



# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

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## BUTTER — NOT GUNS!

### £900 Million Squandered Yearly on Military Expenditure Demand This be Spent on Food

THE ALREADY MEAGRE RATIONS OF THE WORKERS ARE TO BE REDUCED. £144 MILLION IN FOOD EXPENDITURE IS TO BE SAVED AS COMPARED TO ONLY £20 MILLION ON OVERSEAS MILITARY COMMITMENTS.

This fact in itself speaks eloquently on which the Labour Government regards as more important: the military commitments of British imperialism or the food of the working class.

Instead of drawing the working class into the planning and controlling of Britain's production, the Labour Government chooses to consult with the capitalist class of Britain and the United States.

Instead of spreading Socialism through the far corners of the earth the Labour Government maintains armed forces for imperialist aims.

And this is to be paid for at the expense of the food and health of the working class. So long as £900,000,000, or 2/- in the £1. of the whole national income is spent on armaments, the working class will not

willingly bear added sacrifices—for the simple reason that these sacrifices will not be for the advancement of a Socialist system. The capitalists can always get round the rationing system. Under capitalism if you have money you can buy anything.

The Trade Unions and Labour organisations must force the Government to end this military wastage, and to end it now. And instead of cutting into the standards of the working class, force them to raise them at the expense of capitalist interests abroad and capitalist profits at home.

## The Spivs Are in the City of London

A new enemy of the people looms large in the consciousness of the population at the present time: the odious figure of the SPIV.

A skilful campaign of comic pictures and sensational stories in the Press, moralising and indignant sermons in the churches, jokes and attacks on the B.B.C., have built up a picture of the unpatriotic spivs battenning on the population, indulging in shady deals on the race-courses, engaging in petty larceny and the black market, and refusing to do a useful job for the benefit of the country.

There is a purpose behind this campaign. It suits the needs of the capitalist class at this time of Labour shortage and the general shortages in Britain. However, this is not the first of such propaganda drives. In the years before the war and especially during the slump of 1929-33 a similar campaign was directed against the unemployed. They were people who didn't want to work, loafers, dodgers, etc., and all sorts of individual cases were written up or even concocted in the capitalist press for the purpose of poisoning the minds of the workers in employment against the unemployed victims of capitalism.

The object then was to divert the attention of the workers from the responsibility of the capitalist system for mass unemployment. Now the intention is to divert attention from the Big Spivs and at the same time to exert pressure in the interests of the big capitalists against small traders such as the barrow boys attempting to gain a living by this means, and force them into employment which is more profitable to the capitalist class.

Its an excellent idea to put in productive labour and useful occupations the parasites who are preying on the workers and living on the fruits of their toil. But why start on the poor barrow boys who are distributing fruit and vegetables. Or even on the genuine small spivs and touts who hang around the billiard rooms and pubs? The real spivs wear top hats, lounge around the Riviera, or "work" in the City of London, or the Stock Exchange.

Put the Big Spivs the monopoly capitalists, finance sharks and bankers out of business. Take over industry without compensation and put them to useful work. To attack the small spivs and make them responsible for the chaos, mismanagement and crisis brought about by the lust for profits of the capitalist class is sheer hypocrisy.

## STOP DESTROYING VEGETABLES!

### Form Distributing Centres

BY DOUGLAS DUNCAN

The recent activity of the market gardeners in selling vegetable and fruit produce direct to the consumer has received widespread support from working-class housewives.

This "grower to buyer movement" arose out of the criminal wastage of crops which occurred when the prices offered to the growers by the wholesalers were not sufficient to cover the cost of picking and transporting the crops.

Vegetables were ploughed under all over the country. At the same time, the prices of fruit and vegetables in the shops were too high for the working class housewife.

The aim of the direct sales scheme was to cut out the extortionate profits of the middlemen which, according to the "News Chronicle" of 18th August, ranged as high as 60%.

At Croydon, where East Grinstead growers set up stalls in an arcade and housewives fixed the prices, cucumbers cost 3d. as against 9d. to 1/- in nearby shops, lettuces fetched 3d. as against 9d. Tomatoes were 6d. a lb. cheaper, peas 2d. to 3d. and beans 2d. a lb. cheaper.

A working class housewife who bought apples, cucumber, tomatoes, lettuce, beans and peas halved her bill. In Birmingham, Worcestershire and other parts of the country similar drastic reductions were effected.

At the same time, many of the growers who had been faced with ruin because they were unable to market their crops not only disposed of them, but were able to show a considerably higher profit than they had obtained at any time through the normal trade channels. Some indication of the fantastic profits made by the wholesalers is given by the fact that many retailers found it more profitable to buy from the Direct Supply Association: they arrived from all over London.

By noon on the first day, prices in Croydon had fallen by 20%. The established middle men attempted to write off the whole affair as a stunt and ascribed the

fall in prices solely to the fact that Direct Supply had few labour costs and no overheads. Whilst it is true that part of the reduction could be ascribed to the use of volunteer labour and the ready co-operation of the housewives, this does not account for the whole reduction. An indication of this was given in Birmingham, where the scheme was joined and supported by the greengrocers who claimed that the wholesalers regularly supplied fruit and vegetables inferior to the samples shown to buyers, showed favouritism to certain retailers and sold goods in a condition that other more expensive articles were also bought.

This experience has clearly exposed the anarchical conditions that obtain today in the capitalist market. Whilst the Labour Government threatens fresh cuts in the rations of the working class and produces a plan for 30% greater agricultural production in Britain than during the war, food is destroyed and denied to the working class for the sake of the profits of the wholesalers.

Whilst the "grower to buyer movement" shows the extent of the racket, it does not of itself provide the solution to the question. What is necessary is not to eliminate completely the whole marketing organisation, but to rationalise it by cutting out all unnecessary handling of the goods and the layers of "wholesalers" whose only function is to reap their profits at the expense of the consumer and the small producers. For this, there must be established committees of Labour and Co-operative women's organisations with representatives of the Trade Unions and of the Market Gardeners and small producers. Such committees could ensure speedy and equitable distribution of available supplies.

## GIVE US PROTECTION — NOT THEM COMPENSATION!



## MORE WORK FOR MINERS MEANS INCREASED ACCIDENT RATE

AT THE HEIGHT OF THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN BLAMING THE MINER FOR THE LACK OF COAL, DEATH STRUCK A CRUEL AND RUTHLESS BLOW AT THE MINING COMMUNITY.

In quick succession, two pit disasters occurred within a hundred miles of each other. The first at the William Pit, Whitehaven, Cumberland, where 111 miners were killed; the second at the Morrison Busty Pit, Annfield Plain, Co. Durham, where another 20 miners were killed. Both pits are among the oldest in the district.

### CROCODILE TEARS

For a few days after the Whitehaven disaster, the press campaign against the miners was sizzling. In its place, a spate of articles appeared gushing sympathy with the miners, well seasoned with a liberal dose of crocodile tears.

The tragedy that strikes a miner's home in the wake of such a disaster was nakedly revealed. The whole male population of a family wiped out. Almost the entire male population of a street and of a large part of a village—300 children fatherless. The stark reality of a miner's life, which the Press terms a "man's job" is brought out during ones of these all too frequent accidents.

But after a few days, the Press backs of Fleet Street were soon at it again: digging coal by the million ton—not with a pneumatic pick, but on the keyboard of a

typewriter! Beverbrook, Rothermere, Kensley, all gave ample space to the cry: Drive the Miner! Save the Nation. Work harder—Dig more coal!

At such a period, when the Union leaders and the Yellow Press attempt to create the illusion that the miners are slackening; that they are well paid for doing little work; that the absentees are the source of all evil—it would be well to recall a few facts.

**EACH YEAR —  
1,000 KILLED  
160,000 INJURED**

Each year, 900 to 1,000 miners are killed. Each year about 700,000 miners are injured. When the capitalist press screams out for more coal, remember that the time lost by accidents in pits alone each year is equal to the whole working time of about 7,000 miners.

If we assume a working life of 50 years, then on the average out of 100 miners entering the pit at 14, six or seven will be killed in the pit, and 20 very seriously injured. The average miner may expect to be injured fairly seriously once every five years during his working life.

The William Pit explosion brings home the hazardous nature of mining. But that is only part of the picture. The life of a miner is a constant battle against falling rock, against disease to the eyes, the filling of the lungs with stone which rots them and dooms the miner to an agonising death, from which medical science offers no means of escape at the moment.

