

Equal Sacrifice? What About Rising Profits?

BY G. NOSEDA

In Britain today, there are 5,800 persons whose income, after taxation, amounts to £6,000 a year, or approximately £120 a week. And about 60 persons who get over £20,000 a year or almost £400 a week, also after taxation. This is the situation under a so-called "socialist" government.

These are only the top flight of the wealthy strata. There are many others who live on similar standards.

Attlee, in 1940, could declare: "It is necessary that the Government should be given complete control over persons and property. Not just some persons or some particular class of the community, but over all persons—rich or poor, employer or worker—and all property." Yet after two years of Labour in power we see that the profits of the rich continue as before.

That there is plenty of room for "sacrifices" by the capitalists today is only too clear from a few published Company results.

The "Economist", (16-8-47) states that 428 Companies reported profits of £102,500,000 for the first quarter of 1947, as against £83,500,000 for the same period in 1946. This is an increase of 23%.

Other Company results for 1947 include: The Distillers' Company Ltd., which reports a profit of £7,638,100, or £700,000 more than in the previous year. This Company declared its latest dividend 25%.

General Electric Company Ltd., reports a profit of £2,370,965 for this year.

Other companies also have cheering reports for their shareholders. Watney, Coombe Reid and Co., show a profit for the current year of £484,846 (after taxation) as compared with £203,863 in 1946. Gabriel, Wade and English (Building Materials), net profit for year ended 31st June, 1947, was £82,909 as against £80,661 in previous years. Manley and Regulus, also building materials, report a profit over the same period of £34,724 (net) compared to £28,830 in 1946. Charrington, Gardner, Locket and Co., (Coal Merchants), net profit for latest year £56,267 as against £37,051 previous year. Associated British Properties, for the year ended March 31st, 1947, record a

net profit of £15,021 compared with £10,513 in 1946. Fisher and Ludlow, (Iron and Steel), net profit £136,983 in 1947 against £120,437 for 1946; and the Edinburgh & Dundee Investment Co., can give their shareholders this year the happy news that the trust made a net profit of £74,181, as compared with £59,501 for the previous year.

These few examples of rising profits for the capitalists clearly indicate how profitable life continues to be for them after more than two years of the Labour Government. Yet the Labour leaders continue to prate about the need for "equal sacrifice"! What the workers want from the Labour Government are not empty platitudes about "equal sacrifice" but action against the capitalists which would ensure that the burdens of the crisis are placed on the backs of the capitalists who are in the best position to make sacrifices. Today, the Labour Government has the "complete control over all persons and all property" that Attlee demanded in 1940. But they have implemented only measures against the workers and left the capitalists free and unhindered to pile up bigger and bigger profits.

EXPROPRIATE the profits of the capitalists, and use the vast sums thus saved to modernise industry, to lighten the heavy taxation borne by the working class.

Coal Crisis

Will Not Be Solved By
Sweating Miners

BY L. LANDIS

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

No. 49.

MID-SEPTEMBER, 1947.

Price 2d.

CAPITALIST COAL BOARD SABOTAGES PRODUCTION

"Communist" Horner Calls the Miners "Reactionary"

BY ROY TEARSE

THE NATIONAL COAL BOARD, BACKED BY THE BUREAUCRATS OF THE MINERS' UNION DEMONSTRATED THAT IT WAS PREPARED TO HOLD THE COUNTRY TO RANSOM.

THEY HAVE BEEN PREPARED TO LOSE COAL AT THE RATE OF A QUARTER OF A MILLION TONS PER WEEK RATHER THAN GRANT THE JUST DEMAND OF THE GRIMETHORPE MINERS FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE EXTRA 2 FEET PLACED ON THE "STINT" AT MELTON FIELDS SEAM OF THE COLLIERY.

Finally, under the face-saving excuse that a "deteriorating coal-face" did not allow the immediate working of the extra 2 feet, the N.C.B. had to accept that the men go back to work the old stint. Then an inquiry would be held.

GRIMETHORPE PRODUCTION RECORD INDICTS THEIR ACCUSERS

These miners are not slackers. Their production record indicts as liars those who accuse them of slacking and of "sabotage." Before the increase of the "stint" these men were producing on an average 13½ tons of coal per shift, more than most pits in the area.

On a number of occasions the men have voluntary worked overtime to clean off even the 7 yard "stint" when they could not complete it in the normal shift. The Grimethorpe men pointed out that they have twice broken the production record in the recent period.

for their struggle. They rightly rejected the proposal on September 7th, with only five votes against.

Miners Took Up Challenge

Bludgeoned from all sides, the subject a smear campaign conducted in the press, the Grimethorpe men stood solid as a rock. Their stand was strengthened by the tremendous class solidarity of 60,000 South Yorkshire miners, who struck work in sympathy.

It was this working class solidarity that the Coal Board failed to consider in its calculations, when it imposed its bureaucratic order on the Grimethorpe men. It thought it could get away with its plan to further sweat the over-sweated miner. But the South Yorkshire miners saw the plan for what it was. They recognised that if the N.C.B.'s Grimethorpe plan succeeded, the way was open for similar steps throughout all the coalfields in Britain. Conscious of their respon-

sibility to their Grimethorpe comrades, they took up the Coal Board's challenge.

Coal Board Officials Are The Saboteurs

The theme that these miners are "sabotaging" the "interests of the nation" has been played over and over like a cracked gramophone record since the strike began on August 11th. There is talk of industry being placed on short time through the loss of coal. All of this has been unnecessary. The strike could have been settled immediately by the withdrawal of the extra 2 feet.

But the "prestige" and "authority" of the Coal Board was involved. "This is a test case," declared one N.C.B. official. "Their arrogance has known no bounds. They are the real criminals. If there is any shut-down of industry they are responsible. If there is any winter

shortage of coal, it is the fault of no-one but the Coal Board, which, rather than lose face has been prepared to continue with its stupid, bureaucratic, vicious attempt to impose this extra task on the miners. They say it is not impossible for the Grimethorpe men to do this.

The Miners' Answer

The miners' answer is simple: "An extra 2 feet for one shift? Maybe, yes. Maybe it is possible for two shifts. But with the varying nature of the coal face, the mechanical break-downs, and the tremendous physical strain it would impose, even with the best conditions, makes it an impossibility to maintain. Its best achievement would be to shorten the miners' life by 5 years."

This is the answer to the Tories, Liberals and Labourites who have shouted "Get back to work!" This is the answer to the Yorkshire District Committee of the "Communist" Party, which issued a



ROY TEARSE

Industrial Organiser of the R.C.P., has spent the last few weeks in the Yorkshire coalfields discussing with the miners and selling our literature.

These miners point out that anyone who believes the slanderous statement of Major General Sir Noel Holmes, Chairman of the North East Divisional Coal Board, that they "were not doing a fair day's work," is capable of believing anything, even the existence of Santa Claus.

The miners had been urged to go back on the promise that a Committee of Inquiry would investigate the possibilities of working the stint. But the farce of this proposal can be seen by the strings attached to it. It was conditional on the miners first accepting the increased stint. The men have explained, on the basis of past experience, that they cannot do it. So the N.C.B. and the miners' "leaders" say: "Accept it—then a Committee will decide whether you should accept it or not."

The Grimethorpe men saw through this. They recognised that to accept it would be to accept the principle of speed-up, and defeat



Will Not Be Solved By Sweating Miners

BY I. LANDIS

THE LABOUR AND TRADE UNION LEADERS ARE PLACING THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR GETTING THE COUNTRY OUT OF THE CRISIS ON THE SHOULDERS OF THE MINERS..

But even if the miners were prepared to sweat at the coal-face until they collapsed and were carried out of the pits, the problem would remain unsolved.

FACTS ABOUT MANPOWER

Britain's coal crisis is a heritage of long Tory exploitation of the mines. Between the two world wars, when coal was abundant and it was not in the interests of profits to employ all the miners, a quarter of the miners were permanently unemployed. At that time, under the pressure of hunger, 20 to 30,000 miners left the mines annually. The Labour force in the mines decreased from 1,200,000 in 1920 to 766,000 in 1939.

In 1940 when France fell and Italy joined the war, two important markets for Britain's coal disappeared and the mine-owners found it in their interests to close the pits. They threw another 70,000 out of the mines.

The result of all this was a terrible decline of manpower in the mining industry. One of the worst paid, most arduous, most dangerous tasks—all this led to the dissipation of the labour in the mines.

At the same time, as labour power was cheap, it was in the interests of the mine owners not to install machinery, which cost money, but to exploit to the full this reserve of cheap labour. The result is that productivity of labour in British mining is much lower than in the American mines, or even in the German, Polish, Dutch and other mines. Thus, the output of coal per manshift in 1936 was in Great Britain 1.19 tons as compared with Germany 1.71 tons, Holland 1.78 tons, Poland 2.07 tons, American mines 4.08 tons.

