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Industrial Militant —
for
International
Socialism

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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FOURPENCE

NO TO ALL BOMBS

ALASDAIR
MACINTYRE

THE Russian Government have revived the death penalty for yet another class of people. This time it is for the innocent victims of fall-out. More children will be born deformed; more adults will die from leukaemia. Neither children nor adults will probably ever know that their fate was determined by the Russian decision to resume nuclear tests and by the American counter-moves which have followed and will follow it.

To us it is an important reminder that we do not have to wait for the outbreak of World War III to realise our fears of radioactivity. The arms race is no longer a mere preliminary to destruction; destruction has become part of the race, the destruction both of people and things.

Russian workers who know by their own experience that their government has solved neither their housing problem nor their agricultural problem are treated to the sight of the wealth they have produced dissolving into mushroom clouds. American capital is reassured by the Russian decision that it can go on solving its problems of over production by producing for the limitless demands of a war economy geared to rivalling the Russian war economy.

Mr Khrushchev had pledged that Russia would never be the first to resume testing. But the light is thrown upon worthlessness of Khrushchev's promises is the least important part of the affair. The Russian decision illustrates once again how the political leaders of the world powers have allowed themselves to become mere expressions of deep and inescapable tendencies in the social order of contemporary capitalism and imperialism.

What are these pressures to which the Soviet leaders have

responded? Every state with a nuclear stock pile is bound to create a largely autonomous and entirely secret military organization which acquires a life of its own quite independent of the visible politics of the state in question. What were the means of national defence become the ends of military organization. Less susceptible to democratic control than any other part of the body politic, such organization begins to present overriding demands of technology in societies where technological advance is blind.

The ideology of increased technical expertise which dominates industry in both the USA and the USSR demands the break through of technical barriers in no matter what direction. The technical problem confronting the Russian at the moment is this.

They have solved the problems of nuclear rocketry up to stratospheric levels. They have launched and recovered spaceships

successfully. What they do not know is how nuclear equipment would behave in the spaceship zone. This zone will at some period become available for military attack and defence. Hence the problems can only be solved by exploding more nuclear weapons under conditions quite different from those of previous testing.

All this of course is part of a world pattern. The fact that ordinary Russian workers have no more democratic control over what is done with the fruits of their labour that workers in the West have is at one with the fact that the Russian government may talk about class struggle but acts as a believer in world power-politics.

British workers and British socialists can learn three different kinds of lesson. We congratulate those members of the Communist Party who demonstrated against the Russian tests outside the Soviet Embassy; we ask them and their comrades to

rethink their attitude to Russian state power on the basis of these events. It is also important to note the Russian decisions disregard for the neutralist leaders assembled in Belgrade.

We hope that believers in the third force of positive neutralism will recognise the illusions of hoping that "world public opinion" can ever shake the large power blocs and of believing that the neutralist nations can play a decisive and helpful role in world politics.

Above all we hope that all workers and all socialists will be reminded that no politicians, no leaders of the present kind can help us.

We can only help ourselves by building up mass resistance in every country to the manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons by the government of that country.

MASS ACTION IN FAVOUR OF UNILATERALISM IS MORE URGENT THAN EVER.

Prospects for Blackpool

JOHN
FAIRHEAD

REVERSAL of the Scarborough decision on defence is certain. The crushing victory of the Right at Portsmouth has made this a foregone conclusion. But to conclude, from this inescapable premiss, that this year's Party conference will give Gaitskell the go-ahead on all questions would be a big mistake.

Less publicized than last year's unilateralist resolution, yet more securely based, was the Scarborough call for extended nationalization and its rebuff to those in the leadership who wanted to junk the Party's

socialist program. The big battle at Blackpool will be fought on *Signposts for the Sixties*, whose acceptance by a large majority would be a disaster for the Movement.

If previous practice is followed, no amendment to the draft will be accepted by Standing Orders. Left-wing delegates should follow the example of Ian Mikardo, who on the National Executive Committee voted against the draft. As the majority of union delegations will not be mandated by their respective annual conferences, much will depend on the work

put in behind the scenes by Left-wingers, who must be hard in resisting all compromise.

As last year, the greatest number of resolutions concern defence and foreign policy. A new feature, however, is that they are almost evenly balanced between Right and Left. A similarity in the wording of Right-wing resolutions, especially the repetition of the phrase "the threat to the unity of the Party", indicates the extent to which the Campaign for Democratic Socialism has been active.