A considerable proportion of the accidents and the disease which ravages the mining community each year can be avoided. But only if the lust for profit, which still continues under the National

### For Workers' Defence Guards

Only the organised action of the workers will defeat the fascists. The London Trades Council must immediately begin the formation of a Workers' Defence Guard composed of volunteers from the Trade Union Movement. A vigorous campaign of recruitment of Union members must be undertaken, and a serious programme of training of the volunteers commenced.

All working class meetings in the areas where the fascists are beginning their activity again, must be defended by the Defence Guard. Side by side with this, must go a direct campaign against the fascists by means of meetings, counter-meetings, demonstrations

Coal Board as in the days of privately owned pits, is ended once and for all.

It has been irrefutably established that the rate of accident and sickness in the pits increases whenever the miners are driven to work harder, longer, or to speed up their pace. (See Facts on page 4.)

The insistence of the Labour Government that the miners should produce the same quantity of coal in the 5-day week as they had previously done in 6 days—their demand that they work longer hours or return to the 6-day week and produce more than previously—IS A CERTAIN FORERUNNER OF INCREASING ACCIDENT RATE, OF INCREASING ILLNESS FROM INDUSTRIAL DISEASE.

But because the National Coal Board still operates according to capitalist principles, it seeks not

(Continued on Page 4.)

## SMASH FASCISM By Workers' Action!

BY D. GARBUTT

### C.P. Policy Leads to Defeat Form Workers' Defence Guards

UNDER THE NAME OF THE BRITISH EX-SERVICEMEN'S LEAGUE, THERE HAS BEEN A CONSIDERABLE REVIVAL OF FASCIST ACTIVITY IN LONDON.

For two weeks in succession in the Dalston area they have marched to Stalinist meetings shouting "WE WANT MOSLEY". They were able to break up the C.P. meeting on August 17th. Earlier at their own meeting they assaulted Fred Mullally of the "Sunday Pictorial".



On the second occasion, August 24th, this fascist Ex-Servicemen's League was again able to rally its forces and lead a demonstration in the face of an Anti-Fascist Rally called by the C.P.

In all, about 5,000 people were present, the bulk of them anti-fascists. The fascist demonstration numbered at the most 300 people, mostly youths. Yet they were allowed to stand at the back of the Anti-Fascist meeting shouting slogans, and throwing stones and bottles.

So far from this being, as the "Daily Worker" claimed, a victory for "the people of London," it represented a step forward for the fascists.

Every time they are able to come out into the open with impunity, they are emboldened. Each time they are able to organise a demonstration, they are given a basis on which to rebuild their old organisations.

The fascists are attempting to group together a cadre with which they hope to build a mass movement in the coming slump.

The time to smash the menace of fascism in Britain is when their forces are still weak.

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All working class meetings in the areas where the fascists are beginning their activity again, must be defended by the Defence Guard. Side by side with this, must go a direct campaign against the fascists by means of meetings, counter-meetings, demonstrations

carried out by a United Front of all working-class parties and the Trade Unions.

### C.P. Policy Fatal

The anti-fascist rally on August 24, showed clearly the fatal policy that the Communist Party is carrying out at the present time. Their speakers failed completely to show the real nature of fascism as the advance guard of capitalist reaction against the working class. The only demands that were raised at the meeting were: For the Government to ban the fascists, and, for the workers at the meeting to depend upon the police to do their duty.

Even as the fascists marched towards the meeting the "Daily Worker" Stewards were appealing to the crowd to maintain order, not to provoke the fascists, and rely on the police to deal with them.

Mullally, the journalist put a more militant line when he called for action against the fascists "whenever and wherever they may arise." And despite the attempt of the "Daily Worker" to stave off the thunder, every rank and file Communist Party member who was there knows that the cordon which stopped the fascist advance to the back of the meeting was formed in spite of the action of their own stewards on the initiative mainly of the Jewish 43 Group.

The militants of the C.P. at this meeting were very well conscious that in the face of a direct threat from the fascists, their leadership were unable to give any real alternative to the policy of the Labour Party.

Comrades of the Communist Party! Demand of your leadership a militant struggle against the fascists. For a United Front of all Workers' Organisations against the fascists! Smash the fascists now.

## PARTITION LEADS TO BLOODSHED

100,000 Sikhs and Hindus, and 100,000 Moslems have been killed in the communal slaughter in the Eastern and Western Punjab. This is a direct result of the splitting of the Punjab which divides the Sikh people between Pakistan and India.

This has inflamed and embittered the Sikhs who are torn apart in this arbitrary fashion.

The reactionary partition of the Punjab has been cunningly devised by British Imperialism to prevent a common front of the Muslim, Hindu and Sikh peasants and workers against British Imperialism as well as against their common enemy the Indian Landlords and Capitalists. Instead of peasant against landlord, they have diverted the struggle into religious and communal channels.

The reactionary division of India is the cause of the slaughter, responsibility for which must rest on its authors, British Imperialism and the Congress and Muslim League landlords and capitalists. The solution to the communal problem lies in the unity of the workers and peasants against the capitalists and landlords of all creeds, in a United Socialist India.



AUGUST, 1947.

	£	s.	d.
Collection	26	19	6
Newcastle	14	1	
Coventry	2	0	
Birmingham	15	0	
East London	3	3	4
L.H.L.	1	15	0
Londoners	30	0	0
Tom Paine	2	0	0
O.H., South Wales	10	0	
Croydon	1	13	4
R.S., East London	5	0	0
Kilburn	14	8	
S.W. London	1	14	10
M.S.	3	0	0
Pags			9
<b>Total</b>	<b>£78</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>

**WE DESPERATELY NEED MONEY!**

Friends of "Socialist Appeal"! Once again we are faced with an increase in the cost of paper, and we are now having to pay for our latest quota.

The capitalist press and the "Daily Worker" have taken advantage of the reduced allocations to cut the size of their publications and, in the case of a leading Sunday paper, to raise the price from 2d. to 3d.

We are not doing either of these things. The size of "Socialist Appeal" will remain as before. The price also. This means, concretely, that whilst our revenue will remain about the same, the costs will go up, thus widening the gap between our income and expenditure. Our's is not a dollar crisis, however, but a sterling deficit. That is, one which all of you, dear readers, can help to overcome.

**GIVE to the Fighting Fund!** Not only yourselves but ask every sympathiser, every friend of the paper to do likewise. Our appeal is urgent. Help is desperately needed. We cannot keep going on the twopences paid for the paper. We must build up the **Fighting Fund** of your paper... from your pockets. Give as much as you can afford. In fact, give more. It is a small sacrifice to make for Socialism.

Send all donations to: A. Ross, National Treasurer, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.

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# Building Workers! Oppose Payment By Results!

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE IS REPRINTED FROM THE "BUILDERS' APPEAL," ORGAN OF THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

The rank and file building worker is being called upon to make one of the most momentous decisions he has ever faced. He is being asked to agree to the abandonment of a long cherished condition, plain time rates, and to agree to the introduction of piece rates, more commonly referred to as Payment by Results.

The circular from the Union Executives to the building union branches states: "We believe that although the proposal does not fully meet our claims, nevertheless it does offer the possibility of a material improvement on our members economic position. Although you are now being asked to surrender a long-cherished principle and to accept something that hitherto has been unrecognised, it should be possible by vigilance, effective organisation and control to prevent those abuses which have accompanied payment by results in the past." They add, of course, that "regard must be paid to the officially expressed policy of the Government." (Our emphasis).

The *New Builders' Leader*, in its September issue, states: "Such a change (to P.B.R.) is vitally necessary if the operatives are to get the wages they so sorely need and the working-class the houses so desperately required, and that 'While the offer is not the three shillings the operatives have so eagerly and justly looked forward to, the gross increase in earnings that the Minister's proposal can bring about will give us a FEELING OF SATISFACTION in view of all the factors that have operated against us in the past months.' Further, 'That the union executives are recommending the new proposal is some guarantee that, in future, this defect (discipline resulting from lack of union control) will be removed. A new outlook in trade unionism is required to meet the needs of our time...' (Our emphasis).

To the building rank and file it must have appeared almost impossible that people who claim to "represent" the interests of the workers could use such anti-trade union arguments.

