

# SOCIALIST REVIEW

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

VOL. 6 No. 12

OCTOBER, 1957

SIXPENCE

This Issue includes :

Kick the Tories out !

Seven per cent Bank Rate means

- lower pay—higher prices
- fewer houses—bigger rents
- scarcer jobs—fatter profits

Strike to safeguard wages !

March to force a vote !

Vote the Tories out !

There is only one answer to

## LABOUR'S GREAT DEBATE

WE ARE GOING TO PRESS before the Labour Party Conference assembles at Brighton, before the battle on nationalization policy is joined. However, we are under no illusions about the outcome. The leadership—Right and 'Left'—have taken up their positions, declared their 'war aims' and shown the working class that, whatever the fight is about, it has certainly nothing in common with the fight for socialism.

Readers of this paper need no lessons in the nature of the Right-wing's policy. As we said last month, "unwilling to fight capitalism, they will have to rule—when they form the Government—by courtesy of the capitalist class and within the limits set by that class." Strung between a membership demanding a militant lead against the Tories and the desire to soothe fidgeting capitalists, the leadership has produced a policy of no substance but with an awesome shadow. The 'substance' is meant for the wastepaper baskets of boardrooms, the shadow—for clouding the minds of rank-and-filers. As the *Economist*, clairvoyant organ of Big Business, writes :

"The whole point about 'Industry and Society' is that it is intended to be evasive: to mean very nearly nothing. If the vote at Brighton unexpectedly looked like going against it, the executive could, at a pinch, reconsider it and replace it next year by a document that said nothing in slightly different words. As the general election will be nearer than, some of the unions who might vote against it this year will not be willing to rock the boat again then; with tactful handling, all but a minority of militants would almost certainly accept some compromise short of a specific and rigid list for future nationalisations (which is what Mr. Gaitskell wants at all costs to avoid). At best for himself—and this is still probable—Mr. Gaitskell can withstand the fundamentalist onslaught at this year's conference. At worst, he should have a line of retreat along which he can withdraw at the expense of looking only a little silly." (September 7).

### Arithmetic of the Right

No, we needn't be surprised at the Right-wing leadership. They are acting true to type, true to their convictions. By all means, push capitalism a little here, pull a little there; add a small reform, subtract an injustice, multiply the result by propaganda and divide the workers by guile. But whatever you do, the result of this arithmetic must be a flourishing stock-market and a functioning capitalism. For after all, only looming profits can finance the reforms that keep the workers quiet and their 'leaders' in positions of power and privilege.

### Small-talk from the "Left"

But what about the 'Left?' Where is the Bevanite leadership, those 'real socialists', those "Old Believers" (to quote Maurice Edelman, M.P., *Tribune*, August 16), whose socialism pounds and bubbles and cannot be tamed? Where is this fearsome lion conjured up by *Tribune*? . . . All that can be seen is a nest of mice, scurrying about in small panics, shocked that the secret of the peace-pact has come out. And the Great Man himself, Old Believer and New Statesman, one-time miner and future Foreign Secretary, Mr. Aneurin Bevan . . . not a word from him in this greatest of debates within the Movement.

Let us explain. Bevan, Mikardo, Barbara Castle (and Cousins) sat on the commission that prepared the nationalization-policy statement, *Industry and Society*. They are not fools; they knew what it was about. They knew that, to quote Mikardo, "it is a mandate to future Labour Ministers to do either as much as it permits or as little as it compels" (*Tribune*, July 19)—which is very little indeed—and they would agree with him when he adds: "now I admit at once that in *Industry and Society* the gap between the minimum and the maximum is much wider than is the case with any previous policy document . . ." (*ibid*).

### Unity before principle ? !

And yet they let it pass. Jennie Lee tells us why. "We all know," she writes (*Tribune*, August 23), "that the reason why so much is left blurred and open to a dozen different interpretations is the necessity of preserving unity at the top . . . The only alternative to this method of settling controversies would have been to have had resignations or threats of resignations from the minority elements on the Executive."

So that's it. In spite of the fact that "the only unanimity which took place . . . was between some of the TUC representatives and the Left-wing critics of the document on the NEC" (Barbara Castle, *Tribune*, September 13), the 'Left' was prepared to let the rank-and-file believe that the document was indeed unanimously agreed upon. And, as if that isn't enough, they feel aggrieved and betrayed because the truth stalked out, the gag-

pact emerged, naked and ashamed.

Once out, scurry scurry. Clothe him with slogans. Swathe his bones in phrases. Amendment follows amendment; addition piles on re-interpretation. The skeleton is turned into a scarecrow to frighten away the eagle of socialism. The mice scamper into their lion-suits, busily squeaking to the British workers, "trust us, trust us. When you awake to shake off Gaitskell, Wilson, Crossman, Williamson, don't forget us, your revolutionary fighters, don't forget to put us—Bevan, Mikardo, Castle, Cousins—in their place."

What a spectacle! What a frightful, sickening spectacle. Here we are, with an issue that will decide the fate of socialism in Britain; we have a straight, uncomplicated task of rejecting a do-nothing policy statement, of reaffirming our belief in "the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange"

under workers' control; we have a chance of appealing over the heads of the Right-wing leadership to the rank-and-file, to the working class, which alone can fight for and secure socialism as a conscious act in history. And all that these mice of men can do is steal up behind our backs, join hands with the 'leaders' and jockey for Ministries. Thus do midgets barter away history for a portfolio!

Militant socialists need not be dismayed. False friends are worse than none. The very efforts they make to appear 'respectable' in the eyes of the rank-and-file shows where the power really lies. The militant socialist can be true to himself, true to the British working class and true to the future of mankind only if he continues to reject all compromises and fight for

COMPLETE NATIONALIZATION  
AND NATIONAL PLANNING  
UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.

## YOUTH

James D. Young writes on

### Capitalism, Labour and Youth

"The number of those who need to be awakened is far greater than those who need comfort"—B. Wilson, 1857.

THE CAPITALISTS seem to have found in armaments a guaranteed insurance against economic crises. This is the central economic fact of contemporary capitalist society. But any agreed disarmament or a strong Socialist movement of working class youth would, of course, upset them.

A recent examination of the impact of mass-media on "working class culture" shows up a sharp tendency in working class life towards greater conformity and even uniformity.

But within the temporary economic stability of British capitalism class struggles between workers and capitalists flare up from time to time. The inability of capitalist society to satisfy the growing needs and aspirations of new generations of working class youth has created acute social and psychological tensions.

This frustration and militancy is reflected in:

1. The tendency for young people to turn inwards. The literature of the "angry young men" is, for example, a literary expression of the frustration, confusion, anxiety, insecurity and hopelessness of a majority of middle and working class youth.

2. The tendency for a minority of young people to turn towards their trade unions and labour parties. As they are not prepared to put up with the economic and cultural restrictions of capitalist society, as many of their fathers and mothers have done, they try to push the Labour movement further and further to the left.

They are the people on whose shoulders the future and salvation of humanity rests. But they will not be able to take humanity towards the future of Socialism unless they can spread Socialist ideas among the majority of their class.

Mr. J. Bronowski says that "in the school population it is estimated that of those children who could profit from a university education 63 per cent. come from working class homes. But only 25 per cent. of the university population in fact comes from working class homes, and at Oxford and Cambridge the proportion is 12 per cent." In 1954 Mr. Henry Smith, Vice Principal of Ruskin College, pointed out that "the best working class lads" cannot go to university as "the majority are still driven by economic pressure to add to the family income as soon as possible."

Thus does capitalism waste human and economic resources. Thus does capitalism condemn itself before the

[turn to back page



## PARLIAMENT

Michael Millett deals with

### SOMETHING NOT TOO DIFFERENT

**"The flap isn't there for fun. It's a scientifically angled sound mirror, beaming sound forward from the Speaker."** (TV set advertisement contemporary with the Radio Show and the Trade Union Congress.)

WHEN IT WAS POINTED OUT to the editor that (a) Parliament is in recess and (b) the summer is a bad time for creative literary endeavour, he ignored the second point and dealt with the first by saying that we could do the TUC which somebody had once said was the "Parliament of the Working Class." So Blackpool it will have to be.

Sir Tom Williamson gave the presidential address. It was a model. Golden platitude followed golden platitude until delegates sat in an ecstasy of wonderment—surely no man could speak for so long without committing himself?! However, he finally descended to practical matters and made a courageous attack on unofficial strikers, who, he said, he had no time for. (It must be admitted that few unofficial strikers can have much time for Sir Tom Williamson.)

To quote him "... that minority of trade unionists who ran away from their responsibilities by joining unofficial movements to circumvent and overturn the official constitutions and policies of their own organisations... if we are to retain our influence and prestige we must condemn and restrain those who organise, promote and lead unofficial movements and unofficial strikes."

If any of you are thinking that Sir Tom should have said "If I am to maintain my prestige and influence..." you are wrong, for the damage these unhappy men do is incalculable. They undermine the working class movement by making the employers afraid of it. They destroy working class solidarity by holding elections and acting in organised groups. Their opposition to permanent Trade Union officials makes people fear that workers are incapable of thinking for themselves. Finally, to strike for higher wages is the grossest disloyalty to their workmates and a threat to the living standards of their families.

THE DISCUSSION of the Labour Party National Insurance Scheme was disappointing. Apart from recommendations that present old age pensions be raised to the not excessive level of £3 per week, no one had anything constructive to say. One would have thought that at least one speaker from the floor would have objected to a scheme the basis of which is that capitalism will still be in full operation by A.D. 2030, that is to say, throughout the lifetimes of us all, and when all the TUC delegates will be dead. It might be libellous to say that they will have died of inertia but, oh, something must be wrong with a working class conference that (apparently) tamely accepts such profoundly anti-socialist proposals.

The concept is, to be frank, perfectly ridiculous. In essence it is that the next two generations of workers should save up and lend the money to capitalists who will then be able to pay it back to the subsequent generations.

This is more than a right-wing reformist attitude. After all, a right-winger is supposed to be someone who, though professedly Socialist, believes that the path should be gradual. The Labour Party proposals are not socialist in any sense since they imply, for all practical purposes, that the economy will always be capitalistic, and run by the same crew of capitalists, at that.

