

SOCIALIST REVIEW

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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SIXPENCE

FORTNIGHTLY
for the
Industrial Militant —
for
International
Socialism

BLACK the BOMB!

WHERE DOES IT STAND on the H-Bomb? This is the acid test for every movement, party or grouping. Where does he stand on the H-Bomb? Every individual must produce his political passport at this—the frontier of contemporary capitalism.

Nothing has bared the fibres of Britain's body politic as the anti-Bomb campaign. Marches, mass meetings, monster demonstrations, lobbies, feverish activity everywhere—every section of the population is carrying its distinctive mark on the mushroom stalk. Each offers its solution: 'deterrence,' 'no tests,' 'talks,' 'no Bomb' jostle one another in endless turmoil.

Where do we stand? Is there a solution? What can a socialist programme offer that is not merely another voice added to discord?

A socialist cannot see the Bomb as something that happened unforeseen and unwanted. He cannot consider it except as one more ghastly refinement in the business of war—the business which underpins all other business. We know that war solved the slump of the 'thirties. We know that production for war has since kept the world on an 'even keel.' We know that increased war production is seen as the remedy to the present recession in America.

We know this, and more. That the working class has the power to make or break capitalism. That its acquiescence makes the Bomb and war production possible. That its revolt will destroy these dreadful agents of destruction.

We know that the fate of humanity hangs on the answer to one question: will the workers stop work on rocket bases, on H-Bombs and all the other paraphernalia of death and mutilation?

Capitalism itself provides much of the answer. As war production grows and permeates the system to its every pore, more and more workers are sucked into its orbit, more and more does it become the battlefield for a different war—between wage-earner and profit-taker. As it grows, it makes greater and greater demands on the economy, more and more production is for waste and more and more intense becomes that battle for what is left.

Preparation for war will rouse the workers to their own war. But socialists cannot leave it at that. Already, the organized workers are beginning to claim their place at the head of the anti-Bomb campaign. True, only hesitant and halting steps have yet been made. Here a union

BLACK the BASES!

branch demands that work on Bombs and Rocket Sites be declared black; there a Trades Council offers to support such a move. One national union blacks sites officially (but not Bombs). The movement is small but growing.

The socialist's function is clear. Everything must be done to bring the support of the whole Labour Movement behind the armaments and building in this country. Every working class organization—from the humblest to the most august, economic, political and social—must commit itself to supporting any industrial action taken for peace.

The movement must speak with one, clear voice:

Black the Bomb!

Black the Bases!

Every section of the working class must be prepared to put the workers' veto to capitalism's orgies of violence as the first step to workers' control of the war machine and the destruction of capitalism.

"There is no greater determination in the world than the will of a people to be free"—it is this will and the struggle in which it is embodied that has made the fight of the colonial people against imperialism the greatest ally the industrial working class can have in their battle for socialism. Nothing could undermine the power of British capitalism so much as the forced withdrawal of British occupation forces in the colonies before the combined attack of the British workers at home and the colonial peoples abroad under the slogan "withdraw the troops now!"—Editor.

CYPRUS—withdraw!

CYPRUS, the tragic island, is trembling again. In the March 1 issue of this journal I warned, "the events of the last few days show . . . that the pause in Cyprus will not last for-ever and the Cypriot people are not going to rest content with the hollow goodwill of the new Governor."

Events have borne out the truth of this statement. The Tories have learnt nothing and continue to be as bloody-minded as ever. After waiting for 14 months EOKA has resumed its campaign. The issue is once again before the whole world.

The recent series of bye-elections has shown only too clearly that the Tories have forfeited the confidence of their own supporters. Yet it is this government that tyrannises a small island in the name of the British people.

We have a terrible situation in which justified wage demands are turned down, educational grants are cut and housing programs slashed in the name of economy. But, vast sums are spent to manu-

facture and explode carriers of annihilation and to suppress and enslave a small number of people. Is there any justification, any logic in this madness? Yes, there is! It is the logic of capitalism keeping itself afloat by armaments and war.

The time has come to put a stop to this lunacy of the governing class of top people. We are tired of the futile and endless game of diplomacy which has led to the deadlock in Cyprus. Empty gestures are useless. If anything, such gestures aggravate an already inflamed situation. For months past there have been inspired rumours of this or that brilliant move which would solve the problem. We do not know what these moves are. We do not believe that a realistic attitude to this question is to be found among the ruling class of Britain. It is reported that Sir Hugh Foot is coming to consult the authorities here. We are afraid, however that as in the past, it will lead to nothing.

STRIKE!

stop scabbing!—see page 3

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TU COMMENTARY

• Safety

THE CHANCELLOR of the Exchequer has been compelled, after protests, to lift the proposed Purchase Tax on Miners' safety helmets. How often when we think of danger attached to jobs do our minds immediately turn to the **coal miners'** occupation.

Too little has been said of the tremendous improvement that has occurred from a safety angle in the nationalized mines as compared with the record of the pre-nationalized industry. Whilst a deficit in the accounts of the nationalized undertakings hits the headlines, the saving in the number of the lives lost is not worth a mention on the front page.

One industry which is perhaps overlooked from the point of view of danger is the **building industry** where in 1956 4 men died every week and 59 were injured every day. The profits of the building industry would take on a much grimmer look if the above figures were published alongside the profits and dividends.

• Policy under Fire

THE LABOUR PARTY'S policy on public ownership is still coming under attack from the unions. The **Scottish Trade Union Congress** rejected the policy and called on the next Labour Government to "proceed without delay to extend nationalization to all big industries". The **Amalgamated Engineering Union** at its annual Conference also had many harsh things to say on the policy. Five of the 26 Divisions had resolutions attacking the policy statement which among other things was called "a retreat from socialist principles", "a retrograde step" and a "restrictive policy that must be rejected".

Let us look at the nationalized section of industry and see whether the workers employed in it support their unions' attitude.

On April 21st, 900 workers employed at the **Royal Ordnance Factory, Dalmeir, Scotland**, stopped work and marched through Clydebank in protest against the proposed transfer of the factory to private enterprise. At the end of their demonstration the men unanimously passed a resolution demanding the retention of Government control. What better recommendation could be given for nationalization as opposed to free enterprise industry.

• Convenor sacked

ANOTHER STRIKE involving engineering workers has been settled by Ministry of Labour conciliation officers. After a ten week dispute at **Armstrong Whitworths (North Shields)** a return to work was obtained. The reason for the stoppage was once again the sacking of a shop steward's convenor. Unlike the disputes at Levine's and the Yorkshire Engine Company which did not

receive official blessing and in which the convenors were sacrificed, the dispute at Armstrong Whitworths did have official backing. However, the basis for settlement was not one with which we in the AEU have grounds to be satisfied. The worker in question was given his job back but not his former position as convenor.

• Good relations ?

A MINISTRY OF LABOUR pamphlet just published called **Positive Employment Policies** is reputed to give examples of management practices contributing to good relations in industry.

