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WHY IS LABOUR LOSING VOTERS' SUPPORT?

By GEORGE CUNVIN

ONE simple question overshadows the 57th annual conference of the Labour Party which opens in Scarborough on Monday: 'Why is it, when the economic situation is getting worse, with unemployment nearing the half million mark, that the Tories are strengthening their position and Labour is losing support among the electorate?'

Many delegates will be seriously concerned to bring out into the open the reasons why the party has lost ground in a year when it should have gained support. Had a General Election taken place just after the 1957 conference there is little doubt that Labour would have romped home.

Many will blame Gaitskell, Bevan and the Right wing of the party. And there is much to be said for this judgment.

After all, by hedging on nationalization and refusing to oppose the manufacture of the H-bomb at last year's conference, they prevented the working out of a policy to meet the crisis.

There will be not a few delegates at Scarborough who will place on the shoulders of the present leaders the responsibility for leaving the party without a programme at a time when a programme is needed more than ever before.

Not an easy struggle

Not that the delegates face an easy struggle. Backed up by the wielders of block votes, the Right wing will do everything it can to stifle any really socialist decisions.

Under the three-year rule, delegates will be constrained to discussing economic matters without advocating nationalization. One might well wonder how it is possible to answer the problem of unemployment unless Labour pledges itself to take over the industries concerned.

And so the discussion on economic questions looks like being one-sided. There are a number of good resolutions on the Cohen report and unemployment, but unless delegates press the platform for an undertaking that industries affected by unemployment will be nationalized by a Labour government and operated in the interests of the whole country, Labour's policy will lack teeth.

The H-bomb debate will undoubtedly produce another crop of well-prepared and well-delivered speeches against manufacture.

But the past year has shown how mere propaganda has only limited value. Not that the national executive has done much propaganda.

Nothing, nothing and nothing

At one point it looked as if the leaders had decided to lead a great campaign to ban the bomb. Tom Driberg declared on April 13, in Trafalgar Square: 'This is the beginning of a campaign.' Then came nothing and nothing and yet again nothing. The Trafalgar Square rally was the beginning and end of the campaign.

But opponents of the H-bomb would be mistaken if they confined themselves to verbal opposition. If the whole Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has any lesson at all, it is this: unless the working class is actively mobilized, the best propa-

(Continued overleaf)

VEHICLE BUILDER IS FIRST DELEGATE TO RANK-AND-FILE CONFERENCE

BRO. SNELSON WILL SPEAK FOR YOUTH

FIRST delegate has been elected to the national rank-and-file Conference called by the Editorial Board of THE NEWSLETTER at London's Holborn Hall on November 16 under the slogan 'Unity in Action'.

He is Bro. K. Snelson, who will represent Salford branch of the National Union of Vehicle Builders.

'Bro. Snelson will, we feel sure, contribute something very useful to the Conference, especially as far as youth is concerned,' write branch secretary Bro. T. G. Turner and branch president Bro. G. Wilcock.

The decision to support the Conference was taken unanimously by the branch committee.

(Lancashire militants' welcome: page 247)

CONFERENCE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE SET UP IN MANCHESTER

A meeting of Manchester workers addressed by Brian Behan on Sunday set up a committee of five members of different trade unions to ensure that Manchester workers are well represented at the rank-and-file Conference on November 16.

At Liverpool Bro. Behan spoke to a meeting of 46 workers, including dockers, building workers, engineers and miners.

These gatherings climaxed a series of factory-gate meetings in Lancashire—part of the tour by the Newsletter van.

IRIS CHIEF QUILTS LABOUR PARTY

It is reported that Charles R. Sonnex, one of the four men who run the anti-communist intelligence outfit IRIS (Industrial Research and Information Services Ltd), has resigned from the Labour Party.

Sonnex is said to have declared that he is 'in disagreement with parts of Labour Party policy'. General reaction of Croydon Party members is: 'Good riddance!'

Sonnex used to be a clerk at the head office of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. His colleagues at IRIS—they produce a witch-hunting sheet called Iris Newsletter—include Jack Tanner, former AEU president, William McLaine, former assistant general secretary of the union, and James L. Nash, formerly Tanner's personal secretary at the AEU.

COMMENTARY

DEEDS, NOT WORDS

THE statement of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to Macmillan is quite inadequate. It asks the Prime Minister to make it clear that if the USA became involved in war with China over Quemoy, Britain would not join in. How much notice is the Tory Government going to take of a pious statement that is not backed by action? The TUC has immense power in its hands; by using that power it could not merely make British involvement in such a war impossible, but prevent the construction or use of rocket bases in this country—and sweep away the Government that is placing the future of all of us in jeopardy.

The TUC and the Labour Party should say this to Macmillan: The entire might of the organized working-class movement will be used to prevent war with China. All rocket sites are henceforth 'black', and not a single carpenter, bricklayer or electrician who is a union member will do any work to build or maintain them. If in spite of our warning you do join with the USA in a Far East war, we shall use all traditional means to make the prosecution of the war impossible and to force out of power the criminals who want to carry it on.