With suitable modesty, this column would like to make its own proposals. The next Labour Government should set up a Board that will take a weekly contribution from each worker and invest the money in the football pools. The vast number of permutations possible would make success a certainty, and the winnings would enable old age pensioners to be paid on a generous scale. This has a further advantage: if the pools were nationalised every Tuesday and denationalised every Friday morning each worker would be able to get, week by week, his last week's stake money back again.

Anybody who believes that they can see a fallacy in this should be wary of

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

the Labour Party's proposals since the basic idea is the same—that by capitalist manipulation of various kinds it is possible to create more value than that created by labour.

WHEN SOMETHING is suggested that at first sight looks expensive it is usually claimed that it could easily be paid for by everybody giving up, say, half a cigarette each week. The trouble is that taking everything together, space travel to cats' homes, not only would we be giving up smoking, but would be hard put to it for the rent.

Delegates of two of the smaller unions, the Associated Blacksmith, Forge and Smithy Workers' Society, and the Guild of Insurance Officials,

had this feeling after Sir Charles Geddes had spoken on a section of the report that advised that half-a-million pounds be paid to an International Solidarity Fund. Whilst agreeing that this would mean 6d. per worker once a year for three years, they pointed out that it involved amounts like £1,500 from them, which is a lot of money from a small organisation.

What exactly the Fund is for was not specified in the reports of the conference; one suspects that its aim is to give underdeveloped countries trade union bureaucracies along with the benefits from other sources—TV from the Radio Corporation of America, tractors from Fergusons and Skoda tanks from you-know-who.

## CAPITALISM and YOUTH

— continued from page one

court of humanity. Yet by depriving thousands of working class youth of their right to a higher education, while an enormous amount of money is spent on war preparations, capitalism creates a terrific potential anti-capitalist movement.

That is why a very large sum of money is spent by the capitalists in chloroforming the workers. Practically the whole of the educational machinery, the cheap millionaire press, the cinema industry and the radio is devoted to this. In so far as young workers succumb to this they become useless to their class. But it can never be fully successful, because capitalist industry keeps the struggle going, always recruit-

ing new generations of workers to the struggle. Every strike and every lock-out is a lesson in working class solidarity. And for the workers' solidarity is the chief social and spiritual value, and the source of all the others.

In real life young workers have often got more militant instincts and attitudes than the older generation of trade unionists and Socialists. Thus they occasionally come into conflict in factories and trade union committees. (But the more militant trade unions have set up youth groups and committees to deal with the problems of young trade unionists.) Therefore young workers are usually more ambitious for higher wages, shorter hours, safety-measures and apprenticeship schemes than their fathers ever were.

The young trade unionists and Socialists of today were not reared in the Left Book Club; and they were not disillusioned by the bitter and bloody defeats of the nineteen-thirties. They entered industry during a time when labour was a premium, when the foremen dare not speak too aggressively to the workers, and when the workers were on top.

But young workers only develop their confidence, independence and values by struggling against capitalism.

And the cultural environment of H-bomb society first breeds and then feeds attitudes of apathy, inertia and hopelessness. And of course, as capitalist civilisation has produced its ultimate product in the form of the H-bomb and does not know what to do with it (daren't use it and yet daren't scrap it), people who are not Socialists can only turn inwards.

Yet the development of an independent movement of Socialist youth would have the effect of opening an avenue that has been shut too long. And as more young people are beginning to question the LIMITS of their inherited rights and roles in class society, and are searching for a revolutionary way forward, new prospects are opening up.

### For a new League of Youth

The Labour leaders know this. And they are afraid of Socialism really coming. Being themselves fairly comfortable under capitalism, they naturally want to keep the comfort that they have. This is understandable. After all "social democracy" is a defensive mechanism that the capitalists have been able to accommodate and build into their society. So they snatched at the first excuse to crush the militant Labour League of Youth.

But there has been a new upsurge of working class activity in every section of the Labour movement during the

past two or three years. As the Tories get bolder, more and more young workers turn to the organized Labour movement as a way out of their present difficulties.

Therefore members of the Labour Youth sections have got to campaign inside the Party for the right to live a completely free and independent life. While we are taking part in the day-to-day struggles of the workers, and while we are co-operatively working alongside adult members of the Party, we have got to fight for our right to publish our own papers, to help to shape the Party's policy, and even to make our own mistakes. For this we need a national organization—we need to reconstitute the Labour League of Youth as an independent body, with its own programme and its own constitution.

As we will, of course, assist the Party to pull in new members and strengthen its organisation, we will require generous financial assistance from the national executive committee. As this is really the only way to build a fighting Socialist organisation capable of overcoming the powerful resources of capitalism, and as a Labour youth organisation is, in any case, necessary to carry out the usually dull electoral activities, the Party will be sinking a valuable investment in its youth organisation.

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# THE MOVEMENT

## OWEN ROBERTS looking back at Brighton draws the LESSONS OF THIS YEAR'S T.U.C.

BEFORE THE TUC had opened, the pundits of the press predicted many stormy sessions. The newspaper prophets anticipated for their readers a week of thrills and spills which would make Blackpool's fun-fair gadgets look like genteel drawing-room pastimes for an old maid's social gathering. This little lot, they said, was more than the right-wing union leaders could stomach.

All this however, was before Congress got down to its business proper. Hardly had the pedestrian preliminaries, such as the Mayor's welcome and the President's address, been dispensed with when it became apparent that few, if any, rows were going to materialise. The astute boys of the press rapidly switched their line; in their reports they concentrated on writing the Congress down and describing it as the dulllest on record for many a year. Long before Congress ended many newsmen, who but a week earlier had been promising their readers columns hot enough to sear ink off paper, could be seen in one or other of Blackpool's many bars drowning their sorrows and increasing their expense accounts by way of personal compensation.

It is easy to see where these newspaper men went wrong. Their biggest mistake was to look forward to the Congress and try to anticipate the leaderships' reaction to the resolutions in terms of two or three years ago. They failed to acknowledge that new leaders, changed circumstances and different moods within the movement have all acted and reacted on each other to produce an entirely new situation within the TUC compared to that which existed a few years ago.

### The old-guard goes

First, there has been a fairly large scale exodus of the hard core of right-wing union leadership in recent years. For instance Arthur Deakin and Jock Tiffin have died, Sir William Lawther has retired, Sir Lincoln Evans has left the trade union movement, James Crawford this year left the TUC to join the NCB, Wilf Heywood has taken on a job with the restrictive practices court and Sir Charles Geddes—having received a knighthood in a recent honours list—has left his union job on reaching retiring age.

To this list could be added others, and the effect has been to weaken the right-wing section of trade union leadership. In normal circumstances this alone would not have been of any great consequence for the rights of succession would have placed second or third rank right-wingers in their places where they would have rapidly gained the experience necessary to fill the shoes of their departed seniors. But coinciding with this departure of many leading figures of the right-wing has come a change in the industrial situation.

### New condition

Four years ago, when all the previously mentioned union leaders were still very active in the movement, Tory policy was still very much watered down. The employers were suffering from a shortage of labour; their order-books were bulging and the prospect of a continued increase in production stretched before them. Standing on the

side lines, ready to gently chastise unions and employers alike, was Sir Walter Monckton—an almost non-political Tory Minister of Labour. At rank and file level in the trade unions the left-wing was trying to mobilise the support of a mass membership which had yet to be convinced that the apparent prosperity could easily vanish. In short, the situation was one which favoured the right wing of the trade unions.

Now, however, the scene is different. The Tories have purged from the Government a number of members considered to be too soft. Credit squeeze and deflation is the driving force behind the Government, which actively encourages employers to resist wage demands and to get tough with the trade unions. Not that the employers need much prompting; for the credit squeeze has made things more difficult for them, too. Production is no longer expanding at the rate of a few years ago, profits—though still growing—are doing so at a slower rate than previously, and order books are much less bulky. Thus the employers react by endeavouring to maintain their position at the expense of the workers.

### The meaning of Cousins

In such a situation even the right-wing old guard of the trade union movement, were it still composed of the same men as a few years ago, would have been forced to take a firmer line—both against government economic policies and against the employers. The fact that the right wing is weakened through the loss of its more prominent figures accentuates this tendency, for the newly installed right-wing leaders have neither the experience nor the backing which their predecessors had.

It is against such a background that the emergence of Frank Cousins must be seen. Cousins appeared on the stage at the precise moment when economic considerations made a turn in union policies imperative. He had a ready made reputation for militancy (that is, relative to Deakin, Tiffin and company), he had no previous association—in a leading capacity—with the main policies of the trade union movement, and he was prepared to go along with the more aggressive elements of the Transport and General Workers' Union—partly out of conviction and no doubt partly out of desire to consolidate his position by winning support from the rank and file, which by this time had thrown off much of its torpidity after seeing the results of Tory policies.

### Right lies low

Thus Cousins became the focal point for a change in attitude by the trade union movement as a whole. The big question, however, was how the remnants of the right-wing old guard would react against this change; whether they would put up a fight to minimise the shift to the left, and if so to what lengths they would be prepared to go. It was on this vital question that the "industrial correspondents" of the Tory newspapers came unstuck. They thought that the right-wing remnants would dig their toes in and fight hard against the Cousins' tendency, instead of which the right wing capitulated and raised hardly a squeak against policies which it was obvious they had no sympathy with.

The question now is: why did the right wing choose this course, why did they allow a wide swing in policy without making any attempt to keep it

under their firm control? The answer to this contains many aspects, but most important is the underlying right wing belief that the present situation cannot last, and when things improve (as the right-wing leaders think they will) then a solid core of right-wingers will be present at points of power ready to swing the trade union movement back into line. In short, the right wing is persisting with its old Fabian tactics, and is prepared to abdicate direction of the trade union movement to a force largely external to the TUC so long as it can remain within the centre of the TUC itself ready for action when an opportune time presents itself. The alternative would have been a showdown with Cousins, which would have meant a showdown with all the elements left of centre within the trade unions—and the chances are that the right-wing would have lost and thus would have been pushed completely out of points of power within the trade union movement.

