



SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Problems Facing Labour Party Workers

See Page 4

No 58.

MAY, 1948.

Price 2d.

4TH INTERNATIONAL HOLDS WORLD CONFERENCE 19 Countries Represented

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL HELD ITS SECOND WORLD CONGRESS IN PARIS DURING THE MONTH OF APRIL, 1948. THE FIRST WORLD CONGRESS WAS HELD IN 1938 WHEN THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL WAS OFFICIALLY FOUNDED. ALTHOUGH TWO EMERGENCY CONFERENCES WERE HELD DURING THE WAR AND IMMEDIATELY AFTER; THIS WAS THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY FOR A REPRESENTATIVE WORLD GATHERING OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALISTS SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

While the Second and Third Internationals liquidated themselves, despite vast resources possessed by them, the Fourth International met under difficult circumstances to uphold the banner of internationalism and the struggle for world socialism.

Its deliberations extended over a period of three weeks. Despite financial and organisational difficulties, there were delegates from North America, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and the Far East. There were a number of representatives from colonial countries and many parts of Europe. Approximately 50 delegates representing 19 different countries took part in the Congress.

While the Second and Third Internationals liquidated themselves, despite vast resources possessed by them, the Fourth International met under the most difficult circumstances, to uphold the banner of internationalism and the struggle for world socialism.

One hundred years after the Communist Manifesto, the World Congress of the Fourth International has reaffirmed the basic conclusions of Marxism and its application to present day events. Carrying on the tradition of Marx and Engels, of Lenin and Trotsky, the Fourth International stands firmly rooted on the basis of the class struggle and the fight for international socialism as the only means for achieving the emancipation of the world working class. While reformism and Stalinism have abandoned the basic teachings of Marxism, the Fourth International, though small in numbers, represents the only Marxist trend in the world today.



SECOND WORLD CONGRESS—on the platform—Comrades Fabre-Bleibtreu (French P.C.I.; S. Santen (Secretary R.C.P. Holland); Pierre Frank (French P.C.I.); Jock Haston (Secretary R.C.P. Britain); Colvin De Silva, Leader of the Trotskyist Parliamentary group in Ceylon; Munis (emigre Spanish group). The two women comrades are minutes secretary and interpreter.

Basing itself on the analysis of capitalism made by Marx and Engels, a century ago, the Manifesto shows how present day events prove that the great teachers accurately predicted the impasse in which world capitalism finds itself. Despite all the measures of totalitarianism and militarism, monopoly capitalism produces more and more devastating slumps, wars and a threat to civilisation itself. Warning the workers of all lands of the inevitable war which capitalism is preparing, the Manifesto outlines the programme of working class emancipation which Marx and Lenin explained can only be achieved by the action of the workers themselves. The Manifesto counterposes the Marxist method of democratic workers' control to the Stalinist method of imposing a bureaucratic straight-jacket on the workers' movement. The Manifesto outlines a programme of transitional demands linking up the day to day demands with the struggle for the socialist reorganisation of society.

The Fourth International basing itself on the best traditions of the old Internationals, offers the only hope for the future. The world-working class will achieve a Socialist Europe and a Socialist World only under the banner of World Socialist Revolution. That is the banner of the Fourth International

PROFITS GO UP

43 Resolutions on L.P. Agenda on Wages, Prices and Profits

BY G. NOSEDA

FROM THE TIME THAT THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT TOOK POWER UP TO THE END OF THE LAST FINANCIAL YEAR, THE PROFITS OF THE EMPLOYERS HAVE RISEN CONSISTENTLY. IN 1947 THEY WERE £20 MILLION MORE THAN IN 1946. RENT, INTEREST AND PROFITS, STILL TAKE ABOUT THE SAME PROPORTION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME (36%) AS THEY DID IN 1938 UNDER THE "NATIONAL" GOVERNMENT. IN THIS CAN BE SEEN THE MAIN AXIS OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICY.

Despite the special levy on profits introduced by Cripps in his recent Budget, nothing can conceal the fact that the Labour Government has not made any real inroads into the profits of the capitalist class.

In the year 1948-49, an extra £117 million will be levied in the form of direct taxation, including the 65% of the extra £320 million profits made by the capitalist class last year, will remain in their

The capitalists know what they are doing when they generously promise to "peg" dividends at the 1947 level! For nearly every large enterprise and capitalist undertaking had a very profitable year in 1947. Take the huge chemical monopoly, I.C.I. whose net income jumped from £7,171,109 in 1946 to £7,646,933 in 1947. Or Courage and Co. the brewers, who appear to have done very well despite (or because of) the two budget increases in the price of beer; their total profits in 1947 showed an increase from £1,164,385 in 1946 to £1,268,920. And, lest it be claimed that this is calculated before payment of taxation, depreciation, etc., it should be observed that their net profits showed a tidy jump from £180,022 in 1946 to £227,325 in the latest year.

STEEL AND FOOD

The workers in the steel industry have been coming in for some unusual and unexpected pats on the back from the capitalist press recently. The reason? Because, says the press, they have pulled up the production of steel to new highs. These mouthpieces of the capitalist class don't add, in the same articles anyway, that the increased production sweated from the steel workers has also pulled up profits in the industry, as the latest company reports of some steel enterprises record. Take the Vickers (Steel) monopoly, their consolidated net profit, after all taxation, depreciation, etc.; deductions, increased from £1,255,050 in 1946 to £2,399,394 in 1947. Or the Enfield Rolling Mills, whose directors were happy to report to their shareholders that 1947 total profits were up to £648,468 as against £181,543 the previous year; net profits for the comparative years were £105,312 and £68,972 respectively. Pats on the back for the steel workers and fat dividends for the shareholders!

Food enterprises too, like the Home and Colonial group found their 1947 balance sheets very happy reading with the combined profits of the group, after all pro-

visions for taxation etc., up to £1,318,794 as compared with £1,172,548 in 1946, an increase of £141,248.

And these few examples are by no means all. They represent the general picture of the profits being coined by the capitalist class in Labour Britain today. Of course, the press organs of Big Business and finance have expressed their loud disapproval and indignation at Cripps' pin-prick of a special levy on their profits, which, Cripps hastened to assure them, was only for this year. This vociferous and hypocritical outcry of the capitalist press was, however, only to be expected. It helps to cover up the fact that the Labour Government have treated them with kid gloves, and they have got away very lightly. The same capitalist press, which rushed to defend the profits of its class were very loud in their acclamations for the Government's wage-freezing proposals, and complained only that they did not go far enough.

43 RESOLUTIONS ON L.P. AGENDA

The dissatisfaction of the working class in Britain at this situation is beginning to find wide expression. On the agenda of the Labour Party Annual Conference, 43 strong resolutions and amendments have been tabled on the issue of wages, prices and profits. Pressure from the rank and file of the trade union movement which is highly critical of the General Council's support for the

Government's wage-pegging White Paper, has given the T.U.C. bureaucrats some uncomfortable times. Alarmed at the bitter feelings of the workers on mounting prices and profits, a deputation from the General Council sought an interview with Cripps on April 22nd.

As the "Economist" (24/4/48), no friend to the working class, observes: "They have heard from their constituents, and their constituents ask, in substance, what trade unions are for, if not to press for as much wages as they can get...? Precisely, and what else are the working class organisations for if not to safeguard their conditions and improve their standards of life? If the Labour Trade Union leaders fail, as they are failing, to conduct a militant struggle in the interests of the workers they claim to represent, then it is time for the rank and file to call them to order. The present set-up, whereby the working class is expected to meekly accept wage-pegging in the face of an increasing cost of living, while the profits of the capitalist class continue to pile up, has nothing in common with a Socialist policy. In a real Socialist planned economy profits would be used to foster the technology and scientific development of industrial production and to improve greatly the conditions and standard of life of the working class. That is what the Labour Government should be doing if it were genuinely concerned to advance the interests of the working class: to establish Socialism instead of propping up the capitalist system."

