

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Editorial

WOLVES OVER ITALY

With cynical disregard for the "Atlantic Charter", the "United Nations Charter" and all the other professed aims for which the recent war was supposed to be fought, the most humiliating "peace" terms are being imposed on the new Italian Republic.

In 1943, Mr. Churchill proclaimed that Italy could "work her passage home", by which he meant that if the Italian people participated in the last stages of the war against Germany, she would be let off lightly.

Labour Leaders Sell Out to Steel Bosses

BY JOCK HASTON

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT HAS MADE A SHAMEFUL CAPITULATION TO THE STEEL BARONS IN ITS PROPOSED PLAN TO NATIONALISE THE STEEL INDUSTRY.

This retreat in face of the threats of the Steel monopolists not to co-operate with the Government in its plan for nationalisation and indeed to sabotage that plan, has been prepared step by step during the past few weeks.

The final capitulation is revealed in a statement issued by the Minister of Supply, Mr. Wilmot, and especially in the comments of the capitalist press on that statement.

Nationalisation Shelved

The original aim of the Government had been to set up a co-ordinating Board for the Steel industry, which would also prepare a more or less speedy (according to Labour Party standards) plan of nationalisation, but this latter proposal is to be shelved in the actual Board which is being set up and treated separately. Thus the statement which defines the task of the Board has the following to say:

The Board will "concentrate, under the Minister, on the supervision and development of the industry and on the exercise of such continued direct control

become a State owned capitalist trust, but to remain as a privately owned monopoly trust, to work in conjunction with the State. The effective control will remain with the given group of monopolists but the workers will be tied and chained with the bureaucratic State regulations.

This is the economic structure to which Fascism has given classic expression, and has nothing in common with the aims and aspirations of the workers who put Labour into Power.

Patriotism—At A Price!

The lack of that "patriotism" in the capitalists, which they are so concerned to instil into the minds of the working class, is seen by the statement in the *Daily Telegraph* dealing with the reactions of the financiers in the City of London to the Ministry of Supply statement:

"Yesterday's announcement by the Government of its revised policy in relation to the steel industry will have the desirable effect of releasing the break on capital development which has held back plans involving very large expenditure over the past

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AFRICAN MINERS APPEAL TO BRITISH LABOUR - Strikers Beaten Underground

BY C. VAN

SIX OF THE RAND'S BIGGEST GOLD MINES WERE CLOSED DOWN ON AUGUST 13th BY A STRIKE OF 50,200 NATIVE MINE WORKERS. THEY ARE DEMANDING HUMAN CONDITIONS AND A MINIMUM WAGE OF 10/- A DAY.

The Government's methods of dealing with the African miners equal in terror, those of any fascist regime. Miners who staged a sit-down strike at Nigel mine were followed underground and attacked by the police. In other mines defenceless workers were chased to work from compounds by armed police. Other workers were shot down and crushed under heavy army lorries.

A procession of tobacco workers marching to attend a meeting were stopped by the police who gave them three minutes to disperse, and then charged them with pick-handles, batons, truncheons, slashing them to pieces.

Pregnant women in the procession were trampled on and kicked, knocked down and left injured lying on the road.

The police drove back more than 4,000 Africans, who were marching towards Johannesburg, and also made charges into the mine compounds. After police had arrested a large number of strikers, for refusing to go on the morning shift at Robinson Deep and Nourse mines, 66 people appeared in court for refusing to start work.

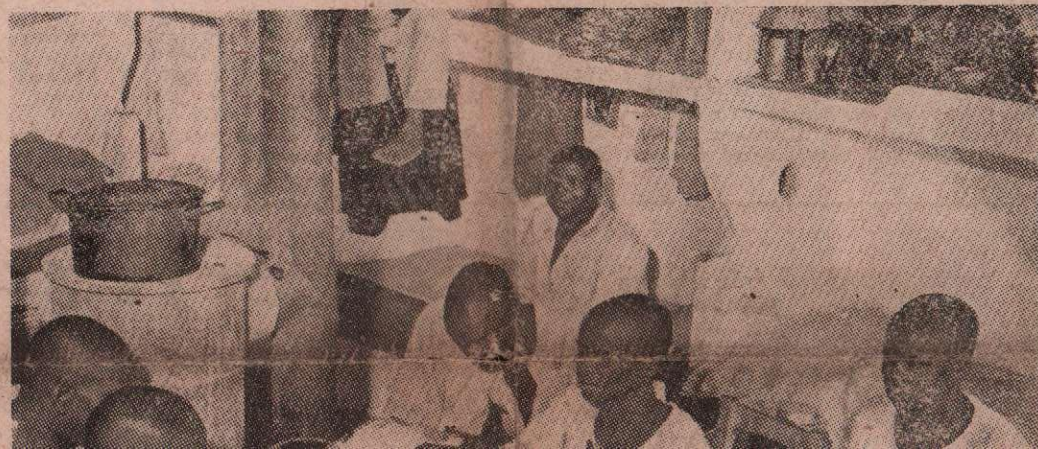
After three days, official police stated that 4 Africans had been killed, 41 seriously injured, and 405 injured in clashes.

SMUTS NOT INTERESTED

General Smuts, the great "democrat", has stated he was not concerned because the strike was caused not by legitimate grievances but by "agitators"!

African miners are appealing to the British Trade Union Congress for support in their demand for the elementary right to strike. The organised British working class movement has the duty and the responsibility to bring pressure to bear on the reactionary Smuts' Government to grant the African workers their democratic right to strike.

See back page.



Successful Meeting on Palestine

Packed Hall — Lively Discussion in East End

REPORTED BY R. RALPH

A highly successful public meeting on Palestine was held in East London on August 19th. This was the first public meeting to be organised by the East London Branch of the R.C.P., and the hall was filled, the audience numbering about 150.

Keen interest was sustained throughout the meeting, and the period of questions and discussion was most lively.

Comrade Ajit Roy, who spoke first, dealt with the "divide and rule" policy of British imperialism in Palestine, and showed how the struggles of the masses there were linked up with the anti-imperialist struggle in India and the other colonial countries.

Comrade Dan Tamary, of Palestine, who spoke next, dealt with the Zionist policy of racial discrimination against the Arabs, in the establishment of separate Jewish economy, and the exclusion of Arabs from workshops and trade unions.

The third speaker, Comrade Jock Haston, exposed the reactionary role of the Labour Government in carrying out the old imperialist policy, and in its refusal to dismiss General Barker (the G.O.C. in Palestine, who recently issued a rabidly anti-semitic diatribe to the troops there) and to cleanse the General Staff of reactionary and anti-semitic elements. He also referred to the growing anti-

semitism in Britain, pointing out that only a united working class, both Jew and Gentile, on a programme of militant socialist struggle could effectively counter-act tendencies towards a new fascism.

He said that no British Socialist worthy of the name could demand that the Arabs open the gates—themselves an oppressed people of our own imperialists. He concluded with the point that to open the gates of Palestine was not even an immediate solution to the problem of the homeless Jews in Europe. We must, on the other hand, demand that the opening of the gates of Britain, America, South Africa, South America, the Soviet Union and all other countries that could easily absorb such an influx of refugees—which Palestine, in any case, could not. But there could be no final solution to the Jewish problem while capitalism remained.

In the lively questioning and discussion that followed, Zionists of various shades, as well as local Communist Party members took part.

An important point relating to C.P. policy was raised by an Austrian Jewish refugee in the audience, who pointed out that Stalin refused to allow refugees to enter Russia, when they most needed refuge, from 1933; on the contrary refugees were still streaming to the West.

This meeting was a greatly encouraging feature in the development of the Party in the traditionally militant East End of London.

up and treated separately. Thus the statement which defines the task of the Board has the following to say:

The Board will "concentrate, under the Minister, on the supervision and development of the industry and on the exercise of such continued direct control functions as may be necessary in such matters as production, distribution and prices."

"It will not, however, be part of the functions of the Board or of the members from the Steel industry to advise the Government in connection with plans for public ownership."

That the plan to nationalise the industry—which is to be treated as a separate matter from the Board—will be put off for a long time (if not completely shelved and replaced with some agreed compromise with the Steel Barons) is evident from the statement issued by the Iron and Steel Federation, whose secretary said that the Minister's statement was agreed upon with that body, and that the Federation had no complaints and would co-operate on the Board.

Monopolists' Control — Workers Chained

Thus, even the steps taken to restrict the anarchy and sabotage of the coal capitalists, such as were taken in the case of the coal mines, will not be taken in relation to steel. The Steel industry, unlike the Coal industry, is not to

supply and distribution. "Yesterday's announcement by the Government of its revised policy in relation to the steel industry will have the desirable effect of releasing the break on capital development which has held back plans involving very large expenditure over the past few months. So long as the fundamental differences of view between the Government and the leaders of the industry remained unresolved it was inevitable that modernisation and expansion plans calling for many millions of money should be held back." This is a clear indication of how the capitalists are prepared to forget all their slush about "duty" and "patriotism" and turn the money taps off or on when it suits their pockets, and do all in their power to sabotage the "national" interest.

State Capitalism Versus Socialism

The organised workers must not become involved in the controversy over the merits of complete nationalisation and the organisation of the industry as a State-owned capitalist trust, as against the form of monopoly working in conjunction with the State. This is the controversy that the *Daily Worker* wishes to involve militants in. Both forms of monopolisation are in the interests of the capitalist class.

(Continued on Back Page.)

PARATROOPERS VICTIMISED

263 Paratroopers of the 13th Battalion (Lancashire), are now being court-martialled at Klung, Lahore. They are charged with alleged "mutiny" arising out of their concerted protest against the admittedly intolerable camp conditions under which they were living.

Their action took the form of a refusal to attend any parades. Officer witnesses at the trial, have been forced to admit in their evidence, that the conditions of the camp were 'filthy', 'muddy and waterlogged'. The paratroopers were living in tents and sleeping in inches of mud and water.