**BOSSSES' ONLY CONCERN IS PROFIT**

In the first place, the building employee has always been concerned, and is equally concerned to-day, over the fact that thousands of his fellow workers are inadequately housed. He belongs to the class which is the sufferer from the housing problem. Many in his own ranks (i.e. building workers) are condemned to slum-dwellings, and similar conditions. But he realises also, that this is not a new problem. Well he remembers the days before the war, when thousands of working class families needed new homes, but at the same time, the employers kept thousands of building workers kicking their heels, propping up the walls of the Labour Exchanges. Then, as now, the only concern of the building employers was how much profit could be made. Any

building the employers carried out was governed by no other factor than this. It is the same to-day, it will be the same to-morrow. Before he was elevated to the job of Minister of Health, Aneurin Bevan recognised this only too well. In the *Tribune* of October 14, 1944, under his editorship, there appeared an article which stated: "The builders and building societies will reap the profits. The Government will increase the tax burden on the masses in order to squander its funds in useless subsidies. A few of the more 'fortunate' workers and middle class families will live in a Jerry-built house at an extortionate rent. The remainder will live in slums, old style and modern, including 'steel tents' and huts. THAT IS WHAT PRIVATE ENTERPRISE HAS TO OFFER."

Only a few days after the N.A.T. rejected the demands of the building workers for 3/- per hour, on the grounds that "the industry cannot afford it," this same Aneurin Bevan announced an increase in the maximum selling price for houses built by private employers of £100, despite the fact that it is estimated that building contracts already placed will bring a profit of £50,000,000 to these same employers.

And, in case anyone imagines that private enterprise has undergone some mystical transformation, and is no longer concerned with profits, since the Labour leaders took over the reins of Government, a few facts will serve to dispel such an illusion. 20 building materials groups made a profit for One Quarter of 1946 of £2,822,000 as compared with £2,612,000 for the corresponding period of 1945. The large rings have continued their plundering of the public without hindrance, from the Bevans and Isaacs. The British Portland Cement Co., made a total profit in 1946 of £1,177,673, as compared with £678,216 in 1945.

From the point of view of the working class, and that is what the Labour and Trade Union leaders are supposed to represent, there is not a single reason why the building workers should not have received 3/- per hour long ago. So long as a penny of profit is being taken out of the industry, their propaganda on this question is so much duplicity.

**PIECE-WORK DIVIDES WORKERS**

The real reason for the introduction of P.B.R. is to transform the industry into a gigantic sweat shop, with the workers at each other's throats in an attempt to gain more bonus, and at the same time swell the profits of the employers. One need only look at the example of other industries where piece-work operates to realise that this is the most effective means of making inroads into the conditions of the workers. Contrary to the tongue in the cheek drivel of the *New Builders' Leader* about the strengthening of T.U. organisations, this will be one of the most effective weapons in breaking it down. "Divide and Rule" is the long established method of the employers. By hitting younger workers against older workers, who cannot work quite so fast, by pitting the bricklayer who is prepared to stand at the end of the line sticking the bricks up at the speed the employer requires, against his

fellow worker who wants to maintain reasonable conditions on the job, by encouraging work in all sorts of weather in order that the necessary "results" may be obtained to maintain a reasonable wage packet, so the employer will rapidly get even a stronger grip than he has to-day.

And all of this will be channelled through the Joint Production Committees, where workers' representatives will sit with employers' representatives in judgment on their fellow workers who they think are "not pulling their weight" or, more accurately, "not sweating their guts out for the profit-grabbing boss." The workers on these Committees have no real effective control or say in the production plans of the boss. Effective control of production remains in the hands of the employer who works out his plans behind closed doors with the Company Directors. J.P.C.s will mainly function as disciplinary committees, as during the war when through "Absentee Committees" thousands of workers were prosecuted whilst not a single employer was put behind prison bars.

**THE ANSWER — REJECT P.B.R.!**

The answer of the rank and file to these proposals is very simple. We must reject P.B.R., and at the same time continue the struggle for the 3/- per hour. It is ironic indeed that the Trade Union bureaucrats are advocating P.B.R. for the rank and file, while they live on the fat of the land themselves, drawing large salaries and fat expenses. They are paid by the rank and file to look after the interests of that rank and file. If anyone should be put on a scheme of Payment by Results it is these same T.U. officials. On their record over the past two years they would have needed to rely on the Public Assistance Committee for a living, for they have produced few "results."

We must demand at the same time from the Labour Government that if it is really seriously concerned about the housing of the population, it must Nationalise, without delay, the land and the entire building industry WITH OUT COMPENSATION. If the employers want some guarantee in return for losing their industries, then we are in favour of them having the same guarantee as the workers—a hod, or a trowel, or a paint-brush, a suit of dungarees and a job on any site at T.U. rates of wages.

At the same time, the nationalised industry must be managed by democratically elected committees of workers, who alone have the housing interests of the working class at heart. This is the way to solve the housing problem—the only way—and at the same time guarantee the conditions of the building workers.

Instead of a ballot for P.B.R. we must ballot for action over our long awaited demand for 3/-. In the meantime, the beginning of this struggle is in the hands of the rank and file. They have this P.B.R. ballot before them. In their own interests and those of the working class in general, they must give the unambiguous answer: "NO PIECE-WORK SCHEME OF ANY DESCRIPTION!"

## Some Facts on Mining Accidents

It is a most striking fact that the accident rate in mining has shown very little reduction since the last war. Such reduction as there has been is mainly in accidents to surface workers.

The fatal accidents (the only ones for which continuous figures are available going back before the last war) show that between 1876 and 1900 there was a rapid reduction in the accident rate (from 175 per 100,000 employed in 1876 and 236 per 100,000 in 1877 to 128.9 in 1900). Up to the last war the rate continued to fall to 114.9 in 1914; there was an increase during the war, but immediately after the war, in the years 1920-1, a record low level was reached of eighty-nine and eighty-seven deaths per 100,000 working. These were also the years when hours were only seven a shift, when real wages in the mines were at their highest point, and when union organisation was at its zenith. The men were therefore in a better position to resist any drive for output at the expense of safety.

The rate rose again in 1922 and dropped with a rise in real wages in 1924. After the 1926 lock-out, when hours were lengthened and wages reduced it rose again to 107. In the years

between 1926 and 1938 it never again fell below 100, and for the greater part of those years it was over 105 per 100,000. In 1938 872 miners were killed in accidents—107 for every 100,000 employed. During the present war this rate has again risen. In 1941 there were 225 fatal accidents, or 130 per 100,000—the highest rate since 1918.

The non-fatal accidents have not reduced either. Indeed, since 1924, when the statistics were first compiled in their present form, there has been a considerable rise in the proportion of miners injured at work. Like the fatal accidents, the rate of non-fatal injuries increased sharply after the 1926 strike and the rise in hours, and it has not fallen appreciably since. The greatest number of accidents, and those which have shown the least improvement, are from falls of ground (i.e. the roof or sides of the workings falling in), while haulage accidents due to runaway tubs, crushing of men against the side, etc., come second. Between one worker in four and one in five is injured every year seriously enough to lose more than three days' work.

Facts taken from "Britain's Coal", by Margot Heinemann.

## PARTY ACTIVITY

BY T. REILLY

**MANCHESTER—**

Our comrades sold the special anti-fascist supplement at a Stalinist (N.C.C.L.) meeting held under the slogan of "Ban the Fascists." It was a packed meeting of 1,500. 200 supplements were sold and 21 copies of "Middle East and the Crossroads." Our comrades also organised a meeting on Platt-Fields which had been advertised by means of chalking and by placards held by the sellers of "Socialist Appeal" in the centre of Manchester where 67 papers were sold.

**LONDON—**

London comrades have been very busy on the anti-fascist campaign holding open air meetings, chalking, writing to the local press and offering a united front with the Communist Party branches and other working class bodies.

In East London a canvass was held on Sunday morning at which 200 supplements were sold. At Hyde Park another 300 were sold on the same day in the afternoon and evening.

A successful meeting was held in the East End of London against the fascists which was attended by about 80 workers. The rank and file members of the Communist Party who were present were extremely friendly.

In Paddington, after chalking the district, a successful open air meeting was held. One comrade sold 70 supplements on her own at this meeting.

Party speakers have addressed a number of trade union branches on the policy of the R.C.P. The attendances have been good—usually more than 40—and our speakers have been enthusiastically received.

## From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

**"MAKE HIM A KNIGHT"!**

In the "Daily Worker" of August 16, there appeared a signed feature article from a member of the Editorial Board about a farmer named Solly. Solly is a friend of the author, the Dean of Canterbury, who tells us that at his hands a "farm of poor soil and rank weeds has now become a rich and fertile land, its capital value being appreciated by one-third."

This capital appreciation is itself not a bad return for Solly's industrious labour, but the "Red" Dean demands greater rewards. "May I give our rulers a hint?" he writes (in the "Daily Worker"! "Let them do something dramatic and arresting. Let them make Solly a knight."

"That and a fine financial prize would make every small farmer in the land sit up and think."

Not only every small farmer, Dr. Johnson. We hope that it's also made every reader of the "Daily Worker" who still claims any allegiance to Communism "sit up and think"!

