

# SOCIALIST REVIEW

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

JOURNAL

for the

Industrial Militant —

for

International

Socialism

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SIXPENCE

## TORY RAILS SWINDLE

**T**HE new Tory scheme of reorganizing the railways is vicious and pregnant with obnoxious results.

When, fourteen years ago Parliament debated the Transport Bill, Mr. Herbert Morrison emphasized that the nationalisation of the railways would "weld the transport needs of the country into an efficient and economic whole", would bring about the "coordination" and "integration" of the transport system. It is true that the Labour Government moved only half-heartedly in this direction (as the interesting article in the present issue by Stan Mills clearly shows).

At that time the Tory spokesman in the House of Commons, Mr. Oliver Poole, evoked the loudest cheers when he said that "he could only look forward to the day when they would reverse some

if not all of its provisions." The Conservatives have worked steadily to this end. What their 1953 Act began, their 1962 Act, if it follows the organization plan, will complete. The last remnants of coordination between different forms of transport will then be liquidated.

The running of the railways will be handed over to the regions; the present British Transport Commission will disappear. Ports, Waterways and London Transport, now controlled by the Commission, will be handed over to separate boards.

Other Commission activities, such as hotels, British Road Services, Scottish Omnibuses Group, the Thomas Cook travel agency and the Road Freight Shipping Services, will be grouped under a separate holding company.

From here it is only a step to the handing over of the profitable hotels and catering services, the extremely valuable land properties and other fat morsels to private enterprise.

The railways will be free to raise fares and freight charges as they wish. This will be done by abolishing the fares tribunal, which hitherto has had to approve any increase.

"Broadly," says the Government, "this will settle the size and pattern of the railway system. It is already clear that the system must be made more compact." To use more simple words: more uneconomic services will be scrapped, and the public will suffer.

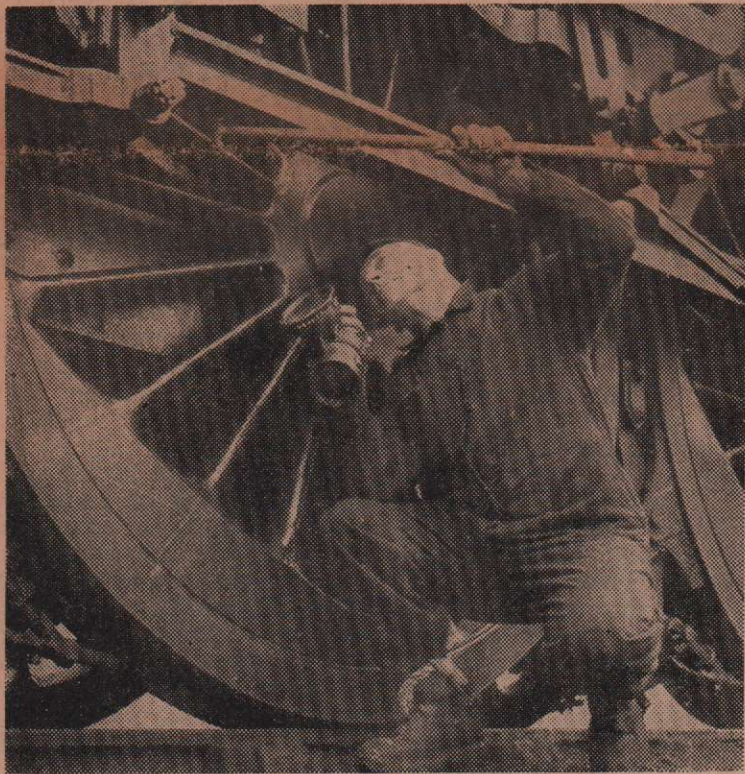
The productivity of labour, will have to be pushed up. And as the White Paper makes clear, the present 500,000 railway workers will eventually be substantially reduced.

The White Paper assures the railwaymen that wages and conditions will remain a national concern. However, the break-up of the unified railway system evokes the uneasy suspicion that the national system of wages and conditions will also be broken down. Railwaymen will suffer because they happen to work for a less profitable region. Of course, the Tories will have to think again if they imagine they can split the mighty railwaymen's ranks so easily.

And what about the financial side of the new arrangement?

It is true that £400 million are written off. But who pays for it? The tax-payer. The old capitalists who owned the railways prior to nationalisation and the bankers who lent millions to it at high interest rates are losing nothing. Up to now, in any case, it was the general public as taxpayers who in practice bore the railways' losses. The new financial arrangement will therefore make scarcely any change as far as this public is concerned.

*Speed-ups and sacking of railmen, higher fares and inferior services to the general public—this is the essence of the new Tory plan. Above all, it is the thin edge of the wedge of the restitution of the juicy morsels, owned at present by the British Transport Commission, into the hands of private capitalists.*



CARRIES THE CAN FOR MARPLES

## BIG BUSINESS RULES FEDERATION

BY IOAN DAVIES

**T**HE wranglings over the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have shown the deep division between the European settlers and the African workers—but in spite of the Welensky racist case, the facts are cruder and more basic. Though it is true that most of the Europeans are scared at the thought that Nkoma and Banda are making the final bid for power, they

have much more to lose than the "white civilization" that they consider so precious. Lord Malvern, at present resident Director of the British South Africa Co., the major capitalist monopoly in the Federation, has said that African rule would be "a complete sell-out because you know the sort of thing that would satisfy them." What sell-out? The facts are grisly...

The three territories in the Federation have economies which are, in the cases of North and Southern Rhodesia, based on the rapid accumulation of profits from the mineral wealth of the Copperbelt and the goldfields and, in the case of Nyasaland, on the retarded growth of agriculture so as to keep it a source of cheap labour. The mining involves little capital outlay and the reaping of huge profits—with cheap African labour. While the 290,000 Europeans in the Federation collected £142,800,000 in 1957, the 7,000,000 Africans received only £98,200,000, and out of total profits of £110,500,000, over £50,000,000 was sent abroad.

Agricultural African workers received wages of 1/3 a day, while in the towns the average hourly wages were 1/4 to the average European worker's 14/-. In 1958 the average African wage (per year) was £99 in industrial work—Europeans earned over £1,200 each.

What type of economic organization is behind this labour situation? In 1889 the British South Africa Co. was formed under a Royal Charter to control both the government and economy of the two Rhodesias. When it relinquished its administrative powers in 1920 it received half the interest of proceeds of sales of land in North West Rhodesia

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# TU COMMENTARY

LONDON

BY KARL DUNBAR

THE Fridgidaire strike is now officially over. On 6th December the strikers returned to work with a notable victory tucked under their belts.

Fridgidaire, another American firm, subsidiary of General Motors, has for many years been a problem to union organisation. Many active workers have sacrificed themselves in the past to bring the message of organisation to Fridgidaire workers; now these sacrifices have paid their overdue dividend.

Last month, *Socialist Review* published the Strike Committee's statement, and called for full financial and moral support for our fellow workers in dispute: we hope that our small effort contributed to the very good response from all the branches, shop stewards, committees and Labour Parties.

However, the attitude of the AEU Executive Council to this strike needs taking up very strongly.

During the second week in December the AEU EC issued instructions to the branches who had members involved in the dispute, to pay strike pay. All well and good, even if the workers had been on strike for a month. But the significant point is that the EC *never did recognise the dispute as official*. This mouse in the corner attitude of our 'leaders' meant that such expenditure as leaflets, meeting rooms, picket pay, and so on, had to come from the pockets of our members out in dispute and not, as in the case when a strike is officially sanctioned, from the Union funds. Apart from this, the strikers were not even receiving the encouragement that a forthright declaration of official support would have given them.