But this warning needs to be supplemented by an appeal in the name of the British workers to the workers of the USA, for joint action against the warmongers. Let British Labour speak to American Labour and call for a joint campaign against those who want to drag our two countries into war.

If a declaration in this sense came from Scarborough next week it would galvanize the entire international working-class movement.



STOP THIS WITCH-HUNT!

THE way the expulsion of John Lawrence and other members of the St Pancras Labour Party is dealt with in the national executive's report to the Labour Party conference is an insult to delegates' intelligence. They are given four short paragraphs—23 lines—which tell them precisely nothing about the reasons for the expulsions. On the basis of this section of the report it is quite impossible to judge fairly the opinions of those expelled. 'The activities of Mr John Lawrence,' we are told, 'have been a matter of concern to the national executive committee for some time'. The 'courtesy visit' of George Brown MP to the fascist dictator Franco at San Sebastian is indeed a matter of concern to the rank and file. Yet Brown is not being expelled.

Why in fact has Lawrence been thrown out of the party? Because he holds Left-wing socialist opinions. If his expulsion is upheld it will be a blow, not merely against the Left wing, but against the best interests of the whole party. If there is room for Brown and Shawcross in the party, then there is room for Lawrence. Conference should decisively rebuff this attempt at a witch-hunt. Lawrence should be allowed to address conference, and he and the other expelled members should be reinstated.

LABOUR (Continued from front page)

ganda has little effect.

What is needed now is effective on-the-spot resistance to the building of rocket bases and the manufacture of H-bombs, organized by local Labour Parties.

This can be done only by campaigning among the workers who are doing this work. Industrial action against the bases and the bomb means that socialists must organize inside the trade unions, and not just confine their opposition to resolutions and demonstrations.

From propaganda to action

Of course the platform will defeat the opposition to the H-bomb at Scarborough. But this should spur the opponents of the bomb to pass over from propaganda to the organization of industrial action.

This means first of all participating in the day-to-day struggles of the working class on hours, wages and conditions. It is when this bread and butter fight is linked to the fight against the bomb that real progress will be made.

This approach is, in fact, the key to the struggle for a socialist foreign policy. Left-wing demands such as the call for a break with NATO must be backed up by socialist efforts to rally the working class for action against war preparations.

Here is where those members of the Labour Party who base their policies on Marxism and the working class have such an important part to play—not merely at Scarborough, but in the whole of the coming year.

INDUSTRY

SHELL-MEX MEN, SACKED BY McALPINE'S, WILL 'FIGHT ALL THE WAY'

'We shall fight them all the way,' declared chief shop steward Hugh Cassidy on Thursday when McAlpine's announced they were closing the Shell-Mex site on London's South Bank and sacking the whole labour force—1,500 men.

Notices posted on the site said that due to the behaviour of an 'irresponsible minority' it was necessary to close down the contract and 'rephase the construction programme'.

Six hundred labourers were due to be paid off on Thursday night, and another 900 men were told they would finish by 4.30 p.m. on Friday.

McAlpine's were planning 'top-level meetings' over the week-end, with the aim of devising a method of restarting the work—presumably with blackleg labour—by the middle of the week.

Over 100 steel-fixers and labourers have been out in protest at a charge-hand working overtime despite the men's decision to work only four nights a week, 6.30 p.m. to 6.30 a.m., on night shift.

Said steward Cassidy: 'This is an attempt by the firm to cover up for their own inefficiency. They are using this method to get rid of all militant trade unionists.'

SHELL-MEX WORKERS PROTEST AT FAILURE TO REINSTATE BRIAN BEHAN

THE trade union committee on the Shell-Mex site, representing all trades, has pledged itself to support any action, including a withdrawal of labour, to secure the reinstatement of Brian Behan.

Behan, a well-known militant, was sacked by McAlpine's six hours after starting work on the site.

An appeal signed by M. Maguire (Wandsworth branch, Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers) and J. Power (Loughton AUBTW), and endorsed by the site committee, expresses disgust at the failure of the conciliation panel to reinstate him.

The appeal goes on: 'We ask our EC to reject the findings of this commission, which are that the employer was entitled to sack without any reason under rule XD of the civil engineering agreement, which is similar to rule 2(b) in the building agreement.'

'This was introduced in order to give the employer the opportunity to sack anyone who was not capable of doing his job properly. It was not introduced to give an employer a cloak for the black list.'

'McAlpine's have persistently sacked leading trade unionists within a short time of starting. They sacked Bro. Cassidy (Transport and General Workers' Union), Bro. Harrison (Balham AUBTW) and Bro. Maguire.'

LEEDS LABOUR'S 'NO' TO FASCIST MEETING

Labour group on Leeds City Council has decided to withdraw permission for the Town Hall to be used for a meeting addressed by Sir Oswald Mosley.

