

LABOUR MONTHLY

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Editor : R. Palme Dutt

What is Socialism?

by R. Palme Dutt



The Salt of the Earth

J. R. Scott defends the shop stewards



Africa in 1960

by R. Page Arnot

TORY GIMMICKS

by Jack Mitchell,
leading Convenor

AFTER TEN YEARS

David Crook returns
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U.S.A. TODAY

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by Gordon Schaffer

JANUARY · 1960

One Shilling and Sixpence

TO SEE BUT A DAY . . .

WHEN I got back from the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool, where I heard its leader propose to revise the aim of 'common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange', I sought the view of a wise old friend. This was it: 'No programme is worthy the acceptance of the working classes that stops short of the abolition of private property in the means of production. Any other programme is misleading and dishonest; it has two faces to it, one of which says to the working man: "This is Socialism, or the beginning of it" (which is not true), and the other says to the capitalist: "This is sham socialism; if you can get the workers or part of them to accept this, it will create a new lower middle class, a buffer, to push in between Privilege and Socialism, and save you, if only for a while".' What a pity he would have been ineligible to be a delegate; and how far ahead of the Blackpool platform was wise William Morris when he wrote the words I have quoted in the weekly *Commonweal* of December 21, 1889. That winter there was industrial ferment and, as you can read in every issue, strikes and demonstrations amongst gas-stokers and dockers, bakers, textile, boot and shoe workers, railwaymen and iron-workers. Whilst unions were becoming militant their leaders were nearly all wedded to the Liberal Party; and the pioneers of socialism were separated into three divergent groups, few in numbers, and within each keen contests of opinion. In the Socialist League William Morris himself had just been forced out of the editorship of *Commonweal*. But he still found ways to fight for clarity on basic principles; and as I

turned over the pages of the first issue for 1890, seventy years ago this month, there was the announcement for the next week of a 'New Serial story by William Morris entitled *News from Nowhere*, being some chapters from a Utopian Romance'. The first instalment of this world famous book, as yet unequalled as a picture of the relations between people in Communist society, reflects the day to day preoccupations of the active political worker and the controversies of the time. We start bang away, down to earth, with Morris on the underground railway, 'discontentedly stewing' in that 'vapour bath of hurried and discontented humanity', going home from the Socialist League Hall, where there had been 'a brisk conversational discussion as to what would happen on the morrow of the revolution', and what the 'fully developed new society' would be like. I turned over to the page of *Commonweal* carrying reports of demonstrations, branch and street meetings. There is 'Wm. Morris' lecturing at a North Kensington Coffee Tavern 'to a good audience; afterward the lecture created an animated discussion: 13 *Weals* sold and 1s. 5½d. collected'. It shows that each Tuesday that winter Morris was travelling home to Hammersmith from weekly meetings of the Propaganda Committee which was discussing 'The Best Method of Propaganda', and 'Does Socialism Imply a Standard of Morality?' and 'Brotherhood'. And so in the first chapter of his story he describes, with a wry grin, the 'six persons present and consequently six sections of the party were represented, four of which had strong but divergent Anarchist views'. He describes himself journeying home disgusted with himself for having lost his temper, which he was 'well used to', and muttering: 'If I could but see a day of it, if I could but see it!'

Notes of the Month

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

'We have to show that we are a modern mid-twentieth century party.'

Rt. Hon. Hugh Gaitskell at the Blackpool Labour Party Conference, November 28, 1959.

WE are entering the second half of what an indignant critic has termed 'the so-called twentieth century' and what the most venerable survivor of the dying social order has termed 'the terrible twentieth century'. Never before has the course of human

history been so plainly charted in advance or become so clearly visible ahead. 'Mid-twentieth century' has of late been adopted as a fashionable code word of the oddly termed 'New Thinkers'. Mr. Gaitskell assured his startled Blackpool hearers that, if he wished to delete the aim of common ownership from the Labour Party programme and substitute a ragbag of nineteenth century liberal ethical platitudes as a more 'adequate' basis, this was only to bring the Labour Party up-to-date as 'a modern mid-twentieth century party'. Could irony go further? Even Euclid with all the subtle aid of Mr. Bevan could hardly straddle this spanning of the centuries.

The twentieth century has proved and is further proving in practical experience to be the era of the transition to communism. The first half of the twentieth century has seen the victory of communism over

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one-third of the earth. There is sufficient ground for certainty that, whatever the intervening struggles (and the strength of socialism now achieved, and of the extending ideas of socialism among all peoples, has brought within view the possibility of diminishing these birth-pangs), the second half of the twentieth century will see the fulfilment of communism triumphant over the entire globe and reaching for the stars.

Marxism Vindicated

Marxism already at the opening of the twentieth century, and Marxism alone, had correctly foretold its character. Marxism already in the years before the opening of the twentieth century had foretold in some detail the character and course of the approaching first world war and its outcome in the Russian Revolution. Marxism had foretold the future role of the Russian revolution as the vanguard of the world revolution. Marxism had foretold the union of the working class struggle for socialism in the advanced industrial countries with the national liberation struggle of the subject peoples as the key to the victory of the world revolution. Marxism had explicitly warned against narrowing the perspective of socialism to Western Europe in place of recognising the world expansion of capitalism, which had rendered such a perspective out of date, and the consequent world character of the struggle and revolutionary transformation in prospect.

Living Marxism versus Revisionism

Thus the experience of the first half of the twentieth century has abundantly proved in practice the truth of Marxism as the science of historical development and of the advance to communism, and the guide to the victory of the socialist revolution. But surely, the indignant questioner will ask, the twentieth century has brought new conditions which Marx and Engels in the nineteenth century could not have foreseen? Certainly. Lenin carried forward Marxism into the era of imperialism and of the beginning of the world socialist revolution, just as the international communist movement charts new paths today in the ever expanding advance. But Lenin carried forward Marxism by restoring in the first place its true teachings in the new conditions, against those who sought to abandon it in the name of 'Revision' to meet the new conditions, and against the gross philistine distortions of Marxism by the majority of the leaders of the old Second International, who in practice

capitulated to the revisionists and fell into all the traps against which Marx and Engels had warned.

Old and New Revisionism

Revisionism flourished in the first decade of the twentieth century. The present attempted revival half a century behind the times by the antediluvian 'New Thinkers' is no more than a weak and watery echo of the original article. Revisionism is the philosophy of surrender to capitalism in the name of realist facing of modern conditions. Revisionism bows low before the apparent might and success of modern monopoly capitalism and hastens to jettison socialism as obsolete. During the first decade of the twentieth century this was by comparison comprehensible. This was the era of the booming 'prosperity' and seemingly limitless expansion of the 'golden' Edwardian years; of the seemingly invincible might of the European imperialist Great Powers ruling and dividing the world, and crushing every revolt, so that the very conception of revolution was declared 'out of date' in the face of modern armaments; of the flowing tide of liberal social reform and Lloyd George's inauguration of the Welfare State, in imitation of Bismarck, to cut the ground from under the feet of socialism. Socialism had won no victory yet. No wonder the shallow and the servile began to proclaim that this was a 'new capitalism' which belied all the hoary dogmas of Marx based on mid-nineteenth century capitalism. The Old Revisionism went down in mud and blood in the first world war.

Belated Revival

But today? Today, after the victory of the socialist revolution over one-third of the earth, after the visible discordant antagonisms and confusions of the shrinking imperialist sector, after the demonstration of the superiority of socialism in the rate of advance in every sphere of productivity and raising social standards to overtake and leave behind during the next few years the highest levels of the most privileged and advanced centres of capitalism—at this moment to attempt to resurrect the hymn to the 'miracle' of the 'new capitalism' or 'contemporary capitalism' as supposedly disproving the hoary dogmas of Marx is really a comic relapse into second childhood on the part of those who fear 'the challenge of communism'. The New Revisionism is indeed a puny child. But since this puny child is at the moment giving trouble in the for the

time being politically backward corner of the world represented by Britain, it is necessary to resume the battle of half a century ago for Socialism against Revisionism. This is the lesson of the Blackpool Conference.

Storm in a Teacup?

Marx once said, long ago, writing from Cologne on December 31, 1848, that 'a revolution of the economic conditions of any country of the European Continent or even of the whole Continent is but a storm in a glass of water unless England actively participates in it'. And again in the same article: 'any social revolutionary upheaval in Europe must necessarily miscarry, unless the English bourgeoisie or the industrial and commercial supremacy of Great Britain is shaken. . . . And old England will only be overthrown in a world war'. Those days are long since past, precisely because the truth underlying this penetrating prediction, which equally understood the limitations of 1848 in Europe and the conditions of future revolutionary advance, has been demonstrated by the outcome. The industrial, commercial and financial supremacy of Britain was finally ended in the first world war. Therewith the ultimate counter-revolutionary power of the English upper class, which defeated the French Revolution and Napoleon, joined the Holy Alliance and strangled 1848, was broken for ever. In vain Churchill, true heir to the tradition, sought to strangle 1917. The world socialist revolution swept forward, and has continued to sweep forward, in spite of the rulers of Britain.

Ironic Reversal

Britain has fallen behind the United States and Western Germany in the capitalist sphere, behind the Soviet Union and the advance of socialism on a world scale, soon also to be overtaken by China. In this situation, in face of the scale of the world transformation now taking place, in face of the magnitude of the world issues now coming up for decision and typified in the new relations of the United States and the Soviet Union and possibilities of peaceful co-existence, the internal policy crisis in the Labour Party over the programme of domestic economic reconstruction might appear a minor flurry, little more than another spasm in the gradual disintegration of Social Democracy out-dated by events. The irony of history might be claimed to have reversed a century later Marx's 'storm in a glass of water'. The storm in a teacup is now in Britain,

while Socialism sweeps forward in the world. However, there is more in it than that.

Imperialism and Socialism

Britain was the classic country of capitalism. Britain was the classic country of the birth of the working class movement. Though both priorities have long since given place to being overtaken by later comers, the significance of what happens in Britain has not disappeared. Britain is still the centre of the largest world empire, even though diminished. The loss of political rule over wide territories has not yet meant the parallel ending of the operations of the octopus of British finance-capital drawing rich tribute also from the peoples of territories now politically independent, but still with colonial economies. The struggle for economic liberation is still only beginning. The ferocity of the resistance over the Suez Canal Company nationalisation or Iran oil nationalisation has shown how intense this battle will be, once it is fully launched. It is this battle which will finally undermine the old imperialist basis of Britain's economy, and thereby compel, if not already undertaken, the advance to socialism in Britain. Understanding of this is the key to the economics and politics of modern Britain.

Illusions of the End of Empire

Illusions about the liquidation of imperialism are the main factor which has falsified the current discussion, on both sides, about socialism in the Labour Party, as if it were a utopian discussion about the ideal form of domestic economic organisation in a country like Sweden or Switzerland, or rather (since even these have their specific, though more limited, role in the imperialist complex) Ruritania. Similar illusions appear, to judge from reviews, to be the theme of the latest book of the Labour Party theorist and veteran hero of the war against the Malayan Liberation Army, Strachey, recently published under the title *End of Empire*. In this book he has apparently followed up his previous volume entitled *Contemporary Capitalism*, which echoed the current illusions about the supposed new transformed capitalism as the refutation of a caricature of Marx's theories of the laws of capitalist development (exposed in these Notes on *Economics and Politics of Increasing Misery* in December, 1957), with a similar reflection of the current fashionable illusions about the end of empire as a supposed refutation of Lenin. Judgment can only be provisional, since author and publisher, preferring discretion to valour, have abstained from sending

a review copy to *Labour Monthly* or the *Daily Worker*, evidently in panic fear that a Marxist critique might prick the gossamer bubble of illusion.

Hamlet Without the Prince

The facts of modern Britain are not so easily exorcised. The vast pleasure park of the wealthy extending over so much of Southern England and the Home Counties is the visible symbol of the parasitic rentier economy of the coupon-clippers of the giant overseas monopolies, whose luxury is sustained, not only from the exploitation of the British workers, but from the plunder of hundreds of millions of colonial and semi-colonial slaves. To discuss socialism in Britain without facing this central fact of Britain's present economy (or even with the added insolence of sanctimonious sermons parading the poverty of the colonial or 'under-developed' peoples as an object for patronising charity, or even as an excuse for cutting the standards of British workers) is to live in Cloud-cuckooland.

Taming the Tiger

It is precisely this role of Britain as the historic first centre of world imperialism and imperialist economy, now weakened, now faced with chronically renewed economic difficulties, but still struggling to maintain itself, that makes every political development within Britain of wide international significance. For it was from the superior resources of the world industrial monopoly in the nineteenth century, and of the advanced imperialist economy in the twentieth century, that the British ruling class has been able, and still continues to be able, to lead the way in the arts of circumventing the class struggle; to control, tame, influence or limit the development of the working class movement within permitted channels, by winning the practical acquiescence in the system from considerable sections of better paid workers and according rich prizes for collaboration to many of the leadership.

'We Are All Middle Class'

Britain was the first country, as Marx said, to develop, not only a bourgeoisie and a bourgeois aristocracy but also a trend towards a 'bourgeois working class' among a section of the workers (please note that this was said a century before Macmillan's brilliant discovery of the supposedly 'classless' Britain). Lenin repeatedly

noted that in Britain 'the number of factory and office workers who live a petty-bourgeois life is exceptionally high owing to the practical enslavement of hundreds of millions of people inhabiting the colonies', and that many of these better paid workers, restricting themselves to 'improving their sometimes tolerable petty-bourgeois position', lose sight of their class mission and become 'captives of bourgeois and imperialist prejudices'. In short, the 'never had it so good' slogan is no startling innovation of 1959, but was long used in corresponding forms for appropriate sections in the Victorian era. This was the social basis of Disraeli's discovery of 'Tory Democracy' in the nineteenth century, or Macmillan's 'Middle Way' theories and 'Butskellism' in our day.

Retarded Development

The understanding of this peculiar set-up in Britain was always the central feature of the political analysis of Marx and Lenin in dealing with the political situation in Britain and the reasons for the slower development of the political labour movement and of socialism in modern Britain since the vanished and long forgotten days of Chartism.

All the best revolutionary elements in the working class who are dissatisfied with the slow progress of development which in England, perhaps, will be slower than in other countries, will come over to us. Development is slow because the British bourgeoisie is in a position to create better conditions for the aristocracy of labour and by that to retard the progress of the revolution.

(Lenin, Speech on the Labour Party at the Second Congress of the Communist International, 6th August, 1920).

The modern political labour movement in Britain (following the formation and tireless pioneering work of the tiny socialist groups) only emerged in a very rudimentary form long after mass Social Democratic Parties had been organised and matured on the Continent. Similarly today Communism is still at an early minority stage in Britain long after the main mass Social Democratic Parties had become mass Communist Parties on the Continent.

Citadel of Conservatism

For three-quarters of a century since the general democratic extension of the suffrage Conservative Governments have been returned in Britain for two-thirds of the time by the votes of a population with a working class majority. Only twice has Conservatism been decisively beaten at the polls, once in 1906 in the international

upsurge following the Russian Revolution of 1905, and again in 1945, following the alliance with the Soviet Union and the joint victory with the Soviet armies over fascism. The Liberal Imperialist caucus in the Cabinet and secret preparation of the first world war wrecked the Liberal-Radical-Labour mass victory of 1906. Similarly the Attlee-Bevin policy of co-operation with imperialism, lining up with the cold war of monopoly capitalism, led by the United States, against socialism, wrecked the constructive side of the work of the first Labour Government and soon dissipated the majority of 1945. The same surrender to Tory imperialism has ensured increasing Tory majorities for three elections.

Cracks in the Citadel

Today a new moment has come. The series of continuous and extending electoral reverses over the past decade and a half since the ending of the war has created what Mr. Bevan has not incorrectly termed 'a crisis' (*Tribune*, December 11, 1959) in the policy and leadership of the Labour Party. Already in 1955 *The Times* editorial, 'In Decline?', found that

the shocking fact about the election was the steep fall in the Labour vote for the first time in a quarter of a century.

(*The Times*, June 4, 1955.)

The editorial concluded that

the next year or so will either see the turning point or a more rapid and disastrous decline which would leave the British political scene in a state of difficult and dangerous transition.

But 1959 has seen a further decline. Thus the British ruling class was already in 1955, and is still more today, in open alarm about the situation and prospects of the Labour Party. They express alarm lest the Labour Party might be beginning to lose its hold on the workers. Why? For love of the Labour Party or a political labour movement? Hardly. They do not conceal their fear that a continuance of the 'shocking' and 'disastrous' decline in support for the Labour Party might open the way to a 'difficult and dangerous' political situation in Britain.

Ruling Class Hopes in Mr. Gaitskell

The openly expressed alarm of ruling class circles, consequent on the series of Tory electoral victories, is lest the Labour Party might prove unable to continue to fulfil its role as the indispensable safety valve partner of Conservatism, the 'In and Out' loyal opposition of the two-Party system. Not because it is too revolutionary

to fit into these requirements. On the contrary. Because its very bipartisanship and failure to present an alternative programme, and the consequent contradiction between its class structure and practical politics, might so erode the basis of its support as to render it incapable of maintaining the swing of the pendulum which is essential to the stability of the British political system. Hence the universal concern of the entire capitalist press with the problem and crisis of the Labour Party. Hence the enthusiastic support for Mr. Gaitskell's 'brave stand' (*Economist*) or 'courageous endeavour' (*Sunday Times*) to solve the dilemma by jettisoning the inherited remnants of class conceptions or socialistic objectives and returning to the safe and tried nineteenth century formula of the 'classless' liberal-conservative alternation. Not of course the Liberal Party of Mr. Grimond. But the revival of the Victorian liberal-capitalist content under the continuing label of a 'Labour Party' which has lost even its original meaning as a name, and which publicly denies its class basis, while greedily striving to keep the trade unions within its disciplinary grip in order to prevent the emergence of working class politics in the broad movement. Such is the vision of paradise presented to the anxious British capitalists by Mr. Gaitskell.

Raising the Socialist Banner in Reverse

But Mr. Gaitskell's would-be 'solution', so far from solving the crisis, intensifies it. For the net effect of his offensive has been to bring the question of socialism and the socialist objective into the centre of controversy more sharply than it has ever been raised before in British politics. Mr. Gaitskell could have, if he had chosen, quietly left in possession for automatic endorsement the existing policy, which has already long ago repudiated socialism in practice and offers instead the so-called 'mixed economy' (modern monopoly capitalism integrated with the state) and all the ideas of Mr. Gaitskell and his friends. He could have left undisturbed the dust to continue gathering on the icon relic Clause 4 ('common ownership of the means of production') as a museum piece for occasional genuflections by the faithful on Sundays. Nothing would have been easier than to let the sleeping dog continue his slumbers and conduct one of the usual exercises in 'interpretation' of the holy text. Thus, for example, not merely the Shareholding State, but equally a Tory 'Property-Owning Democracy', with stock holdings spread throughout the community, could clearly be argued to be a form of 'common ownership of the means of production'. Instead, Mr. Gaitskell chose to open a direct offensive against the

Ark of the Covenant. Thereby he ensured the maximum opposition even from sections which had placidly accepted without a murmur the practical repudiation of socialism in *Industry and Society*. Mr. Bevan had to intervene to rescue Mr. Gaitskell from the anger of a significant proportion of his audience. By raising the Banner of Anti-Socialism, Mr. Gaitskell had compelled the Banner of Socialism to become the centre of battle in the Labour Party. With what aim in view?

Mr. Gaitskell's Tactics

It would be a grave error to underestimate Mr. Gaitskell's tactical judgment and aim in this offensive. His all-wise mentors and tutors in the more influential organs of the conservative press, while commending his courage, have accused him of making a tactical blunder in concentrating his offensive on a front at once the most difficult and the least practically important (since no one bothers about the constitution anyway), in place of choosing more easily attainable and practically useful aims, such as a few trifling organisational changes to bring the Labour Party up-to-date in line with the practice of the Conservative Party, diminish the role of the Annual Conference and the trade unions and increase the effective powers of the parliamentary leadership. But Mr. Gaitskell knew the conditions of his problem better than his mentors. There is every reason to believe that the brutality of his offensive was deliberate, and that there is the fullest intention on his part (with the threat of resignation if his demand to delete the existing clause about common ownership in the party constitution is not accepted), and of the dominant leadership, to force through this change, whatever the protests of the more articulate socialist sections in the Labour Party.

New Programmes of Social Democracy

No one can fail to understand the significance of this offensive to expunge the socialist aim, not merely from practical policy (this has long ago been done), but from the formal constitution of the Labour Party. For this is the same process which has been happening in the current period in all the Social Democratic Parties, as in the new basic programmes of the Austrian, German, Belgian and other Social Democratic Parties. It might seem extraordinary that this process of the open, ostentatious, publicly proclaimed retreat from socialism should take place at the very moment of the greatest advance and triumphs of socialism over the world. But in fact these

are two sides of a single historical development. The new programmes are presented as the answer to what the leaders call 'the challenge of Communism'. The new programmes are presented as the solution to the deepening crisis and visible failure of Social Democracy in Western Europe since the war, demonstrated in the successive electoral reverses of the Labour Party or the capitulation of the French Socialist Party to De Gaulle.

Bolting the Door Against Socialism

Mr. Gaitskell understood very well that if the Blackpool Conference, which had been originally called to perform an inquest on electoral defeat, had registered a verdict on the policies and leadership which had led to continuously extending electoral reverses ever since the war, that verdict could only have been a condemnation of the policies and leadership which had led to such a disastrous outcome. But these were precisely the policies of the repudiation of socialism and glorification of the 'new' 'reformed' capitalism in the name of 'new thinking', with which he himself had been most closely associated, which he and his friends had forced on the party and justified as indispensable for electoral success, and which had been proved by experience to be electorally damning. Hence a verdict in accordance with the evidence could only have been a call for a reversal of these policies, and for a radical turn to the type of popular aggressive policies, with at any rate the public proclamation of socialist aims, which had been proved so successful in winning majority mass support and in obtaining the only absolute parliamentary majority ever won by Labour. In other words, for a turn to the left, for militant policies against the monopolists and imperialism, for independent working class politics, for peace and socialism. To forestall this menace Mr. Gaitskell has set himself the aim to bar the road in advance by permanently banning the aim of socialism (save as a meaningless term of philanthropic aspiration) from the programme and constitution of the Labour Party—that is, to make socialism, in the concrete sense of social ownership of the means of production, in effect one more proscribed issue (suspected of communist associations, 'monolithic', 'totalitarian') incompatible with membership and support of the programme of the Labour Party.

Clause 4

This direct offensive against socialism now launched by the dominant Labour Party leadership opens a serious battle. But it

also opens a splendid opportunity for all fighters for socialism, provided there is unity, political clarity and full mobilisation in the battle. For the first time in the half century of history of the Labour Party the question of socialism, not as a rhetorical aspiration, but as a defined aim of the 'common ownership of the means of production' in order 'to secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry', has become a central issue of controversy throughout the Labour Party from top to bottom. When the famous Clause 4, against which the offensive has now been opened by the dominant leadership, was originally introduced forty-one years ago in 1918, there was no such battle. The original clause was not carried by the left against the opposition of the right. The original clause was devised and inserted by the right wing leadership of that time in face of the revolutionary ferment following the victory of the Russian Socialist revolution in 1917. The new constitution of 1918, with its proclamation of a socialist aim, was devised by the right wing leadership to counter the demand for a socialist revolution with the promise of a future peaceful constitutional advance to socialism—which was then universally seen, by both sides, without dispute, as the social ownership of the means of production replacing class ownership and profit-making capitalism.

Undisputed Aim

Even up to the second world war, that is, so long as a parliamentary majority had not been achieved to bring professions to the test, this aim was still universally proclaimed also by the right wing leadership. As late as 1937, Mr. Attlee in his *Labour Party in Perspective* was still declaring:

All the major industries will be owned and controlled by the community.

Similarly Mr. Morrison had declared in 1934:

The important essentials of socialism are that all the great industries and the land should be publicly and collectively owned.

The old standard Labour Party textbook, Fred Henderson's *The Case for Socialism*, originally published in 1911, with a revised edition in 1924, declared:

This is Socialism: Community ownership of the land and of the means of producing and distributing wealth.

There was no dispute at that time between right and left about this aim. The dispute was about the method of achieving it. Social Democracy declared that it could peacefully and constitutionally

achieve this aim by a parliamentary majority. Communists warned that the Social Democratic practice of repudiation of the class struggle and close daily collaboration with capitalism would render impossible of achievement this professed aim, of wresting the means of production from the capitalists, since this aim could only be achieved by the strength of a united working class and its allies in relentless class struggle against the monopolists. Communists were accordingly accused by the Social Democrats—falsely, against the evidence—of advocating violent revolution in preference to peaceful parliamentary methods.

Lessons of Experience

Today all this has changed. The experience of the Third Labour Government, with an absolute parliamentary majority, proved the incapacity of Social Democracy, even with an absolute parliamentary majority, to carry through the change to socialism. The Attlee-Bevin Labour Government could carry through important social reforms, such as the health service. It carried through measures of nationalisation which were salvage operations for capitalism in distress, either in neglected industries (coal and rails) which were becoming unprofitable, and where only state action could undertake the necessary costly modernisation and simultaneously force the extraction of surplus from the workers for the old owners and the new lenders of capital (thus guaranteeing fictitious 'deficits' of nationalisation and rendering the operation of this type of nationalisation highly unpopular with the public and with the workers concerned), or in auxiliary industries, such as electricity, where unified operation was essential for the service of the main spheres of private profit-making capitalism. But it could make no change whatever in class relations, that is, in the class ownership of wealth and the means of production, and the extraction of surplus from the workers for the private owners. It left the capitalist monopolies more strongly entrenched than ever, as subsequent Labour Party pamphlets have admitted. And its devoted bipartisan fulfilment of the imperialist politics of the cold war and rearmament, with the consequent burdens on the working class, weakened its basis of working class support and prepared the way for the long run of Toryism in the fifties.

New Controversy

It is from this experience of the failure of West European Social Democracy since the war that the new controversies have arisen.

In the light of this experience the Labour Party and modern Social Democracy in Western Europe could only choose one of two courses. Either to recognise the justice of the criticism of former policies, and move over to a new socialist programme, that is, to unity of the working class against the monopolies, in order to carry through the necessary socialist transformation by taking over all the decisive means of production out of the hands of the monopolists. Or to abandon the aim of socialism. Either to maintain the aim and change the method. Or to maintain the method and abandon the aim. The Labour Party dominant leadership and modern Social Democracy have chosen the second path—the public retreat from the aim of socialism. Hence Mr. Gaitskell's new offensive, which is the exact counterpart of the new basic programme of German Social Democracy.* It is now the Communist Parties which are the advocates of the peaceful and constitutional path of transition to socialism by the support of the majority of the people expressed through a parliamentary majority (the Communist Party's *British Road to Socialism* since 1951). The peaceful transition to socialism, which was once regarded as the hallmark of Social Democracy against Communism, has now become the hallmark of modern Communism, while modern Social Democracy, denouncing social ownership as 'totalitarian', has moved over to open liberal capitalism. The whirligig of time brings odd revenges.

Well Worked, Old Mole

So the impossible has become possible. The dialectic of development is bringing a new political landscape in spite of all. Under the impact of the extending triumphs of socialism in the world, and under the impact of the simultaneously extending electoral reverses and consequent inner crisis of the Labour Party, the question of socialism has for the first time become the centre and forefront of burning controversy in the Labour Party from top to bottom, and, through the reflection of this, also in the front pages of the millionaire popular press, even in the conservative climate of Britain, even through the agency of such a champion of capitalist stability as Mr. Gaitskell. The old mole works well.

*The new basic programme of German Social Democracy, adopted by the Executive in September, 1958, as of the Austrian Socialist Party, adopted in May, 1958, substitutes the ethical-humanist definition of socialism ('free development of the human personality', etc.) for the old conception of social ownership of the means of production (now condemned in modern social democratic language as a 'totalitarian' conception), and emphasises the importance of 'free enterprise' and 'free initiative for employers' as 'basic foundations'. The text, remarks the *Liberal Manchester Guardian* (November 13, 1959) 'reads very like the Conservative Party Manifesto'.

Twofold Offensive

The battle is now on. It is a twofold offensive that is being launched against the working class and socialism, alike in the industrial and in the political field. The Tory Government and all the forces of capitalism, assisted by certain elements in the Trades Union Congress General Council and the Labour Party Executive, are simultaneously conducting an offensive against any trade union that shows militancy, against strikes, against shop stewards and against socialism. This twofold offensive calls for the united resistance of the industrial and political movement. The political fight for socialism cannot be separated from the current industrial struggle in which millions of workers are at this moment ranged against the monopolist owners of industry on behalf of their demands on wages and hours. Equally the political role of the trade unions needs to carry the decisive weight in the Labour Party in defence of their traditional aims to win the wealth they produce into the hands of the workers and defeat the offensive on behalf of rent, interest and profits now being conducted in the Labour Party.

Battle for Socialism

This battle for socialist consciousness in the labour movement will require a big work of political clarification. The weakness of the debate in the Blackpool Conference was that the issue of socialism was presented in the main speeches on both sides in an abstract form, divorced from the real class confrontation and class issues, and disguised in a formal discussion about more or less nationalisation as a technical form of organisation under the state, to be contrasted with the advantages or disadvantages of other forms of organisation. To judge from the published reports, nothing appears to have been said about such sordid matters as rent, interest and profits, or exploitation. Thus the heart of socialism disappeared from view. On this basis the attempt may no doubt be made to evolve on behalf of the Labour Party Executive some new 'compromise formula' which shall replace the plain aim of the 'common ownership of the means of production' (the indispensable foundation for all social and economic emancipation) with a medley of high-sounding phrases and ethical aspirations and economic good intentions capable of acceptance by any Liberal or Tory and equally capable of interpretation by anyone in any direction. But the realities of class society and the necessity of socialism in the modern world will not be so easily banished. The present situation

calls for the united co-operation of all who stand for socialism, whether they are communists, socialists in the Labour Party, trade unionists or co-operators, to combine their efforts to defeat the anti-socialist offensive and win the battle for socialism within the labour movement as the indispensable condition to be able to win the battle for socialism in Britain.