Whilst workers are engaged in struggle, it is not the time to cut in with criticism. But now the struggle is temporarily over, it is time to look at the lessons gained and to attack those who show their utter inability to lead workers against the boss class. Let's find out why the AEU EC decided not to officially support the strike. Let's bang the resolutions into the General office demanding that *all strikes be made official automatically*.

Let us show that whilst there may not be any leadership in General office there is still plenty of it on the factory floor.

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GLASCOW

BY R. ELLIS

SINCE November 2nd, workers at "Caterpillar Tractor Ltd", Tannochside have been on strike against the victimisation of two AEU shop stewards.

This American firm refuses to recognise the unions and it has been in the face of repeated management attacks that the

workers have organised and elected their representatives.

Naturally, the dismissal of the two stewards was not the first and only act of provocation. Low wages, coupled with long hours of overtime and the adamant "do as we say or else" attitude of the management finally brought the pot to boiling point. The fact that one of the two victimised stewards was sacked for 'disrupting production by encouraging members to attend Trade Union meetings', and the other for 'refusing to accept quietly his fellow stewards dismissal', clearly shows the position.

The strike is 100 per cent solid and is officially recognised by the AEU. The Clyde District Committee of the Confederation have pledged full support.

Solidarity is being shown by other workers. Aircraft Steel Structures workers, at the Acton factory, have blacked all work from Caterpillars, and donations are being sent from all over the country.

If your branch or Shop Stewards Committee has not received an appeal, then all donations should be sent to: J. Bradley 18, Dechmont Street, Parkhead, Glasgow E.1.

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BELFAST

BY J. HANNA

WHEN a ship is launched here, Sir Frederick Rebbeck can be counted upon to announce how difficult things are becoming in the industry. On the 30th November he told Confed. locally that in the new year 7,000 shipyard workers must be made redundant; he forecast a thin time in 1961—no need to ask for whom!

Belfast, and indeed the whole of Northern Ireland, continues to be plagued by a frightening industrial crisis. No doubt 140 new industries have been established here since 1945 but full employment never has. The percentage of unemployed is rarely less than five and the unemployed are, in the main, in the province's two largest cities—Belfast and Londonderry. Recently in the latter city Birmingham Soundproducers closed up their entire factory throwing 1000 men on the dole—all this because of a change in company products. It seems that British companies, with branches here, are frightened to make certain changes in their British plants but are prepared to alter even their status as capitalist firms (which BSR is doing) no matter how many suffer. BSR "hopes" to reopen "in about a year's time"—renamed Monarch Domestic Electrics.

Meanwhile the 7000 shipyard workers whose jobs are in serious danger are hoping that the "Queen" replacement liner contract comes to Belfast. This writer has his doubts—the Lagan is a deep river (where it

is constantly dredged) but it is not a wide one. Otherwise this yard would be an excellent choice because it is a large centralised affair—unlike the Tyne which has many small-contractors and a few big yards on its banks. Ultimately I believe the choice is between Belfast and the Clyde: both have serious unemployment problems.

That ministerial jack-in-the-box Ernie Marples came over on December 2nd on yet another of his fallacy-finding trips: he met the Confed. committee and he told it precisely nothing. The only thing he did was to frighten the wits out of a dozen local big-wigs—Unionist (Northern Ireland Tory) M.P.'s and businessmen—by getting them out of bed to go tearing around the shipyard with him at 7.30 in the morning.

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TOO MANY UNIONS?

BY H. FALLOWS

THE Trade Unions were originally formed for workers within certain trades, Boilermakers, Sheet Metal workers etc.: Since then these unions have infiltrated into other industries. An example of this is the motor industry, which has many unions, each with its own rules and autonomy, functioning according to the factory in which they are established. In British Light Steel Pressings, (a Rootes Group factory), certain operations are 'claimed' by a particular union, though these operations are covered by perhaps other unions. A case in point. A torch solderer, engaged by the manage-

ment, was a member of the AEU and had been for 15 years. He had earned his living at the trade torch solderer, in other motor car factories. Because this operation was 'claimed' in B.L.S.P. by the Sheet Metal workers, he was compelled to resign his AEU membership and join the Sheet Metal workers union. Again, when a production programme is demanding more labour, some unions cannot supply the men to do certain operations and so, because of the stupid inflexibility of these unions in not permitting 'outsiders' to do these jobs, production cannot be maintained. Various interpretations of what a skilled operation is are being constantly argued. Different limits of earnings are another sore point. These are but a few of the many problems which will only be solved by one union covering the whole of the production side of the motor car industry. Perhaps some organisation based on the Union and Auto workers in the USA is the answer which will eliminate these petty restrictions, do away with inter union jealousies, give each worker a fair chance and the whole of the workers great bargaining strength.

WE have been asked to publish the following announcement:—'The I.L.P. and the Workers Party invite all active workers to a rank-and-file conference, Sunday January 29th. 1961 at Denison House, London, S.W.1. (morning and afternoon sessions).

## ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

ON the 19th and 20th November a conference representing a number of small socialist organisations met in Leeds. Among them were two members of the *Socialist Review*.

AFTER discussion, the following declaration was adopted by the conference:

1) The threatened war between the U.S.A. and her allies on the one hand, and Russia and her allies on the other, is not, and cannot be, in the interests of the working class, no matter which side, if any, is victorious.

2) The politically conscious workers are those who openly declare their attitude to the war preparations and policies of the major political powers and who, where possible, strive to win the workers to the principle of complete *opposition to war*.

3) Effective opposition to war is based on the struggle to end the present system of society, which is the main cause of war. Realising that this must inevitably bring us into conflict with the ruling class, we believe that the struggle necessitates the adoption of a military policy of 'action against war', if the ruling class is to be defeated.

4) Full support must be given to the peoples of Africa and Asia who are struggling against imperialism, but they should be warned of the danger of being

dragged into the camp of either of the two big powers.

5) Anti-militarist propaganda should be stepped-up. All military expenditure should be opposed.

6) The increase in war work and the placing of armaments contracts, which is encouraged by the Government and the trades unions as a means of reducing unemployment, *must*, under all circumstances, be opposed, and a campaign should be conducted for alternative employment.

7) While recognising the difficulties that hinder the development of international solidarity between the workers of the world, we proclaim that principle in the confident belief that a growing number of workers in all countries will move in that direction. We declare our solidarity with workers of all countries, *without exception*.

8) The ultimate aim is mass opposition to war by every means within our power. We support every genuine anti-war tendency expressed by any section of the Labour Movement—in the trades unions, local Labour Parties, Young Socialist branches, C.N.D., and in the factories, mines and workshops.

9) Unilateralists should clearly call for British withdrawal from N.A.T.O., it being absurd to suppose that an alliance domin-

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# WORKERS' THOUGHT ON WORKERS' CONTROL

BY DUDLEY EDWARDS

WHAT is the attitude of workers in the workshop to nationalization and workers' control?

As one mainly responsible for the working of the union organisation in a closed shop, I am bound to say I cannot give a short answer.