Despite the filthy conditions that existed in the camp the men were expected and ordered, to appear on every parade with their equipment always clean and freshly blanched, a task which, under such conditions, was impossible. There is no doubt that the refusal of the men to carry out these orders was the only possible reply that they could make to the unnecessary "bull" imposed upon them by their "spit and polish" officers. Yet, even some of the officers expressed their disgust, at the court-martial proceedings, with the filthy conditions the men were forced to live in. Major P. R. Krells, second-in-command of the Regiment concerned, stated that, "I myself was so disgusted with the whole business that I spent most of my time in the company office."

Irksome and petty disciplinary dictates imposed upon the paratroopers was also a factor in their justified discontent. The R.S.M., in his evidence at the trial, has admitted that he had issued strict orders that N.C.O.s and the rank and file were not to fraternise together or go about in each other's company. All sorts of petty restrictions and disciplinary actions were taken against the men.

The placing on court-martial trial of these paratroopers, when conditions in the camp were clearly filthy and intolerable, is an act of vicious injustice. The pressure of the organised workers in Britain, in the case of the R.A.F. militants similarly victimised in the India demonstrations early this year, succeeded in obtaining their release. We must exert the same organised pressure on behalf of the victimised paratroopers now on trial. The Labour movement here must demand their immediate and unconditional release and that there be no victimisation by the officer caste.



SOUTH AFRICAN MINERS—Hired for nine months live in "compounds" surrounded by barbed wire. In the background are their bunks; in the foreground their "dinner table" Allowed out only by "pass" on Sundays, they are separated from their families and live like prisoners. See back page.

Homeless Move In

BY FRANK ROWE

The seizure by homeless workers of ex-Army camps and other vacant accommodation during the past two weeks has struck terror into the hearts of the champions of capitalist private property.

The Ministry of Health accuses the so-called "squatters" of queue-jumping. "Odham's Press" declares that the 'Nation's Housing Plan is in peril.' "The Star" sadly reports that the Freed Land Hotel near Oxford, has been occupied by fourteen families, and dismally comments "A private building, not unoccupied Government property."

The movement, which has spread throughout the length and breadth of the country and has resulted in thousands of workers housing themselves in unoccupied accommodation, has forced even the capitalist Press to report the terrible conditions in which these families previously existed.

A casual observation of a few reports provide the reader with an idea of the magnitude of the struggle. From Watford, Essex, Bristol, Durham and Coventry the story is the same. The homeless worker is no longer prepared to accept the nightmare conditions, which, up till now he has been forced to tolerate.

West Ham

True to the traditional militancy of West Ham, the workers have seized very nearly every camp in the district, and are determined to retain them.

At the Waddington Road Camp a young mother told a "Socialist Appeal" representative of the conditions in which her husband, baby and herself have lived.

Living in one room in a condemned house with the ceiling

falling in, she had patiently waited two years on the Borough Council's Housing List, only to be told by an official, in reply to a question regarding the health of her child "Have your baby adopted".

The temporary Chairman of the Camp also spoke of his previous accommodation, which consisted of three small rooms in a condemned hovel. These three rooms, his family shared with another. He had been on the Council's waiting list for eighteen months. Finally, he was told by a Town Hall clerk that since he had not lived in West Ham before 1938, he was not eligible for re-housing by the Council.

Sitting in his newly-acquired hut, which was formerly the Officers' Mess, he expressed the solid unity that exists between the workers in the Camp, which consists of sixteen huts. He spoke, moreover, of their determination to resist any attempt to evict them.

Eviction—By a Labour Council

The occupation of two huts in Seven Kings Park, Ilford, however, presents a different story.

The occupants stayed only a matter of a few hours, and were evicted by the Council, on which a Labour majority sits.

Thirty-six hours later, these huts were being demolished by a team of building workers—rather, it seems, than allow them to fall into the hands of any prospective "squatter."

This, however, is no isolated instance. In certain cases other camps and their occupants have suffered similar treatment. The main reason for this is that where strength, provided by unity, does not exist, squatters have been evicted, but where workers are

strong enough, no power on earth can possibly move them.

The "Socialist Appeal" therefore believes that workers in such camps should establish Committees to represent them, and form a nation-wide link between these settlements. Moreover, we believe that it is necessary for our fellow-workers in these camps to link themselves with, and gain the sympathy of the local Trades Councils, Trade Unions, and the working-class movement in general.

However, the measures suggested here can only be a partial solution to the problem. It is necessary to nationalise all land, without compensating the boss class one iota. We must also crush the parasitic financial trusts which force the prices of houses up to an undreamed level. We call for the control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of the tenants' committees; a state financial plan for the building of houses, and the direction of this plan by the Building Trade Unions and Tenants' Committees.

Finally, let us remember the words of Frederick Engels, who dealt with the housing question in a pamphlet seventy years ago. He stated emphatically: "How is the housing question to be solved? In present day society, just as any other social question is solved: by the gradual economic adjustment of supply and demand, a solution which ever reproduces the question itself anew and therefore is no solution."

The words of Engels ring as true to-day as they did in his time. There is no solution of the housing question under the anarchic economic system which prevails to-day. The solution of this question is the same as the solution of any other social question—that the workers must take the destiny of society into their own hands.

General Barker (the G.O.C. in Palestine, who recently issued a rabidly anti-semitic diatribe to the troops there) and to cleanse the General Staff of reactionary and anti-semitic elements. He also referred to the growing anti-

contrary refugees were still streaming to the West. This meeting was a greatly encouraging feature in the development of the Party in the traditionally militant East End of London.

FRENCH WORKERS SEIZE POSTAL SERVICE

Paris—16th August.

The week's strike of the Postal Workers has resulted in the Government signing a decree giving the Postal workers wages equal to those received by workers in private industries. The strike took place in spite of the sabotage of the Stalinist Trade Union officials.

Strike Committees were formed in each centre as an alternative to the treacherous union leadership. On Friday, August 2nd, the strike was general; not a single letter, phone call or telegram could be sent. The public, directly affected, followed the movement with intense interest.

The strike of the postal workers is part of the general struggle of the French working class for wage increases. But the postal workers had another specific demand: the raising of wages of state employees to the level of other workers.

Telephones Taken Over

For weeks, the agitation and pressure of the postal workers mounted until, on July 30th, the Stalinist officials were compelled to agree to a 10-hour demonstration strike. This was in line with the Stalinist tactics, as developed during the recent wage struggles: to dissipate the workers' energies in useless demonstrations, and by the use of demagoguery, in the attempt to maintain their hold over the movement. The plans of the Stalinists would have strangled the movement, but in Bordeaux and Lille, the post workers were insistent upon their demands and decided to continue the struggle until these were met. They would not be fobbed off with promises.

The workers in these areas took hold of the telephones and telegraphs, and informed the workers in other areas of their struggle and their aims. The strike then began to spread to other towns in France.

Stalinists Slander Strikers

From the very beginning the Stalinist officials opposed the strike, accusing the strikers of being tools of a foreign power, of being provocateurs. Publicly the leadership of the Postal Federation (Confederation Generale du Travail) attacked the strikers in the most despicable tones. Monmousseau, in "L'Humanite", organ of the French Communist Party denounced the "Hitlero-Trotsky-

ists" as being responsible for the movement.

The National Strike Committee was composed of some militant workers sympathetic to the Trotskyists, and workers close to the Socialist Party or reformist syndicalists.

Political Struggle Developed

A political struggle immediately developed between the official Stalinist Union leadership and the Strike Committees. One of the principle demands of the workers was the convocation of an emergency Conference to remove the official leadership. Already several regional and local Stalinist leaderships have been removed from office.

The capitalists and the Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.) attempted to utilise the struggle of the postal workers to undermine the Stalinists in the C.G.T. Thus, the fact that the strike committee was met by the Minister of Finance (member of the M.R.P.) and the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs (member of the S.F.I.O.), not only weakened the authority of the C.G.T. leadership, but also prevented the possibility of the Strike Committee coming under the influence of the more militant forces. The S.F.I.O. leadership will attempt to bring the movement against the Stalinist officials under its own control. The absence of a strong and politically conscious Left wing would indicate that they will be successful in this attempt.

P.C.I. Supported Struggle

The Parti Communiste Internationaliste, (French Trotskyists) printed a special issue of "La Verite", devoted entirely to the struggle of the postal workers. A special leaflet calling for solidarity with the postal workers was also issued in the Paris region. Members of the P.C.I. played a leading role in Paris, Lille and other regions in the formation and work of the Strike Committees.

This is the first great and promising struggle of the French workers since 1944, and cannot have anything but the most disastrous results for the anti-working class politics of the Stalinists, and despite their manoeuvres, the reformists.

French Stalinist Slanders Postal Strikers — See Page 3

Militancy in Wales Steel and Tin Plate

By V. BREACH

(Daymen's Representative, Neath Galv.)

WORKERS IN THE STEEL AND TINPLATE WORKS OF SOUTH WALES ARE IN REVOLT AGAINST THE CONDITIONS OF WORK PREVAILING IN THIS ANTIQUATED INDUSTRY.

Recently (as reported in the "Socialist Appeal" the Millmen in almost every one of the numerous tin works in Wales carried through a well organised strike in support of their just demand for a 25% reduction in hours and a 25% increase in wages.

The strike was unsuccessful but it taught a lot of the workers—especially about the top leadership of the Union (BISAKTA) who invariably try to force the men back to work in the name of the "constitution". Lincoln Evans and Co. are in for a very busy time in South Wales unless they realise that the men are in no mood to be trifled with any more.

The latest manifestation of militancy comes from the Millmen in the galvanised steel sheet mills, where a battle for the principle of the Guaranteed Week is in progress.