December 14, 1959.

R.P.D.

LABOUR MONTHLY

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

INDIA IN FACT

The appalling pictures of human life under Imperialism are well brought out. Be it landless peasants with 2d. per day living standard, or the oppressed industrial worker with 10d. a day on which to live in expensive cities—both have to starve, succumb to death-rates of 250 to 320 per thousand, see their infants die at the heavy rates of over 500 per thousand in certain areas, both have to submit to 5 million preventable deaths of poverty year by year, and have life shortened to an average span of 23 years. Such is the true picture of British Imperialism in India instead of the British boon of civilisation and progress which even now some British Labour members acclaim in Parliament to show off their class impartiality.

(Shapurji Saklatvala reviewing *British Imperialism in India* by Joan Beauchamp. January, 1935.)

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THE SALT OF THE EARTH

J. R. Scott*

To examine and sign at least once a quarter the contribution cards of all members, to use every endeavour to see that all men starting are duly qualified trade unionists, and that all persons are receiving the approved rates and complying with the practice of the shop and district etc.

THIS is the opening paragraph defining the powers and duties of shop stewards taken from Rule 13, Clause 21 Amalgamated Engineering Union Rules. That rule and clause also authorises shop stewards to 'interview foremen or other persons representing management *on any question* arising in the shop or department' (my emphasis). Other unions in industry have very similar rules and regulations covering duties of shop stewards.

In view of the bleatings and shriekings of the ruling class, the capitalist press, members of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and other notorieties, it is well that we should see the shop steward in a correct perspective. In a very dissimilar position to those who constantly abuse him, the shop steward is not self appointed and he certainly has not his position for a lifetime. Far from it.

He is elected by his fellows in the factory annually in the main, and subject to being removed at any time by those who elect him. He has constantly to be on the alert against the employer who will, if opportunity presents itself, remove him from his factory. In his position as elected representative he carries out the wishes of those who elect him and at the same time gives leadership to them in accordance with the policy, aims and objects of his union, interpreted in a practical and realistic way as far as his shop or factory is concerned. It is bad enough when the employers and the press attack him; but how dare certain trade union leaders—many of whom have never been a shop steward—and some indeed who have never worked in a factory, or for that matter, never worked for an employer do the same thing only more so. Shop stewards are the 'salt of the earth': and without them no trade union, I repeat, no trade union which intends to give effect to its rules and constitution can function effectively.

*Mr. J. R. Scott up to 1957 had completed fifteen years as one of the seven members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union Executive Council: and was also a member of the Confederation Executive Council since the A.E.U. was affiliated.—ED., L.M.

He who carries out the daily work of protecting wages and working conditions, battling for piece-work prices, educating the workers, supporting national campaigns, dealing with dozens of mundane matters, while active in the union and the wider working class movement deserves and is entitled to the full support and unquestionable loyalty from those at top level who claim to be the national leaders. Take one classic example. If workers are forced to take action to preserve or establish 100 per cent trade unionism, the witch hunters are in full cry with 'unofficial, unconstitutional, freedom of the individual, get back to work, wild cat strike' and so on. Yet the rules of the union, rules which some national leaders so smugly claim to give full effect to, it is these very rules which authorises and makes it an obligation on the shop steward to use '*every endeavour*' to see that all men are trade unionists.

Unfortunately there is a difference between top and bottom leadership in the unions. Take for example wages and hours. The National Committee of the A.E.U. and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions decided for a national campaign on both these issues. Everybody is waiting with bated breath for that to be launched. When shop stewards call a conference so as to discuss ways and means of giving effect to a campaign, do the national leaders step in with their support? Not on your life! Instead some of them rush in to ban the conference with threat of 'disruptions', 'unofficial' (whatever that means) and goodness knows what. The applause? Plenty from the ruling class and the capitalist press.

I well remember one occasion when a number of full-time officials were sitting together at York. One of them who shall be nameless, but nevertheless has had more than a fair amount of national press publicity, was complaining to the assembled company about the lads 'down below' (as he put it) kicking up a row about this, that and the other, when the late Gavin Martin, then the General Secretary of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, interrupted him in his broad, firm Scottish dialect with the words: 'an' if you hadna kicked up some sort of a row when you were doon below, naebody would have heard of your name either'. This caused the subject to be changed rather hurriedly. How true that remark was. Numbers of national leaders found their way to the top or middle level for airing what they considered grievances and injustices: serving their time so to speak, through shop, branch and district level. I am not so sure whether this remains so today: for leaders in my knowledge lack that experience: and it seems that

the more they lack that experience the more the ruling class and their press praise them as sage, wise counsellors. In fact I cannot recall when the movement was so poorly and inefficiently manned at the top. On the other hand there is an ever wider bank of thoughtful, capable, experienced fighting men and women at the other end. This is a glaring contradiction, but it is a fact. *I know.*

The engineering workers did not fail when the Executive of the Confederation called for action in the twenty-four-hour stoppage and the full stoppage of work in 1957. This generation in the factories never had 'cold feet'—it was the 'great men', 'the sages', the 'wise counsellors' who ran out.

Never has such a low level been reached in doing the dirty work of the capitalist class. This right wing in the Labour Movement must be at the bottom of the pitch. Yet we have an organised working class as good as ever in the past. Men and women in the factories and workshops are just not having reaction imposed upon them. In dozens of factories where the employers are trying the old trick of unemployment under the name of redundancy, workers will not have it. Where national officials have failed to obtain wages to keep up with increasing prices, organised workers in the factories have negotiated increased wages and in some cases reduced hours. In fact militant action in the factories is taking a new lease of life; it has never been dead; spirits are high, determination more dogged, and the desire and intention to go forward is developing. This is bound to take the turn towards more direct struggles, against the employers in the factories. Labour leaders can talk nonsense about 'classless society' but men and women toiling at the point of production know and have learned that the class war is being waged against them day in and day out. For here is the class struggle in practice and fact. More and more men and women have recognised that unless they mass their forces together and wage battle with the employers on a class basis, then defeat will be their doom. That is why in factories such as Fords, British Motor Corporation, Electricity Supply and many others, trade unionists of all unions band themselves together under the banner of Joint Shop Stewards Committees to wage defensive and, what is more important, offensive battle against the employers. It is these mass movements in the factories that have prevented wholesale discharges in and around the Midlands, Lancashire and elsewhere and have fought attempted wage cuts advanced under the guise of new methods of production.

These great developing class movements are dubbed 'unofficial'. But the organised working class are not unused to epithets. 'Reds', 'Bolsheviks', 'unpatriotic', 'against the country', 'agitators', 'selfish', are but a few of them, culled by the ruling class at different times and in differing situations. But all such abuse and threats of suspensions and expulsion from the unions cannot dispose of the class struggle. It's here, there and everywhere, where capitalist society exists.

Ask any active worker in the engineering industry if he has any faith and belief in the 'Procedure for the Avoidance of Disputes'. The overwhelming majority will reply by saying 'if you can't resolve a dispute in the factory then you certainly will not through Procedure'. And with this basic knowledge and understanding, shop stewards resolve hundreds of disputes or likely disputes every day. Their authority is to raise '*any question arising in the shop or department*'. How horrible, how futile to tell these workers that they are acting unofficially when their knowledge, experience and faith has taught them the lesson.

The shop stewards movement was born in the moment of need during the first world war when the leaders had not only given up the struggle, but had gone over to the other side. Shop stewards came into being to defend and protect those things that had been won from the employers. They also came into being to save the unions for its members. And how well they fulfilled those self-imposed tasks. Hurling abuse, cries of 'unofficial', etc., cannot destroy the life blood of the unions. Through this life blood flows the spirit of the class struggle, the struggle to obtain gains and ultimate victory for the working class. Hence it is that the ruling class and their lackeys in the labour movement are in full cry to clamp down on the shop stewards, restrict their activity and ultimately destroy them. This will never happen for there are too many shop stewards who believe in the objects of their unions, as for example Clause 2, Rule I of the A.E.U. which sets out as its main object 'the control of industry in the interests of the community'. And these shop stewards are prepared to go on and on until this has been achieved. As the shop stewards of 1917 so magnificently fulfilled the task of saving the unions, so their counterparts in 1960 may well have to shoulder that task again. In the spirit of self-sacrifice, determination and love of their fellows, they will do it well. Shop stewards are an integral part of the A.E.U. Rule 13, Clause 22 states 'shop stewards shall be directly represented on the District Committee on the basis of one shop steward for every

5,000 members or part thereof'. Shop stewards can be (and indeed are) elected to serve on the national policy-making body of the union—from the factory floor to the leading organisation of the union.

How dare these tin-pot emperors in the General Council of the T.U.C. conduct an enquiry into the activities of shop stewards. Would it be unfair to ask how many of them have ever been shop stewards? Would it be unkind to say that if they must inquire into alleged malpractices they should have a look at the speech I made when sponsoring an official trade union resolution at the T.U.C. six years ago:

On the surface the present Rules provide a democratic procedure by preventing any single strong union dominating the General Council, but in practice...two of the largest unions...are able to secure the election of candidates of whom they approve...Everyone here must surely know that before elections take place leaders of unions seek out their opposite numbers and bargain with them to support their candidates...The elections are determined by huckstering, bullying even blackmail....

(Brighton T.U.C. 1954, p.486.)

Here is room for plenty of activity. In other words 'people in glass houses shouldn't throw stones' or 'brother know thyself'. 'Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer'.

The crying need of the moment is for some men of courage to stand out, calling a halt on attacking shop stewards and instead open out an umbrella under which can be centralised and mobilised all these active, sensitive men and women into action for their class. The ordinary men and women in the factories are quite sound. They deserve and are entitled to a much more intelligent and sympathetic leadership.

THE POWER OF THE EXECUTIVE

The power of kings and magistrates is nothing else but what is only derivative, transferred, and committed to them in trust from the people to the common good of them all, in whom the power yet remains fundamentally, and cannot be taken from them without a violation of their natural birthright.

JOHN MILTON.

in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, 1648.

ON THE UP AND UP

That, it is our confident hope, will be the 1960 story of Labour Monthly's circulation figures. The hope is buoyed up by the past year's campaigning efforts which have shown that two things particularly have brought results. They are persistence and the readiness to seize opportunities.

These campaign notes have time and again urged an approach to groups of people with articles of special interest to them. We have done this successfully, for example, by writing to miners' lodges drawing attention to mining articles and asking for orders for that number. To those who have ordered we have written again, sometimes several times, always with reference to mining or to some other article we felt to be of interest to the miners. We have done the same with engineering workers, railwaymen and printers. We have sold goodly numbers and more importantly we have in the course of a few months added close on twenty more lodges, union branches and shop stewards' committees who have an official regular order of the magazine. With your help we can do much more in that respect.

If you are an engineering worker you could make a start with this number with J. R. Scott's spirited answer to attacks on shop stewards. There is no question about it, there will be a ready sale among engineering workers up and down the country who know and respect Joe Scott for his years of leadership in the industry. We are tackling shop stewards' committees, union branches, district committees and the like. I reckon that every engineering worker who reads Labour Monthly could sell at least one more copy this month. Will you have a try? We had in a very nice letter and donation from Birmingham students. Perhaps it's a bad time of the year to do it, but could we ask them and others of our student readers to consider sales to overseas students of this number with its valuable Africa and China articles.

Our manager and a stalwart supporter seized the opportunity of the Blackpool Conference to sell 70 L.M.s which thus went where they will do most good. What's on in your part of the world and would you have a go at selling there?

The campaign form is on page 48. If you want a quantity we are prepared to supply them on credit. If you want just one more, whip in your 1s. 6d.

Bear in mind—persistence pays, so let's stick at it.

G.B.

AFRICA IN 1960

R. Page Arnot

WELL, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan is back; back for a few days in Downing Street before he goes off again, back from his jaunt to Paris just before Christmas. And now Prime Minister Harold Macmillan is off again, this time for a whole month, this time to Africa.

Why Africa? What is his concern in Africa? For the same reason that nearly every speaker from the floor in the Labour Party Blackpool conference had Africa on his lips, that every newspaper has items nearly every day (it used to be about once a month) on Africa, that the Monckton Commission on Central Africa took up the time of the Parliamentary Labour Party in the first week of December, that the main business of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in October, 1959, was also Central Africa, that the Royal Consort, the Duke of Edinburgh, had to fly out in November to Ghana in West Africa, whither at the insistence of Dr. Nkrumah, the Queen too, once the expected royal babe is weaned, will take flight in 1961; and, finally, that in the City of London a hundred boards of directors of very big firms never stop pondering and counting over their investments in Africa. Africa is the target of all attention. Why?

The continent of Africa is in the forefront because the peoples of Africa are now in the forefront of the struggle to end colonialism. Africa, thrice the size of Europe, after being for three centuries the centre of the slave-trade whose profits built up European capitalism (and particularly British capitalism) has in this last hundred years been divided up amongst the European powers as their colonial territories to be plundered and 'developed' as sources of raw materials and cheap labour: divided up and then re-divided by the first world war of 1914-18 and the second world war of 1939-45. There was the German Empire in Africa (Tanganyika in East Africa, Cameroons and Togoland in West Africa, and territories in South-West Africa): and France and Britain whose empires reached their greatest extent in 1919, shared out the booty at the Treaty of Versailles. There was the Italian Empire (Tripoli and Cyrenaica in North Africa, Eritrea and Ethiopia and Somaliland in North-East Africa)—all gone by the end of 1945. There remained the British, French, Belgian, Spanish and Portuguese Empires in Africa, made up of colonies, protectorates and mandated territories.

THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA

Independent African States

In 1959

MOROCCO

TUNISIA

LIBYA

EGYPT

SUDAN

ETHIOPIA

GHANA

GUINEA

LIBERIA (in 1940 the only independent
African state)

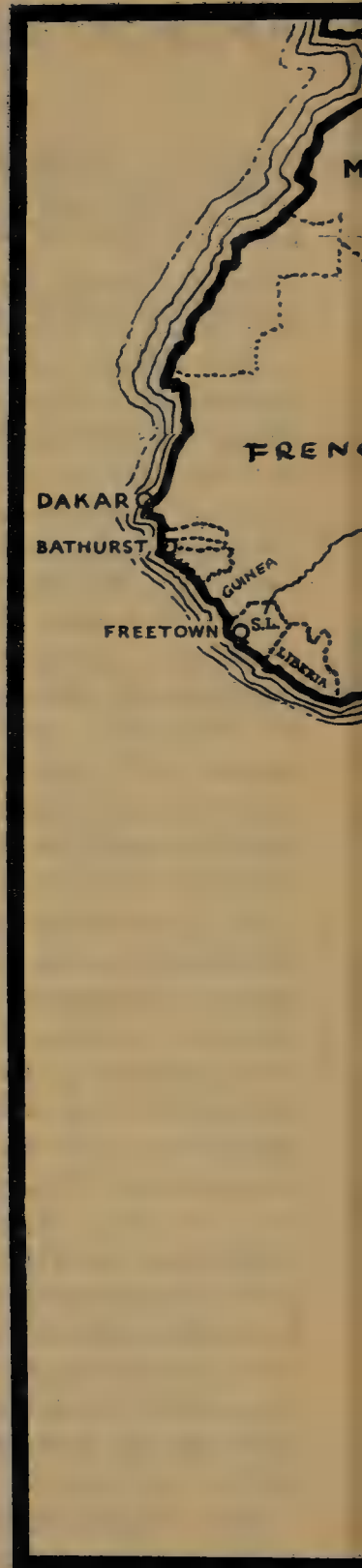
In 1960 add:

NIGERIA

SOMALILAND

CAMEROONS

TOGOLAND





For how long would they remain? The answer has come very quickly. Not by external war with rivals but by the internal pressure of the once subjected peoples of Africa, the chains have been broken, first in one place, then in another. The vaunted empires are crumbling from within. Africa, once the happy hunting ground both of the exterminators of big game and of the exploiters of human beings, is on the way to become the possession of its own peoples. On the way only—for great struggles lie ahead: but the struggles for emancipation are in progress.

The Africans saw how the peoples of Asia got their political independence from 1945 onwards; saw from 1950 onwards how the greatest of the Asian countries, China, had not only thrown over imperialist domination but was linked with the other countries of socialism; saw in these last two years the spectacular socialist advance of over a third of mankind. The movement for national liberation spread in Africa and gathered speed gaining momentum from the Afro-Asian conference of April, 1955, at Bandung in Indonesia, from the eight-day conference in Ghana of eight Independent African States in April, 1958, from the Accra conference of all African peoples in December, 1958, and from every kind of struggle. Already along the northern coast of Africa, the southern shores of the Mediterranean are studded with countries that have gained their independence—and only in Algeria is the struggle unfinished. Already on the west coast of Africa political independence (though not yet economic independence) has been gained in these last three years by Ghana and by Guinea, by one state after another, from both the British and French imperialists, who elsewhere are being compelled to make such concessions in the way of electoral rights (mostly trifling) and execute such other manoeuvres as they hope will stave off the fatal day when their political domination comes to an end. And meantime there have been revolts in the Belgian Congo in January, 1959, in its mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi in November, 1959, and in other parts of equatorial Africa.

But even more significant than the sectional advance of the various peoples in Africa is the most recent change, the development of a common consciousness amongst all the arising nations of the Continent. Not only was this clearly set forth in the resolutions of the Accra Conference* of December, 1958 (attended by

*The fraternal address of Dr. DuBois, the 90-year-old leader of United States Negroes, was printed in *Labour Monthly* of February, 1959.

representatives of 62 organisations from 28 countries), but the leadership there elected has striven to co-ordinate all African struggles, while at the end of November there was formed an All-African Federation of Trade Unions. Further, only last autumn the five-day conference of *nine* independent African States—Liberia, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt (United Arab Republic), Sudan and Ethiopia—resolved at their meeting in Liberia to call upon ‘the conscience of the world and the United Nations’ to help dependent territories to achieve independence, while the Conference received a significant message from Under-Secretary of State Douglas Dillon stating that they could count ‘on the help and understanding of the U.S.A. for the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples’. Thus, to all the nations of Africa the call for independence has sounded both from Accra and from the nine states which will be twelve in number this year 1960 when Nigeria and the mandated territories of French Cameroons and Somaliland reach their goal. If the African struggle for national liberation reached a great height in 1959 it is fairly certain that the upsurge in 1960 will be even greater. It is high time, think the imperialists, that Prime Minister Macmillan should undertake an African journey.

BRITISH AFRICA

The parts of Africa under the British crown, thirty times the size of the United Kingdom, are conventionally put in four main divisions:

- West Africa (Nigeria alone four times the size of the United Kingdom with 34,000,000 inhabitants).
- East Africa (over seven times the size of the United Kingdom and comprising Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar).
- Central Africa (three territories, in all amounting to five times the size of the United Kingdom).
- Southern Africa (comprising the Union of South Africa, which has annexed also South-West Africa in defiance of the United Nations and covets the three High Commission territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland).

In less than twenty territories thus geographically arranged there is, as in the rest of Africa, every kind of society from primitive relations to capitalist relations; hunting, pastoral and agricultural peoples; with different languages, religions and customs; different forms of internal government and different forms of government imposed upon them, with every gradation of direct and indirect rule—all beneath their growing common consciousness as Africans,

but all making the task of national liberation extremely complex. And more recently there is the complexity of the concessions wrung from the imperialists, ranging from minor (and often paltry) forms of representation up to what used to be called 'dominion status'—and it is only to these last that Macmillan is paying his visit. But however complicated and diverse the conditions—and a similar diversity in India was always used by the imperialists, notably in the Simon Commission of 1930, as a knockdown argument against political independence—there is one broad and clear distinction in British Africa which gives the clue to all the problems, both actual and factitious. This is the distinction between the territories blessed with European settlers and those without this encumbrance. Look at the map of Africa, or think of the recent history of Africa. Where have the sharp conflicts and savage repressions taken place? Precisely in Kenya (seven years Emergency rule from 1952 till a month ago), in Central Africa (especially in the last two years) and in the Union of South Africa—the lands under the domination of the white intruders into Africa.

Why did they go just to these places and not to every land of Africa under the Union Jack? The answer would be a long history, a tale of battle, murder and sudden death; but, briefly, they went to healthy and sunny climes where the land was good and could be got easily often by force or fraud. But there they are, these land-grabbers; and where they are there is trouble, abundant trouble for all concerned, colour-bar, forced labour, penal laws, emergency proclamations, and 'police states'. In Kenya, where the end of the seven years 'emergency' has just been proclaimed a few months after the Hola-hola prison camp atrocities brought shame upon the name of Lennox-Boyd, the Tory Secretary for the Colonies, and where Jomo Kenyatta, after his long captivity, is still denied his right to move freely within his own country, the white settlers in the Highlands are there entrenched to frustrate the claim of the Africans to proper representation. This month in London Tom Mboya, Odinga and other African leaders will find the Colonial Office stubbornly opposed to any claim that Kenya should follow in the footsteps of Ghana and Nigeria. Before the people of Kenya there stretches a period of long and difficult struggle—because of the settlers, because of that one per cent in a total Kenya population of six-and-a-half millions. Only 63,000 of them! Why, they would all fit into fifteen ocean liners, or into three liners making five voyages. Macmillan, however, on his African journey is leaving Kenya severely alone.

The Prime Minister is going only to the four states that are this year members of the British Commonwealth—namely, Ghana, Nigeria, and the two ‘settler dominions’ of central and south Africa. Ghana (independent in 1957) and Nigeria (independent in 1960) are two lands without settlers: and to refuse their political demands, to repress their national liberation movements throughout the ‘fifties would have meant huge armies of occupation (there are half-a-million French troops in Algeria with one-quarter of the population) and a strain greater than the British government could bear. So, willy-nilly, after years of manœuvring, the political concessions that could not have been withheld, have been made: and now all that the Prime Minister can do is to be as polite as possible, hoping that they will be the same.

It is the opposite extreme when he gets to the Union of South Africa, where the Dutch, British and other European settlers are over a fifth of the total population and deprive the Africans of civil rights, proclaiming the fascist doctrine of *Apartheid*. This *Apartheid* or ‘segregation of the coloured natives from the whites’ means much more than segregation and is actually the setting up of the institutions of a slave state. The dilemma for Macmillan is clear. It was put to him in the House of Commons by the Labour opposition in the first week of December. Is he going there to approve *Apartheid* or condemn it? His *avant-courier* Field Marshal Montgomery is reported in November there to have given his approval. The Prime Minister gave no answer in parliament. Nor did he state his purpose in visiting the three High Commission territories abutting on the Union of South Africa. One of them, Basutoland, has been a place of refuge for Mrs. Mafekeng, the hunted president of the African Food and Canning Workers’ Union,* whose persecution has brought a resolution of protest from the Labour Party and has been an obvious factor in getting the T.U.C. General Council to consider (only ‘to consider’ so far) whether or not South African goods should be put under boycott, as the Africans themselves demand. Is Macmillan going to do a deal with the *Apartheid*-mongers, by which Basutoland (and Swaziland and Bechuanaland) would be handed over to them to exploit, while they in turn would engage to defer for a time their cherished plans of breaking with the British Crown? The answer to such-like questions, however, was given already in the United Nations

*In her message from Basutoland published December 9 Mrs. Mafekeng said :

To all food and canning workers I say stand firm and rally yourselves around the workers’ organisations. Not even deportations or banishments of your leaders will stop you from fighting for better conditions in your country.

Assembly two months ago. Sixty-seven nations cast their vote against the *Apartheid*-mongers' behaviour in South Africa. Three only voted for, namely, de Gaulle's France, fascist Portugal and the representative of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, headed by Harold Macmillan.

Meanwhile, as if in answer to the 67 to 3 vote of the United Nations, the South African cabinet have chosen (and the Queen has accepted the choice) no other than Mr. Swart as the new Governor-General. This Swart, as Minister of Justice, rigged up the notorious treason trial of nearly two hundred political opponents which, going on for the last two years and more, has brought protest after protest, even from *The Times*. This Swart is the sjambok-man, who holds that Africans must be governed 'by the whip'. This latter-day Simon Legree is now to be the Queen's representative—about a hundred years after the Government of Her Majesty (then Queen Victoria) was busily engaged in the abolition of the slave trade in Africa.

The continent of Africa, with its growing struggle for national liberation, is the scene of Macmillan's journey. But behind the scenes and below the stage settings there is machinery at work, machinery that is powered in the City of London. The underlying realities on the imperialist side are the interests of the big firms, the big banks and the big investment companies. Their interests (and the interests of the other imperialists in their respective finance centres) are spread all over the continent, alike among colonial dependencies and independent states. Their agents are in parliament, and leading figures of the Tory Party are deeply involved as shareholders in many of these monopolies. Therefore, while the struggle for political independence is coming on fast, there is a further struggle ahead—for economic independence and the right to build up their own resources.

The Central African Federation will be treated in a separate article.

THESE 'REBELLIOUS NATIVES'

The Dunfermline weavers are enemies to subordination. So prevalent is the levelling spirit that few of the labourers or tradesmen will lift their Scots bonnet or shew any mark of respect to those of the higher class.

(From a letter by Lord Dundonald to the
Lord Advocate, January 16, 1793.)

TORY GIMMICKS

Jack Mitchell *

THE return of the Tories to form the third consecutive government has led to the most controversial and critical debate ever to take place in the Labour Movement. The question is; after eight years of Tory rule, the Rent Acts, the credit squeeze, the deliberate creation of unemployment to suit financial interests, the inhuman treatment of the aged, Suez, Nyasaland and Hola, how were the Tories able to gain power for a further term of office?

True to form, the right wing of the movement who bear the main responsibility for Labour's defeat have the impudence to suggest that the solution lies in further deviations from socialism. Not just along lines of the present social reformist policy but to widen the reformist road still further. These people who lined up with the Tory policy of German Rearmament, who failed to give a constructive lead on the question of the hydrogen bomb, who indulge in phoney opposition to the class policies of the Tories and who in general have used the Labour Movement as an electioneering machine every few years, have the audacity to suggest, after losing three consecutive elections, that we should move still further to the right. Continuity of such a policy is tantamount to the destruction of the Labour Party and therefore calls for a vigorous challenge by all genuine socialists in the movement.

Let us face the position fairly and squarely. The reason, not so much for the Tory victory, but the Labour defeat, was connected with the very policies that Labour has pursued over the past few years. Their action has led the electorate to believe that little difference exists between the parties and if capitalism can operate to the advantage of the people, obviously the party of the capitalists are the best managers of such a system. The Tories were able to meet Labour's challenge, if it can be called a challenge, on such gimmicks as 'We have never had it so good'. The electorate, confused by the failure of the Labour Party to present a constructive, socialist alternative, saw Labour as a party competing with the Tories on the basis of 'Anything you can do, we can do better'.

With this background, it now becomes the essential task of the Labour Movement to learn the lesson of the errors of the past few years. We have to start now to convince the electorate who are predominantly working class and whose votes returned the Tories

*Mr. Jack Mitchell, as many of our readers will know, is the Shop Stewards Convenor of the Body Division in Ford's motor works in Dagenham.

to power, that the supposed prosperity that we are now enjoying is based on the economics of the capitalist jungle. It is obvious that, apart from those suffering unemployment and short-time working in Northern Ireland, Scotland and the North of England, together with the old age pensioners and the like who must have had no doubts about the theories and illusions of the present 'prosperity', many electors in their confusion fell victim to the subtle propaganda of the Tory party.

Such confusion can be understood in view of the right wing policies of Labour at a time when the workers are in receipt of comparably high wage packets by virtue of working excessive hours of overtime, and the opportunity to increase the packet by the wife also going to work. The effect of this has enabled them to take part in house purchase schemes, buy a car or perhaps both. They have been able to furnish their homes reasonably and to possess the comparative luxury of owning refrigerator, washing machine, T.V.

What the electorate have failed to understand is, that quite apart from the fact that they are giving up the leisure in life that they are entitled to (living to work rather than working to live), they are also dependent on capitalism maintaining the position whereby overtime and work for the wife remain available. Any deep thinking socialist knows full well that capitalism is absolutely incapable of maintaining such a position. Capitalism is and always will be subject to slumps and booms. We have gone through this to some degree during the last few years and, minor as it may seem, this alone makes a good enough case for socialist planning.

International capitalism is now attempting to prop itself up in the various countries involved, in an endeavour to cushion themselves against the ills of their own system. This is shown in the developing tendencies towards such blocs as the European Common Market, the Outer Seven and the Free Trade Area. Leading experts in the motor car industry, an industry which plays an ever increasingly important part in the country's economy, are openly admitting that the American market is far too vulnerable to be depended on and that all endeavours are necessary to break into the European market. The purpose of E.C.M. is of course to prevent such a break-through—in each area, however, it will be found that the United States monopolies have already established a whole range of subsidiaries.

The point of course in using these examples of the vulnerability of capitalism to even maintain the present so-called prosperity, is to emphasise that the mood of the electorate which ignored the

disastrous foreign policy of the Tories and those suffering at home through unemployment and inadequate pensions, also ignored the fact that the present standards are far from likely to remain stable under the present system. Unfortunately the right wing of the Labour Movement, to their utter discredit and shame, are attempting to convince us that capitalism is capable of controlling the worst evils of the system and all that is necessary is a reformist party to correct the *slight evils* that still exist. It is such leadership that will maintain the confusion in the minds of the electorate and pave the way for a continuity of Tory rule.