If the question had been put to me fifteen years ago after the election of the postwar Labour Government, I should without hesitation have replied that the workers favour nationalisation. But then this was because nationalisation meant to the rank-and-file something very different from the bureaucratic state machine that was produced by the right wing Labour politicians of that time.

If the man on the shop floor (and by this I mean the trade union member) supported nationalisation, it was because he felt it would help him in the struggle for workers' control, a struggle which the workers are still resolutely conducting in practice, though in their own British

implementation of the now famous clause 4 of Labour's Constitution merely a matter of parliamentary sanction for the accomplished fact.

The workers in the particular plant, sufficiently well organised to ensure the maintenance of production, would thereby be made the custodians of their plant and responsible to parliament for the efficient maintenance and expansion of production. No vast hive of bureaucrats operating from some distant centre would be required to put this process into operation. Simply the appointment of a Government representative is all that would be necessary. His job would be to cooperate with and check the work of a management committee elected by the workers themselves.

The Achilles heel of the old nationalised industries was the lack of any real sense of participation and therefore responsibility for production by the workers themselves. This sense of responsibility would be there

The burden of interest carried by nationalised industries is as follows:

1950	£ 97 million
1954	146 million
1957	198 million
1959	262 million

fashion they rarely give their objectives any theoretical formulation.

In short, I think that in fighting for 100% trade unionism, the trade union worker recognises that this involves a fight for workers' control as well. Indeed, there are already in Britain many factories and other industrial enterprises in which the working class has already laid the solid foundation required to make the

## ANTI-WAR

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ated by the Pentagon is capable of reform.

Unilateralists should be opposed equally to N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw Pact and should urge upon the working-class movement of this country and Europe that all foreign troops be withdrawn from the continent.

10) An international peace and socialist movement should be built up to create a new kind of power to replace capitalist and Stalinist power political alliances.

Another conference—representative of all sections of the working-class movement—is to be held early in 1961. Meantime, the organisations which were represented at the Leeds conference, and who supported the declaration, will make known the terms of the declaration to working-class organisations in their areas and enlist support for it.

It is hoped that the declaration will soon be available in leaflet form, and anyone desiring copies of the leaflet or any other information about the conference should write to the Acting Secretary, George Stone, I.L.P. Office, 48 Dundas Street, Glasgow C.1.

right from the start by immediately vesting the workers with *authority* as well as responsibility.

Of course there would probably be a flood of objections from the political right as well as some on the "left" that the above proposal is an oversimplification of a very big question. Certainly it is admitted that this simple approach to a problem involving such vast questions as a balanced national plan of production and investment will not by itself guarantee success for the socialisation of industry as a whole. What is claimed however, is that once the full participation of the workers in the running of industry was secured, the overall problems would be much more easily solved, workers' participation being the key to the building of a planned economy.

For this very reason the capitalist bosses fight hard to prevent the spread of 100% and closed trade union shops, even though they could sometimes get a better production effort from a closed shop if they were prepared to fully cooperate with it.

The greater the degree of union control of such matters as overtime, redundancy and recruitment of labour, delegation of work, etc., the easier would be the transition to full workers' control and therefore socialisation, with the proviso of a government sympathetic to such a process. This is especially the case in a full employment situation which big business is forced to maintain today, mainly because it fears the reaction of the organised working class if it tried to recreate a large unemployment pool which it really considers more suitable to its true economic interests.

What I am contending here is that while many Labour politicians continue beating their breasts about the workers' indifference to nationalisation, the workers themselves are doggedly pressing on along their own path to workers' control and in that sense to nationalization. The politicians on the other hand think that because they are not voting enthusiastically for nationalisation à la Mr. Gaitskell they have forsaken the struggle for socialism. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Consider how easily the worker was "laid off" and directed to the dole queue before the war, and compare this to the numerous and immediate strike actions which in recent years have prevented the boss using his sacred right to "hire and fire". Thousands of workers have now been put straight back in the factory by the action of their mates. The latest example of this is the withdrawal of dismissal notices by the powerful Hoover combine.

Once the right to "put the hands off" if they no longer profit the capitalist has been challenged successfully, "workers'

control" has already begun to rise and "boss control" has really begun to decline.

Slowly this process is going on every day. In my own factory the workers recently put a ban on overtime and withdrew co-operation in the bonus scheme to enforce the payment of the national agreement to increase youth wages. In the course of this action they not only stopped all overtime, including that of charge hands and supervisor, but stopped all maintenance normally done outside the 8½-hour day. Shortly after this the labourers were ordered by the supervision staff to clean out dirty machine-oil tanks during the permissible and ordinary working time. On their own initiative they came to the stewards and asked if they should carry out this instruction. Obviously the idea of "workers' control" of all sides of production was implicit in this action, even though it may not be consciously expressed.

If workers are prepared to discipline themselves in this way in order to reach a common goal, they are also equally capable of acting collectively, to increase production instead of restricting it, providing they are satisfied the control is in their hands and that the effort unitedly agreed upon will ultimately benefit each and all on an equitable basis.

## CENT. AFRICA

from page 1

as well as certain "compensation" and the continued mining rights in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and 99% of the shares in the Rhodesia Railways Trust. It also controls a number of agricultural areas in the South. In 1958 it received over £6,000,000 in Royalties, made a profit of £8,000,000 and paid 30% out in dividends.

The Copper mines are controlled by a number of companies which made an 'operating' profit of £43,100,000 in 1957, of which £20,100,000 was paid out to shareholders. These companies are linked to either the American Metal Co. or the Oppenheimer-De Beer interests. Some of the firms could only find 20% for re-investment in 1958, but managed to distribute 80% in shares, and pay the African workers one-tenth of the wages received by the Europeans. (£189 per year per worker as opposed to £1,899).

## ALL WIND

It is not difficult to see Welensky's position in all this. Southern Rhodesia has the greatest proportion of white settlers, and they, in turn own a greater proportion of land than do their counterparts in the North and in Nyasaland. Over 55% of the land in the South is in the hands of either the capitalist firms or of powerful farming interests, 35% of the poorer land is allocated to 2,600,000 Africans, and the rest is either a Native Reserve area (to establish camps for the urban workers) or assigned for native purchase. In the North the settlers control less of the land, but are firmly in control of the mines, while Nyasaland is open

for further and fuller exploitation. Welensky's case for Federation is based on crude capitalist theory. The monopolies of the South and the North have a much stronger chance of increasing their power and wealth if the territories are centrally administered than if they are governed independently. At present the Southern Rhodesia electoral roll is drawn up entirely on the basis of capitalist interest: the property qualifications are so high that only 8% of the natives can find a place. In the Northern territories a much larger percentage of the African workers can vote: it is clearly in Welensky's interests to extend his control throughout Central Africa.

But though Mac may talk winds of change, and pose as the friend of Africans, he is as deeply incriminated in the capitalist control of the Federation as Oppenheimer. Throughout his party the vested interests are manifest. Lords Salisbury, Robins, Malvern and de la Warr are some of the leading figures in the economic hegemony. And Sir G Harvie-Watt, MP for Richmond, Julian Amery, and his own brother-in-law the hon. Treasurer of the Conservative Party Holland-Martin are all sitting along with ex-MP Captain Charles ("Shoot Nasser") Waterhouse on the boards of these companies. Of course there is an economic case for the Federation—but in the case of these men, inheritors of the Empire of Cecil Rhodes, and the architects of Rhodesian exploitation. "You know the sort of thing that would satisfy them," said Lord Malvern (a former Prime Minister of the Federation). Socialists must ensure that the controllers are clearly exposed and Lord Malvern witness the fulfilment of his own prophecy.