The Guaranteed Week is an issue which affects the workers in every section of the industry, and ever since it was known that the E.W.O. was to be lifted the men have made it quite clear that they wanted to retain the Guaranteed Week.

Four Day Guarantee—With Conditions

The BISAKTA leaders signed an agreement with the employers for a FOUR day Guarantee—and even this will not apply if:

- (1) The worker is absent without reasonable cause at any time during the previous week.
- (2) If work in any department is stopped through a strike in any other department in the undertaking.
- (3) If any plant or unit of a plant (mill e.g.) is idle through the absence of any operatives without reasonable cause during a shift or part of a shift.

Workers Reject Agreement

When the agreement—which had

injustice. Especially is this so in the old fashioned mills in West Wales, where the very nature of the work compels the workmen to take occasional shifts off (as it does in mining) and where, because of the high degree of skill required of every man in the crew, an absent man cannot be replaced by a labourer or a worker from another department.

The Branches demanded the scrapping of these conditions altogether and also Five days instead of four to be guaranteed.

Receiving no satisfaction from the leadership of the Union, a strike was inevitable. And, as with the Millmen in the recent Tin Works Strike, the Steel Workers displayed a magnificent sense of organisation.

A Central Strike Committee was elected representing the five sheet works involved in the Neath, Swansea and Llanelly districts. Although declared "unofficial" the Committee received the loyal support of everyone in the Union—except, of course, people like Lincoln Evans, the General Secretary.

After a stubborn struggle lasting over three weeks—in some cases as long as seven weeks—the Committee, by a narrow majority, decided to return to work in good order to give every opportunity to the top leadership of BISAKTA to make good their promise of "peaceful negotiations". But it is clearly understood by the men that unless Lincoln Evans and Company secure the men's just demands and succeed in gaining some amelioration in the present conditions of work, then determined action will follow.

Preparing For Future

The reasons for the new spirit of militancy which is sweeping through the Welsh steel and tinplate mills is not hard to find. The whole of the industry has been declared redundant. As soon as the modern strip mills which it is planned to build in Port Talbot and Swansea are in production thousands of steel workers will be cast on the scrap heap. Meanwhile there is no strip mill in production (except Ebbw Vale) and the employers in the antiquated mills are trying to sweat every last ounce out of the workmen in the interests of the easy profits to be made out of the present favourable

INDUSTRIAL LINE Solidarity with WITTON Strikers

WAGE - LABOUR CAPITAL

**THE MANAGEMENT :
"MANAGERIAL
FUNCTIONS MUST BE
PRESERVED."**

15 August, 1946.

The strike is in its 10th week (on going to press). On August 15th, the Hendon Trades Council called a meeting of delegates from Branches and Shop Stewards Committees in support of the strike. About 200 workers were present.

Bro. Aplin, the convenor, gave a short account of the cause of the strike, the refusal of the management to negotiate with the Shop Stewards on questions of redundancy on the grounds that this was a "Managerial Function." The Witton James workers are fighting for the right to control "hiring and firing"—a question of vital importance to all workers.

Bro. Aplin pointed out that although there is no mass unemployment now, we have to face "redundancy" in the future. Even now, 30,000 workers in Glasgow are "redundant." In times of mass unemployment the only way to prevent the management from smashing the Unions is by control of hiring and firing. He considered that the control of hiring and firing would constitute a first step towards workers' management of the factories. In line with this idea the slogan of the Strike Committee is: "ALL POWER TO THE ORGANISED WORKERS."

The Actions of the E.C. and District Committees

Although the North London District Committee of the A.E.U. the Reading District Committee, and three of the Scottish D.C.'s, including Glasgow, have come out in support of the strike, the Executive Council of the A.E.U. has sent a circular to Union Branches instructing them not to support it, and have ordered the

Witton James workers to return to work.

Bro. Aplin visited the A.E.U. office at Northampton, and was there informed that the resolution from the North London District Committee, urging the E.C. to support the strike, had not been received. The North London D.C. itself has played a very dubious role, first supporting the strike, then coming out against it, then supporting it again as a result of pressure from the A.E.U. Branches and the Hendon Trades Council—which, to its honour, has supported the Witton James workers throughout.

Two resolutions were proposed from the floor and carried nem con—one to the E.C. demanding that they support the strike; the other to the Hendon Trades Council asking them to carry out a publicity campaign to win support for the strikers.

Attempts to Split Workers

Bro. Aplin's report was followed by plenty of questions and discussion. Most speakers warmly supported the strike and brought messages of solidarity from their branches and factories. One or two speakers took up a defeatist attitude, and as this is the line along which the reactionary forces inside the working class movement are trying to split it over Witton James, and break the strike, we must deal with it.

The propagandists of this splitting line cunningly camouflage themselves under the slogan of "Unity". They argue that since the Union leaderships are against the strike, it would be wrong to continue it, as this would split the unions. They aver that, if the support of the E.C.'s concerned cannot be won by resolutions from the branches, then it would be wrong to have demonstrations of solidarity with the Witton James workers, and the best thing they can do is to go back to work.

How to Win the E.C. Mobilise the Workers

The dominating theme of the whole discussion was the need to win the support of the official machinery. The Witton James workers are not only up against the management of this particular firm: they are fighting the powerful G.E.C. Combine and the Witton James Company or we have own, would go bankrupt affecting a few more weeks, but the conditions of the Employers' Federation. A victory for the workers on the issue of control of hiring and firing would be a victory over the employers as a whole.

The question is how to mobilise the support of larger sections of the workers, and how to wring official recognition from the E.C.'s? The two tasks are inseparable.

If we mobilise ourselves and demonstrate to the E.C.'s that we fully support Witton James workers, and intend to stand no nonsense, they will be forced to climb down and support the strike.

As for the argument that such action would be splitting the union, all we can say is, that the E.C. of the A.E.U. in taking the action it has done against its own members at Witton James, are themselves splitting away from the members.

Bro. Aplin in winding up the discussion pointed out that unity should be complete in the rank and file, and that the three unions in the factory had worked together in perfect unity. He said we could not blame the E.C. if we did not also blame ourselves even more, because it was our job as members of the union to see that the E.C.'s did what we put them there to do. He also said he hoped to get more publicity than they had done so far, from the "Daily Worker" which had given far more space to advertisements for Beecham's Pills.

In the *Socialist Appeal* we begin the republication of sections of that classic introduction, the pamphlet, "Wage-Labour and Capital". The original pamphlet material expounded by Karl Marx in a series of lectures delivered to the German workers in 1847, and was originally published as a series of articles in the *Neue Deutsche*. The present text was revised by Frederick Engels, life-long collaborator and the ideas brought up to date to conform with the later discoveries of Marx, in his introduction of 1891: "This pamphlet is not as Marx wrote it in 1849, but would have written it in 1891."

The *Socialist Appeal* in republishing this material is to introduce afresh among the widest circles of workers the basic ideas of Marxian economics in the conflict and society between wage-labour and capital. — Editor.

CHAPTER I

Hungary, the starvation of Ireland into submission—these were the chief events in which the European class struggle between bourgeoisie and working class was summed up, and from which we proved that every revolutionary uprising, however remote from the class struggle, might be a great victory for trade unionism, but will be making a start on getting the union into shape for the great battles that lie ahead.

Worker, the Sway of the Capitalist.

2. The Inevitable Ruin of the Middle Classes and the so-called Commons under the present system.
3. The Commercial Subjugation and Exploitation of the

HAROLD ATKINSON,
256, HARROW ROAD,
LONDON, W.2.

MINERS STRUGGLES



The following article, written by Comrade Johnny Jones, a South Wales miner, tells the story of one of the great struggles waged in defence of the Seniority Rule, now under attack. JOHNNY JONES

What I relate here took place 21 years ago.

The moon was bright that night. All street lamps and local colliery electric lamps showing no light. Men fidgeted nervously, expectantly waiting. Then down in the valley martial music played by brass bands could be heard, and the unmistakable tramp, tramp of marching feet following.

It was the expected Ammanford contingent coming to swell the ranks of the Anthracite miners who were on strike because of the Welsh owners' attack on the sacred custom: "The Seniority Rule—First man in—last man out."

After their arrival in the darkness, one could, with the help of

We marched on until, as if pre-arranged, about half of the demonstration separated, while the others kept on the road which led to the Brynteg Colliery. I was with the Brynteg marchers.

The Colliery, when we arrived at the sidings, looked as if it were idle. No sign of life except a little smoke curling into the sky from a build-or two. Everyone stood waiting as if expecting something to happen. Then a whistle resounded in the morning air, and as if it were the signal, everyone ran to a sort of platform to wait for the arrival of the engine that could be seen coming in the distance, dragging two or three coaches behind it.

I did not understand at the time why we were waiting for the train, so I enquired. An old stalwart of the Anthracite answered: "We are waiting for the black sheep of the Anthracite Fold," and grimly



through the absence of any operatives without reasonable cause during a shift or part of a shift.

Workers Reject Agreement

When the agreement—which had already been signed!—was presented to the South Wales Branches for approval it was rejected with indignation.

In the first place the men had demanded a FIVE day Guarantee. Secondly, the conditions attached to the Guarantee were a clear attempt to discourage militant T.U. activity by paralysing those on strike. And, finally, to stop the guarantee when a Mill is rendered idle through the absence of one of the crew was a flagrant piece of

thousands of steel workers will be cast on the scrap heap. Meanwhile there is no strip mill in production (except Ebbw Vale) and the employers in the antiquated mills are trying to sweat every last ounce out of the workmen in the interests of the easy profits to be made out of the present favourable position of the export market. But the men have an eye to the future. They know only too well that if they can't secure an improvement in wages and conditions now, when labour is in great demand, they will stand little chance when half of them are unemployed and the other half are working in mills that are engaged in a cut-throat competition with the modern mills in the U.S.A. and Canada.