With time, the backwardness of the British mining industry as compared to other countries became more and more emphasised. The productivity of labour in British mines rose only by 9.6% from 1913 to 1936, while in Germany it rose by 81.4%: in Poland 72.5%, and in Holland by 117.8%. The British miner sweats no less than his Polish or German or American comrade. If the productivity of his labour is lower, it is only because of the backwardness of mechanisation in Britain's mines as the result of Tory sabotage in the interest of profit.

The Labour Government was, from the beginning, confronted with an increasing abyss between

the growing need for coal for expanding industrial production and domestic consumption on the one hand, and the crisis of under-production in the coal mines. The Government Coal Mines Bill spoke about a development plan for the mines, mechanisation, etc., that will cost £150 millions for the coming five years. It also spoke about recruitment, of tens of thousands of new miners. But, let us compare reality with the paper plans.

LUXURY CARS BEFORE COAL-CUTTERS

Begin with the question of the mechanisation of the mines. Before the war the total production of mining machinery was not more than £3 million a year, of which more than two-thirds was exported. Thus, less than £1 million worth of mining machinery remained in the country. The production of mining machinery was in the hands of a group of monopolists who owned the patents for mining machinery in Britain. These companies found it more profitable to limit the production of mining machinery under the conditions of the pre-war market.

Today, in addition to these companies whose patent rights were not abrogated by the Labour Government, another four factories owned by the State, which produced munitions during the war,

(Continued on page 4.)

"leaders" say: "Accept it—then a Committee will decide whether you should accept it or not!"

The Grimethorpe men saw through this. They recognised that to accept it would be to accept the principle of speed-up, and defeat

South Yorkshire miners saw the plan for what it was. They recognised that if the N.C.B.'s Grimethorpe plan succeeded, the way was open for similar steps throughout all the coalfields in Britain. Conscious of their respon-

was involved. "This is a test case," declared one N.C.B. official. Their arrogance has known no bounds. They are the real criminals. If there is any shut-down of industry they are responsible. If there is any winter

Jews in the Hold of the "Runnymede Park" Before Disembarkation at Hamburg

The camp to which they were transferred "... is surrounded by barbed wire and watch-towers with searchlights and armed sentries." — "Daily Telegraph."



HOW THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT SOLVES THE JEWISH PROBLEM

What terrible memories must have been aroused in the minds of these homeless Jewish refugees as they found themselves being transported, against their own wishes, to the areas in which hundreds of thousands of their people had met horrible deaths by torture and beatings at the hands of Hitler's hired Nazi thugs. Small wonder that these Jewish refugees resisted bitterly being sent to Hamburg!

There can be no doubt that some elements among the British troops who carried out the disembarkations of the Jews acted provocatively, but to the majority of the troops it was a disgusting and distasteful duty, forced upon them by the Labour Government.

The question of Jewish immigration into Palestine is a matter for those whom it most concerns—the Arab and Jewish workers of Palestine. No socialist can demand free immigration into a country which is itself subjugated by imperialism.

It must be clearly understood that the fruitless activities of the Jewish terrorists and the attempts to organise mass immigration of Jews into Palestine against the wishes of the Arab masses, plays into the hands of imperialist reaction and cannot solve the problems of the Jewish people. The tragedy of the Jews is part and parcel of the capitalist system. There is no way open to the Jewish workers in any country they find themselves other than to struggle in common with the working class, to build a world socialist system.

Meanwhile, however, the working class in Britain cannot remain silent and allow the Labour Government to condemn these harassed and homeless Jewish refugees to further misery and despair. The voice of the organised workers in Britain must be raised on their behalf and demand that all those refugees who wish, be allowed to enter Britain and the Dominions.

the miners' life by 5 years."

This is the answer to the Tories, Liberals and Labourites who have shouted "Get back to work!" This is the answer to the Yorkshire District Committee of the "Communist" Party, which issued a statement that "Every pit on strike should return" and "Grimethorpe should return and at least attempt the new stint." This is the answer to the Tory dominated Coal Board.

N.C.B.—'Same Old Gang'

The miners are recognising the real nature of the N.C.B. As one miner aptly put it: "It is the same old gang in disguise!"

The "Daily Mail" and other capitalist papers are trying to use the hatred developing among the miners for the Coal Board to white-wash the old administration under private ownership. But this does not fool the miners. They do not complain that the policy, the attitude and the administration of the Coal Board is basically different from that of the private owners. On the contrary, they complain, quite correctly, that it is basically the same!!!

Lord Hyndley, the head of the Coal Board, is one of the most important representatives of the ex-mine owners. Under private ownership he was a Director of Powell Duffryn Associated Collieries, the largest coal combine in South Wales. This, apart from his other directorships: Associated Coal and Wharf Companies Ltd., Coal Distributors (South Wales) Ltd., Bank of England, Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds, etc., etc.

Other Board members include: Sir Charles Reid, a previous director of the Pife Coal Co.; Mr. T. E. B. Young, previous Managing Director of Bolsover Colliery Co.; Mr. J. C. Gridley, previous director of Cory Bros., a subsidiary of Powell Duffryn.

These are the people who dominate the N.C.B. These are the people who tried to bludgeon the South Yorkshire miners. They are of the same private owners who, before nationalisation, were prepared to grind the miners to the depths of misery in their lust for profits.

Labour Government Put Them In Charge

When the mines were nationalised the miners expected that this "crap" would be swept aside, never to return again. Instead, Shinwell, representing the Labour Government, put them in charge. From the very first, the basic policy in the mining industry was bound to be a continuation of the previous capitalist policy. The gaudy colours which surrounded it did not alter this fact.

It is not good enough for Shinwell, in his speech to the South Elmsall miners, to attempt to disclaim responsibility for the actions of these people. If the Labour Government seriously intends to operate a mining policy in the interests of the working class it will replace this capitalist dominated Coal Board by Workers' Control of



LAWTHER—
Coal Board's
Prosecuting Lawyer.

the pits. This is what the miners must demand.

Can The Workers Control?

The argument adduced against this proposition is that the miners have not the necessary technical qualifications. This is the argument Shinwell tried to use in his speech. But it holds no water.

Workers' control of the mines, operated through rank and file committees elected from among the miners, means first and foremost that the workers control the policy applied in the industry. It means that instead of the capitalist policy of the Lord Hyndleys, the industry will be operated to benefit the miners and the working class as a whole. Of course, technicians would be required. Under workers' control, the miners would draw those technicians necessary to production onto their committees. But the policy would be laid down by the workers.

Control is not a question of technicalities—who is going to do the surveying, who is going to improve the technique of machinery, etc. It is solely a class question—in whose interests are the mines to be operated. This question is only decided by: who controls the mines.

With such committees operating at the point of production, sensitive to the miners' interests, and basing themselves on an overall socialist plan, drawn up and managed in conjunction with the workers in the other industries, the production programme would not base itself on speeding up the existing miners. It would take the immediate step of improving conditions in the mines, lessening the terrible accident rate, and creating working conditions that would attract labour to this most feared of all jobs.

The problem of under-manning would thus be tackled in a positive manner. In conjunction with the engineering workers it would end the situation where, for instance, the half million skilled engineers of the Royal Ordnance and other factories are engaged producing instruments of destruction. Instead, it would immediately engage them on production of mining machinery and power plant, and thus take positive steps to overcome the technical backwardness of the mines.

The Coal-Board would have us believe that the industry cannot afford such "luxuries". There is a simple answer to that miserable argument. Withdraw the millions of pounds that are being paid in compensation to the ex-coal, transport and other bosses. Let them

(Continued on Page 4.)

UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

C.P. Silent

The following letter was sent to the London District Committee of the Communist Party. No reply was received.

Wed., August 13th.
To the Secretary,
London District Committee,
of the Communist Party.

Dear Comrade,
The recent anti-semitic outrages that have taken place in Britain are undoubtedly the work of the fascist organisations in this country. Using as their pretext, the hanging of the two British sergeants in Palestine, the fascist gangsters have not stopped at their anti-semitic provocations, but have also attacked the premises of working class parties, as instanced by the attacks in Liverpool and Bethnal Green (London) on Labour Party and Communist Party rooms. The London District Committee of the R.C.P. regards it an essential duty of every working class party and organisation to jointly combat this anti-semitic, anti-working class activity of the fascist groupings.

