

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Formerly "Youth for Socialism"

ORGAN OF WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

SCOTTISH SHIPYARD STRIKE Convener Victimised

ACTION BY 600 WORKERS AT AN EAST OF SCOTLAND SHIPYARD, WHICH COMMENCED AS A "TOKEN" STRIKE OF ONE HOUR, DEVELOPED INTO A SHARP CLASH WITH THE BOSS WHICH SPREAD TO ANOTHER YARD AND FINALLY INVOLVED 2,000 TO 3,000 WORKERS WHO REMAINED ON STRIKE FOR A WEEK.

The action of the workers was in reply to the victimisation of Bro. Blairford, a member of the E.T.U. and convener of Shop Stewards at the yard. Blairford was to be transferred as "redundant" by the owner of the firm concerned—a notoriously anti-labour, anti-trade union reactionary.

Nothing could expose the deliberate sabotage of production by the capitalist class so clearly as a resume of the situation which arose over a period at this East of Scotland shipyard.

At the beginning of this year Bro. Blairford gave a written report to a production conference held in Edin-

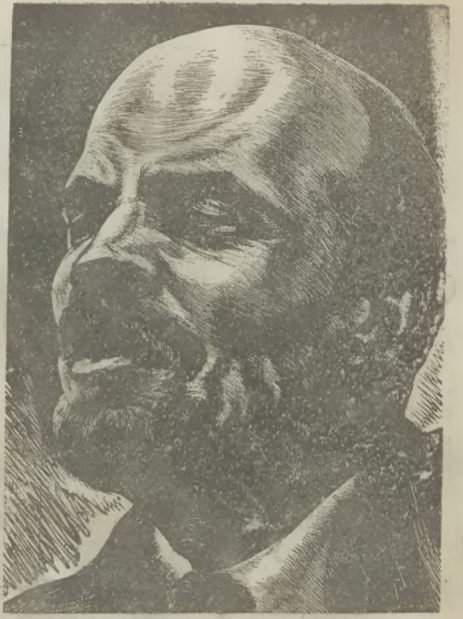
burgh. In this report, certain allegations were levelled against the management and it proposed to ask the Government to set up a committee to investigate the management of the firm. Communist Party members at the conference moved that the report should be handed to the M.P.s who represented the division. The copy was duly handed to Pethwick Lawrence, Ernest Brown, E. Hill (chief of 1922 committee), Clarke Hutchinson, F. C. Watt and Sam Chapman and it is believed that Mr. Ernest Brown finally handed it to the owner of the firm. Nothing further was heard of the report and no further action was taken whatsoever.

A few months later the firm asked leave of the National Service Officer to "release" 12 electricians "who could be more advantageously employed elsewhere." Included in the 12 was Bro. Blairford! The workers at the shipyard immediately claimed that since Blairford was the leading shop steward in the yard he should not be transferred "if there was a reasonable alternative." 25 electricians immediately offered to take his place! This offer was contemptuously rejected by the management who would be satisfied by no less than the transfer of Blairford.

As the result of the management's actions, a "token" strike of one hour

was called on Saturday, the 16th of May. This, as a warning to the management that the workers were unprepared to allow the victimisation of their convener without a struggle. Meanwhile the convener appealed to the Ministry of Labour. At the court he was able to demonstrate that the firm were sub-contracting out the same class of work as he was doing, thereby blowing the theory of "redundancy" sky-high. The management stated that Blairford was not a good timekeeper (which was unfortunately true) and that he was carrying out trade union and political work during working hours. A shift from the original position of "redundancy" and in the other case an expression of the real reason for the proposed transfer. The appeal was rejected and a mass meeting of the men was called and 600 men decided to strike on Monday, 25th of May until their grievance was redressed. A deputation of strikers approached the local trades council who unanimously agreed to give full backing to the demand of the workers. The various trade unions who were involved in the dispute, refused, however, to recognise the strike. A deputation of trades council and strikers delegates then visited the Ministry of Labour where they were informed that nothing would be done

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Our Programme For Power

An end to the coalition with the bosses. Labour and Trade Union leaders must break with the capitalist Government and wage a campaign for power on the following programme:

1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the Trade Unions and factory committees.
2. Nationalisation of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees.
5. Equal distribution of food, clothes, and other consumers commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shop-keepers.
6. Sliding scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum.
7. Repeal of the Essential Works Order and all other anti-working class and strike-breaking laws.
8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces.
9. Establishment of military academies by the Trade Unions at the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.
10. Arming of the workers under control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or Partition.
11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the Colonies.
12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe on the basis of this programme in Britain to join the Socialist struggle against Hitler for his Socialist

CAPITALIST SECOND FRONT WILL SMASH EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

To Defeat Fascism—Fight for Workers' Power

By A. ROY

FOR NEARLY A WHOLE YEAR, THE MASSES OF THE SOVIET UNION HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN THE BLOODIEST WAR OF ALL TIMES. AND IT IS NEARLY A YEAR SINCE STALIN FIRST MADE HIS PLAINTIVE APPEAL TO HIS "ALLIES" TO OPEN A SECOND FRONT TO AID RUSSIA.

For months past the leaders of the British Communist Party, and Litvinov and the Stalinist leaders in America have been petitioning, demonstrating and begging the capitalists in their respective countries to undertake an invasion of Europe.

Among the broad masses of workers in this country there has developed during recent months a tremendous feeling of solidarity with the Red Army soldiers and the workers and peasants of Russia and a burning desire to render effective aid to the sorely pressed Soviet masses.

THE SECOND FRONT IS A POLITICAL QUESTION

Why then have Churchill and the ruling class so long desisted from really mounting a campaign? Is it only because they consider that their present military capacity would not guarantee victory? Is it only because they do not happen to have, as they tell us, sufficient guns to smash the German defences or ships to convoy troops and maintain supplies? But surely this cannot be the case. For the ruling class is quite prepared to sacrifice thousands of human lives in a venture which they knew would end in disaster if they considered it politically necessary. When the British Army was shipped across into Greece was there any assurance of success? On the contrary, according to Churchill himself, troops were sent into Egypt with full knowledge that a disaster was certain. It was the desire to preserve the alliance with the Greek capitalists and to prove their faithfulness to Roosevelt which inspired this expedition, foredoomed to failure.

In the last resort, military strategy is determined by political considerations, by class interests. And the reason why the war in the Eastern Front has so long been allowed to take its own course is because the ruling class considered non-intervention to be the best policy. The tactless Moore-Brabazon left the Cabinet, but his policy did not leave with him. Britain, he said in effect, would invade Europe when both Russia and Germany have been weakened to the point of being powerless to resist our will. The Stalinist leaders are pleading for a Second Front while Russia is at her strongest. But the Second Front of the ruling class will be opened when Russia is at her weakest.