What is now required is a common programme and united action of all sections and departments of the trade to secure a decent standard of life. Militants in the industry must take the initiative in pressing for more democracy and more rank and file control over the top leadership of the Union. And, finally, every sort of pressure must be brought to bear on the Labour Party to prevent the Government not only from selling out to the Steel Barons, but also to compel them to introduce real workers' control into a Nationalised Steel industry.

EVERY WORKERS' LIBRARY SHOULD CONTAIN:

The First Five Years of the Comintern

By LEON TROTSKY (Recently Published)

10/-



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Articles on:

PALESTINE

DEMOCRACY AND BONAPARTISM

MALAYA



Nr. 6.

August 1946

DIE ENTINDUSTRIALISIERUNG DEUTSCHLANDS.

Die Entindustrialisierung Deutschlands erscheint heute als

Above is a reproduction of the paper "Solidarität" issued by the Revolutionary Communist Party in the German language. It appears twice monthly, first starting publication four months ago. The paper is growing in popularity and is only limited by paper restrictions. The current issue deals with the following subjects: Condemnation of Allied deindustrialisation of Germany; Press cuttings from our international publications; Criticism of the foreign policy of the British Labour Government; British women protest against the confiscation of houses in Hamburg; "Send Your Slaves Home—Protest Cry of German Prisoners; Tragedy of Socialism in One Country; and the arrest of the Bulgarian Trotskyists.

GAS STRIKE VICTORY

AFTER AN "UNOFFICIAL" STRIKE LASTING SEVEN DAYS, THE 2,000 GAS-WORKERS HAVE RETURNED TO WORK. HAVING, BY THEIR DIRECT ACTION, FORCED THE GAS COMPANIES TO CONCEDE AN INCREASE OF WAGES. THIS DECISION WAS TAKEN AT A MASS MEETING OF THE 2,000 STRIKERS IN THE HOLBORN HALL, LONDON, ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14th.

The Union leaders were not prepared to go further than the "arbitration" table, which the workers had learnt by long and bitter experience, meant interminable delays. In this situation the gas-workers went forward and organised their strike action without the Union leadership.

Solidarity With Unskilled

The maintenance men, skilled and unskilled, put forward as their demands, an increase of 5d. an hour for all craftsmen and proportionate increases for the semi and unskilled workers. Also, that the trade status of labourers who worked as "mates" to the craftsmen and semi-skilled men, be recognised and paid accordingly.

The first offer made by the Gas Light & Coke Co. to the men, was, 3d. an hour increase for fitters, 2d. an hour for the turners and machinists, 1d. an hour for semi-skilled workers, and nothing at all for the mates. This offer was de-

cisively rejected by the craftsmen who insisted on the demand that any increases made must also apply to the mates, or unskilled men. This solidarity between the skilled and unskilled gasworkers was one of the big steps forward in this strike. For years the gas bosses have sought to create a barrier between the craftsmen and labourers in the industry by paying any increases won by the men at varying rates instead of a uniform increase for all. In this latest struggle the men made it one of their foremost conditions for any settlement, that any wage demands met, must apply to all, the skilled, semi and unskilled workers alike.

Increases Won — Short of Demands

The agreement under which the men finally decided to resume work gave an increase of 2d. per hour to all the maintenance workers, skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled. Some sections, organised in the A.E.U., mainly the engineers and boiler-makers, were conceded 3d. an hour increase or the district rate,

whichever is the higher. The status of labourers employed as mates to the craftsmen and semi-skilled workers, was also established, and they have won the increase also.

This wage agreement, arrived at between the Gaswork employers and the men's union representatives, as a result of the men's strike action, falls far short of the men's demand of 5d. an hour.

The mood of the 2,000 strikers at the final Holborn Hall meeting on August 14th, while they accepted the present agreement as a basis for restarting work, was one of determination to continue pressure on their Union leaders to persist for the fulfilment of the original demand. In a spirit of uneasiness the workers listened to their Union leaders on the platform, extolling the meagre concessions wrung from the employers, as a great "victory". These same Union bureaucrats who refused to support the strike now came forward as the champions of the men. Notably Reid, Secretary of the London D.C. of the A.E.U., let fall the real reason why the bosses have been forced to give even this small

increase. Speaking to the meeting, Reid said, "I can tell you that if it had not been for the action which you men took we should have fared worse in the negotiations!"

Thus after months of abortive negotiations between the Union leaders and the Gas employers, Reid was forced to admit that a decision was only reached when the workers took strike action.

Whilst these recent struggles have ended in wage increases for the workers in the industry, the increases won by no means meet the justified demands put forward by the men. It can be foreseen that new eventual struggles will break out in the gas industry as the cost of living rises and inevitably sweeps away the present increases won.

In these coming struggles the gas workers must demand that their Trade Union leaders conduct a genuine struggle in the interests of the men. By their refusal to support the strike actions of the men the Trade Union bureaucrats sabotage the interests of the gasworkers in their struggle against the gas employers.

were on strike because of the Welsh owners' attack on the sacred custom: "The Seniority Rule—First man in—last man out."

After their arrival in the darkness, one could, with the help of the moon see a solid mass of human beings all speaking in hushed tones. Then the hushed whispers receded to an ominous silence as helmeted police patrolled the near vicinity.

An hysterical giggle of a young girl somewhere in the mass of the demonstrators was heard which uplifted the tension. Then again the hushed whispers that increased in volume resembling the sound of the sea tide washing in and out of the beaches.

To the majority gathered, it seemed nobody was in charge, but with the sudden breaking out of music from the bands, everyone in the square, as if taking orders from an invisible source, formed ranks of fours and followed the band, leaving the square deserted. The march from G.C.G. Square to Crynant of 17,000 Anthracite Miners had begun.

All through the night marching feet thumped on the hard tarmac surface of the road leading to Crynant, echoing across the valleys, the strains of the bands' music encouraging all. Also awakening the sleeping villagers as we passed through the villages. Many stood half-dressed by the doorways of their homes, while some peered from open bedroom windows.

As the dawn was beginning to break, the music from the bands had ceased, others carrying the heavy instruments of the tired bandmen. Also the demonstrators were silent. The villages left behind us, we were now on the long stretch of the "Starving" (a bleak unproductive common between Ystradgynlais and Crynant) and many broke the ranks to rest by the wayside. With the rays of the dawn now more pronounced, everyone could see from the rising ground of the "Starving" in the morning's haze—the village of Crynant. And huddled like two black beetles, the two collieries—Rock and Brynteg Collieries—the only pits working in the anthracite area, contrary to the strike action policy of the whole combine.

It was about 5.30 a.m. as we passed the village, the bands now playing martial music. The only signs of life one could see were a few curtains of the workmen's homes slowly shifting a little and a face or two gazing out. A few mongrels yelped at us in the streets. Otherwise it was like a deserted village.

coming in the distance, dragging two or three coaches behind it.

I did not understand at the time why we were waiting for the train, so I enquired. An old stalwart of the Anthracite answered: "We are waiting for the black sheep of the Anthracite Fold," and grimly added "They won't be black tonight." I came to understand.

The train came in slowly, but many had gone to meet it, and I could see a few of the workmen who occupied the coaches leaning out of the windows. Others, scared, had jumped on the rail track and were running pell-mell the way the train had come. All the other workmen who came to the platform were not treated too rough, considering. There were but one or two incidents.

At the Rock Colliery things went comparatively smoothly.

From then on, the two collieries saw the error of their ways, taking part in the stoppage until its conclusion.

The strike, because of the dismissal of one man (Wilson) at an Ammanford Colliery, was unprecedented in its fury. Riots took place at Ammanford. Police were drafted to every village in hundreds. Many workmen were sentenced to imprisonment.

The strike ended after 7 weeks, with the declaration by the Management of the colliery where the dispute originated that "the pit was closing down for ever."

Twenty-one years have gone since this march. The majority who took part in the stoppage are probably dead. Their sons are now the anthracite men. Will they be as good custodians of the Seniority Rule?

It is doubtful—that is, if we take the happenings at the Steer Pit, G.C.G. as a criterion. Recently four workmen (two infusion men, one haulier and one surface workman) have been sacked for alleged "misconduct" under the notorious Essential Works Order.

These men had to be without any dole for 6 weeks, pending appeal to the Court Referees. If reinstated, the guaranteed wage will be paid to them. If the Management's case is allowed, the "sacked men" lose all unemployed benefit for 6 weeks, also their jobs.

These men are the first cases of dismissals in violation of the Seniority Rule since the 1925 Anthracite Stoppage, which bears ill for the mineworkers in the future in all coalfields.

In the days ahead, the miners will have to face worse attacks on their customs and wages, because state capitalism cannot solve the miners issue.

The acceptance of the violation of the Seniority Rule without a struggle is a weakness that can be remedied by imitating the "Old Workmen of the Anthracite Action". Any other way will only bring defeat and the loss of valuable customs that our predecessors fought gallantly to achieve and maintain.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Editorial

WOLVES OVER ITALY

With cynical disregard for the "Atlantic Charter", the "United Nations Charter" and all the other professed aims for which the recent war was supposed to be fought, the most humiliating "peace" terms are being imposed on the new Italian Republic.

In 1943, Mr. Churchill proclaimed that Italy could "work her passage home", by which he meant that if the Italian people participated in the last stages of the war against Germany, she would be let off lightly.

Misled by their leaders, and especially by the leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties, whom they trusted implicitly, hundreds and thousands of Italys youth came over to the Allied side, believing that the spokesman for British imperialism would keep his word.

They joined the Partisan bands behind the German lines and waged guerilla war. They organised strikes in the factories in the North and seriously hindered the operation of the German war machine. When the British and American troops finally broke through the Gothic line last year and swept into the Lombardy Plains they found that most of their work had already been done for them by the Partisans. City after city fell into their hands without a struggle.