In the face of this activity it
cont. on back page

CONFERENCE SPECIAL!

AS WE HAD TO GO TO PRESS EARLY THIS MONTH WE COULD PRODUCE ONLY FOUR PAGES. SORRY COMRADES!

TU COMMENTARY

KARL DUNBAR AEU

Common Market

FROM the welter of argument that has and is still going on around the Common Market, there again emerges the immediate tasks which confront the British working class movement.

To strengthen our organisations.

To make clear our demands.

To firmly prosecute the struggle for higher wages, better conditions and shorter working hours.

But these have always been our tasks you say. There is no difference in this struggle whether it be waged on the basis of the present set-up or whether it is within the Common Market organisation, because capitalism is responsible for both battle grounds.

Before the Common Market is a reality British capital is crowing at the prospect of a reserve labour market-unemployment to us. Listen to the apologists of capitalism who write as 'economists' for the 'independent' newspaper. The *Observer* brand of 'free' journalism is a good example.

The Governments hand will be enormously strengthened, by the marked change of trend in the labour market. Unemployment has been steadily creeping up and unfilled vacancies have been declining. There will not be large-scale unemployment, but labour should become a good deal easier to obtain in the coming months'.

This particular paid hack from the *Observer* is delighted at the prospect of an army of workless, and goes on to underline his glee by foreseeing the employers much firmer attitude in refusing wages claims.

Oh yes, when the going gets even the tiniest bit rough we find our friends and, just as important, our enemies.

At this moment we find, for example, the Communist Party standing four square on the same platform as Hinchinbrooke and the *Daily Express*, not to mention Messrs the Left opportunists like Foot, Jenkins and company, all busily holding up their little Union Jacks shouting the odds about National Sovereignty and the disaster which will befall us if British capital goes into the Common Market.

As if this giant take over bid by monopoly capitalism, for that is what it is, will mean the end of the British working class movement.

As if for example the shop stewards movement will fall flat on its face, confounded by the devilish cunning of those capitalists. We face the bosses with as

much hostility now as we will when the Common Market comes into being. The same struggle will be waged but more sharply.

Viewing the immediate prospects we can be absolutely certain that we will have to fight harder for our demands. This was made abundantly clear by the Tory Governments' wage freeze policy.

Look well at this movement we have created. See for yourselves the strength that exists in the workshops, in the offices even, for now the white collar brigade, scorned in the past as the last ones to move, are realising the significance of organisation. There is much to be done. Educating a whole new generation in the meaning of the class struggle will not be an easy task and there is a long way to go yet before we can begin the offensive against the bosses.

The future holds great prospects for our movement. Links with our fellow workers in Europe, inevitable as is the coming of the Common Market, can only serve to strengthen our own movement, for we have much to learn from our German, French, Italian and Belgian comrades, as they from us.

Don't let the wailers and moaners deter us from the real and constant struggle. There is but one task and that is to strengthen the movement for the many struggles that lie ahead.

This will not be done by concealing the truth from the working class, by mouthing jingoist phrases that centre around the 'little Englander' line. We are, if we are anything, internationalists, proud to stand up and say, 'the world is our country, we know no national boundaries'.

That is precisely why we stand opposed to racial discrimination, why we defend the right of any worker, from any land, to free access to Britain or anywhere else he or she chooses. Why we demand equal pay and equal rights for all workers regardless of nationality.

What I have attempted to say here is really the truth which you and I see every day inside our workshops, the problems created by the boss class are the same for everyone. The same problems exist now and will go on existing until such times as we end the system which creates poverty in the midst of plenty; and as surely as night follows day that time will come.

DENNIS DIGBY

White collars

Fight pay

pause

LONDON civil servants packed three halls to hear their leaders attack the pay "pause"

on August 30th. Among this traditionally conservative minded section of the working class feeling is running high against the Government. Casting gentility aside, and reflecting the extremely strong pressure being brought to bear on him, CSCA secretary George Green even spoke in guarded terms of the possibility of industrial action.

Government servants understand that they have been chosen as the example upon which private industry is being asked to pattern itself. If this attack on its own employees succeeds, the Government will be in a strong position to support SR—8

a tough line by private employers against the volley of wage claims which the unions are preparing to serve.

More important than their flat rejection of pending claims is the declaration by Macmillan and Lloyd that any arbitration award will not be honoured (in the unlikely event of its being handed down!) until such time as the Government thinks fit.