Welcome signs are that the right wing are not likely to have matters all their own way. The rank and file leadership of the trade union and Labour Movement is showing opposition to the disastrous policies being peddled by the reactionaries. The way forward for Labour will not be found in the Labour-Radical or Labour Reformist utterances of the Jays and Crosslands, nor for that matter with those Labour leaders who put up a sham opposition to the Jays and Crosslands on the basis that the present policy is good enough and all that is required is to convince the electorate.

Given the correct leadership, the workers will rally to the cause and reject the Tories. There *is* a socialist alternative to capitalism. This alternative must be pursued vigorously and with it must go a vigorous fight on the issues that face us and those still to come. Labour must fight for a summit meeting, the ending of the cold war and the multilateral banning of the H-bomb. They must adopt socialist forms of nationalisation as against the present form which is crippled by excessive compensation payments, benefits the capitalist class and is controlled by the bureaucrats who in many cases are directors of privately owned concerns.

Labour must concern itself with the struggle of the workers and throw its full weight behind the fight for higher wages and shorter hours. It must not be backward in telling the workers that, if they were amongst those who voted Tory, that they gave their votes to such organisations as the Shipbuilding and Engineering Employers who have refused to concede the just demands for wage increases and the forty-hour week during a period in which the Employers have never had it so good. In other words, Labour must go on the offensive. Only a vigorous class fight will put Labour back on the road to victory.

THE UNITED STATES TODAY

Herbert Aptheker

CHANGE is in the air in the United States as it has not been for at least ten years. There is a sense of foreboding, or expectancy—depending upon one's point of view—that is almost palpable.

The predominant mood here today is best conveyed in the expression, 'fed up'. Much of this manifests itself in despair, cynicism, apathy: in the extraordinary sexuality and pornography, with 'literature' more and more becoming exercises in lubricity: in the unprecedented (even for America) rates of crime, especially crimes of violence, and a veritable epidemic of 'free world' ailments, especially those afflicting the mind: in steeply rising graphs depicting suicides, alcoholism, drug addiction, incidence of venereal disease. Meanwhile, one daily 'scandal' after another creates the newest sensation, from the forced retirement of the President's closest confidant, to T.V. frauds, to twelve-ounce 'pounds' of poultry for sale to the poor at doubly inflated prices, with the connivance of the highest public officials.

Underneath everything is the instability and very partial nature of our vaunted 'prosperity'. Consumer credit reached an all-time high in U.S. history this past November—a total of fifty billion dollars. The buying power of American farmers fell lower than before the war in mid-November, 1959. The Department of Agriculture reported that while the prices farmers received for their crops fell by 2 per cent in November, what they paid for things they needed rose by 1 per cent: as a result, 'the legal Federal yardstick for farmers' purchasing power dropped to 77 per cent, the lowest point since August, 1940'.

The general picture may be indicated in the title 'U.S. Economy on Trial' chosen for a lead article appearing in the rabidly anti-Communist weekly, *The New Leader* (November 30, 1959). The Editors remark on the fact that 'in recent weeks an increasing number of outstanding economists have joined in warning against the stagnation threatening this country's position as a major world power.' They mean, of course, bourgeois economists, and what they write is introductory to an article by W. S. Woytinsky, formerly of Johns Hopkins University, who demonstrates that the gross national product per head of the United States in 1958 was actually 1 per cent *below* that for 1953.

The expressions of concern over all these hallmarks of decay are becoming increasingly frequent and taking on a note of intense urgency in the more serious and responsible organs of the ruling class. Thus, for example, two succeeding issues of the *New York Times Magazine* have carried articles by leading professors analysing the apparent moral decay. Charles Frankel, of Columbia University, in the issue dated November 15, 1959, finds this to 'reflect a general distortion of values—a "market place" outlook that emphasises success regardless of how achieved'; Hans J. Morgenthau, of the University of Chicago, in the issue dated November 22, confesses himself appalled by 'a moral obtuseness which signifies the beginning of the end of civilised society'. Both professors ascribe the decay to 'the people' generally; they carefully avoid the slightest hint of class society, and ignore the existence of a socialist world. Yet, in both, there is a new sense of reality about their cry of alarm.

Mr. George F. Kennan, formerly U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., and now at Princeton University, addressing the Women's National Democratic Club recently, stated frankly that he did not think the United States had a good chance of competing successfully with the Soviet Union, because he could find here no viable national purpose, and he saw a disintegration of social values and civilised behaviour that was appalling. In this he was echoing Walter Lippmann's recent plea—and Lippmann always speaks with the highest echelons of the bourgeoisie in mind—to stop huddling together for fear of Khrushchov's witchery, and to become again the confident and purposeful people, which, except when we have doped ourselves, we really are'. Of course, I think Mr. Lippmann knows that these kinds of 'pep talks' will not do the trick; and I think he knows that it is fatal to his plea that he dare not even pose the question of who has doped whom, and for what reason.

Finally, and only space limits this chronicle, the appalling crisis of American urban living shows no sign of abatement; on the contrary, day by day it intensifies. Thus, the American Jewish Committee, after a two-year study, reported on November 1, 1959, that 'criminal neglect' marked the development of U.S. cities; and that this neglect was creating 'serious intergroup tensions and dangerous race-relations problems'. It condemned the 'obsolescence of public and private facilities—schools, hospitals, housing and transportation', as a result of which, it maintained, 'vast sections of our major cities have become wastelands'. And, of course, as the Report

noted, the 'heaviest burden of these deteriorated conditions fell upon the low-income, non-white groups'.

And, as though all this were not enough, something else is causing a sense of 'profound uneasiness' here, in the words of Norman Cousins, editorialising in *The Saturday Review*:

The question is whether we can afford peace. Lending grim reality to this question is this headline in a recent New York newspaper: 'Fear of Peace Depresses Market'.
(November 14, 1959.)

None of the responsible and respectable analysts and commentators, however, no matter how great the alarm, permits himself to indicate the source of the decay and crisis he describes. None displays the insight of the great English socialist, William Morris, who some seventy years ago, noting essentially similar phenomena, if not yet on quite so debased and widespread a scale, wrote:

All these uglinesses are but the outward expression of the innate moral baseness into which we are forced by our present form of society, and it is futile to deal with it from the outside.

Actually, the forces from within who suffer the effects of this decay but who are not responsible for it, are active in the United States. We are now living in a period of rising political and class consciousness in this country. It is this in particular that I had in mind when I wrote, in opening this article that 'change is in the air'. The fact is that the general electorate in the United States has been moving slowly leftwards ever since the beginning of 1954. Every election—local and national—since then, with very rare exceptions, including the elections of November, 1959, have maintained this movement. It is compounded of a growing sense of opposition to dominant domestic and foreign policy. It manifests itself in mounting independent political activity and sentiment, growing revulsion with the Big Party 'machines', a rising degree of conscious labour and trade union political work, and a very sharply intensified level of Negro militancy and political development.

There is even present in this change a growing impatience with red-baiting. A lead article in the liberal magazine, *The Progressive* (November, 1959) is entitled, 'Anti-Communism Loses Its Punch': this article deals particularly with political developments in Illinois, but what it describes is a national phenomenon. Quite remarkable, in line with that, was the fact that a Communist candidate and trade unionist, Archie Brown, received over 33,000 votes (15 per cent of the total cast) in the November, 1959, elections in San Francisco. There is a growing desire to hear from Communists themselves, and notably in the universities and colleges the pall of apathy has lifted and considerable interest is displayed in Marxism and in Socialism.

The intensification of the struggle of the Negro people—and parents have now put their children in the front-lines of the battle with them—is a factor of the greatest consequence in the United States today. More recent is the notable rise in working class militancy, highlighted by the 110-day heroic struggle of the 530,000 steel workers, a struggle only momentarily muted due to the Taft-Hartley injunction forcing deeply-embittered men back into the plants. Once again, the bourgeois press is noticing the change; the *New York Times Magazine* (November 29) features an article by its so-called Labour-management expert, A. H. Raskin, entitled 'Deep Shadow Over Our Factories'; the 'deep shadow' is that prematurely interred Marxist 'hoax', class struggle. Mr. Raskin finds 'what amounts to an outbreak of class warfare'—and this after fifteen years of capitalist 'prosperity' and right here, in America, in the Land of People's Capitalism! Perhaps the Un-American Activities Committee should look into Mr. Raskin! Ominous is the fact that Mr. Raskin concludes his *Times* article by remarking that collective bargaining 'is not a God-given right', and that if it does not function well, then the Government must step in and directly control labour negotiations. This is in line with a developing and very serious anti-labour line being taken by Big Business and, increasingly, by the Administration. On December 4, 1959, Mr. Frederick H. Mueller, the Secretary of Commerce, addressing the annual convention of the National Association of Manufacturers—a leading organisation of ultra reactionary monopolists—urged that laws be enacted forbidding industry wide bargaining in basic industries, and specifically applying anti-trust legislation to the strike activities of national unions.

There are signs of change in ideological circles, too. While only a year or two ago, the 'New Conservatism' was in full swing, and almost every week brought forth another book or article attacking democratic theory or glorifying the Robber Barons, that condition no longer exists. On the contrary, one gets now such books as M. Morton Auerbach's *The Conservative Illusion* (Columbia University Press, 1959) arguing a theme conveyed in the title; or articles like 'American Intellectuals and American Democracy', by William G. Carleton of the University of Florida in the *Antioch Review* (Summer, 1959), in which anti-democratic ideologies are bitterly attacked. Indeed, a work vigorously denouncing anti-Communism and even defending Communists, has recently appeared: *Pride of State*, by Joseph P. Morray (Beacon Press, Boston, 1959). This is all the more remarkable since its author is now a Visiting Professor

of Law at the University of California, and had previously served as a Naval Attaché for the U.S. Embassies in Madrid and Paraguay.

Probably the greatest single change, however, of the past ten or twelve months has been in connection with the Soviet Union, peaceful co-existence, and the widest kind of questioning of the Dulles-Acheson Cold War foreign policy. This has reached major national proportions and is producing the most intense soul-searching among leading politicians and sharp fissures among various elements within the bourgeoisie and within top levels of the two major parties. Its catalyst was Sputnik; and the awakening and soul-searching that that event forced upon the U.S. ruling circles and among the population generally, has been accelerating ever since, with one sensation after another, coming from the lands of Socialism, rocking the Cold War boys back on their heels. The latest sharp blow was the visit by Premier Khrushchov; its impact has not yet worn away. Of course, the Cold War manipulators are still hard at work and retain great influence, but compared with the situation three or even two years ago they are in a much less powerful situation now.

The problem of greatest acuteness as the 1960 elections approach is to consolidate the feelings of unrest and the desire for a progressive change; above all, to intensify the political activity and consciousness of the labour movement, and to bring about a significant degree of labour-Negro unity in time really to influence that election. At the same time, the need for an organised and national peace movement, with a viable political direction exerting real influence, remains critical. Politically, the situation, as this is written, is highly ambiguous and amorphous. There exists very real potential for delivering a smashing blow against reaction and war-making in the 1960 elections, but whether the strength to deliver that blow can be effectively organised in time is the question.

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

New York is a sprawling, voracious monster of a city. It covers 315 square miles; it is crammed with some 8 million people. At least a million, a full eighth of its total population, live in packed squalor, six and ten to a room, in slum tenements whose mere existence is a nauseous stench on the air—tenements so rat-infested that, on the average, one hundred persons a year are badly chewed and, so far this year, two have been actually gnawed to death. Symbolically, perhaps, there are in New York more rats than people—an estimated 9 million. (*New York Nation*, 31.10.1959)

APPEASING ADENAUER

Gordon Schaffer

A NEWLY-ELECTED Labour M.P. who had been worried for a long time at the clear evidence of the re-emergence of the Nazis in Western Germany made it his first job, when he took his seat in the House of Commons, to put down a question on this danger. His question was refused. Denazification, he was informed, is not the concern of Her Majesty's Government.

The British people suffered vast losses in blood and treasure to destroy the danger of Nazism. Their government gave solemn pledges and signed treaties with the rest of the anti-Nazi alliance to ensure that the dark forces which spread murder over continents would never be allowed to revive. Today the elements responsible for backing Hitler and sustaining his aggression, are as powerful as ever. Krupp cocks a snoot at the Allied order to break up his empire of coal and steel. Friedrich Flick, sentenced as a war criminal at Nuremberg, is one of the richest and most powerful men in Germany. He is staking a claim to share in the development of nuclear arms. Dr. Adenauer sent him a message last year on the occasion of his 75th birthday:

You have led a great and amazing life of achievement, in long and self-sacrificing toil, despite all the blows of destiny against our people and yourself, personally (*New Statesman*, December 5, 1959).

Dr. Oberlaender, who has been proved to have played a prominent part in the Nazi atrocities in Poland and the Ukraine, is head of the Ministry of Refugees in the West German Government. Factual evidence is available to show that large numbers of judges in Western Germany willingly administered the Nazi laws, including those against the Jews. The former Nazis are back in national and local administration and above all in the armed forces.

By the mid 1960s, according to Paul Johnson reporting on Nato discussions in the *Evening Standard* (December 1, 1959), West Germany will outnumber all other Nato powers on the ground and with their target of 1,000 front-line aircraft will be second only to the U.S.A. in the air. The West German militarists are openly manoeuvring to secure more of the key posts in the commands.

Economically, West Germany, aided by the Americans in the re-equipment of her industry much more effectively than Britain ever was, is rapidly passing Britain in many of the main sectors of production. She is pushing out into world markets and as the

major partner in the six-nation common market offers a standing threat to British economy.

This is where we came in. After the first world war, the British Governments of the day opposed the progressive forces in Germany which sought to draw the lessons from the defeat of the Kaiser's militarism, acquiesced in the illegal rearmament of the country and finally backed Hitler, and the industrialists who financed him, as the 'bulwark against Bolshevism'. We now know from German documents that an alliance of the countries threatened by Nazi aggression including the Soviet Union, would undoubtedly have halted Hitler's aggression. But Neville Chamberlain was much more concerned to rush forward the recognition of Franco Spain and to appease Hitler with promises of a free hand in the East.

Today, everyone applauds Sir Winston Churchill because he warned where this appeasement of German militarism would lead. But the lesson has been forgotten. Mr. Denis Healey, whom Mr. Gaitskell would dearly love to see in charge of foreign affairs for the Labour Party, propounds the theory that West German rearmament has paid dividends because the Russians are now ready to negotiate. Mr. George Brown is allowed to wreck Labour's election chances by outvying the Tories in the demand for more arms for Nato. Labour M.P.s vote at the assembly of Western Union for a policy aimed at spreading nuclear arms all over Western Europe. Some hundred Labour M.P.s. who put down a motion urging that there shall be no nuclear arms for the ex-Nazi generals at least pending summit talks, are refused a debate.

Mr. Macmillan shows that he is more ready to appease Dr. Adenauer than to meet the clearly expressed wish of the British people. He throws overboard the modest plan for some measure of disengagement in Germany and Europe, which he agreed during his talks in Moscow. The Adenauer Government chooses this moment to stage a trial of leaders of the West German peace movement. According to the indictment, men and women who have struggled publicly for disarmament, co-existence and for measures to prevent the revival of militarism are 'members of a criminal, secret organisation directed to the overthrow of the constitutional principals of the Federal Republic'. The Federal Republic goes even further. It seeks a Court Order declaring illegal the Association of Victims of the Nazi regime, using the very clause in the constitution designed to guard against the revival of Nazism. As always, the Communist Party was attacked first; and once it was

declared illegal, the way was open for further attacks. Adenauer, who juggled with the constitution in order to stay in power, is supremely confident that he can wreck the chances of success at the summit talks. Examine his statements and you will see that he is talking the language of Foster Dulles—negotiation from strength and restoration of capitalism in the German Democratic Republic.

One of the difficulties in awakening public opinion to this terrible peril is the web of lies with which the German problem has been enveloped. The *Manchester Guardian* proclaims that the division of Germany was due to the Russian blockade in 1948. The truth is that Germany was divided when the Americans, unilaterally and without even consulting their allies, issued new currency in the area now comprising the Federal Republic, thereby forcing the Russians to impose controls to prevent the whole economy of Eastern Germany from being wrecked. The diary of Forrestal and the memoirs of General Clay and Senator Vandenberg make clear that the United States was prepared for atomic war then and other news leaked at the time to show that the Dulles plan was the build-up of forces in Western Europe, including Germany, in order to back atomic attack with ground forces. Far from making the Russians ready to talk, rearmament of Western Germany finalised the division of Europe for decades to come—and the facts are on record to show that the Russians warned this would be the case.

Today the problem is to find solutions which accept the facts of the situation—a divided Berlin, the existence of two German states with different social and economic systems. Adenauer's dream of taking over the territory of the German Democratic Republic and adding it to a Western alliance, which would at once threaten war against Poland is utterly impossible. But he has no more abandoned it than Hitler abandoned his dream of a Reich stretching to the Urals.

There is still time for us to learn the lesson of history, to give our support to the forces in Western Germany who despite persecution are opposing the return to the path of militarism. And to understand that the German Democratic Republic which has destroyed the forces that created the Nazi regime, must be the ally of those who seek a peaceful solution of the German problem.

WAR AND PROFITS

The war, our best customer, is dead.

(Robert Owen.)

TEN YEARS IN TEN MILE INN

David Crook

I HAVE just been back to the Chinese village of Ten Mile Inn—after an absence of over a decade. My wife and I had spent the better part of a year there in 1948, witnessing the last stages of land reform. When I went back this summer, Ten Mile Inn belonged to a people's commune.

How had the peasants shot ahead from the realisation of their age-long ambition—private ownership of the land—to ownership by the collective? How had they come to give up this hard-won, individualist economy for one containing the first shoots of communism? The aim of my visit was to find an answer.

It had taken six days to walk from the Ten Mile Inn to Peking when the capital was liberated in 1949, the railway line wrecked in the fighting. This time it took ten hours—eight in a comfortable sleeper and two more in an outsize jeep. Suddenly we were there. I had not recognised the once familiar approach, for a broad new road now runs right over the threshing floors separating the upper and lower parts of the village.

Soon I was walking along the narrow cobbled village street and stopped at the village co-operative store, which had sold mainly salt, matches, cigarettes and oil. Now it stocks radio sets, sewing machines, gramophones, acetylene lamps, alarm clocks, thermos flasks, torches and fountain pens. That evening, Wang Shi-tang, the manager of the store, dropped in for a chat. He had been village head; now he manages the co-operative stores in eight of the commune's villages. 'Yes, it's different now,' he smiled. 'We can't satisfy the demand. Take cloth. Right after land reform practically everyone used to wear homespun. Now hardly anyone does. See my shirt? You never saw me in machine-made cloth before, did you. And the women aren't satisfied with cheap stuff at three *mao* (about tenpence) a foot these days. They think nothing of spending eight *mao* a foot. And they want flowers on it!'

The village production team leader, Wang Shao-jen, was just back from a day's work, with his team, on the railway which is to pass within three miles of Ten Mile Inn. He had been listening to Wang Shi-tang with half an ear as he browsed through the Communist Party journal *Red Flag*. During the land reform, though secretary of the village Communist Party branch, he had been scarcely literate. 'Commune members of today are better off than

the landlords were,' he said. 'Why, d'you know, we have three thermos flasks in our home and all eleven of us have rubber over-shoes, cotton blankets, flowered quilts. And I'm planning to buy a bike and a wrist-watch.'

I turned to a third visitor, Wang Wen-sheng. He had been a beggar in the old days, I knew; and once, during a famine, his desperate father had tried to sell him for a bushel of millet. 'I've no real worries now,' he said. 'I'm in charge of ten of the commune mules and donkeys. We've had two children since you left. We keep our own chickens. You come round tomorrow and I'll give you some apples off the tree in our courtyard.'

From talks like this and interviews with leaders of this commune of 37,000 people I pieced together the picture of the last ten years in Ten Mile Inn.

Before the land reform most of the people lived for a good part of the year on chaff, wild herbs and watery gruel 'so thin you could see the reflection of the moon in it.' It was no rare thing for a family of five to share one ragged quilt. In the very poorest families husband and wife would share one pair of trousers, to be worn by whichever one had to go out. In a nearby village there was a farm-hand who scraped together enough for a suit of clothes when he got married. He wore it for thirty-two years.

There were just over fourteen hundred people in Ten Mile Inn then, and just seven hundred acres of land. This would have worked out at half an acre a head—if it had been evenly distributed. But it was not. Eight households of landlords and 'rich peasants' owned 120 acres; and landlords living in other villages another ninety or so. There were forty families of 'well-off middle peasants'—who managed to put aside a little each year. The remaining 373 families had only 218 acres between them. But this again was not evenly distributed. In the household of the present secretary of the village Communist Party branch there were then four persons; they had one-sixth of an acre.

This was how it was in 'normal' times. In 1942-3 there was a famine. People went begging, sold their children, hanged themselves. In forty-nine of the poorest families fifty-nine people starved to death. But by this time, as the peasants say, 'the sun was already rising—in the west.' Units of the Communist-led Eighth Route Army, driving eastwards, were already in the area. In Ten Mile Inn, as everywhere they went, they had begun to lead the people in a series of social, political and economic reforms, culminating in the completion of land reform in 1948. Landlord and rich peasant

exploitation was abolished and New Democracy set up. Famine became a thing of the past in Ten Mile Inn.

All this was done on the basis of equitable individual ownership of the land. But though half an acre of land per head may make for justice, it does not permit prosperity. The individual farmer no longer starved to death: he lived. But his life must still be one of poor food and backbreaking toil—so long as he hoed his own row, with next to no capital and tools which had changed but little in a couple of thousand years.

The first step towards overcoming the limitations was to develop mutual aid. Implements and animals were pooled. Labour was exchanged. An elaborate system of accounting grew up to record man and animal labour days given and received. Again production went up. Living standards rose—for the majority. But not for all.

Some farmers were lazy or inefficient. Some simply had bad luck, with the delicate balance of the family unit upset by illness or death; whenever a parent died his or her share of the land was sold to ensure a proper burial. On the other hand some families were far better off than the average, through having exceptionally good land and plenty of hands in the family. These stayed out of the mutual-aid groups and hired labour. Those at the other end of the scale—with the poorest land and fewest hands—also withdrew from the mutual-aid groups in order to work as labourers for the better-off. The new economic and political standards ensured that they were paid reasonable wages, but as wage-workers they were exploited: not as they had been by the landlords and rich peasants; but still exploited.

In short, within a few years after the land reform some were getting richer, others poorer. Land, houses, draught animals and tools were being put on sale and finding buyers. In 1951 alone in the area which now constitutes the commune to which Ten Mile Inn belongs, 200 families sold land and 100 sold housing. Class differentiation was reappearing and the first faint fears of a return to the bad old days. Clearly individual farming was no solution: the answer must be collectivism.

There were already three agricultural producers' co-operatives in the county, one in a village nearby. This was a 'low level co-op', not fully socialist. One half of proceeds were shared out according to the amount of land each family invested, the other according to the amount of work done. Within a year the output per *mu* on the co-op land was well above the average for the village: 190 *jin* on individual farms; 210 *jin* in the mutual-aid groups; and 230 *jin* in

the co-op. Such figures were powerful propagandists. That year the number of co-ops in the county rose to twelve. By 1954 it was a hundred and five—including one of nineteen families in Ten Mile Inn.

But this advance, like every other, was won only by heart-searching, struggle and bitter experience. Take the case of a 'well-off middle peasant' called Meng in a village near Ten Mile Inn. There were four in the family, with six acres and a mule. When the co-op was first set up Meng joined it. But he found the work uncomfortably strenuous, for he had been accustomed to relying at rush periods on hired labour. Besides, quite a number of the better-off peasants had not joined the co-op. So he pulled out. But his daughter-in-law was a member of the Youth League: she did her utmost to persuade him to change his mind, to no avail. Feeling she could never be happy in such a family (her husband was away at university) she threatened to apply for a divorce. Meng had to choose between his daughter-in-law and his mule. He chose the mule, reasoning: 'My son will always be able to find himself another wife, once he's graduated. But it won't be so easy for me to get another mule. Inside the co-op I can hardly call my mule my own. Out of it, I've got my mule and my son. And in time I'll have another daughter-in-law as well.' But old Meng, after all, was her father-in-law, not her husband. And this was the new society. She gave up the idea of divorce and insisted on her husband and herself setting up their own household. This meant dividing the property—the land and other means of production, including the mule. The family's affairs came to the attention of the local Communist leaders. They said to the girl that 'dividing the family' would be too hard on the old man, putting undue pressure on him. Peasants must have freedom to join or stay out or withdraw from the co-ops. They must be convinced by facts. So the family went on farming on their own for over a year. It was a hard grind, but they kept at it doggedly. The family's yield for the year turned out to be 210 *jin* per *mu*. The co-op's was 245 *jin*. Old Meng applied for readmittance to the co-op; and after being allowed to cool his heels for a while was accepted.

This little verse became popular in the locality:

*You can't build a wall with only one stone,
You can't build a house with one beam.
The co-op's far better than working alone;
Together our strength is supreme.*

By the end of 1955 there were twelve co-ops in Ten Mile Inn, comprising 97% of the population.

But this advance, like every other, brought its own set of problems, the solution to which was another stride forward.

'The co-op's far better than working alone.' But what sort of co-op was it to be? How to distribute the increased output of co-operation? Families with little land and plenty of able-bodied workers were all for increasing the payment for labour and reducing that for land, even for dropping payment on land altogether. Those with more land than labour tended to think the opposite: some—like old Meng—might have liked to pull out of the co-ops altogether if they had not feared being unable to hire labour. Next, how best to use land, labour and draught animals and to improve implements?

(to be continued in our next issue)

BOOKS

Le Mythe Adenauer

E-N. Dzelepy

Les Editions Politiques, Brussels. 65
Belgian francs. 198 pp.

NOT nearly enough is known in this country about the gentleman of this name. Otherwise he would never get away so successfully with his myth. To some he is the heroic architect of German resurrection in the cause of freedom. To others a stupid, obstinate, egotistical old man, unable to recognise the needs of a new age. One aspect of the myth is as untrue, and as useful to him, as the other.

Adenauer is not stupid, and not outmoded. His career is entirely consistent and he pursues in 1959 the same object he pursued in 1919 and by the same method. His object? The aggrandizement of Germany, first economically dominating Western Europe, later expanding to the east by arms. He is the third term in the sequence: Kaiser, Hitler, Adenauer. This purpose is a real danger today as it was in 1914 and 1939. The method? Precisely the

same as after the first world war, when he tried to organise a Rhineland separatism based on France. To enable expansionist Germany to escape the consequences of defeat by organising first a separate Western state based on Ruhr industry, Catholic reaction, and foreign military backing dually stimulated by anti-Communism and investment prospects. He no more cares for the reunification of Germany, in the sense of an equal and voluntary coming together of all Germans, than he cares for the man in the moon. All he wants is subjection of progressive, democratic, protestant elements in Germany to *his* pattern, 'unity' on his terms, and he is prepared to see unification wait years if need be, till that opportunity offers. As he planned also after the first world war. And the plan is going along nicely now, thank you. Up to a point. The man who was called 'the best American in Europe' is that just so long as the Americans are going his way. N.A.T.O., European Common Market, rearmament, refusal to accept the existence of the DDR and the post-war eastern frontiers. All that is what he wants.

And he will spit at Eisenhower just as venomously as he spits at British politicians who begin to fear West German trade competition and a West German H-Bomb, the moment Mr. E. or any other American shows signs of crossing him.

All this is excellently brought out and exposed in Mr. Dzelepy's timely little volume. The author has a racy style as his chapter headings show: 'The "Great European"', 'The Guardian Angel of tension', 'The saboteur of detente', 'The last champion of the Cold War'—these are only a few. And he packs his story with pertinent facts and quotations, many from Adenauer himself and the official biographers. A versatile political writer—on Cyprus, Suez, the Rapaki plan—I could wish his work were better known over here. Old fogies like me, who remember 'non-intervention' and the Spanish War, may recall his *Britain in Spain* appearing here in the thirties as by 'The Unknown Diplomat'! This book on Adenauer, too, could be enlightening to the English if it were translated.

IVOR MONTAGU.

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tively, for until June, 1957 Sir Herbert Brittain was Second Secretary in charge of Home Finance and Supply in the Treasury. The other book is a detailed comparison of the different kinds of budgeting systems used by the Central Government, the local authorities, the nationalised industries and the hospital service, the general theme being that a good budgeting system is essential to administrative efficiency. A distinguished civil servant once remarked that the House of Commons had less control over finance than any other Parliamentary Assembly he had seen. This is not the kind of proposition discussed in these books. They do not delve far below the surface, but they accurately accomplish what they set out to do.

JAMES HARVEY.

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Alvin Redman. 296 pp. 15s.

THIS book should appeal to every traveller—whether by armchair or vehicle—for its essentially practical advice on going by car to the Soviet Union. It includes a series of useful sketchmaps and diagrams and a map of Moscow: details of currency, petrol coupons, car documents, visas and so on are well set out and indexed. A favourable comment is made on the roadside

posters which are described as 'not too many and not in bad taste, unlike Italy and France where the roadsides are littered with them'. Still more surprising is the statement on the superiority of toilet standards. Mr. Bell's politics are occasionally annoying—especially on Germany and Poland; but it does not prevent this travel book from being very interesting. It even gives added point to the overall impression given of Russia as one of invincible confidence in the future.