Thanks to the activities of the workers, the huge industrial plants of Milan, Genoa and Turin were practically intact.

If this is what Churchill meant by "working their passage home", the Italians had more than paid their fares in full.

More than this. If this was a war against Fascism, as the Allied propagandists claimed it to be, then the Italian people can register the first decisive victory of the war; for it was their action which was chiefly responsible for the downfall of Mussolini and the collapse of the twenty-year-old Fascist regime. If this was a war for "democracy"—they had got rid of the obsolete monarchy had set up a "Democratic Republic" in its place. What more could the Allied victors demand of them?

During the recent elections, the streets were placarded with posters: "VOTE FOR THE MONARCHY AND THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS WILL AID US!" Despite this promise, the majority of Italians voted for the Republic. But that the forces of reaction were still strong was proved by the narrow republican victory in the Referendum. Now these reactionary elements are being further strengthened by the harsh peace terms which

IN MEMORY OF LEON TROTSKY

SIX YEARS AGO, ON THE 21st OF AUGUST, 1940, LEON TROTSKY DIED FROM A DEATH-BLOW STRUCK BY ONE OF STALIN'S PROFESSIONAL GPU ASSASSINS. BY THIS DASTARDLY CRIME THE WORLD WORKING CLASS SUFFERED THE GRIEVOUS AND IRREPLACEABLE LOSS OF THE LAST OF THE GREAT MARXIST TEACHERS AND LEADERS.

The name of Trotsky will always be linked indivisibly with those of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as the greatest figures in working class history. Comparing Marx and Lenin, Trotsky once wrote, "Whenever we want to give a concise answer to the question: Who was Marx? we say . . . Marx is the author of Capital. And when we ask ourselves—who is Lenin? We say 'Lenin is the author of the October Revolution'."

And now we can add the name of Trotsky among those of the great Marxists. And in reply to the question—"Who was Trotsky?" we say, "Trotsky was the creator of the Fourth International." That was his greatest work.

Permanent Revolution

Even when a youth, Trotsky was an acknowledged and outstanding Marxist writer, and his potentialities as a theoretician were early perceived. Trotsky developed, while still in his early twenties, his brilliant theory of the "Permanent Revolution", which was based on the conception that, in the modern epoch, it is impossible for the belated and reactionary bourgeoisie in the backward countries to carry to completion the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution. And, following from this, that the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution can only be solved by the coming to power of the working class, which would not stop short at the democratic tasks, but would have to pass onto Socialist ones. The October Revolution in Russia, which passed through this experience, brilliantly demonstrated the correctness of Trotsky's theoretical contribution to Marxism.

Together with Lenin, Trotsky, led the Russian working class and peasants to victory over the reaction and to the establishment of the first victorious workers' state, the Soviet Union.

Founder of the Red Army

It was Trotsky who built up and led the Red Army to triumph during the crucial years in Russia. The Stalinist falsifiers of the history of the Russian Revolution have tried to erase the magnificent and courageous role Trotsky played in his leadership of the Red Army. This falsification was answered in advance, when, speaking of Trotsky, Lenin said to Maxim Gorky, "Could anyone point out to me another man who could organise an almost model army in a year, and even win the respect of military

days of his exile and isolation, to which the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy condemned him, together with Natalia, his wife, and their son, Sedov.

In the great traditions of scientific socialism, Trotsky knew that what is decisive in the last analysis, is the power of correct ideas.

The Nature of the Soviet Union

Marx and Engels created the method of scientific socialism. And Lenin continued this great work. He was the principle leader and creator of the Bolshevik Party and the Russian Revolution. Lenin's role in these great events are historically established and beyond dispute. History will also establish the great contributions to mankind made by Trotsky by his analysis and explanation of the nature of the degeneration in the Soviet Union.

In a period of world set-back and reaction for the working class, the situation in Russia was characterised by the rise of the bureaucracy epitomised in the person of Stalin.

In the last years of Lenin's life, and together with him, Trotsky, as Lenin's closest collaborator, conducted a struggle against the rising bureaucracy. With the death of Lenin the bureaucratic caucus in the Bolshevik Party, led by Stalin, created a political rationalisation of the privileged position in Russia, and introduced the anti-Marxist theory of "Socialism in One Country." They turned away from the struggle for world socialism. Trotsky, exiled and isolated, continued the struggle.

Persecuted for 10 years by G.P.U.

The degeneration in Russia opened up a period of political bankruptcy and prostration before world capitalist reaction in the international communist movement. In conformity with the needs and interests of the ruling bureaucracy in Russia, they began their falsification of the history and traditions of the Bolshevik movement and the Russian Revolution. The Old Guard of the Bolshevik Party were hounded, persecuted, tortured and finally, physically annihilated.

For 10 years the professional assassins of the Stalinist GPU sought to end the life of Trotsky, the last remaining link with Leninism, and inspirer of the world revolution. In this bitter period of persecution and terrorisation, the GPU murderers succeeded in striking down the two sons of Leon and Natalia Trotsky, and no less than seven secretaries of the "Old Man" were assassinated.

Despite these blows, Trotsky, guarded night and day by co-thinkers and co-workers, carried on his great work for the building of the Fourth International. Until finally, the tragic blow fell in August 1940. A paid GPU agent, called Jacques Monard, alias Frank Jason, succeeded in driving an ice-pick into Trotsky's brain. The monstrous blow at Trotsky's brain was a deliberate act. For in Trotsky's brain was concentrated all the theoretical understanding of 90 years of Marxism, together with the lessons learnt from participation in and practical experience of the great revolutionary events of the 20th century. When Trotsky died, the working class lost its greatest brain.

By this monstrous crime against Trotsky, Stalin sought to deal a death-blow to the world revolutionary forces also, this was the real objective behind this vicious act. But Stalin has not succeeded! The growing ranks of the Fourth International are living and conclusive testimony to the fact that Trotsky had done his work too well for Stalin to so easily destroy it. By his writings, and programmatic contributions, Trotsky had placed the Fourth International on the firm and unshakeable foundations of Marxism.

Long Live The

Fourth International

The loss of "Our Old Man", is irreplaceable, and inflicted a great blow at the world working class and the Fourth International. But because of his example in word and deed, by his unextinguishable revolutionary optimism, revolutionary communism marches on. Trotsky is dead—but Trotskyism lives on in the Fourth International! On this anniversary we send our deepest comradesly sympathy and greetings to Comrade Natalia Trotsky, the staunch companion of Leon Trotsky in all the years of their exile and isolation. Comrade Natalia carries on the struggle to which "Our Old Man" dedicated his eventful life.

The triumph of the ideas of the Fourth International in the coming struggles for world socialism is the historical measure of Trotsky's contributions to the welfare of mankind. We can pay no other tribute, Trotsky would wish no other tribute, than the determination on the part of every revolutionary communist to dedicate his or her life to building the instrument that will lead the world working class and exploited everywhere to their final emancipation from capitalism towards world socialism—the Fourth International. With confidence we can echo the grand last words of our beloved teacher, Trotsky: "GO FORWARD—I AM SURE OF THE VICTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!"

J.S.

How Stalinist
L'Humanite
Dealt with



BRITISH AND AMERICANS WILL AID US!
Despite this promise, the majority of Italians voted for the Republic. But that the forces of reaction were still strong was proved by the narrow republican victory in the Referendum. Now these reactionary elements are being further strengthened by the harsh peace terms which the victors seek to impose on the country. Nationalistic slogans are replacing the revolutionary ones of yesterday. Open fascist provocation is on the increase.

The role of the leaders of the working class parties, the Socialists and Communists (Stalinists), is a particularly revolting one. With their aid, many workers are falling into the nationalist trap and are coming to believe that their interests are identical with those of the capitalist. They do not realise that when the capitalist press—ably seconded by the Stalinist and Socialist press—laments the loss of Briga and Tenda to France, that it is the financial groups with investments in the hydro-electric plants in these two countries whose voice is being heard; that the question of Trieste menaces the capitalists who own the mines and the marine works in this area.

The reformist and Stalinist leadership of the G.G.I.L. (Italian T.U.C.), has joined with the De Gasperi Government in prohibiting strikes during the current discussions of the Italian peace treaty, so that the "solidarity of the nation" can be displayed to the outside world. Thus Togliatti and his "Communist" party reveals once more that 'Browderism' is by no means dead as far as the Stalinists are concerned.

But the weapons of the working class are not identical with those of the bosses and their state. We do not go begging for crumbs from the table of the four over-fed victors. The working class resists the peace terms by strengthening their organisations and fighting against the attempts of the bosses to place the whole burden of the "peace" on their shoulders. They appeal, not to the Bevins, Byrnes and Molotovs, but to the solidarity of the workers of Britain, America and Russia. To every question, to every problem they give a different answer to that given by De Gasperi, who is the representative of the capitalist class. They do not propose any ready-made solutions, imposed from above, for Venezia Giulia (Trieste), Briga, Tenda or the Tyrol. These questions must be decided in accordance with the principles of self-determination—let the people of these territories decide their own destinies! On the loss of the colonies—they object only that the peoples of Libya, Somaliland and Eritrea have simply exchanged one set of masters for another. Down with Imperialism! For the independence of ALL colonial peoples!

These are the weapons with which the Italian working class, under the leadership of the Partito Operaio Comunista (Italian Section Fourth International) fights the capitalist peace treaty.

But the fight against the Peace Treaty is not one for the Italian workers alone. The Labour Government must be made to realise that the workers of Britain repudiate a peace of revenge in which the Italian workers will be sucked dry. The signature of a representative of the Labour Government to the proposed peace will be an act of betrayal to every principle for which the international Labour Movement has stood. We must demand, further, that all British troops in Italy and in Venezia Giulia be brought home. The sons of British workers must not be used to keep other workers in subjection.

in his leadership of the Red Army. This falsification was answered in advance, when, speaking of Trotsky, Lenin said to Maxim Gorky, "Could anyone point out to me another man who could organise an almost model army in a year, and even win the respect of military experts, We have such a man."

