NEW **PURGES**

the Stalinist regime will survive the immediate crisis, and far from weakening the bureaucracy will strengthen the hold which it has over the country temporarily. The masses do not see any alternative in Russia at the present time, and are fearful of intervention from the capitalist states in the West.

The Soviet economy will make giant strides despite the abuses of the bureaucracy, because of the superiority of state ownership and planned economy in comparison with the private ownership of capitalist countries. Consequently, these measures taken to eliminate private ownership on the land, and the weeding out of certain inefficiencies in production will assist the bureaucracy in overcoming the difficulties inherited by the war and the excesses of the bureaucracy

advances cannot solve the problems of the Soviet Union. The menace of the capitalist differentiation within Soviet society; the uncontrolled domination over the lives and destiny of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. by the despotism of the Kremlin: the bureaucratic graft and privileges; these arise out of the Stalinist system and will still remain. This is not socialism. Only by the overthrow of the Stalinist ureaucracy and the restoration of control by the workers within the Soviet Union, will these capitalistic tendencies be curtailed and eliminated. But in this task the workers will require "the assistance and support of the international working class.

The real dilemma of the Bureaucracy and their method of overcoming it, is indicated by the new position now outlined by Stalin in his interview with Alexander his interview with Alexander Werth the correspondent of the "Sunday Times." In a series of onestions obviously arranged by Stalin himself, he asked:

"Do you believe that with the further progress of the Soviet Union towards Communism the possibilities of peaceful co-operation with the outside world will not decrease as far as the Soviet Union is concerned? Is 'Communism in one Country possible?"

Answer: "I do not dom't that the possibilities of peaceful co-operation far from decreasing may even grow. 'Communism in one country' is perfectly pos-sible, especially in a country like the Soviet Union."

This is a complete revision not only of Leninism, but the position held by the Stalinists in the past. Stalin put forward the theory of "Socialism in one Country" as the way out in his "Foundations of Leasaism" for the first time in 1924, throwing overboard all that Marx and Lenin, and what he himself had put forward in the past. Now, according to Stalin, not Socialism, Communism can be achieved in a single country. This onception has a dual purpose. On

the one hand it is intended as a re-assurance to Anglo-American Imperialism that the Soviet Bureaueracy has not gone back to the programme of "Trotskyism", and does not threaten the overthrow of model investigation but etill wishes world imperialism but still wishes to compromise with it and is still opposed to the proletarian revolu-tion in the West. At the same time, it re-assures the Imperialists that the attacks on capitalism and the re-furbished phrases about Socialism are only intended to fool the world and Russian working class. On the other hand, simul-taneously, a new means of reconciling the Russian masses to their lot can be accomplished by this method.

The fiction that socialism has been achieved in Russia sounds very hollow to the overburdened Russian masses. Consequently, Russian masses, Consequently, Stalin and the bureaucracy must hold out some other perspective for the future. Having abandoned the perspective of world revolution, the Stalinists cannot hold out any hopes to the Russian masses of revolution in the West to come to their aid and assist in building a new world for all. Stalin must develop "Communism" as the per-spective before the Soviet masses in order to try and get them to accept new sacrifices and new burdens after the uninterrupted efforts and exertions of the last two decades.

But the workers of the West, and the Russian workers, will have the last say. For there is no solution other than world communism. With out aid from the workers of othe lands, without the extension of the October Revolution, Russia cannot achieve a socialist system of society in isolation. That is what Marx taught. That is what Lenin taught. That is what the Trot-

> EVERY WORKERS' LIBRARY SHOULD CONTAIN:

The First Five Years of the Comintern

By LEON TROTSKY

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Nuremberg: Our Rulers WAGE LABOUR, Assisted the Nazis

(Continued from Page 1.) Our Rulers Assisted Nazis

As the trial dragged on, the crimes of the Nazis since 1933 were catalogued by the prosecution. That the British, French and American ruling class held up their hands in horror at the war preparations of the Nazis was a blatant hypocrisy which must have

B.O.A.C. STRIKE

(Continued from Front Page.) from the A.E.U. and joined the

Militant workers throughout the country will readily understand the frustration felt by these workers and their desire to get things done. It is necessary, however, to point out and emphasise again and again that break-aways cannot solve, but on the contrary can only hinder the solution of these problems.
'Independence' from the mass working class movement can only lead to "dependence" on the boss

Already the Ae.E.A., and the Transport breakaway the N.P.W.U. are being used by the capitalist class as a point of support in their against the inroads being made by the workers in the struggle for the closed shop.