Perhaps the sacking of a TGWU Branch Secretary by the **Goodyear Tyre Company** of Glasgow is a good example. This worker took time off one day in April without permission. About 2,000 workers at **Fisher and Ludlow** were stood-off on the 25th April to "restore production balance"—again calculated to contribute to good relations in industry. Perhaps the best example of all to demonstrate their gushing good-will is the policy statement from the **Federation of British Industries** calling for 3 per cent. or 700,000 unemployed.

• Industrial union

IN A PREVIOUS ISSUE I mentioned the need for an **industrial union for railwaymen**. Since then a call for closer relationships between existing railway unions has been made in a resolution to be considered by the annual conference of the TSSA. This resolution—from the Hitchin, Manchester No. 1 and Westminster branches—

deploras the disunity among the railway trade unions and believes that common interests and desires demand a closer relationship between the unions than which exist at present.

It calls on the union to establish the machinery whereby closer unity might be achieved.

If this move is successful it is only a short step to the realization of **one union for all railway workers**.

• Workers' control

BY WAY OF CONTRAST we have press reports from Dublin of a strike that even the Lords of Fleet Street have not been able to blame the communists for. Twenty-five workmen making a fence at Toorglass in County Mayo stopped work because the fence would run straight through the middle of a "fairy fort". A former Cabinet Minister was brought in and a solution was found: the fence, instead of going through, went round the "fort", and a return to work was achieved. At least if it was not the communists we may be assured that it was the work of "bad fairies".

GEOFF CARLSSON

BUILDING WORKERS

Strike—and lose on Southbank

by Bro E. J. Scott, T&G Branch Sec. (1/721)

THREE MONTHS ago McAlpines started showing strong opposition to the building trade workers organizing on the Southbank Site. We have every reason for believing that this was part of a concerted effort between all the employers to smash us if they possibly could.

Our conclusions are based on two trends noticeable recently within the industry. First there have been continual attacks on stewards in such a way as largely to dispense with any charge of victimization against the firms. The favourite trick when transferring a steward, is to transfer him to a site which is nearing completion, which then gives the employer a legitimate reason to declare redundancy. Very active stewards are of course becoming increasingly suspicious of such transfers.

Protect the stewards

The second method—proof of the depths to which a Tory is prepared to sink in order to smash organized labour and rid himself of the more militant workers—is to sack half a dozen men only to get rid of one active trade unionist. New agreements need to be drawn up for the protection of Stewards.

These methods have a direct bearing on the dispute on the Southbank. One of our active members organizing this site, a steel bender and fixer by trade, was made redundant. The 60 steel benders and fixers immediately laid down their tools and came out on strike. The strike lasted five days, terminating only when the employers agreed to transfer the steward and gave an undertaking that they would give him the first chance of returning to the Southbank if they should require any more steel benders and fixers. The men then returned to work on this agreement, relying on the employers to keep their word.

The strike and after

The following week the bottom fell out of the agreement when the employers started 11 more steel benders and fixers. An approach was made to the employers to stand by their agreement. This they refused to do. The men got very angry, and they

all agreed to strike till the employers took the transferred steward back on the site. The strike was unofficial. All kinds of appeals were made for money and also for official recognition.

The money came in alright, and, after seven weeks official recognition too. The site was being brought to a complete stop. Many men were being made redundant. The Transport and General Workers Union put more and more pressure on to try to get the steward back on to the site.

The steel benders and fixers fought very hard, but they also grew more and more short of money. This was the main reason for the men returning to work after a hard three months' struggle, and without reaching any agreement.

INDUSTRIAL

These pages have been set aside for a socialist review of the industrial struggle. Help to make them complete by sending in news and comments.

To conclude, it is interesting to note that McAlpines are about the biggest building contractor and are a leading firm in the Master Builders' Federation. We may ask ourselves, is this the spearhead of an attack on building trade workers? Are all the other Employers subscribing to this attack? If the employers succeed in smashing trade unionism on their very large contracts we shall find it increasingly difficult to establish organization on the smaller sites. The trade unionists must not be satisfied with our position within the building industry, or we shall be sunk for many years to come, and it will be much harder to achieve our 40-hour week and also our 8d. an hour claim.

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Stop Scabbing!

STRIKE!

AS I WRITE THESE WORDS, two pages are being carved simultaneously into our trade union history. The first, a proud and glorious page, is being contributed out in the open—clear for all to witness—by the magnificently solid strike of 50,000 London busmen against the declared intention of the Tory Government to beat down the living standards of all our people.

The second—a shameful and nauseating page—is being written behind closed doors, where, in the aroma of good cigars, leaders of half a million railwaymen sit in close consultation with Tory Ministers, and hourly bring nearer a disgraceful settlement which will leave their own members frustrated and defeated—a settlement which, above all, has the deliberate objective of leaving the London bus strikers isolated and alone, at a moment when the whole situation cries aloud for solidarity and resolute joint action.

The sheer, overwhelming unity of the London bus strike shook the employers and the Government right down to their very socks. Those who prophesied that the strike call would “blow back in Cousin’s face,” those who muttered darkly “the trade unionist today is not as good as his father,” have had their answer. The high-ranking L.T.E. official who promised: “if Cousins calls the busmen out at midnight on Sunday, I’ll have a thousand buses running on Monday morning”—has never looked so sick or foolish.

Yet, the very magnificence of the busmen’s response to the strike call—which should have inspired the whole Labour movement—has produced the biggest attack of “jitters” yet seen among the covey of “Knights” that adorn the T.U.C. round table, and has sent the railway trade union leaders scuttling for cover, ready to grasp at any straw, to accept any Tory half-promise, rather than accept the clear duty that history imposes upon them.

The elite of the General Council of the T.U.C. has met and has sanctimoniously recorded its “support” for the busmen without so much as lifting a finger to give reality to that support. Her Majesty’s Opposition has solemnly moved a vote of “censure” upon the Tory Government—because a Tory Minister has not intervened in a fight which screams aloud for they themselves to “intervene” with decisive action in support of the strikers. To what end—and for what purpose—does Gaitskell imagine that a Tory Minister would intervene anyway?

Strike-breaking in the bowels of the earth

At the end of the first week of the bus strike, not one of the 10,000 L.T.E. vehicles—bus, trolleybus, coach—in town or country—has turned a wheel on the roads. Yet, below the surface of those bus-less roads, the L.T.E. underground trains have continued to run—literally full to bursting point—carrying, not only their own normal loadings—but the great bulk of the passengers who would normally be carried on the buses.

Let it be said—in the plainest of unvarnished terms—that from the very moment that the bus strike began the London Underground railway system has been used as a systematic strike-breaking instrument directed against the London busmen. And this strike-breaking machine has been manned and operated by fellow trade unionists of the busmen, by men and women employed by the same undertaking that employs the busmen, by men and women who have had their own wage claim rejected by the same Tory Government that seeks to keep the bus strikers isolated and to beat them into submission.

