerism. But the masses of German P.o.W.'s are treated as slaves. Such, apparently, is the method of "re-education in democracy" which is practiced by the "Socialist Government" of Mr. Bevin!

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Editorial

PROFITS & WAGES

Reports of nearly all the big capitalist companies reveal that profits continue to rise steadily. To take a few examples at random for the recent period, the British Aluminium Company reports £1,368,095 for 1946 compared with £1,019,440 in 1945. Guest, Keen, Baldwins Iron and Steel Co., rose from £255,524 to £326,431. An increase in the ordinary dividend from 7½% to 10% has been announced. Cannell Lairds, whose directors have been to the fore in opposing higher wages or lower hours, have increased profits from £220,595 to £374,077. They are paying a dividend of 12½% as well as giving a tax-free bonus of 3%. Lewis's Department Stores, with its subsidiaries, increased profits from £1,542,485 to £1,822,179.

Simultaneously with this general rise in profits, the employers are putting forward propaganda for the freezing of wages. The reason? Because "the country couldn't afford increases."

Meanwhile, it is indicated that the Government is preparing to cut the subsidies on food and necessities by £50,000,000, which, together with the rise in prices of these necessities abroad, will inevitably mean an increase in the cost of living.

However, under the pressure of the Labour movement the phoney cost of living index which is decades out of date, is to be scrapped by the Government. This is a step forward. But the workers must demand that committees elected from the unions and factories, together with committees elected by the housewives in the districts, shall draw up a genuine cost of living index based on the needs of the working class.

The workers must demand a guaranteed minimum wage for all, which will ensure at least a decent standard of life for the mass of the population. Together with this, the employers must be compelled automatically to increase wages in proportion with the rise in the cost of living.

For a Sliding Scale of Wages with a Guaranteed minimum based on a genuine Cost of Living Index.

Punishments and Fines in U.S.S.R.

BY T. CLIFF

To strengthen labour discipline, the bureaucracy was not satisfied merely with the economic pressure of "socialist emulation" but used also extra-economic coercion.

First among these methods are the Labour Books. If from 1931, no worker was allowed to leave Leningrad without special permission and a system of passports was established in Leningrad, and if in 1932 this system was taken over in all parts of Russia, so that no one could travel freely, on 15th January, 1939, a new means of binding the workers was invented—the Labour Books. Every worker must give his Labour Book to the Director when he is accepted in a job, and the Director can write into it whatever remarks he finds necessary on the worker's leaving the job. No worker can be accepted at a job without showing his Labour Book.

Another weapon to subjugate the workers was put into the hands of the Directors on 4th December, 1932, when a decree was issued putting the plant supplies of food and other necessities under the control of the Directors "in order to strengthen the powers of Directors of enterprises." (Pravda).

The excesses to which this can give rise, is clear from numerous letters of protest appearing in the Russian Press. The excesses were so extreme, that Stalin and his close collaborators found it necessary, to give vent to the indignation of the workers and not to compromise themselves too much, to find a scapegoat. A little incident published in Pravda, written by a correspondent from Omsk, shows this up clearly.

"In September last," writes the correspondent, "in one of the big enterprises of Omsk, a meeting of the party members was held. The meeting was very stormy. In the discussions some Communists very severely criticized the administration looking after workers' supplies. In order to investigate the working of the administration a special committee was constituted."

"The committee was made up of nine Communists. After three weeks, it uncovered glaring facts of theft, wastage and illegal distribution of industrial products and food supplies. The organiser and patrons of all these shameful deeds were found out; the acting Director of workers' supplies, Don, his deputy, Dobrovoy, the Director of the plant's auxiliary farm, Amushkin, the supervisor of the workers' supply administration, Katchura, and others. After hearing the report of the Committee, the party meeting decided: to expel from the party Don,

Dobrovoy and Amushkin, and to bring the others before the Institute of Investigation. The meeting's decision was transferred to the Molotov Raykom (the provincial committee) without clarifying the issue altogether. The Raykom found the decision unjustified and dismissed the matter. The provincial prosecutor, Comrade Mkrushchik, was advised not to begin any investigations.

"When Comrade Sergeyev, Secretary of the party organisation of the workers' supply administration tried to protest, Kurygin, Secretary of the Raykom, said: 'Mind your own business! You'll lose your head!'"

"The Raykom did not change its attitude when tens of thousands of roubles were stolen. The only result of the protest was that the main complainants were dismissed." (Pravda).

Such stories as the above are innumerable in the daily papers.

Powers To Evict

Another weapon as important to the Director as the control over the food supply, is the Director's right to evict a worker from his lodgings with his dismissal. (Decree of Commissariat of Labour 26/11/1932). This factor cannot be over emphasized, as the housing shortage in Russia is extreme. (See below).

On 26th June, 1940, a new law was promulgated according to which no worker was allowed to quit his job unless either he was physically unfit to work, or he was accepted into institutions of learning, or was given special permission by higher authorities. Any absence from work without a satisfactory excuse, even for a day, made the culprit liable to six months' correctional labour—which meant a cut of 25 per cent. in his earnings during all that time. For quitting his job, the worker can be punished by imprisonment from two to six months. Any leniency towards such "crimes" on the part of the Director makes him liable to severe punishment.