CHURCHILL WAITING FOR A WEAKENED RUSSIA

The time is approaching however, for an invasion of Europe. Victory for Anglo-American imperialism can come only through the destruction of the military power of their German rivals on the continental battle-fields. The "Economist" recently pointed out that Russia has reached the peak of her productive capacity and from next year productive capacity will begin to decline. Under these conditions, the present concern of the ruling class is not whether Russia has been sufficiently weakened but whether there might not be a collapse. From all accounts, preparations are in full swing for a full-scale invasion of Europe. The steady stream of American troops from across the Atlantic and the flow of arms, the gathering of staff officers from America on British soil, all presage the fateful day. Before

long millions of British and American youth will be fighting on the same soil where their fathers fell for the "war for freedom" twenty-eight years ago.

It will be a Second Front. But it will not be the Second Front which the workers vote for in their trade union branches or in political demonstrations. It will not be a front to aid Russia but a front to take advantage of Russian resistance. It will not be a front to smash fascism but only to establish the domination of "democratic" imperialism. It will liberate Europe from its present tyranny but will only establish a new tyranny.



"KEEP CALM! AS LONG AS WE ARE AT THE HELM, YOU WON'T DROWN."

MINERS' OFFICIALS BETRAY YORKSHIRE STRIKERS

Fight for a New Militant Leadership

By Jock Haston

Yorkshire—"Money lad, that's the trouble." Everywhere one goes the story is the same: wages are too little, the miners want a rise.

After examining literally hundreds of miners' pay sheets, both here in Yorkshire and other parts of the country, one is forced to the conclusion that the miners have been patient in the extreme. Their demands include a minimum wage of 85/- for adults. In practice this means an increase of 1/- per day for adult workers and 9/- per day for the women in the pits.

In Wornwell, Yorkshire, three pits were out on strike at the same time. In the main it was the young workers—18 to 21 who were responsible for the battles. The older workers are showing a fine spirit of solidarity. Some of the pits were out as long as three weeks with a break of a few days. No pits have exactly the same grievance—although all want more money. The actual demands of the miners vary from pit to pit and district to district. In some cases extra cash is demanded for the use of steel props; in another the haulage hands wanted more money; again some strikes took place over Bevin money, where sections of the miners demanded payment of a shift when they were

turned out of the pit, although not directly involved in previous disputes. But all these seeming differences had one thing in common: the demand for more money. The differences would have disappeared at once if the union officials had got together and drawn up a charter covering the principle points in dispute.

The failure of the official union leadership to do so considerably assisted the coal owners; it dissipated the

BRITISH REFUSE ARMS TO INDIANS

"Live more Frugally" says Lord Linlithgow!

By E. Grant

THE THREATENED INVASION OF INDIA BY JAPANESE IMPERIALISM HAS BROUGHT THE QUESTION OF INDIA AS A BURNING ISSUE BEFORE THE WORKING CLASS OF THIS COUNTRY.

The policy of British imperialism and the present mood among the Indian masses can best be understood, if the conditions under which the Indian workers and peasants are compelled to exist under British imperialist rule, are known.

The British imperialists squeeze £150,000,000 a year out of the Indian people in tribute. This is obtained at the expense of the misery and suffering of the masses of the people. After 150 years of British rule 90% of the people cannot read or write. The

of malnutrition and starvation, malaria and other diseases which could be prevented by decent food, proper sanitation and drainage.

The peasants' income is so low that the average peasant family is five years' income in debt to the moneylenders and landlords. The peasants pay land revenue while the landlords' incomes are exempt from income tax. They are born, they live, and they die in debt. The industrial workers are more "fortunate". They are merely in debt to the extent of 6 months wages.

Upon all these burdens is superimposed the burden of taxation. Today when the British workers have legitimate cause for complaint and feel the exactions of income tax, they can well imagine the position of their Indian brothers who do not receive more than 1/- a day on the average and who are paying more than a third of their income on taxes.

Due to these terrible conditions the dissatisfaction and unrest among the Indian masses is intense. The Japanese imperialists have been playing on this in their propaganda to the Indians in attempting to win the Indians over to their side. Subhas Bose, former Congress leader who went over to the Japanese, is using this skillfully in his wireless broadcasts from Japan.

The British press has time and again pointed to the measures which Hitler and his quislings in the occupied territories have taken to prevent news from the outside reaching the occupied countries. Among the desperate measures resorted to was the prohibition of listening to foreign broadcasts and the confiscation of wireless sets.

Great play has been made of the fact that such prohibition was not necessary in the "democracies" where complete freedom of thought was permitted. But in India the reply to Japanese propaganda—the imperialists cannot make any other reply—has been the same as that of all oppressors: wireless sets have been confiscated. (continued back page, col. 2)

Labour Leaders Ignore Conference Decisions

The 41st Annual Conference of the Labour Party met at a time of profound crisis in Britain. Millions and tens of millions are beginning to take up a critical attitude towards the ruling class. The military defeats, the bungling and incompetence, profiteering and chaos have not passed by without leaving traces in the consciousness of the working class.

Especially among the basic strata of the workers from whom the Labour Party derives support is a mood of opposition and hostility to the capitalists growing at a rapid rate.

It was inevitable that the steady movement to the Left, not only among the workers, but among the middle class, should reflect itself in the Labour Party as the organised expression of the working class. But the composition of the delegates to the Conference was such that only in a distorted way did it reflect the feelings of the workers.

It was a conference of old men. Hardly a single delegate was younger than 50. In addition to that, the L.P. organisation in the constituencies is completely dead. In most cases the wards do not meet, even in large numbers of cases the Executives of the local Labour Party have ceased to function.

Demagogy and meaningless resolutions were passed on the issues of coal, service pay, India, etc. Nevertheless, these "radical" resolutions were a reflection of the pressure of the working class which broke through with a vote on the political truce. Here was reflected the tendency of the workers so overwhelmingly demonstrated in the elections, to break with the capitalist class and their representatives. Despite all the pleas of the executive, the resolution supporting the continuation of the truce was only carried by a narrow majority of 66,000 votes, on a card vote. Not a single member of the rank and file from the floor of the conference spoke in favour of the executive position on this question. ...

If that was the situation in this conference, it can be imagined what is the feeling of the working class.

Despite the opposition of the executive a resolution demanding the lifting of the ban on the "Daily Worker" was passed by 1,244,000 votes to 1,231,000 votes. This was not at all a gesture so very much in favour of the Stalinists as it reflected the uneasi-

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THE "HOMES" OF INDIAN WORKERS UNDER BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

These workers are so poor that they are compelled to live on street pavements all their lives, seeking temporary shelter during the rains on a verandah.

THE ROAD TO INDIA'S FREEDOM

The Permanent Revolution and the tasks of the British working class.

By E. Grant and A. Scott.