### Unstable equilibrium

The situation now is a delicately poised balance of forces within the TUC. In theory the leadership still rests with the right-wing majority of the General Council, but in practice the leadership has been taken over by the Cousins' tendency. Probing a little deeper Cousins himself is still in a delicate position. He is relying greatly on the support of the rank and file, particularly of the TGWU. But recent events, such as the Covent Garden Market dispute, demonstrate that he is trailing behind the more militant members of the movement. Thus his position is precarious—one or two more occurrences such as Covent Garden could wreck his reputation as a militant and see him bracketed with the right wing.

### Wage restraint shelved

If this analysis is correct it means everything within the trade union movement is in a state of flux. And it means that the left wing forces within the Labour movement have before them a unique opportunity to really shift the policy over to the left.

Consider events at the Blackpool Congress. Wage restraint was quite firmly flung through the door. And it was done so on a motion moved by the TGWU, seconded by the Mineworkers, and supported by Woodworkers, NATKE, Boilermakers, ETU, and the General and Municipal Workers. With such a list of sponsors the motion could have been so vague as to mean nothing—and indeed one or two parts of it were a little woolly. But there can be no misinterpretation of its essential features. The "principle of wage restraint in any form" was rejected, and the determination of the trade union movement to take "steps industrially" to keep wages rising alongside increased costs of living was reaffirmed "while prices and profits remain uncontrolled." The motion concluded by saying that the present economic situation was the responsibility of the Tory Government and it pledged the trade union movement to work for the early return of a Labour Government.

### Public ownership ayed

On public ownership a resolution was passed which instructed the General Council to carry out the terms of the resolution passed at the 1952 Margate Congress and to work for the implementation of a policy within the frame-

work of the 1952 resolution. A look at the terms of the 1952 resolution itself will reveal the full import of this declaration.

"Congress," said the 1952 resolution, "reaffirms its faith in the principles of social ownership, but recognises that if their application remains restricted to a limited number of industries and services the full advantages of social ownership will be lost. It therefore welcomes the Labour Party's declaration that it will extend social ownership.

"Congress therefore calls upon the General Council to formulate proposals for the extension of social ownership to industries and services, particularly those now subject to monopoly control, such proposals to have regard to the 'Plan for Engineering' of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and other proposals submitted by affiliated organisations. Congress further calls upon the General Council to formulate general proposals for the democratisation of the nationalised industries and services calculated to make possible the ultimate realisation of full industrial democracy."

This resolution was not accepted meekly by the General Council at the 1952 Congress and was forced to a card vote where, despite the right wing opposition, it was passed by a majority of 1,332,000. The General Council was instructed to draw up a report, present it to the 1953 Congress and then to the Labour Party for inclusion in the election programme.

The outcome of this was the famous 1953 report on public ownership which only recommended the nationalisation of water. This, said the General Council, was an interim report—but in fact it was the limit to which the right wing was prepared to go as evidenced by their resistance to moves to reject the document until a full report was available. On this occasion the right-wing had mustered its forces and the "Gas and Water" report was adopted by a narrow majority of just over a million votes. In the intervening years, despite the 1953 assertion that this was only an interim report, nothing further has been heard from the General Council on this matter. Thus, this year's instruction to the General Council to get busy on the basis of the 1952 declaration represents a significant shift.

### Shorter work-week

Similarly with the resolution in favour of a shorter working week passed at this year's Congress. The 40 hour week has been TUC policy for about twenty years, but since the war this has been played down by the right-wing which—while accepting the principle—has argued that the time was not ripe or that the matter was one for individual unions. At the 1955 Congress the General Council secured the defeat of a 40 hour week resolution on this basis, last year it was confronted with a similar resolution and it put up none other than Frank Cousins to advance the old arguments against; despite this the resolution was put to a vote and carried. This year a similar resolution was not opposed by the right-wing—and was carried without a vote. In fact the significant feature of this year's TUC is that there was not a single card vote.

Wage restraint was firmly ended, public ownership was brought back into circulation, the TUC was pledged to give full support to unions fighting for a shorter working week, opposition was expressed to the manufacture and testing of hydrogen and atomic bombs, all without the right-wing demanding a card vote. Evidence indeed of the shift in policy and leadership which has taken place even within the past twelve months, and evidence that the right-wing made no attempt to engage in open conflict with left of centre opinion.

(continued next page)



# FORUM

## STRIKES AND SOCIALIST TACTICS

In his second article on strikes, SEYMOUR PAPERT deals with

I

THE FIRST PART of this article (*Socialist Review*, July) examined the statistics of strikes in Britain over a number of years. The chief conclusions will be briefly recapitulated:

(a) The number of man-days lost to industry through strikes has been increasing year by year since 1951. The accompanying graph shows the statistical history of strikes since the first world war. The year 1926, when 162,000,000 man-days were involved is omitted.

(b) An analysis of the officially given causes of these disputes reveals a long-term tendency for disputes over working conditions to increase at the expense of wage issues. In this respect—and in others such as the average length of strike—Britain is closer to the United States than to other European countries.

(c) But there is one feature of strikes in post-war Britain which sets her apart from all other countries including America. This is the high incidence of unofficial strikes and especially the high proportion which are organised not only independently of the central trade union but even in conflict with it. In America, too, there have been "wildcat" strikes and a tendency for the shop to revolt against the trade union bureaucracy, but these have not yet become dominant features of the American scene. We gave a series of quotations from the *Economist*, the *Times*, etc., to show that the capitalist press sees the trade unions as serving the function of disciplining workers and invariably sides with the union bureaucracy against the unofficial strike.

(d) The incidence of strikes does not depend in any simple and direct way on the fluctuations in the economy—years of prosperity are as likely to have as many strikes as years of depression.

II

THERE ARE IMPRESSIVE differences in "strike-proneness" from industry to industry and place to place. Briggs is an example of a strike-prone works. The most strike-prone industry is coal mining which usually accounts for nearly two-thirds of the total number of strikes in any year, with transport (mainly the dockers) running second.

### TUC — end

This abdication by the right-wing, plus the policy formulated by the Blackpool Congress, provides the framework within which the left wing can now open up a real drive within the trade union movement. Particularly when the added factor of the almost complete annihilation of the Stalinist elements within the leadership of the trade union movement is considered. (This was also indicated at the Blackpool Congress where those Stalinists which do still remain in office kept as silent as the right-wing—with the exception of the single delegate who got howled down when he tried to defend Russian actions in Hungary.)

#### Task of the left

The task of the left-wing at this moment is to turn the paper resolutions of Blackpool into the everyday policy of the trade union movement. Every effort must be made to take all the forward looking measures accepted at the Congress down to branch and

Within coal mining there are tremendous variations from pit to pit. For example, in the first half of this year there were 454 stoppages in 209 Yorkshire pits. But of these strikes more than half took place in 14 pits and 98 in 4 pits.

How many of the 20 million British workers take part in strikes? According to the Ministry of Labour figures the "Total number of workers involved in disputes" has been about half a million in each of the last five years (with a general tendency to increase from year to year) except for 1953 when it was 1,374,000 and this year which looks as if it will top 2,000,000 for the first time since the 'twenties. But these figures are hard to interpret since a worker who takes part in two strikes is counted twice so that each worker at Bentley coal pit has already been counted 37 times this year. However, it is clear enough that the number of workers who have taken part in any strike since the war is well under 5 million and that less than one million workers are responsible for more than half the strikes.

#### The Movement's Focus

These figures (crude as they are) illustrate how important it is, when we think of Britain's working class of 20 million, to remember that this class is far from being homogeneous. This remark has special point for those who think that they can estimate how "advanced" or how "backward," how militant or how docile the working class as a whole is. Classes do not act or think as a whole except at the most intense and dramatic historical moments.

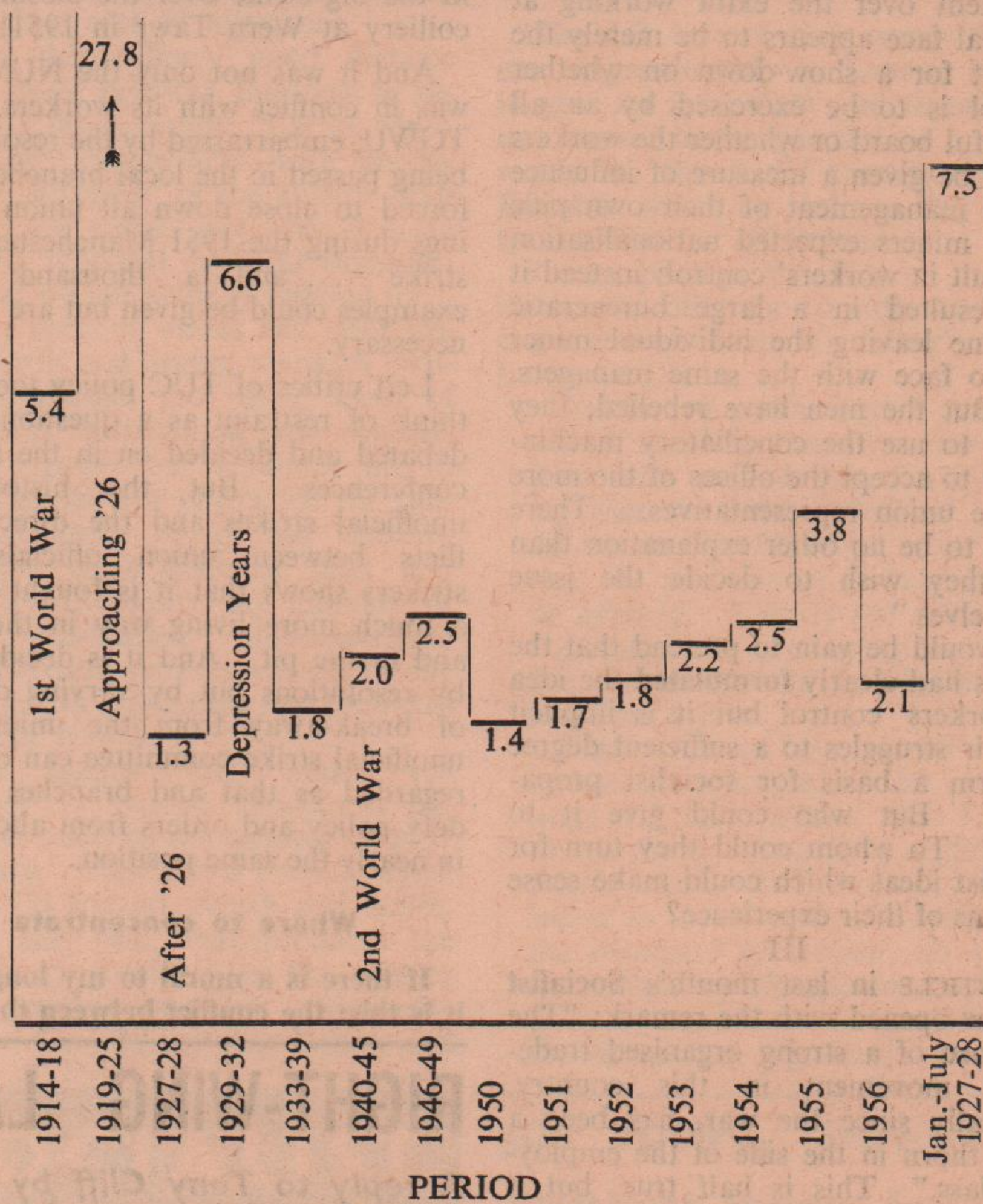
In between these moments socialists who see the working class as the agent which will create socialism must base their policies not on an average working man (who does not exist except in a text book of arithmetic) but on sectors of the working class that are already moving in the direction the others will have to follow. Of course it is not always easy to see what these directions are; but the unofficial strikers are certainly moving in the right way in at least two respects: (1) they have resisted to a greater or lesser extent the yoke of the trade-union bureaucracy and have gained experience of democratically conducted struggle;