To keep the underground railways running while the busmen are on strike is clear, calculated, and blatant blacklegging—as clear and as mortally damaging as if the railwaymen were, in fact, acting as volunteer bus drivers with the declared aim of breaking the strike.

No amount of hypocritical prattling about “constitutional” difficulties, of “honouring” agreements, of adhering to prescribed “methods” of “negotiating” and “arbitrating” can condone, explain, or excuse, this systematic and calculated scabbing. The top leaders of the N.U.R. and A.S.L.E.&F. know perfectly well that they only have to lift their fingers to bring the L.T.E. underground railways to an immediate and complete halt. They shame themselves—their membership—and the whole Labour Movement by cringing, cap in hand, like a bunch of “Uriah Heeps” before the gloating Tories.

Weeks ago, the rank and file underground railwaymen made it clear that they were ready—and anxious—to support the busmen. They have waited for the necessary instructions from above—instructions that have not come—and are not likely to come.

But, when one’s house is on fire, one does not take time off to study a handbook on constitutional procedure. One acts—swiftly and decisively. Working class solidarity is more important than constitutional procedure. The top leaders have failed—but it is still within the power of the rank and file of the N.U.R. and A.S.L.E.&F. to stop the job—unite with the busmen—make victory for the working class—and defeat for the Tories certain.

A SCOTTISH NOTEBOOK

by James D. Young

AT THE MOMENT there are just under 90,000 Scottish workers on the dole. Many others, from the north to the south and from the east to the west, are working on sort time. Simultaneously, however, the Scottish Labour movement is growing by leaps and bounds. Trade union membership, having jumped by over 19,000, now stands at 471,235. Individual membership of the Labour Party is up by nearly 10,000 to 67,847.

Moreover class consciousness is being heightened day by day, as the course of the class struggle drives home the lessons of the real nature of contemporary capitalism. By marches, demonstrations and strikes to defend living standards and working conditions the workers are showing the bosses that they are preparing to wage war on capitalism.

Over 10,000 Dundee workers downed tools last month to join in a mass demonstration to protest against rising unemployment and the closing of local foundries.

This march of workers from factories, workshops and building sites was one of the greatest demonstrations of working class solidarity since the 1930s.

The decision to hold it was announced after a meeting of the Dundee district committee of the Foundry Workers’ Union at the week-end.

At the same meeting the committee pledged full support to the national executive committee of the men’s union in their efforts to get a 40-hour week. A control, and if necessary, a complete ban on overtime will be imposed if the employers refuse to agree to the men’s demands.

At this giant demonstration, which took over two hours to enter the city centre, **the Dundee workers demanded: a 40-hour week; the resignation of the Tory Government; more employment for Dundee and Scotland as a whole; and the nationalisation of the building industry.**

The committee which organized the demonstration decided to send two special train loads of workers to Edinburgh on May 24 for a protest march through the capital.

This will culminate with a deputation going to St. Andrews House (the Scottish Whitehall) to demand more employment for Dundee.

Mr John Strachey and G M Thomson, the city’s two Labour MPs, were unable to attend the demonstration **owing to business in London.** Perhaps they were

really afraid to look into the face of their contemporary capitalism.

* * *

EDINBURGH’S TORY MAGISTRATES have banned the Trades Council from showing the A-bomb film, **Children of Hiroshima**, which won a diploma of merit at the 1955 film festival.

Last month, at a meeting of the council, the magistrates were indicted for introducing political bias into their decision.

The council secretary applied to them to mark May Day by booking a cinema to show the film.

Back came a letter from the town clerk saying that the magistrates had met and refused the application “on the grounds that they did not approve of the film.”

So much for Tory democracy!

* * *

A RECENT SURVEY of the unemployment situation in Scotland published by the Scottish Council for the Development of Industry gives these reasons for the recession . . .

Cuts in defence expenditure; Government financial policy; large percentage of Scottish industries which are not modern or up to date; pattern in Scotland not sufficiently diversified by newer industries.

Their remedy is more industrial devolution. Our remedy is the nationalization of land and industry under workers’ control. While we accept part of their analysis, we do not accept their way out of the jungle that they have helped to create.

* * *

ALL REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS will be sorry to learn of the death of the Scottish novelist, **James Barke.** Although he turned away from direct political activity after his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1939, he never ever lost faith in Socialism. In fact his burning faith shines through **The Land of the Leal**, which was written just after he had been kicked out of the party. He may have made political mistakes during the last years of his life; but his greatest testimonial is the diligent way countless Scottish workers have read his novels on the life of Robert Burns.

We do not believe there is a single man or woman operating L.T.E. underground trains today who would not prefer to be standing alongside their bus colleagues in dispute. We do not believe there is a single oil-tanker driver who would not be happy to leave his vehicle in the garage—join the strike—and put paid once and for all to the attempts to organise scab coach services.

But, we cannot afford to wait upon orders. This is no time for standing upon constitutional ceremony. Men and women must ACT NOW—and have the constitutional debates later. STOP THE UNDERGROUND TRAINS RUNNING—STOP THE DELIVERY OF ALL PETROL AND OIL. SHORTEN THE STRIKE—HASTEN THE VICTORY—DEAL A KNOCK-OUT BLOW AT THE TORY GOVERNMENT.

SUPPORT THE BUSMEN!

SPREAD THE STRIKE!

LP COMMENTARY

• St. Helens

AS A RESULT of the row over Tom Driberg's nomination by the Chairman's Committee of the NEC to the panel for St. Helen's, this right to nominate has been taken away from the NEC. This is probably a good thing, although their support for anyone as often meant the kiss of death when it came to the selection conference. But that there should have been such a rumpus at all is another example of the schisms which appear to exist among the leaders of the Movement.

While charges of religious discrimination seem to have figured in the public side of this row, not to mention the claims of various unions to 'own' the seat, a big factor was undoubtedly cash. For this is another one of those seats where the local organization is not distinguished by its ability to organize a proper Labour Party machine and in consequence has to rely upon sponsored candidates, contributions from candidates now having been severely cut down.

This state of affairs is disgraceful. For many safe Labour seats are in the same pickle. A thousand membership cards are purchased in order to secure the affiliation, and then they remain in the agent's office for the year, not another penny being collected from the 'members' and all the decisions are taken by the local miner's lodge or whatever union holds the sway, and in some cases by the Labour and Trades Council. This is all very well, but many thousands of pounds could be raised in these areas which would help us in the South, where on top of our political struggle we have to worry about cash. Since these southern seats have got to be won if we are going to get socialism, the conduct of Labour people in those 'rotten boroughs' is little short of treachery to the movement as a whole.