Despite the very deep and fundamental questions that separate the Trotskyist and the Stalinist Parties at the present time, the London District Committee of the R.C.P. is of the strong conviction that not only is it possible for joint anti-fascist activity between the London members of our respective parties along practical and specific lines, but that such a united front would meet with enthusiastic sup-

port from the rank and file members of our respective organisations. Recent experiences in London have demonstrated that where our comrades have engaged in anti-fascist activity, a spontaneous united front has been established between members of our organisations, with evident success against the fascists.

We, therefore, propose to the London District Committee of the Communist Party, that representatives of each L.D.C. should meet and discuss practical steps to implement a united front campaign along specific and agreed lines to combat the menace of fascist provocation and activity. We await a reply from your Committee, and earnestly appeal to you for full co-operation and support for a united front against the fascists. ...For your information: A special anti-fascist supplement (copy enclosed) has already been issued by the R.C.P., which has met with great success among the workers. We are organising a Public meeting against fascist activity, at the King's Hall, Commercial Road, E.1, on Monday, August 18th. If you would send a representative, we would be glad to include him among the platform speakers.

With Revolutionary Greetings,
Yours Fraternally,
J. HINCHCLIFFE,
Sec., London District
Committee, R.C.P.

Some Notes on the T.U. Congress

BY M. PETERS

The most important question which arises from a study of the recent T.U.C. is: WHAT IS THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF THE TRADE UNIONS TODAY?

The Labour leadership and trade union bureaucrats would have us believe that the functions for which the Trade Unions were created—defending the workers' interests against the employers' interests—have been

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Behind the Pit Clerks Dispute

After all the preliminary motions had been gone through, and the furl show put on at the Trades Union Congress at Southport, the Pit Clerks' strike, due to start on Saturday, 6th September, 1947, was called off at the last minute. And the reason? We are told, in effect, that the smaller bureaucrats, those of the C. & A.W.U., might have fixed something up with the bigger bureaucrats, those of the N.U.M. No details of the deal are given, but they are being discussed as we go to press.

Briefly, what is the story? Both the National Union of Mineworkers and the Clerical and Administrative Workers have been seeking recognition from the National Coal Board to recruit pit clerks. At the annual conference of the C. & A.W.U., held as long ago as Easter 1947, the union accepted the proposal of its Executive—not without much discussion—to take a strike ballot of its pit clerk membership if deadlock was reached.

Of course, the simple motive of the C. & A.W.U. bureaucrats is to preserve its pit clerk membership and to hold on to almost a third of the organisation's income. Naturally, they must tell a story; they masquerade under the banner of defence of the smaller unions against the big whip of the big unions.

LEADERS INDIFFERENT

On the other hand, why does the N.U.M. persist in its declaration to recruit pit clerks? Stalinist

bureaucrat Horner does not pretend he is warring in the wider interests of the pit clerks. He has quite openly stated that more discipline is needed in the coal-mining industry. And, with one union for the industry, the bureaucratic leadership hopes it will be able to discipline more effectively both the miner and the pit clerk.

Working in this bureaucratic, self-interested fashion, neither leadership offers a real democratic solution of unity of the workers in nationalised industry. Do they care that the continued existence of sectional unions, craft unions and the like, tends to weaken the class solidarity of the workers? Are they concerned with developing a democracy in the unions that would take away their income or undermine bureaucratic discipline, that would truly represent the interests of the rank and file? They think only of their own incomes and bureaucratic disciplining of the workers.

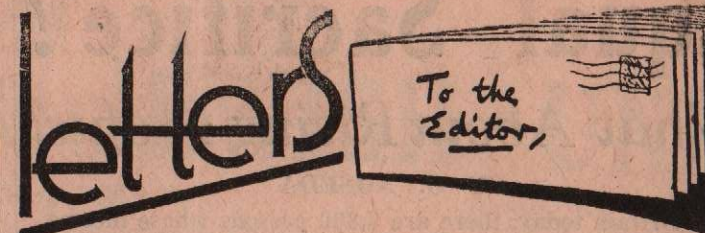
FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM ON THE BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

The solution can come only from the rank and file of both unions uniting on the basis of a common programme of militant struggle inside the one industry and working for full democracy inside the one big union. As a first step towards unification inside the National Union of Mineworkers, the rank and file miner and pit clerk must get together in joint meetings, locally, regionally and nationally, so as to thrash out any differences and reach agreement on a common programme of struggle to be conducted inside the National Union of Mineworkers. All workers in the N.U.M. must work for fuller democracy, a democracy that can be the foundation of industrial unionism.

FOR RANK AND FILE UNITY!

The days of disunity and even strike breaking by both miners and pit clerks must be left behind. Such disunity between one section of the workers and another is to be condemned. To condemn, however, is not enough. The miner and pit clerk must get together and work out a programme that will identify their interests as workers in the one industry against the bureaucratic disciplining of both the trade union leadership and the National Coal Board.

Miners and pit clerks, get together and work for unity against the bureaucrats!



An Open Letter to the Chairman of G.W.R.

Dear Sir,

I had occasion on a recent Saturday to travel from Cornwall to Paddington on one of the excellent trains which your Company provides on this route—to be exact, the train which arrives, or is due to arrive, at 7.20 p.m.

The comfort of the train was not excessive, at least for an ordinary 3rd class passenger like myself. After an hour or so spent in the corridor, wedged between suitcases and fellow-passengers, and enjoying the magnificence of the view only by painful stooping, I was lucky enough to get a seat in a compartment already occupied by 5 adults, one adolescent, 2 children and a small baby. My attempts to reach the restaurant car were effectively frustrated by the solid mass of people lining the corridors of all the coaches which separated me from my goal. Had I got out at an intermediate station and moved up to the restaurant car then, I was practically certain to lose my precious seat.

I mention all these circumstances, which are familiar enough to all travellers and for which I should be the last person to blame your Company, merely to emphasise the contrast with the treatment accorded to another and privileged set of passengers.

When the train drew in to Westbury, a considerable stir was noticed on the platform and it was soon obvious that some V.I.P.s were boarding the train. At least they must have been important in the eyes of your Company, since special provision was made for their comfort and convenience. As far as could be judged by a mere proletarian, they constituted a

fashionable wedding party, complete with morning coats, striped trousers and flowery hats according to sex. They were ushered by obsequious guards into a special coach which had been generously provided for them alone at the end of the train and temporarily disappeared from sight.

Not long after, a member of the party, attended by a guard, passed my compartment on his way to the restaurant car. (I might add that I had, of course, to fight my own way when I was engaged on the same pursuit.) As he passed my compartment, the exquisitely-dressed young man, in the best traditions of his class, referred audibly with a nod in our direction to "these cattle trucks". I mention this, not out of resentment at being classed with cattle who at least work for their living and are not social parasites, but because you may be interested to hear this description of your rolling stock.

I was surprised to notice at Paddington that no red carpet appeared to have been provided for the party when they left the train—surely a regrettable oversight.

Out of curiosity, I scanned the columns of 'The Times' on the following Monday to try to identify the privileged persons. One wedding announcement appeared to fit the case. Noticing that the son of a peer was involved, I fancied that perhaps in this episode I had seen one of the last kicks of the noble lordships, before they were forced to accept the distasteful Transport Bill. Or is it too much to hope that such feudal survivals will be killed simply by nationalisation.

Yours faithfully,
J.S.



P.B.R. and Profit As Seen by a Clerical Worker

There is a popular misconception among workers that if the boss pays for increased effort by pay increases proportional to output increases, then his rate of profits is unchanged. That the boss gains both relatively and absolutely, I have tried to show below. With all the current talk of payment by results, it is imperative that unionists understand just what is gained by an increasing tempo of production and therefore, to what financial recompense they are entitled. As a clerical worker, I am conditioned to the outlook of compiler of costs rather than the recipient of the actual piece-work rates.

The Labour leadership and trade union bureaucrats would have us believe that the functions for which the Trade Unions were created—defending the workers' interests against the employers as organs of class struggle—are gradually being abolished.

The T.U.C. made it clear that since the advent of the Labour Government, the Trade Union movement has become even more immersed with the employers, their organisations, and the governmental machine, to the detriment of any section of the workers forced to defend their conditions by struggle, and looking to the Trade Union organisation to aid them.

From the Nationalised Boards and the working parties, down to Regional, District and Factory Production Committees and other organisations covering economic life and social services, a complicated web of collaboration between employers, government, and trade union representatives has been created.

It is evident from the General Council Report that its main field of work lies in discussions, proposals, joint consultations with employers and government on the questions of exports, imports, production and the utilisation of the labour force. Workers should discuss questions formerly left to capitalist economists. But these questions are discussed by the General Council and T.U. bureaucrats from a "national" angle, without relation to the fact that the economy which the workers are helping to build up by their production drive, is a capitalist economy based on production for profit.