Price threepence.

average income of the masses of the peasants amounts to less than 2d. a day. The conditions of the workers are not much better. Crowded five, ten, and even twenty people living in one room, compelled to live on a diet which in 1927-28 (since then the conditions have if anything worsened) the Medical Officer of Health in Bengal recorded in the following terms: "The present peasantry of Bengal are in a very large proportion taking to a diet on which even rats could not live for more than five weeks." Tens of millions die every year from diseases

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MINERS' LEADERS WITHHOLD UNION FUNDS FROM STRIKERS

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energy of the workers and was largely responsible for the long duration of most of the strikes as well as their indecisive and inconclusive character. In this sense, the union officials along with the management were responsible for prolonging the strikes and holding up production.

While the rank and file have shown a magnificent capacity for struggle, the official leadership has been skulking in the camp of the coal-owners, betraying and sabotaging every move which the miners have made. Instead of the strikes having the character of a well-directed campaign which would shatter the resistance of the boss class in a couple of days, the struggle has been conducted in a guerrilla fashion which dissipated the energy of the workers. The main responsibility for this state of affairs rests at the door of the miners' leaders. The national and district leadership of the miners' union deliberately maintained this divided and disjointed form of struggle and did everything in their power to prevent joint discussions. All the energy and time of these officials was spent in scheming how to get the men back to work as soon as possible and not at all on how to win a success for their members. How this policy worked is seen by an examination of their actions.

Instead of setting up a strike committee between the three pits—Wombwell Main, Darfield Main and Cortonwood—which could have made a joint demand to the bosses, all negotiations were conducted separately through the officials and managements. No contact existed between the miners although all meetings were held in the same hall! This gave the strikes the appearance of a sporadic and uncoordinated character, while the full strength of the miners was never brought to play.

Mr. Ernest Jones, General Secretary of the Yorkshire Mineworkers Association came down to discuss the claims of the Darfield Main workers. His task was apparently to get the

men back at all costs. After going over the usual bunk "We must beat Hitler and we can only do it by producing more", etc., he appealed to the older married men who were not directly involved in the dispute—over 1,000—to outvote the lads who were demanding "Bevin" money. There were 30 of the latter. We will not print the uncomplimentary things the older workers had to say about him, and to him. He as good as called the men cowards, saying, "How would you like to be over Cologne, Essen, etc., in the midst of the battle? I know you would rather be down the pit." Some of the men took this to be a threat. There was a unanimous vote against going back although three votes were taken.

So open was the betrayal, that even the union funds were withheld from the strikers on the plea that the strikes were illegal. As one young miner put it to Jones, "It's not legal to get our own union funds, but it is legal for you to starve."

Another official, this time of the Lancashire Miners Association, Mr. T. J. Brown said: "The whole fabric of the industry is being upset by irresponsible youths representing 15 to 20 per cent of the haulage hands... they are insolent and ill-mannered, and never in the 44 years I have been in the industry, have I seen anything like it." What he means of course, is that the whole fabric of his fat job as obedient tool of the owners, is being upset.

Such officials as these are merely agents of the boss class in the ranks of the workers. An elementary task which the miners must undertake is to drive them out of official positions. Every miner is conscious that the present struggle is but a prelude to a much larger combat between the bosses and the workers in the future: he knows that the coming struggle must pose the question of who is to control. He must be made clearly aware that to leave the leadership of his trade union in the hands of men who have already gone over to the enemy is dis-

Labour Leaders Ignore Conference Decisions

(Continued from front page)

ness and hostility of the workers to any attacks on the rights of the working class movement has gained. It was a pointer to the temper of the working class at the present time. That it was not a trend in the direction of the Stalinists is shown by the vote on cooperation with the Communist Party on specific issues which was defeated by 1,899,000 votes to 132,000 votes. The vote on the electoral truce underlined this. It was in direct opposition to the present support of the Tories by the Stalinists in the bye-elections.

Even in the rarefied shell of the Labour Party, the mood of the workers is breaking through. Despite all attempts to hold it back the movement of the independence of the workers' organisations from the capitalist class will surge forward in an irresistible tide. The so-called Left wing played a despicable role at the Conference. It played the part of loyal opposition; the leadership and their radical phrases acted as a lightning conductor of the anger of the workers. How much their opposition to the truce was shown by the speech of Laski in which he beseeched Churchill to "stand by the people in the war against vested interests at home and abroad." It was underlined by the fact that the Conference endorsed overwhelmingly a resolution at the end, expressing confidence in the leadership of Winston Churchill in the war. To oppose the capitalists and then to support their foremost representative at the present time is like supporting Beezleb against Satan. These "lefts" did not carry a real struggle.

How much the Labour leaders regard themselves as bound by the decisions of the Conference was shown by the question of Industry pay for workers in the Armed Forces. The class instinct of the Labour workers forced through a resolution on this urgent question. Especially important in view of the campaign waged by the yellow press to utilise the discontent of the soldiers to incite them against the "highly paid munition workers." So strong was the feeling on this question that the resolution on "Industry Pay for the Armed Forces" was passed unanimously. Hardly had the ink on the Conference resolution on army pay become dry, before Attlee in reply to a question on Soldiers' Pay in Parliament stated that the Government cannot consider any rise at the present time. As if to further emphasise the position, Morrison has refused to lift the ban on the Daily Worker. In reply to Shinwell, who drew attention to the L.P. Conference resolution, he made it quite clear that he was a minister of His Majesty's Government primarily, and as such responsible to that government. On all issues which face the workers the Labour Leaders have betrayed the workers, Coal, Soldiers' Pay, Freedom of the Press etc. In spite of all the efforts of Attlee, Bevin, Dalton, etc. to hold the workers in check they will not be able to do so for much longer. This is probably the last Conference in which the Labour Party will be represented in the Government. The Labour Leaders by the next Conference will probably be forced into opposition. This is the next step for the working class. The reassertion of the independence of the working class as a step towards the taking of power by those who claim to represent the interests of the workers.

Workers' International League is fighting to lead the workers on this road. By fighting alongside the workers on a demand that the Labour Leaders should end the coalition with the Tories, the revolutionary socialists will demonstrate to the working class that the sole solution to their problem lies in relying on their own organisations and solidarity.

We will fight for the demand that the Labour Leaders put into force a programme of socialist demands. By this means the workers will become convinced from their own experience that the Labour leaders cannot show them the way out of the misery of capitalism and its wars. They will begin to see the need for the Fourth International and its programme as the only means of conquering power and instituting the Socialist rule of the working class.

astrous; he must be made aware that not to set up a fresh leadership in preparation for these coming struggles, is to court defeat.

Some months ago, when the Betteshanger miners struck work to protect the minimum wage agreement, the capitalist class through its press adopted a virulent and hostile attitude towards the miners, demanding that the government take strong measures, including force against the miners. Over a thousand miners were fined and their leaders imprisoned. At Blackhall the tone of the press was, if possible, more venomous. Then it was solidarity of the miners for defensive action which released the miners' leaders, quashed the fines, and gained victory for the workers. But today the situation has entirely altered. The miners are on the offensive and the boss class are faced with the prospect of a general strike. One false move on the part of the ruling class may set the coalfields alight.