• Delegates

RESOLUTION TIME is almost on us again, and we ought to be thinking very hard about the issues for this year's conference. Ban-the-bomb must have a big share, indeed if the matter is to be discussed at all, and not ruled out of order under the three year rule, at least a hundred resolutions on this subject will have to be submitted. The shorter these resolutions are the better, for there is less opportunity for the Leadership to quibble over a comma while paying lip service to the main part and thus secure the rejection of the whole. **I think a motion of about twenty words expressing in unmistakable terms the advocacy of unilateral action to cease manufacture is all that is needed.**

On speeches at the rostrum I will say a little more nearer the time, but since this is about the time when Parties think about electing their delegates, bear in mind their ability as speakers. Too many Parties use annual conference as a reward for good work. This simply will not do. Only the toughest experienced socialist advocates should be elected where the delegation consists of only one. For at the compositing meetings the inexperienced are cut down like wheat by the NEC representative or else are manoeuvred into losing their tempers and adopting a totally oppositionist line. to move composite resolutions the inexperienced

Also, when it comes to selecting speakers ended tend to pick on MP's automatically without regard to their speaking ability, with often disastrous results.

Having been a delegate and a visitor to many conferences I feel bound to declare that far too little attention is paid to the Conference by Parties generally, and this is no doubt one of the reasons why the left has made so little progress these last few years. **For let us not kid ourselves. Events have had more affect on the Party-leadership's fumbling steps towards a progressive policy than the advocacy of the left.**

• Against the Bomb—Industrial Action

IT IS A LONG WHILE ago since the industrial weapon was used in support of a political cause, and I suspect that our advocacy of blacking the bomb and the bases will fall to a large extent upon rather frightened ears unless we make it quite clear that what we want is united action by the whole of the Labour Movement, and that we are not urging merely those workers who are engaged upon the manufacture of the nuclear weapons and the construction of the bases to make the sacrifice.

If this fact seems rather obvious to marxists I hope they will bear with me for the purpose of my column is to provide a bridge between the politically sophisticated and the grass roots of the working class movement; some means of communication between those who all too often have only read about working class life and those who have to live it.

Let me make it clear that I support the struggle to achieve ultimately the withdrawal of labour from The Bomb and The Bases. I believe that we ought to be getting resolutions discussed at our TU branches, trades councils, GMC's, etc. urging the National Council of Labour to prepare a plan involving all three wings of the Movement in declaring the Bomb black. Such a plan must of course provide adequate security

for those people who work in the industries concerned. Furthermore, such a plan would have to recognize that the struggle against the Bomb is the struggle against Toryism and Capitalism and would therefore need to contain specific proposals for enlarging the workers' purchasing power as a result of the considerable saving that would be achieved by the release of now unproductive labour to the commodity industries.

This campaign will not be an easy one. Even if the whole of the National Council of Labour could be converted overnight, a big program of education would have to be undertaken to convince the workers of the necessity of industrial action. For they have in the main grown soft during the long period of negotiated wage agreements and large numbers of them only know what a strike is from their history books. But for all the difficulties, this is the right course for us to take. For through this struggle a new militancy will be born, a new faith in the relevance of the Labour Movement to the daily lives of the people, and above all, those many millions of workers who have been flirting with the Tory Party these past few years will be won back to the fold.

RON LEWIS

H-BOMB 'CONFERENCES'

1—LONDON answers BEVAN

ST. PANCRAS TOWN HALL was half-empty the Sunday before May Day; too many delegates to the Labour Party's Greater London 'conference' on nuclear disarmament knew it was a put-up job. And though it was, it did succeed in doing a job of work. Collison (for the TUC) and Bevan spoke for an hour-and-a-half, and the 40-odd minutes left for questions were mostly taken up by Bevan's shrill, wordy answers. But in these answers, Bevan made the afternoon worth-while; he discredited himself irrevocably, stripped himself of any pretensions to leadership of the working class. In this process he gave nothing but delight to the right-wing; the 'conference' Chairman, Charlie Brandon, London boss of the T&G was beaming broadly throughout; no attempt was made to protect Mr. Bevan from angry delegates heckling; no attempt was made to fill his oratorical pauses with cheers, to cap his witty phrases with laughter. He fell flat and lost his temper—even before the public session ended: he pleaded that we should not call him insincere, should not polarize the movement with charges of dishonesty and postured for the newscamera-man to shout:

Those who desire Great Britain should have no allies and only Russia should have allies are enemies of Great Britain and not only that, they are enemies of the working-class movement.

A delegate near me echoed Johnny McLoughlin's answer to Rothstein at the

CP's Easter Congress a year before:

You are the enemy, you lying old swine!

The demand for a socialist foreign policy was brushed away as coming from a microscopical portion of the British working class movement

and he was

not to be influenced by a few voices of this sort.

With the press safely out of the hall, some questions were permitted but many of them went unanswered. A delegate asked Collison why the TUC was not prepared to support the German trade-union movement by blacking the Bomb, blacking the Bases. Collison patiently reread the section of his brief marked 'Germany' and looked surprised at the shout of **answer!** from all parts of the hall.

From then on, Bevan 'answered' all the questions, screaming abuse at large numbers of comrades—those who called for industrial action 'resolutionaries'—those who believed that anyone would press the button 'sadists'—this in answer to questions whether he himself would be prepared to give the order. Although he could not imagine a situation which would demand it, that didn't mean to say, he admitted, such a situation couldn't exist. Uproar. The 'conference' was ended.

We knew where we were. If we wanted leaders (rather than statesmen) we must choose people committed to socialist principles. Then we can go forward.

2—'Would Mr. Gaitskell press the button?' asks Midland delegate

BANNERS AND PLACARDS calling on the Labour Party to **Ban the Bomb** and take industrial action against the threat of nuclear war greeted Morgan Phillips, Labour Party general secretary, when he spoke recently at Scholar Green, North Staffs.

He put forward the Party's official policy on the Bomb. But his audience was not satisfied with this. He faced a barrage of contributions, all stressing the futility of nuclear warfare.

Stating that he was using the conscience clause, Norman Selwyn, the prospective parliamentary candidate for the constituency, opposed Morgan Phillips. He said that Britain's possession of the Bomb afforded

her no protection and did nothing to ease international tension. He could not believe anybody would be such a maniac as to use the H-Bomb and endanger the very existence of mankind.

At this point a speaker from the floor, Raymond Challinor, reminded Mr. Selwyn of a question asked Gaitskell at a West Midlands' Regional conference on the H-Bomb. It was, "Would you, Mr. Gaitskell, be prepared to press the button, to use this weapon of indiscriminate mass slaughter?" Gaitskell replied that he was not prepared to say that he would not use the H-Bomb.

SR POLITICAL REPORTS

OFFICE-WORKERS — the problem

by Janet Walker and Susan Lang, Hackney C Youth Section

WITHIN THE LAST FEW DECADES the importance and organization of clerical work for industry has been revolutionized. This has come about owing to the rise of monopoly concerns, the increase in output and the expansion of the activities of the state. It has become necessary for the bosses to employ vast armies of clerks, doing for the most part routine jobs.