workshop level and there to secure mass backing for their realisation in actuality. This will be the counter to the right-wing attempts to water down the Congress decisions, a move possible because the right-wing maintains its hold over most of the trade union organisational machine.

At the same time left-wing trade unionists must endeavour to extend left-wing trade union influence into the Labour Party, particularly on the issue of public ownership. The result of this should be to bring together the left forces of the trade unions and the Labour Party local organisations in a way which has been necessary for some time.

The Blackpool Congress, therefore, can mark the start of a new period within the Labour Movement—if the left-wing takes advantage of the situation it has created. And by the time next year's TUC comes around there should be enough elbow room to make a decisive shift in trade union policy on a variety of subjects which were skated briefly over at this year's Congress.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORKING DAYS LOST PER YEAR IN MILLIONS



(2) the nature of their struggles are such as to lead much more directly to questions of socialism and workers' control than the bureaucratically-organised strikes for 5 per cent. on wages ever can. We shall develop these points by taking a closer look at the coal miners.

The special feature of coal strikes which hits the eye from the general statistics is that they tend to be small. This is reflected in the fact that while coal mines account for two-thirds of the number of strikes they contribute only one-third of the number of man-days lost through strikes in the country. Moreover there is an interesting distribution between small strikes, middle-sized strikes and large ones; most of the coal output lost through strikes is made up by strikes involving less than 10,000 tons each, and most of the rest is due to a very small number of strikes which cost over 100,000 tons each while the middle-sized strikes play a very small role.

This pattern is quite natural for unofficial strikes which lack the organisation to spread unless there is an explosive situation in which case they become very big. It is not as clear cut in other industries but it is worth noting that about two-thirds of the total number of strikes in Britain involve less than 100 workers while the figure for typical pre-war years was well under a half.

#### Nature of unofficial strike

We should not glorify the small strike: in abstract it is obviously more backward and primitive than the large one. But in the concrete situation in Britain today the small strikes have a potentially tremendously progressive character in so far as they represent a breakaway from bureaucratic domination. Here, if anywhere, is the ground where the idea of a militant socialist movement can grow in the British working class—though it will not do so unless marxists are able to forge healthy links with the workers involved.

The causes of unofficial strikes have provoked much head scratching

amongst writers in the capitalist press and academic journals. The *Manchester Guardian*, for example, posed the question why miners earning £18-£20 a week should strike. "What," it asks, "can these miners want which they do not already possess?" (September 12, 1957). The *Economist* periodically shakes its head over the folly of workers who lose more in waging a strike than they could gain in winning it, and the non-monetary causes of strikes often look so trivial to these folk that sociologists find it necessary to rake up explanations from Freudian psychology.\*

#### Basic conflict—who controls?

One point on which all these academic writers are correct is that many—probably the majority—of strikes arising on the shop floor cannot be understood simply in terms of the immediate dispute. There is always a long background of growing conflict. Resentment and anger increase to breaking point and the next issue, trivial or important, is fought out to the bitter end. The roots of the strike are in the capitalist relations of production which reduce the worker to the status of a cog in the machine with no say in the running of the factory, no part in the creative planning and organisation of his work, and with his future security entirely dependent on members of an alien class.

The situation is illustrated by an article in the *Economist* written about the Grimethorpe coal strike of August-September 1947 which paralysed 63 collieries and cost 600,000 tons of coal. After 36,000 men had kept the strike going for three weeks in the face of strenuous attempts on the part of Arthur Horner (NUM secretary) to get them back to work, the *Economist*

\* "The Dock Worker"—a study of the Manchester docks by social scientists from Liverpool University suggests that workers engage in sympathy strikes because deep guilt feelings arise out of their competing with one another for jobs and produce a compulsive need to demonstrate real solidarity.

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## FORUM

## STRIKES and SOCIALIST TACTICS — continued

wrote: "The real issue which is being fought out at Grimethorpe . . . can be summed up as a struggle between rationalisation and syndicalism. The argument over the extra working at the coal face appears to be merely the pretext for a show-down on whether control is to be exercised by an all powerful board or whether the workers are to be given a measure of influence in the management of their own pits. Many miners expected nationalisation to result in workers' control; instead it has resulted in a large bureaucratic machine leaving the individual miner face to face with the same managers. . . . But the men have rebelled; they refuse to use the conciliatory machinery or to accept the offices of the more remote union representatives. There seems to be no other explanation than that they wish to decide the issue themselves."

It would be vain to pretend that the miners had clearly formulated the idea of workers' control but it is implicit in their struggles to a sufficient degree to form a basis for socialist propaganda. But who could give it to them? To whom could they turn for socialist ideas which could make sense in terms of their experience?

## III

AN ARTICLE in last month's *Socialist Review* opened with the remark: "The existence of a strong organised trade-union movement in this country, especially since the war, has been a nasty thorn in the side of the employing class." This is half true, but it would be a foolish member of the employing class who believed that he would be better off without Transport House. Would there have been fewer strikes without the big unions, or less militant ones? Would wage demands have been less insistent or the workers more disciplined?

These questions are too abstract to answer. Yet they are worth posing for the sake of reminding ourselves of the role played in contemporary capitalism by the trade union bureaucracy; a rôle which is typified by Cousins who earned a reputation as a militant in the engineering and bus strikes and used it to break the market strike.

## Unions brake strikes

The Covent Garden incident illustrates the fact that the unions practice a restraint policy whether they call it that or not: and surely they have to, once they have decided to co-exist with capitalism, for if they really backed every demand of every local strike they would bring the economy to a standstill. It is not incidental that they act as a brake on the workers: it is an essential part of their position. Thus the unofficial strikes have to be seen as a double revolt—at the same time against the employer and against the trade union. Sometimes the second aspect may not be clearly visible to the strikers, but on other occasions it very clearly is—especially if one goes back to the period of the Labour government.

In 1948 William Lawther put the NUM attitude to unofficial strikes plainly enough: . . . "they are wrong; they are criminal; they cannot be excused or tolerated." There was obviously keen conflict between the union bosses and the rank and file who continued to make a more or less steady 1,600 strikes a year during the whole period up to 1951. However the restraint was partially successful. In 1952 when it was somewhat relaxed the number of strikes in the mines immediately jumped to 2,400 a year, an increase of 50 per cent. as compared with only 12 per cent. in all other industries. And although Horner seems

to have been without much influence on the Grimethorpe strike, on other occasions the union was able to coax the strikers back to work (for example, in the big strike over the closing of a colliery at Wern Tawr in 1951).

And it was not only the NUM that was in conflict with its workers. The TGWU, embarrassed by the resolutions being passed in the local branches, was forced to close down all union meetings during the 1951 Manchester dock strike . . . and a thousand other examples could be given but are hardly necessary.

Left critics of TUC policy too often think of restraint as a question to be debated and decided on in the annual conferences. But the history of unofficial strikes and the direct conflicts between union officials and strikers shows that it is fought out in a much more living way in the shop and in the pit. And it is decided not by resolutions but by varying degrees of break-away from the union: the unofficial strike committee can only be regarded as that and branches which defy policy and orders from above are in nearly the same position.

## Where to concentrate

If there is a moral to my long story it is this: the conflict between the mili-

tant million workers and the union hierarchy is going to be with us for a long time and is liable to be intensified at any time by a large number of factors ranging from economic difficulties to a labour victory in the elections.

If marxists are going to be effective they have to find their place in this development of the class struggle; it is their task to give coherence and political content to the tendency for the class struggle to break out of the fetters of the trade union bureaucracy—a tendency that is of infinitely greater importance than all the frothy debates in the "political wing" of the Labour Party.

To carry out this task they have to address themselves to the "militant million" and not to the ill-defined amorphous groupings called "the labour party left" or "the working class as a whole." They have to base their propaganda on ideas which will speak to these workers and interpret their experiences—and this means a realistic analysis of the trade union bureaucracy, the "state-capitalist" nature of the nationalised industries, an incisive formulation of socialist workers' control etc. The primarily anti-Tory line of *Tribune* and, too often alas, *Socialist Review* is not only irrelevant to this task, it is even inconsistent with it.

## RIGHT-WING LABOUR'S ROOTS

## A reply to Tony Cliff by RAY SOUTHALL

LIKE EVERYONE, I imagine, who read Tony Cliff's article on the Economic Roots of Reformism (*Socialist Review*, June 1957) I feel indebted to its author for having resurrected a topic which the working class movement, in this country in particular, can not afford to let die. Having said which come the following reservations.