We wrote in this column last month that the C.P. leaders dare not raise the Leninist principle of "workmen's wages" for all officials for fear of upsetting the trade union bureaucrats in their own ranks. Is the Dean's article a straw in the wind? It seems to be a necessary qualification these days under the Labour Government to be at least a knight in order to receive a well-paid post in a nationalised industry. And already one or two leading Stalinist union leaders must be weighing up their chances of wearing a National Board chair!

**ADVERT IN "THE TIMES" AUGUST 20:**

COURT SUIT complete in case with sword and scabbard; perfect; worn once; super quality; Saville Row; white satin vestcoat un worn; 6 ft. medium build; shoes, stockings, gloves; 200 gms. "Daily Worker" please copy!

**INCENTIVES FOR MINERS**

SOME idea of the mentality of the bureaucrats of the National Coal Board can be gleaned from an

incident in the Leicestershire coalfield, at a place called Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

The local Rural Council has unanimously decided to protest because the Coal Board built a hilly pond opposite Donisthorpe Colliery. The protest comes not from reactionaries who want to deny such amenities to the miners. The protest is on the grounds that it was built at a time when some people had been unable to obtain permits to make proper sanitary arrangements in their houses! The Labour Councillor who moved the resolution of protest declared that the hilly pond was constructed whilst the workers' houses were in such shocking conditions that some of them could see daylight through their ceilings!

It would seem that Lord Hyndley's boys who manage the nationalised industry under the Labour Government are about as close to the masses and understand the situation about as well as the Queen who became famous for offering as a solution to the problem of the shortage of bread, the advice: "Let them eat cake"!

**WORK HARDER... BUT KEEP YOUR JACKET ON**

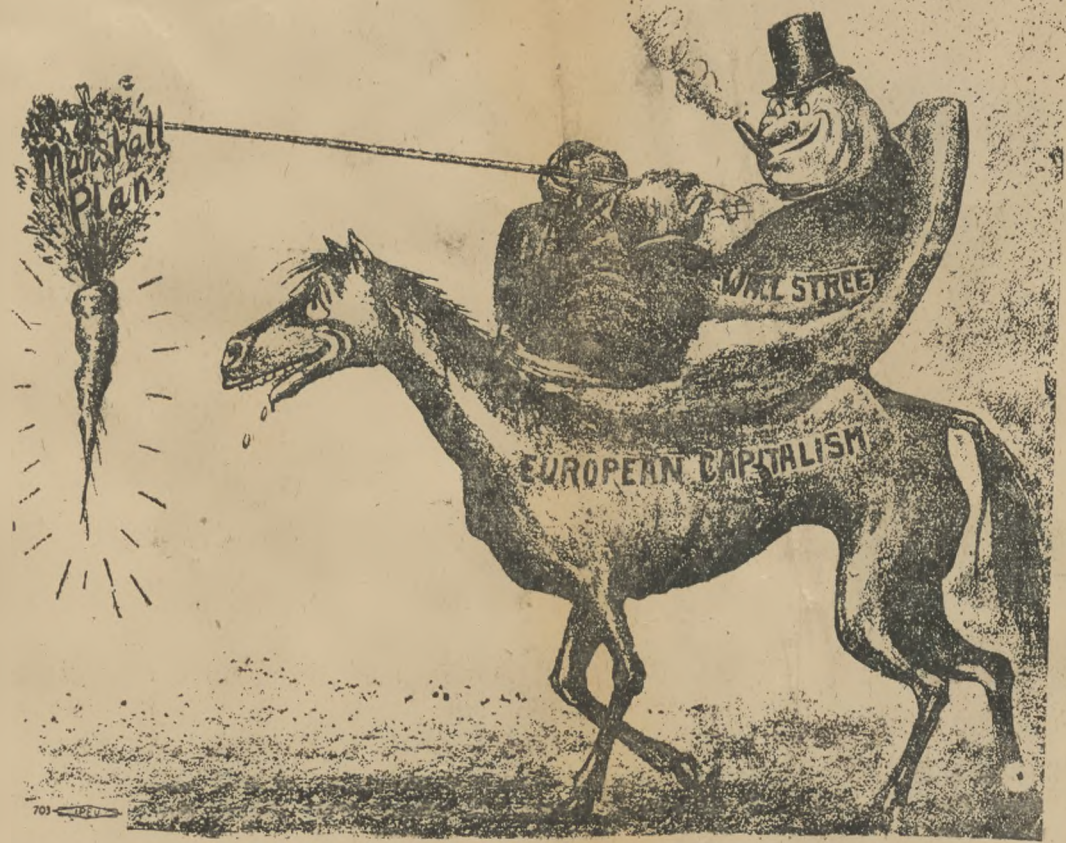
IT'S very important to work harder, the Labour Government never ceases to admonish us. But they won't permit their own employees in the Post Office to keep cool in so doing.

Incredible as it may seem in this sweltering August of 1947, Mr. R. A. Walker, a counter clerk in an East London sub-post office, has been suspended for not wearing his jacket!

Even a rule concerning the wearing of uniforms provided by the G.P.O., which forbade the discarding of jackets would be absurd and intolerable today. But this concerns a man wearing his own clothes.

We can only hope that the Labour leaders will not offer this Victorian tyranny to the workers as an example of how socialism will operate. We also trust that the Postal Workers, through their organisation, will achieve redress for their victimised comrade and will at the same time strive to have swept away such fantastic rules by raising the demand for workers' control of the Post Office,

**Keeping the Nag Moving**



## Slavery in S. Africa

In South Africa the Negro people live under conditions of degradation and exploitation by the white "Herrenvolk" employers. Occasionally a particularly glaring example comes to light to show the abject slavery of the Native people.

In the North-East Transvaal, a series of trials of the most brutal white farming employers have taken place recently, following the exposure of beatings, chainings, with hunger and mentally long hours of work and bad conditions as normal features of employment on many of the farms in this area.

One example was the trial for common assault of Johannes Brenkman, a white foreman on Kalabasfontein farm. Evidence was given showing that he assaulted the Natives with whip and booted foot. One Native was stripped, beaten almost senseless by a boss boy (Native foreman) in the presence of Brenkman. He was then chained to another naked Native and driven to the compound.

The magistrate, a representative of the white employers was himself compelled to remark that the whole affair was sordid and reminiscent of slavery. He then proceeded in what could only be described as an anti-climax, to fine Brenkman

£5 on the first four counts of assault, and £50 for assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm!

In passing sentences the magistrate revealed the attitude of the white capitalists by threatening future offenders with imprisonment without the option of a fine. This was obviously not because of the heinousness of the offence, but because of the bad effect the reports have on the recruitment of Native Labour!

Because the adverse publicity surrounding these atrocities may lead naive farm labourers to boycott the North Eastern Transvaal, where there is already a dearth of labour, it was necessary to make a token threat to the farmers.

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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## Editorial

# THE JEWS— Our Duty

### ANTI-SEMITISM — ENEMY OF THE WORKERS

● The Jew-baiters are abroad again. They defile the walls with their vile slogans, calling for the mass extermination of the Jews. They hold provocative meetings and demonstrations in predominantly Jewish neighbourhoods, confident of the protection of the police. From their rat-holes and sewers they crawl out, trying to infect the working class movement and spewing their poisonous doctrines as they go.

● Anti-semitism is one of the oldest weapons in the armoury of the ruling class. As a rule, they keep it in reserve, bringing it out only in times of acute economic and political crisis. Their aim: to divert the ranks of organised labour from the real cause of the crisis—the capitalist system and the class which sustains it—and to direct it against a defenceless racial minority—the Jews. Anti-semitism is not only a weapon against the Jews—it is a poisonous dart directed straight at the heart of the working class movement.

### CAPITALISTS AND COMMUNISTS!

● No lie is too big, or too small to use in this campaign to whip up popular feeling against the Jews. On the one hand the number of Jewish capitalists are grossly and absurdly exaggerated. On the other hand, all Jews are "branded" as "Communists". The Jews are depicted as one great conspiratorial group against the human race, as the organisers, both of imperialist wars and the proletarian revolution. The Anti-Semites not only want to have their cake, but also to consume it.

● It might be thought that the Second Imperialist War would have put an end once and for all to the base legend that wars are unleashed by the Jews, and fought solely in the interests of world Jewry. No other group of people suffered during the six years of bloody slaughter as did the Jews. In Europe they were massacred, over six million being killed. The bleached bones found in Buchenwald and the other hell-camps of Nazi Europe tell the grim tale. Nor were their sufferings brought to an end by the "democratic" victory. Many of the survivors are today living in conditions little better than Himmler's concentration camps provided. Under capitalism there is no hope and no future for these people.