It is not accidental that the capitalists are hesitant and on the retreat at the moment. There is an acute shortage of coal which can endanger the rest of industry. Now is the time to throw all "plans" and compromises into the dustbin: now is the time for a fighting policy. The leadership must be forced to implement the struggle for nationalisation without compensation, the workers' control; or it must be ruthlessly thrust aside and a fresh leadership created who will.

No longer are the capitalist class faced with isolated strikes in one pit or district. Now they are faced with the general movement of the miners with which they are afraid to clash. The explosion which has been maturing in the bowels of the earth is erupting and the boss class are faced with the possibility of a general strike. One false move on the part of the ruling class may set the coalfields alight.

Complaints and resolutions re this censure have been sent to the District Committee of the A.E.U. The recently formed All Trades Work Committee has been smashed by the Stalinists because of their failure to gain control.

The Convenor of Shop Stewards in Cardonald R.O.F. has also been summoned before the D.C. for refusal to elect a Production Committee.

CLYDE WORKERS BEGIN TO SAVVY PRODUCTION COMMITTEES

Rule out Absentee Discussions.

GLASGOW

Joint Production Committees are causing a great deal of controversy in this area. The Stalinist controlled Shop Stewards Committees everywhere are pressing for the setting up of these production committees, and are meeting with a mixed reception. Large sections of the workers are either apathetic or openly hostile and only a small section are actively in favour. In Parkhead Forge the setting up of the Joint Production Committee threatens to smash the Shop Stewards' movement. More than half of the factory (mostly heavy manual workers) have refused to have anything to do with this line and in some cases have thrown out their stewards and elected others. The Stalinists are attempting to conduct the election in a most undemocratic manner. They are selecting the nominees from the Shop Stewards of each department, and refusing the shop stewards of the opposition the right to nomination. Docherty, the leader of the opposition has already been severely censured and denounced as a Nazi for allowing himself to be nominated! When this censure was challenged as being out of order, the minutes of a previous meeting were altered to justify it.

Although the Stalinists have maintained a stranglehold on the militants and on the shop stewards Committees in the Clydeside for some time and have used every demagogic and bureaucratic measure to hold the workers back, the continued attacks by the boss class on the workers and the growing pressure of class antagonisms, are forcing the workers to take up the cudgels.

Joint Production Committees have exposed themselves as reactionary weapons of the ruling class wherever they have had any existence over a period. The "let's try them" attitude of the workers who have been influenced by the Stalinists in the past, is changing. The workers are beginning to turn to those who have consistently fought against the J.P.C.'s, in particular to those who have proposed the alternative programme of "Workers' Control of Industry."

J. M.

Read: AN ABC OF TROTSKYISM

The Testimony of Cannon in the U.S. Frame-up Trial

"I have passed my copy around till it is black. The Military Policy is just the thing we have been looking for. Send me six more copies..."
Commando.



J. P. CANNON

"I cannot say how impressed I am with the issue, which amounts to a 'Trotskyist Manifesto 1940' in importance. The whole of socialism is in its few pages, and so concise and clear, that indeed you could use it as a primer for newcomers to the movement. As a compliment and some small return I enclose a book of stamps which should help the office a little bit."
Student, W.A.R.

"Please send another dozen 'Cannon's Testimony'. It has caused tremendous interest in my shop and I have already sold 36 copies. Workers who are prepared to pay 1/- for a pamphlet are interested enough to read it."
R. R., (Hendon Shop Steward)

Very pleased to get "Testimony of Cannon". I was a member of the L.W.W. in 1905. Somewhat a student of Marx and a follower of Daniel DeLeon, the American who laid great stress on the policy of building up Revolutionary Socialist Industrial Unionism."
H. G.

Indians Refused Arms

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The real position in India has been underlined by a speech of the Viceroy in Delhi at the beginning of May on the question of arming the population to resist the Japanese.

"We are unarmed. What can we do? What can we do? Let the Government put arms in our hands and we will spring to the defence of India like one man! Here is my answer to that: 'Were the people of Great Britain armed in June 1940? Were the people of Russia armed on June 9, 1941? During the long agony of China have the ordinary men had arms in their hands?'"

The answer is 'No'. The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign... Lord Linlithgow ended with an appeal to the Indian masses to "use less of everything and to lead more frugal lives!"

This speech is the only answer the imperialists have to the demand of the Indians for arms. It is of course, untrue, because to a large extent the resistance of Russia and China has been due to the arming and organising of large sections of the masses of the people. Even in Britain, at least one in ten is in the armed forces. In the same proportion this would mean the arming of 40,000,000 or more of the Indian people. Yet only a million Indians or less are even organised into the Regular Indian Army.

The farce of "defence of India's freedom" is underlined by the fact that the Viceroy is compelled to resort to such arguments to bolster up the refusal of the ruling class to arm the Indian masses. Point is given to this inability by the importing of tens of thousands of British and American troops who have been pouring into India. Now news comes that native troops from East Africa are being sent to India! That it would be technically possible to arm millions upon millions of Indian workers has been demonstrated by Tom Wintringham in an article written in *Picture Post* where he points out that in the last three to six months enough Tommy guns and munitions could have been produced to arm such a force without any difficulty whatsoever. The industrial capacity to produce the machines is there. But the political question is what determines the position of British imperialism.

The Viceroy's speech is an indication of the insolence and arrogance of the ruling class. To ask the workers and peasants who are not even able to get one decent meal a day, to live more frugally is to add insult to injury. This from the Viceroy who has spent thousands of pounds on 100 lavatories for his palace.

This is the real reason for the refusal to place arms in the hands of the masses. They dare not do so. The contrast between the squalor and misery of the workers and peasants and the huge tribute of £150,000,000 a year drained from these poor workers and peasants is too great. It is clear that the masses would not stop at throwing out the Japanese invaders but would throw out the British invaders as well. It is clear that rather than arm the Indian people and risk India falling into the hands of the Indians, the British imperialists would prefer it to fall, temporarily, into the hands of the Japanese.

The Indian capitalists are not much better than the British rulers themselves. The Congress has refused to wage a struggle against British imperialism despite the pressure of the masses. For fear of the repercussions among the masses, they have been compelled to reject the proposals of the British Government brought by Cripps. In their treachery they are only surpassed by the Indian "Communist" Party which, though formally illegal, has completely capitulated to British imperialism. Its activities are openly carried out and tolerated by the police. Their campaign for a "National Government" of landlords and capitalists, imperialists and workers and peasants, of Congress, the Princes and the Moslem League is a craven capitulation to British imperialism which even the Congress leaders were not prepared to do.