The capitalist press was naturally highly pleased with Bevin's speech at Southport. His appeal to the miners and industrial workers to give him the production to aid his foreign policy were echoed in the leader columns of the 'Daily Mail,' 'Daily Telegraph' and the 'Daily Express.'

The economic crisis which was the background to the Congress, was utilised by the Labour Government as an excuse for the retreat on Iron and Steel. It was also used by the miners' leaders as a justification for withdrawing their demands for support for the Miners' Charter. They substituted a statement, "Miners and the Nation", which urged the miners "for their part, to realise that the speedy attainment of their aims depends on the industry's ability to secure an immediate and substantial expansion of the output of coal." Thus, it placed the responsibility for the solution of the coal crisis on the backs of the miners.

The same declaration called on the miners to observe "loyalty to

their union in avoiding all unofficial stoppages of work." These trade union bureaucrats are never at a loss for statements condemning the so-called lack of loyalty of the rank and file of their trade unions. However, we search in vain for similar declarations on the Labour Party leadership who showed a flagrant lack of loyalty to the Labour Party Conference which demanded equal pay.

The question of the foreign policy of the Government receded in importance at this conference. The discussions on affairs at home, on the economic crisis, on the direction of labour, on the nationalisation of Iron and Steel, reflected an uneasiness among sections of the workers that the Government was not taking measures against the capitalists.

However, on the basis of the tremendous credit which still exists for the Labour Government, and utilising the crisis to urge the workers to greater effort, the trade union bureaucracy was able to gain the acceptance of its major decisions.

The pernicious doctrine that, with the advent of the Labour Government the days of struggle have passed, that class actions of the workers are no longer necessary, has been assiduously cultivated by the Stalinists and the reformists. But conditions in the industries run by private capitalists, and the nationalised industries run on capitalist lines, will teach the workers that far from the days of struggle being ended, the days of struggles, greater even than Grimethorpe, lie ahead, particularly as the problem of selling exports and cutting costs of production looms sharply before every employer.

The task of militants is to prepare for those struggles, to campaign against the class collaboration policy of the trade union officialdom which is tying the unions ever tighter to the state machine and the employers, and destroying their independence.

We must struggle to make the unions fighting independent organs of the workers, democratically controlled by the rank and file with officials paid working men's wages. Such organisations would utilise the present situation, not to urge the workers to voluntarily give up rights won after years of struggle, to accept the whole burdens of the crisis, but would assist in the struggle against the profit makers' control of industry which has been responsible for the crisis of under-production today and will be responsible for the crisis of "over-production" tomorrow.



"Who do those Grimethorpe Miners think they are, sitting on their backsides holding the Country to ransom!"

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR

GOLD PLATE, ORCHIDS AND . . . WORKERS' RULE!

SAYS C.P. leader, Harry Pollitt, in his new book, "Looking Ahead":

"Sometimes I think we all underestimate the gigantic character of the revolutionary changes which have taken place in Central and Eastern Europe. Gone are kings, feudal barons, and military dictatorships; the former powder magazine of Europe has vanished for ever; and in their place are rapidly developing democratic and Socialist nations, from which we in Britain are going to learn very much indeed in the next few years."

A Sunday "Observer" "Correspondent recently returned from Belgrade" writes: "In Belgrade there is certainly plenty in the midst of poverty. The meals served at the Hotel Majestic and in the open-air restaurants lining the Kala Magden are elaborate." And he continues:

"The 'Majestic' standard itself pales before that of the

White Palace, the lovely residence built by Prince Paul on the hills outside the city and now used by Marshal Tito for his official receptions. The fruits on gold plate, the caviare and sucking-pigs, the wine, jewels and orchids, uniforms and glittering orders seem like properties in a technicolour film, directed with unusual taste. For in spite of its opulence, taste and manners at Tito's court are good."

The Warsaw Correspondent of the "Times" reports that "the new school programme for 1947-48, published recently under the signature of a Communist Minister against the pressure of Party extremists, assigns 51 instructional hours yearly to religion and only 480 to history."

This wants some reconciling with Pollitt's assertion that "Today in these countries the workers rule, and I for one am going to shed no tears either about that, or the measures these same workers take to protect their new life and forms of government."

The most charitable conclusion to be drawn is that, carried away by his latest literary effort, Pollitt was not writing of the reality, but was just "looking ahead."

WOT! NO HIDDEN HAND?

IN the major industrial disputes of the past few weeks, it has been fashionable in Fleet Street to shift the blame from the capitalists to "subversive influences," namely, the Trotskyists. In the Grimethorpe dispute this tactic has not been employed. Indeed, almost every reporter at Grimethorpe wrote about the revolutionary communist literature being widely bought by the miners, but these have been meticulously struck out by the editors of every daily paper. But the "Daily Mail" reporter was unable to resist a guarded sideswipe. He wrote:

"Remember that the Grimethorpe men have been on strike nearly a month now. There is no union strike pay coming in to keep the children fed and shod. This is no mere display of temper.

"They can, if they wish, purchase some spiritual sustenance from those pedlars of revolutionary literature who hover on the fringe of strike crowds. They can read about 'the basic class instinct and solidarity of the miners.'"

If it is any consolation for the "Mail", we can tell them that the miners actually did purchase our revolutionary literature. And in large quantities. We produced three editions of the Special Supplement of "Socialist Appeal", the front page of which is reproduced pictorially elsewhere in this issue.

gains both relatively and absolutely, I have tried to show below. With all the current talk of payment by results, it is imperative that unionists understand just what is gained by an increasing tempo of production and therefore, to what financial recompense they are entitled. As a clerical worker, I am conditioned to the outlook of compiler of costs rather than the recipient of the actual piece-work rates.

If £1 is the reward for producing 25 articles in one day, what is the reward (profit being equal), for producing 100 articles in the day? If your answer is £4 you need to read on.

A common misconception among workers is that costs are always proportioned to output. This is only so if the time taken is in the same proportion. The aspect of costs called "oncost" or "overhead" expenditure must be considered directly to any particular part of the product, for example: wear and tear of buildings and roadways, rent, rates, water and telephone services, national insurance, factory heating, lighting, cleaning, pay of supervisors, welfare staff, time-keepers, watchmen, etc. A reflection of each of these shows that they are proportional, not to the number of articles produced, but to the number of hours or days worked. A day's overhead charges are the same whether 25 radios are produced or 100, the difference being that in the first case each radio bears 1/25th of the day's overhead cost, but in the second each bears only 1/100th—a saving on each of 3/100ths of the day's overhead cost.

But, you may argue, "the workers must be paid at a higher rate for their extra effort." That this is no cause for the boss to worry is made evident by the following extract from E. Taylor's "Principles of Cost Accounting":

"Production of 5 units of output, workmen on day work—

	s.	d.
5 hrs. at 1/9 ...	8	9
Oncost (say 7/- per hr. ...)	35	0
Material consumed— 5 lbs. at 1/- per lb. ...	5	0
Total cost, fixing a "Task Value" ...	48	9

Production of 5 units of output, workman on Premium Bonus Plan:

	s.	d.
Time taken only 4 hrs.: Value is ...	?	
Oncost at 7/- per hr. (as before) ...	28	0
Material consumed— (as before) ...	5	0
Balance available for remuneration of the man is therefore a maximum of ...	15	9
	48	9

N.B.—The 'Task Value' conception is of the greatest importance. If operative is more able, he produces a 'surplus' in which he is entitled (other things being equal) to participate.

Who but the operative, we should like to know, is entitled to gain

from the additional product? Out of the above 15/9d, the worker could be offered, double his day rate, i.e., $4 \times 3/6 = 14/-$ for only a 1/5th increase in effort. Few workers would fail to jump at such an offer and yet the boss has still gained 1/9 on every five articles, plus a 20% turnover in any given period of time.

A study of the example will show that the magnanimity of the boss's piece-rate offer and/or the extent of his gain can be still further extended where the rate of overheads as compared with material and labour costs also increases. And this is clearly the modern trend in industry, where capital outlay in complicated plant is going up and the necessary skill (hence labour cost) of the operative is going down.

Now, perhaps you can see what a laugh the boss gets when the workers agree to accept payment increases in proportion to their increase in effort or when they agree to do 6 days work in 5 days at the same weekly wage. Or how quickly the smirk would be wiped off the boss's face at the prospect of a "go slow" strike with all the mechanics of the above arithmetic acting in reverse.

Think on these things and, when 'payment by results' is current talk in your union, remember that saving of overhead is one of the results of increased production. **OVERHEADS SAVED BY INCREASED EFFORT BELONG TO THE WORKER.**

E.H.
In Marxist terms: the workers increase not only the absolute surplus value but also his rate of surplus value.

For a Marxist understanding of the Spanish situation, read:

"Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain"
by Felix Morrow

5/-

Obtainable from:
Business Manager,
256, Harrow Road,
London, W.2.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party,

256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.