We do not find in this society, or in any other, that economic factors function in a pure, unconditioned manner; on the contrary, it is frequently difficult to separate the economic from the social and ideological factors involved in a situation. This reservation is an important one, for a correct economic analysis will depend upon a correct understanding of the role and importance of non-economic conditions. It is necessary to make the point at the outset, for although it is fundamental to a Marxist analysis it is often ignored by "Marxists." As Engels admitted, "Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that the younger people sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it," and he added that "I cannot exempt many of the more recent 'Marxists' from this reproach . . ." (Letter to Bloch, *Marx-Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 444).

The reproach is one which I would wish to extend to Tony Cliff.

Firstly, consider Cliff's quotation from Lenin, regarding the "labour aristocracy": "And the capitalists of the 'advanced' countries do bribe them; they bribe them in a thousand different ways, direct and indirect, overt and covert." Is it sufficient to refute Lenin by analysing the more obvious methods of economic bribery, e.g., differentials, as Cliff seeks to do? Surely the first serious task is to consider the various forms that bribery can take in the existing society. As an example, remunerative directorships, a place on the board of a nationalised industry, or a knighthood, may all be considered as direct bribes and incentives offered by the existing set-up to a very small number of labour leaders.

But in order to show how their methods have become an integrated

part of imperialism the indirect bribes are of greater significance. In my own social sphere as a student I am in constant contact with a very important form of indirect bribery. The Education Act has made it possible for working class boys and girls to enter the management side of industry, the professions, the higher level of the Civil Service and so on.

## The new bribes

The political consequence of this has been that the best brains of the working class are being recruited into the middle class for the direct administration of capitalism, and the working class movement is being robbed of many young people who would otherwise have supplied its leadership. If any should get through this net they are attracted from the factories, shops, mines and offices into adult colleges such as Ruskin and Kircroft which fulfil a similar function to the Universities. It is unnecessary here to show how closely these forms of bribery (ultimately economic bribery) are integrated into the present social structure.

The main point is this, that bribery of a small minority of the working class does take place but that it has developed a new technique since Lenin wrote: today a large amount of "cream" is sucked into the middle class, but not all of it.

The incentives which operate to attract young people into the middle class via the Universities also operate to attract others into various "respectable" working class organisations. Not all the potential administrators go into the management side of industry and the Civil Service; an increasing number are turning to these "respectable" working class organisations for alternative careers. Thus the National Union of Students and the various Labour and Socialist Societies in the Universities (in close contact with the local Labour Party) are becoming quite as important to such students for their "trade training" as are the University faculties themselves. But the young students are not the only ones who are enticed into adhering to "the bourgeoisie against

## CORRECTION—

Several comrades have drawn my attention to a misleading remark in the first part of my article on strikes. In the last paragraph I wrote: "It would be rash to venture an estimate of the number of workers who have thought through the implications of their position and experiences (i.e. in unofficial strikes). But fortunately this is not very important. . . ."

This could be taken to mean that it is not important for workers to understand the implications of their actions. I did not mean to imply anything of the sort: on the contrary it is of the most vital importance for marxists to contribute to raising the level of understanding by the workers of their own experiences. What I meant to say was that we can see that important developments are taking place without having to venture an estimate of the number of workers who have reached a high level of political consciousness.

An error crept into Mary Klopper's article on the *National Question* in last month's *Socialist Review*: instead of Bakunin, founder of Anarchism, who preceded Lenin by a generation, the name of Lenin's companion should have been given as Bukharin, the Bolshevik leader and major theoretician.—Editor.

Ray Southall is now a student of Philosophy and English at the University College of North Staffs; he was Publicity Manager of the Birmingham Trades Council Journal; he was also the Treasurer of the Midland District YCL.

the mass of the proletariat," similar enticements (incentives) are held out to present labour leaders; these, however, I have already mentioned.

That there should be ". . . an increasing differentiation of living standards between the different layers of the working class" is irrelevant to the point at issue. It is irrelevant, that is to say, if the reward offered to the "labour aristocracy" for their respectability (their reformism and administration) is left out of account!

All of which is to be distinguished from that other process whereby an increase in the material well-being of the working class as a whole is procured. As Tony Cliff has pointed out, this process is the life blood of Reformism. Engels called the British working class "bourgeois," and to understand this surely we would need to know a lot more about the process which underlies Reformism. But, and here I return to my earlier point, a mere economic analysis, however skilfully conducted, would not enable us to reach a full understanding.

## Importance of propaganda

It was Marx, if I remember rightly, who wrote that the ruling ideas of any period were those of the ruling class. Thus the existence of radio, television, cinema and press becomes a factor of overriding importance if we are to understand the basis of Reformism in Britain. An extremely significant result of capitalist development and prosperity has been the development of a highly effective propaganda machinery. The "past reforms" which "are accepted as necessities" by the working class do (as Tony Cliff insists) include television sets and also radios, newspapers and cinemas. When the propaganda machinery of capitalism is considered by the working class to be a necessity, so necessary in fact that a worker "would react very strongly" if it was threatened, is it any wonder that the ruling ideas tend to be those of the ruling class? It is with such considera-

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# IRELAND : Socialist policy versus the I.R.A. *by Senator Owen Sheehy Skeffington*

SINCE Fermanagh and Tyrone never asked to be disjoined from the rest of Ireland, and have ever since consistently "opted out," in the only constitutional manner open to them—by voting Nationalist—the term "occupied counties" might with justice be applied to them, but not to the other four counties, taken either singly or collectively.

In my opinion, consequently, useful activity to end partition should be directed, on both sides of the border, towards concerted action to better the living conditions of all our people. In the North, a step towards this would be the removal of the dangerously frustrating anti-Nationalist and anti-Catholic discrimination in local elections, and on Government boards, commissions, etc. In the South, anti-partitionists would do well to study what it has proved possible to do in the social field in the Six Counties, and to decide what exactly would be the social content of the all-Ireland Republic of their dreams.

Connolly said in 1901:

*Ireland as distinct from her people is nothing to me; and the man who is bubbling over with love and enthusiasm for "Ireland," and can yet pass unmoved through our streets and witness all the wrong and suffering, the shame and the degradation wrought upon the people of Ireland—aye, wrought by Irishmen upon Irish men and women—without burning to end it, is, in my opinion, a fraud and a liar in his heart, no matter how he loves that combination of chemical elements he is pleased to call Ireland.*

## Heroics instead of progress

I know many who are at one with me on that point; and I would urge them to use their influence to turn the very real spirit of self-sacrifice of those young men who are now being organised for glamorous military forays—including murder if things go wrong—towards deeds less glamorous, perhaps, but of more constructive value for the people.

Unfortunately, the military method is conventionally held to be a glorious one; and in some Irish circles today the prospects of another civil war is being received with startling equanimity—partly, perhaps, because of exaggerated and unthinking anti-partition propaganda by all our political parties, but largely, in my opinion, because we have so far proved unable or unwilling to apply the high principles of Connolly to our own people. We realise this. We are angry and ashamed. And we flare up and lash out at our neighbours who have, in the event, done

rather more than we have done.

**Military action is not the answer, however. It constitutes a backward step. Far more could, in fact, be achieved by intelligent, organised passive resistance to injustice wherever it occurs; by extending the hand of friendship to all Northerners of goodwill; and, finally, by earning, as well as seeking, the good-will of the rest of the world by an attitude of unselfish moderation which would enable us to see our own problems in a world perspective.**

## Old but good advice

In May, 1915—a year before he was murdered—Francis Sheehy Skeffington, my father, wrote an "Open Letter" to Thomas MacDonagh which he printed in his paper, the *Irish Citizen*. I quote two passages which seem relevant to the present situation:

*Can you not conceive an organisation, a body of men and women banded together to secure and maintain the rights and liberties of the people of Ireland, a body animated with a high purpose, united by a band of comradeship, trained and disciplined in the ways of self-sacrifice and true patriotism, armed and equipped with the weapons of intellect and of will that are irresistible?—an organisation of people prepared to dare all things for their object, prepared to suffer AND TO DIE rather than abandon one jot of their principles—but an organisation that will not lay it down as its fundamental principle: "We will prepare to kill our fellow men."?*

*... Ireland's militarism can never be on so great a scale as that of Germany or England, but it may be equally fatal to the best interests of Ireland. European militarism has drenched Europe in blood; Irish militarism may only crimson the fields of Ireland. For us that would be disaster enough.*

One great danger about resorting to violence is that, since it is so much easier to organise people to pull triggers than to get them to think out exactly what they hope to achieve, even complete military victory often leads to a confused or stagnant political state. Astonishing as it may appear, in 1921 about half the courageous and self-sacrificing Republican movement did not know whether the proposed Treaty was or was not a forward step towards what they had been fighting for. And for five long years after that—during which period the border was reluctantly "frozen" by the 1925 agreement—large numbers of Republicans abstained altogether from the Dail because they could not make up

the provision of radio, television, etc., strengthen capitalism: it is hardly necessary to point out what this makes of Labour Party policy. Further, that the strengthening of capitalism tends to enlist the working class in defence of capitalism; the machinery of bribery (University education) and of propaganda (radio, television, cinema and press) are jealously guarded by the working class. In this sense a reformist party recruits the working class into an army for the defence of capitalism.

My general criticism of Tony Cliff's article is that it abstracted economic factors from all others and in doing so produced a crude economic determinism instead of a Marxist analysis. But surely the final condemnation is that, having done so, the author should assume that Lenin wrote in the same spirit!

their minds as to the precise significance of an oath of allegiance.

When the military mind dictates policy, clear political thinking is regarded as unimportant: "Let us win a big military victory first—with 'unconditional surrender' of the enemy—and then we can decide just what it is, in terms of practical political organisation, that we are actually fighting for."

In my opinion, unless and until Ireland, North and South, manages radically to change the whole basis of production, distribution and finance, and to organise our economic life to provide as its first object for the fundamental needs of all our citizens, along the clear Socialist lines laid down by Connolly, no amount of heroic gun-battles, blood-sacrifices and militaristic exploits will get us one step nearer to solving the real problems facing our people.