India's freedom can only be obtained and the terrible conditions of the masses alleviated by the workers of India taking power into their own hands and assisting the peasants to seize the land. This would be the means of rendering India impregnable to any foreign invader. It would shatter Japanese and world imperialism and the Indian and British workers could march together on the road to Socialism and freedom.

OPEN THE BOOKS FOR WORKERS' INSPECTION

The Essential Works Order is in fine fettle. It has begun to kick. More and more workers are finding themselves in police courts and being heavily punished for breaches of the E.W.O.: On May 14th it was reported by Mr. Bevin that 2,681 workers had been prosecuted and 220 imprisoned. Since then the number has greatly increased. In one North-east town alone more than a hundred dockers are coming up for trial.

MUNICHER ATTACKS WORKERS

In a letter to the *Times* of the 20th May, the noble Lord Londonderry of Munich fame declared that the "unsatisfactory provisions of the E.W.O. and the weak administration of them have tended to undermine the authority of the manager and officials and have completely failed to deal with the problem of absenteeism. This matter urgently calls for attention. I am sure that the deterioration in production that has taken place in recent months is closely related to this factor, which has lately found such prominent expression in sporadic unauthorised strikes such as those at Betteshanger and Mainsforth."

This boss-class campaign for more anti-working class legislation goes hand in hand with a vitriolic campaign against the "enormous wages" received by the workers while the soldiers are facing death at half a crown a day. Lord Londonderry's letter, calculated to give the impression that the workers are responsible for the loss in production, carefully avoids the fact that the loss in output was due solely to the action of the mineowners, in the instance quoted, who had closed productive seams to assure their post-war profits!

BOSSSES' SABOTAGE IGNORED

Mr. Bevin also reported that three employers have been prosecuted under the E.W.O. None have been imprisoned! Why haven't more bosses been brought to court? It is because as a class they have no other interest except the national interest? Is it because as a class they have completely subordinated the profit motive to the interests of production? But then why have no prosecutions been brought against the exceptions? The Auditor

Letter from Girl Striker to Her Soldier Husband

Below we reproduce a letter written by a girl striker to her soldier husband, recording the course of a stay-in strike, in which she participated. The strike took place in a large Midland factory and involved thousands of workers. The cause of the stoppage was the operation of a new timing system which meant the workers losing from 2/6 to 15/- a week in wages—and in fact reduced their earnings to less than in peace time. To further spread discontent among the workers after the bosses had been forced to concede to their demands, the following week they gave the scabs a £2 gift for "services rendered." This practically caused another strike. This shows clearly upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility for the wave of strikes spreading over the Midlands.

My Darling Husband,

Well, we are on strike. Sit down strike this time, in sympathy with the "Bolt Mill" who have been out on strike since last Thursday afternoon. The grievance is about 12 months old now. There is a timing system in operation which means that the workers are earning from 2/6 to 15/- per week less than they were previously. I know there are three "trained Time Checkers" sitting around in spotless overalls speeding up production.

We in the Despatch Warehouse, have been trying to get the other workers to renounce their Scab Union and join the Transport and General Workers' Union, but we were again unsuccessful.

Matters came to a head this morning when other parts of the Works came out on strike. Obviously I didn't intend our girls to backlog, but since the other Shop Stewards shared the responsibility, we decided to get in touch with the Organiser of the union on the phone and get him on the job. The girls agreed to take no action until he came down and spoke to them, but he didn't intend to act upon what he said, but would follow the action of the Shop Stewards. The second time we phoned, we got through to him, but he stated he was too busy to come down to speak to the girls. So before he had finished speaking, I told C. that I was striking. She was with me.

We got the girls and men up to a large room at the top of the Warehouse and told the management we were on strike. We decided to stay on the grounds while striking so that we could not be served summonses for absenteeism, though some of the girls decided to go home now, 2.30 p.m. I will stay on the job until 5.30 in any case, though I don't intend to work overtime on strike!

2.45 p.m. Most of the girls have decided to go home, but they have had instructions to be back at 7.25 in the morning and come up to this room. They have got to stay out till the end now. There are less than 5% left in the Warehouse now and even the scabs are not working.

4 p.m. Everyone has now gone home out of the Warehouse except a very few of the "Old Faithfuls" numbering not more than 13 to 2 dozen. There are not more than 4 to 6 girls among them. Even my forewoman has gone. Two of us are staying on until 5.30 in the event of fresh developments. At 3 o'clock the manager told all 4 Shop Stewards that anyone who would carry on work from 3.15 until 5.30 would be paid for a full day's work, otherwise we would be paid for this morning only. He asked us whether we would start. You might know what answer he got.

D. (the Rat) has just come round reminding those who are still working to clock out... he got his answer... J. has just brought me the news

that the manager and the workers are at a dead-lock, unable to reach any agreement whatsoever so at 4.30 I leave as there is nothing more I can do until 7.25 tomorrow.

This morning as soon as we had got the workers settled, we four Shop Stewards went round the works to let them know that we were out in sympathy and to try to get in touch with the leaders in the various shops, but unfortunately, were unable to find them. We did, however, get in touch with some of the workers and I spoke to them, pointing out that it was futile to stay in "R.B." (Scab) union and persuading them to join the Transport and General Workers' Union. I think we will be able to organise Mill, since they agreed enthusiastically with all I said. Bolt Mill workers had gone home. Bar Shop is now 99% trade union—T.G.W.U. We will get union forms over to — as soon as possible.

Well, I will let you know of any further developments if possible. Anyway I will see you the week-end.

Lots of love,
G.

Friday Morning,

Went to work this morning 7.25. Everyone turned up. D. came up to speak to us. His opening words were: "I am not going to appeal to you on my behalf or on behalf of the firm to return to work, but God knows, and so do you, the need of our country." He went on to tell us that Bar Shop were now at work and the Mills were going to start. He mentioned the few very small rooms or sections that were still working. He said he knew that 75% of us wished to get on the job and gave us 15 minutes to make up our minds. Soon after the Rat had gone, I was wanted on the phone. Someone had gone over to the Bar Shop and reported that no-one was at work. Someone else phoned me from the Mills to say they had gone home, except about half a dozen who were not working. We left other workers know this. We decided, of course, to go home and report back at 5 o'clock for our pay.

About a dozen in all were left in the Warehouse so two girls went over and fetched a gang of Mill girls in, who booted and cut-calls, etc. singing. I came home at 10 o'clock.

I rather think we will be out for a few days unless the Government steps in with strike-breaking methods. The Management seem determined to hold out. They are relying on Government support. There was a fair report in Thursday night's "Evening Despatch" of our strike.

Later: Returned to work 7.25 Tuesday morning. Condition: Bolt Mill: Main grievance was minute system. Highest rates of pay pending arbitration. Minor grievances settled immediately. Nuts Shop: System suspended pending negotiations. Minor demands granted immediately.