It is interesting to note that a few months after the promulgation of this law, a few women wrote a letter to Izvestia, suggesting that domestic servants should also be subject to this law. Izvestia, in its comment on this question (Dec. 30, 1940), although disagreeing with this suggestion, was not in any way astonished by such a suggestion in the period of the

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I.L.P.'s S.U.S.E. Campaign

Only Revolutionary Policy Can Lead to Socialist Europe

The I.L.P. launched its campaign for a Socialist United States of Europe at an International Conference in London on February 22-23rd. Represented there were the P.O.U.M. (Spanish I.L.P.), the Common Wealth, the I.L.P. There were representatives of the Hamburg Social Democratic Party, and a number of other groups and sects. Marceau Pivert, of the French Socialist Party attended in a personal capacity. The presence of members of the French pacifists and the League against Racism illustrated the mixed and heterogenous character of the assembly.

The Revolutionary Communist Party sent two delegates to put the point of view of the Party.

A resolution was presented by the I.L.P. pledging the conference to work unceasingly for the attainment of the Socialist United States of Europe. The resolution committed the delegates to nothing. It explained neither how the Socialist United States of Europe was to be achieved, or who was to achieve it. There was endless discussion around its advantages but this discussion was far indeed from the conceptions of revolutionary socialism. Most of the contributions centred on what organisational forms the "federation" of states would take. One delegate declared that we had to be "realists" and accept even Churchill's United Europe as a step forward!

The P.O.U.M. delegate moved an amendment, which the platform agreed to regard with serious consideration, that the word "State" be struck out, and the word "Federation" used in its place in order to bring the Anarchists and Syndicalists into this all-embracing Committee, which already included non-Socialists and humanitarians.

It was characteristic of the Conference, that the most Left wing speech came from a young delegate of the middle class Common Wealth, who moved an amendment to the organisational resolution demanding the preparation of a programme calling for a New International. However, under pressure from the platform they withdrew their amendment.

The Revolutionary Communist Party delegates, Comrades Ajit Roy and Ted Grant, moved the following amendment:—

R.C.P. AMENDMENT

"If the second world war ended not in the victory of the European working class and the establishment of a United Socialist State of Europe but in the re-establishment of Capitalism, then the main responsibility must rest on the leaderships of European Social-Democracy and Stalinism. They sacrificed the socialist interests of the masses in carrying out the policies of Anglo-American Imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy. The struggle for a Socialist Europe can be carried out successfully only on the basis of the principles and programme of revolutionary Marxism as laid down in the first four Congresses of the Third International and developed in the programme of the Fourth International.

"Therefore the immediate task confronting us is that of building a new International of the European and World proletariat on the basis of the above principles as the only means of uniting the struggles of the European proletariat for a Socialist Europe and a Socialist world."

This was rejected by the Conference. To have laid down a

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WHAT THE ROYAL FAMILY DID NOT SEE

BY C. VAN GELDEREN

We read in the daily press of the Royal Tour in South Africa of the 200 dresses worn by women at the Garden Party at Government House; of so-called Nationalists and Republicans fawning on the royal visitors; of the King shaking hands with the fascist, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro leader of the "Ossewa Brandwag", "General" Marsh; and of the costly ensembles worn by the Queen and her two daughters—(where did the coupons come from?)



POLICE ATTACK SOUTH AFRICAN WORKERS OUTSIDE JOHANNESBURG



AFTER THE BATTLE: THE POLICE GET A TASTE OF THEIR ACTIVITIES.

But there seems to be a great deal of South Africa which the King is destined never to see!

Langa Location

Not many miles from where the Royal Family lauded in Cape Town Docks, is Langa Location, a compulsory place of residence for the great majority of Africans who earn their living in Cape Town. Here they live in ill-ventilated houses with concrete floors and roofs, inadequate sanitation and no say at all in the running of their own affairs. They come under the jurisdiction of the Cape Town City Council, but have no voice in electing that Council. There is no record of the King's visit to Langa.

As the Royal Train steamed on its way from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown, it passed through the Transkei, one of the Union's "Native Reserves". At Grahamstown the King was greeted as "Sizwe" (Father of Nations) by the assembled Native Chiefs. But did he stop to enquire into the conditions under which "his children" live? If he had done this instead of spending most of his time at yet another Garden Party, he would have learned a thing or two.

The 16,400 square miles of the Transkei comprises 1/20th part of the Union and here live 1½ million people or an eighth of the country's entire population. There are seventy-five persons to the square mile as compared to nine for the whole of the Cape Province. Thirty per cent. of the adult males are recruited for work on the mines and a further thirty per cent. have to seek other work in the cities. The so-called Reserves are in fact reserves of cheap labour for the British-owned Gold and Diamond mines, the urban industries, and the big white farmers.

A report published in 1943, revealed the terrible conditions under which the inhabitants of the Transkei eke out an existence. By studying this report, the King would learn more about "his people" than by the carefully conducted tour arranged for him by the Smuts Government. But then, studying statistical reports is not nearly as entertaining as attending State Balls or Garden Parties!

Life In A "Reserve"

He would have learned that the cows in the Transkei are so poor that they yield no milk. The maize crop is not sufficient to meet the needs of the people and maize has to be imported from other areas at the artificially high prices fixed for European-grown maize in the Union.