DISCIPLINE THE LABOUR LEADERS Platts-Mills Expelled

The telegram "signed" by Platts Mills and 37 other Labour M.P.'s to the Italian Socialist Party (Nenni Socialists) wishing the Popular Front success, has caused a crisis in the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Extreme Right Wing members such as Raymond Blackburn demanded the setting up of a Parliamentary Select Committee to examine the question, obviously preparatory to drastic action against the dissidents. The Tory M.P.'s and the Tory Press seized on the issue for their own ends and pressed the Labour leaders for punitive action.

MORRISON PROMISE EFFECTIVE ACTION

Morrison, in the Commons promised that the matter was "... going to be dealt with effectively."

As is known the official policy of the Labour Party was to support the Right-Wing (Saragat) Socialist Unity group which split on the issue of co-operation with the Stalinists, only in order to "co-operate" i.e., capitulate, to the capitalist Christian Democrats. A sub-committee of the N.E.C. was formed to investigate the matter and report back. According to the Press the leaders of the N.E.C. of the Labour Party pressed for the expulsion of one or two of the leading elements who have been in the wake of the Stalinists, in persistent opposition to the foreign policy of the Labour Government. Now Platts Mills has been expelled.

The leadership wish to take advantage of the situation to deal a blow at the crypto-Stalinists. In so doing they may be compelled reluctantly to condemn the Right-Wing Labour M.P.'s who attend the

"United Europe" Conference in company with Churchill and other Tories. Alfred Edwards can attack even the nationalisation measures of the Labour Government and defy the rank and file of his own division with impunity.

Some of the alleged signatories have denied having signed the telegram, others specifically asked for their names to be withdrawn, and some refused to have anything to do with the matter but still their names appeared. These methods naturally tend to repel workers in the Labour movement.

LET THEM SET AN EXAMPLE

The Labour leaders should be the last to raise the question of discipline. They have consistently and disloyally violated the decisions of Labour Party Conferences during the period of office of the present Government. If discipline is to be observed in the broad Labour movement then let the leadership set the example. Workers must demand that the rank and file of the Trade Union and Labour movement must itself decide the policy of the movement. To allow the leadership to take advantage of the actions of Stalinist agents or crypto-agents would give the leadership the excuse to launch reprisals and expulsions against any Left wing opposition to the policy they are pursuing at the present time.

VEHICLE STRIKE

Review by a Vehicle Builder ROY STEVENSON

After three and a half weeks, the national strike of 20,000 Vehicle Building workers has ended. The workers have returned to work on the instruction of the Executives of the two Unions involved, the National Union of Vehicle Builders and the Amalgamated Society of Wood-cutting Machinists. At the meetings held over the week-end when decisions were taken to return to work, no motions against the E.C.'s proposals were allowed—they were ruled out of order.

The strike was for 3d. an hour increase for all men, and proportionate increases for women and boys.

As the first official strike since the T.U.C. accepted the wage freeze, it constituted a direct threat to the Government's policy. Success might well have transformed this strike into the spearhead of a militant opposition to the freezing of wages. Defeat can only strengthen the hands of the top leadership in the T.U.C. and the Unions who have accepted the policy of freezing wages.

The strike also threatened to undermine the policy of the employers to use arbitration machinery to undermine the workers' demands and concessions. Two years ago, the vehicle builders demanded 6d. an hour. This demand was referred to arbitration and reduced to 3d., but still without results. When Isaacs, the Minister of Labour, referred the dispute to arbitration on the eve of the strike, in order to forestall it, the Unions

demanding direct negotiations with the employers.

The rank and file workers are bitter at a return without victory. Feeling is high after being ordered back when the strikers were in a strong position.

Whilst the response demonstrated the solid support by the workers, the fact is that the strike was called on the basis of a ballot carried out over a year ago. For this reason, the main issue, the wage freeze, was never clarified before the members. Milne, the National President of the N.U.V.B., declared on April 4th:

"The strike should not be considered as one against the Government's wage freezing policy... It is a strike against the employers' policy of freezing our members' wages over two years ago."

Nevertheless, the employers are sheltering behind the wage freeze declaration of the Government. The strike took place under the present-day conditions. Any strike today for wage increases inevitably conflicts with the Government's policy. Instead of side-stepping

(Continued on Page 4.)

CZECH ELECTION

The Czech Stalinists are preparing for the forthcoming elections in the now familiar fashion.

First, a carefully rehearsed campaign was conducted in which organisations under Stalinist control demanded a "joint list" in the elections on May 30th.

Sports organisations, trade unions, and even authors and music composers associations have all put forward the demand for a single list.

In response to the "demands" the Gottwald Government has introduced a Bill for a single list.

Thus, the election becomes a farce, a totalitarian plebiscite. Voting will be compulsory.

At the same time, 46 members of the Czech National Socialist Party (Liberals), which is in the Government, have been arrested for distributing anti-Government leaflets and for other underground activities.

For Democracy in the Unions

The leadership of the T. N. G.W.U. has given a further example of the bureaucratic high-handedness which has become a by-word in the Trade Union movement. Especially is it a feature of this particular union.

The Union leaders had been instructed to negotiate a wage increase of £1 per week on behalf of the Road Passenger Transport Workers. 7/6d. was accepted by these leaders and a national delegate conference of local officials, "having regard to the Government's policy on wages."

However, the rank and file were not satisfied. Feeling was particularly strong in the Lancashire area, especially in Wigan. Failing to obtain redress for their grievances by "constitutional" means, these workers were compelled to resort to their only available weapon: strike action. They decided to stage 24 hour token strikes on Saturdays.

There was a move to threaten strikers with dismissals. Instead of standing by the men, the Union officials had the effrontery to state that they would withdraw Union protection from any men thus threatened by victimisation. Not content with that, they went so far as to threaten those who participated in this strike activity with expulsion from the Union.

One resolution adopted by the official Passenger Transport Group Committee, and which was sent to branches, stated that if any member of the Union accepted membership of an unofficial committee set up to advocate strikes or any other form of unofficial action, he should be called upon to attend the Area Committee to show cause why he should not be expelled.

It is high time that these bureaucrats were given to understand that they are paid for one purpose only: to look after the interests of the members. And, the interests of the rank and file are best determined by the rank and file themselves. Democracy begins at the bottom, not the top. The Union leaders have the duty to take orders, not to give them.

The formation of "unofficial" rank and file committees has become more and more a feature in workers' struggles in recent years. This has been necessitated by the fact that the rank and file have been unable, because of blatant sabotage by the T.U. leaders, to use their official union machinery in their struggles. If the Unions were fulfilling their proper function there would be no necessity for "unofficial" committees.

One of the tasks of these committees, apart from co-ordinating activity on the job, is to organise a drive within

Industrial Notes

BY J. DEANE

MERSEY TUGBOAT STRIKE

LIVERPOOL, April 23rd:—
AGITATION AND UNREST IN THE SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT INDUSTRY ON MERSEYSIDE NOW INVOLVES THE STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT TUGBOAT INDUSTRY. 95% OF ALL TUGBOAT CREWS ON MERSEYSIDE CAME OUT ON A LIGHTING STRIKE ON APRIL 20th.

One small firm remained at work; the other five came out to a man—captains and engineers included.

Lightermen and boatmen promised their complete support, messages of solidarity came in from Hull and other ports.