AMOUNTS GUARANTEED

LONDON	£	s.	d.
Kilburn	-	-	3 15 0
Shepherds Bush	-	-	2 0 0
Southall	-	-	1 10 0
East End	-	-	5 0 0
South	-	-	10 0 0
Edmonton	-	-	5 0 0
Islington	-	-	2 0 0
Anonymous	-	-	1 0 0
Willesden	-	-	10 0 0
			30 15 0
Glasgow	-	-	5 0 0
Edinburgh	-	-	2 0 0
Nottingham	-	-	1 0 0
Birmingham	-	-	5 0 0
Coventry	-	-	2 0 0
Liverpool and Birkenhead	-	-	5 0 0
Burnley	-	-	2 0 0
Wolverhampton	-	-	1 10 0
Leeds	-	-	3 0 0
Northampton	-	-	10 0 0
Slough	-	-	2 0 0
Bristol	-	-	3 0 0
Derby	-	-	1 0 0
Barnet	-	-	5 0 0
R.A.F. Wilts	-	-	2 0 0
Grantham	-	-	12 6
Welwyn Garden City	-	-	1 5 0
			£70 17 6

AMOUNTS RECEIVED

LONDON:	£	s.	d.
Edmonton	-	-	2 15 0
Kilburn	-	-	6 12 0
Willesden	-	-	13 6
Anon.	-	-	5 0 0
South	-	-	7 15 0
Enfield Shop Steward	-	-	10 0
Southall	-	-	2 6 0
Hendon Shop Steward	-	-	1 0 0
Irish Friend	-	-	4 6
Shepherds Bush	-	-	5 0 0
Emigre	-	-	4 0
Royal Navy	-	-	5 0 0
East End	-	-	7 12 0
PROVINCES:			
R.A.F., Surrey	-	-	10 0
Barnet	-	-	1 0 0
Welwyn Garden City	-	-	1 5 0
Grantham Shop Steward	-	-	12 6
Slough	-	-	2 0 0
Nottingham	-	-	5 0 0
Sheffield	-	-	3 0 0
Members of the First	-	-	
Interactions	-	-	10 0
Edinburgh	-	-	15 0
Glasgow	-	-	5 0 0
Wolverhampton	-	-	1 0 0
Birmingham	-	-	17 0
Coventry	-	-	2 0 0
Northampton	-	-	1 0 0
Bristol	-	-	1 0 0
Darby	-	-	12 0

£66 1 6

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EDITORIAL.

COAL CRISIS: 'No Half and Half Measures'

The coal question threatens to provoke a political crisis in Britain.

The coalowners, in their lust to increase their fabulous profits, are determined to retain their grip on the industry and are frustrating any attempt to give the miners a voice in the control of the industry. The most reactionary section of the British ruling class, the coal owners sabotaged the proposal to ration coal; they close the most productive seams for "after the war" while they prosecute the miners for absenteeism; they cheat the miners out of their legitimate earnings by diverse means; they deprive them of a living wage. All this at the expense of increased output and in the interest of greed and profits.

The miners, whose conditions of labour are the most arduous of any section of workers, facing continual danger while they earn among the lowest wages in the country, are surging forward in strike action for the improvement of their lot. Slowly but surely, they are beginning to realise that the problems of better conditions and more coal can only be solved by taking the mines out of the hands of the owners and running them in the benefit of the nation. Nationalisation of the mines is their demand.

In the last war, under the pressure of the miners, the government promised to set up a Commission "after the war" to examine the case for nationalisation and guaranteed to carry out its findings. But when the war was over and the Commission found the case for nationalisation was proved to the hilt, naturally, the government of big business broke that promise they had solemnly made to the miners. Today, however, the labour and trade union leaders are not even demanding a promise of nationalisation "after the war." They have betrayed the miners once again. In face of the opposition of the coal owners and their government, they have backed down and agreed to a shameful compromise.

A Joint Board of miners, government and owners is to be set up to "control" the industry. The government representative represents the owners—this will leave the miners in the minority. In addition to this the miners' "representatives" will not be elected by the rank and file miners, but will be appointed by the union leaders. This means that they will only remotely represent the interests of the miners, and that these bureaucrats will receive fat jobs and hob-nob with the bosses. No doubt they will grant a miserable increase to the miners. The coal owners will howl about the sacrifices they are making. . . and by subsidy from the government or by increased prices or both, they will not only prevent sacrifices, but increase their already inflated profits.

It is time that this farce was ended. It is time that the leaders of the workers be forced to act in the interests of the workers they are supposed to represent and not the owners. Not a rotten compromise, but the expropriation of the mines without compensation, and their operation under the control of the miners. The owners have been paid over and over again for their original investments in the blood and sweat of the miners. Every miner knows that a committee formed on the basis of his representatives in the pit could, in co-operation with the technicians and mining engineers run the industry better than any management. They could protect and raise the living standard of the miners and they could guarantee to produce all the coal needed, by sweeping aside the vested interests of the coal barons.

How apt, how startlingly apt today are the words of Lenin in 1917 when he attacked the betrayal of the Russian Labour leaders who were in a coalition government like the British leaders today.

"Concerning the coal industry, which is no less "ready," shamelessly managed by the coal kings, the robbers of the people, we have a number of very telling facts of direct sabotage, of direct wrecking and stopping of production by the industrialists. Even the ministerial Menshevik 'Rabochaya Gazeta' has admitted these facts. And the result? Nothing, absolutely nothing has been done except old, reactionary-bureaucratic "half and half" conferences, with equal numbers of delegates from the workers and from the bandits of the coal syndicates!

Not a single revolutionary-democratic step; not a shadow of an attempt to establish the only real control from below through a union of employees, through the workers, by means of terror against coal operators who are ruining the country and stopping production! How can it be otherwise when we "all" are in favour of a "coalition," if not with the Cadets, then with the commercial and industrial circles, and when coalition means leaving power with the capitalists, letting them go unpunished, letting them obstruct business, blame everything on the workers, increase economic ruin, and prepare in this way a new Kornilov affair."—LENIN.

The only difference between the Russian and British labour leaders is that the actions of the latter are even more shameful. Instead of "half and half" conferences, they propose conferences in which the workers are in the minority. Instead of nationalisation, we have so-called "national control."

This is the fruit of collaboration with the capitalists. The reply of the miners and the whole working class must be to redouble the campaign for expropriation of the mines and their operation under the control of the miners.

COMMUNIST PARTY BRANDS US FASCIST

Look at their Record

By Andrew Scott

HOW WILL THE ADVANCE OF FASCISM BE SMASHED THE SOVIET UNION BE DEFENDED THE FOUNDATIONS OF A REAL PEACE BE LAID ?