How does this development affect youth? Many young people enter the white-collar profession straight from school and start on the road of repetitive and uncreative work. Because of the nature of their jobs, all character development and personal satisfaction must be left for leisure time. Young clerks drift from office to office in search of satisfaction from their jobs, but the only improvements available to them are increased wages and pleasant surroundings.

No satisfaction

The reason they receive no satisfaction from their work is that under Capitalism everything is subordinated to profit-making, and the needs of the individual are not considered; since youth is not interested in the profits, they feel apathetic towards their work.

Before the need for large numbers of clerical workers arose, the position of the clerk was very different. The responsibility of the paper work of the firm rested completely on one or two clerks who worked in close contact with the boss and, because of their intimate experience with the firm, were indispensable.

No organization

For these reasons they were isolated from the rest of the workers, and felt that the interests of the bosses were theirs. They therefore took no part in working class organizations.

Gradually, with the expansion of trade and production, great numbers of office workers were recruited. Now, each worker was limited to one task. If one operator in this production line of invoice-books and ledgers failed, the continuity of the workshop was broken.

Although each worker could no longer comprehend the whole of the firm's business, the attitude of being connected with the bosses' interests permeated through. Thus it is that, although there are now great numbers of office workers, they still did not regard themselves as part of the Labour Movement and their Trade Unions are not used as weapons against the bosses.

The next step

The transition to automation that is now occurring, reduces the

differences between the mental and manual workers. The former 'supremacy of pen-pushers' will be replaced by the machine tender; similarly in the factory, skilled operators will be replaced by machine tenders. Eventually the differences between the mental and manual workers will have completely disappeared.

TONY DAVID SMITH, EC member NALSO POLICY for YOUTH

I AM ONE of the several million individuals who enjoy a special historical privilege. It is a privilege that carries with it a number of special obligations, special passes, special duties. In the year 1958 we are fortunate enough to be under the age of thirty. This means that we shall probably live just long enough to see a completely new society established. Or, at least, if all fails and the whole of civilization is blown to pieces we at all events will have the slight compensation of knowing that in no way has it been our fault.

A strange new light is breaking over Europe. It is the light of youth. A new generation is waking to political consciousness and as it does so it becomes necessary for those who are already awake to see that all goes well. A similar movement occurred in the thirties but failed. And it seems to me that it failed for lack of a decent political philosophy. Just as now, a generation was craving for a new belief; but their intellectual hunger had to be satisfied with either the hard crust of Stalinism or the bitter stone of Fascism. It will always reflect to the discredit of the leaders of those times that they did not succeed in preventing this happening.

A new feeling

Those of us who have been helping and watching the campaign for nuclear disarmament in recent months will have noticed the political naivety that has gone together with the profound sincerity of the people who for years have thought in terms of rock'n roll rather than of human survi-

In this article which gives the background to the problems of the young office-worker, and points to their solution, two comrades from the Hackney Central Youth Section continue our discussion of issues facing young workers. We hope that comrades will write in about the PARTICULAR difficulties facing them in their own jobs, and how to solve them.

With the onset of Automation, new problems arise for the office workers. Who will raise the slogans 'No sackings' and 'shorter working week without loss of pay'? Obviously these demands can only be fought for through an active Trade Union. It is only through organized action that the bosses can be made to fulfil any

demands.

The politically backward office workers have yet to learn by experience that the bosses are not on the same side of the fence as themselves. They must be made to realize that every demand fought for and granted, is a step towards the abolition of Capitalism and with it routine and drudgery.

val. Gradually it is coming clear to them that every problem that has ever concerned them is reflected in this struggle against war. Nothing has any meaning any more until this struggle has been won. Those of us who walked to Aldermarston and heard the cheers of the crowd and saw twelve thousand people gathered in front of those weird concrete posts and wire-netting surrounding an odd concentration-camp-type world of espresso architecture and atomic reactors, all of them listening to a clergyman from West Germany speaking in the middle of the New Forest on an Easter Monday—a fantastic combination of circumstances—realized that we had been thinking, as we never had thought before.

It was a new feeling. We were using the only tool that a post-war childhood had given us—a scrupulous obstinacy, a blind refusal to believe what we are told, a blank inability to conform, the will to rebel because to acquiesce is a psychological impossibility. A whole generation to whom the Prime Minister's face, as someone wrote the other month, is inexpressibly absurd.

There is only one more basic lesson to learn before a political philosophy can be forged. To be silent is to acquiesce.

Whatever happens the world cannot afford to lose this argument. Or else another generation perhaps the whole of civilisation, will be left to bleed itself away into the hell of total war.

We have to develop on an international plane. Any plan for the future must be based on the assumption that it will work for

everybody from Greenland to Korea from Florida to the Cape of Good Hope. And the society we hope to build must be one in which everyone is a partner because everyone is responsible. To find this we must first destroy colonialism, imperialism and class domination, for wherever these institutions exist civilization is historically indigested. To do this we have to begin at home. All political change has to be unilateral (like charity.) Only by working to break down the class nature of education, by creating opportunity for all, by ensuring the success of whatever institutions we already have that are working toward this new society—parties, trade unions, campaigns—can the first step be taken. Unilateral action is the only practical method because it is the most democratic—it encourages the others without dictating to them; it is a demonstration of solidarity because it is a gesture of trust.

For instance, only by disarming unilaterally can we help and give impetus to the movements all over Europe that are working for the same ends. All political work of this kind tends towards a similar end, the frustration of the capitalist power over society. And in the East as well, the end is similar, because it tends towards the frustration of totalitarian power and bureaucratic prestige.

One of the things learned from history is the necessity for the unity of the socialist movement. We have to work with everyone we can. This is necessary because we have to fight harder than ever before. We are fighting for our lives.

YOUNG SOCIALIST

REVIEWS

NOTEBOOK

IT WILL BE INTERESTING to see what happens at the London Labour Party Youth Conference on May 18th. Due to start at 3 p.m., to be followed by a social in the evening, it doesn't look as though there will be much time for any more useful work than a couple of hours of procedural wrangling. However, there may be a treat in store. Comrades appointed delegates should take the trouble to turn up, if only to let the bureaucrats know we exist.

A SALUTORY SURPRISE was given to Birmingham MP Denis Howell, when he addressed a recent West Midlands Labour Party Youth School. After outlining the Labour Party's official policy on the H Bomb—keep the Bomb, suspend the tests—he asked for his audience's views. When a vote was taken, two-thirds of those present voted against the NEC line for unilateral renunciation of the Bomb.

LONDON SCHOOLS LEFT CLUB has been started partly as a result of large numbers of school students on the Aldermaston March, partly because of an increasing number of V and VI formers who are beginning to take an active interest in politics. Every Friday at 5.30 a discussion meeting will be held at 7 Carlisle Street, Soho Square, W1. At the first meeting on May 9 Michael Foot spoke on 'What is Socialism'; on May 16 Karel Reisz asks 'Can cinema survive?'; on May 30 Ann Swingler and Louis Watts discuss the Comprehensive School. A small membership fee is being charged to help pay the cost.