Some people talk about the "failure" of passive resistance, but are quite blind to the failures of physical force. They ask if I would agree that "it is Ireland, North and South, present and past, that produces the I.R.A." I would give the answer "yes" to that question. Similarly, however, I would say that British and

## SOCIALIST FORUMS

### Our function and our future

I SOMETIMES FEEL how tempting it is to start up a new party. None of the existing organisations quite suits me, so why not gather together some friends and set up a new body which will be exactly right? Once we agree on a few basic principles, the new party will be born. If we fall out with each other and must split, why then two parties will be born! Whether such artificial political breeding is healthy is another matter.

The Socialist Forum movement has attempted something much more difficult and, if it should continue to grow successfully, more rewarding. It has sought to bring together socialists on a wide front, not in order to produce instant agreement on all important questions, but to create a framework in which socialists who disagree on many, many things, big and small, can nevertheless live together and, perhaps, work together as best they can.

It is a long, long time since we saw people of such different views come together, meet regularly, discuss problems of general concern, and remain comrades. In the local forum of which I am a member, I meet people whom I would have thought it treason to sit with many years ago, and there are some who would have refused to speak to me in the last few years.

#### The "new" comradeship

If the Forum movement has achieved nothing else, this creation of a new comradeship of the left is worthwhile, and, in my own view, is the natural prelude to a more solid association in the future which I hope one day to see arising not out of theoretical agreements between one caucus and another, but out of the working unity achieved through common attitudes and actions on the practical questions that really do move people.

If we discuss the nature of the Soviet

French policy after 1918 did much to produce Nazism. That does not mean, however, that Nazism was consequently to be approved, or that Hitler's resort to force was the only method of gaining fair treatment for Germany, or, finally, that his effort was anything, in the event, but conspicuously disastrous for his own people.

#### Where to?

**The I.R.A. and their sympathisers are unquestionably in honour bound to give an immediate and unambiguous answer to the question as to what would be the social content of the Republic which by violence they hope to establish for all Ireland.**

I may perhaps be allowed, in conclusion, to offer for consideration one more excerpt from my father's Open Letter of 1915:

*But a few weeks ago I heard a friend, speaking from the same platform with me, win plaudits by saying that the hills of Ireland would be crimsoned with blood rather than that the partition of Ireland should be allowed. That is the spirit that I dread. I am opposed to partition; but partition could be defeated at too dear a price.*

*I advocate no lazy, servile acquiescence in injustice. I am and always will be a fighter. But I want to see the age-long fight against injustice clothe itself in new forms, suited to a new age. I want to see the manhood of Ireland, no longer hypnotised by the glamour of "the glory of arms," no longer blind to the horrors of organised murder.*

**JOE YOUNG, Secretary,  
Blackheath Socialist Forum,  
replies to Michael Segal**

regime or the nature of British imperialism or surplus value we differ widely, but faced with Soviet action in Hungary or British action in Cyprus or a strike at the docks, we find our attitudes in practice surprisingly similar. The basis for socialist unity is more solid than we think.

The Socialist forum movement can demonstrate the possibility of such unity and provide opportunities for its attainment by creating an arena for

[continued next page]

Readers of this paper will want to get in touch with the Socialist Forum in their locality. In order to assist them and also help the Forum Movement we hope to publish Forum news frequently and feature a regular list of local Forum Secretaries. An initial list is printed below. It will be added to in the coming months.

#### BIRMINGHAM

A Forum is being formed here. Anyone interested should write to G. Dobson, c/o *Socialist Review*.

#### FIFE

Lawrence Daly, 145 Kirkland Gardens Balingay, Fife

#### HALIFAX

Jim Enright, 145 Cousin Lane, Ovenden Halifax

#### LONDON

Central Secretary, Alan Lamond, 242 Willesden Lane, N.W.2.

Islington, Marcia Emerson, 20 Cannonbury Park North, N.1

Paddington, Michael Segal, 38 Warrington Crescent, W.9

St. Marylebone, Michael Kidron, 30 Hamilton Terrace, N.W.8

#### NEWCASTLE

Jimmy Johnson, 11 Portia Street, Ashington, Northumberland

#### NOTTINGHAM

R. Kreigman (treasurer), c/o 6 Dunkery Road, Clifton Estate, Nottingham. (Send 2/6 to be on mailing list.)

#### Special Offer to Forum Secretaries.

Tom Malcolm will provide copies of his book, "Poems of Political Passion" (price 1/6) free to Forum Secretaries to be sold for fund raising. Send something to cover postage to Tom Malcolm, 17 Auldearn Road, Balornock, Glasgow, N.1.

## LABOUR'S ROOTS — end

tions in mind that Socialists must vigorously conduct their propaganda; the need for a full-blooded Battle of Ideas can hardly be overestimated.

I have tried very briefly to distinguish between

- (1) a small "labour aristocracy";
- (2) a larger section, the leadership potential, which is drained from the working class into the middle class; and
- (3) the remaining and overwhelming majority of the working class. Further I have attempted to show that buying off the working class leadership, real and potential, is not a crude economic activity but an activity built into the social fabric of imperialism, as both a cause and an effect of Reformism. My contention has been that successful reforms such as the Education Act and



## INTERNATIONAL

After years of ebb, the flow of militancy has started breaking over

## THE GREEK TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FOR THE PAST TEN YEARS, the labour movement in Greece has offered a picture of authoritarian control and of corruption almost approaching Spanish conditions. Few other countries have been so ravaged by war and civil war, by occupation and economic depression than Greece; the labour movement was set back more than a decade.

Before the war, trade-unions and working-class parties had a strong position in the country. The trade-unions could look back on an old tradition of militancy and integrity. There also developed in Greece the oldest revolutionary opposition to the Comintern: the "Archeo-Marxist" movement. For a time in the thirties, before the Metaxas dictatorship, this party occupied a leading position in the Greek working-class, more so than the official Communist Party itself.

## Crushed between East and West

This situation was completely reversed by the dictatorship and the war. During the war, the Stalinists succeeded in taking control of most of the resistance movement, largely because of the abstentionist position of the Archeo-Marxists, who realized the political importance of the movement a year too late. In the course of the fighting in the underground and during the civil-war, the Archeo-Marxists suffered tremendous losses, both from the Nazis and from the Stalinists, who were out to exterminate them. About 1,500 members of the party were killed, close to half of the total membership. From the end of the war until now, the decimated and semi-illegal remnants of the party were in no position to initiate or lead important working-class struggles.

Neither was anyone else. At the end of the war, the Stalinists had also taken control of the trade-union movement. When Greece was "liberated" for the second time by the British army, the capitalists and the court, the Stalinists were in turn evicted and replaced by a trade-union apparatus

completely controlled by the reactionary government. It is necessary here to stress the role of the American Federation of Labour's roving statesman, Irving Brown, who at the time was preparing World War III by making the Mediterranean ports safe for American arms shipments. Irving Brown, like the rest of the clique he belongs to, is a man who conceives his role to be one of "fighting communism" in the labour movement on terms acceptable to the Right and actually on the political basis of the Right. He has no political answer to Stalinism, but he thinks he can beat Stalinism internationally by buying off A, bumping off B, stealing a mailing list from C, etc.

## A local union boss

In Greece, Irving Brown produced a man named Fotis Makris, to whom he handed over the whole trade-union movement. All opposition to Makris was brutally suppressed with the help of the police. Just to make sure, Irving Brown had a law passed which is a little masterpiece of the kind: union dues are taken out of the workers' pay by the employer (check-off) and are turned over directly to the Greek Federation of Labour (i.e. Makris) who in turn doles them out to the industrial unions affiliated to the GFL. If an industrial union or local group develops independent tendencies, it is called "communist" and cut off without a cent; no union, no union functionary, gets any money without the personal agreement of Fotis Makris.

It is not certain that Greek ports have become safe for American arms shipments. What is certain, on the other hand, is that Makris has been supported by every Greek government up to now on the grounds that he was the providential man who had sown up the Greek working-class in a bag, and the only man who could be trusted to keep it that way. For the first time in the history of the Greek trade-union movement no significant strike or

wage-rise occurred for about ten years. In the meantime, the drachma was devalued, slashing real wages by 45-50 per cent., and the price of olive oil (an essential staple) has doubled in two years, all of this without opposition or reaction from the GFL. Makris also approved law No. 2053 which enabled the Minister of Labour to cancel any wage-rise obtained by collective bargaining on the plant-level, as well as law No. 3239 (passed in 1955) which enables the Minister of Labour to change the provisions of any contract on plant level. In other words, even if workers succeed in wresting some small, local advantage from the employers, it can be nullified by the government. Today, over two million Greeks have an income under £2 a month. The Greek working class became one of the poorest in Europe.

Resistance to the common front of employers, government, police, Makris and Irving Brown never ceased. It came, on the one hand, from the Stalinists, who suffered from the repression but were always able to capitalize on the reactionary policy of the government and of the Western powers. If Greek Stalinism is in a serious crisis today, it is not because of anything the government has done, but because of the crisis in Russia and in the satellites, and because of its own responsibilities in the massacres of the civil-war. In recent months, however, the Stalinists have been supporting Makris in the name of "peaceful co-existence."

## Youth and miners act

On the other hand, opposition came from the sectors where the Archeo-Marxists had succeeded in maintaining themselves, and from a new generation of independent, young trade-unionists. The Stalinists and, more so, the independent opposition received constant support and new strength from the mass of workers who were again and again driven into opposition to the government: poverty led to economic demands and every economic demand becomes a political demand when employers, State and trade-unions are indistinguishable. Under the pressure of the opposition, Makris and his apparatus have weakened.

One focal point of the opposition has been the Greek Federation of Miners (OME) with a membership of about 40,000, which was expelled from the GFL about two years ago for refusing to accept Makris' directives. In spite of the usual reprisals, and of great material difficulties, it was able to maintain its independence because of the special conditions under which miners live: the geographical isolation, the strong community feeling, the tradition of violence against scabs. Also, it has now the full support of the International Federation of Miners (ICFTU) which at its 37th Congress last June strongly condemned the GFL.