### WHY THE TERRORISM?

● That is why we have the desperate efforts, in unseaworthy boats, to reach the shores of Palestine, the "Promised Land" of Jewish mythology. And it is these desperate conditions which breed the terrorist groups among Palestinian Jews.

● The murder of the two British sergeants by one of these terrorist groups was the signal for the latest wave of anti-semitism in this country. Here we have a clear demonstration how Jew-baiting is designed to lead the workers away from the real struggle into unprofitable sidepaths—unprofitable, that is, for all except the ruling class.

● Demonstrations by gangs of anti-semitic hooligans will not save the life of a single British soldier in Palestine but will, indeed, lead to renewed outbreaks of terrorism. The real murderers of the two sergeants are the capitalist class who put them into uniform and sent them to Palestine to guard their imperialist interests. Armies of occupation are always in danger of sudden death at dark of night. A British Labour Government has no business to maintain an Army of Occupation in Palestine or anywhere else.

### OPEN THE GATES OF BRITAIN AND THE DOMINIONS

● The organised working class must demand that the Labour Government bring home all troops stationed abroad. That is the real fight, from which the anti-semites are trying to divert us. We must further demand that the gates of Britain and the Dominions be thrown open to admit the handful of Jews still left alive in Europe. In this way, the frightful pressure which is driving these desperate people along the road of futile terrorism will be eased. As long as the Trade Unions remain vigilant and insist that the foreign workers here work under the same conditions as British workers, such a step can present no menace to the standard of living of the British workers. Indeed, in planned, socialist society, the more people engaged in the process of production, the greater abundance for all.

# INDIA—Britain Retains Hold

BY M. NAIDU

On the 15th August, the withdrawal of British forces from India was begun. On the same day, Nehru announced the opening of a "sovereign Constituent Assembly". On the previous day, Jinnah was installed as the Governor General of Pakistan.

With ballyhoo in the Labour press and from the platforms, Labour leaders in England, the Congress, Socialist and Communist speakers in India acclaimed the birth of "Free India."

Under descriptive phraseology, British imperialism has performed the most amazing trick of the century. An analysis of the conditions of British withdrawal will reveal the facts. Firstly, prior to the Attlee announcement of the 20th February, that the British power will be withdrawn from India in June 1948, an agreement had been reached with the leaders of the Congress, the League and the Princes on the fundamental British economic and strategic interests in India.

Secondly, two "Constituent Assemblies" have been set up in Delhi and Karachi, composed of partly elected representatives of the provincial legislatures, themselves based upon a high property franchise and partly on the nominees of the autocratic princes. In this way, an arbitrary division of India is effected, creating pockets of British influence, and the way is paved for the creation of an undemocratic, authoritarian constitution.

### Freedom—Myth or Reality

Thus, with all the fanfare, nominal power has been handed over to the Indian capitalists and feudalists. In fact, however, the effective control of British imperialism continues. A few facts will illustrate the point.

British investments in India amounting to approximately £1,000,000,000 controlling the strategic sectors of Indian industry and through them, the entire national economy, remain in British capitalist hands.

Large-scale agreements are being concluded with the Indian capitalists as junior partners for the joint exploitation of the Indian masses. Already I.C.I. has entered into an agreement with Tatas, Nuffield with Birla, and John Brown's with Walehand. Significantly, British capital investments in India are tending towards heavy industry through which they can control the light industry.

India remains in the sterling bloc and the British exchange Banks control the links between India and the world. The Indian Insurance Companies re-insure with the London companies who fix the premium rates for India.

Such a financial grip over India forces the entire Indian economy to be directed in conformity with the needs of British capitalism. A permanent defence agreement has been already outlined with the creation of a South East Asia Command in which Britain will play the leading role.

### Condition of India Today

But all this talk of "freedom" cannot wash away the grim reality in India today. The meagre rations allowed have been cut in Bombay and Madras. Hyderabad, Bombay, Madras, Mysore, and Travancore are facing another famine. Against the terrific cost of living, workers all over the country have staged lightning strikes demanding a living wage. The lower middle class, suffering under cruel oppression, have joined in the struggle. Strikes of clerical workers, lower grade civil servants and school teachers are widespread. Peasants all over the country are battling against the policy of seizure of grain which finds its way into the black market.

The Congress-League-Imperialist-Princes can only answer the demands of the masses by cruel repression. Detention without trials, banning of working class press and trade unions, denial of civil liberties, firing on unarmed workers' demonstrations—these are the order of the day.

Slowly it will dawn upon the minds of the Indian workers and peasants that their new "freedom" is a myth; that the Congress-League-Imperialist alliance must be opposed and true freedom will be secured only by their own revolutionary actions. In such a struggle, not only the roots of British imperialism will be destroyed, but along with it the propertied classes of India.



ROYALIST TERROR litters the countryside. This picture from Yanina, in Epirus, shows two guerrillas identifying the severed heads of their comrades killed near the Albanian frontier. The picture is reproduced from the magazine "Time".

# CLASS WAR IN GREECE

The Greek partisans are today in control of the entire region around the town of Florina, which is in their hands, right up to the Albanian-Yugoslav frontier. It is in this area that the "Free Government" has been proclaimed. But the partisans are active far beyond these lines, in some instances reaching to the approaches of Athens itself. They also enjoy much support from the people of the Peloponnese Peninsula, Crete and the islands.

Unable to score any decisive successes against the guerrilla forces, the Greek Royalist Government has unleashed a terror of unprecedented violence.

It is estimated that on the island of Icaria alone, with an area less than half the size of the Isle of Man, 9,000 deportees have been dumped without rations.

Numerous members of the Greek Trotskyist movement were among those arrested in the last wave of terror which has brought about the arrest of more than 16,000 people throughout Greece.

Thirteen Trotskyists have now been deported to the desert islands of the Aegean Sea. Three others,

two of whom are girl students, will undergo trial on the charge of having been present at an "illegal meeting."

For several weeks now there has been no news of Comrade Stinas, one of the leaders of the Greek Trotskyist movement, and it is feared that he has been assassinated by members of the fascist "X" organisation.

The Greek Trotskyists have issued a moving appeal to the militant workers in all countries to come to their material and moral aid.

(The International Secretariat of the Fourth International is asking all sections to intensify their

campaign against the regime of terror imposed on the Greek people and for the defence of the thousands of imprisoned and deported Greek militants. It is also asking for the collection of funds to help the embattled Greek Trotskyists.)

As against the bureaucratically established "Free Government" set up by the Stalinists, the Greek Trotskyists are demanding a government based on the democratically elected committees of partisans, workers and poor peasants, which will apply a programme of minimum demands for labour. This is the way forward for the Greek workers and peasants.

# DOLLAR CRISIS

## Caused by Insane System

THE DOLLAR CRISIS HAS COMPELLED THE GOVERNMENT TO ABANDON CONVERTIBILITY OF STERLING AND THE NON-DISCRIMINATION CLAUSE IN THE AMERICAN AGREEMENT.

Convertibility was stipulated in the American Loan by the middle of July. What this means is that other countries could ask for payment in dollars from Britain in return for the goods they sold her. Article 9 was aimed at penetrating the markets of British capitalism in the Empire and former satellite countries of the "Sterling Bloc." It meant that Britain was not allowed to cut her purchases from America without simultaneously cutting her purchases from the Empire and the other countries.

The whole problem arises out of the crazy structure of the economy of world capitalism. America has a surplus of £50 millions per week of exports over imports which she has to dump from her shores. The insanity of the whole system is reflected in the fact that America wishes to export, export, export, without any corresponding imports. Even if America was willing to accept the imports, Europe, owing to the destruction and wear and tear during the war, is unable to sell products in exchange. The consequence is that in all the countries of the world there is a shortage of dollars and of gold, the greater part of which has found its way into the vaults of the Wall Street bankers.

Britain's great strength as an imperialist nation in the past was that she bled the colonies and dependent peoples by means of the export of capital and the import of goods. But during the war America utilised her position to force Britain to liquidate a considerable part of her investments abroad. Now British capitalism is no longer able to rely to the same degree as previously, on the super-exploitation of the colonial peoples to cover the adverse balance of payments of her trade.

The relatively high standard of life of the British working class was based on the exploitation of the colonies. America filled the gap to aid British capitalism in her weakened position — on America's terms in the first loan. This rapidly ran out because of the colossal increase in American prices, because of the tremendous wastage on the troops and imperialist commitments, and the failure of Britain herself to work on the basis of a real plan of production.