A great responsibility therefore rests on the rank and file of the "affiliated" Unions in the B.O.A.C. to win back to their ranks the workers in the Ac. E.A. Bu this cannot be done by mere talk Deeds not words must be the slogan. They must show in action that they are prepared to struggle both against the employers and against all and every undemocratic practice in their own organisations Only in this way can they renew confidence among all the B.O.A.C workers.

To this end they have the responsibility of taking the lead in hammering out a programme of concrete demands around which can be mobilised all the workers in civil aviation, and which can form the basis of linking the problem in civil aviation to those workers in civil aviation to those the Aircraft Industry as a ble. A programme which would only deal with wages, hours whole. and conditions, but also with the fight for speedier negatiations, democracy in the Unions, rank and

file representation, etc.

In this way the inter-Union strife can be ended, and a united movement securely based on the rank and file throughout the country and on the mass working class movement be forged, which would be a real step forward for the whole movement.

been evident to every politically

conscious worker.

It is common knowledge in the Labour movement—the facts have been repeated from a thousand platforms—that the British, American and French rulers gave political, financial and moral support to Hitler, regarding the Nazi barbarians as the saviours of civilisation from the menace of bolshevism. They assisted Hitler to strengthen himself by the seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia for the purpose of making war on the

Goering taunted them for their role during this period when he declared that "all foreign governments had recognised the Hitler regime and the entire diplomatic corps came to the Nuremburg rallies."

Before the war, the chemical, plastic, oil and rubber monopolists of America aided their German counterparts and divided the world up between them. That was shown in a recent Government anti-trust enquiry in America. Gunter Reiman in his "Patents for Hitler", disclosing that Sir Henri Deterding of Royal Dutch Shell was one of the earliest financial backers of the barriest infanciar backers of the Nazis, gives as his reasons that "he was interested in discovering those forces which would eliminate once and for all the dargers of social or colonial revolutions". This sums up the revolutions". This sums up the attitude of the British ruling class. Part of the profits of Royal Dutch Shell together with a stream of political and financial aid went to bolster up Hitler as a barrier against revolution and for war on the Soviet Union. It was only when it became evident to the rulers of Britain and America that German Imperialism had decided to match its strength against them first, that this policy was ended Hitler's greatest crime in their eyes was that he double-crossed them. Stalinists Stand Guilty Too

The Soviet Bureaucracy also stands guilty of aiding the Nazis Stalin's cynical disregard for the world working class, led him into the pact with Hitler. In violation of the Leninist principle of self-determination for all nations, and open diplomacy, he made a secret agreement for the division of Eastern Europe. It was revealed Eastern Europe. It was revealed at the trial that, in this Pact. Hitler and Stalin defined their spheres of influence in Poland,

Finland, the Baltic countries and permit an active hostile position to Bessarabia. Stalin agreed, not to be taken up by Turkey, or permit the passage of British or French warships through the Dardanelles. We can comment, in passing, that recently Soviet propaganda against Turkey attacked her for remain-

During the first Lenin was a consistent and bitter opponent of secret diplomacy. The When the Russian workers and peasants made their revolution, the Bolsheviks immediately opened the Czarist archives and published the secret international agreements to the consternation of world im-perialism. That the Soviet Bureaucracy felt the same consternation when reminded of this Pact with the Nazis, was shown at Nuremburg when the Soviet prosecutor objected to it being taken as evidence as "the court was investigating the case of the major German war criminals and not the foreign policy of the Allies.

This secret agreement divided out Eastern Europe and the Soviet bureaucracy thus coverfly agreed to the invasion of Poland by Nazi im-perialism. At Nuremburg, the Nazis ironically introduced evidence to justify this invasion by quoting the approving telegram which Stalin sent Ribbentrop when the pact was signed. "The friendship of Germany and the Soviet Union is based on blood commonly shed and has all the prospects of being enduring and steadfast.'

Later in 1939, Molotov could talk of the permanent friendship with Germany and sharply attack the British blockade for violating international law.

'I Shall Shake Hands With Stalin "-Hitler

Today, it is the Nazis whom the Soviet bureaucracy accuse of violating international law. However, it was with these same Nazis that the counter revolutionaries of the Kremlin negotiated their secret agreement. On Aug. 22nd, 1939, Hitler spoke to his commanders, stating "Our economic position is such because of our restrictions that we cannot hold out more than a few years", then he declared, in triumph, "within a few weeks I shall shake hands with Stalin, and undertake with him a new distribution of the world".

It was that handshake, that secret pact, hidden from the masses, which let loose the second world slaughter.