ELECTRICIANS IN TWO STRIKES AT BRIGGS MOTOR BODIES EXTENSION

By Our Industrial Correspondent

WORKERS employed by the two electrical contractors on the new £75 million extension to the Briggs Motor Bodies works at Dagenham are on strike.

Last week 140 electricians and mates, employed by Rashleigh Phipps, struck against the introduction of outside labour to work a newly introduced night shift.

When the firm's representatives asked for immediate volunteers to work nights, the men refused to operate the shift before agreements governing conditions on nights had been settled.

In their shop committee statement appealing for financial support they explain: 'No member would work nights until certain safety and other basic requirements had been met. The

Lancashire Militants Welcome Rank-and-File Conference

A number of industrial militants in Lancashire have declared their support for the national rank-and-file Conference, called by the Editorial Board of The Newsletter, which is being held in the Holborn Hall, London, on November 16. Here are their statements:

E. LOYDEN, Mersey dredgerman and chairman of his union branch, in a personal statement:

I feel there is an urgent need for rank-and-file link-up to fight the challenge of the Tory Government and the employers, who are threatening the living standards of the workers.

This Conference can be the first step towards that end.

G. GREEN, docker and secretary of Liverpool No. 1 branch, National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers:

Various sections of workers in and around the dock industry have a common enemy.

They need a united policy to fight against a common employer so that future action by one section will automatically be supported by all.

I support a Conference where militants can be brought together to discuss how to get such united policies.

STAN BOYD, treasurer of Cronton branch of the National Union of Mineworkers:

The present surplus of coal and the way the National Coal Board is trying on a 'get tough' policy with the miners call for militant leadership in the coalfields as in other industries.

I welcome a Conference where rank-and-file trade unionists can thrash out the problems of building such leaderships.

P. F. CREDIDIO, chairman of Walton branch, Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers:

Let us welcome the forthcoming Conference. Brothers, let us now make an effort to build a militant and united labour front with a pure socialist policy.

Let us not forget that, a short time ago, there were on Merseyside over 2,500 building tradesmen out of work.

The position is now slightly improved but it is liable to worsen again in the very near future, with the present Government's policies and restrictions.

Let us make a stand with our fellow trade unionists,

force this Government out and replace it with a government which will carry out full nationalization and workers' control and work in the general interests of the people.

I believe that most militant unionists will welcome the Conference as a great opportunity to get together with fellow trade unionists to discuss our problems and help the Labour movement to achieve these changes.

J. DISLEY, well known on Merseyside as a militant member of the AUBTW:

The conference can do a useful job in discussing how a united, militant front of the unions can be built to meet the offensive of the employers.

Rank-and-file militants will welcome the opportunity to discuss the struggle for democracy in the trade unions and the struggle to turn the unions into fighting organs of the working class.

T. HARRIS, miner and standing delegate from Cronton branch to the monthly conference of Lancashire area of the National Union of Mineworkers:

The leadership of the trade union movement is not adequate to the present situation.

That can be clearly seen in the mines. The miners' problems cannot be solved, and the nationalization of the mines cannot be worked in the interests of the miner, unless the mines are run as part of a planned economy.

That can be achieved only by an extension of nationalization to all basic industries, which must be run under a plan drawn up and approved by workers' organizations.

At the present moment the 'planning' of the mines is determined by the interests of a capitalist economy.

Our leaders are not prepared to face up to this. Hence they line up with the NCB's 'economy' drive, which can only lead to the worsening of the miners' conditions.

There is an urgent need for militant rank-and-file trade unionists to get together to build a leadership in every industry which has the necessary courage and policies for the fight to bring a socialist economy.

All militant trade unionists should attend the Conference called by The Newsletter to help lay the foundation for a leadership based on the decisions, desires and needs of the working class.

job has a very high accident rate.'

The management retaliated by bringing in outside labour to work the night shift. The workers withdrew their labour, supported by the night shift.

The men are insisting that Rashleigh Phipps place the night shift men on day work while negotiations take place.

Told to 'get out'

The other dispute on the Briggs site involves twenty members of the Electrical Trades Union, two Amalgamated Engineering Union members, a Constructional Engineering Union member and a member of the Boilermakers' Society, who are employed by Scrivvan's of Luton.

The steward for the job, ETU member Mick Scanlon, and deputy steward Tod Sullivan outlined to me the troubled history of this job.

'When we first went in to see Mr Woodward, Scrivvan's representative, over outstanding issues such as fares and conditions, we were told to "get out" and all the shop was locked out,' said Bro. Scanlon.

'Only as a result of pressure from the Rashleigh Phipps works committee and the union area office were we reinstated—and, by the way, got 3s. 6d. a day for fares.

'Later we brought in a Mr Stacey, who is the site safety officer. He agreed with us that there should be facilities for a hut for meals and that the scaffolding needed bringing up to standard, in order to meet the safety requirements.