"Disease is rife. Scarcely a single family exists in which at least one member is not suffering or dying from tuberculosis. Hospital services are so inadequate that incurable tuberculosis and other cases are sent home to die—and to spread the infection. In some areas a single doctor has to attend to the needs of 40,000 people. (How many doctors accompany the Royal Family? C.V.G.) The natives must pay for medical treatment. There is no provision for pauper patients. About 65 per cent. of native children die before reaching two years.

"About two-thirds of the people are landless—which means in effect that they are paupers, only kept alive by the traditional native custom of the more well-to-do sharing their worldly goods with their poorer relatives. The land of the Transkei is exceedingly poor, not because it is inherently so, but because it has been reduced to a pitiable condition by soil erosion, which in turn is caused by too many people, without facilities for intensive cultivation, trying to live off it." ("Empire in Africa", by Alexander Campbell.)

Such is the Transkei, generally regarded as a model of what a Native Reserve should be. But not a word of this appears in the daily press reports of the Royal tour.

But these are not the things about which Royalty concerns itself. Itself wholly parasitic, the Royal Family will feel perfectly at home in the parasitic environment in which the greater part of white South Africa lives. All the more disgrace, therefore, that a Labour Prime Minister gave his official blessing to this tour, which can only serve to strengthen the hold of the white exploiters over their black slaves.

Let the world see that the British workingclass stands foursquare on the side of the African workers and peasants against the white Slave regime. Demand the immediate release of the Communist Party leaders and the recognition of the right of native workers to organise in Trade Unions and political organisations on equal terms with their white fellow workers.

COMMUNISM and the COLONIES

LEAFLET ISSUED BY THE COLONIAL MARXIST LEAGUE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE C.P. EMPIRE CONFERENCE MEETING HELD IN LONDON IN FEBRUARY.

Comrades:

The peoples of the colonial countries are participating in mass uprisings for national liberation from the chains of imperialism. In these struggles the working class is in the forefront. The heroism and self-sacrifice of the colonial peoples, their determination to end the centuries old foreign domination and exploitation, is compelling the imperialists to retreat. The mighty millions, in alliance with their class brothers in the Metropolitan centres, could readily break the shackles of imperialism.

Do the Stalinist "Communist" Parties forge the international unity of the workers of the West and the toilers of the East in the struggle against imperialism? What are the Communist Parties Metropolitan centres doing today in support of the struggles for liberation? Are they assisting the colonial people by struggling against the imperialists at home?

In France, the "Communist" Party leaders, with a "communist" Minister of Defence, sit in the Government which is shooting down and attempting to drown in blood the Indo-Chinese people in their struggle for independence. The British C.P. attempts to conceal this betrayal. Palme Dutt in the "Labour Monthly" pretends that the French C.P. is actively attempting to assist the Indo-Chinese people against French imperialism. This is a lie. At the session of the French Assembly of 10th December, 1946, the "communist" deputies voted for a resolution expressing "...to our French combatants in Indo-China, their affectionate sympathy and saluting their efforts to maintain in the Far East the civilising and pacific presence of France." In an interview with the "Evening Standard", of 15th September, 1946, Duclos, Secretary of the French C.P. declared:

"The natives in the majority of these colonies are backward people and it is France's responsibility to give them a helping hand."

What he meant was put in plain words by M. Thorez, leader of the French C.P., in a

speech given this year, when he said: "France needs her Colonies."

The Dutch Communist Party has the same policy as the French. Indonesia must remain a part of Greater Holland.

What about the policies of the Communist Parties in the colonies? Is their policy a consistent revolutionary anti-imperialist one which is dependent only on the interests of the masses, or does it change only according to the needs of Stalin's foreign policy?

During the war, the Stalinist Parties were opposed to the colonial peoples taking advantage of the difficulties of their oppressors to achieve their liberation. The Indian Communist Party, for example, sabotaged the attempted uprising in August 1942. While the Trotskyists, Congress Socialists, and even bourgeois nationalists, were being imprisoned, the "communist" leaders were released and made legal in order to aid British Imperialism in its struggle against the Indian people. At that time they were staunch supporters of "Pakistan" together with the Muslim League.

Dr. Adhikari! Remember your Pakistan thesis, known as the "Adhikari Thesis"!

Not long ago, when cordial relations existed between Stalin and Churchill, the C.P.'s in the colonies tried their best not to embarrass British imperialism. Perhaps Touma can tell us what his paper said about Churchill's voyage to Greece during the brutal suppression of the Greek working class. The paper he edits, "Al-Hithad", organ of the Arab "communists", said on 31st December 1944:

"...we consider... that the British Government will understand that its behaviour (in Greece) is not free from short-sightedness and it will change it... as Mr. Churchill is a man who did a lot for democracy, and it does not stand to reason that he will insist on the suppression of the Greeks. That is the meaning of Mr. Churchill's and Mr. Eden's voyage to Greece... The visit of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden,

whose efforts are directed to the solution of the Greek question, to Greece, made a good impression on all circles."

The colonial revolution needs united internationalist parties that do not distinguish between peoples and communities. But the Communist Parties are not internationalist. Thus, for example, in Palestine there are two "Communist" Parties, one 100% Jewish and the other 100% Arab. It is even written in the Constitution of the Arab organisation—the Arab League of National Liberation, that nobody but an Arab can be a member!