Although the strike was of short duration the solidarity and militancy came as a great shock to employers and T. & G.W.U. officials alike.

The story behind this strike is similar to those behind the busmen's, the dockers' struggles, all sections of the T. & G.W.U. It is one of incompetence and betrayal by the Union leaders, and unscrupulous exploitation by the bosses.

Tugboat Men's Demands

More than six months ago tugboatmen demanded:
Fixed 8-hour day
Time and a half for overtime.
Double time for Sundays.
Every other night off.
2-weeks annual holiday.

After patiently waiting eight months for a response to these demands the crews gave notice to the Union officials that if nothing concrete was heard by April 14, all overtime was stopped from that day.

Nothing was heard and overtime was stopped.

Employers' Threats

Since then the Tug Masters' Federation has tried every trick to intimidate crews, find a breach and smash the newly constructed Union organisation. Whole crews were sacked for refusing to work overtime; two captains were also sacked. But the solid front compelled the reinstatement of all.

Failing in these methods, the employers became tough with a general threat: All who refused overtime would be sacked.

Men's Reply

The reply was decisive and unanimous—a fleet of tugs came into dock and tied up. Led by skippers and engineers, and ignoring the pleas of the traitor Union officials, the men marched to the employers' offices.

T.U. Officials Call For Return

Though apparently slow to negotiate the men's just demands, the Union officials were not slow to

act to get the men back to work: A mass meeting was organised for the following day. This meeting was addressed by Area official J. Sealey, who persuaded the men to return to work unconditionally until May 11, when a general meeting would be addressed by a National official of the T. & G.W.U. (Waterways Section).

Rank and File Committee Formed

There being sharp criticism of Union leaders an official rank and file committee was also formed of representatives from each of the six firms. This committee will meet on May 10, to consider demands and policy, and will probably recommend strike action if the full demands are not accepted.

The Background

This is the first large scale strike of tugboatmen since 1926. Then, as a result of the betrayal, the disillusioned crews returned to work on the employers' conditions.

Colvin R. de Silva

1932-40: President of the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mill Workers' Union.

1935-40: President Lanka Sama Samaj Party, Ceylon.

1940: Arrested on June 17th and detained without trial for opposing war and leading strikes of workers—plantation, granary, harbour, etc.

1942: April 9th, Escaped from detention. Helped in formation of Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India with comrades from Calcutta, Bombay, United Provinces.

1945-47: General Secretary, B.L.P.I.

1947: Elected M.P. on Trotskyist ticket to Ceylon Parliament.

1947: Arrested in Madras for part in M.L.U. strike. Detained without trial. Externed from Madras. Author of "Socialism Rearmed: A Reply to Masani." "First Round of the European Socialist Revolution." "Whither the Soviet Union." Editor of "Spark," Trotskyist paper, 1946-7.

the official union apparatus for Trade Union democracy. The rank and file must not be intimidated by threats from smug bureaucrats. The firm stand of the Lancashire busmen in face of such threats is a victory for the real interests of Trade Unionism.

Last, but not least, the opinion of every member affected by a wage claim must be consulted by special ballot before any proposition, other than the original claim, is accepted. If this had been done in the case of the 7/6d. award the Union leaders would have looked a bit sick, because undoubtedly it would have been firmly rejected.



SCENE OF DESTRUCTION

in the yards of Messrs. Blohm & Voss, the largest shipyard on the Continent of Europe. The gantries seen in this picture, were not hit by Allied aircraft during the war. They were dynamited after the surrender of Germany. During the war 18,000 men were employed. Until recently 800 men were employed in an undamaged part of the plant repairing locomotives for German railways. But even that activity was stopped when the British Military Government ordered the dismantlement of what was left.

Instead of Germany's industrial might and the skill of her workmen being used for the benefit of the German and European workers, its great potential is destroyed in the name of a Government which calls itself socialist. Now, with the rivalry between East and West, the Allies are planning to assist the rebuilding—if only in part—of German industry. German capitalism kept the factories idle and the workers unemployed and hungry—till Hitler prepared for war. Now the Allies do the same.

Only by abolishing the private ownership of the means of production and organising industry for use instead of profit, will the working class put an end to this disastrous misuse of the power of man over nature. The resources of Europe must be integrated and planned for maximum production for the benefit of the masses in a Socialist United States of Europe.

In extending our hand of solidarity to the German working class, the British workers must demand an end to the destruction of the very economic foundations of the socialist future in Germany.

PARTY BUILDING

YORKSHIRE:
Ted Grant recently paid a visit to Sheffield, Leeds, and Kinsley, to visit our comrades in these areas. A discussion on Czechoslovakia was held at Sheffield.

GLASGOW:
Doug Garbutt, our Scottish Organizer spoke recently to five A.E.U. and one A.S.W. branches on party policy. The branch has attracted some new contacts and a study class has been formed in Dalmuir. Progress is noted in getting our anti-Fascist pamphlet into shops.

THAMES VALLEY:

Considerable progress is reported from this district where our comrades are active in the political and union movement.

LONDON:
Some local branches have started mid-week canvasses including the usual Sunday morning sales. Central meetings of other parties are regularly covered. At the Y.C.L. Conference 12 copies of the anti-Fascist pamphlet were sold.

In Brixton, 35 copies were sold at a Fascist meeting. To date, shops in East London have sold 32 of these pamphlets. May Day preparations well in hand. Party will march on May 1st with the London Trades Council from the Embankment to Hyde Park.

Colvin De Silva, Trotskyist M.P. from Ceylon will be in this country for two weeks. The following meetings have been arranged for him:
May 4.—Holborn Hall, London.
" 5.—Slough.
" 8.—Ceylon Students' Assn.
" 12.—Manchester.
" 13.—Birmingham.

EDUCATION:

Our successful series of Sunday night lectures have now ended and during the summer months, One-day Schools will be held at intervals.

Our series of open-air meetings will start in May in a number of London areas. Roy Tearse as our main speaker draws large crowds to the Sunday meeting at Hyde Park.
Roy Tearse, held a very successful meeting in Oxford of students.

	£	s.	d.
T.R.	2	10	0
M.J.	5	0	0
D.J.	2	0	6
West London	1	0	0
East London	3	5	0
D.G.	12	6	
Airman	10	0	
Glasgow	4	15	11
A.M., Leeds	2	10	0
Rudra	1	0	0
J.H.W.	10	0	
Coventry	3	6	
M.S.	0	0	0
Hackney Readers	14	6	
Book Gift, N. London	1	0	0
Anonymous	1	0	0
G.D.	10	0	
Hampstead	12	8	
C.L.	5	0	
E.T.	5	0	0
Iford	3	18	0
Charlie White	1	0	0
Aggregate	2	18	0
Liverpool Readers	3	10	
Edinburgh	1	10	0
J.P., Croydon	4	0	
B.C., Shepherds Bush	8	0	
A.R.	25	0	0
E.	2	0	0
Floor	10	0	
N.E.M., Newcastle	1	0	
Newcastle	3	9	
A. McC.	7	0	
North London	1	3	4
S.E. London	3	2	
Liverpool	1	13	0
American Sailor	1	13	4
J.H.J., Cheltenham	2	4	
G.V.B.L.	10	0	
L.C., Liverpool	1	2	6
R.B., Rochester	2	4	0
A.C., Stone Middleton	2	0	0
P.M., Birmingham	1	9	0
G.L., do.	14	0	
	£89	1	10

"SAVOY BOSSES Break Agreement"

In our October issue there appeared under the above heading, a report of a meeting of certain members of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers in which reference was made to the Savoy Hotel.