## A "general's" strike

The "general strike" of last June is significant for the present situation of the Greek labour movement, not least because of the curious sequence of events that led up to it. In the course of last year, the government was beginning to get worried about signs of discontent in the working-class: a discontent which had become a political threat. In February 1956, before the general elections, a "Popular Front" was formed by the liberal opposition

and by the EDA (legal front for the CP) which came close to winning the elections on the basis of social issues and of the neutralist feelings generated by the Cyprus dispute. To undercut some of the social unrest, the government decreed a general wage-rise of 5 per cent. The employers' federation opposed this rise and brought suit against the government in the State Council, an institution which decides on the constitutionality of a law. The Greek supreme court is unpredictable. It took the occasion to review the entire labour legislation; it decided that the wage rise was unconstitutional, but also that the law on check-offs was unconstitutional and hence invalid.

## Check-out for check-off

As soon as the decision became known, Makris began manoeuvring to have another law passed that would re-establish the compulsory check-off under a different form. But, for reasons of its own, the government was reluctant to comply. Consequently, Makris threatened the government with a general strike, and started preparations for it in May. First there were to be several 24-hour "demonstration strikes" in different regions, leading up to a general strike in the whole country on June 18. The publicly stated strike aims were legitimate ones (they involved different wage rises) but in fact they were only used to bring pressure on the government to maintain the check-off system. As soon as Makris started agitation for the general strike, the Stalinists rallied to it, and began supporting it. Stalinist streamers and signs began appearing in Makris' meetings. The rest of the trade-union opposition also supported the strike, but clearly dissociated itself from Makris. Early in June, the first instalment of the strike began in Athens and Pireus, with middling success.

## "Who ate them?"

At this point, Irving Brown, oblivious of everything but the Stalinist support for the strike, took a plane to Athens and asked Makris to call the whole thing off. Makris, who felt that he was fighting for his job, refused, and Irving Brown intervened with the government to have the strike of his own protégé broken. A curious episode occurred during those days: in an interview with the Athens correspondent of *Le Monde*, Irving Brown forgot himself sufficiently to complain bitterly about the ungratefulness of Makris, who was biting the hand that had fed him for so long, and is reported to have exclaimed something to the effect that "I gave the so-and-so 200,000 dollars and look what he is doing now!" The correspondent of *Le Monde* then went to Makris, told him what Irving Brown had said, and asked him if it was true that the Greek Federation of Labour had received 200,000 dollars from Irving Brown. Makris is reported to have flown into a rage, exclaiming "the dirty so-and-so only gave us 3,000 dollars, here are the books to prove it." We do not want to suggest here that any of these gentlemen is lying, but if what they say is true, the question arises: what happened to 177,000 dollars collected from American workers' dues? **Who ate them?**

[continued next page]

## SOCIALIST FORUMS — end

controversy which is at the same time common ground to us all.

The October conference of London Socialist Forums will, I hope, adopt the draft proposals which state more clearly than hitherto the aims and objects of the movement. In the beginning, no group of self-appointed leaders attempted to lay down "formulations" which others would be expected to adopt. Wisely, the forums were allowed to take their own shape and it is from their discussions and their expressed views that the policy statement has developed and will now, presumably, be adopted as corresponding to the generally agreed view.

To be or not to be a member of the Labour Party is one big question in many minds, and Michael Segal gave his personal answer last month. In my own view, the importance of the question is exaggerated. Whether one should or should not be in the Labour movement, playing an active role in some organisation which helps to make you part of the general political movement is a more relevant question.

Of course one should meet with people and be part of the world we seek to influence in a socialist direction. But the Labour Party is not, the Labour movement. If you think your

place is there, well and good, but there are other ways too in which one can influence people and be influenced by contact with wide circles of public opinion. I do not see membership of the Labour Party itself as the life and death issue some people make of it.

## No place for splitting

There are many other questions too which are taxing our minds, and Michael Segal has listed some of them. The discussion of these questions helps towards the evolution of that "clearer perspective for the achievement of socialism in Britain" in the draft statement of aims. At the same time, we should resolve that we are not going to divide up into separate fragments according to the detailed answers we each give to these specific questions. May a hundred flowers blossom, but not each in a separate little allotment.

The conception back of the Socialist forum movement is a splendid one. Out of the disillusionment and frustration of the past to engender a revival of spirited socialist activity which will react upon the general labour movement. Whether this bold attempt will succeed, time and our endeavours will tell.



# BOOKS

## CHINA TODAY and TOMORROW

By Martin Wright

Nearly all the books which have appeared on New China to date are either pro-Kuomintang or pro-Communist. Now for the first time a genuine third camp study has appeared.\* Without an axe to grind for Chiang Kai-shek or Mao Tse-tung, the author, Ygael Gluckstein, subjects his quarry to a dispassionate analysis which is very clearly based upon a profound grasp of the Marxist method.

Though fundamentally critical of Mao's regime, Gluckstein's study does not depend upon personal vilification or simple hatred for the ideas to which the Chinese Communist Party adheres. Neither, fortunately, does it depend upon a rigid pre-conceived theory revealed by a long string of quotations and references from the "great masters." Gluckstein instead relies upon an immense wealth of facts derived from an extremely wide range of sources consisting largely of Chinese Communist publications, but also of studies by recognised experts on every aspect of his analysis. This factual material gives overwhelming weight to Gluckstein's underlying theory, the keynote of which is given in his opening sentence:

### The heritage

"Whatever path of development Mao and the Communist Party choose for China will be determined substantially by the material heritage of the former regime."

This heritage was, and still is, as his study reveals abysmal, unbelievable poverty. China's net income per head of population in the 1930's was less

\* *Mao's China, Economic and Political Survey*, Allen and Unwin, 1957 (40s.).

than one-third of the net income per head of population in England in 1688—much lower than the equivalent figure in India in the 1930's. Though primarily an agricultural country, in 1951 she had less cultivated land per head of population than Modern Britain. In a country of nearly 600 million people, there were only 2,000 tractors in 1951. Even in comparison with India, her industry is backward and the capital per head of population negligible. Gluckstein demonstrates most clearly that China is far more backward than Russia was in 1913—four years before the Russian Revolution.

In such circumstances, as anyone with the vaguest notion of economic science knows, the only means of increasing production is capital investment on a vast scale. A United Nations report, *Measures for the Economic Development of Under Developed Countries* (1951) estimated that in the Far East, excluding Japan, 7,666 million dollars per annum would be required to raise national income by 2 per cent. per head of the population annually (p. 76). Yet net domestic savings were scarcely one-tenth of that figure. In the absence of investment or loans from abroad on a gigantic scale, therefore, to increase output China would have to find increased savings at home.

Mao's solution to the problem has been primarily to squeeze the peasants and to subordinate industrial workers to a ruthless discipline. In addition, forced labour has been employed on a vast scale and strong diplomatic pressure has been brought to bear on Russia to secure the greatest possible

volume of economic aid. As the result investment has been stepped up, though it is still a smaller percentage of national income than in the 1st Russian Five-Year Plan. The concentration of the investment programme on heavy industry has been much more extreme than in Russia and neglect of light industries which produce goods for the market more marked.

### Stalinism rampant

This means that despite greater output per head of population, real income in terms of consumption goods is and must, if investment is to proceed, be held down.

Inevitably these aims and methods must determine the character of the regime just as similar aims and methods—not the personality of any individual—determined the character of Stalin's Russia. However, given the greater economic backwardness of China the roots of these methods are much stronger. Gluckstein gives ample evidence to confirm this view.

For example, he makes it clear that the degeneration of equalitarian traditions have proceeded more rapidly in the first few years of the New China than they did in Bolshevik Russia. Though the gap between the earnings of bureaucrats and workers is still less than in Russia, it is much greater than it was seven years after the Russian Revolution. Again, the development of secret police control of propaganda, the extreme centralisation of power, the monolithic character of the Communist Party, rigged elections—all accepted features of Stalinism—are part and parcel of the system. Even

the leader cult is there and Gluckstein gives examples which reveal how far it has emerged already.

The reason for these developments is that they are necessary to prevent resistance against the policy of demanding more output from the mass of the people without permitting an equivalent rise in living standards—the only policy which will enable China to develop her resources without enormous foreign aid.

### The conclusion

Gluckstein's conclusion is that China "will be the strongest and most impregnable citadel of Stalinism" (p. 421-2. My emphasis—M.W.). As China's backwardness is so much greater than Russia's, not to speak of Russia's European satellites, her working class so small and lacking in cohesion and culture, the forces compelling the bureaucracy to grant concessions, perhaps even threatening to blow up the regime through revolutionary explosions are much weaker in China than in Russia and even more than in Eastern Europe.

In this view he differs fundamentally from those who attempt to explain history in terms of personalities; from the fellow travellers who argue that Mao is less brutal and that China's path will be smoother than the Russian; from so-called Trotskyists who see a Chinese uprising on the Hungarian model in the offing.

### An important book

At a time when many of us working in the British Labour movement are seeking to build a Marxist tendency independent of Stalinism, such a book is of immense importance. One of the primary needs today is for an independent Marxist study of contemporary problems and Gluckstein's book represents a weighty contribution to this end.

Even for those who reject his conclusions, this book is vital to a real appreciation of what is going on in China today. Every socialist who cannot afford to buy it should at least make a point of borrowing it from his public library and reading it, for it is an essential piece of reading not only in China but also on the problem of development in backward countries and on the nature of Stalinism.

Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that the author, who has already written a Marxist study of Eastern Europe since the war will turn his attentions to other spheres and produce Marxist studies of other contemporary problems. A host of subjects occur to one's mind which cry out for such an analysis and I for one look forward with anticipation to the appearance of his next book.

## GREECE — continued

In any case, an unforeseen thing occurred: the ICFTU sent down one of its representatives, Schevenels, to take position in favour of the strike, thus disavowing Brown. But the Greek government, which had accepted every conceivable form of foreign intervention and foreign operation on its soil, decided that it could not now accept "meddling from outsiders" and asked Schevenels to leave. Schevenels, whose integrity is more widely recognized than his intelligence, left declaring that "under the circumstances the ICFTU might have to reconsider its stand in favour of independence for Cyprus."

Before June 18 came around, Makris had called off the general strike and was mysteriously hinting that negotiations with the government were in progress.

Who is the loser in this mess? In the first place Makris, who has proven his impotence as soon as he is no longer fully backed by outside support; in the second place Brown, who has made a fool of himself. What this means, is that in future months Makris and his boys will have trouble holding down the Greek trade-union movement and that independent working-class action has again become possible.