**Labour History**

**THE RADICAL TAILOR OF CHARING CROSS**

BY HENRY COLLINS

**JANUARY 1st** is New Year's Day. It is also the 106th anniversary of the death of Francis Place, at the age of 82, after a lifetime's political activity, mainly in the cause of progress.

Place was a working breeches-maker who rose to become a master tailor. His shop at Charing Cross was, for a time, the main centre of radical politics in London. His vast collection of contemporary documents, now in the British Museum, is still one of the primary sources for historians of the nineteenth century labour movement. He was neither a socialist nor, strictly speaking, a labour leader. His conception of reform was exclusively political and he positively dreaded the thought of revolution. Yet he fought for the reforms he believed in with tenacity and an almost incredible skill. In so doing he contributed something of value to the progress of democracy in England.

**GROWING**

As an apprentice at his trade he had experienced a strike and become an active trade unionist. In the late eighteenth century trade unionism had begun to spread amongst skilled craftsmen—printers, tailors, shoemakers, cabinetmakers, saddlers, brushmakers and the like—in the form of local trade clubs which could bargain with single or even small groups of employers. When trade unions were prohibited under the Combination Act at the end of the century, these trade clubs usually survived, officially as friendly societies, while in fact continuing to practice collective bargaining on behalf of their members. The main victims of the Combination Acts, as of the price inflation which accompanied the Napoleonic Wars, were the unskilled workers especially in the cotton and mining industries, whose attempts to combine were crushed with the full force of the law. Their numbers were growing with the spread of industry, and Place soon became convinced of the danger and futility of continued repression.

**COBBETT**

With the death of Pitt, main architect of implacable Toryism, in 1805, there was some rallying of the progressive forces. Reform societies, demanding an extension of the franchise, spread throughout the country. William Cobbett became a radical and his *Weekly Political Register* aroused considerable response, not only among the middle and working classes in the towns but also among farmers and farm workers in the villages. Place, at the head of a group of traders and craftsmen, started the Westminster Radical movement, to capture a seat in the House of Commons. Westminster was one of the few parliamentary

boroughs which enjoyed a wide franchise. Most of the skilled workers could vote, and in 1807 the Radicals ran Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane against both Whigs and Tories. "Our attempt", wrote Place, "became the scorn and contempt of Whigs and Tories, not a single morning paper could be said to be with us, most of them were pointblank against us. They were all either for Whigs or Tories, not one for the people. They derided us no little, and laughed us to scorn. What a parcel of people who were nobody, common tailors, and Barbers and snobs (i.e. Shoemakers—H. C.), to presume to carry Westminster." They carried it, all the same, and the revival of nineteenth century radicalism after the savage repression of the anti-Jacobin period, may be dated from this victory.

While the war lasted, and for some time after, nothing much could be achieved in the way of reform. The period following the battle of Waterloo was one of dislocation, heavy unemployment and revolutionary unrest, culminating in the killing and maiming at Peterloo, already referred to. This produced a revulsion against the methods of High Toryism among sections of the middle class. The trade revival, which began in 1820 with the re-opening of markets in Europe and South America, strengthened the more liberal element in the ruling class. Lord Castlereagh's suicide in 1822 was also a great help.\*) Place judged the time ripe to organise pressure for the repeal of the Combination Acts.

"These Manchester yeomen and magistrates are a greater set of brutes than you form a conception of.... What but what has happened could be expected from these fellows when let loose... The law will, from the want of proper interference, afford no redress. Should the people seek it by shooting their enemies one by one and burning their factories, I should not be at all surprised, nor much outraged..." (Francis Place, commenting on the Peterloo massacre, in a letter to J. C. Hobhouse, August 20, 1819.)

Place himself was a qualified supporter of trade unionism. Workers should have the right to organise and have some say in regulating their conditions of work. They could not hope to raise the level of real wages which were governed, in his view, by the iron laws of supply and demand. But how could the workers realise these facts of economic life while they were subjected to unjust discrimination? Let them be given freedom to organise and they would soon discover for themselves the right channels in which to direct their energies.

So with Joseph Hume as his parliamentary agent and J. R. McCullon\*\*) as economic adviser, Place set to work to demolish the repressive Acts. The Commons was induced to set up a Committee on Artisans and Machinery. Place packed the committee and drilled the working class witnesses. He did not like the way the repealing Bill had been drafted by the barrister employed by the Attorney-General. "We attacked his draft", wrote Place, "and afterwards the printed bills. He paid but little attention to us, but it so happened that when the bills were once printed he considered himself as having performed all that he was likely to be remunerated for, and he gave himself no further concern about them. We now got them into our hands, altered them as we liked, as MS. copies made and presented to the House. No inquiry was made as to who drew the bills; they were found to contain all that was needful, and with some assiduity in seeing members to induce them not to speak on the several readings, they passed the House of Commons almost without the notice of members within or newspapers without."

**NATIONAL UNION**

Once the Government realised what it had done, or rather what it had allowed to slip pass, there was a powerful movement to repeal. Place countered this as best he could; in the event, an amending Act was passed in 1825, which left the unions with the right to organise, though striking and picketing were still subject to severe legal restraints.

The other main achievement of Place's life was the Reform Act of 1832. A moderate measure to extend the franchise had

been introduced by the Whig Government of Lord Grey and rejected by the House of Lords in October, 1831. Place organised the National Political Union with middle and working class membership to organise support for the Government. Since the Bill in question did not propose to enfranchise the workers but only the middle class, a section of the working class, organised in the National Union of the Working Classes and Others, opposed it. Place believed, however, that the Bill was the most radical measure attainable at the time and that, once the aristocratic monopoly of political power was broken, the way would be open for further progress. He organised massive demonstrations, which sometimes developed into riots. He supported a move to withhold taxes until the Bill was carried. Generally, he helped to produce a climate of opinion in which the Lords could be terrorised into passing the Bill, which became law in the following year.

**BENTHAMITE**

More than any other radical of his time, Place believed in mass movements and understood the art of organising them. For him, however, such movements must be led by the middle class and restricted to middle class demands. This was not because he was dishonest, but because he genuinely believed, as a follower of Ricardo and Bentham, that the interests of the middle and working classes, properly understood, coincided. They should combine to destroy archaic legislation based on aristocratic privilege.

Later, Place gave tepid support to the Chartists, helping Lovett and his London Working Men's Association write the first draft of the People's Charter in 1836. After the rejection of the second Chartist Petition, in 1842, Place advocated the union of the middle and working classes behind a programme of manhood suffrage, the secret ballot

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**Socialist Review**

**Fighting Fund**

We need £40 an issue

During the last month we have received from:

	£	s	d
Hackney	4	0	0
Islington	4	5	0
Notting Hill	2	15	0
Camden Town	3	3	0
Shoreditch	3	3	6
Harrow	3	0	0
North Lewisham	2	8	3
Liverpool	3	0	0
Ramsgate	3	10	0
Stoke-on-Trent	1	0	0
Epping			6
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>

THANKS! and KEEP IT UP, COMRADES!  
I enclose a contribution of .....£.....s.....d. to the SOCIALIST REVIEW Fighting Fund.

Name .....  
Address .....