E. HEATH.



KNOW YOUR SALESMAN

During the winter months along the streets where children play, traders sell tortoises. The tortoises don't move. But, say the traders, never worry, they are hibernating. And in the spring when they wake up, they'll be as frisky as young puppies. In fact these tortoises are dead. In the same way, when the right is in power, Social Democrats try to sell Social Democracy.

JOHN BERGER

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Looking up at a young moon 'tangled in the branches of a tall old elm', which soothed him so that he could scarcely 'bring to mind the shabby London suburb', and felt as if he were 'in a pleasant country place'. And then ahead to his dream that night of the future, of London and the River Thames clean in a clean and friendly society. So the picture goes on past our day and step by step ahead of us still, until he wrote in October, 1890, the last words of the story: 'If others can see it as I have seen it, then it may be called a vision rather than a dream'. This is what I turned to read, this is the man I consulted after Blackburn.

One of the many delegates I met there, and a keen L.M. reader, writes of the confusion before, at and following the conference: 'We shall obviously have to fight very hard indeed to keep the Labour Party anchored to its socialist principle. If the right wing win they will split the party asunder and many thousands of rank and file will pack it up. However, not to contemplate defeat, but to work for victory'. Amongst the reactions of other readers: 'What a struggle! the tug of war has to be kept up without a break. And the leadership of L.M. for example, is splendid. In re-

sponse to your appeal I'm doubling my contribution'. Birmingham Communist students 'on the occasion of the 42nd anniversary of the U.S.S.R. send £1 for the great work done by L.M.' An engineer says: 'After reading your remarks and R.P.D.'s assessments of where we are now, we feel here that L.M. is a treasure and we shall strive all we can to get new readers in Blackburn. Our small donation enclosed'. A miner sends 5s., for 'we need it more than even we did in the past'. A railway motorman encloses '10s. for the finest little magazine in the English language', and adds a further 5s. as a Christmas present. Remember the £90 which a London reader promised towards a special fund to send the Manager travelling round the country if ten others would raise the same between them? Oliver Twist writes: 'I hope by now ten Midases have turned up with £9 each so that you can collect the promised £90 and go on your travels like Prince Whats-his-name'. (No, not like the Prince, whose aim is to shore up the rotten edifice; ours is to help pull it down.) The answer is that the Out-With-The-Manager Fund has so far reached £19 19s. The November fund, though 60 per cent higher than last year's total, is much too low. Please don't slacken!

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to the hands of a fellow-craftsman . . . "

(The Times, 14/11/59)

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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Editor : R. Palme Dutt

Disarmament and Peace

R. Palme Dutt looks at new prospects



T.U.C. and Shop Stewards

A close-up of the General Council, by 'Vulcan'



Racists and Militarists

Ivor Montagu shows what lies behind the swastikas

**THE LEFT MUST
FIGHT**

by Cllr. P. Grimshaw

**'CRISIS OF
SOCIALISM'?**

by J. Berlioz (*France*)

**CENTRAL AFRICA :
PRISON-HOUSE**

by R. Page Arnot

**RAILWAYMAN
ON CLAUSE 4**

by L. Hurworth

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MOON AND SUMMIT

A DAY OR TWO after the terrible Auchengeich pit disaster I was standing outside the school gates of a Scottish mining village as the children were 'loosed'. I asked a little lad the way; and soon four or five were round me, eager to set the stranger right. As we settled down to talk, one after another dropped onto his heels; presently there was a row of miniature miners, resting their backs against the wall exactly like their fathers. With mixed feelings I got a sudden, intenser glimpse of what their fathers' lives were, and what theirs might be. I suppose we have all in the same way often enough in some expression or gesture of a child suddenly caught sight of the mature man, the grave elderly woman, of fifty years ahead. It is a troubling feeling at best, from which one turns away, in a flash more sharply aware that the sort of world we have lived in is not good enough for them. Such moments are painful, but all to the good. For the more keenly we see the present and refuse to accept it for ourselves and others, the stronger the resolve to sweep away obstacles between us and a peaceful socialist world. It is why the writings of a man like William Morris remain fresh and illuminating for us now, in the Summit Year. For he had the true artist's gift of longsight based on a piercing sense of reality, which visits us ordinary ones only in flashes.

On New Year's Day a *Hertfordshire* reader rang up to say how apt he thought the words of William Morris about socialist programmes which I quoted from *Commonweal* of 1890. People had the right, said he, to have the riches of these Eng-

lish Socialist writings restored to them. A new subscriber from *Gloucestershire* was moved 'with admiration for the vision of the old pioneers today as the world advances and people everywhere heed the demonstrations of those over whom reaction will trample no more'. He described how he stood in his garden, looking up at a clear sky disfigured by two fighter aircraft vapour trails. High above them and just visible was the moon at which Morris too had looked up in Hammersmith long ago. But today it has 'a cargo of little pennants cast there with unerring accuracy by the scientists of the Soviet Union. How much easier it is for us than for the Socialists of 70 years ago: But how much harder our task if we were without the means for promulgating socialism. The battle will be much better fought with *Labour Monthly* in the vanguard.' From *Canada* an old trade unionist who was a member of the Kelmscott Club in Hammersmith before he emigrated as a youngster over sixty years ago, sent £1 'in memory of William Morris', and made some shrewd observations about leaders who want common ownership dropped from the aims of the Labour Party today.

One of the pleasures of the beginning of the year is to get such greetings: *Tibet*, (Yes! *Tibet!*) *Australia*, *Hungary*, *China*, *Cyprus*, *France*, *Canada*, *Bulgaria*, *India*, *Rumania*, *Germany*, *Portugal*, *the United States* and *the Soviet Union*. Here's one who emigrated to *Australia* in 1947, where he 'soon realised that it was still capitalism we were living in, with the consequent need for clear thinking which *L.M.* so expertly gives'. As a thank-you for our 'consistent struggle for peace and for a better life', he sent £5 saved from his holiday pay. From the other side of that vast country

Notes of the Month

DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

'The disarmament problem is the most vital, the most burning problem of our day. At the present time it is indeed the question of questions.'

(N. S. Khrushchov, press interview, December 30, 1959.)

ON February 13-14 the British Peace Committee is holding a National Disarmament Conference in London. This is timely and important. The new unilateral reduction of armed forces by the Soviet Union to a level below those of the United

States, and below the level proposed by the West for the Soviet Union as a basis for a general disarmament agreement, has brought the whole question sharply to the forefront. We are now manifestly reaching the months of decision. The all too protracted proceedings of the Geneva Conference for the banning of nuclear tests, which has already in spite of everything reached unanimity on the majority of the points of a draft agreement, are now approaching the culminating stage. It is recognised by the widest sections of opinion that no excuse remains for failing to reach the long awaited agreement, unless the technique of ceaselessly raising new objections and obstacles, as soon as the previous ones have been laboriously cleared out of the way (as at the present moment with the allegations concerning under-

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ground explosions), is to become established as a permanent technique of infinite obstruction. The urgency of decision is underlined by the United States announcement of official resumption of liberty of action from the beginning of this year to conduct new tests. It is underlined by the French warning to aircraft of their preparation at any moment to explode their first atomic bomb in the Sahara (in defiance of the United Nations vote of 49 to 15 against it, and of the protests of all the African peoples). It is underlined by the dangerous and almost irreversible stage now reached in the nuclear rearmament of the neo-Nazi militarists of Western Germany. In March the new Ten Nation Committee to prepare a general disarmament agreement is due to meet at Geneva. In May the long delayed Summit Conference is at last due to meet. The Supreme Soviet proposals for total disarmament in four years, presented to the United Nations Assembly and to all Governments and parliaments last year, are at the heart of the present international situation. Now as never before is the moment for action of the peoples in all the countries of the world if peace is to conquer war.

Lenin, Interplanetary Travel and Disarmament

Forty years ago, in his interview with H. G. Wells in 1920, Lenin made the prediction that the establishment of interplanetary communication would mean that the technological potential, having become boundless, would put an end to violence as a means and method of progress. As we know, the blinkered outlook of the Western European intellectual, H. G. Wells, at that time, who could only see the limitless devastation of Russia after years of war and civil war and peasant backwardness as a foretaste of the future collapse of human civilisation, boggled at the fanciful picture of 'the dreamer in the Kremlin' who foresaw the electrification of Russia combined with soviet power bringing communism. Yet today, with the Soviet Union within visible reach of soon becoming the world's greatest industrial power and already leading in scientific and technological development, the basis for this prediction of Lenin has become obvious even to the most superficial. In consequence it is now rather a matter for incredulous amazement that at that time even the vision of a Wells, who in his youthful socialist days had shown himself capable of brilliant insights into the future in his scientific anticipations, before he became corrupted by wealth, chauvinism, the first world war and the higher theology, should have been incapable of understanding Lenin's even relatively

elementary prediction about the future industrial and social advance of the Soviet Union.

A Daring Prediction

How much less could he—the inventor of *The War of the Worlds* and to this extent precursor of the very much inferior and unimaginative American ‘Sci-fic’—have had the slightest inkling of the meaning and importance of the very much more daring and subtle prediction of Lenin about the significance of the approaching era of interplanetary travel in relation to disarmament and the solution of the age-old problem of human violence. For it is only after four decades that the first hint of the fuller import and substantive basis of this prediction, which was almost ignored at the time, is beginning to become evident in experience today, when news of projects for interplanetary travel and for disarmament jostle one another every day for first place on the front pages of the newspapers.

Disarmament—From Utopia to Science

A manifest transformation has taken place today in the whole climate of the discussion of disarmament. Previously the theme of disarmament was either the happy hunting ground for the transparent hypocrisies of the representatives of the imperialist powers or the melancholy mausoleum for the burial of the pathetic credulities and earnest aspirations of utopian well-wishers of mankind. Today disarmament is indeed not yet any closer to achievement. On the contrary, the scale of armaments and the intensity of the arms race was never higher. But the question of disarmament or reduction of armaments as a concrete immediate issue for negotiation dominates international politics as never before. It is true that what President Eisenhower has recently called with justice ‘the munitions lobby’, which is by no means confined to the United States, but operates in every modern major capitalist country whose economy of the ‘new’, ‘progressive’, ‘contemporary capitalism’ is so heavily geared to arms contracts, is more active than ever to forestall the menace it sees arising. But the panic of the Stock Exchanges at every hint of arms reduction is genuine. Concrete economic plans to cope with the problems which would arise from disarmament are now the object of obligatory study in every governmental office, even at the same time as the pressure continues to increase arms expenditure. A new power is pressing forward the question of disarmament into the forefront. This arises not only from the qualitative change with the limitless destructive power and

suicidal potential of modern nuclear and missile weapons. It arises also and above all because the new non-imperialist elements in world politics, represented by the socialist one-third of the world, together with the newly independent countries and tremendous movements of national liberation, and with the will of the peoples in all countries for peace, are transforming world politics. To sense this change it is only necessary to contrast what happened the last time the Soviet Union proposed disarmament in 1927.

1. *What Happened in 1927*

The last time the Soviet Union tabled an official proposal for total disarmament by all nations was in 1927. It is worth recalling what happened.

Preparatory Commission on Disarmament

The Preparatory Commission on Disarmament of the old League of Nations had been in session for two years since 1925 without the Soviet Union. Nine years after the first world war, and twelve years before the opening of the second, the old League of Nations, whose Covenant imposed the obligation to limit armaments, had reached the stage of a 'Preparatory Commission' which had sat for two years without result. During these two years not a single concrete proposal for disarmament had been placed before it. Not until the latter part of 1927 were the diplomatic obstacles to the representation of the Soviet Union overcome.

A Startling Proposal

In November, 1927, the Soviet representative, Maxim Litvinov, arrived and staggered the Disarmament Commission by proposing—disarmament. He tabled a complete draft resolution for the disbanding of all armies, navies and air forces, destruction of all war stocks and dissolution of all general staffs and War Ministries in all countries, to be completed within one year, or—if this pace should be felt to be too rapid—in stages within four years. The effect of this startling proposal was to bring a new element into the entire discussion. In the words of the old *Daily Herald* (which had not yet then become the organ of Odhams):

Mr. Litvinov has done one of those simple things which are startling by their very simplicity. He has invited the Disarmament Commission to

discuss—Disarmament! The reply of the other Governments should afford a significant revelation of their real intentions.

(*Daily Herald*, December 1, 1927.)

The 'significant revelation' was not long delayed.

A Cool Reception

In contrast to the at any rate formal politeness and even seriousness with which the same Soviet proposals have been received today, one-third of a century later, at that time the anger, hostility and even ostentatious demonstrations of professed contempt from the representatives of Western imperialism were little concealed. A commentator has described the scene as Litvinov addressed the delegates:

A considerable number of the delegates sought to conceal their embarrassment or express their ill will by descending to the tricks of school-boy rudeness, shifting in their chairs, coughing, whispering to each other and managing at times to make so much ill-bred noise that Litvinov could scarcely be heard.

Lord Halifax rather ostentatiously left the room. Sir John Simon closed his eyes as though fast asleep, a signal to his colleagues that he was quite properly, of course, bored, but also a good camouflage, for actually Sir John slumbered not, nor slept. He was too intelligent not to be fully alive to what was going on, and afterwards congratulated Litvinov quite warmly on the force and ability of his argument. Sir John was a connoisseur of argument.

(A. V. Pope. *Maxim Litvinov*. Secker & Warburg, 1943. p. 233.)

A Hunt for Arguments

At that time the Western powers were not so experienced in producing all kinds of elaborate pretexts and conditions and loopholes about 'control' and 'inspection' and 'practical difficulties' and 'dangers of evasion' in order to cover their opposition to disarmament. The delegates of this Disarmament Preparatory Commission found themselves at a loss what to say in face of these straightforward proposals for disarmament. *The Times* reported: 'For while it appeared as if nobody would reply to the Soviet proposals'. Then at last an old Socialist renegade, M. Paul-Boncour, endeavoured to offer an answer. He declared that all would long for such a simple solution, but that it was necessary to take into account the 'international responsibility of states'—presumably the international responsibility to make war. Further, he argued that in the event of disarmament 'small nations would be at the mercy of large nations'—this at a time when the heavily armed imperialist powers

still held the majority of mankind under their colonial domination. The Greek Foreign Minister followed him up by coming out brutally with the argument that there could be no organised society without force. Others claimed that total disarmament would be contrary to the Charter of the League of Nations, which enjoined only the limitation of armaments. In Britain a Tory Government was in power at that time. Lord Cushendun (more notorious as the former R. McNeill) declared on behalf of the Tory Government that 'we cannot disarm now because we have already done so'. It is clear that the Macmillan-Hailsham method of sheer effrontery is not so new. Further, he argued that Parliament cannot surrender its sovereign right of decision on war.

Press Abuse

The great organs of the British Tory and Liberal 'free press' disgraced themselves as usual, at this historic moment of testing, with wholesale vituperation and abuse of the Soviet proposals for total disarmament.

It may be that there are some people who will really be deceived by this clumsy and cynical farce; they cannot be many. *(Daily News.)*

In the evident hope of putting decent and honest Governments in a false position he has put forward a scheme which can only be described as grotesque. *(Daily Mail.)*

The Russians know just as well as does the rest of the world that apart from such States as are virtually disarmed already, there is not one which is ready even to consider such a proposal. *(Manchester Guardian.)*

To say that such a scheme might have been formulated by any school-boys' debating club would be unfair to a rising generation whose minds are much less immature than those of its forerunners.

(Daily Telegraph.)

When the Soviet absurdities had been comfortably relegated to cold storage, the delegates took up the proper business of the meeting—namely, the constitution of a new Commission of Security. *(The Times.)*

All true to type. Let them glory in their record.

Ramsay MacDonald and Disarmament

What of Labour? Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who was at that time Leader of the Labour Party, said: 'If the Russian method is the right one, then God made the world and especially man all wrong; for there is not a nation except a few small ones will pursue it'. He suggested that the Russians should disarm first. However, the pressure from within the labour movement was so strong that

by December 8, 1927, the National Joint Council, representing the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party, adopted a resolution welcoming the Soviet proposals. The old Labour and Socialist International Executive declared: 'Although the Labour and Socialist International is strongly in favour of total disarmament, it will not commit the error of inducing people to believe in the possibility of its immediate realisation'.

'Bluff' and the Outcome

When the text of the draft proposal for total disarmament came up for the decisive vote in 1928, the Tory Government representative, Lord Cushendun, offered the further argument that the flaw in total disarmament was that it did not make provision for necessary 'limited wars'. He need not have been so anxious. The next decade saw plenty of 'limited wars', expanding into the second world war. Finally the Soviet proposals were voted down by the unanimous vote of all the imperialist representatives against the single Soviet vote. The significance of this vote remains a historical landmark. All the press had denounced the Soviet proposals as 'bluff', 'propaganda', 'cynical deception', 'impudent'. But if the proposals were bluff, why not have called the bluff by accepting them? The unanimous vote of the representatives of the imperialist powers against total disarmament revealed that they dared not risk voting for it in case it might be carried. Thereby they revealed their realisation of the basis of imperialism in armed force. Only socialism could stand without fear or qualification for peace and total disarmament.

A Lesson for Today

The lesson stands for today. We know what followed the rejection of total disarmament in 1928. The ferocious arms race of the thirties. Nazi rearmament by the will and complicity of the West. The aggression of Hitler and the Axis. The Second World War with its scores of millions of dead. Now we have a second chance. This time the stakes are a thousand times higher with the deadlier character of modern weapons. This time the proposal for total disarmament has won support from the widest sections of opinion. It has become obvious, even to many of the strategic experts, that, just as the only final answer to the menace of nuclear destruction is to ban and destroy all nuclear weapons, so the only final answer to the endless wrangle about nuclear and so-called 'conventional' weapons, which is used as an excuse to prevent the rejection of

either, is to scrap the lot. Hence the timeliness of the renewed Soviet proposals for total disarmament in the present situation. Let us do everything in our power to make sure that this time we do not lose our chance.

2. *Last Frenzies of the Nuclear Illusion?*

The new Soviet proposals for total disarmament, which in essence reproduce those of 1927, have been received in a markedly different fashion from the vulgar exhibition of a third of a century ago. The method of the supercilious sneer and schoolboy rudeness, which was at that time the correct etiquette in all refined Western upper class circles over any reference to the Soviet Union, is now out. The new proposals have been received, not yet with support, but with careful attention and respect. This is not merely the homage that vice pays to virtue. It is rather the homage that the worshippers of the policy of strength pay to strength. The Western policy of strength sought to use their supposed superior armed strength to impose their will upon the world. But socialism uses its now manifestly superior strategic strength on the side of peace and disarmament. This is the new factor. The daily accelerating advance and superiority in the rate of development of the socialist world, and especially the visible superiority in those spheres of scientific and technological development which are always calculated by the West first and foremost in military and strategic terms, is transforming world politics. This is the new factor which, given the active support of the peoples of the entire world, can win peace and disarmament.

Obsolete Nuclear Bombast

Sometimes it is said that the immeasurable destructive power of modern nuclear weapons has compelled a new approach on all sides. This is a factor. But it is not the decisive factor. For the first response of Western statesmen to nuclear weapons was to exult in the belief that they now had absolute power to impose their will upon the world and to compel the Soviet Union to surrender to their terms. The megalomaniac boasts and bloodcurdling threats of destruction uttered by the most prominent Western political leaders and publicists at that time, when even such a former radical pacifist as Bertrand Russell was advocating a preventive atomic war on the Soviet Union, or *Colliers* was producing millions of copies of its special issue, with Priestley as main contributor, depicting on the

cover a triumphant G.I. Army of Occupation imposed on Moscow and the Soviet Union, can hardly be credible today to the younger generation which did not know those years.

How the Wise Can Become Foolish

Indeed, Bertrand Russell, when confronted with what he had said in 1947, issued a categorical denial in 1953, denouncing the allegation as 'a Communist invention' (*New York Nation*, October 17, 1953), and threatening the *New Statesman* with legal proceedings for repeating it. Only when he was faced with the inescapable record of his own words did he admit the facts in 1958 ('Why I Changed My Mind', *Saturday Evening Post*, May 31, 1958), and apologise in 1959 to the communists whom he had falsely accused of lying:

Although it may seem incredible, I believed the statement to be entirely correct at the time when I made it. I had, in fact, completely forgotten that I had ever thought a policy of threat involving possible war desirable. In 1958 Mr. Alfred Kohlberg and Mr. Walter W. Marseille brought to my notice things which I had said in 1947, and I read these with amazement. I have no excuse to offer. (Earl Russell in *The Listener*, May 28, 1959.)

The episode is only worth recalling today as a warning example of how anti-communist hysteria can reduce even the wisest to folly. Bertrand Russell's noble efforts in the cause of nuclear disarmament today have constituted an atonement for his previous guilt in advocating an atomic anti-Soviet war in the era of the height of the cold war madness, even though some of the anti-communist bees may still buzz in his bonnet.

Churchill, Alanbrooke and the Atom Bomb

But what of the main governmental and political leaders at that time? The recently published Alanbrooke Memoirs have told us how Churchill rubbed his hands over the prospect of using the atom bomb as the invincible weapon to compel the Soviet Union to surrender:

He was already seeing himself as capable of eliminating all the Russian centres of industry and population, without taking into account any of the connected problems, such as delivery of the bomb, production of bombs, possibility of Russians also possessing such bombs, etc. He had at once painted a wonderful picture of himself as the sole possessor of these bombs and capable of dumping them where he wished, thus all-powerful and capable of dictating to Stalin.

Such was the higher lunacy of Western statesmanship, brought up from babyhood to play with toys of war (the latest London Christmas catalogue of toys included a realistic 'Rocket Site with models

of actual Missiles' as no doubt especially appropriate for this season for the enlightenment of Western children, while others spent their Christmas in gaol in the effort to save humanity from Rocket Sites and Missiles).

Earl Attlee and the Atom Bomb

And Attlee, Labour's Leader at the time? Premier Attlee who surrendered Britain to potential destruction as the main American atom bomber base (now becoming increasingly blocked up with additional American nuclear weapons and bombers, as other countries like France spew them out). Earl Attlee was given the Alanbrooke Memoirs to review in the *Observer* of November 1, 1959, and praised the narrative as demonstrating Churchill's

imaginative and prescient views on the effect of the discovery of the atomic bomb.

Churchill at least woke up by 1950 from his dreams to the facts of life, and drew the practical conclusion by proposing a Summit Conference, which proposal was immediately denounced by Bevin and Cripps as contrary to Labour Government policy. But Earl Attlee in 1959 still seems to be living in the clouds of his Labour Government's anti-Soviet megalomania. Earl Attlee has not even the gift of hindsight.

Pricking the Nuclear Bubble

Professor Blackett has described in 1958, under the title 'Atomic Heretic' (*Listener*, September 11, 1958), how in 1945

speeches, editorials, articles and headlines were full of such ideas as 'The absolute weapon', 'Armies and all other weapons are obsolete', 'Russia has been reduced to second class status overnight'.

He explains how he 'gradually' came to question these assumptions and by 1948 published opposite conclusions:

During the first two years after the war I gave much thought to this problem, and gradually came to certain conclusions that were in marked conflict with official British and American opinion . . . I held that official opinion over-estimated the decisiveness of atomic bombs of the Hiroshima type in a major war against Russia. . . . I also thought that the importance of strong land forces was being greatly under-estimated. . . .

When I published these views in a book in 1948 I was not altogether surprised to be violently attacked from many quarters. . . . During the ten years since my book was published more and more of my military views seem to have become generally accepted. This of course made my crime in 1948 still more grievous; I had committed the unforgivable sin of being a premature military realist.

We have every respect for the invaluable authoritative work of Professor Blackett in exposing the nuclear strategic illusion by 1948. At the same time, it may be worth pointing out that reference to the issue of *Labour Monthly* for September, 1945, will reveal already then at the time a considered analysis and exposure of the fallacies of the Western strategic conception of world domination and superiority over the Soviet Union on the basis of the atom bomb, or of the supposedly obsolete character of land forces, as well as an estimate of the future strategic effect as likely to lead, not to Anglo-American domination over the Soviet Union, but to American domination over Britain—all written in these Notes, not two years after, but within less than a fortnight after the dropping of the bomb on Hiroshima. Marxists have reason to sympathise with Professor Blackett's plaint of the fate of the 'premature realist'; for Marxists are well used to being denounced for prematurely demonstrating truths at the time which years after are recognised on all sides.

Sandys' Castles in the Air

Not abstract argument, but the collapse of the dream of Western nuclear superiority, has led to a new climate. Even the slogans of the fifties and the early Dulles Republican era—'Roll Back the Frontier of Communism', 'Massive Retaliation', 'Liberation of the Captive Peoples' and the like—sound like echoes from prehistory. There have followed the slogans of the new stage, based on recognition of the end of the illusions of nuclear superiority, and offering instead the new illusions of the 'Nuclear Deterrent' and 'Peace Through Mutual Terror'—a modernised version of the most ancient fallacy which has accompanied every arms race and preceded every major war. Minister of Defence Sandys was given the job to concentrate everything on the hydrogen bomb and rockets and missiles, proclaiming the grand strategy (in the Defence White Paper of 1958) that Britain will use nuclear weapons first even though the other side does not use them. On this basis Sandys' mission was to cut expenditure on the older forms of arms and armed forces, since the same White Paper made clear that Britain could not be defended anyway, and that the task of the fighters must be to defend the nuclear bases, not the people.

From Sandys to Watkinson

Inspired by this strategy, Sandys proceeded to pour out money for the new visions of future nuclear weapons, and to hack away at the older armed services to a point bringing things close to

mutiny among the officers. He then departed, leaving confusion worse confounded. For it rapidly became clear that the Sandys strategy was in ruins. On the one hand, Britain could not hope to have the resources to compete effectively in the deadly nuclear weapons race, and the consequent very limited stock of older bombs, lack of means to deliver them, and dependence on the clumsy, doubtfully operational, vulnerable and semi-obsolete Thors granted by the United States made nonsense of the Sandys strategic conception. On the other hand, the actual limited wars, essentially colonial wars, on which Britain was in fact engaged or likely to be engaged, could not be effectively fought with nuclear weapons, and required the older types of arms and forces. Accordingly, the Tory Election Manifesto of the autumn of 1959 proclaimed the aim that the existing armed forces must be 'extensively re-equipped'. The game begins again from the beginning. Exit Sandys, the visionary apostle of one-sided nuclear war as the grand solution. Enter the new Minister of Defence, Watkinson, with the task to conduct the 'extensive re-equipment' of the existing armed forces, alongside the already rising cost of the nuclear projects. How much longer must this strategic lunacy continue, which brings already crushing economic burdens and the possibility of catastrophic consequences in the future?

Soviet Arms Cuts

It is in this context that the Soviet unilateral reduction of armed forces by one-third (by nearly two-thirds during the past five years) takes on its special significance. Premier Khrushchov's announcement of this cut, giving precise figures of Soviet armed forces at successive stages since the war, lays many ghosts of ancient cold war propaganda. Thus Premier Attlee on February 12, 1951, to justify the gigantic British rearmament programme which broke the Labour Government, stated in the House of Commons with his customary bland assurance in repeating obvious falsehoods: 'Soviet Russia did not demobilise its forces at the end of the war.' Similarly the U.S. State Department spokesman, commenting on the Soviet cuts, stated: 'For its part, the United States, not in 1960, but immediately following World War II, demobilised the great bulk of its armed forces from a peak level of 12·3 million' (to 3·5 million). We now know that the Soviet Union immediately after the war demobilised its armed forces from 11·3 million in 1945 to 2·8 million in 1948. So far from the size of Soviet armed forces in 1948—as falsely alleged in Western cold war propaganda—compelling the

West to enter on the path of the North Atlantic Treaty, gigantic rearmament and Nazi rearmament, it was the Western offensive of the North Atlantic Treaty, gigantic rearmament and Nazi rearmament which compelled the Soviet Union reluctantly to build up anew its armed forces from 2·8 million in 1948 to 5·7 million in 1955. After the Summit, reduction was renewed. *The Times* endeavours to claim equal virtue for Britain:

The British Government have also been cutting down military manpower rather longer and on a comparable scale—by 38 per cent since 1952. When the present Soviet cuts are completed the Soviet Government will have reduced its armed forces by about 37 per cent since 1954.

(*The Times*, January 15, 1960.)

In fact, the reduction from 5,763,000 in 1955 to 2,423,000 following the cuts now announced in 1960 represents a cut of 58 per cent.

Rockets and Manpower

Premier Khrushchov reaffirmed that the Soviet Union would not restart nuclear tests if the Western powers did not start them. He called anew for a complete ban on nuclear weapons and drastic reduction of armed forces by international agreement. In this context he warned that Soviet rocket development had rendered out of date the bombers and other antiquated forces on which Western strategy still relied ('The Air Force is to be replaced by rockets almost completely'), as well as the need for large armed forces, and that Soviet nuclear equipment was such as to doom any nuclear aggressor.

The Soviet Union has accumulated so many nuclear, atomic and hydrogen weapons, so many rockets to deliver nuclear heads to the territory of a possible aggressor, that, in the event of any madman's trying to attack our State or any other Socialist State, it would be able literally to obliterate from the face of the earth an attacking country or countries. 'Even more formidable' weapons were stated to be in course of production.

Contrast of Two Worlds

The usual brasshat woodenheads have at once sought to argue that the exploded Sandys theory of isolated reliance on nuclear weapons at the expense of 'conventional' armed forces is now vindicated by Khrushchov's declaration. The contrast is absolute. The Sandys theory advocated that Britain, on the basis of overwhelming nuclear inferiority, should use nuclear weapons first, even though the other side did not use them, and thus invite speedy

destruction. The Khrushchov declaration, on a basis of overwhelming nuclear superiority, warns off any would-be nuclear aggressor against embarking on this fatal path, and simultaneously calls for the banning and destruction of all nuclear weapons. It is obvious that this policy corresponds to the interests of the peoples of all countries.