Both parties propagate hostile policies against one another, just as do the French against the German C.P.'s, and the Yugoslav against the Italian. Thus, the Palestine Jewish C.P. demonstrated on "V-Day" under the Zionist flag, their slogans being "Free Immigration, Extension of Colonisation, Development of the Jewish National Home. Down with the White Paper." Ask the delegate to the Empire Conference of the C.P., Mikunis, from the Jewish C.P. to explain this! The Arab C.P. participates in the so-called Arab National Front with the reactionary feudal and capitalist parties. Its demands are: "Against Zionist Immigration, Against Transfer of Land to the Zionists, For the White Paper." Ask the Arab delegate Touma about this shameful double-dealing!

In Iraq also, there is more than one Communist Party. The Kurds have a separate organisation from the Arabs. Their central slogan is the building of an Independent Greater Kurdistan. The Arab "Communists" declare that the slogan of Kurdistan is inspired by the reactionary machinations of the feudalists and imperialists.

With the cooling of relations between Stalinist Russia and British imperialism, the C.P. leaders suddenly remembered the reactionary character of imperialism. The result is that in many cases they are suffering at the hands of the imperialists, the same fate that is the lot of other opposition parties. Hence the arrests in India, Africa and

elsewhere. The Indian Bolshevik Leninist Party (Trotskyist) is campaigning against these arrests. Dr. Adhikari! Do you remember when the Bolshevik-Leninists were imprisoned by British imperialism, you did not protest!

With these policies, it is clear that the Stalinist Communist Parties cannot lead the struggle of the colonial peoples. They merely use these struggles when it suits the ends of Stalin's foreign policy. Never is their policy a consistent one which unites the workers and peasants of East and West on a common platform of struggle against the common enemy.

In Britain, Holland, France, the parties of the Fourth International have endeavoured to assist the struggling colonial peoples by all means in their power. On December 6th, 1946, thousands of Indo-Chinese, Algerians and French toilers demonstrated against the atrocities of French imperialism in Paris under the banner of the "International Communist Party" (French Section of the Fourth International). Ten were beaten by the police and 17 were arrested. The French Stalinists were absent. The "communist" ministers did not move a finger to protest against the arrests.

The Executive Committee of the Fourth International issued a Manifesto to the workers of all lands calling upon them to take action against the imperialists, in the shipment of arms and supplies against the colonial peoples fighting for their liberation. The Communist International was dissolved, and with it went the last pretence of organising the peoples of the colonies and the world under the banner of Leninism, for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the World Socialist Federation of the Peoples.

Colonial Workers and Students; British Workers! Back to the internationalist policy of Leninism. The policy of the Fourth International is a consistent one in East and West, in war and peace; an internationalist communist policy fighting for the national and social liberation of the colonial peoples together with the socialist revolution in the West, of which it forms a part.

For a Communist Germany

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assiduously attempt to cultivate the legend that it was only "Prussian militarism" which has caused the wars of the last few decades. Thus the Allies have gone through the solemn farce of dissolving Prussia and dividing it into states with different names.

In imposing their terms on defeated Germany the victors have announced the need to eliminate "all war potential" by the end of 1948. But it is virtually impossible to separate so-called war production from peace production. The same steel equipment can be used for producing tanks or tractors. The same chemical industry can be used for producing fertilizer or poison gas. The same shipyards can produce submarines or merchant shipping. Thus, although the Allies have been forced to abandon the cruel limitations imposed on the production of steel, for instance, to the level of 5,800,000 tons, the highest suggestions now put forward are in the region of 10 to 12 million tons. Yet before the present war Germany produced 20,000,000 tons.

From the point of view of the working class in Germany and the world, from the point of view of a socialist, it is a crime to limit the potential German production. Steel can be used for the purpose of erecting houses, making cars, gramophones, refrigerators, typewriters, vacuum cleaners and a thousand and one other articles which can be of use and enjoyment for the masses. But under the system of capitalism-imperialism, Germany's industrial capacity and wonderful technical knowledge is a burden and a curse to the workers of Germany and of the world. The Allies can offer no solution to this problem beyond the barbarous one of limiting Germany's productive possibilities, using the danger of new "aggression" — inevitable under capitalism from one or other of the Great Powers—as a convenient pretext.

Meanwhile the flower of the German youth, nearly two years after the end of the war, are used as forced labour as prisoners of war. 425,000 held in Britain, 631,000 by France, and millions by Russia. If America has a negligible amount, it is not because her "moral" attitude is better, but because of her resources and manpower these prisoners are not necessary to her economy. Thus, they can hypocritically raise the question of the return of these prisoners of war back to their homes.

At the same time Germany has lost approximately one-third of her territory which has been seized by the Stalinist bureaucracy and apportioned between Poland and Russia in direct violation of all the teachings of Leninism. To this truncated Germany millions of Germans have been sent from the East. On the territory of an impoverished Germany, the density of population will be three times that of Poland and France, and the

number has been increased in comparison with pre-war. And the solution suggested by the representative of French imperialism is that Germans should be allowed to emigrate from Germany!

All the Allies are agreed on the question of control and supervision of Germany, i.e., rendering her independence fictitious. If French imperialism demands the allocation of coal exports regardless of the immediate needs of German reconstruction, it also demands "the immediate integration of the Saar in the economic and monetary sphere of France" that is a reflection of the rapacious needs of French imperialism.