World Socialist Revolution

Trotsky personified the very idea and essence of world revolution and internationalism. And from the very beginning of his participation in the early revolutionary circles, Trotsky in his writings, speeches and by his actions, attempted to teach the working class and toilers of the world, that the only way out from the crisis with which capitalism threatens to engulf mankind, is the world socialist revolution.

To this fundamental aim, Trotsky's whole life was dedicated. He was imbued with the very spirit of revolutionary optimism. His Marxist understanding gave him an unshaken confidence and faith in the future of the working class. This revolutionary optimism Trotsky carried with him wherever he was hounded into exile. He continued the struggle for international socialism in the blackest



ONE OF THE LAST PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN OF COMRADE TROTSKY WITH COMRADE NATALIA, MEXICO CITY.

Australian Trotskyist Candidate

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY TO CONTEST WEST SYDNEY SEAT

SYDNEY—July 10th, 1946.

For the first time in its history, the Revolutionary Workers' Party Australian Section of the Fourth International, has entered the election arena.

Comrade Jack Kavanagh, Chairman of the Central Committee of the R.W.P. and an active fighter for labour since 1908, is candidate for Parliament from West Sydney, reports the "Militant", organ of the R.W.P.

Comrade Jack Kavanagh entered the Socialist movement in 1908, became President of the Vancouver Building Trades Council in 1912-13, actively opposed the First World War, and was one of the foundation members of the Canadian Communist Party. He went to Australia in 1925, becoming organiser of the Sydney Trades and Labour Council in 1928-29.

In 1934 he was expelled from the Communist Party for "refusing to agree that Leon Trotsky was a counter-revolutionary". He joined the Fourth International shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War.

This election campaign cannot but have the most fruitful results for Australian Trotskyism, bringing before the workers the programme and policy of the Fourth International.

Bulgarian G.P.U. Victims

RELEASE COMRADE GATCHEFF

The following full story of the arrest of our Bulgarian comrades, including Dr. Dimiter Gatcheff, leading Bulgarian Trotskyist has just been received from Sofia, Bulgaria.

On June 13, during the night, our comrades Dimiter Gatcheff and Dr. Mintcho Telbizoff had a visit from the "Communist" militias at their home in Plodviv. Thorough searches were made, literature, pamphlets, some issues of our Party paper, "Communist Appeal" in mimeographed form, letters, etc., were taken away and the comrades arrested.

For three days the comrades were held in the cellars of the Inspection of the Regional Militias at Plodviv. On June 16, they were brought by railway to Nird-est. From our private information we know that already they are in the village of Dulovo, between Toutracan and Silistra (Dobroudja).

Their whereabouts are kept strictly secret. The administration of the Ministry of Interior refuses to let even the Regent Professor Venelin Ganef know, to whom the wives of our comrades protested.

On June 17 the militias continued their arrests of our comrades. In Plodviv comrade Liliana Pirintchieva has been arrested, but

we have no detailed news. Other arrests are expected.

The militias use the fact that the fascist reaction is reorganising itself and preparing for a Coup d'Etat as a pretext to smash our movement—a movement which day by day has drawn the attention of the workers and revolutionary elements in the Workers Party (Stalinist) to this fact.

During the last months our Party has carried out a very great activity. It launched, through its paper and public demonstrations, the slogan of "Workers' and Peasants' Government" and appealed energetically to the Bulgarian Workers Party (Stalinist) for a united front against reaction. This appeal was welcomed by numerous members of the Stalinist Party. But the leadership of the Stalinist Party had lost its head. Faced with the danger of reaction, instead of looking for support from amongst the sincere defenders of the workers' democratic rights of September 9, 1944—the international communists—the Stalinists re-enforced and increased their attacks against us. Thus, they aided reaction.

Only an immediate and large campaign can help our comrades. We look to Europe and America for help.

Note: From recent news we know that comrade Gatcheff is deported to an isolated village

(Dobroudja) in very dangerous conditions for his health which is already bad. Comrade Mintcho Telbizoff is probably deported to another place in the same region.

Detroit S.W.P. Headquarters Set on Fire

DETROIT, U.S.A.—

Anti-Labour vandals set fire last week to the S.W.P. (Trotskyist) headquarters in Detroit while a public meeting was being held.

All comrades and visitors escaped without injury but considerable damage was done to the hall and equipment. A typewriter and mimeograph machine were damaged: quite a bit of furniture and fixtures were destroyed; a large quantity of literature was rendered useless. The damage will total at least \$500.00.

This has been a heavy financial blow to the Detroit comrades. It will be hard for them to repair the loss without help. The entire party is helping to replace the damaged equipment and literature in the task of quickly putting the Detroit headquarters back into operation on a full-scale basis.

How Stalinist L'Humanite Dealt with Postal Strike

by G. MONMOUSSEAU.

"The Postal Workers, who are struggling for their demands, do not want to become instruments of political manoeuvres in the service of reaction.

"REFUSAL TO ALLOW THE TRADE UNION LEADERS ON THE MICROPHONE

"Our statement that the Postal workers have carried the strike beyond the limits set by the Union, and that in this they were victims of political provocation, was not made light-mindedly.

"The first information which we have received, shows that a handful of agents in various regions, who under the occupation collaborated with Petain, having a hold on the telegraph and telephone service, were at the base of the indiscipline movement which risked the compromising of the Postal workers, their Union and the C.G.T. in the eyes of the French population.

"As a result of this, the 10th Province, which comprises 8 districts, had its communications with the Trade Union cut since the outbreak of the strike.

Telegrams were sent from Lille, Bordeaux and Clermont-Ferrand, giving instructions to continue the strike. Some of these telegrams were fraudulently signed by "La Federation Postale", but the largest number of them carried no signature at all, and no communication with Paris was possible.

"In the Doubs region, a Chief Controller, who had been surrounded by some Hitlero-Trotskyists, stopped all telegraphy.

"Not only there, does first-hand information reveal a coup-de-force, which should be exposed in full daylight.

"The organ of the Hitlero-Trotskyists leaves no doubt as to the origin and aim of this provocation.

"These provocateurs have hidden the adventurist character of the strike by bringing it out into the public.

"This strike aimed at nothing else than to utilise the legitimate discontent of the Postal workers in order to strike a blow at democracy and the working class, at a time when reaction makes every effort to provoke disorder for aims which are only too clear.

"Now the postal workers are taking on themselves the task of establishing order where some provocateurs believed that they held the elements of a vast political manoeuvre for the benefit of reaction."

INSIDE GREECE

Bevin Backs The Reaction

BY ALICE CONDOS

This article is written by Comrade Alice Condos who recently came to this country from Athens, where she participated in the Trotskyist movement.

The following letter was sent to us by one of our Greek comrades:

"... It became dark; we crossed a river and directly over the bridge stood two men on the road, staring quietly and concentrated at our vehicle. We drove along slowly and saw in the lights of the reflector some ten people lying stretched out in the meadow besides the road. Then we speeded up and the passengers all at once began to sing—thanksgiving of reconalescents!

"We entered Larissa at 11 o'clock in the night. Almost no people in the formerly lively streets. The hotel-keeper explained that they feel like during the German occupation: after 9 o'clock it is much safer to be at home. Every night two or three political murders. The names of the murdered are sometimes in the news-paper, never of the murderer. Only one right-wing paper continues to appear—out of three local newspapers.

"Next morning I found the café closed; not simply closed, but the iron-curtains down and barricaded with iron-rods. I asked for information: only the third or fourth replied with a shrug: 'The café? One hand-grenade; not the sole one of course. Another at the office of the democratic newspaper. Several wounded. The owner of the café? He was lucky; before the café was destroyed he was already on the way to his exile on an island.'

"Every day some unwanted are sent in exile. Nevertheless the prison is crowded in such a manner that people had to be herded together in the police-station, over hundred at one time. Even UNRRA protested. The reply: no reason for alarm, shortly people will be dismissed. In Kal, they arrested a trade-union leader: the next morning he was 'dismissed': his body, kicked to death, was found in the street.

"My friend the teacher? During the 'purge' of the civil-service, most of the intellectuals of the left—active or not active—are hiding; they flee to the bigger towns. If they have nowhere to hide, they go to the mountains. Thus they endanger their families; the police may arrest and imprison them instead of the missing 'criminal'.

"The activity of the bands is

village. Inevitable result: some villagers are found suspicious and murdered on the spot. Yesterday eight villagers between Larissa and Ayia. A few days ago six shepherds in an Olympian village. I left a village on a byway; 200 metres after the village the driver showed us a reddish spot on the earth: the mayor was murdered here yesterday.

"The Government carries on a war of destruction against the left-wing. The observers—to safeguard the Right's decision in the coming plebiscite—are provided with interpreters who get their job after political examination by Government officials. No wonder, that they don't see and hear anything of the terror which differs in nothing from the good old Fascist one. . . ."

Hopes In British Labour

Such are the tragic conditions which, in Greece today, confront every person opposed to the Government's fascist ideals. A year ago, when the people of Britain showed their disapproval of Churchill by such an overwhelming majority, the people of Greece hailed it as the beginning of a new era. Their 'sugar-daddy', as they ironically called him, was out at last. His name, associated with the bloody events of December 1944, stank in their nostrils. A powerful socialist Government, elected by the British workers, would surely put a stop to violent persecutions by the reactionaries in Greece.

Events have proved the contrary. After the civil war, in January 1945, Cabinet succeeded Cabinet, all distinguished by a total lack of economic policy and a complete absence of popular support. U.N.R.R.A. imported goods vanished down the drain through lack of a co-ordinated plan. And the Budget therefore remained hopelessly unbalanced. Moreover, the big men continued to make fortunes not on a black market—there was none—but on a totally uncontrolled one. Profits of 500 to 1,000% were common. Inflation and a wild fluctuation of prices were the result.