Send to SOCIALIST REVIEW APPEAL FUND, 117 Carmelite Road, Harrow Weald, Middlesex



# LABOUR AND THE BOMB

THE irony of a Labour Party having to argue whether to accept or reject nuclear weapons might not be widely appreciated, but it can have escaped few people that defence policy and the fate of the party are now mutually contingent. It is on defence that the Left has scored its only significant victory these last years; it is on defence that the Gaitskellite Right has decided to 'fight, fight, and fight again'.

It is easy to minimize the Left victory at Scarborough, to impute it to the unaudited arithmetic of block voting, or to point to the majority that Gaitskell could claim amongst Constituency Party delegates and, by implication, amongst party activists. The facts remain that this is the first issue for many years on which block vote arithmetic has added stature to the Left rather than the Right, and that the number of unilateralist resolutions to Conference has grown from a handful two years ago to well over one-third this time. On defence, the Left is clearly riding a tide of feeling unique since the early post-war years. This is what has given it a claim to party policy. For the moment, *le parti c'est nous*.

But it is as easy to exaggerate the extent of victory. However powerful the revulsion from the inhumanities of nuclear logic, it is a revulsion from one isolated component of a policy which has as yet remained unquestioned by the Left at large, as by the bulk of workers. The Bomb is the monster issue of a world divided into nation states, organized by power politics, a world divided—ultimately—into conflicting classes. To fight the Bomb alone, as a separate issue, it might be enough to advance the 'little England' arguments given by Cousins. But to fight the complex of which the Bomb is part, it is not. Gaitskell's policy has strength because it appeals to a fabric of traditions; it is 'realistic' because recognisable. The Left has still to find its way to fight Gaitskell's 'internationalism' of states, with an internationalism of its own—of workers.

## SECTION OF WORKERS

This is not a matter of merely finding arguments to match Gaitskell's. The Right's most powerful weapon is their control of the party and trade union machine and the unscrupulous use they make of it. Long before Scarborough, members of the Municipal and General Workers' Union saw their unilateralist resolution reversed by an official-convened and official-inspired recall conference; leaders of the Amalgamated Engineering Union have forced their members to face both ways like the two-headed ass. More recently, London and Middlesex Young Socialist Federations have been hammered out of shape under official guidance; and party members known for their activities on the Bomb and related matters have been ousted.

These are mere pointers to what might be. The Gaitskellites will certainly tighten their grip on the Parliamentary Labour Party, even, it seems, at the price of a split. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is under fire. Most important of all, the Right is attacking the formal suzerainty of Conference over the Parliamentary Party.

The Left is in no position to face Gaitskell's machine with one of its own. Our organizational resources reflect our weakness in policy magnified by the greater stress we place on convictions and on the spontaneous recruitment of people to implement them. Our strongest weapon would be to link the issue of defense with the stuff of ordinary life on which workers have shown unshakeable convictions to the point of heroism.

From this angle, it is significant that those sectors of workers that have been engaged in industrial struggle latterly—railwaymen, engineers, transport workers—are in general the most outspokenly unilateralist. It is even more significant that the Central London busmen, highly critical as they are of Cousins' leadership on industrial matters, are solidly behind him on the Bomb issue. It is obvious that progress or the Left lies in breaking down the high stakes of nuclear diplomacy into the small chips of class struggle.

It is here that the Left might show its greatest weakness. There is nothing in the record of its accepted leadership to suggest that it will organize around a program of argument by action rather than by word, or indeed, that it sees any connexion between Boss and Bomb. On the contrary, to date it has remained a prisoner to the basic Gaitskellite assumption: that defence is a national issue, not a class one, and has been able to find none better than the anti-unilateralist Wilson as alternative party leader.

## UNITY OF WORKERS

What now? Without mass struggles to force its hand, the Left as led at present, is unlikely to break through to a class analysis and action. It is thus unlikely to break Gaitskell's hold on the party machine. But neither can the Right view the prospect with equanimity. The defence issue has led them to question the party constitution and therewith the system which left decisions to a handful of trade union leaders. These might like Gaitskell's policy but they cannot all enjoy his arrogation of power and their own relative eclipse.

Pulled by the traditional power structure towards the Left and by the traditional arguments towards the Right, they are unlikely to make a clear-cut decision. On the contrary, impatience with political feuds which cannot be seen to have any direct relevance to their problems will reinforce the many other factors—growth of white-collar occupations, the seeming permanence of full employment, the diversification of conditions within and between industries—pushing towards a decanting of politics from trade unionism. If then Gaitskell wins ultimately, the price the party will be asked to pay is the enormous one of further weakening the links between organized industrial workers and the Labour Party.

The issue of defence is too fateful for reconciliation. The Left might be muddled and disorganized, but it represents a real protest at the suicidal implications of Gaitskell's policy. It represents the possibility, at least, of embedding anti-Nato politics in the soil of class struggle. It represents the unity and working-class bias of the Labour Party. In order to win, the Left will have to recognize at some point that the fight need be generalized and carried beyond the arid corridors of Party headquarters. Likewise, it will have to conclude that the defence problem cannot be solved in a purely British context, and that the time has come to promote—actively—internationalism as an alternative to Gaitskell's 'collective security'.

\*

The above article is the first of three editorials in the current issue of *International Socialism* published this month. The others deal with the relations between Russia and China, and the Cuban Revolution.

Articles include: Raymond Challinor: "Zigzag—The Communist Party and the Bomb"; Peter Sedgwick: "Workers' Control"; Jean-Jacques Marie: "France: The March of Despotism". A story, two poems and five pages of book reviews are also included. Send 2s. 11d. (post paid) to *International Socialism*, 47 Fitzroy Rd., London, NW1.

# TORY PENSION SWINDLE

BY STAN BEDWELL

DURING the General Election last Autumn, one of the issues was whether the Labour Party's sweeping national superannuation plan was to be given a chance to get going, or whether the Tories counter-scheme was to be operated. The Tories won the election hence the Government's new graduated pension scheme which is to operate from next April.

As most revolutionary socialists will have noticed, Mr. Gaitskell failed to display himself as the champion of the workers (he has never been a member of the working-class and has never had to eke out a living like a worker) Harold Macmillan had him on the ropes during nearly every round of the election.

## COMPETENT?

If Mr. Gaitskell had the ability to fight, fight and fight again on bread and butter issues on terms which every worker can understand, he would have thoroughly exposed the new Tory fraudulent pension scheme. If it can be shown that the Tories are about to swindle him on a simple question like financial security in old age, the chances are that the worker will begin to see the hoax of the great so-called nuclear deterrence policy.

But, of course, Hugh, Douglas, Tony and Roy (right-wing Labour theorists) don't see much need to fight the Tory defence policy so there is not much fight

on domestic issues either. The two go together: if the Tories are competent to run Britain on the one count, why not on the other?

## COPYING LABOUR SCHEMES

Although there was criticism from some left quarters about the Labour Party superannuation scheme (and much of it was justified because it failed to meet the problem of working-class old age right now), on the whole the idea of a half-pay pension entitlement by virtue of the insurance principle, had a favourable reception by the two-thirds of the working population shut out from any decent pension scheme.

Then again, the Labour scheme was not exactly a half-pay scheme because for lower paid workers it proposed to allow the benefit of more than half pay and, in the case of big-

*contd. page 7*

## FRANCIS PLACE

*from page 4*

and triennial parliaments. He founded the Metropolitan Parliamentary Reform Association to campaign for these measures, but this time met with little response. He had outlived his political epoch.