After preparing to perform this operation on the living body of Germany, the Allies vie with one another in proclaiming the need to defend free speech, free elections and all the outward trappings of capitalism, if they demand "the immediate integration of the Saar in the economic and monetary sphere of France" that is a reflection of the rapacious needs of French imperialism.

Already the repercussions of the suggested Peace Treaty have been such that the German Socialist Democratic leaders have threatened to accept responsibility for signing the treaty. The Stalinist "Unity Party" leader, Otto Grotewohl, has replied to this in typical quibbling fashion by demanding that no Party that refuses to sign the treaty shall be allowed to be legal.

By the Treaty which the Allies wish to impose on the German people they make inevitable a new rise of nationalism and militarism in Germany. They are sowing the seeds of new wars, and new horrors for the peoples of Europe and the world. Versailles created anew the vicious circle which leads to conflicts between the capitalist powers. The worse Versailles which is in preparation cannot have any better prospects. It will not mean the dawn of a new era of peace and democracy.

The vicious policies of the Great Powers dooms the workers of Germany and Europe to poverty, misery and war. The workers in the Allied countries must call for the unconditional withdrawal of the occupation troops from Germany. A peace without indemnities and annexations must be the demand of the working class. In struggling for this, the European working class will extend the hand of comradeship based on Socialism and Internationalism to the German workers. The sole road to peace and plenty lies in the struggle to overthrow the capitalist class and the establishment of a Socialist United States of Europe.

A Socialist Germany would be a bastion for the European and world working class. A capitalist Germany under the heel of the Allies will constitute a menace to the struggle for world Socialism.

Government Plan: CAPITALISM TO REMAIN

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"with both sides". But the principle of the bosses is each man for himself. That is why there can be no real planning under capitalism. Thus, even a Tory M.P. pointed out that the production of ball-bearings was 66 weeks behind requirements, 18 months behind for the production of heavy electrical motors, and 5 months behind for rubber belting, all essential to coal mining.

The first step towards a Socialist plan would be the control over the bosses by the shop stewards' committees. For the Labour leaders were serious in their talk about the sabotage of Big Business, they would have issued such a directive as the first essential step, without which planning becomes a bureaucratic movement from the top directed against the needs and interests of the masses.

For an overall economic plan, the centralisation of the resources of the nation in the hands of the State through nationalisation is an absolute necessity. For a socialist plan the nationalisation without compensation of the resources of the country under the control of the working class is the first pre-requisite.

The present plan calls for terrific sacrifices and exertions from the workers and the bosses will continue to pile up new failures.

The capitalist press and the Labour leaders echoing them continue to bewail the impoverishment of the country. But from the point of view of Socialism, despite the losses in the war, Britain remains a wealthy country. Her industry, and the skill of the working class, are sufficient to pour out an im-

mense quantity of goods for the masses and rapidly raise the present standards of living, while at the same time re-equipping British industry with the most modern machinery. The existence of capitalism, and the immense burden of the parasite capitalist class prevents this. The interest on the national debt of £24,000,000,000 alone, drains £500,000,000 from the national income. 1½ million men are in the forces and another half million are producing munitions for them. This force could be used on productive work if it were not for the needs and interests of British Imperialism.

Really planned production at home, would mean a monopoly of foreign trade and the planning of exports and imports for the needs of the people. The huge numbers amounting to millions now occupied in useless and non-essential occupations, could be diverted to genuinely productive work.

Production for profits means a "plan" in the interests of the capitalists. That is why there is talk of the need for the stabilisation of wages. But it means more than that. A capitalist Britain is completely at the mercy of the world market, perhaps more than any other country in the world. The present feverish drive for production is an attempt to take advantage of the economic upswing and the temporary sellers market. But for Britain to live on a capitalist basis, even on the present standard of living, she requires to get a third of the trade of the world, after the American loan has been used up. This is clearly impossible.

Then will come further demands for new sacrifices from the work-

ing class. And as distinct from today where the workers are in a strong position to press for improvements, under the conditions of slump the employers will launch a terrific offensive against the standards of the workers. Even today behind the scenes, the Tory bankers and capitalists are sighing for a "good dose of unemployment" to bring the workers to their senses. In the Bank Journals and in the "Economist" they have been cynical enough to blurt this out openly.

All this is not planning for Socialism: it is "planning" for catastrophe.

Workers! Demand the scrapping of this tinkering with capitalism. No-one can plan in your interests, except representatives under your own guidance and direct control, where all plans in the factories and plants will be discussed and approved by the workers.

The capacity for sacrifice was shown during the fuel crisis by the dockers, miners, transport and other workers who to get industry working again. With a Socialist plan, controlled by themselves, all the enthusiasm and initiative of the working class could be harnessed for an effort which would transform the situation nationally and internationally. For a genuine Socialist Plan, drawing in the colonial materials which produce the raw materials, by offering to assist their industrial development in exchange, the standards of the colonial and British people would rise to undreamed of heights. The nightmare of slump and unemployment due to "overproduction" would be ended forever.

Hotel Strike I.L.P.'s CAMPAIGN

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Market Workers Combined The Strike Committee showed great initiative in contacting the workers of Smithfield and Covent Garden with the request that they ban supplies of meat, fruit, and vegetables. The strike pickets also stopped the supply of oil and coal. Messengers went around to the employment agencies and told them not to send labour, as the union would blacklist such practices.