Phone: CUN 2526.

EDITOR: E. GRANT.

BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

Editorial

Labour Direction

Conscript Wealth Not Labour

The T.U.C. has given its blessing to the Government's proposals for the direction of labour.

Isaac's plea that 1948 will see the end of this measure is probably all too true, for by that time the old Controller of Labour—UNEMPLOYMENT—is likely to be with us again.

For Socialism the workers are prepared to make enormous sacrifices. Of this there can be no dispute! The working class, which sacrificed life and liberty to build up the great Labour Movement, would spare nothing to see that movement attain its ultimate goal. If a workers' government, pursuing a determined Socialist policy at home and abroad, found it necessary to introduce some form of labour direction, the workers would support it with enthusiasm.

This is very far from being the situation today. In this third year of Labour in power, capitalism is still very much in the saddle. True, certain industries have been nationalised but they are still burdened with the heavy overhead of having to pay colossal sums of compensation to the former owners. Far from the capitalists having been expropriated, their future dividends are guaranteed by the National Exchequer. Representatives of the old ruling class, on the various National Boards, continue to control the nationalised enterprises. The Joint Stock Banks, the very citadels of finance capital, are still in the hands of Big Business. Speculation on the Stock Exchange goes on as merrily as when the Tories were in power. Profits are breaking all records. Even the Tories recognise Bevin's foreign policy as a continuation of their own. This is not socialism; it is a continuation of capitalism.

Under these conditions, direction of labour is a body-blow directed at the Labour Movement in the interests

HOW WOULD YOUR PARTY SOLVE the CRISIS?

How the C.P. and the R.C.P. Replied

(With acknowledgment to "NEWS REVIEW")

In its August 28th issue, "NEWS REVIEW", the widely read national weekly, invited the spokesmen of five political parties to answer the question: "If your Party were in power today, how would it solve the crisis?" The five parties were: Conservative, Liberal, Communist, I.L.P. and Revolutionary Communist. Of special interest to our readers will be the comparison between the contribution of Harry Pollitt on behalf of the Communist Party, and that of Bill Hunter on behalf of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST

How would a Revolutionary Communist Government solve the present crisis? The first step would be to call on the working class to take over all the basic industries of the country without compensation to the capitalists and run these under the control of Workers' and Technicians' Committees.

A plan would then be drawn up, not by capitalists and their economists with a few trade union bureaucrats looking on, but by these workers' committees and after the widest discussion in the ranks of the workers. They would make a survey of the entire resources of the country in factory equipment, manpower and raw materials.

In the nationalised industries today there is no workers' control or management, but the industries are run as State capitalist enterprises. In the economy as a whole, out of 20 millions gainfully employed, including the Armed Forces, no less than four millions are employed in useless occupations and luxury trades.

In the Royal Ordnance and other armaments factories hundreds of millions of pounds are spent, and approximately half a million workers, some of the most skilled engineers in the world, are producing instruments of destruction, instead of mining machinery, steel and electric power equipment.

A revolutionary Government would not have paid £1,024 million in compensation to the railway shareholders, or £164 million to the former coal-owners, or £525 million this year in interest on the National Debt to the parasites who profited from Britain's wars. It would not have allowed the employers to reap £3,226 million in profits last year. It would have expropriated the £4,000 million British capital investment abroad and used this sum to redress the adverse balance of trade. This would have given breathing space to modernise industry and increase production.

Instead of pursuing the present imperialist policy abroad, in which 1,900 million dollars, incalculable quantities of goods, and hundreds of thousands of the flower of British manpower have

The main hindrance to the solution of the crisis is vested interests. All tales of "equal" sacrifice are so much humbug, so long as the Labour Government continues to place the main burdens of the crisis on the backs of the working class, while their increased efforts mean increased profits for the capitalists.

COMMUNIST PARTY

The crisis cannot be overcome unless the policy that brought it about is changed, and the Ministers wedded to that policy replaced. Otherwise more dollars and more production will not help.

On the home front, end drift. Put first things first. Announce and enforce an economic plan for the key industries: coal and power, steel, transport, agriculture, building and building materials, textiles and clothing, along with those sections of engineering on which these industries depend for plant and spares.

Not just a "target" plan, but one broken down into details allocated to particular enterprises which are guaranteed fuel, materials labour (if necessary, also buildings and plant) to do the job. Nationalise steel as well as transport and power immediately.

There is the basis for rapidly raising the output of essentials. With strict Government control, and co-operation from the workers through Joint Production Committees, mismanagement and inefficiency can be put right. Attract labour by conditions as well as wages; raise women's wages, provide part-time employment.

Concentration in other industries, and rounding up of drones will help. But the main source of labour is immediate demobilisation of half a million men. This means a new foreign policy. End "commitments" and knuckling under to American big business.

Independent trade deals with Empire countries and the countries with planned economies would reduce the need for dollars to manageable proportions, and safeguard us against the effects of America's slump. Immediate trade agreements with the Soviet Union is the first step.

CAPITALIST STATIFICATION

Central Committee Resolution

—For Discussion

THESES ON THE EVOLUTION OF CAPITALIST MONOPOLY AND THE TENDENCIES TO STATIFICATION — PART III.

State Capitalism - A Partial Negation of Capitalism

The state as a regulator of economic functions, even if it is not yet a repository of the means of production, partially negates the law of value. According to the law of value, the regulation of economic functions takes place in an anarchical way, and the relations between people therefore, appear, not as direct crystal clear relations, but as indirect mystical relations. The law of value determines the exchange relations between the different commodities, determines the quality of each commodity to be produced, and the division of the total human labour power among the different branches. Now, the law of value holds absolute sway only under conditions of free competition, when there is a free movement of capital, commodities, and labour power. Therefore, even the most elementary forms of monopolist organisation already partially negate the law of value. When the state regulates the allocation of capital and labour power, the price of commodities, etc., it is most certainly a partial negation of capitalism. This is even more the case when the state becomes an important buyer of products. On this question Lenin said: "When capitalists work for the defence, i.e., for the government, it is obviously no more 'pure' capitalism, it is a special form of national economy. Pure capitalism means commodity production. Commodity production means work for an uncertain and free market. But the capitalist 'working' for the defence does not work for the market at all, he fills the orders of the government, and money is invariably advanced to him by the treasury." ("Collected Works," Vol. XX, Book II, p. 236).

party, as endowed with freedom of contract, is abolished. Private capital disappears, while individual appropriation continues. This reaches its extreme when the state takes the means of production into its own hands. In this case the bondholder as an individual has no control whatsoever over his part of the social capital. State capitalism is a partial negation of labour power as a commodity. In order that labour power appear as a "pure" commodity, in the market, two conditions are necessary: first, of all that the worker must be "free" of means of production; and secondly, that he is free of any legal impediments to selling his labour power. Under state regulation of the labour market, and in its most extreme form, under fascism, the worker ceases to be free to sell his labour power. If the state becomes the actual possessor of the means of production, then the choice of employer is entirely abolished, while the choice of place of work is much restricted. And if state capitalism is accompanied by a freezing of the labour power, compulsory mobilization, etc., this freedom is even more negated.

The partial negation of the law of value does not free the economy from this law, but on the contrary, subordinates it as a whole even more. The difference is only in the form in which the law of value expresses itself. When one monopoly increases its rate of profit as against other industries, it simply increases its part in the total surplus value, or it increases the rate of exploitation of the workers at the same time, they being compelled to produce more surplus value. When one industry receives subsidies from the state and thus sells its commodities below its cost of production, it is only a transference of part of the cost of production from one branch to

of their own. This is not socialism; it is a continuation of capitalism.

Under these conditions, direction of labour is a body-blow directed at the Labour Movement in the interests of capitalist profit-making, and is a violation of its most fundamental principles.

Before the Labour Government starts intruding upon the workers' freedom of movement, let it restrict the freedom of the capitalist class. Let it stop the flow of capital and direct it into channels which will ensure the greatest benefit to all, instead of greater profits for the few. Let direction of labour be applied first and foremost to the real drones and spivs: the capitalist "eels and butterflies." Make operative the demand that those who do not perform useful work shall not eat. Remove the parasites from the backs of the workers!

Before the Labour Government enforces the direction of workers let it cut out the useless military expenditure and manpower wastage which is incurred only for the defence of the imperialist possessions and profits of the British ruling class. Bring the soldiers back where they will play a constructive role in production. Turn over the factories now producing military equipment to the production of essential equipment and consumption commodities. Reorganise the nation's economy along socialist lines, with a central plan operated under the control of the workers and technicians.