Workers International League

says:

"... ONLY BY INDEPENDENT ACTION OF THE WORKERS, ENDING THE COALITION WITH THE TORIES, AND ULTIMATELY TAKING POWER INTO THEIR OWN HANDS."

From that position the leaders of the Communist Party have taken their next logical step and are engaged in the most violent denunciation of all those who, in any way whatever, support the class struggle of the workers, even where this takes the form of the smallest protest strike in the tiniest and most obscure factory. But above all

the C.P. leaders denounce the *Socialist Appeal* and its policy. 'The *Socialist Appeal*', they yell, 'is a Fascist paper!' 'The policy of the *Socialist Appeal*', they shriek, 'only helps Hitler'.

The *Socialist Appeal* has challenged the Communist Party leaders to debate the matter openly before the workers and on a political plane. But the only

reply has been wild intensification of the abuse and slanders.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is inescapable! The leaders of the Communist Party dare not engage in a political discussion of the policy of the *Socialist Appeal*. To do so would be to lay their own traitorous policy of class collaboration open to the devas-

The Communist Party

says:

"... ONLY BY ACCEPTING THE CONTINUED LEADERSHIP OF CHURCHILL AND THE TORY PARTY, BY OBSERVING THE ELECTORAL TRUCE, AND BY GIVING UP STRIKE ACTION FOR THE DURATION OF THE WAR."

tating fire of revolutionary criticism. And so they have to resort to the final court of appeal of all renegades and traitors: they accuse those who offer the workers a genuine solution of their problems on the road of class struggle, of working directly or indirectly for Hitler.

What we propose to do in this

article is to examine the record of those doughty champions of democracy who propose to smash Hitler, to save the Soviet Union, and to liberate Europe, by bowing the knee most humbly to Winston Churchill; by accepting the leadership through thick and thin, of this most wily of Soviet Russia's enemies and of his entire class.

THEY CALLED FOR PEACE ON HITLER'S TERMS

The first open test of the "anti-Hitlerism" of Pollitt, Dutt & Co. came on September 19th, 1939. On that day Hitler, having smashed down the resistance of the Polish Army in a few weeks, made a speech in which he put out a "peace offer". The immediate reaction of the Daily Worker was one of scepticism. On September 20 it commented:

"The speech of Hitler, delivered at Danzig yesterday contained, as expected, a 'peace' offer. . . Thus, with bombed and destroyed Polish villages but a few miles distant from the scene of his oration, Hitler, in the name of peace, called to be left free in possession of his booty, left free to seek further victims."

But, alas, this was not so much a matter of seeing clearly what was before their eyes, as another manifestation of that unfortunate tendency of the British C.P. leaders to lag a week or two behind in their attempts to interpret the Kremlin's wishes. It took them precisely twelve days to realise that what was 'appeasement' in September 1938 was in the interests of the masses in September 1939. On October 2nd the main Daily Worker headline read:

"It is not Too Late"—Moscow View of Peace Offer to Europe.

And on the following day their main headline said in regard to Hitler's peace offer:

"Opinion Grows in Favour of 'Serious Consideration'."

On the day after that, so quickly had opinion grown in favour, that the Communist Party issued a special statement saying:

"We are against the continuance of the war. We demand that negotiations be immediately opened for the establishment of peace in Europe."

And let there be no mistake about it—these negotiations were to be conducted with Hitler. The Communist Party was now trying to persuade the British workers that Hitler now genuinely wanted peace! On October 5 the Daily Worker raged against Chamberlain for suggesting that 'acceptance of the peace plan would have to be based on the 'mere assurances of the present German Government'." Indignantly, the Daily Worker pointed out that:

"In these words he (Chamberlain) attempted to conceal the fact—recognised even by Mr. Lloyd George—that this is not in the very slightest degree a 'Hitler plan' of the sort which Mr. Chamberlain himself so gladly accepted at Munich."

The full enormity and cynicism of this attempt to cover up Hitler's plans can only be savoured if we recollect what Hitler said in his "peace" speech and compare it with subsequent events. On October 7 Hitler said:

THEY EXONERATED HITLER AND BLAMED THE BRITISH—

It was from this period onward till about the time of the fall of France that the C.P. leadership, partly by emphasis, partly by innuendo, partly by what it missed out and partly by direct statement, gave the undoubted impression that while Hitler really and truly wanted peace, the imperialists of Britain and France wanted to continue the war. Their conclusion was that now Anglo-French imperialism was more reactionary than German imperialism. Molotov sounded the tuning fork for this chorus in his November 2nd speech:

"Today so far as the European great Powers are concerned, Germany is in the position of a State which is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, while Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaiming against aggression are in favour of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. Roles you see are changing."

This new line was merely the opposite side of the counterfeit coin which the Kremlin had put in circulation during the previous period. Then, it was the "democracies" that were "peace-loving", now it was Hitler. Truly, the effects of alliance, or even of flirtation, with the Kremlin are magical! Stalin's magic touch turns the basest metals to pure gold! Hitler's "peace proposals" and now Churchill's "war aims" have in this fashion been transmuted.

The line of "Hitler the Peace Lover" received clear expression in the Daily Worker Editorial on February 1st, 1940. In dealing with a speech made by Hitler it said:

"Hitler repeated once again his claim that the war was thrust upon him by Britain. Against this historical fact there is no reply. Britain declared war, not Germany. Attempts were made to end the war, but the Soviet German peace over-

tures were rejected by Britain. All through these months the British and French Governments have had the power to end the war. They have chosen to extend it. . . War should never have been declared on September 3, there should have been negotiations and peace talks."

"There should have been negotiations and peace talks"! Just as if Lenin had not spent years of his life impressing on the workers that whether the imperialists arranged peace or whether they waged war, it was always at the expense of the masses and was decided only by what best suited the imperialists' interests. The Communist Party was not Lenin's way, the way of leading the workers on their own independent path to a real peace or to a genuine revolutionary war. The Communist Party was the way of treachery, the way of deception, the way of "bringing pressure to bear" on the capitalists.

A negotiated peace at that time would have thrown Europe into the lap of Hitler, who was solving his problems by easy stages, even more cheaply than was subsequently the case. And on the other hand, the continuation of the war under Chamberlain, Churchill and the capitalist class has just as little to offer the British masses. Today it can be seen that the Communist Party has succeeded in jumping from one betrayal right over to another: from a "peace" in Hitler's interest to a war in Churchill's.

The events connected with the occupation of Norway served to underline the C.P. policy of depicting Anglo-French imperialism as the group that wanted bigger and better wars, and Hitler as the unfortunate victim of their malicious plans.

Any genuine Marxist party would have pointed out that little importance attached to the question which of the

Continued overleaf.

"Our relations with Denmark are those of friendly co-operation. As to Holland, it is our aim to maintain our relations with her on the same peaceful basis as before. I have always made it clear that Germany has nothing to ask from Belgium. After the cession of the Saar land I have repeatedly declared that we have no more claims to make on France. Instead of claims, I have but one wish: to bury our old antagonism and to find the way to peace."