The capitalist press and the Labour leaders echoing them continue to bewail the impoverishment of the country. But from the point of view of Socialism, despite the losses in the war, Britain remains a wealthy country. Her industry, and the skill of the working class, are sufficient to pour out an im-

The Savoy management want the issue to go to an Industrial Court. This is just another effort to prolong proceedings. The workers know what happened to the last staff-manager who worked with the stewards. He was victimised, according to the workers, and has since had to leave the country. He is awaiting such a court of inquiry, and will most probably be delayed for many more months.

For A Militant T.U. Leadership

The Trade Union leaders did not serve the interests of the men when they prevented the workers of other hotels and restaurants from coming out at the request of the stewards. As it is, the workers have gone back with no guarantees. It will require further determined battles to bring this reactionary group of employers to heel. The solid ranks of the strikers showed that they possess the necessary qualities and courage to achieve this end. Above all, what is needed is a firm and militant top line leadership to lead such future struggles.

principled policy on how to struggle for the United Socialist States of Europe would have immediately split the Conference in a dozen different sections, separating out the neo-socialists, humanitarians, pacifists, centrists and reformists from the revolutionary socialists.

Having refused to consider the formulation of a principled policy, the participants proceeded to set up an International Committee to prepare for a new Conference in the summer. This organisation has no future. Because of the differing outlook of the parties comprising it, and its refusal to work on a revolutionary internationalist policy because this would alienate one or another of its participants, it will fail to pieces. Without a genuine international socialist programme the achievement of a Socialist United States of Europe is a utopia. Only the Fourth International carries the banner which can lead to the conquest of power by the working class and the establishment of a Socialist Europe and World.

STALIN'S GUILT

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tected the GPU chiefs at least once a week. No piece of information was deemed too unimportant.

Victim In Plot

When in the summer of 1937 Budenz went to Chicago to serve as editor of the "Midwest Daily Record", his undercover work for the GPU nevertheless continued. He used to travel on weekends to New York to keep his appointments with the GPU agent, and whenever it was urgent the latter travelled to Chicago. Budenz makes it clear that the C.P. leaders, especially Browder and Stachel, were not only aware of his activities on behalf of the GPU, but themselves participated in it.

Stalin's murder machine was particularly eager to collect every scrap of information concerning Trotskyists who travelled abroad. They were in search of some individual whom they could ensnare in Europe in their murder plot. The choice, as is well known, fell upon Sylvia Ageloff, an accepted friend in Trotsky's household. Budenz acknowledges that in 1937, GPU agent "Roberts", in charge at the time, showed him her photograph and made extensive inquiries about her.

In weaving their web around Sylvia Ageloff, the GPU found Budenz's assistance invaluable. As a matter of fact, the connection between "Frank Jackson", the killer, and Sylvia Ageloff was established through another woman, who was a friend of Budenz. He refers to her as "Miss Y." But her identity was long ago established.

Her real name is Ruby Weil. Budenz knew her from the days of his association with the Conference For Progressive Labour Action to which she also belonged. She together with other followers of Budenz joined the Stalinist party, but had nevertheless kept up friendly relations with Sylvia Ageloff with whom she was likewise acquainted. The GPU had fixed upon her as the most likely and least suspect person to introduce Ageloff to "Jackson".

In dealing with this key aspect of the GPU plot, Budenz avows that he was astonished when "Roberts" in 1937 requested him to draw Ruby Weil into the undercover work, or, as Budenz puts it, to "introduce" her to "Roberts". Budenz complied, as he did in everything else.

Real Assignment

Ruby Weil was persuaded by "Roberts" to cultivate Sylvia Ageloff. The two became very intimate and travelled to Paris early in 1938. It was there that Ruby Weil carried out her real assignment—to bring "Jackson" and her friend together. It was in this way that "Jackson" was later able to worm his way into Trotsky's house. From Budenz's account it appears that Ruby Weil had no advance knowledge of her real function.

She later told Budenz that upon her arrival in Paris, another GPU agent, this time a woman, prevailed upon her to pretend she was a friend of "Jackson."

This evidence fits in perfectly with the facts uncovered by the Mexican police during their investigation of the murder of Trotsky. In her deposition, Sylvia Ageloff testified that "Jackson under the name of Jacques Moriard," was introduced to her "in Paris in the early part of July 1938 by Ruby Weil."

The assassin himself, whose testimony following the murder was deliberately devious, confessed and misleadingly did not deny the role of Ruby Weil, although he pretended he had met Sylvia Ageloff "through Ruby's sister."

Ruby Weil was apparently an innocent dupe who came to realize her true role only after the assassination of Trotsky. In either 1940 or 1941—Budenz is rather hazy about the date—she came to this country, ill with tuberculosis, and got in touch with Budenz to tell him the whole story.

Known Truth For Six Years

Budenz says that he could not bring himself to believe her at the time. In any case, he has known the truth for at least six years. Today he confirms that "Roberts," one of the GPU agents whom he and the other Stalinist leaders had blindly obeyed, had laid all the preliminary groundwork in the United States in 1937 for the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico in 1940.

The identity of "Jackson" as an agent of the GPU, long ago established by overwhelming internal evidence is now corroborated by irrefutable facts.

In addition, the methods and instrumentalities through which the GPU operates, especially the complicity of the American Stalinist leadership, are now glaringly exposed to the light of day.