SHOREDITCH & FINSBURY YOUTH SECTION are holding the second of a series of day-schools, on Sunday June 1 at 114 Shepherdess Walk, N1; two sessions, followed by a social, are planned—the first session will deal with 'Capitalism, Socialism and the Family'; at the second, SR's TU commentator Geoff Carlsson will open a discussion on 'Youth and the present industrial struggle'. Full details of the school and social can be obtained from the Youth Section at Shepherdess Walk.

UXBRIDGE YOUTH SECTION plunged into activity within three days of getting started at the end of April. Carrying banners supporting industrial action against the Bomb and the rocket-bases, these comrades accounted for a quarter of the march organized by the local Nuclear Disarmament Committee from Uxbridge to a big meeting at Yiewsley; the following, May Day, week-end, the banners were out again, and the members did a good job distributing leaflets in support of the bus strikers.

THE STRONG, LEFT-WING EXECUTIVE which NALSO has just elected has announced its first major activity: a summer discussion camp on the Suffolk coast from September 12-19, entitled 'Beyond the Welfare State'. The week will cost only £5, and from a look at the program so far it seems well worth it. Comrades wishing to go should send £1 deposit now to Ken Coates, 9 Waldeck Road, Nottingham, who can also supply full details.

shoreditch & finsbury youth section
day school and social
sunday june 1
labour hall, 114 shepherdess walk, n1

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Stop the H-bomb race—by Frank Allaun

AMONG THE MANY who marched to Aldermaston to make their contribution towards ensuring that the human race has a future was Frank Allaun, MP. The reasons why he marched are clearly laid out in his excellent little pamphlet, **Stop the H-Bomb race**, issued for the modest sum of sixpence by that useful body the Union of Democratic Control.

The front page sets the tone, with a grizzly cartoon by Vicky on the arms race, with the caption "A winner? There won't be a winner in this race!"

Questions to answer

I am certain that after reading the carefully weighed arguments everyone with any spark of intelligence will agree with Earl Russell's message: "I think that what he says must command assent from all who are capable of recognizing facts."

The pamphlet sets out to answer the following questions:

- 1 What is the arms race costing us?
 - 2 What could we do if it were ended?
 - 3 Does it make us any safer?
 - 4 What is the root cause of the conflict?
 - 5 How can we get disarmament?
 - 6 Couldn't Britain give a lead?
 - 7 What else needs doing?
 - 8 What can you do about it?
- Does he answer convincingly? I believe he does, although naturally one cannot expect a profound analysis of the causes of modern war in so small a pamphlet.

Dangers and diplomats

He blasts mercilessly arguments presented by the Atom-warriors, like General Montgomery, John Foster Dulles and Macmillan. He warns of the increasing danger to human health and quotes convincing figures (which frankly scare me) to show the increase in Strontium 90 in Britain and its likely effects on our children.

He demolishes the deterrent arguments, and reveals the nakedness of Bevan's plea that the Bomb could be used as a diplomatic bargaining weapon. He does this by implication rather than by actual name.

No to suicide

He makes the point that he has "no desire to live under a Russian (or any other) dictatorship", but on the other hand, doesn't want the human race to commit mass suicide.

Program to fight for?

Frank Allaun proposes a program which he suggests should be campaigned for in the Labour Movement as well as in other organisations. The Four points are:

- 1 Stop building rocket bases in Britain;
- 2 Stop flying loaded H-Bombers from bases in this country;
- 3 End unilaterally the testing of H-Bombs; and
- 4 Press for top-level discussion with Russia.

The question naturally arises, are these points sufficient? I think not. They present a good start, and should unite wide sections of the people and are of course a big advance on the official LP-TUC statement.

Unilateral action = militant action

The need is to put teeth into the program.

Firstly, I think we should demand that the building unions, backed by the TUC "black the bases", withdraw all labour from them, and demand alternative work on housing, schools, etc.

Secondly, we should demand the closure of all US bases and the withdrawal of American troops.

Thirdly, demand the withdrawal of Britain from NATO, and demand that a future Labour Government to pursue a policy of "positive neutrality".

Fourthly, unilateral abolition of the H-Bomb. Let us take it off the moral plane, and present it, as it is, a matter of sheer necessity for survival. To get unilateral action the workers will need to take militant action, they will be forced to use their industrial strength. I do not place any reliance on Summit talks, on United Nation Charters. Naturally talking is better than dropping bombs but I prefer to rely on the action of the working-class. Call me cynical if you like but I don't trust any of the so-called "leaders" of any of the Great Powers. That is why I feel an appeal to the workers of Russia and America, based on our example would be more successful, and a revolutionary action hard to combat.

Act on it

Despite any criticism I have to make, they do not in any way invalidate Frank Allaun's argument. Rather do I mean that Frank's policy can best be carried through by militancy and not by resolution alone. If I criticize at all, its purely to strengthen the program.

Buy this pamphlet, read it, and pass it on to friends. Above all else act on it, and help forward the work begun by the committee for Nuclear Disarmament and carried a stage further by Aldermaston. More power to your elbow Frank don't let up in the good work. Thousands of us, millions in fact, are with you all the way, and a little further too.

The pamphlet can be obtained from the Union of Democratic Control, 86, Rochester Row, London, SW1. Price 6d.

E. S. H.

Other H Bomb pamphlets:

Britain and the Bomb by Ben W. Levy 6d.

The Great Deterrent Myth by A. J. P. Taylor 4d.

from SR Book Service

35b Priory Terrace, NW6

Eric S. Heffer asks us to remember

THE MOVEMENT

JAMES CONNOLLY — Revolutionary Socialist

ON MAY 14, 1916, Connolly died by the bullet of British Imperialism. He was wounded, then strapped in a chair and shot. With those bullets ended not only a great man, but an entire epoch in Irish working class history. The Irish workers have not yet recovered from his loss, although signs are unmistakably there of a new awakening.

Connolly, was the opposite of his great contemporary Jim Larkin. Larkin, master of the winged word, gave a fiery emotional turn to his speeches, and moved the workers by the sheer magic of his tongue. Not that Larkin's contribution to socialist theory should be underestimated. He was no fool; he had ideas as well as being a great agitator. It was Connolly however, who was the serious thinker and the revolutionary strategist. It was he who clearly answered the opponents of Socialism, like Father Kane S.J. and it was he who wrote the history of Irish Labour.

Every inch a worker

Connolly was every inch a working-man, but the working-man made fully conscious by understanding Socialist theory. He had many jobs; worked as a labourer, as well as a Union organizer. At all times he worked unceasingly for his class, and never once wavered.

He married a Dublin girl, Lillie Reynolds, who bore the hard tasks of being a revolutionary socialist's wife untiringly, without complaint. They had a number of children, some of whom still live today.