Now, America seeks to force British capitalism into even greater dependence upon her. "Am" in the form of another loan, or through the Marshall Plan has been discussed in the attempt to shore up the capitalist system in Western Europe and prevent a slump in America. The Marshall Plan is estimated to amount to £4,000 millions over 4 years. This is but a few per cent. of America's national income per year and would be cheaper nationally and internationally than a catastrophic slump, when the collapse of America's export market would bring. With her enormous productive capacity, which could assist the whole world to swim in plenty under a sane system, America is forced to consider giving away goods to hold off the slump—but at the price of political domination. Even if the American Loan will be of the greatest dimensions it will only alleviate somewhat the economic situation and in a few years time will prepare the most catastrophic slump humanity has yet witnessed.

Thus we have the bargaining and horse-dealing between delegations to and from Washington and London and the British Government has in effect threatened an embargo on the greater part of her imports from America. British capitalism's greatest asset is her huge market—the largest in the world—for raw materials and food. The collapse of the British market could bring a collapse of

world trade in its train, and in the long run would bring a slump which would hit America as well. The chains of world economy tie the capitalist countries together while they attempt to undermine one another and cut each other's throats.

The British capitalists are manoeuvring between America and Russia by threatening to increase trade relations with Russia and the Eastern European countries under Russian domination. Already, while America has brought pressure by discouraging trade with Eastern Europe, Britain has made agreements with Poland, Yugoslavia, etc., for the exchange of industrial equipment and goods for agricultural produce. She has threatened America that these relations will be increased. While this could not solve Britain's problems, it could alleviate the situation to a certain extent. Seeing that these countries were hardest hit by the war they cannot supply immediately the requirements of Britain in raw materials and foodstuffs. Therefore, trade with these countries, although alleviating the situation to some extent, cannot solve the problem.

The Labour leaders are trying to find a way out in the same way and with the same methods as the "National" Government did after they came to power in 1931. In a new form they wish to create once again the "sterling bloc" of colonies, dominions and satellite countries and demand that the

workers strain all efforts nationally in order to produce the goods for export. Far from constituting a solution, this can only aggravate the problem. The final result, even if successful, will be slump and over-production. Competition on the world market will be savagely intensified. At the present time this is alleviated by the world shortage and the demand for goods, plus the fact that temporarily Germany, Japan and a large part of Europe are not competitors of Britain and America.

There is only one way forward for the working class. Capitalist ownership of the means of production, and the national states must be destroyed. If the production of Britain were planned by the ownership and control of industry by the workers, the whole situation nationally and internationally would be transformed. A Socialist Britain could appeal to the European workers to do away with the economies of all Europe together with Britain. A Socialist Britain would suggest to the colonial peoples who would then be liberated from the shackles of British Imperialism, that the economies of a Socialist Asia and a Socialist Africa be also integrated and planned with that of Europe and Britain.

Instead of cut-throat competition and exploitation a vista of undreamed of plenty and prosperity would open up in the fraternal co-operation for mutual benefit of the peoples of Britain, Europe and the world.

# 2 Anti-Fascists Jailed

BY G. CARLSSON

We have today, under the so-called workers' government, the farcical position of workers being imprisoned for daring to challenge the fascists.

Recently, two Jewish workers, David Goldstein and Murray Silver, were sentenced to imprisonment. Goldstein to 4 months with 10 guineas costs, and Silver to 1 month, being also bound over for 2 years with 5 guineas costs.

David Goldstein, 43 years old, is a semi-paralysed man.

### Evidence Of Defence Witnesses

The facts brought out by four witnesses completely contradicted the allegations of the police, but their evidence was ignored by the Magistrate.

Of the four witnesses, two were complete strangers to both Goldstein and Silver before this case. They were all in very close proximity to the two prisoners and heard and saw the whole incident. All agreed beyond doubt that far from these two workers assaulting the police officer, the reverse was the case.

This was their evidence. During the speech of the fascist propagandist, Murray Silver said: "Can I ask a question?" He was quite calm when making his request. Police Superintendent Satterthwaite, who was standing nearby, said to him: "Ask questions at bloody question time." Silver replied: "I don't want to argue with you, I'm just demanding my rights." The Police Superintendent thereupon grabbed Silver's arm quite violently and two more police officers came up and also held him.

Goldstein who was standing nearby, went up to protest at this violation of democratic rights. The Police Superintendent lost his temper, and struck Goldstein across the face.

The Superintendent claimed that Goldstein kicked him in the groin. The four witnesses said that this was not the case, and that the only assault came from the police. Thereupon the police officers hustled both Silver and Goldstein away.

Before passing sentence, the Magistrate, W. Blake Odgers, K.C., made no reference to the evidence of these witnesses, but stated that in his opinion the case for the police was proved. In his summing up speech, he said:

"Kicking and biting are just the very sort of dastardly acts that made us all, Jews and Christians alike, detest the Nazis and Fascists. You are one of a race which has been abominably treated in Germany and elsewhere, and you are behaving in the manner you detest yourself in other people."

### A Comparison

It is interesting to point to another case taken on the same day by the same Magistrate, and cited by the "Hackney Gazette." Here, a shopkeeper, Frederick Charles Baumback, whom the Magistrate described to the defendant as being "Old enough to be his father and

a permanent cripple," was deliberately assaulted by both Greenwood, who struck him in the face, knocking him down. His nose was "busted" and his forehead marked. A Greenwood got was to be bound over for 12 months and ordered to pay 20 shillings costs.

This attitude of the police and the courts is nothing new to the working class. Workers will remember in the past anti-fascist struggles the police were constantly on the side of the fascists and never hesitated to use violence against the anti-fascists.

The march of the 300 fascists through North London on Sunday, 17th August, again demonstrated on whose side the police stood. The fascists brazenly marched with arms outstretched, chanting their slogans "Heil Mostey!" "Heil Hitler!" Far from hindering the fascist provocations, they helped them by ordering a Communist Party meeting to disperse and make way for the fascist procession.

The same Police Superintendent Satterthwaite was also present at the fascist meeting in which the journalist Frederick Mullaly was attacked by these thug elements. Workers will not be surprised to know that on this occasion, Superintendent Satterthwaite did not make any arrests for assault.

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# CAPITALIST STAGNATION

## Central Committee Resolution —For Discussion

### THESIS ON THE EVOLUTION OF CAPITALIST MONOPOLY AND THE TENDENCIES TO STAGNATION

The post-war capitalist world presents a picture of a new stage in the development of the concentration of capital—the tendency for the State to take over the ownership of the means of production. In face of this development, which finds full expression in Britain, an analysis of the process and an explanation of its historical roots and theoretical implications is essential as a guide to the problems facing the working class today.

In the different stages of the development of capitalism, there evolved different relations between the state and the capitalist economy. In its infancy capitalism was nurtured by the state. The process of primitive accumulation, the divorce of the toilers from the means of production, the concentration of money capital through the robbing of American natives, the slave trade, etc., were impossible without the economic power. After capitalism was able to stand on its own feet, when the process of capitalist reproduction was already established, the intervention of the state in economic life was relegated to a place of unimportance. But even then the laissez-faire policy was not universally adopted. In many countries outside Britain the state intervened very actively in the economy. This intervention received the form, primarily, of the introduction of protective tariffs whose task was to prepare the infant, late-born industries, for competition against well-established British industries. These customs duties were of a temporary character and served as a means of decreasing the differences in the rate of development of industry in the different countries. Besides this, the state took upon itself the task of building railways, ports, etc., which demanded such large amounts of capital as were beyond the capacity of the individual capitalists. These state enterprises did not come as a substitute for individual capitalism, but as an auxiliary to it.

With the transformation of the capitalism of free competition to monopoly capitalism, the state becomes an important weapon in ensuring the monopolist position of the monopolised industries in the home market, in the colonies, and in the world market. Hence the monopoly tariffs, and subsidies, whose aim is not to defend the young, weak industries and prepare them for free competition, but to be a weapon of attack and defence in the hands of the strongest industries. And not only are tariffs and subsidies made use of by the monopolies, but also more brutal weapons—imperialist wars and annexations, etc. The intergrowth of monopoly industry and the state, the direct interlinking between the state machine and big business, are accompaniments of this process.