Then, if need be, the workers can consider what steps are necessary to ensure a distribution of the labour force in accordance with the needs of industry. For industry itself will then be serving the needs of the people as a whole and a socialist Britain will be in the making.

Farewell Social



For Comrade
AJIT ROY
Who is leaving
for India at the
end of September

SATURDAY,
20th SEPT. 8 p.m.
256 Harrow Rd.,
London - W.2.

● **All Members and
Friends of the Party
Invited.**

Instead of pursuing the present imperialist policy abroad, in which 1,900 million dollars, incalculable quantities of goods, and hundreds of thousands of the flower of British manpower have been wasted in order to hold down the workers of Germany, Greece and Palestine, a Revolutionary Communist Government would have utilised these resources to meet the gap between imports and exports.

and the countries with planned economies would reduce the need for dollars to manageable proportions, and safeguard us against the effects of America's slump. Immediate trade agreements with the Soviet Union is the first step.

Sacrifices? Yes. But for ourselves and our future, not for American imperialism. A bold policy along these lines would rouse the enthusiasm of the people on whom the solution of the crisis depends.

Communal Strife in India

BY M. NAIDU

Large scale communal rioting in the Punjab has only slightly abated. A mass of Hindu, Sikh and Muslim refugees are on the move. What is the basis of the riots?

The problem of the Punjab must be clearly separated from the rest of India. In dividing India, British imperialism, supported by both Hindu and Muslim feudal-capitalists, paid no attention to the nationalists as such. Artificially, the country was divided, severing indigenous language groups into different provinces. This operation was calculated with the object of dividing the country in order to keep the imperialist stranglehold. Thus, the Punjab, where Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs speak the same language with a unified economy, was divided into two provinces. Similarly the Bengal was partitioned, and the "whole scheme was put into operation without voting of any kind.

The Punjab itself occupies a peculiar position in the body politic of India. Firstly, it has been the main recruiting ground of British imperialist armed forces for over a century. Consequently, a military caste comparable to the cossacks in Russia has developed in the area. The Hindu, Muslim, and particularly the Sikh population has a military tradition, with thousands of returned soldiers in the rural parts. Secondly, the newly developed canal lands in the border regions of both Eastern and Western Punjab are occupied by the land hungry peasantry. The persistent propaganda of the Muslim League has promised the land to the Muslim peasantry who were told that once Pakistan was established, all land would belong to the Muslims. It must be borne in mind that in the Muslim region of Bengal and Punjab the landlords and usurers are mainly

Hindus. While in the Hindu peasant regions of Bihar, United Provinces, Madras, the landlords are Muslims in the main. This is the inheritance of Lord Cornwallis.

This is the background which explains the ferocity of the communal riots in the East and West Punjab. The land hungry peasantry on both sides were given to believe by the propaganda of the feudal-capitalist elements on both sides, that the partition would be a signal for expropriation of their lands. A clear illustration of this is given by the special correspondent of the "Observer" of 6th September:

"In Delhi Muslim houses have been seized by refugees in retaliation for the seizure of their own property by Muslims, either before or since their evacuation from the Punjab."

In other parts of India, the riots are provoked to effectively stifle the struggles of the working class. A few facts will illustrate this.

In Bombay, sporadic riots, admittedly engineered by the "Goondas" (contemptuous term for declassed elements) have been taking place since September, 1946. The city has had periods of curfew and under Section 144 of the Indian Criminal Code, processions and demonstrations are banned. A Goonda Act has been passed with powers to extern and imprison people responsible for riots. But so far, only demonstrations and meetings sponsored by the workers' organisations have been banned. The city workers and middle class have staged many lightning strikes against their intolerable conditions. Their meetings were banned and their leaders, Stalinists, Socialists, and Trotskyists, were interned under the Goonda Act.

Similarly in Bengal, at the most opportune moment for the capital-

ists and landlords, the communal riots broke out. In the East Bengal, the impoverished Muslim peasantry were fighting for an increased share in the produce. In Calcutta, transport, jute and other workers were on strike. In unison, the League and Congress demanded action against the peasants and the workers. Neither took effective measures to stop the riots.

The British imperialists have been aided by the Muslim League, and the Communist Party, by their propaganda of two nations based upon religion has helped in this tragic differentiation between Muslim and Hindu workers and peasantry.

Instead of uniting them against the British imperialists and the propertied classes of India, the Communist Party held out the panacea of Pakistan as the cure for all evils until 1946.

The Socialist Party of India has gone so far as to demand the partition of Bengal and the Punjab. Mrs. Asaf Ali has even gone so far as to proclaim that Muslims in India should be regarded as aliens.

The solution of the communal problem is clear. Only along class lines, by the exploited Hindu, Muslim and Sikh workers and peasants uniting in a struggle against landlordism and capitalism and their main prop, British imperialism can they win land for the peasants and bread for the workers. Only the interests of the imperialists and local exploiters dictates the policy of division of the country. In a united socialist India, free and unhampered referendum can determine the question of self determination of nationalities. It is towards such a solution that the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India is struggling today, and striving to unite, the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh workers and peasants against the imperialist and native capitalists and landlords.

form long before industrial capital. As Marx noted: "The banking system presents indeed the form of common bookkeeping and distribution of means of production on a social scale, but only the form." ("Capital," Vol. III, p. 712). This is even more the case when the state becomes the main field of investment for money capital. It reaches its extreme when the capitalist state takes the banking system into its own hands.

Capitalist private property is also partially negated. While under the capitalism of free competition, the capitalist was the absolute owner of private property, under monopoly capitalism, and especially its higher stage, state capitalism, the individual capitalist no longer has absolute ownership of the means of production. In the share companies, capital becomes "directly endowed with the form of social capital..." It is the abolition of capital as private property within the boundaries of capitalist production itself." ("Capital," Vol. iii, p. 517). This is more the case when the state regulates the stream of capital. In this case, private pro-

subsidies from the state and thus sells its commodities below its cost of production, it is only a transference of part of the cost of production from one branch to another. When the state regulates prices, the point of departure is the cost of production. Under all these conditions wage labour continues its antagonism to capital, surplus value continues to be produced, and it continues to be converted into capital. The total labour time of society and the total labour time directed to the production of the necessities of life of the workers as a collective determine the rate of exploitation, the rate of surplus value. The total labour time allotted to the production of new means of production determines the rate of accumulation. While the price of every commodity does not exactly express its value (this did not happen, except accidentally, even under individual capitalism) the division of the total production and consumption is dependent on the law of value. Under state capitalism, which embraces the whole economy, this dependence receives its purest, most direct and absolute form.

State Capitalism - Competition and Organisation - Anarchy and Planning

Under capitalism of free competition, while there is planning of production in the individual industry, there is general anarchy of production in the economy as a whole, and no conscious regulation of the relations between the different enterprises. Monopolist organisation brings with it a measure of planning of the production in a whole branch while at the same time anarchy rules supreme among the different branches in the national economy as well as among the monopolies in the same branch in the world market.

When the state begins to regulate prices and production without becoming the direct possessor of the means of production, competition among the different enterprises continues, notwithstanding the regulation of the relations between the branches, although the competition may take place in a more hidden form. Every enterprise tries to increase its part in the general quota of production; in order to do this, it must increase its economic power, as the bigger enterprise receives the higher quota of raw materials and government orders. The fixing of prices makes every enterprise strive to cut its costs of production as the only way of receiving extra profits. This makes the competition between the different enterprises fiercer, although it takes a very different

form to that which it took before the state intervened in the regulation of production. Thus state regulation of production and prices, while industry remains in the hands of private companies, means not the abolition of competition, but its canalising into somewhat different channels than those which existed before.

When the state takes the means of production into its hands, planned production appears not only in one enterprise, or even in one branch, but in all the branches held by the state, and, under their influence, to a large extent also in the other branches of the national economy. This drives forward the productive forces, and therefore deepens the fundamental contradiction between them and the capitalist relations of production on the one hand and the national state on the other. Competition on the world market must therefore take on an unprecedented magnitude.

Under capitalism the range of planning can extend from a small enterprise to a bigger one, from a big one to a whole branch, and from a whole branch to the national economy; but the increased range of planning is accompanied by an accentuation of anarchy beyond the range of the plan, i.e. between the enterprises, between the branches, or between national capitalisms, as the case may be.

(Continued on Page 4.)

CALL THE T.U. LEADERS TO HEEL!

No Agreements Behind Backs of Miners

(Continued from Page 1.)

work for their living, as the miner is having to do. The working class has enough to do to support itself, without carrying these parasites on its back.

Only with a policy such as this will nationalisation of the mines live up to the expectations of the miners. This is the concrete answer to the "battle of the stint."

Who Do The T.U.

Bureaucrats Represent?