In this report it was alleged that the Savoy Hotel Ltd., had failed to implement an agreement into which they had entered because, having consented to accept the decision of an ad hoc Committee on certain matters in dispute they later refused to carry out the Committee's findings.

Having since made enquiries we now find that, in truth, before this Committee sat both the National Union of General and Municipal Workers and the Savoy agreed

that neither party should be bound by any recommendation which the Committee might make.

It was further alleged that the Savoy Hotel caused great delay in bringing the case of Piazza before the National Arbitration Tribunal and arrogantly refused to carry out the Tribunal's award; and also that they had not carried out the terms of the agreement relating to house representatives and house committees. We are satisfied that these statements were not proved by evidence given at the inquiry set up by the Minister of Labour.

In these circumstances "Socialist Appeal" desires to apologise to the Savoy Hotel Ltd., for any inconvenience caused to them by the inaccurate report and to offer to them an agreed sum in payment of damages and legal costs incurred by them in the proceedings for libel which they took in consequence of such report.



From a German P.O.W.

March 17th.

Dear Comrades,
Thank you very much for your letter, which I've received. Firstly, I'd like to tell you that I am leaving for home in a fortnight. I am very glad, of course, even if it looks very dark in Germany. Although I don't give up hope for an improvement, I also hope that I'll soon gather a strong group in my town, as I shall work for our Party as much as I possibly can. I know and have seen that our comrades all over the world stand at our side against the dominating class that is suppressing us. Our fight for Socialism will not be in vain. All workers will follow our lead in the struggle for a progressive society. We have to take the lead for them, and the Fourth International will win.

I hope to receive the answer to this letter still in this country and down below I'll give you my own address. Many thanks for Tommy's special regards.

So I'll finish, believing, that I will see you again anywhere and anytime. Every comrade that happens to come to Germany is very welcome at my home. I'm very glad about everything you taught me and helped me.

I am greeting you with our special salute and wish your group all future success. Solidarity of all class-conscious workers and long live the Fourth International.

Your Comrade,
Heinz.

West and that is dangerous to Stalin. The mass upheaval was so strong that the Capitalists could put forward no resistance at all. This shows that facing a united mass of workers, the capitalists must surrender. Of course, its not an entire victory as yet as part of it goes to Stalin. Struggle to help the workers must be founded upon the logic of the class struggle of all workers all over the world. Stalin Bureaucracy doesn't follow any of these principles, but on the contrary uses her power for her own nationalistic ends. The time alone will show. of the workers of C.S.R. will willingly agree to such policies and I hope they will be the first bloc of resistance for the Stalinists. I can't write more, as I could only make it quite clear by discussion.

Help our German Comrades

Send Food

To:—
H. CHASE
256 Harrow Rd.
London - W.2

Orphan German Children Queue For Food

Manchester Branch R.C.P.

Colvin R. De Silva

(Trotskyist Member of Ceylon Parliament)

will give a

"Report on India, Ceylon and the East"

at the ONWARD HALL (Deansgate)

WEDNESDAY, 12th MAY at 8 p.m.

Admission 6d. Questions and Discussion

COLVIN R. De SILVA

Ceylon Trotskyist M.P.

WILL SPEAK AT THE

HOLBORN HALL

GRAYS INN ROAD, W.C.1.

on

"THE DRIVE AGAINST THE LEFT IN INDIA"

TUESDAY, MAY 4th — 8 p.m.

Organized by the London District Committee
REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY (Trotskyist)
256 Harrow Road, Paddington, W.2.



MAY DAY 1948

May Day is the day of the working class; the international working class. Traditionally, it is the day on which the forces of the entire Labour movement down tools and gather together in demonstrations and meetings, in every country, to show the world the singleness of purpose of the toiling masses of all lands: the struggle against the common enemy, international capitalism.

To the pioneers of the movement, May Day was the occasion for measuring the forces of the working class, confidently and optimistically ranged in the struggle for world socialism. To the official leadership of the Labour movement to-day, May Day has become an annual outing, during which they preen themselves and make their pious gestures before continuing to forget in practice the internationalism to which they pay lip-service.

"HOW SOON?"

On May Day, 1948, the working class of Britain and the world can take stock of their surroundings. They can soberly weigh up the price they are paying for the continued existence of capitalism.

It is barely three years since the bombing and the blood-letting ceased in the second "War to End War". The famine and desolation, the ruins and the agonies which resulted from this holocaust weigh heavily on us. Yet the preparations for a Third World slaughter are under way. And what a prospect this entails! The living hell of Hiroshima marked the culmination of the last conflict. It will be but the beginning of the next.

The sacrifices and sufferings of 1939-45, no less than those of 1914-18, have proved incapable of solving a single basic problem facing the working class. The "Atlantic Charter", the "Four Freedoms" and all the other airy promises, have proved to be so much hot-air.

In the Chancelleries and Embassies of the world powers there is no longer even a pretence that we are finished with war. The only question discussed is: "How soon?"

The see-saw of the "cold war" pivots around the "Iron Curtain." In the well-worn name of "Freedom and Democracy" the British, American, French and other working classes of the Western Powers are being prepared for war against their "comrades-in-arms" of the last war, the Russian masses.

OPPRESSION IN THE "DEMOCRACIES"

In the "Democracies," Negro Trade Unionists are butchered and persecuted on the Gold Coast, Negroes and striking workers in America are brutally assaulted. The Vietnam masses are shot down by French bullets. Greek workers and peasants are oppressed by a fascist-military dictatorship maintained by British and American arms and troops. Workers in the shattered German cities suffer the very depths of misery and degradation under the heel of the "Allied" occupation. But these things matter little to the statesmen of the Western Powers who use "Democracy" as their slogan. What's in a name, so long as it provides the fig-leaf to cover up the real aim: war against the Soviet Union for new fields of capitalist exploitation?

DECEPTION OF STALINISM

At the same time the Soviet leaders lend a hand to the deception of the masses. They present U.N.O. as an instrument of peace instead of what it really is: a "Thieves' Kitchen" in which the world powers manoeuvre one against the other before resorting to the hard clash of steel. They are parties to the occupation and dismemberment of Germany, and the subjugation of the German working class. They preach the deception that "bloes of nations", instead of international class struggle, which ignores frontiers, can solve the problems.

They stifle criticism and workers' democracy in the U.S.S.R. and the areas under their domination. All of this in the name of "Communism", of which they have completely forgotten the meaning.

WORKERS HOLD THE KEY

Nevertheless, in spite of these terrible clouds which hang over the homes of the world working class, the last word has not yet been spoken by organised Labour. In its tremendous powers of resistance and capacity for struggle the working class holds the key to the future in its own hands. Even the black years of fascism and war were insufficient to quell the ranks of Labour. Since 1945 there has been a tremendous regroupment of the forces of the European working class.

In Britain the working class swept the Labour leaders to power. In the European countries the workers give the Communist and Socialist parties their support in the belief that on this road they can march to socialism. Since the war we have witnessed struggle after struggle being undertaken by the colonial masses.

One thing is crystal clear. The toiling masses of the entire world want to rid themselves of the horrors which weigh down on them, and are prepared to struggle towards this end. All that is lacking is a fighting socialist lead.

FOR INTERNATIONAL UNITY

In face of this favourable situation the Labour and Trade Union leaders, and we must add to them the Stalinists, have abandoned the perspective of international socialist struggle: they have abandoned all the ideas of the founders of the working class movement.

The Labour Government pursues a policy of propping up capitalism at home and defending imperialist interests abroad.

May Day, 1948, provides no cause for jubilant celebration. It must be commemorated in the spirit of preparing for battle. There is no easy road for the working class. Only the expropriation of the capitalists and planning with the control and initiative of the workers nationally and internationally can solve our problems. The rank and file workers must demand that those who claim to speak in their name shall fight for an international socialist programme.