Moreover, the date of retro-

action will be determined by the Government, and will not necessarily coincide with that of the claim or even of the decision. It is this final blow which has so infuriated the civil service union chiefs. The whole fabric of Whitleyism, so carefully constructed and maintained by both sides to hoodwink the rank and file, has in effect been unwoven. The union leaders now have no place to retreat.

The clerical grade, awarded an increase shortly before the "pause", is fully behind the other sections of the service. A new unity is being forged, both between the various unions of the "staff side" and between these and other workers' organizations. Driven by the logic of the crisis, the employers' government is at last breaking down the barrier between white collars and overalls. Led by the militants of the Post Office, the men and women from the ministries are swinging into action.

It is the job of Marxists to see that this unity is maintained, and is translated into political and industrial action.

SQUEEZES PAST AND FUTURE

SQUEEZE No. 1, 1951-52 (Nov. 51, Mar. 52). Bank Rate up from 2 to 2½ per cent., then 4 per cent. Capital Issues Committee instructed to tighten restrictions on the borrowing of money by new capital issues, and banks told to limit advances.

1953-55. Output rose by 5-6 per cent. annually and a moderate boom developed in 54-55. Income tax cut in budget of April 55 and Butler, Chancellor of Exchequer, prophesied standard of living would double in 25 years. In May 55 Tories won general election.

Squeeze No. 2, 1955-56 (July, Oct. 56 and Feb. 56). Tough autumn 55 budget raised purchase tax and profits tax. Public investment cut. Local authorities denied access to Public Works Loan Board except in last resort and forced to raise money in open market at higher rates of interest. Investment allowances abolished to discourage private investment. Bank Rate raised from 4½ to 5½ per cent. H.P. restriction stiffened.

Squeeze No. 3, 1957 (Sept.). Bank Rate up from 5 to 7 per cent. Further cuts in public investment. Banks told to check any rise in advances and Capital Issues Committee to tighten restrictions. Employers urged to restrain wage increases described by Thorneycroft, Chancellor of Exchequer, as "by far the greatest danger we have to face."

Unemployment rose to a peak of 666,509 in Jan. 59.

1959-60. Output rose by 14 per cent. from Oct. 58 to April 60 and Stock Exchange boom raised ordinary share prices by 120 per cent. Macmillan declared "You have never had it so good" and in autumn 59 Tories won general election.

Squeeze No. 4, 1960-61 (April-June 60, July 61). In April-June 60 Bank Rate up from 5 to 6 per cent. H.P. restrictions, completely lifted in 58, reimposed, and banks called on for "special deposits", a new device to check advances.

(In Spring 61 Bank Rate down to 5 per cent. and H.P. restrictions eased.)

Squeeze intensified in July 61: Bank Rate up from 5 to 7 per cent., 10 per cent. surcharge on all indirect taxes, banks to make further special deposits, cuts in public expenditure especially by local authorities. Government loans to building societies suspended, banks and insurance companies asked to limit funds for speculative property development. Lloyd, Chancellor of Exchequer, called for a "pause" in wage and salary increases "until productivity has caught up". In future "increases in incomes must follow... increases in national productivity."

1962-63. *If there is another moderate boom, followed by a general election, will the electors be taken in again? If they are, Squeeze No. 5 is due in about 64.*

Reproduced from *Labour Research* September 1961.

CONCLUSION OF THE
ARTICLE BEGUN IN LAST ISSUE

CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM

JOHN
CRUTCHLEY

Let us consider the political and economic consequences of the permanent war economy.

Firstly, there is relatively full employment but with stagnating or even declining living standards. The main trend is obvious from a glance at the national income figures. Consumption at 1948 prices for all sections of the community only increased by £1500 million (one years arms bill) in the twenty years 1938-57. In the same time industrial production increased by 33 percent.

Secondly, there is an enlargement of the State's activities and a trend away from bourgeois democracy. This is most marked in the USA where the state was originally established by the small bourgeoisie as a mirror of their market relations. However,

since the Jeffersonian era they have inevitably lost control of the state machine to the big monopolists. Until now, even the top political leaders by-pass the 'democratic process'. Only three out of the top 53 executive members of the Eisenhower Cabinet in 1953 had spent the majority of their political lives fighting elective offices. Furthermore 75 percent had never held any elective post whatsoever (Mills *op cit*).