Religion—a class issue

Connolly, although accepting the Marxist view of history, nevertheless remained a Catholic, and prior to being shot, had the last rites performed by a priest. This may appear inconsistent but Irish conditions were such that the Church was itself a product of revolutionary struggle, and to Connolly this meant everything.

Class—before all

Connolly's views on religion, are best stated in his pamphlet **Labour, Nationality and Religion**. He argued that the question of religion was not dominant, Class

came before everything else, and always strove to unite both Protestant and Catholic workers in common struggle. He believed that the anti-religious bias amongst socialists was wrong and unnecessary, and when he was in America he opposed Daniel De Leon strenuously because of his opposition to the Catholic church. Connolly based his attitude on the fact that the early Cristian communities believed in communal property, often quoting the early Christian fathers to back up his views.

The written word

In 1998, he founded the **Workers Republic**, a paper which suspended publication after eleven issues through lack of money. It resumed in 1899, and by May 1903 had issued 85 copies. It was the organ of the Irish Socialist Republican Party founded and built up by Connolly.

Workers' republic

Connolly's conception of the workers' republic can be summed up in the following:

"A socialist republic is the application to agriculture and industry, to the farm, the field, the workshop, of the democratic principle of the republican ideal."

Having started the ISRP in 1896, he accepted the organizer's job, with the magnificent salary of £1 per week. Even this small sum was not always forthcoming, and the Connolly household went short.

International socialism

By 1900 the ISRP had become established enough to send him as delegate to the Paris Industrial Socialist Congress. There he met the many great figures in the movement: Kautsky, Bebel, Guesde, Jaures, and renewed his acquaintance with people like Keir Hardie and Hyndman.

In 1902 he made a lecture tour in the United States, and in 1903

left Ireland for America to live. He first went on his own, then sent for his family. In America he soon threw himself into activity and joined the De Leonist Socialist Labour Party.

Bitter differences with De Leon (the bitterness coming mainly from the latter) brought him to leave the SLP and join the Socialist Party, whose National Organizer he became.

National and social struggle

Although he was mainly concerned with the situation in America at this stage, he never forgot Ireland, and in 1907 founded in New York, the Irish Socialist Federation, with a small paper called **The Harp**.

In **The Harp**, he wrote "we propose to show all the workers of our fighting race that Socialism will make them better fighters without being less Irish".

This theme was constantly with Connolly. He realized that Socialism in Ireland could never be built until the yoke of British imperialism was first destroyed. The national struggle merged with the social struggle in 1916 were merely two sides of the one coin to Connolly.

Industrial unionism

Connolly's life was certainly full and varied. He became an organizer for the IWW and once more showed his great talent in that direction. He was able to appeal to all workers, of all nationalities and creeds, calling at all times for industrial solidarity.

Connolly passionately believed in the Industrial Union, as opposed to the Party Trade Union. His views on this are best summed up in his pamphlet **Old Wine in New Bottles**. He preached the sympathetic strike, and fully endorsed the stand made by Jim Larkin in his struggles in Ireland, whilst he was in America.

In 1910 he left the US to pick up the threads in Dublin. Connolly was now a more experienced organizer and leader. He was therefore all the more dangerous to the capitalist class. In 1911 he went to Belfast, and was appointed Secretary and Ulster District Organizer of the Irish Transport Workers' Union. He was a brilliant negotiator and built up a movement that gained considerable successes.

General strike and after

His greatest days, however, were yet to come. The first great test was during the 1913 struggle when practically the entire working class of Dublin were either on strike or locked-out. At Larkin's request, he was invited to Dublin to assist in this dispute, caused by the employers demanding that the workers renounce membership of their unions (the Irish Transport Workers in particular). Both

Larkin and Connolly were arrested. Connolly received a sentence of three months, and immediately went on hunger strike.

One of the results of this struggle was the formation of the Irish Citizens' Army. A force organized by the workers to defend themselves against the brutality of the police. It played a considerable role in the 1916 Easter rising, and also later during the civil war, at the time of the Treaty. The Citizens' Army united itself in struggle with Patrick Pearse's Volunteers and with them, despite betrayal from some quarters went into action against the British Army.

REMEMBER!

● IN UGANDA, four out of every ten children die before they reach the age of 15, according to a doctor who has spent six years studying malnutrition there—Reynolds News report, 16.2.58.

● IN KENYA, the Government has decided that no advance can be made on the adult minimum wage, which is 85s. a month in Nairobi, plus 22s. housing allowance for male workers. (In rural areas it is often much less.) The Kenya Committee on African Wages recommended in 1954 that the statutory minimum wage for an African with a family should be two-and-a-half times the basic bachelor wage: 81s. a month.

● IN NORTHERN RHODESIA'S copper-belt, white miners earn an average of £2,295 a year in contrast to African miners' average annual wage of £160—report in Johannesburg Sunday Times, 15.12.57.

● IN SOUTH AFRICA, one African in every ten goes to jail each year for contravening one of the mass of apartheid (colour bar) regulations.

● IN SOUTH AFRICA, too, 78,000 lashes are administered by the courts to 13,000 Africans a year. This figure is roughly three times the amount it was before Mr. "Blackie" Swart became Minister of Justice there. Now, under his rule, 220 lashes are administered daily to the bodies of 40 men, the taxpayers paying at the rate of 3d. a lash.

from PROD, organ of the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

Many British Socialists could not understand Connolly's stand in 1916, and thought that he was betraying his socialism in supporting the national struggle. This was the view of Tom Johnstone, editor of **Forward**. Not so Lenin. Lenin's view was

The misfortune of the Irish is that they rose prematurely, when the European revolt of the proletariat had not yet matured.

Connolly's attitude to the 1914 war was that it was an imperialist war which should not be supported by the workers. He paid great tribute to the stand of Karl Liebknecht and, unlike others in Britain, decided that his stand ought to be the same. Fight the enemy at home.

Connolly's struggle for socialism and National Independence, still goes on. Let us play our part to bring it to complete fruition.

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Cyprus—ctd.

All the complications notwithstanding, the basic problem in Cyprus is a simple one. The Cypriots want freedom. The British Government denies them this right. It has based this denial on a number of pretexts, varying from time to time. They have all proved to be transparent lies. The people of Cyprus have as much right to run their own affairs as anyone else.

Speak to Cypriots

There is a move afoot to place the Cyprus issue before the NATO powers. This, for the Cypriots, will be a complete disaster. In this field of international football they will be kicked from player to player, without nearing the goal. **We must resist any attempt to bypass the Cypriots and leave this question in the hands of alien powers. Negotiations for any political settlement must be with representatives of the Cypriots, and the Cypriots only. Even Greece and Turkey must be left out of such negotiations. Their intervention has only hindered the Cypriots in their struggle.**

Withdraw the troops

We maintain that the primary condition of a political settlement in Cyprus is the withdrawal of British troops. As long as foreign troops remain there, they will provoke antagonism and by subtle backing of one political faction

against another, create more and more disunity. It is the presence of foreign troops, directed by foreign political masters, which has bedevilled the Cyprus problem. It has magnified disunity and then used it as an excuse to put the issue in cold storage.