'Again, when we brought this to Mr Woodward's attention we were locked out. Once again it was only outside intervention that secured our reinstatement.

Refused to accept it

'Finally, Bro. Sullivan and myself were called into the office one day and told that all the men were to be sacked, with the exception of the welders and one ETU mate.

'The men refused to accept that there was a shortage of work and decided to take strike action and we have been out ever since.

'After six weeks the executive council of the ETU has accorded us official recognition. Owing to a number of circumstances they couldn't get a full meeting of the EC before then.

'However, they have made this conditional upon Scrivvan's taking back eight men besides the four welders, the committee to decide who the eight shall be.

'A meeting of the strikers turned this down by 19 votes against and two abstentions, voting instead that we stay out until all are reinstated.'

Both the steward and the deputy steward considered that this policy of Scrivvan's was receiving the full backing of all the other firms on the site.

LEEDS BUS AND TRAM CREWS PETITION UNION BRANCH

By Our Industrial Correspondent

OVER 650 Leeds Corporation Transport Department employees have signed a petition saying they are dissatisfied with working conditions, and with the Leeds 9/12 branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The petition calls for:

- (1) An investigation into the working of the branch;
- (2) Re-election of branch officials by secret ballot; and
- (3) Production by the branch of copies of the local agreement on working conditions, negotiated by the branch with the Transport department, for all members to see.

Branch members complain that they cannot get sight of the agreement and are being kept in the dark.

While in some ways the agreement is working to their advantage, in others it is adversely affecting the working conditions of bus and tram crews.

The local agreement modifies a national agreement, and

contains provisions on hours of work, time off for meals, split shifts, clothing and holidays.

Members complain that the branch has not secured the best possible terms, and that conditions have been slipping back over the years. Thus the time allowed for many journeys has been cut.

THE AIR AND DISCUSSION WERE BRACING FOR LABOUR STUDENTS

By John Daniels

'I HAVE just spent seven of the most hectic, but rewarding, days of a long political life—this time, however, as a university student.'

In these words, an old socialist miner from Wales summed up his feeling on the NALSO camp-school held in the bracing air of a Lowestoft holiday camp on September 12-19.

About 120 Labour university students studied and discussed the challenging subject 'Beyond the Welfare State'.

An innovation for Labour students, the camp-school proved to be an unqualified success, and is certain to be repeated next year.

The ideas of Fabian pundits jostled with the ideas of trade unionist militants. Scholarly lectures by university sociological research workers were followed by the rude blasts of 'committed' socialists.

Everything was in the melting pot, except the keen vigour of young people who wanted and intended—in spite of some Jeremiahs who thought that 'socialism had missed the bus'—to build socialism in their time.

Denis Healey and Michael Stewart, Labour MPs, were the targets of some boisterous criticism, Stuart Hall and other supporters of the Universities and Left Review were given a serious and thoughtful reception, and Brian Behan received an enthusiastic response when he spoke of real and fake workers' control.

And all the time, of course, discussion.

ECONOMICS

CAPITALISM AND THE ARMS RACE

IS THERE A 'RADIANT FUTURE' WITHOUT CHANGING THE SOCIAL SYSTEM?

By Tom Kemp

THE idea is frequently encountered, even in the Labour movement, that armaments are an economic burden which can be got rid of within the framework of capitalism with beneficial results all round.

It is surprising to find a leading Soviet economist putting forward essentially the same idea in a recent booklet entitled 'If the Arms Race Were Stopped' (Soviet News booklet, no. 32).

It is true that he assembles a mass of useful facts about the human and material costs of twentieth-century wars and about the extent of the resources actually being devoted to warlike purposes.

He puts them forward, too, in striking ways, as in the statement that 'the annual military expenditure of the advanced industrial countries is equal to the annual income of approximately 1,500 million inhabitants of the underdeveloped countries'.

Nothing about small detail

Useful as such facts are, they remain suspended in the air without an accurate appraisal of the part played by arms and war in modern capitalism.

Professor Rubinstein falls short here; and it is hard to believe that he is at all acquainted with Marxist ideas on the subject.

Moreover, between the actual murder, inhumanity, perversion of science, destruction of human happiness and security perpetrated by capitalism and the brave new world outlined by Professor Rubinstein, lies the small detail of replacing it by another and superior social system. He says nothing about that.

Indeed he is at such pains to show that armaments spending is really harmful to capitalism that one wonders: does he think that its replacement on a world scale by a rational and humane system, one in which private greed and ambition would no longer impede the development of the productive forces, is necessary?

Of course there is something in Rubinstein's argument that 'the use of the arms race for bolstering up capitalist economy may be likened to the effect of drugs upon a sick organism . . . they undermine the health and aggravate the disease they were expected to cure'.

Capitalism is sick all right, but to imagine that it can get along without such drugs is a fantasy.