This process is also illustrated by the collapse of the post war democracies in Asia and the De-Gaulle-Bonapartist regime in France. "The essence of Bonapartism consists in this: basing itself on the struggle of two camps it 'saves' the 'nation' with a bureaucratic-military

dictatorship" (Trotsky, *Whither France?*)

That this situation is developing in Britain cannot be denied. It is best illustrated by the inclusion of the Labour Party bureaucracy in the State machine. Even during the 'thirties the Labour Party presented a different war policy from the ruling class. Now their policy is almost indistinguishable from the Tories'. Indeed it was Attlee that initiated the arms drive and A-bomb production without any discussion or decision in the Party.

Finally, let us examine the contradictions and weaknesses in the war economy.

First, although there is an apparent conformity between the productive forces of society and war technique this conformity is far from absolute. If the arms burden grows faster than national output this will lead to falling living standards and social instability.

Secondly, the general level of production in the community is tied to war production. Thus all the post war industrial 'leaders', electronics, automation, synthetic raw materials, plastics, etc. have been by-products of the arms race. Any big advance in technique will increase the pressure towards a slump. To ensure continued prosperity a greater amount of national income would have to be devoted to military ends.

Thirdly, the great powers may compete so fiercely on the world market that each, in order to strengthen its position, would start to cut arms expenditure. It is no coincidence that the two most successful post war countries (Western Germany and Japan) are those without an arms budget. They prosper at the expense of the heavily armed 'victors' of World War II. The second-rate powers (Britain, France etc) try to get these countries to share the arms 'burden' while America is quite content to use these countries as auxiliary export markets which provide a prop for American business.

Not until the USSR competes in world markets on a large scale will the USA be forced to 're-appraise' its arms budget.

Finally, there can be over-production of the means of destruction. This is unlikely because of the built-in obsolescence of all arms production. But it is possible with the stockpiling of strategic raw materials. In the last few years these have been run down and this has opened the 'price scissors' between the capitalist and primary-producing countries. This had the political effect of bringing army dictatorships to power in many of these countries.

Thus for a variety of reasons the war economy may lose its effectiveness as a stabilizer of capitalist prosperity. When this happens the class struggle will sharpen and the problem of Socialism or Barbarism will be posed in a heightened form—perhaps for the last time.

DANISH

DIARY RAY
CHALLINOR

MY host took the top off the bottle and poured me a glass of beer. "It's made by the Social Democratic Party," he said. "Look at the label." Recently, as a sign of the Party's eminent respectability, the label has been altered to include "By appointment to His Majesty the King".

Making the royal beer is only one of the many services performed by the Social Democratic Party for Danish capitalism. In power for 25 years it has done nothing to alter the social structure fundamentally.

Undoubtedly social services are good—Denmark has a better welfare state than Britain—but nothing has been done to attack the power and privilege of the capitalist class. What is more, it is proposed to do nothing.

Within the Party the first rumblings of discontent, from those dissatisfied with merely preserving the existing social order, are to be heard. At the June conference the left, led by Carl Heinrich Petersen, presented an alternative policy. This included an extension of public ownership, the abolition of the monarchy, the right to strike, and the opting out of dubious alliances. On most issues, the opposition only secured 15 out of the 500 votes. But it's a beginning.

Carl Petersen realises they've a long way to go, a lot of persuading to be done—and in the meantime he's stopped buying Social Democratic beer.

★

"BEWARE, BIG SISTER'S WATCHING YOU"

a large notice proclaims in the Socialist People's Party HQ. Under this dire warning appears a photograph of a young lady, scantily dressed in a bathing costume, exuding sex appeal from every moistened pore of her body. One of the Party officials, Pietr Dick openly admitted to me, "And we're watching Big Sister, too."

Actually, it's a case of watchers being watched. For all Denmark is closely observing, with varying degrees of alarm, surprise and pleasure, the growth of the Socialist People's Party. Started from a split in the Communist Party after Hungary, it has quickly attracted—and gone on attracting—popular support. Its leader, Aksel Larsen, was Denmark's most prominent Communist, better known there than Harry Pollitt was here. He led the opposition to Krushchev both in Denmark and at Moscow, where Communist leaders

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It's Rich

Gallaher is, according to the (Monopoly Commission) Report, the 'only really formidable competitor'. It is therefore anomalous that Imperial should hold 42½ percent of Gallaher's ordinary capital—*Times*, 6 July.

It would be absurd to have a nuclear holocaust because imagination had not been put to work—*Economist*, 24 June.

The Portuguese and Katangas in Africa, by their common multi-racial way of life, form the only indestructible front in the world which communist covetousness cannot destroy—President Tshombe, reported in the *Times*, 26 July.