### Story of a strike

A good illustration of the militancy of which the Greek workers are capable if they have only the employers and the police to contend with, is provided by the strike in the Kalogreza coal mines—near Athens—last May.

The mines of Kalogreza contain very rich lignite, which is relatively easy to extract. Nonetheless, mismanagement

had driven the company to the verge of bankruptcy. Wages had not been paid for two months. The workers heard that the company was going to declare itself bankrupt, and that the mine would continue to operate under a court-appointed trustee, in which case there would be practically no hope of recovering the wages the company owed them.

On May 7, about 120 workers went into the mine and started a hunger-strike; the secretary of the independent Miners' Union, George Vroustis, went down into the mine with them. They held out for five days. The police surrounded the mine pit, so their families came out and surrounded the police. Some of the miners' wives and children went to Athens and demonstrated with black flags before the Ministry of Labour. Then they collected money on the public square for the return trip, and when they found they had collected more than they needed, they returned the money to passers-by. In the mine, some of the strikers were beginning to faint from hunger, and ambulances started lining up outside the mine. The strike became a national scandal.

### Miners win hands down

The government decided the strike had to be stopped by all means. Makris came down to Kalogreza in person, along with the secretary of his yellow "miners' union" and the boss of the Athens Federation of Labour to plead with the strikers to get out and collect a down-payment of 100,000 dx. on the 700,000 the company owed them. The strikers refused. The government then offered to pay the

full amount out of the unemployment compensation fund—if they would come out first. The strikers again refused: first all their fellow-workers outside the mine would have to be paid off; then they would come out in small groups, and when each group was paid, the next group would come out.

On the fifth day, at 11 o'clock at night, the government and the company gave in. A miner was sitting on a motor-cycle in front of the mine entrance, and flicked his headlights as many times as strikers had been paid; then more would come out. By 1 o'clock in the morning every miner had been paid the full amount.

### Future moves

The potential that this strike brought into the open is of a kind that could make the Greek labour movement one of the best in Europe, once the present leadership is removed for good and the Federation of Labour re-organized along democratic lines. Who can do it? Without doubt, the Federation of Miners (OME) will play a leading role in such a re-organization. There are honest and militant elements in other unions as well: the transport workers, the metal-workers, the union of social-security users. If they get a chance, they will rebuild a clean and militant movement. It is up to the international labour movement to see that nothing is allowed to interfere with this struggle, and that the gigantic outfit of corruption which has dishonoured the American labour movement in the whole world, be abolished.

## WHAT'S ON IN LONDON?

NCLC Socialist Forum :

Peggy Rushton, Secretary, Movement for Colonial Freedom speaks on the **Labour Movement in the Colonies**. Watch *Tribune* for date in October.

All meetings of the NCLC Socialist Forum are held at 7 p.m. at The Prince of Wales Hotel, 1 Bishopsbridge Road (near Paddington Station and on bus routes 7, 15, 27 and 36).



## PARLIAMENT

Michael Millett deals with

### SOMETHING NOT TOO DIFFERENT

**"The flap isn't there for fun. It's a scientifically angled sound mirror, beaming sound forward from the Speaker."** (TV set advertisement contemporary with the Radio Show and the Trade Union Congress.)

WHEN IT WAS POINTED OUT to the editor that (a) Parliament is in recess and (b) the summer is a bad time for creative literary endeavour, he ignored the second point and dealt with the first by saying that we could do the TUC which somebody had once said was the "Parliament of the Working Class." So Blackpool it will have to be.

Sir Tom Williamson gave the presidential address. It was a model. Golden platitude followed golden platitude until delegates sat in an ecstasy of wonderment—surely no man could speak for so long without committing himself?! However, he finally descended to practical matters and made a courageous attack on unofficial strikers, who, he said, he had no time for. (It must be admitted that few unofficial strikers can have much time for Sir Tom Williamson.)

To quote him "... that minority of trade unionists who ran away from their responsibilities by joining unofficial movements to circumvent and overturn the official constitutions and policies of their own organisations... if we are to retain our influence and prestige we must condemn and restrain those who organise, promote and lead unofficial movements and unofficial strikes."

If any of you are thinking that Sir Tom should have said "If I am to maintain my prestige and influence..." you are wrong, for the damage these unhappy men do is incalculable. They undermine the working class movement by making the employers afraid of it. They destroy working class solidarity by holding elections and acting in organised groups. Their opposition to permanent Trade Union officials makes people fear that workers are incapable of thinking for themselves. Finally, to strike for higher wages is the grossest disloyalty to their workmates and a threat to the living standards of their families.

THE DISCUSSION of the Labour Party National Insurance Scheme was disappointing. Apart from recommendations that present old age pensions be raised to the not excessive level of £3 per week, no one had anything constructive to say. One would have thought that at least one speaker from the floor would have objected to a scheme the basis of which is that capitalism will still be in full operation by A.D. 2030, that is to say, throughout the lifetimes of us all, and when all the TUC delegates will be dead. It might be libellous to say that they will have died of inertia but, oh, something must be wrong with a working class conference that (apparently) tamely accepts such profoundly anti-socialist proposals.

The concept is, to be frank, perfectly ridiculous. In essence it is that the next two generations of workers should save up and lend the money to capitalists who will then be able to pay it back to the subsequent generations.

This is more than a right-wing reformist attitude. After all, a right-winger is supposed to be someone who, though professedly Socialist, believes that the path should be gradual. The Labour Party proposals are not socialist in any sense since they imply, for all practical purposes, that the economy will always be capitalistic, and run by the same crew of capitalists, at that.

With suitable modesty, this column would like to make its own proposals. The next Labour Government should set up a Board that will take a weekly contribution from each worker and invest the money in the football pools. The vast number of permutations possible would make success a certainty, and the winnings would enable old age pensioners to be paid on a generous scale. This has a further advantage: if the pools were nationalised every Tuesday and denationalised every Friday morning each worker would be able to get, week by week, his last week's stake money back again.

Anybody who believes that they can see a fallacy in this should be wary of

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

the Labour Party's proposals since the basic idea is the same—that by capitalist manipulation of various kinds it is possible to create more value than that created by labour.

WHEN SOMETHING is suggested that at first sight looks expensive it is usually claimed that it could easily be paid for by everybody giving up, say, half a cigarette each week. The trouble is that taking everything together, space travel to cats' homes, not only would we be giving up smoking, but would be hard put to it for the rent.

Delegates of two of the smaller unions, the Associated Blacksmith, Forge and Smithy Workers' Society, and the Guild of Insurance Officials,

had this feeling after Sir Charles Geddes had spoken on a section of the report that advised that half-a-million pounds be paid to an International Solidarity Fund. Whilst agreeing that this would mean 6d. per worker once a year for three years, they pointed out that it involved amounts like £1,500 from them, which is a lot of money from a small organisation.

What exactly the Fund is for was not specified in the reports of the conference; one suspects that its aim is to give underdeveloped countries trade union bureaucracies along with the benefits from other sources—TV from the Radio Corporation of America, tractors from Fergusons and Skoda tanks from you-know-who.

## CAPITALISM and YOUTH — continued from page one

court of humanity. Yet by depriving thousands of working class youth of their right to a higher education, while an enormous amount of money is spent on war preparations, capitalism creates a terrific potential anti-capitalist movement.

That is why a very large sum of money is spent by the capitalists in chloroforming the workers. Practically the whole of the educational machinery, the cheap millionaire press, the cinema industry and the radio is devoted to this. In so far as young workers succumb to this they become useless to their class. But it can never be fully successful, because capitalist industry keeps the struggle going, always recruit-

ing new generations of workers to the struggle. Every strike and every lock-out is a lesson in working class solidarity. And for the workers solidarity is the chief social and spiritual value, and the source of all the others.

In real life young workers have often got more militant instincts and attitudes than the older generation of trade unionists and Socialists. Thus they occasionally come into conflict in factories and trade union committees. (But the more militant trade unions have set up youth groups and committees to deal with the problems of young trade unionists.) Therefore young workers are usually more ambitious for higher wages, shorter hours, safety-measures and apprenticeship schemes than their fathers ever were.

The young trade unionists and Socialists of today were not reared in the Left Book Club; and they were not disillusioned by the bitter and bloody defeats of the nineteen-thirties. They entered industry during a time when labour was a premium, when the foremen dare not speak too aggressively to the workers, and when the workers were on top.

But young workers only develop their confidence, independence and values by struggling against capitalism.

And the cultural environment of H-bomb society first breeds and then feeds attitudes of apathy, inertia and hopelessness. And of course, as capitalist civilisation has produced its ultimate product in the form of the H-bomb and does not know what to do with it (daren't use it and yet daren't scrap it), people who are not Socialists can only turn inwards.

Yet the development of an independent movement of Socialist youth would have the effect of opening an avenue that has been shut too long. And as more young people are beginning to question the LIMITS of their inherited rights and roles in class society, and are searching for a revolutionary way forward, new prospects are opening up.

### For a new League of Youth

The Labour leaders know this. And they are afraid of Socialism really coming. Being themselves fairly comfortable under capitalism, they naturally want to keep the comfort that they have. This is understandable. After all "social democracy" is a defensive mechanism that the capitalists have been able to accommodate and build into their society. So they snatched at the first excuse to crush the militant Labour League of Youth.

But there has been a new upsurge of working class activity in every section of the Labour movement during the

past two or three years. As the Tories get bolder, more and more young workers turn to the organized Labour movement as a way out of their present difficulties.

Therefore members of the Labour Youth sections have got to campaign inside the Party for the right to live a completely free and independent life. While we are taking part in the day-to-day struggles of the workers, and while we are co-operatively working alongside adult members of the Party, we have got to fight for our right to publish our own papers, to help to shape the Party's policy, and even to make our own mistakes. For this we need a national organization—we need to reconstitute the Labour League of Youth as an independent body, with its own programme and its own constitution.

As we will, of course, assist the Party to pull in new members and strengthen its organisation, we will require generous financial assistance from the national executive committee. As this is really the only way to build a fighting Socialist organisation capable of overcoming the powerful resources of capitalism, and as a Labour youth organisation is, in any case, necessary to carry out the usually dull electoral activities, the Party will be sinking a valuable investment in its youth organisation.

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