Place believed profoundly in the workers and in the contribution he was convinced they could make in a capitalist society freed from monopoly and Tory privilege. His great days were in the period immediately before the emergence of the working class as an independent force in British politics.

\*) "So Castlereagh has cut his throat! The worst of this is that his own was not the first" expressed the Contemporary Review.

\*\*) A favourite punch-bag for Marx in *Capital*.



## REVIEWS

## "LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER"

REVIEW BY KEN COATES

PENGUIN Books have provided their triumphant edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* with a quaint blurb. "If anyone is making up a book on authors who will come into their own in 1960" it says, "then D H Lawrence has claims to be the favourite." The source of this plug?—The *Times*!

Anybody who followed the trial, or read the brilliant account of it which Kenneth Tynan published in the *Observer*, which should certainly be republished as a pamphlet, will know that there were certain people who had very strong objections to allowing Lawrence to "come into his own". Indeed, the *Times* itself was not conspicuously in the front of the battle against such people. Well, we won. But does that mean that Lawrence has come into his own? I think not.

## GREAT BOOK

*Lady Chatterley's Lover* is a very great book, and now we have it whole for the first time. The mutilated edition is as halt without its fucks as would be Crime and Punishment if authority saw fit to excise its murder-scene. It is not, perhaps, the greatest crime of our betters that they have lamed D H Lawrence for so long: they have lamed real people and their loves wholesale down the years, so that the efforts of Mrs Procrustes Grundy in literature have to be measured against her triumphs in life: but it is not going to help her crusade against the living that we have at last defeated her onslaught on the fictitious. Penguins have brought us into a part of the inheritance that the great ones have so long been hogging (in their luxury editions), and for that we should give praise. But that doesn't mean that Lawrence has come into his own. On the contrary.

I am not going to claim that Lawrence was a socialist and didn't know it: he wasn't, and did. I am claiming that he belongs to us: and certainly that he was not, as Christopher Caudwell once foolishly thought, a fascist. This nasty characterisation has survived Caudwell long after some of his greater work has been allowed to sink into limbo: it is as if there were

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POLITICS  
THROUGH CRITICISM

a Gresham's law of literature and philosophy, in which an author's tritest and least charitable views were in some way able to fog, and foul over, his deepest and most penetrating insights.

## TENDERNESS

'Caudwell's slip into gullible black and white judgements in literature was due to his conviction that there is a 'crisis of bourgeois culture' which has paralysed creative talent and made humanist art impossible unless it becomes consciously socialist. Hence the title of his collection of essays (in which the Lawrence one appears): *'Studies in a Dying Culture'*. Dying, yes, but an unconscionable long time a-doing it: in crisis, yes, but capable, in crisis, of producing some of its finest efforts. Look at Mellor's words, and decide:

"An' if I only lived ten minutes, an' stroked they arse an' got to know it, I should reckon I'd lived *one* life, see ter! Industrial system or not! There's one o'my lifetimes!"

They are not fascist words: nothing there of the masters race or sex, only tenderness and understanding, and bitterness about the world which blots out tenderness and understanding.

## AGONY

True, Lawrence did not accept our remedies for the 'industrial system': but he recognised, with us, what that system was doing to men and women: and he spoke up. The real crisis in our culture is not that it is incapable of expressing the agony of our time, but that the agony is there, so firm, so permanent, so benevolently flourishing on us, that we accept it like the breath we draw, and it takes a great artist or a man of vision to make us realise that it *is* agony we carry with us; that what seems 'natural' is in fact cruel and vicious to the limits of perversity. The real crisis of our culture is not that it has produced warped and degenerate Lawrence: but that it has produced Sunday critics who see the most natural and easy beauty in men and women as being warped, degenerate, or funny.

## PHILOSOPHY

The philosophy of Lawrence, which weaves through *Lady Chatterley*, is perhaps most obviously accessible in his essay on Benjamin Franklin. Franklin composed himself, in his autobiography, a thirteen-fold creed, a recital of all the bourgeois virtues, which have never been more succinctly sung. Inside this,

says Lawrence "he trotted... like a grey nag in a paddock." Franklin's twelfth aphorism was:

"Rarely use venery but for health and offspring, never to dullness, weakness, or the injury of your own or another's peace or reputation."

Lawrence compiled his own anti-catechism, bellowed in derision, which on this issue said:

"Never use venery at all. Follow your passion impulse, if it be answered in the other being; but never have any motive in mind, neither offspring nor health nor even pleasure, nor even service. Only know that 'venery' is one of the great gods..."

So be it. But in 'industrial society', or in capitalist society at any rate, Venery is no man's god. There is no darkness, or mystery, or love, in the cover-girl, the Hank Janson rape-catalogue, the 'marriage' that is a contract in which bundles of commitments are exchanged, including obligations to perform what is now obscenely called the 'sex act'. Bourgeois morality, based on artisan and peasant production, gave rise to the greatness of Benjamin Franklin, and to Kant's celebrated injunction: *never treat men as means merely, always as ends in themselves*. But the development of capitalism, the factory system of production based on private property, involved the systematic and merciless use of men as means merely: the destruction and mutilation of their impulses to self-fulfilment, laced with the strictest and most despicable compulsion to ensure that they pursued the goals of other men by the means of other men. What happened to work, the centre of man's creative personality, under this 'industrial system' suffused and sapped all other aspects of his personality also. In the fullness or stinginess of time, snide critics arose who tittered at Lady Chatterley and Mellors when they ran naked in the rain, or decorated themselves with flowers. It had become as 'natural' to use venery as it was to use the sweat, the time, the lives of men in soulless labour. When Lawrence's lovers fuck, it is because they are not using venery. They are loving. They are battling for the categorical imperative in one last corner of their lives'...experience.

## POISON

But that's the trouble. Life is all one. You can't love in one small corner of it, and use the rest of it, of your felows, to feed your love with the poison of your relation to them, and it will fester. Either you use others, or you don't. Until we don't, Lawrence has not come into his own, however many read his books and dream the loves he dreamt. When we have abolished the slavery of the wages system, and tamed the factories with brotherhood, that will be Lawrence's day. Yet I think his book will help to bring it nearer.

## "Billy Liar"

BY RALPH EASTERN

BILLY LIAR" is fortunately not overloaded with plot but is content to tell simply of the topsy-turvy adolescent world of Northern Provincial Billy, whose implausible and unconvincing yet persistent lies get him into awkward situations—like getting engaged to two girls at the same time and falling in love with a third. Billy tells lies to his father and makes him say "bloody"; to his mother, filling her with despair, and to his grandmother, who, in the middle of the second act rather incongruously dies, adding a dash of unwelcome melodrama. In fact, Billy's world is a world of make-believe, of retreat from reality. And who can blame him? The world his parents' generation created, consists of lies, half-lies, whole lies and high-pressure lies.

Billy is a complex character and the microcosm of our age, mixed-up, restless, ambivalent, shunning adult values and inarticulate in that he knows something is wrong with society, that our values are distorted, but which yet he is unable to rationalise. He is a character with whom we may not always agree, but who is, nevertheless, our future. Is it not a condemnation of society that we produce iconoclasts and apathy, confusion and rebels?