It is not necessarily true, as Rubinstein asserts, that military expenditures 'ruin the national economy', 'reduce drastically the purchasing capacity of the peoples' and 'reduce the demand for consumer goods to a level which cannot be compensated for by the expansion in production brought about by military orders'.

Nor can it be said, without qualification, that in the USA they have 'aggravated the economic difficulties of that country and . . . worsened living standards'.

Not a healthy system

Under capitalism one can speculate about the use of resources for peaceful purposes (even Macmillan once indulged in a 'pipe dream' on those lines), but that is about all. Termination of arms spending, or even a sharp reduction, would present serious problems of falling demand and unemployment.

Capitalism is a sick system, not a healthy one. It has now become pathologically addicted to a high level of expenditure on means of destruction.

And even with 9 to 10 per cent. of national income going on arms it cannot make itself slump-free—it would have even less chance without arms expenditure.

Capitalism cannot and will not turn over to doing all the wonderful things which are technically possible—as Rubinstein seems to assume—or only to the extent that there is a profit in it.

We can say that arms expenditure has been a vital factor in the capitalist economy of the past two decades, and has helped to account for full employment and prosperity.

Why is this? Briefly we can put it this way.

Surplus value extracted from the workers in the course of production has to be realized on the market; if the market does not expand in line with production, sales fall, profits come down and accumulation and investment sink. Slump results.

Close tie-up with big firms

Armaments, financed by the State, open up an additional means of realizing surplus value—with an assured market—thus enabling the process of profit-making, accumulation and investment to proceed. Utilizing, that is, resources and labour which might otherwise be unemployed.

The close tie-up of arms production with the big capitalist firms assists them in renewing equipment, improving technique and building up capacity to an extent that would not otherwise be profitable.

The incomes so created actually stimulate other industries and lead to an increase in output that might not otherwise have occurred.

Of course there are limits to this process, and when pushed ahead very fast increased arms spending can cut into living standards and have all sorts of serious consequences. But these are secondary inconveniences as far as capitalism is concerned.

If we look at the economies of the capitalist countries in the last year or two we find expenditure on 'defence' tending to fall as a proportion of national income. This is certainly one factor in the current tendency to depression.

In contrast to most capitalist countries production continued to rise at quite a rapid rate in France in 1957.

War is terribly profitable

A major reason, as stated by the United Nations 'World Economic Survey 1957' was 'a steep rise in public expenditures, consisting primarily of higher military outlays connected with the Algerian conflict'. War is terribly profitable, Professor Rubinstein.

Rubinstein wants to see the cold war ended by general agreements on disarmament. It cannot be doubted that this would offer great opportunities for overcoming the USSR's economic problems more rapidly and smoothly.

But he gives the impression that this can 'open the road to a radiant and happy future' without the overthrow of capitalism.

That is to say, without getting rid of the system which has been responsible for the loss of some 65 million lives in two major wars in this century—not to count all the little wars, punitive expeditions, repression of colonial revolts and mere 'incidents'.

Either Rubinstein really believes this, in which case he is incredibly naïve or ignorant . . . Or he knows it is false and has deliberately excluded a real Marxist analysis of the relationship of arms to capitalism, and the need to overthrow the system.

Which is it, Professor Rubinstein? Are you a fool? An ignoramus? Or just distorting truth in order to comply with the propaganda of 'peaceful coexistence' as formulated by your bosses?

FRANCE

BETRAYAL BY SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERS IS CONSCIOUS

From A Correspondent

SOCIALIST supporters of a vote favourable to the proposed constitution were described by a *Le Monde* reporter as 'gambling on the liberal intentions and republican convictions of General de Gaulle'.

It might be remarked that such a gamble is unbecoming to people who describe themselves as 'socialists' and solemnly sing the 'Internationale' at their party congress.

Especially since the book in this fateful gamble is held by the roughneck colonels and generals in Algiers.

Such was indeed felt to be the case by a group led by Edouard Depreux—he has been in the party forty years—which has set up a new autonomous socialist group in opposition to the Molletists.

As for the rest—over two-thirds of the party—there are two possible explanations.

Either they are honest men bewildered by the swirls and eddies of the world in which they live, hankering after the quiet life of the local council and political verbiage, merely suffering from self-deception.

Or they know perfectly well what they are doing and are not dupes of their own pseudo-criticism of policy in Algeria and elsewhere.

Rogues and time-servers

The second explanation seems the likelier as far as a large majority of the leadership of the Socialist Party is concerned.

They are rogues who have become politically and morally quite indistinguishable from the frowzy and corrupt time-servers who make up the bulk of the run-of-the-mill politicians of the Centre and Right parties.

Like them they are frequently involved through cousins, brothers-in-law and the like with local business men and render each other mutual services at the expense of the elector and taxpayer.

The smell of putrefaction rising from the mortal remains of a once principled party has become completely intolerable. As the party becomes streamlined into the new régime, we in the British Labour Party should lose no opportunity of making this plain—and encouraging, as far as we can, the development of a new movement on the ruins of the old.