A Native with a temperature of 101 deg F to 105 deg F is hosed down with water for three to five minutes, compressed air being used to accelerate the cooling if his temperature is 103 deg F or more. He is rested for an hour, after which his temperature is taken again. If it is then down to 100 deg F or less he is sent back to work at a normal rate...—Medical Regulations for African Goldminers', quoted in a letter to the *Guardian*, 16 August.

I am certain that there were no gas chambers, as is claimed, for the extermination of the Jews. I have been in German gas chambers. They were technical installations of the army for testing the soldiers' gasmasks. All that's been said on the subject is sheer fabrication... The Jews invented an Eichmann in Argentina. They caught him the way you net a butterfly, then they indoctrinated him the way a clown in a second rate circus is taught his role as a Sunday extra—Rodrigo Royo, editor of *SP*, Madrid, quoted in the *Guardian*, 30 June.

The Committee have organised a series of 'schools' to enable friends and supporters to have a better understanding of what is being attempted... August 29—Coping with oneself and the authorities—Committee of 100 advertisement, August.

I would willingly watch you all die for the West, if only I could keep my own miniscule portion of it—John Osborne, 'A Letter to my Fellow Countrymen', *Tribune*.

We believe that state capitalism can play a progressive role in a country like India only under the rule of the toiling people and not under the rule of the bourgeoisie—Revolutionary Socialist Party of India, Draft Statement on the National Political Situation, July.

DANISH DIARY

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met privately to consider the 20th Party Congress, before he was finally levered out of the Communist Party.

Everybody predicted, following the usual pattern of Communist splits, that Larsen would take his small group into the political wilderness. But nothing of the kind. With no proper election machine, with only £4,000 of mainly borrowed money, the Socialist People's Party fought the 1960 General Election and emerged the third largest party in Denmark.

★
HOW was this miraculous result achieved? To find the answer I went to see Professor Morton Langer, of Copenhagen University, who is one of the Party's MPs.

Since the end of the war, he said, thousands had become disillusioned with the Communist Party and Social Democracy alike; they were looking for a political home. And the Socialist People's Party, by boldly stating its socialist objectives, had provided them with one. While they had been careful not to indulge in mudslinging or scandlemongering against the Communist Party, as so many ex-CPers do, they clearly stated their political differences with the Communist Party.

In the elections the Socialist People's Party proclaimed itself neutralist, Third Camp and against nuclear weapons. Great care was taken, right down to counting the number of lines used to attack one power bloc and make sure it was just the same as the number used to attack the other, to show it wanted Denmark neither in the American or Russian camps.

Professor Langer is convinced that should another election occur the Party would definitely increase its strength. He thinks it is quite possible to double or even treble the number of votes obtained. Significantly everyone I spoke to including opponents of the Party, agreed that it had added to its support during the past year.

★
OF course if the Socialist People's Party is going to make a major breakthrough then it can only come at the expense of the Social Democrats. Already there are signs of this: in the big towns—Copenhagen, Aalborg, and the rest—a large section of the workers voted for the Socialist People's Party. Also the trade unions, especially those catering for craft and skilled workers, have been jolted from their traditional political alignments.

The Scandinavian countries, with their perpetual labourite governments may be the dreamland of Tony Crosland and other members of Gaitskell's right-wing. But the workers in those countries still feel cheated of their proper wages by the profit-making system, still suffer under the boss-worker relationship, and are still unable to gain full satisfaction from their lives. Crosland might be satisfied by

this set-up, but not the workers. In Denmark, the workers showed their dissatisfaction earlier this year by having a General Strike. Increasingly they are coming to realise Social Democracy means *Status Quo* Democracy.

★
BUT the rest of Scandinavia too is on the move. In Norway, the Social Democrats have expelled their left-wing and although these left-wingers are unlikely to register the same spectacular successes as the Socialist People's Party, they will probably make gains in the impending Norwegian elections. Also, another left-wing party has been formed in Sweden.

With the prospects for Socialism so good throughout Scandinavia, Kai Moltke, another SPP MP, informed me that the Party had come out wholeheartedly against the Common Market, which they regarded as a capitalist organisation that could be used against progressive moves. Instead of the Common Market it advocated a closer economic link up throughout Scandinavia.

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PROSPECTS FOR BLACKPOOL

cont. from front page

is essential that the vote for re-affirmation of Scarborough, and its extension to include opposition to NATO bases and missiles, should be the largest possible. The manoeuvres of Padley have been a warning to the Left, which must overcome the pitiable weakness of its leadership over the past year by rallying behind a resolution couched in the strongest terms on which agreement can be reached. The bigger the minority Left vote, and the firmer and more principled the speeches from the rostrum, the stronger will be the morale of the Left.