But in tackling the question of the Coal Board and its policy, the miner finds himself facing the sabotage of his struggles by his own union "leaders". Instead of rallying to the side of the Grimethorpe and the other South Yorkshire miners, who help to maintain Horner, Lawther, Joe Hall and the other bureaucrats in well-paid jobs, these bureaucrats have done everything to strengthen the hand of Lord Hyndley and the Coal Board and smash the struggle of the men.

Joe Hall —

Strike - Breaker

Joe Hall, President of the Yorkshire section of the union boasted to reporters of the capitalist press

that he had "morally broken the back of the strike", when he spoke to the Grimethorpe men on Wednesday, 3rd September. This professional strike-breaker has become so far removed from the miners he claims to represent, that he has forgotten that the morale of the miners is not so easily shattered. There were more men on strike a few days after his speech than at any other time during the dispute. Comment by the miners on his present trip to America is: "We hope they keep him there."

Lawther — N.C.B.'s Lawyer!

Will Lawther, brief-case, stetson hat and all, shouted from Southport that the Coal Board should prosecute the strikers "even if there are 100,000". The miners' comments on the activities of this miserable individual do not come within the normal scope of the English language. Even the capitalist press recognised the irresponsible nature of this typical Churchillian remark. They saw that if the Coal Board even attempted to act on Lawther's advice they might well let loose a force in the mining industry they couldn't control. Such threats do not intimidate the miners. They toss them back in Lawther's face and say: "try it if you dare."

COAL CRISIS:

Mining Machinery

Patents Owned by Monopolies

(Continued from Page 1.)

are now producing mining machinery. This is negligible. There are more than 400 factories belonging to the State and which have been transferred from production for war to production for peace. Tens of these now produce refrigerators, electricity appliances, etc., which are not necessities or essentials for the economy and are not consumed by the working people.

The result is that although the production of mining machinery is increasing slightly, it is lagging terribly behind the needs of the economy. Thus, while the number of coal cutters produced for the home market on the average monthly in 1945 numbered 45, in 1946 the number was 64, and in the second quarter of 1947 it was 84.

The number of power loaders produced in 1945 was 8, in 1946

GRANT THE MINERS' DEMANDS!

As regards the manning of the mines, the Labour Government has only introduced small improvements.

The number of miners in Britain increased from 692,000 in December 1946 to 717,000 in June 1947. This increase of 25,000 is only a fraction of what is required. In order to reach even the target of 200 million tons a year, the number of miners must increase by at least another 50,000. At the same time, we must not forget that about 5,000 miners are lost to the industry monthly through accidents, death, illness, etc.

If mechanisation is the main factor in a long term plan for the mining industry; for a short-term immediate solution the addition of tens of thousands of workers in the mines is the main element. But

"Communist" Horner Joins In

Lined up with this united front between Hyndley and the Union bureaucrats is "Communist" Arthur Horner. Much water has flowed under the bridge since the days of his youth when he used to travel the South Wales valleys agitating against the very policy he now pursues. Together with Stalinism he has degenerated into an apologist for capitalism. At a press conference on Monday, September 8th, he accused the Grimethorpe men, because they dare to defend their interests, of "holding the country up to ransom." He described the attitude of the Grimethorpe men as "reactionary". He stated that the strike "could have been avoided."

What Real Workers' Leaders Would Have Done

Yes! The strike could have been avoided, Mr. Horner! You, Lawther, Hall and others of your ilk had it in their power to stop the strike in 24 hours. Instead of hurling insults at the men you claim to represent and trying to force them to their knees before the Coal Board, you had it in your power to act in a manner befitting genuine miners' leaders. You understood quite well the duplicity of the Coal Board. You could have exposed it, and said to Hyndley: "Withdraw the 2 feet from the 'stint'. We are against tearing the guts out of the miners. Either you do this, or we'll bring the miners out in every coal-field of Britain." This would have ended the strike in 24 hours. This would have been the essence of Trade Union leadership, and would have made for an increased pride by the miners in the Union they have sacrificed and struggled to build up.

Clean Up The Union!

The miners must learn the lesson of this present struggle.

They must struggle to clean up the Union. An end must be made to all life jobs. They must demand the regular election of all officials at least once every year, and make them subject to recall at any moment. They must pay these officials the same wage as the miners on the job: give them increases when the miners get an increase, reduce their wages if the miners suffer a cut.

Such a struggle for Union democracy will make these people more sensitive to the interests of the rank and file. It will guarantee that the miners will be represented by militant fighters.

Before the present officials start raving about the "stint", or daily task of the miners, the miners must remind them that they have a daily task to perform themselves. That task is to look after the interests of the rank and file. Until they have shown a willingness to do this they have no right to say a word against the Grimethorpe or any other miners.

The spirit of the South Yorkshire miners had to be seen to be fully appreciated. A catchphrase in Grimethorpe was: "We stayed out for 36 weeks in 1926, we can do it again if necessary." These men do not like being on strike. Unlike Lord Hyndley, they have not £8,500 a year to fall back on. Their wives and families faced difficult times. But they were fully behind the men.

Nor do the miners like the loss of coal. But they know they are not the guilty ones. As one miner put it: "they could put us in a pit pony's harness and say, 'if you don't accept and go on strike you'll be responsible for the loss of coal.'"

The Grimethorpe and South Yorkshire miners rendered a service to the whole mining community in their fight. They clipped the Coal Boards wings, despite the sabotage of their own "leaders", and they pointed the way for future struggles.

PALESTINE:

ARAB - JEWISH UNITY

BY S. MUNIR

The B.B.C. and the capitalist press all over the world was relieved when Arab-Jewish riots broke out in Palestine. British imperialism intended to prove to world public opinion that it was necessary to keep a big army in Palestine 'in order to prevent civil war between Jews and Arabs.' It tried to make the British working class believe that it is not for the suppression of the Arab working class in the Middle East and for preparation for a new war that this army is kept there, but for the sake of "peace in the Holy Land." It is, therefore, only natural that it did not publish or broadcast the following facts known by everybody in Palestine.

Immediately after the first outbreaks of communal riots between Jews and Arabs, a meeting of all Arab and Jewish workers in the Army-camp of North Tel-Aviv was organised. The speaker of the Arab workers who are organised in the Left "Arab Workers' Congress" said:

"We will not gain our freedom by war with the Jews. We shall not allow anybody to sow discord between the workers of the two peoples."

Then he read a declaration issued by the Jaffa municipality and other Arab bodies against the provocations which led to bloodshed.

The spokesman of the Jewish workers declared:

"A criminal hand has been trying for years to incite one people against the other... our way is the way of unity for the sake of both peoples."

About 40 Arab trade-unionists and members of youth organisations visited the mukhtar (head of the local body) of the Jewish quarters of Jaffa and discussed with him the measures to be taken in order

leftists condemned during the period of 1936-39 were kept in prison (e.g., Kakhri Haraq).

These chauvinist leaders have been given a free hand to organise the military "Arab Youth Organisation"—which refused to under-sign the call for putting an end to communal riots issued by the Jaffa municipality.

While leftist papers are censored severely, the chauvinist "al-Wahda" of the Higher Arab Committee has been allowed to publish in these days an article saying: "How can we Arabs assimilate 600,000 Jews, if industrially developed Germany could not digest this number of Jews before the second world war?"

British Imperialism, however, is not only politically responsible for the growth of influence of the chauvinist Zionist leadership and its criminal anti-Arab military organisations, and for the growth of influence of the anti-Jewish Higher Arab Committee which incites to communal riots. British Imperialism is also directly responsible for deliberately allowing communal riots to continue! When the instigators of communal riots succeeded in arousing clashes between Arabs and Jews on the borders of Jaffa and Tel-Aviv, British military forces, ostensibly in Palestine "to keep order and peace," arrived two hours late! In other affected areas they did not appear at all. They appeared immediately, however, when intervention in the common strike of Arab and Jewish workers in the Haifa Oil Refinery was concerned, early this year!!

We call upon the British workers to: Fight for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Palestine! Put an end to the imperialist regime in the Middle East. Do not let your comrades in the army be exploited for the suppression of the working class in the Middle East and for carrying out the imperialist policy of sowing discord between Arabs and Jews in Palestine!

SOCIALIST APPEAL

September, 1947

Special Supplement

Price 1d.

MINERS!

GRIMETHORPE'S FIGHT IS

Capitalist Statification

(Continued from Page 3.)

State Capitalism and the Capitalist Crisis

Just as the German opportunist, Edward Bernstein, hailed the rising of monopoly organisation as the dawn of regulated, planned

much accelerates the general tendency of the decline of the rate of profit.

From the above we must not conclude that

it was 84.
The number of power loaders produced in 1945 was 8, in 1946 9, and in the second quarter of 1947, 10.