GROUP IN U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY CALLS LEADERS 'TITOITES'—83 EXPELLED

From Our New York Correspondent

NATIONAL executive of the U.S. Communist Party has expelled the 83 delegates who attended a conference

called to oppose the party's present leadership as 'Titoite' and opportunist.

The conference, said to represent 300 party members, was called by the 'Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party', which is now publishing a monthly newspaper, the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard.

The first session was chaired by a former Smith Act defendant, Lucille Bethancourt, and the organization report was given by the party's waterfront section organizer, A. Marino.

He pointed out that of the estimated 17,000 membership of the American Communist Party at the time of the February 1957 convention, only 3,000 remain.

The Vanguard group accuses the party leaders of being out of line with the international communist movement in not condoning the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution and in rejecting the declaration of twelve parties signed in Moscow last November.

Mankind's Glorious Socialist Future

By HARRY FINCH

THE continual expansion of world production, and the revolutions in technique accompanying it and initiating it, will not only enrich mankind in all the material objects in life but will also release everyone to enjoy culture to the full.

What will a socialist world look like? We cannot give a full picture; but from a study of the potentialities revealed in present-day science we can sketch some likely features of the future socialist society.

The rapid advance of automation and nuclear power will

This is the last of a series of articles on socialism by Harry Finch, a Birmingham Labour councillor and a shop steward at GEC.

Previous articles in the series appeared on August 16 (p. 211), August 23 (pp. 219-20), September 6 (p. 232) and September 20 (pp. 242-3).

again and again reduce the hours of labour required to turn out an abundance of goods.

Factories will be clean. Dust will be eliminated. Streets will be cleaned by electronic devices. Hard physical labour will be replaced by robots.

This continual reduction of working hours will enable all if they desire to be university students. There will be a great thirst for learning and adequate time to satisfy it.

Rest of their lives

We can envisage people electing how to do their few hours of work required. Some may decide to work for a year of their lives at, say, thirty a hours a week (instead of the required two or three hours) and then spend the rest of their lives in physical and mental pursuits.

Utopia? I do not think so. Once capitalism is removed there is no limit to the revolutionizing of production.

Would controversy cease? I think that as long as man exists on this planet controversy will always be present.

But under socialism there will be no political parties, for these represent economic classes.

Therefore controversy is most likely to take the form of sharp debates on scientific theories, criticism of various schools of art, music and so on.

We can well imagine the line-up of 'factions' in the universities and elsewhere on the huge projects—inter-planetary travel, for instance—in which a socialist world will engage.

People will be able to exercise and develop their mental faculties as never before. Having time before them many will not only study in art schools but paint and do handicraft

themselves.

I am sure that the socialist man will be as erudite as some of our own scientists and professors today. In fact there is no reason why all of the future generations shall not be on that level.

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WILL man grow fat and lazy? Why should he? Released from the labour of capitalism, which even among manual workers develops only some of their muscles (depending on what job they do), people will engage in physical as well as mental culture.

The sports will be there for all to enjoy. Proper dieting coupled with physical recreation, life in beautiful country cities where smoke and disease are eliminated, should produce people who will tower both physically and mentally over the present generation.

Women will be liberated. The day of the wash-tub and sink will be gone for ever.

If families still wish to eat at home then electronic machines will cook for them. Already there are experiments on the market for houses to be 'panel-switch' controlled, and 'infra-red' cookers turn steaks in two minutes.

No traveller's cheques required

But to me the most exciting prospect of all is mass migrations and intermingling of the world's populations. People will be born in a certain country but the whole world will be their home.

How often have we ordinary workers said: 'How I would love to travel!'

Socialism will allow all to traverse the globe. No traveller's cheques or visas required!

And for the 'stay-at-homes' I am sure that science will find a way to improve the climate.

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THIS, and much more that we cannot visualize, is the glorious socialist future for mankind.

We are facing the last big fight against capitalism with all its filth and bloody violence.

To reach the bright horizon of socialism we must build up the leadership that will carry forward this fight. The alternative is a planet of radio-active dust.

I am convinced that mankind has not travelled to within an inch of universal abundance only to allow a few to destroy the human race. The working class will destroy capitalism instead, and lead humanity on to the classless society.

Constant Reader | The Antidote to Racialism

THEORIZERS about the causes of the race riots have to explain why they have occurred in some areas with a large coloured population plus bad housing and so forth, and yet not in others where the same combination of objective factors is present.

In fact it is impossible to leave out of account the part played by fascist and semi-fascist groups and also, of fundamental importance, the strength and militancy of the Labour movement in the given area.

Both of these aspects were brought to the fore at the meeting held by the Movement for Colonial Freedom in Trafalgar Square on Sunday.

The vice-chairman of Lambeth Trades Council pointed out that they had no race riots in his area, 'and that's the way we're going to keep it'. On the other side, 'National Labour Party' supporters in the crowd displayed banners with their slogans: 'Keep Britain White' and 'Britain for Britons'.