Why Every One Trusts the Soviet Union

It is indeed a remarkable situation which has now been reached. Soviet nuclear superiority is now universally recognised and increases every month. The Washington correspondent of the *Observer* has summarised the conclusions now reached by American official opinion, including 'even White House sources':

1. If Russia launched a surprise attack one year from now, between 112 and 168 of her Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles are expected to reach their targets. These are the 50 Strategic Air Command bases in the United States.

2. The U.S. Atlas launching sites are vulnerable to attack from I.C.B.M. and submarine-launched missiles. Equally vulnerable for the same reasons are the 40 1,500 mile range Thors in Britain.

3. Because of improved Soviet anti-aircraft missiles, the U.S. Air Force says publicly that it can no longer rely on high altitude flying, but must go in at tree-top level. . . . The Strategic Air Command bombers are based on 50 airfields. They are subsonic, not designed for tree-top bombing.

(*Observer*, January 10, 1960.)

Checkmate for the entire present Western NATO nuclear strategy. The game is up. If the Soviet Union were the aggressive power depicted by the NATO addicts, the Soviet Union has now the power by a surprise attack to wipe out at one stroke every base of the Western alliance in the United States, Britain or elsewhere. Yet no one is frightened. The international climate has improved. The politicians sleep quietly in their beds. Even the American generals and admirals no longer jump out of the window in a panic like Forrestal. Why? Because they all know—whatever their words, they show by their deeds that they know—that the Soviet Union has no intention of attacking. The Soviet Union uses its nuclear superiority to press for the destruction of all nuclear weapons and for all-round disarmament, preferably total disarmament.

Communism and Peace

That is what Communism means. When the Soviet Union made its first proposals for total disarmament in 1927, one-third of a

century ago, and the enlightened commentators of the heavily armed West sneered at the proposal as an abject confession of Soviet weakness and fear, Stalin said:

The Soviet Government must pursue, firmly and unwaveringly, its policy of peace and of peaceful relations notwithstanding all the provocative moves of our enemies, notwithstanding all the pinpricks at our prestige. The provocateurs in the camp of the enemy taunt us and will continue to taunt us that our policy of peace is the child of our weakness, of the weakness of our army. . . . We cannot and must not play into their hands. We must go our way, defending the cause of peace, demonstrating our will to peace.

(J. V. Stalin, *Izvestia*, July 28, 1927.)

Now the boot is on the other foot. No one dare question any longer the overwhelming superiority of strength from which the proposals for peace and total disarmament are made. This is our chance, the chance for all the peoples of the world to win peace, the chance brought us by the victory of socialism. We cannot afford to lose it. The desperate gamblers of the cold war are still active and powerful. Neo-Nazism, fostered under Adenauer, and internationally organised, has deemed the moment ripe to come into the open again simultaneously in a score of countries. Only the united strength of the peoples can curb the war-makers, follow up the initiative opened by the socialist world, and win the victory for peace and disarmament. Let us do all in our power to hasten the fulfilment in our time of the inspiring prediction of Lenin, that the era of interplanetary travel shall see the end of violence in human affairs.

January 18, 1960.

R.P.D.

LABOUR MONTHLY

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

WHAT CONCLUSIONS FROM EVENTS IN SPAIN ?

The great lesson is contained in the sequence of events. First Germany, then Austria, then Spain. In Germany no united front was built and thereby fascism was allowed to seize power. In Austria, although preparations were made, fascism was allowed to attack first. In Spain the workers attacked first to prevent the growth of fascism with the consequence of a most serious setback to fascism in Spain. In England we can move even quicker by showing our detestation of fascist methods and organising a united front against fascism.

(From *What I Saw in Spain* by Leah Manning, February, 1935.)

THE GENERAL COUNCIL AND THE SHOP STEWARDS

‘Vulcan’

THE General Council of the Trades Union Congress first came into existence at the Cardiff Congress in 1921. The idea of a ‘General Staff’ to co-ordinate the work of affiliated unions arose out of the industrial upheavals of 1919, when the cotton spinners, the Clyde shipbuilding and engineering workers, the miners, the police, the railway workers and many others were engaged in strike actions.

The strike of the railwaymen took place in the autumn of 1919 and was successful. But during it the Lloyd George Government adopted a most threatening attitude towards the railwaymen and openly lined up behind the railway companies. This was met with strong declarations of solidarity from other sections of workers and a readiness to act in support of the railwaymen. Immediately after the termination of this strike a call was made for a special Trades Union Congress to be held. It took place in December, 1919, and decided that it was necessary to strengthen the structure of trade unionism by the formation of a General Council under the control of the T.U.C. as ‘a central co-ordinating body representative of the whole trade union movement’.

A scheme was approved at the Portsmouth Congress in 1920, and finally became operative in September, 1921, at the Cardiff Congress. Here it was mandated ‘*to promote common action by the trade union movement on general questions, such as wages and hours of labour*’.

It is not the purpose of this article to examine the extent to which that laudable mandate has been actually applied by the General Council over the thirty-eight years of its existence: but one thing is absolutely clear by consideration of the present situation, that the mandate is not being applied today. Instead of promoting common action on wages and hours of labour, members of the General Council—with a few honourable exceptions—seem to be more concerned with promoting witch-hunts against communist trade union officials (such as we have witnessed in connection with the Electrical Trades Union) and militant shop stewards who are defending the principle of common action on wages, hours of labour and numerous other issues such as: for hundred per cent trade unionism and the rate for the job; against speed-up, victimisation

and redundancy. Since the General Strike in 1926 the General Council has never been completely free of the taint of political witch-hunting, as instanced in the denial, year by year, of a seat on the General Council to Arthur Horner, the communist General Secretary and nominee of the National Union of Mineworkers. For years the most flamboyant carrier of the witch-hunt disease was Arthur Deakin. He is dead, but his noisome political soul goes marching on within the portals of the T.U.C. headquarters.

Political witch-hunts never stay centred on the prey for which they started. The experience of McCarthyism in America and Hitlerism in Germany clearly demonstrated that. So it is—in a milder form of the disease—with our T.U.C. General Council now conducting an enquiry into ‘unofficial’ strikes.

If this enquiry were intended to indict the employers for conduct provoking strike action, we ought to welcome it; but there has been no statement or sign from the General Council that such is the purpose. On the contrary, over a long period their attitude toward militant trade union activity in industry, and the public pronouncements of some of its principal members, clearly indicate that this enquiry has been started to arrest militancy of the trade union rank and file, not to encourage it. So *The Times* of January 4 reports that the Minister of Labour, in reply to a request from a number of Conservative M.P.s for a Government Commission on trade unions to be set up, refers to ‘some trade union members who are abusing their position’; and concludes: ‘I think we must first give the T.U.C. the opportunity to deal with its undisciplined minority’.

We must remember the circumstances in which this enquiry was started. The capitalist press were pouring out abuse against shop stewards and denouncing the workers engaged in strike action as public enemies, irrespective of whether the strike was ‘official’ or not. But in the strikes which had not received the official blessing of the union executives—either because there had not been time to do so, or because they were not to be encouraged to continue—the press was particularly vitriolic. They invented the new derogatory term of ‘wildcat strike’, which they repeated in banner headlines daily. This new jungle term was also being shouted from Tory platforms, over the radio and TV, and even in Parliament. The capitalist press in particular were demanding that trade union executives take disciplinary action against their members involved.

This was the moment when the General Council on behalf of the entire trade union movement could have issued a slashing condemnation of the press bosses for their interference in trade union

affairs, and given a positive reply to the insults and news distortions. They could have been told in straight language that the unions needed no advice from them; that they had never assisted trade unionism against the employing class in any struggle, whether official or not; and that their whole record of news reporting had always been prejudiced against the workers, when seeking improvements in wages and working conditions, or even when merely defending themselves against attack by the employers. Here was the opportunity for the General Council to speak out boldly in defence of the workers and to tell the press lords precisely what they thought of their long reactionary record. Had they done so it would have had a great stimulating effect on trade union morale and on recruitment of the unorganised; at the same time it would have strengthened the work of shop stewards and other rank and file delegates in defending and improving working conditions. But instead they bowed to the clamour of the press campaign and commenced their enquiry into strike activities as though there was something evil to be unearthed.

It is therefore not surprising that many shop stewards committees, trade union branches and trades councils, have promptly passed resolutions opposing this enquiry. The Midland Federation of Trades Councils, representing 500,000 organised workers, at its December Conference approved a resolution from the Coventry Trades Council of concern at the readiness of some trade union officials 'to succumb to the deliberate propaganda campaign in the gutter press'. But it is not only in the lower organs of the unions that opposition has been expressed. At least five Executive Committees of important national unions have opposed answering the questionnaire from the General Council; others gave no reply.

Shop stewards quite rightly resent any enquiry prompted by a smear campaign against them in the daily press. They are elected representatives of their fellow trade unionists in the workshops and depots, in accordance with the constitution of their unions, and they accept the position on the understanding that they are answerable to their own union in carrying out their duties. They know that the capitalist press has never represented them in a favourable light to the general public. On the contrary, when they are mentioned at all, it is usually to ridicule or portray them as the agents of mischief and discord in industrial relations. That, of course, is a complete travesty; and any union official who allows himself to be influenced by that should stop and reflect seriously about his own responsibilities to the movement.

In industry today, especially in establishments of notable size, shop stewards are an essential part of our trade union machinery. Day by day they have to resolve a multitude of problems that arise in industrial relations; they are the front line of defence in trade union conditions in the factory. Without them the unions could not guarantee the observance by employers of any national or district agreement or even the regulations of the Factory Acts. Recognition of shop stewards and their *right* to conduct 'first stage' negotiations in the factory was never readily conceded by the employers. The constitutions of many unions made provision for the election of shop stewards many years ago; but their functions were restricted to simply informing the union District Committee of the rates of wages and conditions obtaining in the shop; notifying the union of vacancies for labour; periodically inspecting union cards to check arrears of contributions; and approaching unorganised workers to join the union. Even those simple innocuous duties generally had to be carried out surreptitiously for fear of victimisation, because employers were opposed to having shop stewards in their establishments. It was a hard fight which required men of strong trade union conviction to break down that opposition; and it was not until December, 1917, after many bitter disputes in the workshops, that the employers were compelled to enter into agreements granting recognition for shop stewards and making provision for them taking up individual grievances and conducting first stage negotiations on matters of common concern in the factory before union officials were called in. Today, the system of negotiating rights for shop stewards has become firmly established throughout many industries; but not infrequently we still find employers who refuse to recognise shop stewards. Others, whilst recognising them, try to restrict their functions in such a way as to render them ineffective. Such a situation can easily lead to a strike, because the workers believe that such an employer is not amenable to a reasonable discussion.

Usually shop stewards only come into the news when there is a stoppage of work and then they are represented through the daily press as the instigators of the trouble. The public are never told of the thousands of issues which could have caused strikes but have been quietly resolved by patient negotiation on the part of the shop steward with the employer. They are not told of the many occasions where the unreasonable attitude of the employer leads to the shop steward having to call in the union official before a settlement can be reached. This is the quiet and steady unpaid service which the shop stewards are constantly rendering for trade unionism day

by day. They generally do it at a financial loss, especially in piecework shops where taking up grievances of others with the employer means loss of piecework earnings to themselves. Curtailment of the existing rights of shop stewards could lead to a weakening or even a breakdown in factory organisation, which would deprive the members of the protection which they now get in the factory. It could result in a heavy loss in trade union membership and open the way for the employers offensive against wages and working conditions. To understand this requires only an elementary knowledge of the history and experiences of the trade union movement. The first targets for attack by the employer if the defensive line of the shop stewards were broken down would be those numerous improvements in rates of wages and working conditions, over and above what is provided for in national and district agreements, which have been negotiated directly in the factory by shop stewards. Let there be no doubt about it: these are very numerous and extensive today; so much so, that the employers federations quote them in negotiations with the union executives and endeavour to show that there is no need for further improvements in the national agreements. Of course, the simple answer of the unions to that kind of argument is: 'Well, let us protect them by embodiment in the national agreement and by extending them to those who are still on the minimum standards'. But this the employers federations refuse to do because they constantly hope for a situation in which those plus rates and conditions can be taken away. Furthermore, it requires only a little imagination to realise that problems and complaints dealt with by shop stewards in most organised factories today, especially in the large modern establishments, are so numerous, often requiring immediate attention, that the limited number of full-time union officers could never find time to cope with them without the aid of shop stewards.

Yet today, there is still enormous scope for the extension of the trade union movement. Taking the industrial and ancillary workers as a whole still less than fifty per cent are organised. This is the problem which should be disturbing the T.U.C. General Council, not the bogies raised by the capitalist press. Furthermore, in these days when the unions separately are striving to maintain wage standards against rising cost of living and the profiteering of the employers, there is plenty of work for the General Council to do in co-ordinating the efforts of affiliated unions and, in accordance with their original mandate, 'promoting common action on general questions such as wages and hours of labour'.

CENTRAL AFRICA PRISON-HOUSE

R. Page Arnot

WHEN in the second week of January the British Prime Minister heard his host the Ghana Prime Minister proclaim the need for a 'union of independent African States' to enable them to stand up to the imperialist powers and his belief in the principle of 'one man, one vote', it was a programme of true democracy in a country that had gained its political independence. When in the third week of January he reached the Central African Federation it was to encounter shams and pretences that are the very opposite of democratic. All the apparatus of bourgeois democracy is present: a federal parliament, a prime minister (now the Right Honourable Sir Roland Welensky) and even a leader of Her Majesty's Opposition. But the whole set-up is bogus. The dictionary definition of 'bogus' is: 'an apparatus for counterfeit coining'. This exactly describes the sham nature of the Federation, which so far from being a voluntary union of states on a democratic basis is set up only to hide a reality that is undemocratic, dishonest, reactionary and tyrannical.

To prove this we need take only the simplest figures of this 'Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland'. In the seven-and-a-half million population, Africans outnumber the Europeans by twenty-five to one. In the 'Federal Elections' of 1958 the European voters outnumbered the African voters by eighty-eight to one. This falsification of democracy is effected by a very simple trick. Africans have a right to vote—*provided they fulfil a property qualification plus educational standard*. For example no African may vote unless his income is over £120 a year: the average wage of employed Africans (official 1956 figures) is £70 a year: therefore most Africans are not allowed to vote at all.

Now observe the election situation in the three constituent parts of the Federation. In Northern Rhodesia there are 72,000 Europeans and 2,220,000 Africans: in the elections of March, 1959, there were 20,566 European voters and 7,617 African voters. In Southern Rhodesia there are 207,000 Europeans and 2,420,000 Africans: in the 1956 elections there were 49,854 European voters and 560 African voters. In Nyasaland, where there are only 8,300 Europeans amongst 2,690,000 Africans no general elections have been held.*

*Certain Africans were chosen from provincial councils but though the Europeans in Nyasaland have franchise rights the Africans have none.

This bogus 'Federation' with its sham 'democracy' has now gone on for seven years ever since the British Tory Government here, breaking previous pledges, set it up in 1953. The Labour Party here were against it and their representatives opposed the Bill in parliament. But if the Labour Party were opposed, it can be imagined what was the feeling of the Africans upon whom it had been imposed. The African National Congress in each of the three territories denounced it. The more they saw of this 'Federation', the stronger grew the demand for secession; strongest of all in Nyasaland. All this was well known. A parliamentary delegation of four Conservative and three Labour members, unanimously reported after their visit to Central Africa in August, 1957, that 'Opposition was to be found strongest in Nyasaland'; and the Governor of Nyasaland himself, Sir Robert Armitage, declared:

The African is reluctant to accept federation because he cannot believe that he will ever be allowed to play a role equal to that of the European. He distrusts both federation and the movement towards greater independence for the federation, because he insists that this means a continued and fiercer domination by the White man over the Black. (Federation News Letter. April 19, 1958.)

Meantime Welensky had gone on to demand 'Dominion Status' by 1960 for his white settlers' 'Federation' (under the Act the 'Federation' was to be confirmed—or modified or rejected—after seven years' operation and before nine years elapsed) and this confirmed all the Africans had feared. The Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (in its Synod of Blantyre, Nyasaland) underlined this at mid-summer, 1958, in a report—which in March, 1959, was adopted by the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland:

It is difficult to understand how the Federal Government can demand and work for Dominion Status in the near future. This is the cause of one of the greatest fears amongst Africans. They see their country becoming a 'Native Reserve' on the South African pattern, and various statements made by European political leaders had aggravated this fear. (East Africa and Rhodesia. July 3, 1958.)

Finally, less than five months after Dr. Hastings Banda, as the most distinguished son of his people, had been called back from London to lead the struggle for democracy as president of the Nyasaland African Congress, an article by him appeared stating:

Sir Roy Welensky's demand for Dominion Status in 1960 confirms our original fears that federation was desired by the European settlers as a means of gaining mastery over us, as they have done over our brothers in Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, and to drive the nail into the coffin of any possibility of African States in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, December 18, 1958.)

Dr. Banda was completely correct in his estimation and completely justified in the standpoint he took and in the campaign he carried through—for all of which he has now been eleven months in prison without trial. Meantime repression in Nyasaland was intensified (Amended Police Ordinance Bill of December, 1958): the police were being mobilised: and from Welensky's 'Federation' government troops of the Royal Rhodesia Regiment were sent across the border into Nyasaland. Was there a deliberate purpose here to provoke disorder and so provide a pretext for declaring a state of emergency? However, this may be, the disturbances in Nyasaland increased, naturally enough: and by February, 1959, the Africans were insisting, in action, on free speech and free assembly.

That was just a year ago: and everyone will remember what followed: how in Southern Rhodesia the Governor there proclaimed a state of emergency on February 26, 1959: outlawed the African National Congress and threw hundreds of its leaders into concentration camp or prison: how Governor Armitage proclaimed a similar emergency on March 3: and how on the evening of March 3 Lennox-Boyd wound up the House of Commons debate by talking wildly of an alleged African plot to massacre Europeans. Then came the wholesale arrests, the ban on the Nyasaland African Congress, and the shootings. Not a single European was killed: but more than 50 Africans were killed.* It is still fresh in the memory how the mounting protests here compelled Lennox-Boyd a month later, on April 7, to appoint Mr. Justice Devlin and three colleagues to be a Commission of Inquiry on 'the recent disturbances in Nyasaland and the events leading up to them': and how he hoped, it was clear, to get away with it by this means. And how, on the contrary, the Devlin Report, issued in July, was damning for the Government, if only for the verdict or true word on its first page that Nyasaland was 'a police state':

Nyasaland is—no doubt only temporarily—a police state, where it is not safe for anyone to express approval of the policies of the Congress party, to which before 3rd March, 1959 the vast majority of politically-minded Africans belonged, and where it is unwise to express any but the most restrained criticism of government policy. (Cmnd. 814, July 16, p.1.) Then remember how Lennox-Boyd and Macmillan haled the wretched Armitage to London, said 'Read that and write some sort of answer—and write quick' and then had the further effrontery to publish the poor fellow's laboured reply as a Government White Paper (Despatch by the Governor, Cmnd. 815). But this did not avail them much: and so in the House of Commons when the

*See *Nyasaland Massacre* by Hugo Rathbone in *Labour Monthly* of April, 1959.

Stitch, stitch, stitch . . .



Tailoring in Bethnal Green, London,



1860

In poverty, hunger and dirt . . .
Work — work — work,
Till the brain begins to swim;
Work — work — work,
Till the eyes are heavy and dim !

(From *The Song of the Shirt*, by
Thomas Hood)

matter was coming up for debate they strove to avert criticism by announcing on July 21 yet another commission, an Advisory Commission on the Federation of Central Africa, to be headed by the respectable Lord Monckton. But the first twenty of the membership of this body was not announced until well after the October General Election, until Lennox-Boyd was out of the Government, until November 24 when it was also intimated that half-a-dozen more seats would be filled later, half from the Government and half from the Labour Party. Then remember the dreadful thing that happened to Macmillan. A Sunday newspaper, *The Observer*, callously blew the gaff by showing that every one of the twenty had a record that was, to say the least, very unlikely to inspire majority African opinion with much confidence in them. The Government were very hurt about this newspaper article: 'it was not fair', complained Leader of the House Butler. But worse was to follow. The strong opposition of back bench Labour members to the Commission as constituted and the objections to the way that Macmillan appeared to have been already committed by Welensky made it clear that the offer of vacant seats on it was just a parliamentary trap. The Labour Party refused to participate: and as a result still more sections of African opinion are now likely to boycott the Monckton Commission. Finally, the Government ruefully sought to mend matters by appointing to the vacant seats a brace of former members of the Labour Party, Lord Shawcross and A. Crawley, for whose record when they were in the Labour Government the Labour Party have little respect. There the matter stands at present.

Behind all these recent happenings there is a longer history of deep significance. Just a hundred years ago the execution of John Brown of Harpers' Ferry sparked off the struggle that brought the American Civil War between the South (slave states) and the North. It was the attempt of the South to extend slave-holding into new territories that brought the crisis to a head. For a slave system seeks always to expand to new territories. So today in the Union of South Africa the *apartheid*, the modern form of slave state, seeks expansion. The white settlers have been its apt pupils in Southern Rhodesia. They too have passed repressive laws against their African majority. They too wanted to seize upon new territories to the north.

Originally the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia had the choice in 1923 between becoming a self-governing colony or becoming a new province of the Union of South Africa. They chose the former but remained on good terms with the *apartheid*-mongers then

headed by Prime Minister Dr. Malan whose followers were usually called the Malanazis. The Malanazis had dreamt of a new slave empire stretching from the Transvaal to the Equator: so that there was some ill-feeling between them and their younger rivals some ten years ago when the Southern Rhodesian whites revealed that they had a similar dream. Indeed, Dr. Malan was furious at the Southern Rhodesian whites for 'jumping his claim'. But these quarrels were like the quarrels between the German and Austrian fascists a quarter of a century ago and could easily be compounded even now in a joint conspiracy to enslave all the lands to the north.

At first, when the white settlers bluntly proposed to annex the two Protectorates of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, they called it 'amalgamation'. When this was rejected in 1938 and again after the war, they devised in the early 'fifties the scheme for 'Federation'. The scheme by that time had a double object: first to lay hold on the extremely rich copper ores and other minerals of Northern Rhodesia, and second to get cheap labour from the people of Nyasaland. It was a plan to grab both material riches and human beings.

Now in 1960 the hour of decision comes nearer. The struggle is apparent to everyone. The land-grabbing, undemocratic, colour-bar, low-wage system storming up from Southern Rhodesia encounters the National Liberation Movement led by the dozen African independent states. Central Africa is a focus of this conflict—wherein the British people can play their part not only by the boycott of the original *apartheid*-mongers in South Africa but by demanding the repeal this year of the 1953 Federation Act.

Meantime anxiously watching it all the giants of finance capital (which still holds its economic domination over the whole of Africa) are extending their grasp also in the rich agricultural and mineral tracts of Central Africa. No longer is it the preserve of the old Chartered Company which ruled and exploited from the time that two of the territories were defiled by the name of the unprincipled adventurer Cecil Rhodes. Some two-score of the biggest British firms and banks like Unilever and Barclays Bank are entrenched there: while United States capital has also begun its penetration. The same forces of monopoly capital that exploit the British workers are the blood-suckers in Central Africa. The trade unions there and the trade unions here in Britain are up against the same adversary and the democratic struggle for the right of Africans to be free politically merges in the class struggle of both Africans and British for emancipation.

THE LEFT MUST FIGHT

Councillor Peter Grimshaw*

AFTER the electoral defeat in 1955, the right-wing called for 'New Thinking'. This phrase covered the real intention of a further retreat from socialism. Since the Labour victory of 1945, policies have gone further and further towards the right, and in the same period the people have gone further and further away from Labour. This demonstrates quite clearly that when the people of Britain voted decisively for a change in 1945, they meant it. They did not want attempts at patching up a system that produced wars, slumps, the social evils of bad housing, overcrowded schools, the plight of the old-age pensioner, long hours of overtime in boom periods instead of real wage increases, and 'you've never had it so good' hire-purchase prosperity. At the same time the take-over bidders, the capital-gains and golden-handshake boys have lived in ever increasing luxury.

During this period the hard core of the working class have stood solid in their support for a Labour Government, not so much voting for right-wing labour policies, but voting anti-Tory, conscious of the main enemy of the people. A large section of the people, seeing little or no difference between right-wing Labour and the Tories, became confused and abstained. Since the defeat of 1955 the 'New Thinkers' have come forward with policies that would put a radical to shame, let alone a socialist. And in meeting the criticism of the left-wing they have boldly proclaimed that these policies were essential for Labour to ensure electoral victory. Now we have the people's answer to these policies in the shape of an increased Tory majority in parliament, and the lowest post-war Labour vote. The right-wing continues this betrayal of the fight for socialism, that has brought about three successive defeats, with Mr. Gaitskell's proposal to throw overboard Clause 4* of the Labour Party constitution. Let us be quite clear that the mass of the British people were not aware of the existence of Clause 4, only the active members of the party knew it was there. The ordinary man and woman respond to a party at elections, mainly on the basis of the policies and leadership in fighting for those policies, not just on the

*Councillor Grimshaw, as many of our readers will know, is Secretary of the Salford City Labour Party.—Ed., *L.M.*

*4. 'To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.'

eve of an election, but on the concrete issues of the day as and when they arise. The people of Britain have given judgment on the right-wing leadership and its policies. Of course, Mr. Gaitskell knows that it was not the existence of Clause 4 that failed to rally the majority of the people for Labour at the election. Why then does he want to get this clause out of the way? Consideration of this question poses another one. Does Mr. Gaitskell want a victory for socialism? He answers this question himself when he calls for a 'mixed economy', shares in industry (to remain in the control of the capitalists) and only taking over those industries that 'fail the nation'. This is a betrayal of socialism.

The fight of the left in the Labour Party (weak though this has been) is for more socialist policies, for more nationalisation, not along the lines of the existing nationalised industries, but nationalisation with worker participation in control, that would move towards socialisation as quickly as practicable; a more socialist approach on the question of compensation, so that wages and conditions of the workers in the nationalised industries become the first charge on the industry, modernisation the second (in a fashion that would make for a cheaper commodity or service to the consumer), and compensation the last charge. Likewise on the question of foreign policy, the left have demanded an end to Britain being a puppet of America through membership of N.A.T.O. The cold war alliance has carried with it the heavy cost of armaments and the consequent inroads into the living standards of the people, with less money available for social services; cuts in the subsidy for rehousing, failure to build new schools or to develop the health services to a proper level, and has left the old-age pensioners in the plight they are now in. In the fight for these demands the left have been able to point to the ultimate aim of the movement—socialism, as set out in Clause 4. Therefore, if this clause can be 'revised' the question of a socialist policy will no longer exist as an embarrassment to the right-wing, socialism will have been finally denounced and the labour movement betrayed.

Some comrades are talking as if the Labour Party had already dropped Clause 4 and are speaking of setting up breakaway organisations. This would be suicidal. The task of the left-wing is to rid itself of political corruption arising out of the cold war propaganda, to end its apologetic approach, rid itself of hesitation, and build a unity of action of the left, as a condition for fighting in a way that it has never fought before, to rally support not only to retain Clause 4, but to make it a living reality in our policies.

THE RAILWAYMEN AND COMMON OWNERSHIP

Les Hurworth

WHEN Labour won the 1945 election, and the first majority Labour Government was formed, railwaymen, together with millions of other industrial workers believed they had seen the last of the bad conditions which the private owners had for so long imposed upon them. When later the Government had implemented their election pledges, and in 1947 nationalised the railways, these workers really felt that the future held grand prospects for them and their industry. Few then believed it possible that in six years a Tory Government would be back in power, dismantling certain sections of the industry (of which British Road Services was a very lucrative one), and by its financial policy, making it difficult, to say the least, for the British Transport Commission to pay its way, or to pay its employees wages equivalent to private industry. And how many at that time could have thought for one moment that the Labour Party, the party which they had helped to form and foster, and which they so ardently supported, would step by step, retreat from the very idea of nationalisation, until in the election year of 1959 nationalisation was almost a dirty word?

Today they find the Labour Party leadership, not only on the verge of repudiating nationalisation, but also questioning the value of continuing to include Clause 4 in its constitution. Dealing with the principle of common ownership generally, this is the clause which gave them the mandated right after the 1945 election to go ahead with their schemes of nationalisation of which transport was one. The older generation of industrial workers will remember that the first plans for nationalisation were to include railways and mines because of the disastrous state into which they had been allowed to fall, and because of the pitifully low wages and the bad conditions of labour which were the lot of the employees. These were to be only the first plans in a whole series of legislative measures designed to cut the power of the financiers and industrialists, whose grip on the economic power of the country had brought poverty, unemployment and misery for more than a century. Such legislation was eventually to give the workers control of their industries and pave the way for the socialist state which had been the goal of their pioneering heroes like Keir Hardie, Tom Mann and a host of others.