The revelations of Budenz fill in the missing thread in the fabric of evidence that places the responsibility for the murder of Leon Trotsky on the shoulders of Joseph Stalin.

French C.P.

(Continued from Page 1.)

The "Times" of March 20th, reports Ducloux, Stalinist M.P.'s contribution to the debate in the French Parliament on Indo-China:

"The gist of his (Ducloux's) remarks was that the change of policy on Indo-China—a reference to the displacement of Admiral d'Argenlieu by M. Bollaert—did not give the impression of preface in any way to a change of policy. While the Communists desired that France should continue her civilizing mission in Indo-China, as the departure of the French would certainly entail the arrival of other Powers, he thought that this could be done only by negotiating with those who represented the majority in the Annamese people—in other words, with the Viet Minh."

However, no doubt because of pressure from the rank and file, the C.P. Ministers abstained on a vote of confidence. Immediately, a Government crisis began. How could the C.P. remain in the Government if it refused to support it on a vital question? A day of frantic discussion ensued, from which emerged a "magnificent" compromise: the C.P. Deputies abstained on the vote of confidence; the C.P. Ministers voted for the Government; and the C.P. remained within the Coalition. And the war in Indo-China will continue.

These parliamentarians are prepared to sell out the French working class and the colonial peoples in order to preserve their collaboration with the capitalist class. Are these Ministers, Thorez, Billoux, and the rest, who order men and munitions to shoot down the Indo-Chinese, or was Lenin right when he denounced the entry of the French Socialist, Millerand, into a capitalist Cabinet as a betrayal of socialism?

Fighting Fund

MARCH

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CONDITIONS IN U.S.S.R.

(Continued from Page 3.)

"Transition" from Socialism to Communism. To add to the "freedom" of the workers, not only are they not allowed to go on strike, but strikers are liable to be sentenced to death for such an offence. (Item 13 from article 58 of Labour Law, op. cit.)

Hard Labour — At Least Ten Millions

Different sorts of "criminals" make up the inmates of the hard labour camps. These play a great part in the economic life of the country. They built the Moscow-Volga Canal, the fortifications on the Western Front, and in Siberia, they constitute the main source of labour in lumber work, etc. According to the reports from these people, there are tremendous labour camps, running into many millions of men, in which conditions of living are hellish, where large numbers die daily from malnutrition, overwork, epidemics, etc. "Verstka" in its issue of 20/12/37, throws quite a clear light on the conditions of living in these camps, by implication, when writing about the construction of a railway line by deportees in Siberia, it stated:

"Till today it was thought that in these regions the season of construction is not more than a hundred days a year. The winter is very severe, 50 degrees below zero. But the builders have proved that even under these conditions it is possible to work the whole year through without interruption." C. Bettelheim, who quotes this adds:

"It is astonishing that the rumour was widespread in the U.S.S.R. that of the 500,000 deportees employed in this work, only a few thousand have survived." ("Le Planification Sovietique" Paris, 1945).

"The Russian Enigma", published in London, 1940), who was a member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslavian Communist Party, and then for many years sent by Stalin to prison and deportation in Siberia, the number of deportees is 15 to 20 millions.

Another calculation having a solid basis, is that of S. Schwarz in "Sozialistisches Vestnik" — "A Few Statistics". His method of calculation is as follows: "In 1939 the number of inhabitants of the U.S.S.R. was 170.5 millions. If now for the war, this population should have increased by at least three millions a year, which means that in seven years, world have increased by 21 millions. In the regions annexed to Russia there were, before the war, 24.5 million. If not for the war, the number of inhabitants in these regions should have reached 25.5 millions. All the population of the U.S.S.R. in its present boundaries should have been, if not for the war, 217 millions at the beginning of 1946. Now all the people of 18 years and above, except those in concentration camps, have the vote. Now, from the census of population in 1939 we learn that people aged 18 and above made up 58.4 per cent. of the population. Let us assume that the percentage in the annexed regions was the same. This means that the adult population would at the beginning of 1946 amount to 123.7 millions. But the number allowed to vote amounted to only 101.7, i.e., 25 millions less than there should have been.

The war brought with it a great loss of life and a sharp decrease in the birthrate. The birthrate is not important for the calculation, as it does not affect the number of adults today. What were the war losses? A short time ago, in an interview with the correspondent of "Pravda", Stalin said that the number of deaths in the war amounted to 14 million (Pravda, 14/3/46). It seems that the natural deaths in Russia were not included in this figure. If we assume that the number of adults who died during the war amounted to 7 millions above the normal death rate taken according to former years, and we add 1 million—an exaggerated number—for Russians who did not want to return to their country, there remain ten millions who must exist but have not the right to vote. This must be the number at least in the concentration camps.

T.U. Leaders Capitulat

While the management broke the agreement, the trade union leaders, steeped in conventionalism, asked the workers to go back to work because the 21 days' strike notices had not been given! Surely it is a fantastic situation that workers are refused strike pay from their own funds, built up by their weekly subscriptions. The opinion of many militant hotel workers was that if the union leaders were as aggressive and forceful in the interests of their class as the management fought for capitalism, the dispute would have been settled on the spot.