For a Party which tried to persuade the British workers to take that speech seriously, to turn round now and accuse the *Socialist Appeal* of being "Pro-Hitler" is for it to soar into a stratosphere of cynical impertinence far beyond the feeble limits reached by any previous demagogues.

And what was the justification that the King Street leadership advanced for this 12 day transfiguration? It

was simply that Hitler's peace offer was now just, sincere and honest because it was being supported by Stalin! It is well to remember that at a time when an exactly similar deception is being put over on the British workers by Pollitt & Co.—the theory that Churchill's formerly unjust war plan is now perfectly just and righteous—because it has Stalin's backing.

The campaign for a negotiated peace with Hitler went on with increasing vehemence. Said the Daily Worker on Oct. 9:

"The demand for the stopping of the war is growing throughout the country. The people of Britain do not want this war. What are we fighting for? This question is being asked everywhere."

And the opinions of every depriver of the masses from Lloyd George to Bernard Shaw were mobilised by the

C.P. to give weight to the peace campaign. The Daily Worker asserted on October 9:

"Bernard Shaw was a thousand times right when he stated that the best way to abolish Hitlerism was to begin by abolishing Churchillism, a proposition not less nonsensical and more easily within our reach!"

In answer to a questionnaire sent round by the Daily Worker, Bernard Shaw advised:

"Cease Fire, Turn Up the Lights" and this provided the headline of the October 14 issue of the Daily Worker. Professor Haldane agreed on the necessity for an armistice and a negotiated peace, and so also did that present redoubtable champion of "democracy" Sir Stafford Cripps. Willie Gallacher took the line with:

"We must face up to whatever peace terms there are."

CONSUMERS' COMMITTEES ONLY REPLY TO FOOD COMBINES

By G. Healey

Whilst this wholesale robbery is being carried out the combine directors and the government are continuously plotting ways and means to blindfold the masses to their organised policy of "legal plunder". First of all great play is being made about the Black market. One is given the impression that the twin evils of food shortage and high prices were the results of schemes worked out by a handful of gangsters in the back room of a Soho night club. But the most sinister aspect of this propaganda is that the public are led to believe that all of these gangsters are Jews. In this way an anti-semitic bias is being deliberately fostered. The yellow press has gone out of its way to give prominence to the names of people of Jewish extraction engaged in Black market deals.

No one denies that Jews are not mixed up in the black market or for that matter in big business as well. But the ramifications of the Black Market and Monopoly control do not arise from racial sources, but from the inherent rottenness of capitalism. When we examine the "legal" way in which the combines assisted by the government rob the workers we examine the antics of the "big fleas" and the same system which so prolifically breeds big fleas in the shape of trusts and combines also breeds little ones in the shape of the "black market", which are also very necessary for its existence. If it were not for the black market, the rich would have no illicit channels to obtain the luxury foods to pack their bellies. It is not the wives of working men who shop in the black market, it is the toadies and hotel proprietors who cater for the big capitalists that use this cesspool. The gentlemen who are so loud-mouthed in denouncing the Jews as the backbone of the Black market will be generally found guzzling oranges, grapes and other rare foods in the luxury hotels and restaurants.

The attempt on the part of the big capitalists to encourage anti-semitism is intended to counter the growing dissatisfaction amongst the small shopkeepers and the poorer strata of the workers who are hardest hit. The Whitsuntide debate on the small retailer shows that this problem is occupying a great deal of attention. This is only logical since the increasing stranglehold of the trusts upon the

retail trade is bound to drive ever increasing numbers of small shopkeepers out of business. The capitalists are learning from Goebbels and this filthy attempt to picture the Jews as the real parasites shows that anti-semitic propaganda will be used in Britain for the same purpose as it was used in Germany: to canalise the indignation of the masses into counter-revolutionary channels.

CONSUMERS MUST CONTROL

The Government, big business and the sponsors of the Black Market are out to fleece the workers as much as possible. In this way they are all united. The nation's food supply and the health of the people are secondary to the question of profits. The real solution to the profiteering of the combines and the horse deals of the Black Market lies in the control of the food supplies. It is fantastic that a handful of parasites should be legally entitled to hold the lives of millions of people for ransom in their mad lust for bigger profits. There is only one solution to this serious state of affairs and that is to take control of our food supplies out of the hands of the capitalists and their government. This can be done very quickly and efficiently through committees consisting of small shopkeepers, housewives, industrial workers and the employees of the food combines. By pressing forward for the setting up of such committees the way is being paved towards effective control and equitable distribution. By including small shopkeepers and combine employees on such committees, their experience in the food trade would be invaluable in facilitating smooth organisation and distribution. At the same time a real alliance against anti-semitism would be forged.

GOVERNMENT AIDS COMBINES

Meanwhile we are reminded that this is a peoples' war in which everyone shares the burden. Optimistic statesmen such as Lord Halifax assures us that it may last twenty years. The stalwart champions of freedom who control the food combines will agree that he is a man after their own hearts. For the longer it goes on the more

steadily will their profits increase. Although consumption has been cut to nearly half what it was in peace time, the profits of the combines far exceed their peace-time level. Trading profits for the Home and Colonial group which are entirely owned by the Unilever financial octopus rose from £1,002,506 in 1939 to £1,259,249 in 1941. The profits derived from food do not at all depend upon the amount that is sold. The increase in the cost of living is the direct result of the policy of plundering the workers pursued by the big monopolies of the food trade.

Far from the government hindering this policy they do a great deal to assist it. Eighteen of their appointed food controllers hold between them 84 directorships mostly in big food manufacturing and trading firms. So powerful is the grip of big business upon the nation's food supplies, that it is in a position to dictate its own price for every household commodity. The government deliberately carries out a policy which is designed to cover this up. By handing out subsidies which amount to £125 million a year to the food trusts they indirectly pay over huge profits in lump sums. So much so that Sir George Schuster in his statement to Home and Colonial shareholders admitted that the margins of profits allowed to the food trade since war began "were higher than those which his organisation should have considered it right or politic to take in normal times". The food subsidy racket simply means that the workers are being fleeced through high taxation in order to pay the combines.

A CORRECTION

E. Grant, 8th May, 1942.
61, Northdown St., N.1.
Dear Comrade,
Allow me to draw your attention to an error in the "Socialist Appeal", April 1942, in the article "Remember Hong Kong and This".
To my knowledge, no such person as "General Dwyer" existed. The man responsible for the Amritsar Massacre was an individual named General Dyer (Dyer not Dwyer). This was not, however, the man killed by the Indian Student in London. The victim of the Student was Sir Michael O'Dwyer who had been Governor of India at the time of the massacre. General Dyer died long before the shooting incident.
Yours fraternally,
P. C. Osmond.