In many respects, as this paper has consistently pointed out, the Scarborough victory was a hollow one. It was based on the fortuitous support of a number of union leaders, who for a variety of reasons (mostly quite unconnected with nuclear

policy) wished to rebuke the parliamentary leadership. With the ending of this situation the task remains of building solid support for unilateralism in the unions and the constituency parties. The minority resolution at Blackpool must be seen as the starting point and organizer of such a campaign.

It is no accident that, as in former crises, the Right has adopted "unity" as its watchword. There is no doubt, particularly in view of the increasing unpopularity of the Tories in the country and of their visible parliamentary disarray, that a powerful sentiment will be present at Conference in favour of closing the ranks.

Basically that sentiment is healthy. The ineptness and incurable centrism of the "Lefts" on the NEC (Mikardo honourably excepted) have allowed Gaitskell, who a year ago was threatening split, to pose as the champion of a spurious unity which the Left is allegedly out to disrupt.

The Left must counter by making clear that it favours unity against Toryism. Let the leadership fight the Tories on all issues, pinning responsibility for the current crisis squarely on capitalism: this must be the demand. To the extent that they fail to do this, Gaitskell and his colleagues can be shown in their true light as the enemies of a united movement driving for workers' power—and their spinelessness on all important questions, from the defence estimates to the Common Market, must be used as a truncheon by Left-wing speakers.

Unlike Brighton, which saw the collapse of Bevanism, or Scarborough, which witnessed its revival and short-lived victory, Blackpool will not be a spectacular conference. It will provide few sensations. On a series of issues, perhaps including youth, Polaris and the training of German troops, the platform can expect either defeat or a hollow triumph. On the two main questions, defence and *Signposts*, it is likely to win.

What is important is that the Left should emerge from its defeat with the least possible demoralization, ready to start again its fight for the program of socialism. From the fight in Standing Orders, through the battles on defence, youth and the policy document, right to the end of Conference the Left must preserve its principles and its confidence.

It will be the task of Marxists, and particularly of supporters of *Socialist Review*, to ensure that a bigger section of the Left comes through the struggle with greater clarity and fewer illusions. On the basis of the votes cast in his support, and to titivate his image of "respectability" before the middle-class electorate, Gaitskell will attempt, following Conference, a series of measures against his socialist opponents. The nature and effectiveness of its fight at Blackpool will determine the capacity of the Left to meet this challenge, and to carry forward the fight against social democracy and revisionism in the coming months.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

War is the inevitable outcome of the division of society into classes. Only the working class, controlling and owning the means of production, distribution and exchange in a planned economy, can guarantee the world against war and the annihilation of large sections of humanity. Planning under workers' control demands the nationalisation without compensation of heavy industry, the banks, insurance and the land. International collaboration between socialist states must replace aggressive competition between capitalist states.

The working class will reach the consciousness necessary to change society only by building upon the experience in struggle of the existing mass organisations and organising around a revolutionary socialist programme.

This programme must include:

- The unilateral renunciation of the H-Bomb and all weapons of mass destruction, withdrawal from NATO and all other aggressive alliances as preliminary steps to international disarmament.

- The withdrawal of all British troops from overseas and the transfer of all British capital in colonies and other underdeveloped territories to their peoples.

- A Socialist foreign policy subservient to neither Washington nor Moscow. Material and moral support to all workers in all countries in their fight against oppression and their struggle for socialism.

- The establishment of workers' committees in all concerns to control hiring, firing and working conditions, together with the implementation of the principle of work or full maintenance.

- The extension of the social services by the payment of the full industrial wage as retirement pension, together with the establishment of a free Health

- and Industrial Health service. The abolition of all charges for public transport.

- To help solve the housing problem: the municipalisation of rented property and the nationalisation of the building and building materials industries. The granting of interest-free loans to local authorities, with the right to requisition privately owned land.

- Free education available to all, including adult education. The abolition of fee-paying schools and the private school system. The extension of education in comprehensive schools. Increased facilities for technical and practical education. A vigorous programme of school building under a national plan. A free optional nursery schools service. Adequate maintenance grants for all students without a means test.

- Votes at 18 in national and local government elections.

- Firm opposition to all racial discrimination. Freedom of migration to and from Britain.