But in the same way as the development of free competition, by accelerating the concentration and centralisation of capital, undermined the continuity of free competition itself, so the competition between individual trusts, cartels, etc., undermines the independent existence of these industrial organisations. The reasons for this are as follows:

#### a.—The State as Arbitrator Between the Monopolies.

The organisation of one industry in a monopoly causes the rate of profit of this industry to be above the average, while it directly decreases the rate of profit of the unorganised industries. It does this not only by raising the prices of the products it sells and depressing the prices of the products it buys, but also, by damming the flow of capital to its industry, it increases this flow into other industries. The increasing competition thus caused in the unorganised industries accelerates the process of monopolisation in these fields. Monopoly in one branch breeds monopoly in other branches. So long as the monopolised industries do not make up the overwhelming percentage of the whole economy, it is possible for them to increase their rate of profit at the cost of the other industries. Thus in place of an equal rate of profit, there is a hierarchy of rates of profit. But this hierarchy tumbles down with the spreading of monopolies all over the economy, and the shrinkage of non-monopolised industry. Thus, if the transformation from free competition to monopolies serves as a measure of saving the monopolists from the burden of the decline of the rate of profit, the general rate of profit and makes it more and more difficult for the individual monopoly to remain an exceptional case.

Under free competition the concentration of capital reaches such a stage that the continuation of competition means a cut-throat struggle in which not only the vanquished lose but the victorious also: the spread of monopolies over the different branches of the economy causes the competition between the different monopolies (competition over sources of raw material, the struggle between supplier and buyer, the competition between the different monopolies over the "dollar of the consumer," etc.) to be of an even more cut-throat character. While free com-

petition regulated the relations between the different enterprises at one stage in the development of capitalism, and while at another stage individual monopolies and the competition between them and the outsider regulated the relations in the economy, now, the economic machine is so tremendous and so lacks elasticity that only the state can regulate it. Hence the function of the state as price regulator, supplier of raw materials, regulator of capital investments, controller of foreign trade, etc. These tendencies which developed during the first world war and were accentuated particularly during the second world war, found their most extreme expression in Nazi Germany and Japan.

#### b.—The State as Buyer of Commodities.

The decline of world capitalism accompanied by crises of over-production, makes it more and more difficult for industry in general and the industries of means of production in particular to sell their products on a large scale and at monopoly prices. At the same time, because of the tremendous investments of capital in these industries, the overhead costs are very high, and any big cut in the sales of these industries means a disproportionate cut in their income, and may lead to big losses. The state appears as the buyer of the products of heavy industry, if not of means of production, then certainly of means of destruction. Thus the increasing competition between the different imperialist countries which leads to war, drives the state to become the most important buyer of industry in general, and monopolised industry in particular.

#### c.—State Bonds as a Field of Investment.

In the process of building share companies, which constitute the large majority of trusts, cartels, etc., banking capital found a very profitable field of investment: the issuing of new shares was its main task in the transition from free enterprise to monopoly enterprise. Once a monopoly is constituted, the inner accumulation in it is so accelerated, that it can rely more and more on inner financing. At the same time the decline of world capitalism limits the markets for the investment of money capital in new industries. The result is that the banks are full of money capital seeking investment outside industry. Here the state—mainly on account of its military expenditures—appears as the field of investment.

#### d.—The State as Regulator of the Labour Market.

As the concentration of capital means the concentration of the working class, and as with this concentration the resistance of the capitalist class increases, the intervention of the capitalist state in the regulation of the labour market becomes an ever greater necessity for the capitalist class. This regulation again receives its highest expression in Nazi Germany where the worker was very much different degrees in the rest of the capitalist world.

The necessity, from the capitalist standpoint, of a state regulation of the labour market, increases particularly with the war preparations and the war itself. Under capitalism the tempo of capital accumulation determines the extent of employment and unemployment. These influence the standard of wages. The standard of wages influences the rate of profit, while the rate of profit in turn determines the tempo of accumulation. Now, in conditions of full employment, if not for the intervention of the bourgeois state, the level of wages must necessarily rise very much, thus threatening the tempo of accumulation, and the war preparations of the imperialist countries. (Of course, the form of regulation of the labour market by the capitalist state is directly dependent on the class relations of power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Stagnation in the conditions of bourgeois democracy, where workers' organisations exist, cannot have the measures of compulsion used by the Nazi state.)

#### e.—The State as Investor of Capital.

With the present stage of technique any construction of a new industry, or a fundamental rationalisation of existing industries, demands tremendous investments of capital. The size of the

# STORY of a NEGRO FAMILY

AS TOLD TO ROBERT L. BIRCHMAN, "MILITANT", U.S.A.

CHICAGO, Aug. 5.—In an interview with this reporter at the County Jail, James Hickman, 44 year old steel worker, related the background of the tragic events culminating in his arrest and possible indictment by the Grand Jury on a charge of murder.

On July 16, he shot the landlord whom he held directly responsible for the death of his four youngest children in the disastrous tenement house fire at 1733 Washburne Avenue, last Jan. 16.

Other parts of the picture were filled in by Mr. Hickman's wife, Anna, at their home in the Ashburne Veterans Housing Project. The Hickman family had toiled as day labourers near Tunica, Mississippi in the land of Bilbo and Itankin, and were unable to become even tenant farmers. In 1944, after being rejected for service in the Navy, Hickman came north and worked in the steel mills in Gary for 11 weeks. He returned to Tunica where he worked for another five months.

In June, 1945, he came to Chicago, seeking a job that would enable him to bring his family north, where he hoped the opportunities were available to provide them with a decent home and educational facilities. Seven months later the family arrived in Chicago.

#### Forced To Double Up

Because of the housing shortage, and the restricted areas in which Negroes could live, they were forced to double up with a married daughter. After nine months of searching for a place they could call home, Hickman came into contact with David Coleman in August, 1946. Coleman promised him a four room flat on the second floor at 1733 Washburne Ave. The flat was not vacant at the time.

Hickman paid \$100 for two

months rent in advance and was promised two rooms until the flat was available. Instead, he, his wife and seven children were forced to live in the attic room, 14 by 16 feet, with no water, no gas, no lights and only one small window. The rent for this cubby hole was \$5 a week.

The landlord promised to provide an oil stove for cooking and to furnish lights. He did not do so. Hickman had to buy his own stove and to use kerosene lamps for lights. He was promised he could have his \$100 deposit back any time he asked for it, if the second floor flat was not available by Sept. 15.

#### Four Burned To Death

Then in January came the horrible fire in which four of the Hickman children, aged 3 to 14, were burned to death.

Testimony at the coroner's inquest indicated that the fire might have been deliberately started. It was shown that Coleman had tried to evict the tenants so he could get more rent by converting the flats. The coroner's jury denounced the owner of the tenements for the dangerous firetrap conditions existing there.

Mrs. Anna Hickman, a little woman with tears in her eyes, told me this story as we sat in the living room of their home. She said: "I have been in grief for my four children for the last six months, and always will be."

Mrs. Hickman was in the hospital for five days after the fire, as a result of the injuries she suffered

when she jumped after being unable to any longer hold on to the brick wall to which she was clinging. She still suffers from those injuries. Her son, Willis, was in hospital for ten days and still suffers from the injuries received when he jumped from the fourth floor.

#### All They Could Find

Mr. Hickman told me of his love for his children, and how he constantly was seeking a suitable home. It wasn't a question of money, for the boys were working. But restrictive covenants had intensified the housing shortage for Negroes to the point where the miserable attic cubby hole in the rat-mested fire-trap tenement building was all they could find.

Coleman never returned the money as he had promised to do. Hickman, still suffering from grief at the loss of his children, contacted Coleman on July 16, seeking the return of his money. He told him that Coleman conspired to have him shot, and he had set fire to the building, rummy believing him to be the murderer of his loved ones, he shot Coleman and the latter died in the hospital four days later.

#### The Question Is Posed

The question is now posed: Will the State of Illinois do further to the grief of a family already overwhelmed with grief, by sending a fifth member of the family to his death? The Hickman Defence Committee is determined to mobilise public opinion and support to see that this case is not decided on petty points of law. Full recognition must be given to the fullness of a father's love for his children, to the justifiable hate Hickman had for the man he considered responsible for the death of his children.

No one has been brought to trial for the death of the four Hickman children but he now has to face judgment because he shot the man he thought was guilty. We pose the question: "Who should stand before justice and be judged—Mr. Hickman, or the society responsible for the conditions that led to this tragedy?"

# 2,682 Miners Sacked For Resisting Speed-Up

## Lawther Attacks Miners

BY ROY TEARSE

The National Coal Board has begun its long threatened offensive against the miners. 2,682 miners on strike for 16 days against an attack on their conditions at work at Grimethorpe Colliery, Yorkshire, have been sacked.

The miners at this colliery came out in sympathy with 140 coal-face workers in one seam who were instructed to increase the amount of their "stint" from 7 yards to 7 yards 2 feet. The stint is the agreed task for the shift. The 140 men struck already in 1946 during 131 tons a shift for each man at the coal face. This is more than any other pit in the area. This speed up on the miners was bureaucratically imposed without a democratic consultation of the rank and file, by a task sub-committee of the N.C.B. and the bureaucrats appointed by the miners' union.