In 1917 the Russian working class took the first step along this road. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin they overthrew the capitalist class and took power into their own hands.

The weak Soviet Republic, with a backward economic heritage, isolated in a capitalist world gave rise to a bureaucracy which abandoned Lenin's internationalism and adopted the utopian formula of "socialism in one country." They have imposed a monstrous tyranny on the Russian workers and peasants. This led to the most amazing zig-zags in policy: Stalin-Hitler pacts, Stalin-Churchill pacts, and assisted in the disorientation of the advanced workers, thus giving a further lease of life to capitalism.

Only the Fourth International has maintained the traditions of October, 1917. On this May Day, the Revolutionary Communist Party re-affirms its faith in the international working class. It extends a hand of class solidarity to the German workers and colonial masses. It calls upon the British working class to recognise that their strength lies in unity, stubborn international unity, based on a programme of world revolution.

This alone can solve the problems of war, of starvation of all the miseries that confront us. By dedicating ourselves on this May Day to the building of the World Party of Trotskyism, under whose banner the British, German, Russian, French, American and the working classes of the entire world will march to the socialist order, we will be dealing the only effective blows against the gathering war clouds and the other nightmares of capitalism.

NEW PURGE IN RUSSIA

Scapegoats for the Regime

The "Observer" of April 25th reports the beginning of a new purge in Russia.

"The past ten days have seen the first faint but unmistakable signs of a new Soviet witch-hunt, the victims this time being chiefly the manufacturers of consumer goods. Last week every newspaper in the U.S.S.R. carried an important statement issued by the Public Prosecutor's office announcing the conviction of a select list of officials and technicians for turning out goods of inferior quality.

"The chief engineer of a Grozny factory, run by the Ministry of Local Industry, was sentenced to five years' deprivation of liberty for producing inferior bicycles. The chief engineer of a Leningrad felt factory, under the same Ministry, got two years for producing bad quality felt footwear the traditional felt winter boots called 'vablenky'. The head of a bakery in Cbalov Province was given five years for allowing the systematic production of inferior bread."

"Three senior officials of an open-cast coal mine in Irkutsk Province were sentenced for turning out sub-standard coal (six years and five years). Further offenders are awaiting trial, among them the director of a Moscow clothing factory and his two chief technical assistants."

The background for this new purge is the gathering discontent of the workers who see that the main benefits of the successes of

affect the standard of living of the broad masses.

There are less motor cars and other luxury goods per head of the population in Russia than in such advanced countries as Britain, where despite the higher standard of living the overwhelming majority of the workers do not own even the cheapest motor car.

The correspondent of the "Observer" remarks correctly: "A fortnight ago certain price reductions were announced as a measure of the first importance, and occasion was taken to stress the rapid increase in the purchasing power of the rouble, which was said to have gone up by over 50% since December. But the new price cuts will hardly affect the real cost of living in Russia, which is a matter of food and clothing of the most elementary kind—above all new clothing. Bicycles, motor-cycles, gramophones, sporting rifles, opera glasses, cameras, sewing machines, and wrist-watches, which all figure in the list, are luxury goods as far as Russia is concerned, and almost the only items which will affect the mass of the people are vodka and beer."

But clothes and food (apart from caviar) remain unaffected: and on the average income it still takes a month's work to buy a pair of shoes and three months' work to buy a suit of clothes."

Thus the abolition of rationing largely benefits the bureaucracy, not the masses.

Only the abolition of bureaucratic capitalism can determine that the Plan is operated in the interests of the masses, both as regards kind,

The "Moskvitch" for Bureaucrats

Russia's latest reward to favoured members of the bureaucracy is the 10,000 rouble Moskvitch car, descendant of the pre-war car Kim 10. First buyers of Kim 10 included artists, writers and Stakhanovite workers. Taking the rouble at 10d. (fairest estimate of its spending power), the new car costs roughly the equivalent of £410 in British money. A high estimate of a Russian worker's average wage is 400 roubles per month.



industrialisation and the reconstruction of the economy are reaped by the upper strata of the bureaucracy.

The articles of mass consumption are of shockingly low quality, further aggravating the already low standards of the masses. The purge is intended to divert the attention of the masses from the real root of the evils which beset them: arbitrary and uncontrolled rule by the officialdom.

However, these events mirror the pressure of the Russian workers and peasants. They are proof of the fact that it is impossible for the bureaucracy to establish itself securely. In the long run the Russian masses will overthrow the bureaucracy and introduce the Soviet system of true workers' democracy as it existed in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

Negro Mothers' Death Sentence

Commuted to Life Imprisonment

Mass protests by Labour, Trade Union and progressive organisations in America against the death sentences for Mrs. Rosa Ingram, Negro mother of 12, and her two sons, Sammy, 14, and Wallace, 16, have won a first victory.

Judge William M. Haiper, of Americus, Georgia, who sentenced the Ingram's to the electric chair for the self-defence slaying of a white farmer, has been forced to commute the sentence to life imprisonment.

The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, it is believed, will appeal the case to higher courts in the battle to free the Ingrams.

Mrs. Ingram, a sharecropper, was attacked by a white neighbour when her pigs wandered into his fields. Armed with a rifle, he threatened to shoot her and when she grabbed

the rifle he beat her severely. At this point her two teen-age sons ran to the aid of their bleeding mother. A blow on the head resulted in the death of the white farmer.

The Ingrams were immediately hauled off to jail, denied legal rights and found guilty by an all-white jury. The landlord confiscated the livestock and tools of the Ingram family. The remaining Ingram children, the youngest of whom is 17 months, have been living in a tiny shack since the imprisonment of their widowed mother.

Mass protest has saved the Ingrams from the electric chair. Mass action must now be organised to free Mrs. Ingram and her two children from the Georgia prisons.

"MILITANT"

(U.S.A. Trotskyist Organ).

WALL STREET VICTORY IN ITALY

by TED GRANT

THE VICTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS MARKS A DECISIVE SET-BACK FOR THE STALINISTS AND A VICTORY FOR WALL STREET AND THE "WESTERN BLOC" IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DOMINATION OF EUROPE.

The polls took place on the background of direct intervention by Anglo-American imperialism with threats to cut off all aid if the Italians voted for the "Popular Front" lists dominated by the Communist Party. During the election period America and Britain attempted to undermine the Stalinists by offering to support the return of Trieste to Italy.

According to reports from the State Department £1,000,000 was spent from a special fund for the purpose of supporting the struggle against "Communism" in Italy. Thus, as after World War I, the weapon of food and other support is used to back up the forces of counter-revolution in Europe.

MASS MOVEMENTS

When the election campaign commenced the Allied reaction was not at all sure of the victory of their puppets in Italy. Ever since the fall of Mussolini the peninsula has been the scene of a tremendous upsurge on the part of the Italian masses. The disillusionment following the "liberation" by Allied troops and the ending of the war has been intense. Over the past two years the hungry Italian masses have moved into action again and again. Strike struggles in Milan, Turin, Genoa and other cities by the industrial workers have been followed by a movement of the agricultural workers in the Po Valley and, emulating their example of the landed labourers and peasants in the formerly backward south. In September of last year a million agricultural workers struck in the Po Valley, the strike spreading to Veneto, Rovigo and Ferrara Provinces. They were followed by 900,000 steel workers who struck in the same month, and 40,000 technicians and employees in textiles. A million workers in Rome, Turin and other large cities demonstrated against the hunger government. An agricultural strike involving 30,000 to 60,000 took place near the capital and several thousand peasants seized the land. Sympathetic strikes of the workers took place in Civitavecchia and Monte Rotondo.