Quislings and collaborators were either given a scandalously mild sentence or remained untouched. Army and police alike were left in

Government, put into power and sponsored by Great Britain.

Background to General Election

Not only the Stalinist Party, but all the leaders of the Centre (about 10 of them), had one by one announced their decision to abstain also. They considered that terrorism against non-fascists, particularly in the villages, was such that a fair election was inconceivable. The Allied observers—some of them irresponsible youngsters of 20, others, like the French Count de Simoni, alleged agents of the Gestapo during the occupation—were of little use.

This was the background to the general elections of April 1946. And Bevin knew it perfectly well. The then Greek Prime Minister, Sophoulis—a man of the Centre—had wired to him a few days before, begging for permission to postpone them, adding that the situation would not permit of free elections and giving his reasons at length.

But Bevin was adamant. The elections took place. The day after, the electoral lists were revised, bringing an approximate total of 60% abstention down to the farcical figure of 9.3. And, as everyone had known beforehand, Greece found herself saddled, thanks to Mr. Bevin, with a Government of black reactionaries.

Labour M.P.s Boosed

On the 1st of May, before the new Government had had time to muzzle the workers, a huge meeting took place in Athens. Two British Labour M.P.s, then visiting Greece, were invited to speak. To begin with they were politely applauded. After a few sentences from the first, the crowd began to look doubtful. But when he declared: 'The British Government's policy is 100% socialist' unprecedented storm of boos and jeers broke out. The wretched speaker was forced to add hastily: "I mean inside Great Britain" . . .

Since then the situation has deteriorated fast. Greece is going over the edge. The quislings have been released, the leaders of the T.U.C. arrested, the Unions dissolved. All signs point to the imminent return of the King, that "somber Danish Prince" who brought dictatorship and disaster to Greece before the war. Bevin has joined the chorus led by General Franco. Tsaldaris: "Fascism is dead, long live Neo-Fascism."

The Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International, has learned with great pleasure of the unification of the various Trotskyist groups into a single section and sends fraternal greetings to our Greek comrades.

CONDITIONS of the AFRICAN MINER

This is the first large-scale strike action on the part of Native workers in many years, and recalls the heroic years after the end of the first imperialist war when the white boss class had nightmare visions of the swiftly approaching end of their rule.

Annual Wage — £47

No one with any knowledge of the wages and conditions prevailing in the Rand mines—the richest gold fields in the world—will deny the elementary justice of the strikers' demands. The annual

648 lost their lives through mining accidents.

A Native worker, who is permanently partially disabled on the mines gets from £1 to £20 in compensation. If he is permanently totally disabled or killed, a lump sum of £30 to £50 is paid. Very often, too, through ignorance of the law, Natives do not always receive the full compensation they are entitled to.

Anti-Trade Union Legislation

WAGE - LABOUR AND CAPITAL

With this issue of the *Socialist Appeal* we begin the republication of sections of that classic introduction to Marxian economics, the pamphlet, "Wage-Labour and Capital". The original pamphlet was made up from the material expounded by Karl Marx in a series of lectures delivered to the German Workingmen's Club of Brussels in 1847, and was originally published as a series of articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1849. The present text was revised by Frederick Engels, life-long collaborator and friend of Karl Marx, and the ideas brought up to date to conform with the later discoveries of Marx. In the words of Engels in his introduction of 1891: "This pamphlet is not as Marx wrote it in 1849, but approximately as Marx would have written it in 1891."

The aim of the *Socialist Appeal* in republishing this material is to introduce afresh among the widest circles of our supporters and friends a discussion on the basic ideas of Marxian economics in the conflict to be found in modern society between wage-labour and capital. — Editor.

CHAPTER I

Preliminary

FROM various quarters we have been reproached for neglecting to portray the economic conditions which form the material basis of the present struggles between classes and nations. With set purpose we have hitherto touched upon these conditions only when they forced themselves upon the surface of the political conflicts.

It was necessary, beyond everything else, to follow the development of the class struggle in the history of our own day, and to prove empirically, by the actual and daily new-created historical material, that with the subjugation of the working class, accomplished in the days of February and March 1848, the opponents of that class—the bourgeois republicans in France, and the bourgeois and peasant classes who were fighting feudal absolutism throughout the whole continent of Europe—were simultaneously conquered; that the victory of the "moderate republic" in France sounded at the same time the fall of the nations which had responded to the February revolution with heroic war of independence; and finally that, by the victory over the revolutionary workingmen, Europe fell back into its old double slavery, into the *English-Russian* slavery. The June conflict in Paris, the fall of Vienna, the tragedy in Berlin in November, 1848, the desperate efforts of Poland, Italy and

Hungary, the starvation of Ireland into submission—these were the chief events in which the European class struggle between bourgeoisie and working class was summed up, and from which we proved that every revolutionary uprising, however remote from the class struggle its object might appear, must of necessity fail until the revolutionary working class shall have conquered;—that every social reform must remain a Utopia until the proletarian revolution and the feudalistic counter-revolution have been pitted against each other in a world-wide war. In our presentation, as in reality, Belgium and Switzerland were tragicomic caricatures of the bourgeois model State of the bourgeois monarchy, the other the model State of the bourgeois republic; both of them, States that flatter themselves to be just as free from the class struggle as from the European revolution.*

But now, after our readers have seen the class struggle of the year 1848 develop into colossal political proportions, it is time to examine more closely the economic conditions themselves upon which is founded the existence of the capitalist class and its class rule, as well as the slavery of the workers.

We shall present the subject in three great divisions:

1. The Relation of Wage-Labour to Capital, the Slavery of the

CHAPTER II

What Are Wages?

Let us take any worker; for example, a weaver. The capitalist supplies him with the loom and the yarn. The weaver applies himself to work, and the yarn is turned into cloth. The capitalist takes possession of the cloth and sells it for twenty shillings, for example. Now are the wages of the weaver a share of the cloth, of the twenty shillings, or the product of his work? By no means. Long before the cloth is sold, perhaps long before it is fully woven, the weaver has received his wages. The capitalist, then, does not pay his wages out of the money which he

spins, bores, turns, builds, shovels, breaks stone, carries hods, and so on—is this twelve hours' weaving, spinning, boring, turning, building, shovelling, stone-breaking, regarded by him as a manifestation of life, as life? Quite the contrary. Life for him begins where this activity ceases, at the table, at the tavern seat, in bed. The twelve hours' work, on the other hand, has no meaning for him as weaving, spinning, boring, and so on, but only as earnings, which enable him to sit down at a table, to take his seat in the tavern, and to lie down in a bed. If the silk-worm's object

Worker, the Sway of the Capitalist.

2. The Inevitable Ruin of the Middle Classes and the so-called Commons under the present system.
3. The Commercial Subjugation and Exploitation of the Bourgeois classes of the various European nations by the Despot of the World Market—England.

We shall seek to portray this as simply and popularly as possible, and shall not presuppose a knowledge of even the most elementary notions of political economy. We wish to be understood by the workers. And, moreover, there prevails in Germany the most remarkable ignorance and confusion of ideas in regard to the simplest economic relations, from the patented defenders of existing conditions, down to the socialist wonder-workers and the unrecognised political geniuses, in which divided Germany is even richer than in duodecimo princelings. We therefore proceed to the consideration of the first problem.

* It must be remembered that this was written over forty years ago. To-day, the class struggle in Switzerland, and especially in Belgium, has reached that degree of development where it compels recognition from even the most superficial observers of political and industrial life.—Translator's Note to 1891 edition.

—are hiding; they flee to the bigger towns. If they have nowhere to hide, they go to the mountains. Thus they endanger their families; the police may arrest and imprison them instead of the missing 'criminal'.

"The activity of the bands is growing from day to day. The fugitives from town and village, well-armed, descend from the mountains. Sometimes real battles are fought out between them and the police, reinforced by armed civilians. The left-wing band retires to the mountains. The Government forces interrogate the inhabitants of the

Profits of 100 to 1,000% were common. Inflation and a wild fluctuation of prices were the result.

Quislings and collaborators were either given a scandalously mild sentence or remained untouched. Army and police alike were left in the hands of fascist elements. (The creator of the German-inspired Security Battalions, General Ghonatas, responsible for the murder of thousands of leftists, is today a member of the Cabinet). They had persecuted the Greek workers under the name of the 3rd Reich; they now continue to do so under the name of their own

STEEL SELL OUT

(Continued from Front Page.)

In the case of the coal mines, the formation of the State-owned monopoly means that the inefficiency of the coal capitalists has been so dangerous to the well-being of the whole of the capitalist class that, through the State machine, it has decided to subordinate the interests of the coal capitalists to the interests of the class as a whole. In the case of the steel monopoly, the special interests of the steel barons still predominate but are partially restricted by the State.

State-owned capitalist trustification, or State monopoly private trustification, whatever form the capitalist organisation of industry takes, will not aid the working class. However hard individual groups of capitalists fight over the form of trustification, and however hard the reformers of capitalism try to involve the working class in this struggle, the decision will be in the interest of the capitalists and not of the workers. The capitalists

will still continue to draw their tribute in the form of interest from the toil and sweat of the working class.

For nationalisation to act in the interests of the working class, it should be carried out without compensation to the former owners, and the industry operated democratically on a national scale under the control of the working class; this is the method of Socialism. It is to this end that the struggle must be conducted in the organisations of the working class.

If the workers do not call a halt now, if they allow this shameful capitulation to go unchallenged, it will be but a forerunner of further capitulations in the future.

No Retreat before the Steel Barons. Utilise their open blackmail to deal with them in a ruthless way.