Embarassing Evidence

Hidder Had all the war criminals been on trial in Nuremberg, prosecuting and prosecuted alike would have been in the dock. In his concluding speech, General Rudenko, with almost lyrical hyporrisy, declared that, on the battle cell the Allies "had determined the sublime and noble principle of international co-operation, morally of mankind and the human rules of social community." The treat slinging, the ing neutral during the war and taking up the very position which Stalin in 1939 guaranteed Hitler he would ensure.

tribunal at Nuremberg steered a wary course, trying its utmost to prevent any echo from the squabbles at U.N.O. entering the court room. At the same time it kept a quick eye for any revelations embarrassing to those in high places in Britain, America and the Soviet Union. The contents of the German-Soviet pact were refused as evidence. Likewise, a statement of Rosenberg's relations with the Hearst press and his connec-tions with members of the ruling class of Britain, was ruled out as irrelevant.

Purpose Of Nuremberg: To Whitewash Allies

It is evident, that, during the ten months of Nuremberg, there was no real attempt to sift out those guilty of the monstrous crime against the working class, which the past six years of slaughter represent. How could there be when those responsible for the indictment were as guilty as those indicted? The Nuremberg trials were not meant to create a basis for future peace, their purpose was to whitewash the Allied criminals.

Yet the workers can learn from Nuremberg. From the recital of the crimes and atrocities of fascism can learn that there is brutality or horror to which capitalism will not stoop in de fending its decadent system. And believe those worker brutalities could not happen here. The thin veneer of capitalist civilisation soon disappears in a capitalist state rendered desperate and endeavouring to find a way

out by crushing the working class. We must learn also that the genuine struggle against the criminals is a struggle against im-perialism the world over, and the revolutionary Soviet Bureaucracy.

As war criminals, responsible for the suffering of millions of the world's workers, we must indict, the Nazis and the ruling not only class of Germany, but the land-lords, financiers, monopolists and their politicians, ruling the Allied capitalist nations and with them the Bureaucrats in control of the Soviet Union.

NUREMBERG TRIAL EXPOSES

MOSCOW TRIALS

AS FRAME-UPS

in next issue

Release the **Paratroopers**

and for an investigation into the intolerable conditions in this and other camps. This step of Nally's is one that the entire Labour movement will support. The Labour Government must be forced to face up to these demands and take requisition- action in the interests of the conscripted workers.

Under the Labour Government, hundreds of thousands of working class youth, conscripted into the trol of Committees of workers armed forces, are being trained and and housewives in cottaboration with the Trades Council. of workers and toilers in other countries. In Greece, Germany, India, Palestine, Indonesia, Malaya, Japan and elsewhere, worker-conscript armies of British imperialism, are being forced to play a reactionary role in the in-terests of British imperialist strategy and profits.

It is clear that the paratroopers recently court-martialled, and hundreds of thousands like them, forced to exist in unhealthy camp conditions abroad want no part of share in oppressing Indonesian and Mayalan masses. The workers The workers have more in common with the oppressed and starving peoples of these countries than they have with the interests of British im-perialism. But the Labour Government acting as the agents of British capitalism, continues to enforce conscriped working class youth to play the role of an oppressing force overseas.

NOT FOR THIS was the Labour Government returned to overwhelming power by the working class in Britain—NOT for the continuation of imperialist oppression abroad! NOT so that reactionary militarists could dragoon and penalise worker-militants in the forces who seek to voice just grievances against bad conditions The voice of the organised Labour movement in Britain must be raised against the shameful and capitulatory policies of the Labour Government and their continued subservience to imperialist inter-

The entire organised working class movement in Britain must take up a struggle to exert pressure on the Labour Government and demand—The Immediate and Unconditional Release of the 255

Victimised Paratroopers.

The Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal of All British Armed Forces Abroad. BRING THE TROOPS HOME!

and CAPITAL

BY KARL MARX

PART 2. CHAPTER III BY WHAT IS THE PRICE OF A COMMODITY

DETERMINED?

By what is the price of commonty determined?

By the competition between

The same commodity is offered for sale by various sellers. ever sells commodities of the same quality most cheaply, is sure to drive the other seders from the field and to secure the greatest market for himself. The sellers therefore fight among themselves for the sales, for the market. Each one of them wishes to sell, and to sell as much as possible, and if possible to seil aione, to the clusion of all other sellers. Each one sells cheaper than the other. Thus there takes place a competition among the seliers which forces down the price of the commodities offered by them.

But there is also a competition among the buyers; this upon its terred commodities to rise.

Finally, there is competition between the buyers and the sellers: these wish to purchase as cheaply as possible, those to sell as dearl, The result of this as possible. competition between buyers and sellers will depend upon the relations between the two above-mentioned camps of competitors, i.e., upon whether the competition in the army of buyers or the competition in the army of sellers is stronger. Industry leads two great armies into the field against each other, and each of these again is engaged in a battle among its own troops in its own ranks. The army among whose troops there is less fighting carries off the victory over the opposing host.