C.P. PRESSED

FOR COALITION

However, as late as September 26th in the Italian Parliament, Togliatti the C.P. leader denied any revolutionary intentions and again pressed the demand for a new coalition with the Christian Democrats. Clearly the C.P. was using the revolutionary pressure of the masses for the purpose of arriving at an agreement with Italian capitalism in the interests of Russian foreign policy. Now this policy has reaped its reward in the election and has helped in the turning of Italian capitalism firmly in the direction of Washington. It is interesting to note that in the same debate the Uomo Qualunque, a semi-fascist party also asked for the co-operation of the Christian Democrats.

THROWN OUT BY GOVERNMENT

The employers and landowners having successfully used the Stalinists and Socialists in the Cabinet in order to prevent the workers from seizing control, and having rebuilt an apparatus of repression, at the behest of Wall Street, threw the Stalinists and Socialists out of the Government. Meanwhile reaction had so consolidated itself that the fascists began their series of provocations and murders against the militant elements within the working class. It was on this basis that the workers replied by militant strike action against the premises and organisations of the fascists. With the militant mood of the workers the Government was powerless and it would have been possible for the Stalinists and Socialists to overthrow the Government without any serious resistance.

But afraid of the repercussions of direct revolutionary action on the part of the masses the Stalinists held them back, hoping to come to power through a general election. They wished to gain control from the top, supplemented by a movement from the bottom so that they could maintain control of the movement throughout and speedily renege on the promises made on the lines of the movement in Czechoslovakia. This is the explanation of their failure to seize control during the last couple of years when power was in their grasp.

REACTION UNITED

The Vatican, the industrialists and the landlords united in an intensive drive to rally round the Christian Democrats. Using the events in Czechoslovakia as a basis, they raised the danger of Stalinist totalitarianism as a means to scare the middle class and indifferent and backward elements, large numbers of whom were normally too apathetic even to vote, in order to drive them to the polls.

Despite the chronic misery of the workers and peasants and the destitution of 1,500,000 unemployed they succeeded in this objective. And their success marks a definite change of relationship between the workers and the capitalists, and the Stalinist bureaucracy and Anglo-American imperialism since the

end of the war. Through the Marshall Plan the imperialists hope to prop up capitalism in the West and prepare for the future conflict with the Soviet Union. This is the fruit of the policy of Stalinism in Western Europe.

STALINISTS CONFUSE THE WORKERS

Instead of explaining the role of the Church and of the capitalists, instead of attacking the hypocrisy of capitalist nationalism and putting forward the idea of international socialism, the Stalinists tried with the reaction in frenzied chauvinism: this in their attacks on America. Instead of explaining the need for workers and peasants control of the state, the Stalinists competed with the capitalist parties in demagoguery about constitutionalism, liberty and democracy. Their attempts to paint the Czech crisis as one settled purely by constitutional means could not impress any wavering elements as anything but cynical lies. The Stalinists had voted in the Constituent Assembly for the Lateran Treaty between Mussolini and the Vatican to become part of the Constitution. This makes Catholicism the state religion and gives the Church special privileges in the schools and in the country. They guided the revolutionary movement of the masses into harmless channels.

POPULAR BLOC HAD GAINED

However, with the Stalinists and Socialists forced out of the Government and in opposition during the last few months, there was a steady growth in the influence of the Popular Bloc, composed of the Socialists supporting Nenni, the Communist Party and some other small groupings. For the first time they began to penetrate the backward peasant masses in the former stronghold of the Right Wing, the Southern part of Italy. In the municipal elections on November 8th in 143 municipalities including Rome, Naples, Genoa, Turin, Florence and Palermo the Popular Bloc emerged as the strongest force.

The C.P.-S.P. Bloc secured 775,915 votes Christian Democrats 379,588 Uomo Qualunque 223,108 Liberals 122,551 Monarchists 97,041 Republicans 58,639 Other Parties 21,889

The Popular Bloc improved their positions in all the cities in comparison with the former general election. Even in Sicily, one of the most politically stagnant areas of the South, the Popular Bloc headed the poll with 590,870 in comparison with the Christian Democrats 399,125. In the previous elections the extreme reactionary parties had three times the number of votes as the parties of the Popular Bloc.

TENDENCY REVERSED

But this tendency was sharply reversed in the present general election. In nearly all the cities, even of the industrial North, the Christian Democrat poll topped that of the Popular Bloc. In the 1946 general election the C.P., S.P. and the Action Party received 9,421,229 votes together amounting to 41.1% of the votes, the Christian Democrats 8,083,203 votes or 35.2% and other Right Wing parties the balance. Now the Popular Front received 8,025,990 or 30.7% together with the Socialist Unity Party who split from the Nenni Socialist Party and received 1,860,528 or 7% of the votes, a total of 9,886,518 votes. This is 465,000 more than the last election but only 37.7% of the total vote or 3.4% less than formerly. The Christian Democrats gathering round themselves the bulk of the reaction and polled 12,751,841 votes or 48.7% of the total this time. This represented an increase of nearly 45 million votes! Most of the Right Wing parties did badly but the split-away fascist grouping from the Uomo Qualunque, putting up candidates for the first time received 525,408 votes. Thus three years after the war and despite the experience of 20 years of fascism they can now come forward and dare to flaunt their doctrines in the face of the working class.

PRESENT SITUATION

The Stalinists apparently intend to accept the swing of Italy over to the Anglo-American bloc for the

time being. In the meantime some of the Nenni Socialists led by the former Socialist Minister of the Interior apparently intend to split towards the Right Wing Saragat Grouping which is to become part of the coalition Government with the Christian Democrats. The Stalinist, di Vittorio, secretary-general of the Italian T.U.C., which is dominated by the Communist Party, declared on the Marshall Plan (according to the "Daily Herald" of 22nd April and not denied by the C.P.): "When someone wants to help you, it is ridiculous to slap him in the face."

NO LASTING SOLUTION

The American imperialists are preparing to rush supplies to Italy. The Allies are already discussing bringing Italy into the Western Bloc, i.e., the joint conspiracy against the Socialist revolution in Europe and for ultimate war against the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, de Gasperi is selecting and training a police force from which "subversive forces" have been weeded out and which the Italian capitalists consider will be entirely reliable for use against the workers. With the lack of a revolutionary alternative, the capitalists, especially with Marshall aid may succeed in temporarily stabilising the situation. But such a situation cannot endure for many years. The Christian Democrats, like all the middle-of-the-way capitalist exploiters of the middle class are doomed to break up. The urban middle class and the peasants will swing away to Right and to Left. As the correspondent of the "Daily Mail" remarks with foreboding, a permanent solution has not at all been attained. The temporary stampede of the middle class and backward peasants and workers can rapidly change on the basis of the crisis of capitalism in Italy. This crisis cannot be fundamentally eliminated even with Marshall aid. A new polarisation of the classes is inevitable. In the coming days the membership of the C.P. too, will begin to ask why the C.P. fails to give a revolutionary lead.

The alternative will inexorably be posed: either the conquest of power by the workers led by a genuine revolutionary Communist Party or the crushing of the workers and their organisations in a new fascist dictatorship.

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PROBLEMS FACING LABOUR PARTY WORKERS

BY VINCENT CHARLES

The Labour Party Conference meets at a time when the national economy is beset with tremendous difficulties. Resolutions on the agenda this year reveal a sense of uneasiness among the best sections of the rank and file of the Labour Party. Workers are posing the question: has the Labour Government taken full advantage of its opportunities and really carried out a struggle against capitalism? Will the policy of the Labour leaders prepare the way for Socialism or will there be a swing back to Tory reaction in the next period?