Today, after twelve years of nationalised transport, we are witnessing the beginning of the fight for wage rates comparable with outside industry. I welcomed the decision of the London District Committee of the National Union of Railwaymen to call a token strike in support of their claims, recognising that this token strike was for the purpose of supporting the N.U.R. claim for a wage increase irrespective of the results of the enquiry. Such action should never have been necessary and we can only consider Sir Brian Robertson's recent statement as a piece of sheer hypocrisy.*

It must be emphasised that, however much this fight develops, and however much the railwaymen achieve out of these struggles, they and their industry will be committed to continuous struggle, until socialist nationalisation replaces the capitalist nationalisation which operates today. To leave industry as at present, 20 per cent nationalised and 80 per cent privately owned, will not bring us one step nearer the goal of common ownership. In its present form the 20 per cent publicly owned will always be used to provide cheap services for the other 80 per cent. We know that the Tories will never do anything to change this position, and if the Labour Party leadership succeed in altering or deleting Clause 4 then a whole succession of Labour Governments will not alter it either. Railwaymen, like employees in other nationalised industry, must recognise that without an extension of nationalisation of a socialist character, neither they nor their industry will ever get a square deal. Railwaymen must fight for the retention of Clause 4, and ensure that common ownership remains the ultimate goal.

*The independent pay review committee is due to report next April. On January 11, 1960, Sir Brian Robertson said that *if* the report seems to justify higher wages for railwaymen, the British Transport Commission will discuss with the unions an interim increase. He appealed for a 'little further patience'. By April the committee will have been in session for eighteen months!

THE DICKENS ILLUSION

I

Mr. Bevan referred to the 'downright ignorance' of many Russians who imagine Britain to be still living as in the time of Dickens.

(Press report of Aneurin Bevan's television broadcast in Moscow, September 6, 1959.)

II

'They are living a sort of workhouse life which Dickens exposed a hundred years ago—I thought these days had gone forever'.

(Magistrate Mr. Edgar Borden, J.P. of Bristol. *The Times*, December 29, 1959.)

FOUR STARS

Last month's campaign notes expressed confident hopes of our 1960 prospects—and very justifiably. If every other month is like January we shall be on top of the world come next Christmas. The Joe Scott article in defence of shop stewards and Jack Mitchell's contribution to the discussion on the labour movement's way ahead proved to be very good campaign bases. With only two weeks of the month gone, we have already had in orders for fifty-nine copies from three engineering union district committees. That is in addition to orders from union branches and shop stewards committees. A wonderful effort by workers there resulted in the sale of ninety copies of the January number at a Dagenham motor factory. Over twenty more were sold at the Daily Worker's 'Which Way for Labour?' conference.

So to the February number and with your help we shall do at least as well and, with a bit of luck, even better. I would star four articles for your attention. The first is the Notes. Resurgent Nazism, the Soviet disarmament proposals and the forthcoming Summit meeting all put peace issues to the fore in public interest. Will it be a successful Summit? A well-informed, alert public opinion can do much to decide that question, which is where we come in with suggestions for sales to peace groups and to clinch those factory arguments with vital facts and figures. The second star is for The General Council and Shop Stewards, a telling argument on what the Trades Union Congress ought to make its principal concern. Related in interest, the third star is for Councillor Peter Grimshaw's The Left Must Fight. There is growing revolution of feeling at the bans and proscriptions which hinder the anti-Tory struggle. Use this article to help smash them down. Star number four for R. Page Arnot's second Africa article. With Macmillan tootling around that continent, the recent Kenya discussions and the boycott of South African goods movement there is very wide interest in African affairs which should make for ready sales on the basis of this article, not least amongst the many co-operators who are active in the boycott campaign.

Star articles all right—can we now have some more star sellers? Will you help? Order campaign copies from us right away. And as a final word, we should be very glad of phone calls from volunteers to help sell outside the British Peace Committee's conference in London on February 13 and 14.

G.B.

RACISTS AND MILITARISTS

Ivor Montagu

[At a time when the Adenauer government's prosecution in Dusseldorf of the advocates of world peace has been accompanied by intensified militarist propaganda and renewed racist outbreaks, we have pleasure in printing this speech delivered at an international protest in Berlin on January 13. The meeting was organised by the Peace Committee of the German Democratic Republic and of the three thousand who thronged the Friedrichstadt-Palast over a quarter were ticket-holders from West Berlin.—Ed., L.M.]

WE are meeting at a time when a reappearance of open anti-Semitic manifestations, triggered off by incidents in Germany, has aroused widespread horror and indignation both in other countries and in Germany itself. These incidents have occurred—in a spreading series—in many countries, Britain, Scandinavia, America, even Australia. But a Soviet newspaper has wisely said: in such countries as Britain and U.S.A. such incidents are like a light cold to a healthy man—in Germany they are dangerous because the patient has been deeply affected by the disease.

I have not come here to speak of faults or ills in another people, but as a medical man, to diagnose a sickness dangerous to the whole world. It is often forgotten that anti-Semitism is only a part of the nonsensical idea of racialism in general. The idea that peculiar merits or deserts lie in a particular race which can win benefits for itself at the expense of everyone else. This idea is not only scientific nonsense—for there are no pure races any more; your people, the Germans, and my people, the British, are among the most mixed in all the world. It is not only social nonsense, spread by reactionaries to divert the peoples from uniting to overcome the real obstacles to their wealth and happiness. It is not only an idea that, in its different manifestations, shames many peoples. Not only Germans, but Americans in their southern states, the British in Africa, indeed (and I say this firmly as myself a Jew) that it shames Jews also—for the behaviour of the Israeli Government toward Palestinian Arabs, and of Jews in South Africa who share there in the infamies committed against Africans.

The main thing is that it is a folly that dooms the people that indulges in it. There are no 'superior' peoples any more. Man is one family, and must on this earth so live. As one community. Not divided into rich relations and poor relations. And any people

that tries to do it, is surely doomed, to an early doom—whether it be the apartheid whites of South Africa, or the pitiful would-be ‘Aryans’ of Germany, or the ‘pink’ peoples of Europe and America in general. Indeed, and I say this quite clearly to Jewish friends who may think that the argument against the Nazis is that racism hurts the Jews. This is not true, the real argument is that it does not help the Germans. Any more than the atrocities of Holo helped the British or of the Algiers transit camps can help the French. Any of us and all of us can only live if we find ways and means of putting up with one another. Ways of respecting and advancing, in common, the interests of all. The true patriots are those who realise this. The noblest men and women are those who spend their lives and health in trying—in time, because the time is short—to teach this lesson to others. It is men and women of this stamp who are on their trial today before the court in Dusseldorf.

Edith Hoereth-Menge, Erwin Echert, Walter Diehl, and their companions. When I read the accusations against them I am astounded. Traitors? Acting against the interest of their peoples? Of what people in the world is it not true that its own supreme interest is peace! Stooges? Acting in accordance with the dictates of others? Dear me! Dear me! I am sure our accused friends will forgive me when I say that my own liveliest recollection of working with them as colleagues is of long sessions far into the night, even early morning, and disputations in committee, until *they* were well satisfied that resolutions took care of *their* viewpoint in every dot and comma!

I wish to come back briefly to the theme with which I began. If militarism and racialism deeply infect Germany, who in Germany should be honoured, respected and supported above all? Those, surely, who preach peace and the brotherhood of man. I ask myself who is to blame for the return of sparks of life to Nazism in Germany and their infection elsewhere. And I answer: some of those, indeed, who are now busiest condemning it with an attitude that we call in English ‘Holier than thou’. The demonstrations against these revivals have been great—in London, Washington, Paris, also West Berlin. Press declarations against them have been universal—in all these places and also in Bonn. The feeling of horror entertained by good people everywhere, not least in Germany, is noble and refreshing. But a part of it, among certain people, is the cry of the robber who shouts ‘Stop thief!’ as he runs so that the crowd shall not realise it is he who committed the crime.

Who rearms Western Germany? Who encourages the idea that

Germany can be united otherwise than by agreement? Who fosters the absurdity—long disapproved by history and buried by the sputniks and luniks—that an ‘advanced’ West can, by strength, impose terms upon a ‘backward’ East? Who refuses to recognise that the boundaries of the Third Reich are gone for good and can never be restored, and that the attempt could only mean a new World War in which the German people would be the first to perish? We all know the answers to these questions.

I am afraid these schemes, or dreams, bring their own logic. If you want to advance such crazy plans, whom must you seek as allies, officials, officers and non-commissioned officers among the Germans? We know this answer, too. You do not seek such as those now on trial in Dusseldorf, and their ideas, though it is precisely those who *should* have been encouraged if the demons that inspire Nazism were to have been effectively exorcised. No, you do not seek the peace-loving, for they will have nothing of such schemes, but the militarists, the racists, the refuse of Hitler’s accomplices, the rich who profited from his evil. You have to promote these. They are your natural friends, you dare not slap them down. And who can then wonder or blame if deluded and stupid youngsters think it no crime to follow where others favour? Yes, among those, within and without Germany, who condemn anti-Jewish excesses today are not a few who themselves are blame-worthy, and whose anxiety is only in case the excesses of their proteges should too soon alert the world. The danger of a Nazi revival in Germany today comes precisely because these ideas and illusions have been fostered. My friends, the accused in the Dusseldorf trial are guilty, but of what? They are guilty of seeking to advance controlled disarmament, to end the nuclear menace to mankind. They are guilty of seeking to unite Germany, peacefully and by agreement of all Germans. They are guilty of seeking co-existence, not hostility; negotiation, not the arms race; of seeking a Summit meeting, such as now, at last, the Great Powers are agreed upon; above all, of seeking peace. They are guilty, in other words, of seeking in deed, what the millions of humanity all pray for, what no statesman today dare disavow desire for—at least in words—and what would constitute the greatest good for all the German people.

I am no lawyer, I do not know the law. But if this, of which they are undoubtedly guilty, is a crime anywhere in the world, then that is no stain upon them but only upon those who dare to challenge them and ask their condemnation.

CRISIS OF SOCIALISM?

Joanny Berlioz

[The discussion of the so-called 'Crisis of Socialism' is not confined to Britain, but is developing in all the Labour and Social Democratic Parties of Western Europe. A review of these new trends and discussions on an international scale has been opened in the French progressive journal *Democratie Nouvelle*, and we have pleasure in making available to our readers the main sections of the opening statement by its editor, Joanny Berlioz.—Ed., L.M.]

SINCE October 8, 1959, when the Labour Party was defeated by the Conservatives in the British General Election there has been much discussion in the press about the 'Crisis of Socialism', this set-back being generally considered as a confirmation of the 'retreat of the socialists in Europe'. It has even become fashionable to state that 'socialism has had its day', and, doubtless so that it may linger on a bit, socialist parties are being eagerly advised to undertake a revision of their principles and to adopt 'a new-look programme', etc.

This kindly advice has not fallen on deaf ears, for the search for political programmes unencumbered by definitions and 'out-of-date' slogans has been undertaken by a number of socialist parties, doubtless in accord with the audacious explanation of electoral reverses given by *Les Echos* (October 10), that in their countries 'the revolution had already taken place'. This is the case especially in the Austrian and Dutch parties and most of all in the German Social Democratic Party. This last at its special Congress at Bad-Godesberg on November 19 carried its break with the past so far that the *Rhenische Merkur*, the most reactionary mouthpiece of finance capital in the Rhineland, was able to rejoice in these terms:

The C.D.U.* can put to its credit the turn about of social democracy (S.P.D.) as the finest fruit of its campaign!

The S.P.D. broke completely with all that remained of the socialist ideology contained in the old Heidelberg programme of 1925; it announced support for the 'liberal-democratic' state of Adenauer and for the 'national defence' of West Germany, that is to say it accepted monopoly capitalism and militarism, limiting itself to recommending a vague public control of monopolies with a view to 'liberalising' them. In May, 1958, the Austrian Socialist Party had already adopted a new programme. The final text is less anti-marxist

*Christian Democratic Union, the party of Chancellor Adenauer.

than the original draft, because, meantime, the thesis of Benedikt Kautsky (son of the old Kautsky) on gradual democratisation and sound evolution of capitalism had been upset by events in France and the intensified recession in U.S.A. and because of the rising protest of the rank and file of the party against the complete abandoning of marxist principles. . . . The Labour Party itself is engaged in a lively debate, as yet undecided, between the right and left wings. Other parties, like the S.F.I.O. keep in their archives documents linked with the old traditions, but their actions show that they consider them out-dated.

All is not well with the parties of the Socialist International—no question of that. At the end of the war the socialists led or participated in the Governments of 22 countries—today only in 8. They have everywhere lost a large proportion of supporters and electoral votes (over 200,000 members and two million votes in France, 300,000 members in W. Germany). But it is an abuse of words to describe this general recession as 'a crisis of socialism'.

One knows, without going back to the 'National-Socialism' of Hitler, that socialist terminology is used at random, because of the attraction exercised on the people by genuine socialism. For socialism is alive and full of health for a thousand million building it fast between the Elbe and the Pacific. Truly it is hard to speak of the crisis of a system which the capitalist experts state whether they like it or not, to be demonstrating its superiority over theirs more and more each day. First, therefore, let words be given back their proper meanings: what is in retreat and without perspective of a future is not genuine socialism, but social democracy; the crisis is amongst those who have abandoned and betrayed socialism in order to serve a declining bourgeoisie, and who set themselves to revise Marxism from top to bottom on the pretext that there have been 'changes' since *Capital* was written, changes so fundamental that today 'free competition, free private enterprise, etc.', should be proclaimed as principles of socialist political economy.*

'In a way', one reads in *Les Echos*, commenting on the Conservative victory in Great Britain, 'socialism has served its turn. It has achieved most of its objectives, shorter hours of work, social security, opportunities of promotion for workers, a fairer system of taxation'. It is true that capitalism has conceded certain demands which comprise just about all the socialist programme of Ollenhauer, Guy Mollet, Gaitskell, Saragat. But we must not exaggerate

*This hymn of 'freedom' under the aegis of the monopolists and the militarists is actually found in the midst of many other enormities, in the programme put out by the Congress of Bad-Godesberg.

nor shut our eyes to the inadequacy of the reforms conceded and the current tendency to nibble them away and sometimes brutally reverse them. The bourgeoisie, when under strong pressure, at times knows how to pay the price necessary to avoid revolution; faced with the formidable mass movement of 1945, it resigned itself to make big concessions. But the set of demands that included only reforms of this sort, was in no way socialist, and when they insisted on not going any further, or even on the lines of the Austrian socialists, when they urged the workers not to put burdens on the economy by claiming too much and in practice to allow social gains to be reconsidered, then the time comes when they reach the end of their short tether, and have no programme left.

The socialist leaders also theorised that a programme was no longer so necessary, since they were now concerned with a new capitalism, full of good intentions, which would glide smoothly into socialism. They constantly harped on economic 'changes' and sought to justify their views in books written to encourage dreams of a people's capitalism freed from the characteristics of classic capitalism.

Superficial analysis of changes, without regard to their class character, has always been the alibi of revisionists of Marxism, whose lineage goes back to the later years of Marx himself; they seek in them theoretical justification for opportunist practice.

Certainly there is no lack of changes. The industrial revolution progresses ever faster. Very valuable scientific and technical advances modify productive forces. State monopoly capitalism has become a marked feature of bourgeois society and exercises an influence on the further development of capitalist production. The structure of the whole of the salaried classes has undergone a change, particularly since automation has extended (differences of skill, differentiation of salaries, etc.). New forms of capitalist production pose new problems and the social reality of today deserves an examination that is concrete and searching.

The right-wing leaders of the social democrats are in a state of crisis because, in spite of their deceptions a growing section of their followers have seen that the main laws of the capitalist method of production are still valid.

The makers of the 'new look' platforms have allowed themselves, voluntarily or otherwise, to become confused by minor changes, and it would cost them too much to admit the facts which would demolish their scaffolding of illusions.

Commenting on the last congress of the S.P.D. *Le Monde* observes that it is not the Congress of the rupture with Marxist ideology (which was complete long ago), but rather 'of a rupture with any kind of ideology or long-term perspectives'. Here is the crisis with a vengeance. A hotch-potch of references to Plato and Aristotle, to Christian ethics, to humanism, to classical philosophy, describes the disarray of some souls when faced with unexpected realities, but it will not satisfy those who are questioning things and desire something new.

Clearly all the militant social-democrats are not traitors. There are, for example, among them sincere idealists who desire the dignity and freedom of man-in-the-abstract, unconnected with the relations of production. In the parties in crisis there are deluded workers who are seeking a new way and who indeed are hardly consulted when 'modern' programmes are being laid down (the pontiffs of the S.P.D. smothered all critical resolutions coming from the rank and file). It is in gathering together these men of goodwill that these groupings, such as the Nenni socialists in Italy, the Autonomous Socialist Party (P.S.A.) in France, believe they will be able to reinvigorate the waverers.

Other possibilities for reorientation suggest themselves. In Germany, those expelled from the S.P.D. are seeking a way; in Great Britain, trade union leaderships are turning towards the left and the Victory for Socialism group is very active; in Sweden, the left wing of the social democrats has turned itself into a 'Progressive Union'; in Austria, the militants are expressing the wish—and not in irony—that among all the revisionist cliques in the Socialist Party, there should be found place for a working party of 'socialist social-democrats'.

We will be glad if this article can be the point of departure for a more profound international enquiry into the 'crisis of socialism' which has varying aspects in different countries, and into the attempts at a rescue and the limits thereof.

Eleven million men and women belong to the Socialist International, the trade unions under socialist influence have 55 million members. The influence of social democracy is still exercised in various forms in many places; it is not possible to abandon so many people in the throes of the 'crisis'. We must facilitate their convalescence, the solution of their confusion, we must help them to understand the radiant alternative to capitalist decadence: socialism, the efficient organisation of modern society over more than a third of the earth's surface.

TEN YEARS IN TEN MILE INN

David Crook

(Continued from the January number)

SOME Ten Mile Inn villagers owned plots in other villages: peasants in other villages owned plots in Ten Mile Inn. This wasted time walking to and fro. It interfered with ploughing: things had not yet developed to the point at which one co-op would plough another co-op's land. This hardly fostered the spirit of co-operation. Nor did disputes over the different crops to be planted by different co-ops owning adjoining fields. If sorghum, growing to a height of eight feet with long spreading roots, were to be planted on both sides of low-lying crops like peanuts, these would be deprived of sunlight, air and nutriment. Sometimes agreements were negotiated; sometimes they were broken. A Ten Mile Inn co-op agreed with its neighbour not to plant sorghum on a certain plot: then it changed its plan. Members of the first co-op pulled it up.

Private ownership and collective use of implements and draught animals also led to contradictions. Sometimes, just when an animal was needed for muck-spreading, its owner would claim it for grinding grain at the mill or because his wife must visit a relative.

These were the problems. They were not the main trend. In general, it was clear that the solution lay in more co-operation, not less, in increasing the payment for labour and decreasing that on investment. In the autumn of 1955 the distribution principle was accordingly readjusted to 70% for labour done, 30% for land invested. This was only a first step. That same winter there was widespread discussion of Chairman Mao's speech on agricultural co-operation, in which he compared the hesitance of certain local leaders to an old lady tottering timidly on tiny bound feet. In Ten Mile Inn they concluded that an advance to fully socialist co-operatives must be made with distribution based solely on work done. Some such co-ops already existed in the county. Leading villagers from Ten Mile Inn went to see how they were run and talk things over with their members. They became convinced that such co-ops meant bigger yields and better living—and that they had the ability and resources to set them up. So in 1956 Ten Mile Inn removed all its boundary stones and established a 'high level co-op' embracing the entire village. This strengthened village unity and made for far more rational use of land, labour and draught animals, concentrating resources permitted investment in more

efficient implements. Seventeen two-wheeled, double-shared ploughs were bought—a great improvement on the old type. More important still, with the boundaries removed, tractors could be used for the first time. There was an upsurge of enthusiasm and production would undoubtedly have taken a leap forward but for exceptionally bad weather, hail storms doing much damage, especially to the wheat crop: the year might have been disastrous. But the socialist co-op proved its worth. Disaster was staved off and increased yields of 1955 were actually maintained. In 1957 output rose again, this time to 258 *jin* per *mu* for grain and 80 *jin* for cotton. And this advance brought another achievement in its wake. The buying and selling of the means of production, the trend towards class differentiation, were brought to an end. So far as objective obstacles went, the way was cleared for a great leap forward.

But objective obstructions are by no means the only ones in the path of human advance. Faith can move mountains: lack of it, even on the part of a small minority, can act as a brake on progress.

In and around Ten Mile Inn the enthusiasm for the high level co-op was widespread. But it was not universal. A small minority was lukewarm, sceptical or even opposed. It was this sort of situation which gave rise to the 'Great Debate' in the countryside in 1957. In South Yangyi, a couple of miles west, where about one sixth had doubts, and a handful of families was opposed, the Great Debate was carried out by 'presenting facts, making comparisons and reasoning.'

In the old days, before the land reform, there had been a poor peasant in South Yangyi called Su Wen-he, whose family's land yielded less than half a pound of grain per head per day; so they had to subsist largely on chaff and wild herbs: they never ate meat even during the New Year festival. Su had four sons but he was too poor to arrange a marriage for more than one of them. In the famine of 1942 Su and his youngest son both died of hunger. They buried Su in a reed mat; for the son they could only dig a hole by the road. With land reform the family's holding was increased to nearly five acres and they received two donkeys. Within a short time the two remaining bachelor sons got married and it was not long before Su's widow found herself with a family of three sons, three daughters-in-law, four grandsons and three grand-daughters, 'with twelve silk quilts, five cotton quilts and ten pairs of rubber overshoes.' When she died, shortly before the Great Debate, she was buried in a fine coffin and the leaders of the co-op came to pay their respects to the bereaved family.

When this story was told by Su Wen-he's sons during the Great Debate, it reminded many listeners of their own past, moving them to anger at the thought of the old landlord rule, to resentment at those who opposed the reforms, and in some cases to remorse. One peasant had been so poor in the old days that he had no home of his own and slept in temples or in the gateways or under the eaves of other people's houses. After the land reform he became a 'well-off middle peasant.' But with the improvement in his own fortunes he failed to support the co-operative. 'I drank the water, but forgot who dug the well', he said during the debate. 'If it weren't for the Communist Party I'd have been dead long ago. How could I have failed to support the co-op? I was black-hearted.' And he struck himself.

It was much the same in Ten Mile Inn itself. One well-off middle peasant named Wang Jia-wen had complained that 'now that a man can't buy land any more, things are worse than they were before liberation. You can't even eat decently any more.' During the Great Debate a lean, young man named Wang Ling-rung said to Wang, 'You talk as if you represented all of us. But you don't. You just represent yourself and one or two others like you. Were you really better off before? I wasn't. Now we all get enough to eat. And that includes you: the rest of us are as well-off as you are. So you think you're worse off than you used to be.'

Such 'presenting the facts and making comparisons' not merely won the minority of waverers and even convinced a good part of those opposed. Perhaps more important still was the effect on the majority, who already supported co-operation. A boundless prospect opened which they had never even dreamed of before; mechanisation, electrification, full-scale irrigation. It filled them with enthusiasm and confidence for the great leap forward.

For them the output of grain per *mu* shot up to 316 *jin* and of cotton to 115 *jin*, through better use of land and labour, more efficient implements and techniques, particularly deep ploughing.

But the most spectacular advance was on the industrial front.

'We hardly knew what iron and steel looked like before', said the secretary of the Ten Mile Inn branch of the Young Communist League. 'But eight out of ten of all the young people in the village smelted it in 1958. It was the same all over the country. More than twenty of us have mastered the whole process, from making furnaces to turning out the finished product. We've got certificates from the county headquarters. We worked all out for the first ten days or so, until we'd really got the hang of it. One or two people

like young Li worked five days and nights at a stretch, without going to bed. But he was lively as a cricket, singing away.' It turned out that the speaker himself had done the same; and many of the girls, too, had stuck at the arduous job for long hours.

So Ten Mile Inn made steel, fifteen tons of it; and in so doing helped to create a commune. This is how it happened. Ten Mile Inn and the three or four villages around it were quite a few miles from the iron and coal mines; and the other villages had only pack animals, no carts. One animal could carry a load of a hundred-weight and a half. A cart could carry ten times as much. If all the animals were out transporting coal and iron, how would the farmwork be done? Ten Mile Inn, being on the highway, had long done carting as a sideline and had a number of carts. If only Ten Mile Inn could do the carting for the other villages. . . . But they were all different co-ops. . . . The peasants pondered and discussed this problem. They knew that in the Soviet Union there were big collective farms. They had seen films about them at the mobile cinemas. Some of them had been to conferences in the provincial capital or even in Peking where they had heard peasant delegations report on visits to the Soviet Union. Couldn't they set up some sort of a collective farm? Leaders from several villages in the locality went more than once to the sub-county government, strongly urging such action. Transport was one of many problems urging the co-op. members towards a larger organisation. Another, more vital still, was water.

Ten Mile Inn lies on the bank of a river bed; the Min is dry most of the time—or in flood. 'Don't marry your daughter into Ten Mile Inn', the saying went, during the dry months the water would have to be carried on a shoulder pole for well over a mile. Other villages were even worse off. One poor old man in nearby Bolin, during a drought, carried two great buckets of water twelve miles from a spring in the hills. When he got home he stumbled on a stone step and spilt the lot. The next day he left the village swearing he would never go back.

A more effective solution was to be found. There is a watershed in the hills at Xiao Yetao village, thirteen miles from Ten Mile Inn, but the water-flow was not efficiently used for irrigation, and it was the cause of constant friction. Even to this day 'socialist emulation' between Bolin and Yangyi is not absolutely unmixted with a memory of old quarrels over water. In 1956 there was a drought and the newly established high level co-op. of Bolin sent a great contingent of peasants upstream, stationing a man every third of a

mile to prevent interference with the flow of what little water there was. But the people living along the stream knew the lie of the land far better; they diverted 'their' water, none got to Bolin.

Leaders of the different co-ops. broached the idea of a joint water conservancy and irrigation project. The response was by no means whole-hearted. The people in the villages upstream were not interested! those far downstream swore the water would never reach them. One man in Bolin said, 'If a drop of water ever flows here from Xiao Yetao I'll crawl between your legs three times'. Only the villages in the middle reaches favoured the project, but lacked the resources to undertake it alone. Besides, a channel would have run through the land of several co-ops., so that property boundaries and land utilisation also entered into it.

With high level co-ops. came problems of local government, such as duplication of administration. By the late summer or early autumn of 1958 it was clear that a new type of political and economic unit was necessary, and possible. The whole Chinese countryside was beset by similar problems and its five hundred million people were working out a variety of solutions. These were analysed and synthesized by the Communist Party. The most effective form of all—named by Chairman Mao himself—was the people's commune. 'Chairman Mao said the communes were the best. And the district government leaders said we ought to learn what they were and how they were run', said a member of the present commune committee. In Ten Mile Inn four hundred and thirty households applied to set up a local commune.

In September, 1958, thirty-three high level co-ops. merged to form the Yangyi People's Commune. Membership was voluntary, but every single household in Ten Mile Inn joined.

What has been the effect on the lives of the people?

Retail sales by the Ten Mile Inn co-op. store were three times higher during the first six months of 1959 than in 1958. Where has the increased purchasing power come from? Increased production. Within two months of the setting up of the commune with its 37,000 people and over 16,000 acres of land, a village reservoir in Ten Mile Inn and a thirteen-mile-long channel feeding it were dug. One-seventh of the village land is now irrigated, the rest will be within two years, when a much larger reservoir many times as large has been completed by the joint work of several communes. Even the most doting parents now need have no qualms about their daughters marrying into Ten Mile Inn. Nearly half of the village land is already ploughed by commune tractors.

Three of the drivers or trainees are from Ten Mile Inn—two of them girls. There is no electricity in Ten Mile Inn yet, as there is in Xiao Yetao and Yangyi; but the village already has radio diffusion and takes part in commune meetings conducted by telephone with loudspeakers attached.

What of the general gains of the last ten years? The commune leaders worked out for me the changes in the fortunes of one old acquaintance. In his family the income per head is now nearly eight times what it was; but that is partly because there are more earners in the family as the children have grown up. When I was last in Ten Mile Inn the youngest son was thirteen and he was green with envy—as he now confesses—for my leather belt. Now he is one of the commune accountants and his wife is a tractor driver. And he has two leather belts of his own. But the accounts of last year cannot be stated simply in terms of leather belts, or even in family income figures. Perhaps they are summed up more strikingly in the fact that the wild herbs which the people used to eat are now being fed to pigs. Or in the statement of commune member Wang Tsung-liang, the worldly possessions of whose family of six used to consist of 'an eight-sided table' (with the original four corners worn away) 'a three-legged stool and two ragged quilts. The rest of the stuff could all be put into one basket. Now I've got eleven grandchildren' (traditional symbol of happiness and prosperity) 'and two lorries couldn't hold all our stuff'.

Does all this mean that the people's commune differs from the earlier stages of development—land reform, mutual aid, co-operatives—in that it has solved all the people's problems? No. There is no progress without problems. And the communes are still in their early stages. Progress and problems in plenty lie ahead. Living standards are far higher than they were, but they are still not high. In Ten Mile Inn social services such as communal dining-rooms and nurseries—and with them the emancipation of women from household drudgery—are still only part-time affairs, functioning only during rush seasons. Yet still more complex problems lie ahead—such as that of turning farmers into economic planners and administrators of such a large unit as the commune. Above all there is the problem which the whole of China faces today: an acute shortage of labour. But the last ten years give assurance that these problems will be solved: and they foretell bigger and better leaps ahead in the next ten years in Ten Mile Inn.

(Concluded)

BOOKS

The Slaves of the Cool Mountains

Alan Winnington

Lawrence & Wishart. 224 pp. 25s.

THIS is a fascinating book. Alan Winnington writes of what no European has ever seen or will ever see again, a last glimpse of 'a by-passed product of human history'. In 1957 he visited three communities, near the Burmese border, in China, hitherto almost entirely out of touch with the surrounding civilisations, the Norsu, the Wa and the Jingpaw.