Let us suppose that there are one hundred bases of cotton in the market and at the same time purchasers for one thousand bales of In this case the demand is ten times greater than the supply. Competition among the buyers, then, will be very strong; each of them tries to get hold of one bale, if possible, of the whole one hundred bales. This example is no arbitrary supposition. In the history of commerce we have experienced periods of scarcity cotton, when some capitalists united together and sought to buy up not one hundred bales, but the whole cotton supply of the world. In the given case, then, one buyer seeks to drive the others from the field by offering a salariyal bished. by offering a relatively higher price for the bales of cotton. The cotton sellers, who perceive the troops of the enemy in the most violent contheir claims would find no limit did not the offers of even the most importunate of buyers have a very definite limit.

If, then, the supply of a com-modity is less than the demand for if, competition among the sellers is very slight, or there may be none at all among them. In the same proportion in which this competition decreases, the competition among the buyers increases. Result: a more or less considerable rise in the writes of competition. rise in the prices of commodities.

ridiculously low prices.

But what is a rise, and what is a fall of prices? What is a high, and what is a low? A grain of sand is high when examined through a microscope, and a tower is low when compared with a same of the same of mountain. And if the price is determined by the relation of supply and demand, by what is the relation of supply and demand determined?

cost me one hundred pounds, and out of the sale of those goods I only for that branch of industry, but make one hundred and tend pounds
—within the year, you understand
that's an honest, sound, reasonable
profit. But if in the exchange I
manufacturers

only for that branch of industry.
So also it does not hold good for
an individual manufacturer. but
only for the whole class of
manufacturers receive one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty pounds, that's a higher profit; and if I that's a higher profit; and if I should get as much as two hundred pounds, that would be an extraordinary, an enormous profit."
What is it, then that serves this cost of production of a commodity, for the

If he receives in exchange for his goods a quantity of other goods whose production has cost more, he has gained. And he reckons the falling or rising of the profit according to the degree at which the exchange value of his goods stands, whether above or below his zero-the cost of production.

We have seen how the changing relation of supply and demand causes now a rise, now a fall of By the competition between buyers and selers, by the relation of the demand to the supply, of the call to the offer. The competition by which the price of a commodity rises considerably owing to a failing supply or a disproportionately growing demand, then the price of a competition of the price of a composition of the price of a commodity is determined is threefold. some other commodity must have fallen in proportion; for of course the price of a commodity only expresses in money the proportion in which other commodities will given in exchange for it. If, for example, the price of a yard of silk rises from two to three shillings, the price of silver has fallen in relation to the silk, and in the same way the prices of all other commodities whose prices have re-mained stationary have fallen in relation to the price of silk. A larger quantity of them must be given in exchange in order to obtain the same amount of silk. Now, what will be the consequence of a rise in the price of a par-ticular commodity? A mass of capital will be thrown into the prosperous branch of industry, and this immigration of capital into the provinces of the favoured industry will continue until it yields no more than the customary profits, or rather until the price of its products, owing to overproduction, sinks below the cost of production.

Conversely: if the price of a commodity falls below its cost of production, then capital will be withdrawn from the production of this commodity. Except in the case of a branch of industry which has become obsolete and is therefore doomed to disappear, the production of such a commodity (that is, its supply), will, owing to this flight of capital, continue to de-crease until it corresponds to the demand, and the price of the commodity rises again to the level of its cost of production; or, rather, until the supply has fallen below the demand and its price has again risen above its cost of production, for the current price of a commodity is always either above or below its cost of production.

We see how capital continually emigrates out of the province of one industry and immigrates into that of another. The high price produces an excessive immigration, and the low price an excessive emigration.

We could show, from another we come show, from another point of view, how not only the supply, but also the demand, is determined by the cost of production. But this would lead us too far away from our subject.