On the level of entertainment, "Billy Liar" provides a number of comic scenes, as when Billy is trying to get an arm around his first and rather unpassionate fiancée. "I'm a respectable girl," says she, coyly edging away with an air of experience. That he is also trying to get the ring back for a short while, so as to let his second fiancée have it for a time only serves to make things more awkward for him. Suspicions are aroused, the truth discovered and Billy gets the hard end of every stick. Of course, Mother did not approve of "No. 2"—a tight-skirted, peroxidized, stillettoed teenager lifted from the floor of the Palais de Danse. But, undoubtedly the highlight comes in the third act, when Billy is alone in the garden. He takes an ordinary garden-cane and in imagination transforms it into a bugle and intones the Last Post, into an N.C.O.'s swagger-stick and into a number of other things. Here, Billy becomes, paradoxically enough, a little more than a dreamy, mixed-up kid, still desperately unsure of himself but more adult.

The scene, played as a tragic-comedy showed 24 year old Albert Finney as something more than a breezy comic, as an actor of true sensitivity whose performance in the film "Saturday Night and Sunday Morning" must be eagerly awaited.

There is little to say about the supporting roles; they were competent. The settings were of the high standard we expect, but do not always get from the West End theatre and the whole bore the stamp of Lindsay Anderson, whose production had pace and was otherwise unobtrusive. Which is as good productions should be.



# Pensions

from page 5

ger incomes, it was less than half pay. Again, the scheme was planned to take the lion's share of the contributions from the employer i.e. 5 per cent with 3 per cent worker and 2 per cent from the state.

Private superannuation schemes are usually based upon percentage contributions on all earnings with a sometimes 50-50 contribution from worker and employer. When a worker leaves or gets the sack (whether in a small pension scheme or a larger superannuation scheme) he usually forfeits all the employers' contributions.

The Labour Party scheme, introduced by Crossman at the Conference at Brighton in 1957, had for the first time, secured approval from the TUC for such ideas to be embodied in a state scheme. That is, uneven contributions and uneven benefits. Hitherto, the TUC policy on pensions had stuck rigidly to the principle of a flat rate contribution and a flat-rate benefit. High paid and low paid worker alike.

But all the time employers and trade unions, industry by industry, have pressed for occupational schemes over and

ation absolutely. One of the rather naive suggestions made in the Labour Party superannuation booklet, was that the foregoing principle might mean that a future Chancellor would "rob" the fund and it would be best to stick to the "insurance" principle based upon individual and employer and state contributions.

The operation of the Labour scheme would have meant eventually that the employer advantage of having workers in his grip because of pension schemes (particularly older workers from about 50 onwards) would have been bypassed. The onus of joining the proposed state scheme would have been on the individual.

There is a considerable public sympathy for the problem of being old, so the Tories have brought out a miserable caricature of the Labour Party scheme known as the Graduated Pension Scheme.

## HOW IT WORKS

The Labour Research Department (on the list of proscribed organisations because of past and present pseudo Stalinist control) has done a good job with its advice service and its little 6d pamphlet "Pension—Should We Contract Out?".

## SPECULATOR'S PARADISE

ACCORDING to the "Financial Times", a successful property developer can expect a building, when completed and sold off into an institution's property portfolio, to yield some 25% on the capital investment. The journal gives the cost of recent large schemes, viz. Birmingham (shops, offices—Land Securities Investment Trust and City Centre) £12m; Bradford £5m and Ilford £5m (this includes civic centre, shops, etc.—both Hammersons). Hammersmith (London) £16m (Civic centre, hotel, shops, offices—City Wall Properties); Manchester £3.5m (shopping centre, hotel, offices—E. Alex Colman and Bernard Sunley Investment Trust).  
(Financial Times, 23 November, 1960)

above the state flat-rate scheme (From April next benefits will be £4.12.6d for a couple and £2.17.6d for a single person, and, of course, heavy increases in contributions).

So we have to concede that, by and large, workers prefer to contribute uneven contributions with matching contributions from the employers on the basis of earnings. In other words it is conceded that pensions will be unequal when drawn, as wages are unequal, when negotiated by trade unions.

## GRIP

The alternative principle would be a living pension for the aged based upon average workers' earnings as a levy on state funds paid for from tax-

In the pamphlet it sets out the scale of contributions and the scale of benefits and explains why employers generally are tending to "contract-out" their higher paid workers and "allowing" their lower paid and particularly women workers to go in.

In recent months shop-stewards and workers representatives everywhere have been trying to work out what is the best course of action to press upon the employers. They have generally found (as the L.R.D. did) that higher paid workers i.e. £14 and £15 and onwards per week, can get better terms from an insurance company. *There cannot be a bigger indictment of the Tory scheme.*

Workers in the state scheme will have to live well above the national expectation of life to get their and the employers con-

tributions back. Even, if so, the maximum benefit obtainable (if in it from 18 to 65 contributing on £15 earnings or more) which is almost impossible, it is only an additional £2.1.6d on the present flat pension entitlement. Clearly no security in old age.

Contributions under the graduated scheme are paid only on earnings between £9 and £15 per week. Therefore millions of low paid and particularly female workers are shut out from the scheme.

Unlike the Labour Party's proposals, the new Government graduated scheme places the onus of action upon the employer and not upon the worker. Employers, if they can make their case to the Registrar, may "contract-out" a block of their workers and allow other blocks to go in. The tendency unfolding is that employers (including state and local authorities) are applying to take their higher paid workers out of the Government scheme and let the others go in.

## SCHEME

If workers are contracted-out by employer action, if they are sacked or leave, the employer has to "buy" them into the state scheme at the rate of 7/8 per week for every week out of it. The employer can recover half his cost of so doing from any lump of money which might be due back to the worker under his occupational scheme. *He must not take it out of wages.*

Thus the principle embodied in the Labour scheme for workers to go from one employer to another and take employer/worker contributions intact for ultimate pension entitlement, is contained in the Tory scheme.

In many cases where high pay workers are concerned, employers are preparing new schemes or improved schemes especially to "contract-out" of the state arrangements. It means greatly extended business for the insurance companies who usually underwrite the occupational pensions and often append a life assurance as well.

## WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

It is not hard to expose the Tory pension swindle. Its full effect will be realised next April. It offers the Labour Party the chance to fight on a simple domestic issue: How much of the nation's resources are to be allocated to the aged of the present and the future?

Labour leaders' pensions is assured. If they had to live workers and die like them as well, there would be a much more trenchant anti-Tory attitude in and out of Parliament.

The leader of Her Majesty's Opposition cannot fight the bomb and he cannot fight Tories on anything else either. It is about time he went and with him "Gaitskellism" as well.

Here is an opportunity to re-join Labour's ranks by a nationwide exposure campaign if only we had a leadership capable of it.

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- The establishment of workers' committees to control all private enterprises within the framework of a planned economy. In all instances representatives must be subject to frequent election, immediate recall, and receive the average skilled wage in the industry.

- 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, the abolition of all payments for the National Health Service and the development of an industrial health service.

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STAN MILLS (SOUTHERN DISTRICT COUNCIL, NUR).

# WHO IS KILLING THE RAILWAYS ?

THE Government's licensed trick cyclist and minister of transport Mr Marples surely doesn't think he is fooling anyone when he suggests that the Stedeford Committee to advise the Government on railway re-organisation is an impartial committee of disinterested citizens. The four tycoons who compose this committee are Sir Ivan Stedeford of Tube Investments, Mr R. Beeching of I.C.I., Mr C. F. Kearton of Courtaulds and Mr H. A. Benson an Accountant and Company Director. Between them these worthies hold directorships valued at one thousand million pounds. Despite strong Labour protests that the committee had no representatives from the Trade Unions or the Nationalised industry the Stedeford Committee remains unsullied by any kind of working class representation.