The Movement of Colonial Freedom has called for lobbying of Members of Parliament on Wednesday, May 14. A mass

rally is to be held in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, May 18. All socialists should participate in this. It is a Tory challenge to us all. They must learn that there is no greater determination in the world than the will of a people to be free. The Cypriots have this will and we, as socialists must support them.

DEV MURARKA

LETTERS

the Bomb

... and us

In connexion with your campaign to get trade unionists to black the rocket bases and work on nuclear weapons you may be interested to see an emergency resolution passed unanimously by the AGM of the Peace Pledge Union last weekend (April 19-20).

"That this AGM of the PPU expresses its full support for those trade union branches which declare their intention to refuse to do any work connected with the manufacture of nuclear weapons or the construction of rocket bases in Britain."

The resolution came from the Alton PPU Group. As I have been elected to the Executive Committee of the PPU this year I should be glad to have the addresses of any trade union branches which pass such resolutions, so that I can ask the PPU to send them letters of congratulation and support.

Phoebe H. Berrow.

Readers, please oblige by writing to Mrs. Berrow, "Hillcrest", Windmill Hill, Alton, Hants.—Editor.

I saw a copy of *Socialist Review* brought back by an Exeter person who was in the Aldermaston March and I thought it very good.

I think that your issue during the *Aldermaston March* was very good as on the front page you outlined what the Labour Party should stand for according to its constitution, that is real Socialism. I think it would be a good idea to keep it on your front page...

At the present time the working class are crying out for a lead, which they will not get from the present right-wing Labour Party Leadership. As I have said before, it is better for the Labour Party to be out of office standing on socialist principles than in office with policies similar to the Tories. That is why we must reject calls from Nye Bevan for unity in the Party on the basis of compromise with the Tories. On the contrary there will be unity when we stand for the policy outlined in *Socialist Review's* "What we stand for".

A Johnson
Exeter

PARLIAMENT

Cousins, Kings Cross and the Colonies

READERS may be surprised to find that this column was being written on the eve of the London bus strike, but one of the penalties of a small fortnightly is a press day about two weeks before publication.

(Therefore, what we want is a large weekly!)

So far this strike has had surprisingly little effect on Parliament. For some reason the Parliamentary Labour Party has an objection to the continuance into the House of the industrial struggle, to which, fundamentally, most Labour members owe their seats.

The Opposition (one supposes) know as well as anyone else that this strike is of the greatest importance to their supporters, since it is the first round of an attempt to reduce real wages by instituting a wage-freeze whilst allowing prices to rise, and that poor Mr. Cousins is in the position of Serbia before the first world war—no matter what concessions he makes, the Government, like the Austro-Hungarian Empire, are determined to have

their war. However, take comfort. The Austrian Empire started something that didn't stop until the State collapsed. And so, one day, will a Conservative Government.

Possibly by coincidence there have been a series of debates about various aspects of transport in Britain. An interesting point is that it is essential for British Railways to be completely rebuilt and re-capitalized. All steam locomotives must be replaced by electrics or diesels and there ought to be a very heavy program of replacement of tracks, buildings, etc. In which case whatever justification is there for interest payments to stockholders which amount to well over a pound per week for every railway worker? The equipment that the shareholders provided was used up long ago but their claim goes on for ever.

Yet there probably are some odd bits of shareholders' equipment hanging around, like the clock on top of King's Cross station, which, we suggest, ought to be raffled to provide a final payment of compensation.

ON THE MOTION for the adjournment (Tuesday, April 29):

Mr. Stonehouse (Wednesbury Lab.) complained about the detention of Achiang Onoko, one of the leaders of the Kenya African Union, who, he said, had been charged with being an organizer of Mau Mau, tried with Kenyatta, and acquitted on appeal to the Kenya Supreme Court in 1954. In spite of his acquittal he had been kept in detention for the last four years. It was a case of

outstanding injustice.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mid Beds, C.), said that Onoko had been detained on the authority of an order made by the Governor of Kenya, which authorised such action whenever he was satisfied it was necessary for the maintenance of law and order. The Governor and his advisory committee had the facts of this case at their disposal, including local knowledge not available to MPs, and were fully satisfied of the need of this detention.

One day a politician will speak the truth and his opponents will be so dumbfounded that they will take days to think of a retort.

For example, Mr. Lennox-Boyd would have a stronger case if, instead of the dreary little piece of evasion quoted above he had said:

"Onoko is in prison because if he is out of it he will organize political movements highly inimical to the pride, prejudices and pockets of myself and my friends. Since we are at great pains and expense to provide large numbers of soldiers in or adjacent to that area and Onoko has none at all to let him go would be about as intelligent as exporting Guinness to Dublin".

One sometimes feels that the real objection to British Colonial rule is not the actual things that are done—even in Kenya the English are comparatively liberal as colonial powers go—but the nauseous hypocrisy that is put out by the Government is enough to turn over the stomach of anybody but the most hardened readers of the *Daily Telegraph*.

MICHAEL MILLETT

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The SOCIALIST REVIEW stands for international Socialist democracy. Only the mass mobilisation of the working class in the industrial and political arena can lead to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism.

The SOCIALIST REVIEW believes that a really consistent Labour Government must be brought to power on the basis of the following programme:

- The complete nationalisation of heavy industry, the banks, insurance and the land with compensation payments based on a means test. Renationalisation of all denationalised industries without compensation.—The nationalised industries to form an integral part of an overall economic plan and not to be used in the interests of private profit.
- Workers' control in all nationalised industries, i.e., a majority of workers' representatives on all national and area boards, subject to frequent election, immediate recall and receiving the average skilled wage ruling in the industry.
- The inclusion of workers' representatives on the boards of all private firms employing more than 20 people. These representatives to have free access to all documents.
- The establishment of workers' committees in all concerns to control hiring, firing and working conditions.
- The establishment of the principle of work or full maintenance.
- The extension of the social services by the payment of adequate pensions, linked to a realistic cost-of-living index, the abolition of all payments for the National Health Service and the development of an industrial health service.
- The expansion of the housing programme by granting interest free loans to local authorities and the right to requisition privately held land.
- Free State education up to 18. Abolition of fee paying schools. For comprehensive schools and adequate maintenance grants—without a means test—for all university students.
- Opposition to all forms of racial discrimination. Equal rights and trade union protection to all workers whatever their country of origin. Freedom of migration for all workers to and from Britain.
- Freedom from political and economic oppression to all colonies. The offer of technical and economic assistance to the people of the underdeveloped countries.
- The unification of an independent Ireland.
- The abolition of conscription and the withdrawal of all British troops from overseas. The abolition of all weapons of mass destruction.
- A Socialist foreign policy independent of both Washington and Moscow.