Gaitskell's experience of being shouted down by Orange-women in Liverpool is a reminder from another quarter of how the dark forces of prejudice and fanaticism always raise their heads where the Labour movement has lost its grip and fallen into opportunist ways.

'Only Connollyism' (meaning revolutionary socialism) 'can deal with Carsonism', it used to be said in Belfast.

Men still talk of the days of the 1919 general strike there, for the forty-hour week, when the city was freer of faction fighting than for a long time before or after, and 'Shame on the man that names religion' was a reigning principle among the workers caught up in their common fight for their class cause.

Barefaced deception?

A young man with a Mosleyite badge who bought Peter Fryer's leaflet 'Sweep the Racialists off the Streets' from me in the Square glanced through it and remarked sourly: 'This has been written by a communist.'

'Well, as a matter of fact,' I replied, 'Fryer was expelled from the Communist Party.'

'Ah,' was the reply, with a knowing air, 'facially he may have been . . .'

'Seditious libel', 1925

CHANCING to pick up the late T. A. Jackson's 'Trials of British Freedom' (1940), I found myself reading the last chapter, which deals with the arrest of twelve of the leaders of the Communist Party in October 1925 and their prosecution for 'conspiring to utter seditious libels'.

That was a political case if ever there was one.

The Tory Prime Minister had declared that 'the wages of all workers have to come down, in order to put industry on its feet'.

The ruling class was actively preparing for a major show-down with the workers, and part of its preparation was to intimidate the workers' leaders.

The Communist Party at that time was the body with which most militants were associated, and it was putting forward a programme for counter-preparation by the working class.

Roused to anger

Hence it was the obvious target for a prosecution. The effect on the mass of the workers was to rouse them to anger against the Tories—tremendous demonstrations of solidarity with the accused took place, and MacDonald complained that by its action the Government had 'played into the hands of Bolshevism'.

The trade union leaders were suitably frightened, however, by the sentences of twelve months and six months imposed on the communists.

When the crisis came, in May 1926, the Government had only to hint that the General Strike was 'illegal' and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress came to heel, betraying the millions who had trustingly followed them.

As Jackson puts it, these bureaucrats 'had no desire to go where the Twelve had gone, being fearful of what their followers might do in their absence'.

Jimmy Thomas and his pals were able to carry through that historic betrayal only because the Communist Party had confined itself to putting forward excellent proposals for the Jimmy Thomases to carry out, but had taken no step to show the workers the need to build up a rank-and-file leadership, from the factory level upwards, which could have taken command of the strike out of the traitors' hands.

'Increasing misery'

THERE is a curious contradiction in the treatment in no. 1 of World Marxist Review, the new 'Cominform' journal, of the question of the 'increasing misery' of the proletariat.

On page 51 the Russian A. M. Romyantsev declares that the interpretation of this concept as meaning a decline in the workers' living standards is a revisionist distortion: what it means is that there is a widening gap between the living standards of the workers and their needs.

Thus, even while the workers' real wages were increasing they could be suffering 'increasing misery' because their needs were increasing still faster.

Contrastingly, the reviewer, on pages 111-12, of Thorez's booklet 'More About Impoverishment' appears to endorse the French communist leader's view that 'increasing misery' means what it is usually taken to mean: that the workers' real wages, taking into account intensity of labour and other relevant factors, tend to fall, any advance in one direction being more than counterbalanced by losses in others—for example, a better flat at the cost of less food.

It would be enlightening to have some discussion of this important aspect of Marxist theory in connexion with Harry Finch's articles.

Twentieth-century revolutions

World Marxist Review announces that active preparations are now under way in the German Democratic Republic for the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the revolution of November 1918.

It gives Ulbricht's official definition of that revolution as 'a bourgeois-democratic type of revolution which in some measure was conducted by proletarian means and methods.'

How much of Europe's and the world's subsequent history was decided by the failure of the trend in the German working-class movement led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to capture power at the end of 1918 and beginning of 1919!

Had there been a real Bolshevik Party in Germany then, supported by the majority of the workers, it would certainly have been victorious.

Would it not then, besides carrying through in a thorough-going way such overdue bourgeois-democratic measures as expropriation of the Junker class, have proceeded to socialist measures such as the nationalization of the principal industries?

How could it have avoided doing so, even had it wished?

'The Permanent Revolution'

It is good news that Trotsky's 'The Permanent Revolution' (1930) is to be reissued in the not too distant future in an improved translation.

This book examines whether bourgeois-democratic revolutions which remain such can in fact be carried out in modern

conditions, and analyses the theory and practice of Stalinism, especially in colonial countries, in relation to this question.

As an appendix the book will include a new translation of the same writer's 'Results and Prospects', written in 1904-06, which forecast with astonishing accuracy the course actually taken by the Russian Revolution.