It was the activities of businessmen such as these who in the years prior to nationalisation brought the railways practically to a standstill. Big Business with the connivance of both the Labour and Tory governments has been looting the Railways since Nationalisation.

The Transport act of 1947 was intended to provide an integrated Transport system but Labour's policy in fact was feeble in the extreme. In 1948 alone it allowed the issuing of 590,516 'C' Licences for vehicles to compete with the railways, by 1959 there were 1,317,472 such licences in existence. When this competition began to develop the railways with their scanty resources and burdened by compensation payments were unable to compete. With the denationalisation of road transport the chance to integrate transport and give the service to the public and wages to the workers in the industry was lost. Unrestricted competition between road and rail can only lead to the ruin of both with the railways carrying too few goods and getting deeper and deeper in the red, and road transport working below capacity, cluttering up the roads and becoming less and less efficient. In the early years of nationalisation before the rise of road services, it would have been quite possible for the railways to have made much larger profits than in fact they did, if they had been allowed to raise freight charges to the big industrialists. With a bipartisanship that is truly astounding both Labour and Tory governments refused this request. The result was plain to see. An obsolescent railway system burdened by a mass of compensation debt to old shareholders, facing new debt in the form of modernisation loans to repair the ravages of years of capitalist bungling, was actually compelled to subsidise private industry by low uneconomic freight charges. One of the main victims

of this policy was of course the railway worker. Little wonder then that the railways slid further into debt. This is likely to be aggravated as time goes on, by 1965 the railways will be expected to meet interest charges of 110 million pounds.

The only way to help the railways is to remove the crushing burden of debt. The interest and capital repayment charges should be transferred to the exchequer and the railways given a fresh start.

To imagine that Sir Ivan Stedeford and his co-representatives of monopoly capital will represent such a course is to hope for miracles. The whole trend of public transport is to rationalise and close down on the grounds of profitability without regard to the needs of the travelling public. With the closing of branch lines and the curtailing of bus services we shall shortly have the worst transport service for 50 years.

The labour movement must insist on the nationalisation of passenger, road and commercial transport and the end of cut-throat competition. Both post war governments have failed to come to grips with our transport system. What is needed is an up-to-date transport system, based on the best organisation and technique can give. No hand to mouth subsidies will do. The railways must be relieved of the total burden of debt and they and road transport must work together in an integrated system. This is the only way to get a transport system beneficial to the workers and public alike. It is the policy of business men and governments acting on their behalf which has brought the railways to their present state. That is why the Stedeford committee will only delay the basic changes that are needed. Ultimately the problems of our transport system like the rest of our economic difficulties rests with the questions of political control.

Although improvements can be won by a determined fight we cannot expect any fundamental change from the existing set-up. The majority of the part time members of the British Transport Commission share between them, in common with the Stedeford committee, many directorships in privately owned concerns. Their attitude to the Railway workers is unlikely to be any more enlightened than other private employers. *Most railwaymen understand that it is not nationalisation that has failed, but its operation in the interests of the stockholders, business tycoons and money-lenders and against the interests of the railway men and the public. The Labour Movement must insist that any future Labour Government must replace big business control by workers control. Then we can really get down to the job of planning our transport system.*

## "NEW ADVANCE" — OLD RETREAT

BY GEOFF WESTON

IN 1955 the Labour League of Youth was disbanded. This ill-conceived act robbed the Labour Party of one generation. Early this year, the Party leadership unhappily watching their membership and support rapidly going, suddenly awoke to the need for a youth organisation constituted upon a national basis. Accordingly, the Young Socialists were formed and last month Transport House issued its first number of a monthly to "fully meet the needs of the (Young Socialist) branches." I submit that "New Advance" does nothing of the sort and is merely another example of the leadership using Party organisation to advance their own particular and confined interests.

A brief glance through the pages of "New Advance" shows pictures of Comrade Gaitskell and Sophia Loren and indicates that the leadership want, and are prepared to spend Party funds, to create a faithful puppy which will dutifully and obediently suckle at the breasts of Mother. Hence it was not surprising that there was a complete ignoring of the two things that most deeply concern Labour youth; nuclear disarmament and Youth Section organisation and constitution. Thus a few quotations from "New Advance" aimed at projecting a desirable "image" may profitably be com-

pared with what every Young Socialist should know.

On page 1 "Advance" reporter declares that "the youth of this country is getting to its feet, speaking its mind, demanding to be heard. And we will go on demanding to be heard, however hard some people may try to stifle us." The Editorial then quotes Morgan Phillips. "It is right that they (Young Socialists) should have their own organization at which they will be free to decide their own affairs." The Editor himself then concludes that "the Young Socialists are now an important voice in the Labour Movement."

Are we really heard and important? Alas, the truth is that the leadership are doing all what they can to stifle us; except of course, the tragi-comic youthful pink revisionists that still pimple Y.S. branches and in one case, rule—almost as absolescent as the mighty Supermac Himself. For instance, the Y.S. Area Federations are not allowed to pass "political" resolutions. "It's not provided for in the Constitution", said one paid official when he gently aided a right-wing putsch at one Area Federation. Yet our National Youth Officer can write, "Your programme must have a solid political and educational base." I suppose political resolutions are fine; but only if they go to G.M.Cs. where

they are relegated behind the arid but important rows over last month's minutes.

Of course, we are getting our National Conference—at Easter, though that may possibly be a coincidence with Aldermaston.

Perhaps the most enlightening feature of "New Advance" is the implied political relationship between Y.S. branches and the adult Party. In an article reprinted from the "Guardian" Mr. Richard Marsh M.P. clearly reveals the cynical attitude that the leadership holds towards us. He writes that the "Young Socialists are never satisfied with purely social activity and their political activity is marked by a lusty contempt for authority and a determination to create a Socialist Utopia by the end of the week." This is his excuse for the lack of enthusiasm shown us by party officials. The inference is clear; many party officials don't want a Socialist Utopia.

A "contempt for authority". Yes; only because that authority is dictatorial and denies us freedom of expression and blocks any means of effective political action by Labour youth. Mr. Marsh calls us "idealists". How strange! I have as a socialist always understood three basics; one, that socialism is the highest and noblest form of idealism; two; that most advances have come from the work of people

inspired with a material social faith; and three, that young people as a group tend to be idealist, to want change and to want it rapidly. After all, have we not a lot to lose, but a world to win?

In the same article Mr. Marsh gives clearly the dilemma the Labour Party is facing when he says, "By 1955, however, the leagues were again developing Frankenstein-like tendencies and were once more disbanded."

STEER

This situation is certain to be repeated, because the leadership realise that radical youth politics is inevitable. The Party is trying to steer between a waterfall and a whirlpool. The waterfall is carrying away many of the traditional labour supporters through apathy, old-age and death. The whirlpool is youth; radical, iconoclastic and restless, stirring up ideas and rejecting traditional political concepts. The support is there but it is still isolated. Aldermaston COULD have provided a magnificent nucleus of a virile youth movement. But, by floundering between these, Labour seems destined to get the worst of both.

FIGHT

It is plain from "New Advance" that the leadership is terrified of a POLITICAL youth organisation. It follows from this, that we will never get it with our present leadership. Thus, the rest is clear.