We have just seen how the fluctuations of supply and demand the enemy in the most violent contention among themselves, and who therefore are fully assured of the sale of their whole one hundred bales, will beware of falling into one another's hair in order to force down the price of cotton at the very moment in which their so that within a cottain purished. one another's hair in order to force clown the price of cotton at the very moment in which their opponents race with one another to screw it up high. So, all of a sudden, neace reigns in the army of sellers. They stand opposed to the buyers ike one man, fold their arms in philosophic content, and their cloims related to the commodities will be exchanged for one another in accordance with their columns related to the commodities will be exchanged for one another in accordance with their columns related to the commodities will be exchanged for one another in accordance with their cost of production. Their price is thus determined by their price is thus determined by their cost of production. The determination of price by

the cost of production is not to be understood in the sense of the bourgeois economists. The economists say that the average price of commodities equals the cost of procommodities equals the cost of production; and this is the law. The anarchic movement, in which the rise is compensated for by a fall and the fall by a rise, they regard as an accident. We might just as well consider the fluctuations as the law, and the determination of the price by east It is well known that the opposite case, with opposite result, happens more frequently. Great excess of supply over demand; desperate competition among the sellers, and a lack of buyers; forced sales of commodities at citical surface. and, like an earthquake, caure bourgeois society to shake to its very foundations—it is precisely these fluctuations that force the price to conform to the cost of production. In the totality of this disorderly movement is to be found its order. In the total course of this industrial anarchy, in this circular movement, competition balances, as it were, the one extravagance by the other. We thus see that the price of a

determined?

Let us turn to the first worthy citizen we meet. He will not hesitate one moment, but, like another Alexander the Great, will cut this metaphysical knot with his multiplication table. He will say to us: "If the production of the commodities which I sell has cost me one hundred pounds, and cost me one hun manufacturers.

The determination of price by ordinary, an enormous profit."

What is it, then, that serves this citizen as the standard of bis profit? The cost of the production of tools, etc., i.e., of industrial products of these goods he receives a quantity of other goods whose production has cost a certain amount of labour-time, and, secondly, of direct labour, which is secondly, of direct labour, which is duction has cost less, he has lost, also measured by its duration.

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SQUATTERS' MOVEMENT

The Lessons:

Private property, and the need for sharing out of available housing Such a campaign, if successful in winning mass support, would have meant that the squatters would have had behind them a vast power and would have been in a position to challenge the Government.

But the Communist Party did not conduct such a campaign. As result, the moves had the character of an isolated adventure. squatters were keyed up to fight and were then let down. On Sept. 12th, Harry Pollitt declared: "Who does not remember the great fight of the Poplar Councillors in 1921, led by the late George Lansbury. That Council was not intimidated by threats and neither shall we be." Two days earlier, Stanley Henderson, said that tear gas could not move them. A week later, the Communist Party leaders were leading them out, and the "Daily Worker" was admitting

that they have "nowhere to go".

In spite of the lack of political preparation, there was instinctive mass sympathy for the squatters. Given a bold lead, this could have been organised into a great move-ment of support. But the C.P. Leadership deliberately held the movements back: for example, on the London Trades Council, a motion of "strong support" was opposed by leading C.P. delegates, in favour of a motion of "sympathy". The fact is that Pollitt pathy". The fact is that Pollitt and Co. feared that a mass move-ment of a revolutionary character might arise and get out of their

This failure of the C.P. Leadership to prepare seriously for a struggle brands their action as irresponsibility. If they had not brepared to fight, they should not have led the sonatters in. The squatter and C.P. worker militants expected to fight, but the leadership betrayed them. That is the ugly

Reformist Outlook

This failure is not merely accident. It was inevitable, because the C.P. leadership has the same reformist ontlook as the Labour leaders. Their programme is no different. Instead of a revolutionary alternative to the

For years they have been carry-

ing out a policy of class collaboration. It would have been a miracle for them to become revolutionaries overnight! Their sudden swing to the Left is only the result of Stalin's foreign policy clashing with that of Bevin. It has no genuine revolutionary basis, and can only deceive and demoralise the workers who follow them.

The Lesson

The lesson is clear. The next stage is a stubborn and prolonged fight within the Labour movement to convince the majority of workers

SOCIALIST APPEAL:

pated in the squatters' movement. In spite of the limitation of our paign in the Labour Movement, aimed at exposing the scandal of empty properties, the role of the Labour Leaders as defenders of "stricter control":

Labour Government's programme, numbers, we believe that our properties, the role of the Labour Housing and they confine themselves to demanding a Ministry of Housing and basis for the struggle.

(1) Immediate ing of all available housing space, including compulsory billeting in the under-occupied homes of the rich, under the con-

(2) Nationalisation of the Building Industry and Indus-tries producing building materials without compensation, ellimina-tion of big and small profiteers, and centralised planning of building operations under workers' control.

(3) Nation of the land without the insation.

This is a forward from

that only revolutionary measures can solve the housing problem in the workers' interest. It means a stubborn strugle to dispel the illusions that the majority of workers still have in Reformism, a bitter fight against all class collaboration.

Our Party will participate in this fight with all our strength. Our numbers are small, but wherever our comrades have been to the small of the small our strength. Our numbers are small, but wherever our comrades have been to small the small our strength. ver our comrades have been who help to prop it up.

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