It is true that the Labour Government came to power at a time of great shortages on a world scale and in the chaos of the aftermath of war. Every Labour worker knows what would have been the disastrous consequences had the Tories come to power. It is also true that the Labour Government has introduced important social reforms: Subsidies on food, the Education Act, the Health Act and various other schemes. To a great extent, these have been paid for by the workers themselves. They have carried out the programme of nationalisation of coal, railways, gas, electricity and the nationalisation of steel is being projected for the coming Sessions of Parliament. All these have been opposed by the Tories. They constitute powerful factors which help the Labour leaders to retain the support of the masses at the present time, coupled with the existence of full employment.

All this appears impressive. But what processes are taking place? Far from the bastions of capitalism being overthrown, they remain intact. The capitalists today, are reaping profits greater than under the Tory governments before the war. Indeed, profits are reaching record heights. With 80% of the economy still under private ownership the laws of capitalism continue.

The small unemployment in Britain today is not due to the measures of the Labour Government. Unemployment in capitalist America is also negligible at present. This is due to the laws of capitalism: the inevitable boom which followed the destruction of the war. The help given by American imperialism by the Loan and Marshall Aid, will only temporarily alleviate the condition of ailing British economy, which will lead to a crisis of over-production.

Where will this end? Three years after the war, yet another world war looms ahead as the inevitable consequence of the antagonism between American imperialism and the Soviet Union: an antagonism which must exist while capitalism continues.

The illusions generated by the Labour leaders in the General Election are and will be dispelled. And the Tories are utilising the discontent of the middle class and backward workers, placing the responsibility for Britain's parlous situation on the shoulders of the Labour leaders. The reverses suffered by Labour in the last two Local Government elections came as a deep shock to the rank-and-file. An examination of the causes of these defeats has made it clear that Labour is losing support, principally among the middle classes, not because it has introduced "too much socialism" but precisely for the opposite reason. The bureaucratic restrictions imposed on the country have nothing in common with socialism but serve only to irritate large layers of Labour supporters.

15 RESOLUTIONS ON WORKERS' CONTROL

An essential feature of a genuine socialist economy is that it is a planned economy and that the workers, through their elected representatives, have a full measure of control over it.

This vital fact receives full recognition on the Conference Agenda. No fewer than fifteen resolutions dealing with one aspect or another of the problem of workers' control has been sent in. Not a single one of them approve the existing policy of the Government. Some of the resolutions confuse the issue of technical management with that of control; others attempt to fit control into the framework of the Joint Production Committees. But the general trend is clear—the resolutions voice the concern of the movement at the economic policy pursued by the Labour Government. This is also clear in many of the resolutions dealing with the Government's Wages, Prices and Profits policy.

The resolutions from Salford (North) D.L.P. and Chatham and Rochester D.L.P. give expression to the general fear prevalent in the movement that the Government may try and back out of nationalising the Iron and Steel Industry. Salford's, in particular is a good resolution. It reads:

SALFORD RESOLUTION

"This Conference calls upon the Labour Government to place on the Statute Book, during this session, an Act for the Nationalisation of the Iron and Steel Industry, without compensation, an Act which shall have as its foundation a complete scheme of Control by the Workers engaged in the Industry. In every Iron and Steel Plant, there shall be elected a Committee of Control. This Committee shall include the Management and Technicians representatives, but only the elected workers' representatives shall have voting powers. This Committee shall have power to examine all aspects of the company's activities, financial and technical and to have access to all books past and present relating to the business of the firm. The principle of Workers' Control to be applied to all Industries nationalised past and present."

FOREIGN POLICY

As at every Conference since Labour took office, Foreign Affairs feature largely on the Agenda. Out of the 15 Resolutions originally submitted, only one gives full support to the Government's policy. Strangely enough, this comes from Arthur Horner's Trade Union—the National Union of Mineworkers. On the whole, indeed, the foreign policy resolutions reveal much greater confusion than do those dealing with economic policy at home. That from Dagenham, which simply states, "That this Conference re-affirms its belief in international Socialism as the surest way of attaining world peace," really raises the basic issues. If it succeeds in reaching the Conference floor in that form it should provide wide scope for internationalists to give the fullest expression to their views.

DEMAND RIGHTS FOR YOUTH

Much concern is also felt in the Party about the situation of the League of Youth. The hostile attitude of the Labour Party leadership towards the creation of a genuine, fighting, socialist youth organisation

constitutes the gravest threat to the future of Labour. While the Young Tories with the assistance and encouragement of the Conservative Party, are growing into a powerful bastion for capitalism, Labour's youth finds itself hamstringed by the fears and prejudices of its elders. No League of Youth worthy of the name can emerge while the existing restrictions remain! The age limit of 21 prevents the development of an experienced leadership, especially in view of the fact that at the age of 18 the young men are called up under the Conscriptio Act.

For its full development, the age limit of the League of Youth must be raised to 25, the League must have the right to hold its own national conference, to elect its own leadership and to control its own press.

FOR DEMOCRACY

Between the publication of the preliminary and final Agendas for the Conference, some significant changes have taken place. Most important of these changes is the disappearance from the Order Paper of the resolution from East Lewisham which sought to ensure that conference decisions should be binding on the Labour Government. Under pressure from the M.P. for East Lewisham, Herbert Morrison, the resolution has been withdrawn, but the issue will be discussed under resolutions standing in the name of the Eddisbury and St. Marylebone Parties. If the Party leaders can ignore Conference decisions at will, once they have been sworn in as "His Majesty's Ministers," then what becomes of the claim that there is "genuine democracy" in the Labour Party?

In the Preliminary Agenda, all the resolutions dealing with the "Anti-Red" drive of Transport House, condemned it. The final agenda reveals that Morgan Phillips and his friends from Headquarters have been busy in the meantime, and one or two amendments now give support to the "witch-hunt".

By its manipulation of the Card Vote, Transport House will undoubtedly get majority support at Scarborough this whitsuntide.

The leadership will attempt to stampede the members of the Labour Party round the issue of dictatorship versus democracy. They will point to the methods of Stalinist totalitarianism in Russia and Eastern Europe. Labour workers must reject the policies of reformism as well as the policies of Stalinism. A clear International Socialist policy based on firm workers democracy with control of the administration of the State and industry by the working class is the only road forward.

Workers looking for a militant lead must group themselves round a Left-wing programme which will rally the workers for a real onslaught against capitalism. Events, we believe, will convince the mass of the Labour Movement that only a revolutionary anti-capitalist programme can lead to the better Britain and the new world of Socialism which we all desire to build.

NOW AVAILABLE Permanent Revolution



By LEON TROTSKY

Order From: Business Manager 256 Harrow Road, London, W.2.

Anti-Red Terror in U.S.A.

News now reaching us from America of the anti-left wing campaign indicates the alarming proportions the witch-hunt is assuming.

Typical is an incident described as follows in the paper of the American Trotskyists, the "Militant": "On March 30, a hoodlum mob, incited by newspapers and encouraged by the police, smashed down the doors of the house of the local official of the Communist (Stalinist) Party in Columbus, Ohio and wrecked the interior.

"This was the culmination of a steady newspaper and police campaign to drive 'reds' out of Columbus. For days the newspapers, led by the Scripps-Howard 'Columbus Citizen', had, in effect, invited their readers to take vigilante action by printing pictures of the house, its occupants, giving the address and telephone number.

"After several nights of threatening phone calls, visits from toughs who tried to beat him up, rocks and concrete being hurled through the windows, Frank Hashmall, Communist Party official, after appealing vainly for police protection, fled with his wife and their 9-months old infant.