No one with any knowledge of the wages and conditions prevailing in the Rand mines—the richest gold fields in the world—will deny the elementary justice of the strikers' demands. The annual average wage for a "Non-European" worker in the mines is £47; that of a "European" is £390. The figure of £47 includes cash valuation of housing and food.

According to the report published by the Native Economic Commission, the average rate for all underground labour was calculated to be 2s. 0½d. per shift in 1914, and 2s. 2½d. in 1930, and no increase in rates has taken place since. In the same period, price levels rose by over 48 per cent. Wages of the European miner were increased by nearly 20 per cent., while he also received large additional benefits in the nature of provision for pensions and holidays.

In contrast to this, the mine magnates have been raking in colossal profits. Between 1868 and 1932, the volume of gold extracted from the Rand mines amounted to £1,145,000,000. Dividends paid out totalled £245,000,000, out of which £190,000,000 went abroad, chiefly to Britain. Since then the price of gold has risen steeply. In 1937, £15,000,000 were paid out in dividends. Today, with gold at a premium, the profits must be reaching fantastic dimensions.

Slave Camps

Conditions under which the Native miners have to live can only be compared with the worst reports from the Slave Camps of Nazi Germany. They are housed in compounds, each containing from 1,000 to 5,000 Natives. On the Rand there are about 60 of these compounds with their tiers of cement bunks and high brick walls. Here they are herded together, separated from their families, isolated from the outside world for the period of their servitude. An elaborate Truck system ensures that a large proportion of their meagre pay is siphoned back into the pockets of the mine-owners.

3,575 Casualties In Year

Before a Native is recruited for work in the mines, he goes through three strict medical examinations. Something like 25 per cent. of all candidates are rejected on medical grounds—in itself a startling commentary on the malnutrition and poverty prevailing among the native population generally. It may therefore be assumed that only Natives of strong physique and in good condition are finally accepted. Despite this, the death-rate from disease among Native miners is such that in 1937, 2,757 of them died of diseases contracted at the mines. In the same year, a further

law, Natives do not always receive the full compensation they are entitled to.

Anti-Trade Union Legislation

Restrictive laws have made organization into Trade Unions a hazardous task for Native workers. The Riotous Assembly Act and the Pass Laws have been used to remove Trade Union organisers or to prevent their access to Natives in the reserves and compounds. White workers are, by law, allowed to strike after giving the necessary notice as prescribed in the Industrial Conciliation Act, another law, the Masters and Servants Act makes it an offence for Natives under labour contract to withhold service without giving statutory notice of the termination of their contract.

The Native Service Contract Act of 1913 permits the corporal punishment of male Natives up to 18 years of age for any contravention of the Masters and Servants Acts.

Of course, these legislative obstacles have not succeeded in their objective to prevent Native workers from organising and from resorting to strike action. The famous Industrial and Commercial Union (I.C.U.) reached a peak membership of 100,000 in the 1920's, and led many powerful struggles. The Dock workers of Cape Town, the sanitary employees and laundry workers on the Rand have a history of unequalled militancy behind them.

Africans' Forward March

The strike in the mines marks the beginning of a new phase of class struggles in South Africa. The war, with its rapid industrialisation of the country, has awakened the social conscience of tens of thousands of African workers. Many of them fought in the South African Army for "democracy" and a better way of life. They are now determined to secure a little of this much-vaunted democracy for themselves and their children. Neither police charges, tear-gas bombs or repressive slave legislation will be able to halt their forward march.

CORRECTION

We must apologise for an error in quotation in the article, "Shipping Figures Reveal Change", in the last issue of *Socialist Appeal*, which read, "The unsold 3,500 tons are to be added to the reserve fleets. . . ." The quotation should have read, "The unsold 3,500 ships are to be added to the reserve fleets. . . ."

**Send Resolutions of Protest to
South Africa House,
Trafalgar Square, London**

According to the different branches of industry in which they are employed, they would mention different sums of money that they receive from their respective employer for the completion of a certain task; for example, for weaving a yard of linen, or for setting a page of type. Despite the variety of their statements, they would all agree upon one point: that wages are the amount of money which the capitalist pays for a certain period of work or for a certain amount of work.

Consequently it appears that the capitalist buys their labour with money, and that for money they sell him their labour. But this is merely an illusion. What they actually sell to the capitalist for money is their labour-power. This labour-power the capitalist buys for a day, a week, a month, etc. And after he has bought it, he uses it up by letting the worker labour during the stipulated time. With the same amount of money with which the capitalist has bought their labour-power (for example, with two shillings) he could have bought a certain amount of sugar or of any other commodity. The two shillings with which he bought twenty pounds of sugar is the price of the twenty pounds of sugar. The two shillings with which he bought twelve hours' use of the labour-power, is the price of twelve hours' labour. Labour-power, then, is a commodity, no more, no less so than is the sugar. The first is measured by the clock, the other by the scales.

Their commodity, labour-power, the workers exchange for the commodity of the capitalist, for money, and, moreover, this exchange takes place at a certain ratio. So much money for so long a use of labour-power. For twelve hours, weaving, two shillings. And these two shillings, do they not represent all the other commodities which I can buy for two shillings? Therefore, actually, the worker has exchanged his commodity, labour-power, for commodities of all kinds, and, moreover, at a certain ratio. By giving him two shillings, the capitalist has given him so much meat, so much clothing, so much wood, light, etc., in exchange for his day's work. The two shillings therefore expresses the relation in which labour-power is exchanged for other commodities, the exchange value of labour-power.

The exchange value of commodity estimated in money is called its price. Wages therefore are only a special name for the price of labour-power, and are usually called the price of work; it is the special name for the price of this peculiar commodity, which has no other repository than human flesh and blood.

Now are the wages of the weaver a share of the cloth, of the twenty shillings, or the product of his work? By no means. Long before the cloth is sold, perhaps long before it is fully woven, the weaver has received his wages. The capitalist, then, does not pay his wages out of the money which he will obtain from the cloth, but out of money already on hand. Just as little as loom and yarn are the product of the weaver to whom they are supplied by the employer, just so little are the commodities which he receives in exchange for his commodity—labour-power—his product. It is possible that the employer found no purchasers at all for the cloth. It is possible that he did not get even the amount of the wages by its sale. It is possible that he sells it very profitably in proportion to the weaver's wages. But all that does not concern the weaver. With a part of his existing wealth, of his capital, the capitalist buys the labour-power of the weaver in exactly the same manner as, with another part of his wealth, he has bought the raw material—the yarn—and the instrument of work—the loom. After he has made purchases, and among them belongs the labour-power necessary to the production of the cloth, he produces only with raw materials and instruments of labour belonging to him. For our good weaver, too, is one of the instruments of labour, and being in this respect on a par with the loom, he has no more share in the product (the cloth), or in the price of the product, than the loom itself has.

Wages, therefore, are not a share of the worker in the commodities produced by himself. Wages are that part of already existing commodities with which the capitalist buys a certain amount of productive labour-power.

Consequently, labour-power is a commodity which its possessor, the wage-worker, sells to the capitalist. Why does he sell it? In order to live.

But the putting of labour-power into action, i.e., the work, is the active expression of the labourer's own life. And this life activity he sells to another person in order to secure the necessary means of life. His life-activity, therefore, is but a means of securing his own existence. He works that he may keep alive. He does not count the labour itself as a part of his life; it is rather a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity that he has auctioned off to another. The product of his activity, therefore, is not the aim of his activity. What he produces for himself is not the silk that he weaves, not the gold that he draws up the mining shaft, not the palace that he builds. What he produces for himself is wages; and silk, gold, and palace are resolved for him into a certain quantity of necessities of life, perhaps into a cotton jacket, into copper coins, and into a basement dwelling. And the labourer who for twelve hours weaves,

seat in a bed. The twelve hours' work, on the other hand, has no meaning for him as weaving, spinning, boring, and so on, but only as earnings, which enable him to sit down at a table, to take his seat in the tavern, and to lie down in a bed. If the silk-worm's object in spinning were to prolong its existence as caterpillar, it would be a perfect example of a wage-worker.

Labour-power was not always a commodity (merchandise). Labour was not always wage-labour, i.e., free labour. The slave did not sell his labour-power to the slave-owner, any more than the ox sells his labouring force to the farmer. The slave, together with his labour-power, was sold to his owner once for all. He is a commodity that can pass from the hand of one owner to that of another. He himself is a commodity, but his labour-power is not his commodity. The serf sells only a portion of his labour-power. It is not he who receives wages from the owner of the land; it is rather the owner of the land who receives a tribute from him. The serf belongs to the soil, and to the lord of the soil he brings its fruit. The free labourer, on the other hand, sells his very self, and that by fractions. He auctions off eight, ten, twelve, hours of his life, one day like the next, to the highest bidder, to the owner of raw materials, tools, and means of life, i.e., to the capitalist. The labourer belongs neither to an owner nor to the soil, but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belong to whomsoever buys them. The worker leaves the capitalist, to whom he has sold himself, as often as he chooses, and the capitalist discharges him as often as he sees fit, as soon as he no longer gets any use, or not the required use, out of him. But the worker, whose only source of income is the sale of his labour-power, cannot leave the whole class of buyers, i.e., the capitalist class, unless he gives up his own existence. He does not belong to this or to the capitalist, but to the capitalist class; and it is for him to find his man, i.e., to find a buyer in this capitalist class.

Before entering more closely upon the relation of capital to wage-labour, we shall present briefly the most general conditions which come into consideration in the determination of wages.

Wages, as we have seen, are the price of a certain commodity, labour-power. Wages, therefore, are determined by the same laws that determine the price of every other commodity. The question then is, *How is the price of a commodity determined?*

† 'Sell' is not a very exact expression, for serfdom in its purity did not involve any relations of buying and selling between the serf and the lord of the manor, the tributes of the former to the latter consisting in labour and in kind. It is evident that Marx uses here the word "sells" in the general sense of alienation.—Translator.