These societies—each very different from the others—are now beginning rapidly to change, leaping over the epochs of history that divide them from the modern world. When Alan Winnington was there, the change was just beginning and the old social and economic relations were still there to examine, as they had existed prior to the impact of the Chinese People's Republic.

The Slaves of the Cool Mountains, although it reads with all the lightness and excitement of a traveller's tale, is very much more; it will arouse a wide and general interest—amongst politicians because it shows the skill, courage and wisdom of a handful of Chinese communists in building a bridge between the new China and other peoples so long hostile to the oppressive Hans; amongst economists and sociologists because here is displayed the economic structure and ideological attitudes of a slave society just emerging into feudalism (the Norsu), a primitive communist society in which slavery has just begun to develop (the Wa) and a second primitive communist society, the gay, poetic Jingpaw which, developing differently, has an hereditary caste of rulers but no slaves bar a few non-Jingpaw captives.

My personal reaction was an excitement such as a reviewer rarely experiences; it took me, as it were, to a peak from which to look on one side onto man's past and on the other into our modern world with its own brand of sorcerers and fear-bound attachment to 'the devils we know'. So to feel the living unity of man's past and present is a tonic that helps the human soul to find magnanimity enough to set course for the future. It is a pity that the author has left out so much detail (e.g., the feudal privileges referred to on p.31) and it

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is hoped that he will in due course find some way to make available as material for scientific enquiry every scrap of information collected under such unique historical circumstances.

JOHN EATON.

Correspondence of Frederick Engels with Paul and Laura Lafargue. Translated from the French by Yvonne Kapp.

Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Illustrated, Vol. 1. (1868-1886). 408 pp. 6s.

[In the August, 1955, issue of Labour Monthly, we announced that several hundred letters of Frederick Engels and the Lafargues had been unearthed: and were to be published in three volumes by Editions Sociales in Paris. By the kindness of the editor, Emile Bottigelli, we were enabled to put into print for the first time (in our issues of August to November, 1955,) sample letters from Engels bearing on British events. Publication in France began in 1956 and was completed last year. In the translation reviewed below the whole correspondence will appear in English.—Ed., L.M.]

PAUL Lafargue was born in Cuba. As a boy he went to France and, after being expelled from the university for organising students, came to London. He married Laura Marx. After taking his degree as an English physician he returned to France. He was active for the Paris Commune of 1871 and, after its fall, escaped to Spain where he helped the Spanish socialist press. During this difficult period Laura was with him. Lafargue was harassed by the Spanish police: but yet this did not deter him from pursuing the fight against Bakunin and his followers in

the First International. Lafargue was also sent to Italy on behalf of the International. He returned to London in 1872 where he endeavoured to earn a living in business as a photo-engraver. This lasted some years but, with mounting difficulties, he returned to France where he carried on ceaseless socialist agitation by lecturing, writing articles and pamphlets and translating Marx's works. Whilst serving six months' imprisonment he wrote, with Guesde, a fellow socialist prisoner, the noted *Programme of the French Workers' Party*.

It is surprising that during the extremely dangerous and trying period in Spain, Italy and France a correspondence could continue between Engels and the Lafargues. Here are intensely interesting passages on the life and work of Karl Marx penned whilst he was alive. Here, also, are recorded the facts of Marx's death and the finding of a considerable amount of unpublished literary work, including 'about 500 pages in folio' of *Capital*, which was published posthumously as further volumes of this work.

There are continuous requests by the Lafargues for financial aid from Engels. Although it is not at all clear, there is the possibility that, as stated on page 53, arising out of the sale of Lafargue's house in New Orleans an arrangement was made for Engels 'to take the house at the valuation rate, to repay yourself what I (that is, Lafargue) owe you and to credit me with the rest'.

There are defects in the family tree given at the end of the book. For example 'Guido' as son of Marx is given, but this certainly should be 'Henry Edmund Guy'; as also with 'Franziska', which should read, 'Jenny Eveline Frances'. (Here it can be noted that three daughters

were named after Jenny, Marx's wife.) Lafargue's children do not appear in the family tree. Finally, Eleanor was never married to Aveling (1891 is given as the date). Their free union commenced in the summer of 1884 and continued until Eleanor's death in 1898.

Readers will want to refer to this book again and again, for facts are many and errors very, very few.

S. G. HUTCHINS.

Philosophy for Socialists

Maurice Cornforth

Lawrence & Wishart, 1959.

2s. 6d. 61 pp.

Science, Faith and Scepticism

John Lewis

Lawrence & Wishart, 1959.

13s. 6d. 136 pp.

THE triumph of socialism in our epoch shows man becoming the master of his destiny, building a new social order and transforming the world. Only one kind of general outlook fits in with this picture and makes it possible. It is known as dialectical materialism. Maurice Cornforth confines himself to a simple but far-reaching explanation of what these two words involve. An elementary outline is often more difficult to write than an elaborate one, but the author is eminently successful in showing how to look at things and processes dialectically, giving many homely illustrations, and in showing that this outlook must at the same time be based on materialism for a scientific understanding of natural processes and social development.

Cornforth correctly emphasises that 'to adopt a materialist philosophy is not to adopt some theory about the "nature of the world" but to adopt a definite approach to the questions with which life confronts us'. This is an answer to the opponents of dialectical materialism who do not understand its difference from metaphysical materialism and charge it with being as much a philosophical dogma to be taken on trust as any of the idealist philosophies.

This subject is dealt with at greater length in the book by John Lewis, who first of all deals trenchantly with all kinds of religious mystical and idealist 'explanations' of reality. He goes on to show that the fashionable modern trend of bourgeois philosophical scepticism, while also claiming to reject 'metaphysics', proceeds to cast doubt on the scientific outlook as well on the ground that it involves metaphysics, applying this too to the outlook of Marxism. Hence these philosophers are left with a nihilistic outlook that leaves them out of relation with the everyday world and they end by encouraging credulity and irrationalism. In contrast, Lewis ably defends the road of science as the only road to truth and goes on to devote a major part of his book to the application of a fully developed scientific outlook to history and human society in opposition to the views of bourgeois historians and philosophers. He thus arrives at the same defence of Marxism as the unity of theory and practice that forms the conclusion also of Cornforth's little volume.

CLEMENS DUTT.

(Continued from page ii of cover)

came an expression of 'pride that *L.M.* has remained in continuous publication for nearly four decades, despite all difficulties', with 'our fervent wish that it will never be forced to cease publication from any cause whatsoever'. An *American reader* sent his son to visit us in person; and a cheerful *Canadian* posted \$5 to the magazine which is 'still the best and I'd be lost without it'. This is echoed by a *Midlands miner*, who said: 'You have no idea how much we rely on *L.M.* The quicker we spread it around the quicker we shall see the end of capitalism and a socialist Britain'. Then there were the *Scottish miners* in *Lanarkshire* and in two big pits in *Fife* ('a toast to good old *L.M.* !'); and from others in the *Durham coalfield* whom I last saw at the *Miners' Gala* there ('A little surprise I collected for you from the boys at the pit'). *Miners and musicians; engineers and cine-technicians. And printworkers*—with whom I spent a wonderful New Year's Eve party of celebration for the six men acquitted of charges arising out of the printing dispute.

Or take the doctors: a *London doctor* sent 'an extra guinea as New Year present'; a *Sussex doctor* wrote: 'After paying the end of year accounts I find I can manage to contribute my £9 towards sending the Manager out on tour, and hope others of my profession may be able to follow suit'. (Is there another doctor in the house?) That *Out-With-The-Manager Fund* has now reached £33 3s. 0d. over a third of the way towards the target of £90 which a benevolent reader has offered to double when achieved. So the Fund begins to look healthier, as a *Londoner* points out with pleasure, 'better totals than last year. Let's hope it is maintained. What should we do without our *L.M.*—and an *L.M.* still at 1s. 6d?' One *Middlesex* reader is watching the total with—literally—a calculating eye; for his New Year resolution is: 'In addition to my weekly contribution, I shall add one penny for each pound the fund reaches'. This month his penny-in-for-a-pound plan will cost him 6s. 3d., for donations during December totalled:

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(The Times, 14/11/59)

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Disarmament's Enemies

Quaestor shows who is against the Summit



Eden's Memoirs

R. Palme Dutt on the skeleton in the Tory cupboard

SMASH THE BANS!

By Berny Holland

R.P.D.'s NOTES

on the Railwaymen's *Red*
Friday and Economic Dangers

WARNING SIGNAL

By Dave Bowman

**AFRICA'S WIND
OF CHANGE**

by Idris Cox

MARCH · 1960

One Shilling and Sixpence

A RAIL STRIKE

THOSE who are making history today have the right to know their own. But you will find nothing in school history books about the dramatic picture on our middle pages of Scottish railwaymen and miners fighting side by side. It shows a high point in a strike struggle by the Scottish Society of Railway Servants against companies, mounted troops, police and law officers seventy years ago. For the facts to describe the picture we had to search contemporary records. What we found has lessons for today. Tyrannous private companies imposed low wages, horrifying hours and shocking conditions on railwaymen. The many unions were small and weak; but after the historic dockers' strike of 1889, a fresh wind began to blow. The key question was what a Select Committee later described as 'systematic overwork, indistinguishable from white slavery'. In north-east England, the men were working 80 hours a week and were discussing striking for a 10-hour day. At a Hyde Park demonstration in May, 1890, where John Burns and Bernard Shaw spoke, London railwaymen complained of working 100 hours. Accidents increased: the goods guard killed shunting after being on continuous duty without relief for 22 hours 18 minutes was no unique case. In Scotland much unrest was caused by accidents at Maryhill, where men had worked 14 hours (with another 3 to complete their turn) when it happened; and at Gartsherrie, where the signalman had been on duty for 11½ hours and the footplatemen, with 50 miles yet to go, for 11 hours. All through 1890 the Scots tried to get hours cut. When in October the directors refused to submit differences to arbitration, the men started to seek promises to strike for handing in to the union executive. When at

last by December 22 the promises were judged sufficient, 9,000 struck, bringing goods traffic to full stop. Factories and pits were idle. It lasted nearly four weeks. At Motherwell, in bitter weather, the Caledonian Railway Manager threatened to evict from company-tied cottages 60 tenants who refused to return to work. Only two families gave in. A Socialist member of the Glasgow Trades Council went over to Motherwell and advised the women 'to take out the bed-bottoms, barricade their doors and windows, and at the same time have a pot of boiling water ready, so that nobody should enter the houses without doing at least £50 damage to the Company's property and as much more to his own skin'. When the Sheriff-substitute came to carry out the evictions, he found the women supported not only by large numbers of railwaymen but also by miners from Hamilton. In resisting the eviction, the crowd attacked the stationmaster's house and destroyed signal boxes and the station's glass roof, despite the use of police and Hussars and the reading of the Riot Act. But, to quote the account in *Commonweal*: 'After the Caledonian Company had ■■■ what the stalwart miners of Hamilton could do with volleys of stones, they thought the "law had been vindicated sufficiently" and they gave up evicting their rebellious servants'. The strike itself was defeated: but the scandal of the long hours disclosed led to the Select Committee being set up and the Board of Trade being given statutory powers two years later to check the slavery of overwork. After the strike, the Scottish Socialist Federation issued a manifesto, urging upon 'engineers, miners and others' the need for solidarity between all sections, ending: 'It is only by setting before yourselves the definite idea of all land, mines, factories, railways and other means of production and transit being held and wrought by

NOTES OF THE MONTH

1. *Red Friday and after*

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THE initial victory of the railwaymen on February 12 has opened a new epoch in industrial and class relations. We are still only at the beginning of the battle. Complex and dangerous issues may follow the Guillebaud Report. Cracks and crevices in the structure of railway trade unionism, and still more in the role of trade unionism as a whole, as expressed through the Trades Union Congress General Council, have been all too evident. The impetus for solidarity and united action had to come from below. Nevertheless, the signal fact stands out—all the more powerfully because of the difficult circumstances and still menacing weaknesses to be overcome. In the face of every form of pressure and threat from the Government, the employers (Transport Commission), the press, and also the T.U.C. and Parliamentary Labour Party leadership, the National Union of Railwaymen stood firm and united for an immediate wage increase. Their demand was declared impossible, irresponsible, a violation of agreements. Their proposal for strike action was declared crazy, lunatic, 'catastrophic' (in the words of the Labour Shadow Minister of Labour, Mr. Robens, who re-

cently informed us that the strike weapon was 'obsolete'). Until the last moment, within fifty hours of action, the issue was in the balance. The hot breath of the impending largest national industrial conflict since 1926 drew close. The N.U.R. Executive stood solid. And at the last moment it was the other side that wavered and yielded the minimum immediate concession which had been declared impossible to concede. This signal example of the power of working class action, once there is unity and firmness (how much more if there were unity and firmness throughout the trade union movement) will teach more than many theoretical disquisitions. This initial demonstration of Friday, February 12, can be the 'Red Friday' to open a new era.

Myths Exploded

A hundred myths and lies have been exploded in this first round of the new industrial battle which has found its front rank expression in the rail crisis. It has blown up the Tory electoral myth of the 'never had it so good' theme song, when even the hardened scribes of Fleet Street, who had just been composing the customary paean of glory over the latest Ministry of Labour statistical fairy tale about the 'average' British worker earning £14 a week, had to confess themselves staggered to learn that railwaymen with long service were earning below £8, that the top rate of a guard was £9 5s., and even of such a highly skilled craftsman as a locomotive driver, responsible for hundreds of lives, £11 9s. The experience has equally blown into the sky the Labour reformist myths about the 'new capitalism' and the 'disappearance' of the class struggle and the 'obsolete' character of the strike weapon and the 'peaceful socialist revolution' accomplished by the capitalist nationalisation measures of the Attlee-Morrison pattern. All the old basic familiar truths of the relations of capitalism and the working class and the class struggle—which, whatever the changes and variations in form, continue so long as capitalism exists—are demonstrated anew.

Transport Jungle of British Capitalism

If we wish to appreciate the true pattern of the 'new', 'modernised', 'streamlined', 'efficient' organisation of economy under capitalism in Britain, we have only to contemplate the idyllic pattern of transport in Britain today. Once British capitalism in its heyday led the world with the construction of an elaborate railway network which, if not always laid out in the most effective way, owing to the pressure of special landed and other interests and

the cut-throat competition of rival companies, gave British industry an advantage over all other countries. The costs were heavy, not only of the initial material construction, but also of extortionate land charges and the speculative inflation of capital in the railway boom. But the material assets were there for the advance into the era of electrification. From this point, however, as in other spheres, British capitalism began to fall behind its younger rivals. The burden of the old and largely watered capital strangled new advance, and brought the railways into chronic crisis and dependence on state subsidies, until the Labour Government came to the rescue of the stockholders with nationalisation.

Deeper into the Jungle

Nationalisation was crippled from the outset by being burdened with the charges on the old capital; while the new capital required for modernisation was at first held back and unavailable save in inadequate amounts, owing to the priority for more urgent needs (heavy rearmament and the atom bomb); and later, when larger sums were allocated under the Tory Government, these were weighted down with high rates of interest. The Tory monopolists seized their opportunity to grab the most profitable sector—road haulage—out of nationalisation, thus defeating the aim of an integrated transport system for the sake of sectional quick profits. The result is the present daily deepening congestion and block on the roads. In face of this they now demand a gigantic new programme of expenditure on motorways, in which Britain has also fallen behind, while the existing network of railway lines, which, if modernised could provide the most efficient system of long distance haulage, is left undeveloped and with less proportion of electrification than in other comparable major industrial countries. All the resulting costs and burdens of this anarchy of disorganisation and neglect achieved by the controllers of modern capitalism are then passed on to the backs of the railway workers, who have been required under the benevolent sunshine of this kind of 'nationalisation' to slave away at record low wages in order to pile up £309 million in profits during the twelve years since nationalisation, which are then proclaimed by the alchemist's wizardry of capitalist book-keeping to represent 'deficits'. Such are the glories of the 'mixed economy' (certainly more 'mixed' than economical).

Bleeding the Poorest

So the heat has been turned on the railwaymen during all these years as the most exploited section of workers in any major industry

alongside agriculture. To keep their wages down to the lowest level in accordance with the sacred dictates of a 'sound' economy and no subsidies (in contrast to the £2,311 million paid in subsidies to private capitalist industry and agriculture during the eight years 1951-59) has been proclaimed the key to the whole wage structure and the battle against inflation. The last wage award nearly two years ago was openly below even the rise in the cost of living, under cover of a promise of a future review which has since been endlessly protracted right up to the present day. As the impatience and demand for action of the railwaymen grew, and especially after the warning of the token strike of the London railwaymen on February 1, so all the pundits of high finance increased their clamour to the Government to stand firm and to make resistance to the railwaymen's demand for an immediate increase without waiting for the report a test issue for the whole stand against the wage demands of the workers.

'No Surrender'

Right up to February 12 the 'no surrender' clamour of all the most vocal and influential spokesmen of high finance and the big monopoly interests was maintained and intensified. This is important to place on record in view of the outcome. 'Danger of Settlement' was the theme of the *Economist's* main editorial on February 6; any immediate concession to the railwaymen would mean 'the well-trodden spiral of inflation'. 'Anything in the next ten days which looked like surrender', declared the *Daily Telegraph* on February 1, 'would be bound to influence the unions in the engineering and shipbuilding industries'. 'To give in to the N.U.R.', proclaimed the *Financial Times* on the same day, would 'affect the whole wage structure of British industry'. Ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer Thorneycroft, still lurking in the shadows to stage his comeback as the exponent of the most rigid and ruthless principles of 'sound finance', delivered the ultimatum to his successor at the Treasury that 'a weak settlement with the N.U.R. would be intolerable and disastrous'. And on February 5 Chancellor of the Exchequer Amory added his solemn warning, before the National Productivity Advisory Council, against the danger of any new wage settlements outstripping productivity.

Action Tells

What brought the change? Seldom has the answer been so plainly visible to all. Only the organised workers' action and threat

of action finally compelled the change of tactics. Every step and its reaction could be traced day by day. Only after the London District Committee's call for the token strike was the previous yawning indifference dragging out over months suddenly replaced by a galvanised general attention in the national press and everywhere to a front rank issue. The measure of the response on February 1, despite the confusion as the national call had now been given, sharpened the sense of urgency over February 15. All the familiar methods were brought into play to break the front. First, the soft soap, with a flood of tears of sympathy for the hard lot of the railwaymen and the justice of their demands, and the kindly advice that the 'wise course' would be to defer action. When that failed, then came the threats and denunciation, the solemn warning against breaking agreements, the angry declaration that the railwaymen had 'lost public sympathy', the preliminary announcement of the preparations to proclaim an emergency and similar measures. When that failed, and was met with all-round declarations of solidarity and support from other working class organisations, the dominant leadership of the General Council was brought into play to exert every form of pressure. When that also failed, and the railwaymen stood firm, at the last moment the offers began. First, 4 per cent. Not enough (let us recall that the *Financial Times* had said that even to concede 2½ per cent would be fatal). Finally 5 per cent, and an interim settlement. Little enough for an initial concession, but, in the circumstances of the battle, of profound significance.

Red Faces

This significance was appropriately illustrated when the unhappy *Economist* of February 13 (going to press the day before the outcome) assumed the virtual inevitability of the strike ('unless a settlement is contrived at the last minute by the Government, which will do infinite harm to the economy if it offers rewards for the breaking of agreements and the buying off of agitation, Britain will be without trains on Monday'). On this basis, under the title 'Consequences of Unreason' its editorial smugly foretold the inevitable failure of the strike and diagnosed the insanity of the railwaymen:

It is a strike after the pattern of the London bus strike in 1958, when Mr. Frank Cousins led out his men for a matter of 2s. a week and was roundly defeated. It would be claiming too much for Mr. Sidney Greene that he has led his colleagues; they and the militants in the branches have taken matters into their own hands... Against all arguments of reason

and their members' own self-interest the N.U.R. is still demanding money down now. It is a case for a psychiatrist rather than a rationalist.

It looks as if the *Economist* is more in need of the services of a psychiatrist, or, preferably, a rationalist; for it is 'the militants' whom it despises who have proved themselves more 'rational' in correctly judging action and its consequences. As *The Times* in its gloomy editorial of February 13 after the settlement, under the title 'At What Price?', and filled with forebodings ('clouded by a doubt', 'another bad precedent has been set'), had ruefully to admit, the basic weakness of the ruling class strategy was that it had failed to take into account the workers:

The underlying problem was that the rank and file of the N.U.R. had lost patience. Government, Commission and the N.U.R. Executive had alike misjudged the durability of the ordinary railwayman's patience... a miscalculation.

'We are only men, master—have you heard of men?' as the poet wrote in his *Song of the Wheels*, to celebrate an earlier famous strike nearly half a century ago.

Preparing the Next Round

No time can now be lost in preparing for the future. The ruling class will seek their revenge. The initial partial victory of the railwaymen in this interim settlement is only the beginning of a deeper industrial conflict which embraces equally the railwaymen and extends beyond them. The experience of the nine months after a previous Red Friday has sufficiently demonstrated the ruinous cost of complacency and passivity after a gain in the first round, when the ruling class only makes an enforced concession in order to buy time to prepare its further offensive. Is British trade unionism today prepared for the battles in front? This is the crucial question. The modern trade union army of eight and a half millions is potentially stronger than ever before. But the weaknesses and divisions cry aloud to high heaven. No railwayman, to whichever of the three unions he may belong, can be other than deeply concerned to see the way in which the enemy has sought to exploit and exacerbate divisions between the three unions, or other than anxious to do everything to ensure a common front. Three million engineers have accepted the 42 hours without a penny of the wage increase demanded, at the very moment when the example of the railwaymen has shown what can be won by a firm stand (and the engineers are in a far more favourable economic position to press their demands). Most dangerous of all is the role of the General Council, which was created by the workers in order to co-ordinate

their common front on the economic battleground, and which has been consistently used by the present majority leadership to disrupt that common front, to kow-tow to the Government and the employers, and to harry militant unions. This is a disgrace and a scandal which cannot but be of concern to every serious trade unionist. The whole structure of trade unionism today is in danger of becoming even more obsolete and anachronistic than the structure of contemporary British capitalism. It is time for trade unionism to look to its fences; for the big battles are in front.

2. *Economic Danger Signals*

'Blame it on the workers' is an old device. We can be quite sure that if anything goes wrong in the economic situation in the near future, all the pundits, politicians, journalists and hired prizefighters of capitalism will hasten to discover the cause in the interim settlement of the enforced concession to the railwaymen and the new round of wage demands or small wage increases won. It is therefore important to observe the very plain and unmistakable economic danger signals which had begun to appear *before* the concession to the railwaymen, and at a time when wage increases have been conspicuously lagging behind the advance in productivity and profits during the past period.

Five Per Cent Bank Rate

At the outset of the year the language of optimism was universal.

Rarely has a new decade been greeted with such buoyant optimism in the economic world as the nineteen-sixties. Already the 'golden sixties' are being warmly welcomed on all sides...

There is no mistaking the current optimism. The stock markets in Wall Street and London have both finished the old year at new peaks. In London share prices have risen over 50 per cent in a year, while similar rises have taken place in Paris and Milan, and in Frankfurt they have almost doubled. But this confidence is not confined to the stock-markets. Business optimism is rising fast both here and abroad.

(*The Times*, January 1, 1960.)

This booming buoyancy and optimism is the traditional prelude to a bump. On January 21 the increase of Bank Rate by 1 per cent to 5 per cent caused a temporary shock.

Switchback Joys

To calm fainthearts the Chancellor of the Exchequer blandly explained on January 25 that this switchback zig-zag from ex-

pansion to contraction and back again was all part of the built-in glories of the economic system under which we had the privilege of living—'such a highly complex economy as ours'. So different, my dear, from the horrors of socialism with its monotonous ceaseless expansion of output and standards.

As always, we must steer a careful course between inflation and deflation, at one time stimulating demand if it slackens and at another moderating it if it shows signs of becoming exuberant.

Here we go. Up again. Down again. Isn't life delightful under a mixed economy? Only do make sure that you pick your election date to coincide with an up, and reserve the down to come after.

Doubts in High Places

Alarms over the effects of the rise in the Bank Rate in checking expansion were not stilled by the Chancellor's smooth words. The *Times* had judged on January 22:

We must hope that the increase will be temporary. After all, 5 per cent is a high rate for a country which still has a considerable part of the resources of its capital goods industries unemployed.

The *Daily Telegraph* expressed anxieties:

Yesterday's rise in Bank Rate may seem premature... Is not the Chancellor, as it were, slapping down investment as soon as it shows signs of reviving?

But it sought comfort in the thought that the effect will be to 'put a check on consumers' expenditure' and provide 'incentive for more saving', so that 'it is very difficult to quarrel with its judgement'. The *Observer* was hostile:

More than a few observers will hold that the increase is not only unnecessary but unwise... No one denies the importance of maintaining the strength of sterling and keeping prices stable, but it would be unfortunate if excessive preoccupation with these objectives were to impose a serious check on industrial expansion.

On the other hand, the *Sunday Times* justified the step on the grounds of unhealthy signs in the economy:

Signs of unbalance in the economy have recently been plain. Since the Bank Rate dropped to four per cent in 1958, bank advances have risen by some £1,000 million; in recent months there has been a phenomenal rise in industrial share prices, tainted by an unhealthy aroma of speculation.

Please observe that the only ones outside the orgy have been the industrial workers and those with low incomes.

Share Mania and 1929

It was a characteristic feature of the orgy preceding the 1929 crash that, on the basis of the industrial boom and booming profits,

share prices soared to fantastic heights in anticipation of still further expansion of profits, and small investors were drawn into the gamble of speculation on the basis of fairy tale pictures of fortunes to be made overnight by the ceaseless rise of ordinary share values. This was the moment for the wise guys to unload on the small fish, whose eager pressure to buy ordinary shares forced up the prices to still more artificial heights, just before the crash, when the wise guys could buy back at knock-out prices and the small investors had been cleaned out.

Storm Signals

Hence the observant cocked an interested eye when from the beginning of last year suddenly with one accord all the big press and big monopolies began to boost unit trusts in ordinary shares as the answer to the small investor's prayer, and full page advertisements and editorials began to paint glittering pictures of vast capital gains to be won from equities, and oozed with sympathy for the little man's savings melting away in value in the post office or in the ironically named gilt-edged. This was already a sign of the times; for the Stock Exchange is not a philanthropic institution and the function of the small investor is to be fleeced. Half a million eager oysters responded to the song of the Walrus and the Carpenter last year and put their savings into £200 million of unit shares, thus forcing up still further the already inflated price of ordinary shares. By the beginning of this year the *Economist* was commenting on the painful parallel with 1929:

In the last two years leading ordinary shares in London have risen by 125 per cent. That is much the same rise as in Wall Street's boom in the two years up to 1929; and it is a shivering thought that the 35 per cent rise in London in the last five months far surpasses Wall Street's spurt before the crash.

(*Economist*, January 2, 1960.)

Absit omen. (Should we say: Adsit omen?) In English: Watch Out.

Golden Dreams of Mammon

All the most respectable Pillars of Society have of course been cashing in on the orgy of speculation. The Church got in on the ground floor, beginning its switch from gilt-edged to industrial shares already in the early fifties with the aid of an expert committee of financial sharks and by 1958 out of £217 million total investments had £121 million in Stock Exchange securities, with £68 million in Industrial Ordinaries as against only £18 million in

British Government stocks ('Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth'). The Labour Party's New Thinkers' schemes for the Shareholders' State are all based on a hopeful picture of a continuous rise in the capital value of ordinary shares. The Government has itself taken steps to extend the Trustee list from gilt-edged to a proportion of ordinary shares, thereby arousing the not unjustified wrath of a distinguished correspondent in *The Times* of January 11: 'That a Government dedicated to the maintenance of the value of the pound should set about providing a supposed method of escaping the effects of a future currency depreciation' this correspondent found 'dishonest and self-defeating'.

You Have Been Warned

The Governor of the Bank of England, C. F. Cobbold, sounded the first official storm warning on February 12 (significant date of the 'surrender' to the railwaymen). He declared:

As to the boom in equity shares I have already expressed some disquiet, which I still feel. The great problem is that there is too much money chasing too few first-class shares. I do see some danger, particularly to the small investor... We might be beginning to go beyond healthy expansion and again be coming to the verge of some overstrain.

We are seeing many new proposals for higher wages and shorter hours. The stability of prices which we have enjoyed in the past 18 months may therefore be threatened... We shall need to keep a careful watch in coming months and not hesitate to take further restraining measures if these seem necessary.

The practical conclusion is clear. The inflation of share values is reaching a point where the bubble may burst, and the consequent financial panic ('purely financial', 'nothing wrong with the basic economy', as they said in the first stage of the American crisis in 1929) may bring economic catastrophe. And so, to maintain the skyrocketing level of profits and the still further anticipated increase of profits which has already been discounted in the inflated share prices, without falling into a runaway inflation, the only sound strategy, in the view of the apostles of high finance, must be to direct the offensive against the standards of the workers, to resist the demands for higher wages and shorter hours, and to keep the level of earnings below the increase in productivity and profits. Hence the prospect of battles in front.

R.P.D.

February 15, 1960.

DISARMAMENT—AND ITS ENEMIES

Quaestor

THE Disarmament Ten-Power Committee is to start work on March 15. Its first meeting was promised for January, then postponed to February and finally fixed for March. Each time the delay was due to the Western Powers (who in the same way have postponed the Summit meeting from 'some time in November or December' until mid-May). Each side has been preparing for the Disarmament Committee in its own characteristic fashion.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. decided on January 15 to do so by disarming. It decreed a cut in its armed forces of one-third, or nearly 1,250,000—from over 3,500,000 to under 2,500,000—thereby reducing its fighting men to fewer per million people than the U.S.A.; and to fewer per mile of vulnerable frontier than either the U.S.A. or Britain. Incidentally, this journal's estimate in September, 1951, turns out to be close to the mark—unlike the lying propaganda of British and U.S. Cabinet Ministers then.