Instead of conducting negotiations with the men in order to settle the strike as soon as possible, they prefer to believe in this dictatorial way. Already, as a consequence of this high-handed attitude, over 40,000 tons of coal have been lost. They are prepared to lose this coal in an endeavour to bring the miners to their knees. They have believed in a way that even Churchill and the coal-owners never dared to try, even at the height of the war. Grimethorpe Colliery is a test case. If they get away with it then they will begin attacks in bits all over the country.

Lord Hyndley, declared to a

"News Chronicle" reporter on August 27th:

"The time has come when I have the nation to think of. We have had to give time for everything to sink in. This is action. . . . The men at Grimethorpe are out and as far as I am concerned they stay out. The pit is open for them to resume whenever they wish, but the Coal Board does not propose to budge." (Presumably the miners are not included in the "nation")

One of the bureaucrats of the Ministry of Fuel and Power threatened the men by saying they could not leave the industry without permission from the Ministry of Labour: "They could, of course, get jobs in other mines, but at less advantageous terms—they would not get the best jobs."

These gentlemen are acting with the encouragement of the Labour and T.U. leaders. Shinwell declared only six weeks ago at Rotherley, Yorkshire, that an example should be made by closing a pit or two if the workers refused to obey instructions and went on defying the decisions of their own organisation . . . where production is adversely affected."

As if closing a pit does not adversely affect production?

#### Lawther Joins In

Instead of defending the miners, Lawther joined the pack with the insult: "We shall not defend these men in any way. Apparently they don't want to work, so why keep them on the books?"

They were appealed to twice by the National Coal Board; there was no result. So the sooner they leave the industry the better. My view also is that if the Board had done less than sack these men they would not have been doing their duty."

Every thing was nicely settled. But these gentlemen had left the most important thing out of their calculations. They had forgotten THE CLASS INSTINCT AND THE CLASS SOLIDARITY OF THE MINERS. The miners of Hatfield Main and Frickley Collieries replied to this victimisation in the only language these gentlemen on the Coal Board can understand. They struck in sympathy with their Grimethorpe brothers. In this they are defended. (Continued in next column.)

investments, together with the time lapse between the investments and the appearance of the product, makes them very risky. This is enhanced by the monopolist character prevailing in the other branches of the economy. Thus the state is driven to become an investor of capital.

The difficulties of a national and international character in the period of the decline of world capitalism which impede the development of the productive forces in one country or another, in one branch or another, strengthen the tendency of the capitalist state to become an investor of capital in the economy. The tendency of the later stage of monopoly capitalism is towards the transformation of the bourgeois state into the repository of the means of production.

organisation come into being: first of all the trust which unites the different enterprises into one intervention of the state takes different forms—at the beginning the looser form, statist—and then, statistification. One cartel breeds other cartels; the increase in the number and scope of the cartels breeds trusts. In a similar way statistification in one branch breeds statistification in other branches, from one sphere of the economy to another. With the deepening and broadening of statistification, the necessity for statistification appears.

There are no Chinese walls between the different stages of the development of capitalism. The different forms grow up side by side and dovetail into one another. Just as decades after the emergence of industrial capitalism the process of primitive accumulation did not cease, so also just as side by side with the highly monopolised industries, many small enterprises—"outsiders" continued to exist, so statistification of some branches does not mean the immediate statistification of all the means of production.

stage of monopoly without going through the stage of free competition. It is no accident that young Japanese capitalism was born organised in monopolies, based on state regulation, state subsidies, etc., in a period when Britain scarcely had any monopolist organisation. In the special conditions of Mexico, where the bourgeoisie struggled for independence from imperialism statistification reached a much higher stage than in the industrial countries. Different class and international peculiarities gave a different form and tempo to statistification in Eastern Europe. Other conditions prevail in France and England. However, in all this diversity there is a common thread: the growth of the productive forces comes into more and more bitter conflict with the capitalist relations of production; the state must intervene as the regulator of the contradictions, as a force that canalises them in the interests of the collective national bourgeoisie. Since the time of the Paris Commune the productive forces have been sufficiently developed for the proletariat to seize power, but the continuation of the existence of capitalism has led to a further development of capitalism to monopoly capitalism. The failure of the proletariat to seize power during the last epoch again forces capitalism to adopt new forms, and explains the development of state capitalism.

# POLICY OF THE R.C.P.



1. Nationalisation of the land, of all atomic processes, of all large financial, insurance, industrial, distributive and transport enterprises without compensation, and the operation of these enterprises on the basis of an overall production plan under control of workers' and technicians' committees.
2. Abolition of business secrets. All company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers committees.
3. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers goods in short supply under the control of committees elected from the co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shopkeepers which will eliminate the black market.
4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants committees; a state financed national housing-building plan to be directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum and a falling scale of hours to absorb the unemployed, who must be fully maintained while not working; a 40-hour week maximum without loss of earnings.
6. Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords; full electoral rights for all from the age of 18; and full political and civil rights for men and women in the colonies; the immediate repeal of all strike-breaking and anti-labour laws.
7. Abolish Conscription; For the dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia.
8. For the abolition of military law; clear out the reactionary anti-labour officer caste from the armed forces; for the election of officers from the ranks. For the establishment of military schools by the trade unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker officers.
9. Full and immediate freedom for India and the other colonies to choose their own form of government; the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.
10. End secret diplomacy and a peace of vengeance and plunder; end race hatred, anti-semitism, Vansittartism and the colour bar; the withdrawal of British troops from Europe and Asia and a peace based upon the self-determination of the peoples of Europe, Asia and the world.
11. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; for the overthrow of the privileged Stalinist bureaucracy and the re-introduction of workers' democracy in Russia.
12. Full support and active co-operation with the European workers against all occupying forces, for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a United Socialist States of Europe, unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for world socialism.

# STARVATION IN GERMANY

Berlin—What living conditions here are like is illustrated by a true story making the rounds here. An employment bureau wanted to put one of the registered unemployed to work. The latter rejected the job offer, and reasoned as follows:

"I am not lazy, I am not ill, but I am also not stupid. I sleep every day till noon. Thereby I dispense with breakfast. That means that I can save a loaf of bread every week. This loaf I sell every Saturday on the black market. I receive for it on an average twice the weekly wage I would make by working. Why should I work when I can earn twice as much sleeping? Not to speak of the tax I would have to pay."

The average wage in Berlin is 43 marks a week, less taxes of all kinds. That leaves a net wage of 35 marks. Average bread rations per week amount to 2,800 grams. If one saves 1,000 grams, that can be sold on the black market for 60 marks. Black market operations are subject to penalty, to be sure, but are so widespread as to be normal, and the risk is therefore "fair". The calculations of the jobless man in the story are therefore flawless. His case merely epitomizes a state of affairs.

**PROFITEER CLUBS THRIVE**  
The revival of a pre-war "Industrieklub" (Business-men's Club) has been uncovered in the Park Hotel, Düsseldorf. These clubs existed through the war, but closed down shortly after the invasion. They have always been frequented by the business elite in this city. The new club was found to cater to patrons with means with a menu that included coffee with cream, and sugar at 10 marks, wine at 70 marks, etc. A dinner for 6 came to 1,300 marks. Nazi regime or Allied occupation, the old profiteers continue to thrive.

# Increased Accidents

(Continued from Page 1.)

only to make sufficient profit to pay the interest to the ex-coal owners who are now the bond-holders with an assured income drawn from the sweat of the miners, but it haggles over the demand of the miners for extra pay for extra hours worked. There was no haggling over the amount of compensation to be paid to the coal owners who had ruined the industry and who are responsible for the present backward technical equipment in the pits.

There was no haggling over the question of fat salaries paid to the directors, mainly ex-coal owners and trade union bureaucrats. They don't go near a pit and therefore, apparently, deserve fat salaries and high compensation. But if the mine asks for overtime rates of modest proportion, the cost would be too much for the N.C.B. and the capitalists tell us. But there is a simple answer to the question of finding the money to pay the miners overtime without increasing the price of coal. Put the ex-coalowners, who are now bond-holders on a Means Test!

Those who are physically capable of work, rig them out with a miner's outfit and a free alarm clock and put them into production. Those who cannot work—maintain them on the same scale of compensation as is meted out to members of the working class who have given society of their best. The money saved would go a long way to compensate the miner for the extra effort. To accept the entire demands of the Mine-workers Federation for a £6 minimum, would cost only £45 million a year. Yet the profits of the capitalist class in 1946 amounted to £3,226,000,000.

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