Complete Shambles

"Then the vigilante attack came. A mob collected before the house and broke all the windows. The police arrived and soon left. The vigilante mob then battered down the doors and wrecked the interior of the house. Furniture was overturned and smashed, drawers were pulled out and their contents trampled on. Venetian blinds were torn apart, all electric light bulbs smashed. When the mob was finished the place was a complete shambles.

"When the mob had finished the police arrived and ordered it to disperse. No arrests were made." Then follows a series of reports of the gangsterism of hired capitalist hooligans against activities on the part of various sections of the American Labour movement, including the trade unions.

Let those who are supporting the drive against "Communism" here learn from these scandalous happenings in the U.S.A. the implications so far as the Labour movement is concerned.

PRESENT COST OF MILITARISM IN THE U.S.A.

Here are the estimated Federal Government expenses for 1947-48. Note how future wars, past wars, and war preparations account for more than 71% of the total budget.

	Per Cent.
FUTURE WARS	\$10,776,000,000
<i>(War Department, Navy Department Terminal leave for enlisted personnel, Stockpiling of strategic materials etc.)</i>	
	29.0
PAST WARS	\$12,294,000,000
<i>(Veterans' services, Pensions, Insurance, Re-adjustments, Benefits, Hospitals, Other services, Administration Interest on public war debt, etc.)</i>	
	33.0
WAR PREPARATIONS: PROPPING UP WAR ALLIES	\$3,617,000,000
	9.7
WELFARE, HEALTH, EDUCATION, INTERNAL EXPENSES, ETC	\$6,989,000,000
	18.8
OTHER	\$3,517,000,000
<i>(General government, Refunds, Reserve, etc.)</i>	
	9.5
TOTAL BUDGET. ..	\$37,193,000,000

Vehicle Strike

(Continued from Page 1.) the issue, the Executives should have exposed the policy and fought against it.

No Organised Collections

Widespread support, the creation of working class solidarity is an important factor for the success of any strike. The work of the District Strike Committees was good in many respects, though varied.

The main weakness was the fact that no collections were organised. The fact that the men were receiving strike pay should not have deterred the organisation of solidarity collections. Circulars to branches and factory collections represent the strongest weapon in the hands of striking workers. Support on this basis shows the employers that the workers are ready for a long fight and that they have support in their struggle.

Coupled with a clear opposition to the wage freeze, the vehicle builders appeal would have gained a good response from organised labour.

Role Of The Communist Party

During the early part of the strike, the "Daily Worker" took a sympathetic attitude to the strike. In view of the change in the Communist Party line last November, when Harry Pollitt declared that the main task of the Party was to defend the standards of the workers, and in view of their vociferous opposition to the wage freeze, this was expected. The vehicle builders accepted the support of the "Worker" with sympathy and enthusiasm.

The course of the strike, however, exposed this support for the sham it was.

On Thursday, April 22nd, the "Daily Worker" forecast the

acceptance by the Unions of the terms offered by the employers, ruling out arbitration. On Friday, this theme was further developed by George Sinfield's article "Inside Industry." Brother Stewart, reporting on behalf of the Executive to the Glasgow workers, stated on April 25th, that as the result of an article in a national newspaper on Thursday, the attitude of the employers stiffened on the eve of settlement, and for this reason the Executive recommended return to work without any concessions having been won.

The paper could only be, and was understood to be, the "Daily Worker."

The articles in the "Daily Worker" which proclaimed victory even before the Union Executives had considered the terms, showed the bosses that a settlement was on the cards, in fact, almost certain. The "Worker" gave a valuable weapon to the bosses which the Trade Union officials did not fail to use.

The leaders of the Communist Party may argue that this was a mistake. But every worker knows that any hint of readiness to settle before terms have been reached, only serves to strengthen the employers. In any case, the "Daily Worker" and Sinfield have the responsibility to explain their action. Perhaps the Communist Party leadership will explain it away as a Right wing attempt to foist responsibility onto them. The truth is otherwise.

The Communist Party factions in the two Unions were instructed over the week-end to vote in favour of a return to work. In Glasgow these instructions were given by Henderson, Communist Town Councillor.

The disgust of the rank and file C.P. militants can be seen by the voting which was 7-5 in favour of the return, with one abstention.

POLICY OF THE R.C.P.

The Revolutionary Communist Party stands for the establishment of a system of society in which class divisions and the exploitation of man by man have been abolished and the introduction of a communist mode of production and distribution in which people produce according to their ability and receive from society according to their needs. The R.C.P. declares this to be an international task, to be undertaken by the British working class in close collaboration with the workers and exploited masses of all lands, and is united for this purpose on a world scale with revolutionary Marxists of other lands in the organisation of the Fourth International. Towards the attainment of its goal, the R.C.P. strives to win the support of the majority of the British working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers' Government, on the basis of the following transitional programme:—

1. The nationalisation of the land, all atomic processes, all large financial, insurance, industrial and distributive and transport enterprises without compensation and their organisation on the basis of an overall production plan, with control of production at all stages in the hands of democratically elected committees of workers and technicians.
2. Foreign trade to be concentrated in the hands of the State.
3. Abolition of the national debt with provision for the repayment of small savings.
4. Abolition of business secrets. All company books to be open to inspection by the Trade Unions and Workers' Committees.
5. Luxury hotels and mansions to be requisitioned and all existing housing space, to be controlled and allocated by tenants' committees. An end to luxury building and the establishment of a State-financed national housing plan, drawn up and operated in collaboration with the building trade unions and tenants' committees.
6. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers goods in short supply and the fixing of prices in collaboration with and under the control of committees elected from the co-operatives, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shopkeepers.
7. A rising scale of wages to meet any increase in the cost of living, to be assessed at regular intervals by workers' and housewives' committees and the trade unions, with all wages based on a guaranteed minimum; a falling scale of hours with no reduction in wages to absorb the unemployed, who must be fully maintained while not working; a maximum week of 40 hours without loss of earnings.
8. Abolition of the Monarchy, the House of Lords and the law of inheritance; the immediate repeal of all strike-breaking and anti-labour laws, and the introduction of full electoral rights for men and women in the armed forces.
9. Dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia; abolition of conscription and military law; clear out the reactionary officer caste; for the election of officers from the ranks. The establishment of military schools by the trade unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker-officers.
10. Withdrawal of police protection from fascist meetings; illegalisation of anti-semitism and the propagation of race hatred of any description. For direct workers' action through the formation of defence guards based on a united front of all working class organisations to combat fascist provocation and defend workers' organisations, premises, and meetings from fascist attacks.
11. Immediate freedom for the colonial peoples to choose their own form of Government and the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.
12. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; for the overthrow of the privileged Stalinist bureaucracy and the re-introduction of workers' democracy in Russia.
13. An end to secret diplomacy; a peace without annexations or reparations based upon the self-determination of nations; the unconditional withdrawal of British troops together with all occupation forces from foreign soil.
14. Unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a United Socialist States of Europe and for world socialism.

Please Help! Every Penny 'Counts

Readers of the "Socialist Appeal" are aware that our paper has been the subject of a libel action by the employers of Savoy Hotel Ltd.

It is well-known that the "Socialist Appeal" has no wealthy backers. Its support comes from the pennies of the working class. It can ill-afford such libel actions.

An agreed statement is published in this issue of the "Socialist Appeal", and a sum of money is to be paid to Savoy Hotel Ltd.

Added to this, our legal expenses are considerable.

Up to the present, workers in Trade Union branches, in factories, including catering workers, have rallied to the assistance of the "Socialist Appeal". But the amount received is by no means sufficient to cover our needs.

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