The number of conveyors in 1945 was 124, in 1946 171, and the second quarter of 1947, 196.

As against this, the number of passenger cars produced monthly for the home market rose from 1,069 monthly average in 1945 to 9,900 in 1946, and 16,230 in the second quarter of 1947.

The result is that as the Labour Research of March-April, 1947, put it:

"A small electric motor now takes 18 months to deliver to the mines, a conveyor 12 months, pneumatic picks even longer... The new Meco-Moore cutter-loader gives up to 4 times the output per man gained with ordinary methods, but only 18 are now working, though 56 projects have been approved and 50 were ordered two years ago."

In the Government's "plan", the production of private cars takes priority over the production of mining machinery.

If engineering factories belonging to the State produce munitions, refrigerators and other luxury goods, and if Austins or Nuffield Combine find it more profitable to produce luxury cars instead of mining equipment, any talk of real mechanisation of the mines and a socialist plan remain hollow phrases.

So long as imperialist interests make nearly half a million workers produce £900 millions in munitions a year; so long as private capitalists control the engineering industry as well as the munition factories, the production of even £10 millions of mining machinery becomes an impossibility.

mining industry, for a short-term immediate solution the addition of tens of thousands of workers in the mines is the main element. But here the Government also serves the capitalists instead of the workers. Where the workers demand the minimum of £6 a week, the Government finds it necessary to declare that it is beyond the possibilities of the economy to stand this. They overlook the fact that the granting of this demand would cost no more than £45 millions a year. Dalton cannot pay such a sum to the miners, yet he can "relieve" the capitalists from E.P.T. to the tune of £500 millions a year.

As long as the Government protects capitalist profits; pays compensation to the mine owners; implements a capitalist budget, it is really impossible to man the mines. There are only two ways of manning the industry: only by improving the conditions of the miners and thus attracting more labour; the other, by use of the whip on the existing miners. The Labour Government, which depends on the support of the working class, dare not, and cannot go all out with the whip. At the same time, being subservient to the capitalist class, the Government does not dare to improve fundamentally the conditions of the miners at the cost of the capitalist class. In their concern to serve the capitalist interests, the Government is only tinkering with the Coal crisis.

The coal crisis of today is the result of the crimes of capitalism for tens of years. To overcome it without raising the danger of overproduction and unemployment in the future, what is required is a socialist plan elaborated by workers' delegates and implemented under the control of the working class.

MINERS! GRIMETHORPE'S FIGHT IS YOUR FIGHT! A TEST CASE



GANGING UP ON THE MINERS
FRONT PAGE OF SPECIAL MINERS' SUPPLEMENT
PUBLISHED DURING SOUTH YORKSHIRE STRIKE.

PARTY ACTIVITY

SHEFFIELD.—The local comrades have been active throughout South Yorkshire during the period of the miners' strike. Almost 1,000 "Socialist Appeals" were sold as well as 2,500 copies of the Special Supplement on the strike. The front page of this Supplement is reproduced in this issue. The response to our material was excellent. Innumerable comments from the miners were to the effect that the Trotskyists were the only ones who defended them publicly during the dispute. Whilst antagonism was rife against every representative of the press and the

union bureaucrats, our members were accepted in a spirit of comradeship by the miners. Many contacts were made, and regular readers of the "Socialist Appeal" obtained. The great distances involved imposed a strain on the comrades but their activities were conducted on the basis of concentrating on those areas which they will be able to follow up regularly in the next period. Many miners bought extra copies of the Supplement to send to their relatives and friends in the mining communities of various parts of Britain. Our comrades were invited into their clubs, on the initiative of the miners, to sell our literature which they regarded as a powerful aid to their struggle.

BIRMINGHAM.—A successful anti-Fascist meeting was held by our Birmingham Branch in the Bull Ring on Sunday, 7th September. About two hundred listened attentively to our speakers, Comrades Bill Hunter, John Williams, and others. About 6 C.I.D. men were in the crowd. A member of the Communist Party, Sid Atkins (an U.S.D.A.W. organiser) attempted to disrupt the meeting by calling the Trotskyists "fascists", etc. He was suitably answered by the speakers and silenced.

LIVERPOOL.—Our Liverpool comrades covered the Southport T.U.C. with "Socialist Appeals". About three dozen copies were sold.

Just as the German opportunist Edward Bernstein, hailed the rising of monopoly organisation as the dawn of regulated, planned capitalism, in which crises would become milder and milder, and unemployment progressively diminish, so many opportunists today see in nationalisation by the capitalist state a transition to an economy without crises.

If only a relatively small part of the whole economy is statified, the contradictions which will bring crises in the other branches will certainly also affect the statified industry. Thus if the British machine industry is not able to sell its products, the statified coal mines within Britain will also face overproduction, unemployment, etc. The fact that in Germany the railways were always state property did not save the country as a whole from a crisis, nor the railways.

But even if statification embraces the main positions of the economy, or even the national economy as a whole, crises will not be a thing of the past. The reasons for this are as follows:

(a) In the last analysis, the cause of capitalist crises is rooted in the fact that an increasing portion of the income of society is taken by the capitalist class and an even greater part of this is directed towards accumulation, causing a disproportion between accumulation and consumption, and a lack of equilibrium in the economy which can be restored only by the crisis.

Growing competition between national capitalisms will spur on each of them to increase its accumulation. At the same time, the more concentrated, the more advanced the productive forces, the higher is the rate of exploitation, and the higher the rate of accumulation. Thus the statification of the means of production will drive into unprecedented acuteness the antagonism between accumulation and the limits of the market.

(b) The development of the productive forces means the substitution of living by dead labour, the first (workers' labour) being a producer of surplus value, while the second (raw materials, machines, etc.) is not. The development of the productive forces, therefore, while increasing the rate of exploitation of the workers, decreases the rate of profit, the rate of surplus value relative to the total capital. This decline of the rate of profit comes into antagonism with the capitalist mode of production, and can be temporarily counteracted only by the crisis, which makes the elements of production entering into the cost price cheaper, and severely cuts capital values.

The statification of the means of production, driving forward the productive forces, necessarily heightens the organic composition of capital, increases the proportion of machinery, raw materials, etc., as against wages, and thus very

Capitalist Crisis

much accelerates the general tendency of the decline of the rate of profit.

From the above we must not conclude that the effect of statification can not temporarily be one of producing an economic upswing, an economic boom. As a certain lapse of time takes place between the investment of capital and the output of finished products, as there is not a direct proportion between the addition of new means of production and the addition to the output of finished products, the rationalisation of industry undertaken by the state can be of much wider scope, the upswing can be so much the greater, while the secondary reasons causing capitalist economic crises are ironed out by the state. Temporarily, therefore, statification of the means of production can keep the fundamental cause of the crisis in a latent form, while doing away with secondary causes.

Statification can also temporarily counteract the tendency of the rate of profit to decline. The state regulation of the elements which enter into the cost price (wages, raw materials, etc.), together with a financial policy of "cheap money" (a low rate of interest), are the main levers for the heightening of the rate of profit or at least for counteracting the tendency towards its decline.

The fact that Lenin defined monopoly capitalism as decaying capitalism, does not mean that the productive forces did not go forward with seven league boots. It meant only that the development of the different branches, different countries, etc., was very uneven, jerky, and relatively much below the potential possibilities inherent in the existing productive forces themselves. The same applies, to a much deeper extent, to state capitalism.

State capitalism, when reaching the crisis of overproduction, will be faced with much deeper contradictions than individual capitalism, and at the same time, the means of overcoming them inside the country itself, will be much smaller. Under private capitalism one capitalist onsts the burden of the crisis off his shoulders by placing it on those of another. This will cease with the existence of one, collective capitalist.

The increase in the rate of exploitation of the workers for the aim of increasing the rate of profit, because of its detrimental influence on the shrinking markets, will be of little efficacy.

Hence state capitalism can draw itself out of the crisis only by throwing the burden of it on to other countries. The drive toward the world market, the drive toward imperialist expansion, will receive unprecedented force.

(To be continued.)

Published by E. Grant,
256, Harrow Road, London, W.2
Printed in Gt. Britain by C. A. Brock & Co. Ltd., (T.U.), W.10.

Are You a Regular Reader?
If not, Fill in the Form below:

I would like to take out a subscription for:

SOCIALIST APPEAL:
Rates, Yearly (24 issues) 6/- or half-yearly 3/- (including postage) and/or
WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL NEWS:
Rates 7/- yearly (12 issues), or half-yearly 3/6 (including postage)

Name
Address

I enclose £.....s.....d. for the above paper/papers. (Strike out which is not required).

Subscriptions should be addressed to:
Business Manager,
256, Harrow Road, London, W.2.