Shop stewards of the other London hotels, very realistically saw that the battle over Frank Piazza was their own fight—a struggle for trade union principles. They wanted to strike in sympathy, but Arthur Lewis, M.P., District Organiser of the Catering Branch of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, advised them to take no action. At a meeting he said that such a step would not be fair to progressive employers! His audience of strikers did not agree to go back and only 4 votes were cast for the motion.

14 Days Suspension

The Court of Inquiry consisting of officials from the Hotels and Restaurants Association and the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, which met to receive evidence from both sides, came to the conclusion that Frank Piazza violated the agreement "inasmuch as he was not the accredited representative with powers to deal with the dispute." To any honest and impartial observer, it was obvious in the first place that the agreement was scrapped by the Savoy Group in not working with the shop stewards on the job. The verdict recommended that Frank Piazza be suspended for 14 days, to end on the Tuesday. On the basis of this report, the Strike Committee, asked the workers to return to work.

Management Stalls

This verdict, was too much for the Savoy owners, and they immediately stated in public that they refused to recognise the course taken. All the returning workers were asked to read a printed statement to that effect, and to sign their names in a book. The strikers refused to do so. Mr. Arthur Lewis later stated that the management only require the signatures to see how many come back to work. Do the clocking-in cards not give information? It seems that this trick of the management is another form of intimidation to link the reading of the statement and the signature, and so try to bind the worker to some form of agreement.

TRUMAN BACKS GREEK REACTION

Unable to keep large military forces any longer in Greece, and weakened by great economic difficulties, Britain has reluctantly been forced to allow America to take over military and economic control. The great "democrat" Truman, as representative of Wall Street, put before Congress, the proposal for a £100 million loan to the reactionary Greek Government.

Northern Greek peasants, Attlee and further burdens the British workers by a loan to the Royalist Greek Government of £19 millions. So intent is she on maintaining the reaction in this strategic part of the Mediterranean that Britain, under the Anglo-Greek military agreement has undertaken to train and equip 100,000 regular soldiers. Added to this, the Labour Government has given General Napoleon Zervas, Spitfires and reconnaissance planes.

Meaning Of Manoeuvres

The question arises as to what exactly is the meaning of all these diplomatic measures and political manoeuvres? What is all this psychological warfare leading up to? Why is America so interested in so small a country as Greece, thousands of miles from its shores? Why does the British Labour Government continue the Churchill foreign policy?

The answer to these questions lies in the fact that Greece and the Middle East are in a central strategic position on the route to the great economic resources of India and the Far East. Greece is also the key to Europe and Asia. If revolution broke out in Greece the Imperialists rightly fear with the present uneasy relation of forces that it would precipitate revolution in Italy, France and Spain. And that with all Europe ablaze Asia would soon follow suit. Thus America comes forward as the defender of capitalism and the main counter-revolutionary force desperately trying to shore up the shaky structure of capitalism wherever a crack appears.

For either the working class, or the Stalinist bureaucracy to take possession of these countries would spell disaster to the British and American capitalists. The prize of practically inexhaustible oil supplies in the Middle East, the resources and markets of Europe and Asia is too great to be lost. Hence the resorting to any measure, however low reactionary, in safeguarding the present ownership of the means of production.

The only possible result of this psychological, diplomatic and economic conflict is to prepare for

Britain, Junior Partner British capitalism, under the guidance and care of the Labour Government is attempting to put on the best possible face, to the obvious junior role it is playing to America. Bearing in mind the "near disaster" of December 1944 during the E.A.M. uprisings, Churchill, as butcher of the Greek forces, enthusiastically welcomes the unbridled surge forward of American capitalism, he said, at the recent Conservative Conference, "No step that I have seen taken lately has more increased the chances of world peace and freedom. Freedom, interpreted by Churchill to mean freedom of private enterprise and capitalist property rights for a handful of privileged parasites. Thus Greece which was a semi-colony of Britain for a century now falls within the orbit of American imperialism.

Labour Support For Reaction

Bevin and Attlee, having installed the reactionary King George back on the Greek throne, make sure that the regime of terror in Greece continues. Having sent Montgomery a few weeks ago to co-ordinate and help the Royalist-dictatorial army to smash

a Third World War, a war of super destructive intensity. These are the first preliminaries and are rehearsals to prepare the way for the greater shocks to come. Strategic positions are being taken up by America long in advance for the struggle to the death. For the time being the war weary masses of Britain and America are not in frame of mind to be led into another war having just gone through the agonies of war for "freedom and democracy". The Western capitalist politicians can find no support whatsoever amongst the broad masses for war against Russia.

U.N.O. Will Not Solve Problem

As its predecessor, the League of Nations, failed hopelessly to prevent World War II, so will U.N.O. fail just as miserably. Pacts on paper mean nothing where capitalist monopolies need world markets and resources. When it comes to fundamental questions the Imperialists unceremoniously ignore the long drawn out farce of appeals to U.N.O. A U.N.O. which is even incapable of action against the Smuts Government in South Africa when Smuts openly flouted them on the question of South West Africa. U.N.O. is merely a convenient means of bluffing the peoples of the world that the Great Powers sincerely desire peace. It is the duty of the workers of the complete withdrawal of outside military help and administration from Greece. The Greek workers and peasants must themselves be given the opportunity to determine their own destiny. These events demonstrate clearly that only the overthrow of capitalism can lead to peace and plenty for the peoples of the World. N. PENTLAND