This pamphlet has long been unavailable in English, though in 1921 it was translated by Joseph Fineberg and published by the Communist International.

Military theory and politics

EVERY columnist is delighted to hear from his readers and I am very pleased indeed to have received my first 'reader reaction' in the shape of a letter from Leeds about my remarks on T. E. Lawrence.

The writer points out how Lawrence was the source of Liddell Hart's military doctrines, and what was the political background of those doctrines.

'The senseless slaughter of the Somme, Verdun and Passchendaele contributed to the collapses of 1918, the French army mutiny of 1917 and the subsequent revolutionary wave in Europe.

'You will remember how Arnold Zweig deals with this in the trilogy that starts with "The Case of Sergeant Grischa" and ends with "The Crowning of a King". The Foch strategy of concentration reflected in its application the contempt of a general staff reared in aristocratic isolation for the common mass of soldiery.

'Liddell Hart was, in a sense, the Fabian of military strategy and he had to apply his mind above all to the political questions of warfare presented by the first world war.

'This is where T. E. Lawrence's ideas came in so handy—surprise, deceptions, distraction, pinning down large forces with small ones, the psychological paralysis of an opponent . . .'

Perhaps the key to the Lawrence cult was indeed that, as David Garnett puts it, 'he won his victories without endangering more than a handful of Englishmen,' and Liddell Hart's writings constitute an attempt to work out a military doctrine for waging imperialist wars without involving the workers too much, lest they rebel against the sufferings inflicted on them as they did in 1917-18.

The 'Redman' pamphlet

The Newsletter possesses a limited number of copies of 'The Communist Party and the Labour Left, 1925-29', the pamphlet by 'Joseph Redman', with an introduction by John Saville, which the Reasoner published early in 1957 and which helped considerably to stimulate the current interest in Communist Party history.

These are available at 2s. 3d. post free.

A few copies of 'Hungary and the Communist Party', by Peter Fryer, are also available, price 1s. 3d. post free.

Get this

'The Peter Kerrigan in this case is not the Peter Kerrigan who is industrial organizer of the Communist Party.'

—From the article by W. Roy Nash on the Editorial Board of The Newsletter, in the News Chronicle, Sept. 23.

BRIAN PEARCE

LETTERS

JIM FULLERTON: A WORKMATE'S TRIBUTE

To most readers of THE NEWSLETTER Jim Fullerton would be just a name. But to myself, the lads on the dock and our fellow-members of the Liaison Committee, Jim Fullerton was a symbol of the best traditions of dock militancy.

In his all too short but very active participation in the class struggle he showed that he possessed all the qualities of a real docks fighter.

His death is a great loss to the docks movement in particular and the working-class movement in general.

It is little wonder that at his funeral so many hundreds of dockers turned out to pay their last respects to a fine militant and a good mate.

London, E.1

Danny Connolly

QUEMOY: BRITISH WORKERS MUST REFUSE TO BE DESTROYED

It is now widely realized that there is a growing danger of general nuclear war arising from the conflict over Formosa and the Chinese off-shore islands.

It is clear that powerful sections of the American capitalist class are preparing to launch a 'tactical' atomic attack on China, in the belief that the Chinese and Russians will not retaliate, or that if they do the U.S. Strategic Air Command can win the resulting third world war.

The fact that these calculations are almost certainly wrong will not be much consolation to us if we are wiped out in the process of testing them.

A large part of the U.S. hydrogen-bomber force is stationed in Britain; so that if American planes take off to attack Russia—or are thought by the Russians to be about to do so—we shall be destroyed.

Therefore it is vitally important that the bombers be ren-

dered incapable of making such an attack.

Certainly we shall still be in some danger as long as there are any H-bomb-carrying planes, or rockets, in Britain.

But as a short-term measure it is quite simple and very necessary to prevent the U.S. planes leaving the ground, and this demand should be pressed most vigorously in all Labour Party and trade union organizations.

Great majority of population

During the Hungarian Revolution the Russian army was able to paralyse the Hungarian air force, which might have intervened to some effect, by posting some artillery units round all the airfields.

How much more successfully could the U.S. air force be hamstrung where, as in our case, the great majority of the population would whole-heartedly support the 'besiegers'.

Certainly there is no harm in calling on the Government to act in this manner, provided that the working-class movement makes it quite clear that it is determined to take action itself in any event, the moment an atomic weapon of any kind is used by the U.S. forces.

The primary purpose of this course of action would naturally be to improve the prospect of survival should the American capitalists start atomic war against China; it relies on the fact that they could not have chosen a less popular issue on which to drag the British working people into war than the 'defence' of Quemoy or Formosa.

However, it also seems to me that it might influence the decision of the American Government in favour of those elements who do not judge the time to be ripe for a successful show-down with Russia.

Of course, none of them would be restrained by considerations of humanity or morality; but they might be by the knowledge that a very important part of their striking power, and its jumping-off ground, would be unavailable.

Ramsgate (Kent)

Tony Young