On February 1, Khrushchov's reply to questions by Pierre Cot was published. In the course of it, he underlined that 'control should be started simultaneously with the beginning of the corresponding measures in disarmament'. Moreover, if the Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament (made last September) were carried out, 'already in this seven-year period we could put half of the labour force of our country on a six-hour day'—which Soviet people would 'enthusiastically welcome'.

On February 2, Khrushchov's latest letter to Dr. Adenauer was published. It began by repeating that the Soviet Government regards general disarmament 'as the primary issue before the whole of mankind today'. Khrushchov urged other governments to follow the Soviet example.

On February 4 the Warsaw Pact countries—the U.S.S.R. and its allies in Europe—published a declaration that their representatives on the Disarmament Committee were instructed to work in every possible way for fruitful results, particularly for the speediest drafting of a treaty on general and controlled disarmament. It warned against any resumption of nuclear tests.

On February 5, in a letter to Professor C. F. Powell, F.R.S. president of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, Khrushchov publicly repeated that the Soviet Union will not resume such tests

itself if the Western Powers do not, and is willing at any moment to sign a treaty with them banning tests for all time, under suitable international control. Resumption of tests by the U.S.A., as threatened by President Eisenhower last December 'would push the world back' to where it was in mid-1958, before the nuclear experts began their meetings at Geneva.

As the *Daily Telegraph* diplomatic correspondent wrote with truly amazing perspicacity on February 4: 'It is believed that Mr. Khrushchov has embarked on a systematic campaign to warm the international atmosphere'. You can't hide anything from them!

On the other hand, no such charge can truthfully be levelled at the Western Powers, particularly at the British and United States Governments. Their press on January 15 began doing its utmost to cry down the importance of the Supreme Soviet's decision. This was particularly because Khrushchov had stated that in fire-power (thanks to rocket-nuclear arms) the Soviet forces were in advance of all others—although, as he pointed out to Adenauer, 'without such reduction (in armed forces) and with the same fire-power the Soviet Union would naturally be a more powerful military force'.

On January 16, at Miami, Vice-President Nixon advised his countrymen that they 'need not be alarmed', and that 'in no circumstances should the United States and its allies reduce their strength' in response to Khrushchov's announcement.

On January 31 the United States Atomic Energy Commission revealed that it was digging new tunnels for underground tests of nuclear weapons in the Nevada desert. 'This is taken as an indication that it expects to resume tests before long', commented *The Times* Washington correspondent (February 1).

On February 3, at his daily press conference, President Eisenhower declared that he favoured 'making our law more liberal' by providing America's allies with nuclear weapons—which means providing not only France but West Germany: although as *The Times* admitted in an editorial (February 5) a West Germany so armed would be 'unacceptable' to most members of NATO itself.

'Authoritative hints were dropped here this week that three underground tests are in preparation', cabled the *Sunday Times* Washington correspondent (February 7). He added that the Secretary of Defence and the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission were 'restless' at the continued suspension of tests.

Thus the Western Powers have continued true to their traditional method of preparing international disarmament discussions, familiar now for many years: to throw mud at any Soviet offers and to keep

up world alarm and tension by publicly talking of more armaments instead of less. The idea, of course, is to bully the U.S.S.R. into surrender—in which they have been singularly unsuccessful—and to frighten their own people into supporting more arms expenditure—which is becoming less effective a method than it was.

Another outstanding feature in the preliminary discussions has been the less and less restrained behaviour of Dr. Adenauer. Thus on January 18 he repeated that the Western Powers should not resume talks with the Soviet Union where they left off at Geneva last year: this would be 'suicide'. On January 20 he rejected any demilitarisation of even a border strip of Germany, except on condition of 'reunification', *i.e.*, of the German Democratic Republic being swallowed up by capitalist West Germany. On February 5 it was announced that the Adenauer Cabinet is considering a bill to enrol men between 18 and 65 for 'non-military service' and to mobilise women between 18 and 55 for emergency service, 'in the event of war'.

But these—at the present time—take a secondary place to the statement which Adenauer made in audience of the Pope on January 22: a statement accepted without comment by the British and United States Governments—and by all their unofficial spokesmen in the principal newspapers. This was that 'God has entrusted to the German people in these calamitous times a special task, that of acting as a bulwark of the West against the powerful forces pressing upon our countries from the East'.

It is timely to recall some other sayings on the same lines—by Hitler, who was also head of a State in which the chief generals were Nazis, so were the chief judges, so were the Cabinet Ministers (more than with Adenauer, true: he only has four): and in which all economic life was dominated by a handful of big trusts, while the Communist Party was suppressed. Just like the Federal German Republic, in fact.

'Germany is the bulwark of the West against Bolshevism' (Berlin, November 29, 1935). 'I have never forgotten the obligation incumbent on me and on us all for the maintenance of European culture and civilisation . . . Soviet Russia is the exponent, organised in a State, of a revolutionary philosophy. The introduction into central Europe of this mighty military factor destroys any real European balance of power' (Berlin, March 7, 1936). 'We see in Bolshevism a bestial, mad doctrine which is a threat to us' (Nuremberg, September 13, 1936). 'We look upon Bolshevism as upon an intolerable danger to the world' (Berlin, January 30, 1937).

'Germany is a guarantor of peace because she warns all those who from Moscow endeavour to set the world in flames' (Nuremberg, September 10, 1937).

All the time Hitler was saying these things—and many more examples could be quoted—he was in reality planning war for the conquest of central and western Europe. This was established by the findings of the Nuremberg International Tribunal after the war. It would be a very short-sighted generation that chose to take a further step towards a third world war, by allowing West Germany nuclear weapons, after hearing Adenauer repeat Hitler's call-signal.

And before we fall to abusing Adenauer and his carefully built-up machinery of a Fourth Reich—all in separate parts as yet, but only waiting for a master-hand and the right moment to be smoothly fitted and locked together—more history is worth recording.

'The great services the Fuhrer had rendered in the rebuilding of Germany were fully and completely recognised (in Britain) . . . (He) had been able, by preventing the entry of Communism into his country, to bar its passage further west' (Lord Halifax, Lord Privy Seal, at an interview with Hitler, November 19, 1937).

Given the complete silence which the British and American Governments have maintained about Adenauer's outrageous speech, *and* their persistence in giving him the ultimate weapon of mass destruction, what certainty have the British people and all others that the same kind of encouragement is not being given to him today that Halifax gave Hitler?

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY II

Dusseldorf's worst slum is an incredible warren of disused hutments, bodies of broken-down lorries and omnibuses turned into homes, and makeshift 'houses' created out of corrugated iron, asbestos gauze, and cardboard. Every space between 'houses' is filled with garbage heaps, whose principal components are cinders, empty but stinking tins, potato peel, and shreds of cabbage. Washing lines hang above these garbage heaps. In one room I found three women living in an area five feet wide and less than eleven feet long. The room was damp, windowless and very cold. Its occupants have spent the last three years there. One of them is a nineteen-year-old girl who is paralysed from the waist down. Rain leaks through the cardboarded corner of the 'room' on to her bed . . . there are 50,000 homeless people in the administrative district of Dusseldorf. Their number is growing (Essen, for instance, had 3,900 homeless in 1950, and has over 12,000 today).

(*Manchester Guardian*, December 28, 1959.)

WANTED: A CAMPAIGN

J. R. Scott*

SINCE the Amalgamated Engineering Union advanced the claim for a substantial wage increase and a forty-hour week in the spring of 1959, and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions adopted this policy that June, the demand grew in strength and power in factory after factory and district after district. There is no doubt at all that this is what the men and women in the factories wanted. But they knew that just left in that setting it would indeed remain a pious hope.

From bitter experience they know the Engineering and Allied Employers National Federation. The overwhelming mass of operatives work in federated firms, those companies in membership with the local Engineering and Allied Employers Associations. The workers *know* this Federation, not only for its Scrooge-like attitude and perpetual 'failures to agree' in local negotiations; they *know* that in the whole of its sixty-four years of resistance it has never, never voluntarily given anything to its employees through national negotiations. Never once have they come forward on their own initiative with an offer, small or large, which would improve the conditions of the hundreds of thousands of employees. Every demand has had to be accompanied by sharp words, action or threats of action by the men and women in the factories.

Notwithstanding these incontrovertible facts, the Federation still talks to the unions about 'our industry'—'we are all in this together'—'we both have responsibilities to the industry'—'our relationship is most happy'—and so on and on. And there are trade union leaders who love this sort of talk. This is all a lot of nonsense in face of the facts of sixty-four years. Quite recently the Federation President made an appeal to the union leaders to stop the spate of activity which had developed in the factories, because, he said, these actions were causing so much harm to the industry.

This Federation is the most powerful and unbending employers' organisation in Great Britain. They assume the mantle of political leadership of the ruling class. If anyone doubts this, I suggest they should read the pamphlet which the Federation issued last year entitled *Looking at Industrial Relations*; also *Thirty Years of*

*Mr. J. R. Scott up to 1957 had completed fifteen years as one of the seven members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union Executive Council: and he was also a member of the Confederation Executive Council since the A.E.U. was affiliated to it. In January he wrote in *Labour Monthly* an article about the shop stewards movement, 'The Salt of the Earth'.—Ed., L.M.

Industrial Conciliation issued in 1927; and subsequent pamphlets entitled *Realities and Problems*. Keep in mind too that Lord Mills, once Sir Percy Mills, one of industries big bosses, ex-president of the Engineering Employers Federation, is right-hand man and main adviser to the present Prime Minister.

It is not surprising, in fact it is to be expected, that the active and progressive men and women in the factories know that if success is to come their way, claims and demands at national level must be backed up with a national campaign in which wider and wider sections of workers—the mass—are brought into mobility. Mass distribution of leaflets and pamphlets explaining the unions' case. Meetings large and small at which the leaders and local trade union officials explain the claim, listening with a sympathetic ear to the point of view of the membership. A friendly approach, rank-and-file and leadership at all levels consulting with each other, working out in practice the methods and conduct of the claim; above all, building up solidarity between leadership and members so as to present the solid united front and co-operative effort to pursue the claim to a successful conclusion. There has been a constant demand for the leadership to conduct such a campaign.

What has happened during the past ten months—eight months since the annual meeting of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions? In essence, the leaders have been saying: 'Leave this to us. We are the skilled negotiators. We can get justice and satisfaction for you by discussion. There is no need to campaign'. In fact, some of them have gone further. For not only have they frowned on workshop activity, but they have used threats of disciplinary action and preventing and publicly denouncing such activity. A conference called by Sheffield shop stewards to rally support for the unions' demands (no more and no less) was banned by them; and they followed this by withdrawing the shop steward's credentials of the member whose name appeared on the convening circular. A bad decision in any circumstances; but at that particular moment it was nothing short of a scandal. A little more heat on the employers and an easing off the men and women in the workshop would indeed be welcomed in many quarters.

In this situation the skilled negotiators, the leave-it-all-to-us boys go into action. After comings and goings to the employers' offices at Tothill Street their skill brings forth a miserable offer of two hours off the working week and no increase in wages. This comes from a Federation whose members have never had it so good in the whole of their existence: twenty-five years of continuous orders,

profits at unprecedented heights, a galaxy of free bonus schemes. The engineering industry as far as its shareholders are concerned has been and still is a veritable 'Tom Tiddler's Ground'. In their estimation this is all beside the point; for they claim this is the reward for their skill! They approach all these questions, be they large or small, from a class point of view, the angle of the ruling class, the angle of monopoly capitalism. That is why they always start off with: 'No!' From then onwards it is a matter of strength. Strength from the working-class point of view can come from no other place than the workers themselves; there is no other basic material. This is not to decry negotiations—far from it—for this still remains an important weapon in the armoury of the organised working class. But for any leader to deny, run away from or deliberately flout the fact that organised activity is the thing that counts, is totally prostituting the position and status of leadership.

The outcome of their skill and ability is now known. It is announced that the leadership has decided to accept the employers' offer and at the same time throw overboard the claim for increased wages. At the same time, in the same newspapers, the Federation of British Industries, the co-ordinating body of employers and opposite number to the Trades Union Congress, gleefully announces the prospects ahead for the employing class. More firms, they say, are working to a satisfactory full rate of operation, over half of their members declare that their level of output has increased during the past four months. Sunshine story or not for the Tory Party, the fact remains: *that is what they publicly say*. Yet, on the same day, the engineering union leaders cast on one side the claim for more wages.

It was not only a terrible blow to the engineering workers. This was tantamount to sabotaging the railway workers and other sections; and it might well have encouraged the government and the British Transport Commission to take a tougher line in resisting the railwaymen's demands. The railway workers are entitled to expect, and they certainly deserved to get, the unflinching support of the organised working class. Here was the opportunity to advance along the lines of solidarity. United we stand, divided we fall; but the engineering trade union leaders ran out again, as they did in 1957.

The workers in the industry recognised the responsible position they held in relation to other sections. The campaign was gathering momentum. One of the largest demonstrations of shop stewards gathered at the employers' offices in Tothill Street on

January 26. Shop stewards were lobbying leaders in York on February 11. Countless workshop demonstrations, overtime bans, token stoppages and factory meetings. A courageous leadership would have harnessed this developing mass movement and given it encouragement and helped it to grow in strength. But in the role of 'statesmen' or, as the *Daily Herald* reporter stated on February 12: 'Half a loaf is better than none', they run out and renounce their right to respect and title to leadership.

Make no mistake about this: the fight for increased wages is not going to be abandoned. The thousands of men and women in the factories, outraged and indignant at the conduct of their leaders, will see to that. They will not abandon the daily fight in the factories. They will not run away from their colleagues. There will be many discussion and meetings in workshops, branches and district committees; and the power and strength of the working class will come to the fore. A new unity down below will be created and developed. Communists and progressive Left working in harmony will give lifeblood to the working class in their efforts to achieve their finest aspirations. The tide of working class action is flowing. Time is on the side of progress. There is no real future for the ruling class and their supporters in the Labour movement.

THE INDUSTRIAL VANGUARD

Martin Guinan

SHOP stewards are as strong and militant as the body of workers they represent and the militancy of the rank and file has been amply proved by such actions as the shop stewards demonstrating 2,000 strong at the doors of the engineering employers during negotiations last month. It has been proved by the railwaymen, the London busmen, printworkers, mineworkers, electricians etc., as well as the white collar workers and women employees. It is unfortunate that during these trying times certain trade union leaders should have been giving the class enemy more cause to praise them than they have given their own members. But the political and industrial scene changes; and the time will come when the movement will classify such leaders as redundant.

Increased profits, production or efficiency are not recognised by the employing class as reasons for wage increases or hour reductions; but a united, solid, militant and well-informed working class prepared for strike action is immediately a good enough reason to get round the conference table at least. The first union member who suffers from weak or right wing union leadership is the shop steward. Take the Amalgamated Engineering Union as a very obvious example. During a recent strike against the victimisation of a Transport and General Workers Union shop steward, the A.E.U. workers were the only union members NOT officially backed by their leadership. Yet take a look at the union's own Manual of advice to shop stewards:

When you need advice, guidance or assistance consult your convener, district committee or district secretary at once. Behind them, and behind you stand the full time A.E.U. officials, men with years of experience in Union affairs.

(A.E.U. Shop Stewards Manual, p. 24, para. 3.)

Just how far behind do these people stand? Perhaps the motor workers could answer that.

Within the engineering unions drastic changes are long overdue. With introduction of more complicated and precision machinery the grading of operators as semi-skilled should cease and full pay be demanded. In suggesting this, which I hope will be discussed and developed by other readers, it should be fully understood that time-served men must be amply protected. Next, women engineering workers are greatly exploited, and it is high time the full rate for the job was part of union policy. Again, apprentices are paid exceedingly low wages and are largely used as stop-gap labour without any planned training or specialist destination.

Shop stewards must be encouraged to meet, discuss and form united action bodies to advance further workers' levels.

Bans and proscriptions must be dismantled. They work solely in the interests of the boss class. It is amazing how they vanish when industrial action takes place.

Finally, dispute procedure must be altered in favour of protecting the stewards on the job.

Throughout the country in dingy little workshops, back street buildings and huge well laid out factories, in every place of toil, sweat and profit, bonded together with common aims and future political action are found the men and women who daily defend their union brothers and sisters, the shop stewards. They are indeed what brother Scott described them: the salt of the earth.

SMASH THE BANS!

Berny Holland ■

IN 1958, the St. Pancras Borough Council was constantly making the national headlines. For millions of workers throughout the country it represented a revolt against the Tory government and steadfastly refused to increase rents. A progressive wages policy meant increases not only for their own employees but acted as an invaluable spur to other trade unionists in their claims. Not surprisingly, this aroused the wrath of Fleet Street, government and big business circles and they unleashed a campaign of lies and intimidation against the Council. To combat this we had formed a United Committee of Tenants and Workers (including communists) with such good effect that in the ensuing London County Council elections we captured, for the first time, all three seats. This unity of action having proved to be the answer to the Tory offensive also proved too much for the Labour Party National Executive. For the crime of having associated with communists the leading councillors and members were expelled. Under this blow, the Labour Party proved incapable of retaining control of the Council and the Tories regained the parliamentary seat which they had almost given up for lost. Prior to these events, our local party after discussing the activities of one of our members and his nauseating attacks on shop stewards, asked that this member's name, Woodrow Wyatt, be removed from the Parliamentary Panel. The request was abruptly rejected and since then he has been rewarded with a safe seat. Now in this same borough of St. Pancras, whilst Woodrow Wyatt and his lady admire their silver collection, hundreds of council tenants, who have refused to submit to the new Council's vicious rent scheme, are faced with eviction notices. Anti-communism pays off in different ways.

Within my own union, Transport and General Workers, a ban on communists holding office was introduced in 1949 and prevented hundreds of outstanding members from fully serving their workmates. Our former General Secretary, Arthur Deakin, had been astute enough to realise that his policy of class collaboration, wage restraint, German re-armament etc., rested on the removal of the opposition within the union itself. Outstanding docks members like Ted Dickens were expelled, and as a result of this witch-

*Mr. Holland, as many of our readers will know, until recently was secretary of the branch of The Transport and General Workers' Union which includes the workers in Covent Garden, London's famous vegetable and fruit market.

hunting, inter-union warfare and breakaway movements became commonplace.

Following many such experiences, I eventually reached the conclusion that the only place for anyone who called himself a socialist was in the Communist Party. At the time, I was secretary of the Covent Garden branch of the union and the news that I would have to vacate office caused a certain amount of despondency amongst the lads. Many of them were unaware of the proscription rule and were amazed that despite the fact that they wanted me to remain as secretary I could not do so. The argument was used that I should stay outside the Communist Party and fight the ban from inside. Some people, I believe, have succumbed to this bait, but far from changing the rule it appears to have changed them. I have heard it argued that our present General Secretary, Frank Cousins, has proved that even though the ban remains the union has become a progressive force. The fact is that Cousins could disappear tomorrow and so too could the policies he believes in. If the union's progressive policies are to be implemented and the whole Deakinite policy reversed, it is essential that we smash down this evil ban and restore a solid base for progress.

To conclude, I wish to make clear my unbounded confidence that we will achieve these objectives. The forces of reaction were able to exploit the cold war hysteria and every difficulty of the socialist countries, to build up these barriers. Now the positions are reversed: it is capitalism which reels from crisis to crisis and the socialist countries go from triumph to triumph. Our triumphs lie beyond the bans. We must and we will smash them down.

LABOUR MONTHLY

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

THE BATTLE OF SHEFFIELD

On February 6 a great demonstration of 35,000 Sheffield workers marched on to the City Hall to demand that the Public Assistance Committee immediately make up the cuts (*in unemployment benefit*). They declared that their families were starving and that they could not wait until the 15th. The Sheffield City Council is a Labour Council. The workers' deputation asked for a meeting with the chairman of the Public Assistance Committee, Mr. Asprey. This request for an interview was refused and the police were then brought in to throw the deputation out of the City Hall. The workers immediately roused to action to protect their deputation and a terrific battle lasting for nearly three hours took place on the streets of Sheffield between the workers and the police... within 12 hours the National Government had to give sanction for the cuts immediately to be restored.

(From *The National Government in Retreat* by Wal Hannington, 1935.)

THE RAILWAY WARNING SIGNAL

Dave Bowman

WHAT lies behind the 'interim' victory of the railwaymen? What is the background to the struggle which has such importance for all, not least the other nationalised industries?

The treatment of the railway workers and their response to it is a profound warning signal. The outstanding fact is that in this industry wages have been disgracefully low, whilst so-called rationalisation and modernisation schemes have been ruthlessly forced through to the detriment of the travelling public and the railway workers alike. A 'witches brew' has long been boiling up on the railways. Last month it boiled over. The consequences and lessons are not far to seek, even at this stage.

In July 1958, after there had already been nine months of wage negotiations, which included meetings between the unions and the British Transport Commission; talks at the Ministry of Labour; and even a joint delegation of the unions and the British Transport Commission to the Prime Minister at No. 10, Downing Street; railway workers were granted a 3 per cent. wage increase, plus the promise of a review of railway wages. It was admitted by representatives of the British Transport at that time that the 3 per cent. increase was *less* than the increase on the official cost of living index; the sugar pill of the wages review was used to sweeten their acceptance. Even then there was widespread rank and file opposition; so it was 'pushed along the grape vine' that the review would yield another wage increase in a few months. The fact was, therefore, that the railway workers in this 'never-had-it-so-good' era were actually worse off in relation to the cost of living in 1958 and 1959 than they were in 1957. The Guillebaud wage review which was to yield a further increase in 'a few months', dragged on and on until it became the standing joke on British Railways.

The British Transport Commission after the wage agreement was signed, proceeded to add insult to injury. In 1958 and 1959, with the Guillebaud Committee ponderously pursuing their endless investigations, modernisation was ruthlessly speeded up. Thousands of jobs disappeared by the single manning of locomotives, new signalling systems, new methods in traffic yards and goods depots, electronic machines and new systems in offices. Rationalisation with a saving of tens of millions of pounds yearly was forced through despite the most enraged protests of the workers and the public.

This was the railway 'witches brew' that boiled away in the cauldron. Railways became a 'cinderella industry' and thousands of skilled workers moved to the exit door. But even the workers left in a 'cinderella industry' must fight. Early in 1959, because of the acute pressure from hundreds of branches, the National Executive Committee of the National Union of Railwaymen decided to lodge a claim for an immediate substantial increase in wages, whilst awaiting the report of the Guillebaud Committee.

Negotiations on this claim have made history. It took from March till December 1959 for the claim to pass through the first two stages of the railway negotiating machinery. On both occasions the claim was turned down flat. This created an all-time record for 'tortoise speed' in railway negotiations. (The late Big Jim Campbell, the N.U.R.'s former Secretary, always estimated six months from the time the claim was lodged to the end of the negotiating machinery, the decision of the Railway Staff National Tribunal.) With the refusal of the British Transport Commission to consider any wage increase at the Railway Staff National Council in December, the 'witches brew' boiled over. The members of the London District Council of the N.U.R., their patience exhausted, decided by an overwhelming majority to call for a 24-hour token stoppage with the demand for an immediate all-round wage increase. Fearing what one Sunday newspaper called 'the spreading of the bush fire of discontent', Mr. Sidney Greene, General Secretary, after a New Year message to the members asking for patience on the wage claim, gave a television interview in which he criticised the London decision and asked for further patience and calm.

With their ear firmly 'on the rail', the British Transport Commission quickly sensed the mood of the men. The chairman, Sir Brian Robertson, made a television appearance (which has never happened before whilst the wages question was being decided).

Immediately all the national newspapers discovered that railwaymen were entitled to a wage increase—but not at present. Wait, wait, wait. Always tomorrow, never today. Why all this sudden activity? Looking back, the question may fairly be put. Would the British Transport Commission and Sir Brian Robertson have made such statements, would all the big newspapers have sprung forward to advise railwaymen—if the London District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen had not taken that token-strike decision? For nineteen months they had all, from Government to press, 'played possum' on the wages issue. Isn't it wonderful what a bit of action will do?



Railway Strike Scenes, 1890

SEVENTY YEARS ago, the strike of the Scottish Society of Railwaymen, who were suffering long hours, low wages and bad conditions, went on for several weeks, as related by Angela Tuckett on pages ii and iii of the cover of this magazine. To smash the strike, the Manager of the Caledonian Railway at Motherwell summoned the railwaymen to leave their tied cottages, and when they refused, got the authorities to evict them, in bitter weather. The railwaymen and their wives resisted, with the help of a large body of miners from Hamilton. The Riot Act was read, and a squadron of Hussars was called in to help the police. In reprisal the crowd attacked Motherwell Station. And the evictions were stopped.



Then came 'Full-stop Monday' and brought London's traffic to chaotic standstill, just for a few hours. It gave food for thought; and at the same time a glimpse of both the men's mood and just what might be expected to happen two weeks later.

Important factors in the decision to strike on February 15 and not to await the Committee's descent from the Mount, were first, that only a few weeks before the same British Transport Commission and Sir Brian Robertson had refused point-blank the N.U.R. wage claim at the Railway Staff National Council: and secondly, that thousands of experienced railway trade unionists believed that the Guillebaud Report would be framed in such a manner as to split the railway trade unions and even grades within them. It also seemed clear to them that in any subsequent negotiations on the Report the British Transport Commission would concentrate on the grades necessary to the success of the modernisation plan. 'Extinct' grades, not essential to the 'new' railway system, would get short shrift in the review, they believed.

No one could estimate what would happen in such a position: it could well be that after patiently waiting for over two years, railwaymen's wages could become further depressed and the British Transport Commission would be the ultimate victors.

The outstanding fact is that the railway industry is low paid and all the workers are entitled to wages increases. This is the reason for the tremendous wages controversy which took place in the workshops, depots and yards. The controversy was: for action for an all-round increase at once; or passive acceptance of the existing position, awaiting the Guillebaud Report and trusting the British Transport Commission—with no guarantee of an all-round wage increase at all.

That was the issue; rank and file decisions proved that the vast majority of the rank and file railwaymen were for action to win an increase. In my thirty years on railways I have never known a time when any single issue was so dominant, and the rank and file so militant.

United action on the pay issue; united negotiations on the Guillebaud Report, on which the whole immediate future of the railways depend: that is the pattern. For the British people at large the lesson to be learnt is how greatly the life and welfare of the country depends upon the healthy state of the railways and those who serve on them. At the same time, the treatment of the railwaymen is a profound warning signal to workers in other nationalised industries.

AFRICA'S WIND OF CHANGE

Idris Cox

THE key passage in Mr. Macmillan's speech to members of both Houses of the South African Parliament on February 3 voiced the political dilemma which prompted his African tour.

As I see it, the great issue in this second half of the twentieth century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the east or to the west. Will they be drawn into the Communist camp? Or will the great experiments in self-government now being made in Asia and Africa, especially within the Commonwealth, prove so successful, and by their example so compelling, that the balance will come down in favour of freedom and order and justice.

The whole African continent is in revolt. All the imperialist powers with colonies there are being forced to make big political concessions to the rising liberation movements. Where is it all going to end? Will it be possible to stop at constitutional changes which provide only for a measure of political independence? Or will the liberation struggle advance to the point of ending *all* forms of imperialist domination? Worse still, will complete liberation take these countries into the 'Communist camp'? This is the dilemma which confronts, not only British imperialism, but all the imperialist powers. Until now British ruling circles believed they could 'contain' this movement, combining their strategy of political concessions in one set of conditions with ruthless measures of repression in another. This strategy is now being undermined. Algeria is a warning signal that European minority domination not only evokes all-African opposition but can create a political crisis even in metropolitan France. If in France why not in Britain? Apartheid rule in South Africa presents a similar threat. It is so open and brazen, lacking the skilled flexibility of British colonial rule, that it not only arouses united African opposition, but gives rise to a broad national movement of protest in Britain itself. Until now British ruling circles have not been seriously dismayed by Ghana's independence, nor the prospect of its achievement by Nigeria in October this year. Though both countries were involved in sharp struggles a decade ago, the actual winning of political independence took place in the peaceful atmosphere of constitutional talks. The British economic and financial grip was as firm as ever.

Constitutional changes are a different matter in other key African territories. For the past 50 years the European settler minority in Kenya has dug itself in deep. Whatever political concessions were

forced upon them in the London talks they will still strive to exercise their domination by other means. Moreover, Kenya is not only a reserve base for British military operations. It links up with Aden and the whole defence line stretching to the oil sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf. Similarly, European minority domination in the two Rhodesias sharpens the struggle for African liberation. The problem of Nyasaland *on its own* would be no more serious than that of Tanganyika (now certain of an African elected majority in the September elections) but it would spell the doom of Federation, and undermine European minority domination in the two Rhodesias. What is more, it would arouse strong opposition from the apartheid rulers of South Africa, already increasing their economic and political penetration of Southern Rhodesia. Faced with these problems it is not surprising that Mr. Macmillan spent most of his time in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and in South Africa, rather than in Ghana and Nigeria. Though having serious doubts on the political wisdom of the Rhodesian settler and South African apartheid attitude to the Africans, he still believes they are in the camp of 'freedom and order and justice'. Just as the white settlers in Algeria and Kenya! All the same, Mr. Macmillan is not quite so sure that these brazen exponents of European minority domination are assisting the aims of British imperialism in Africa. He had to remind them that the 'wind of change is blowing through the continent'.

What is really *new* is the growing unity and co-ordination of all the liberation struggles throughout Africa, overflowing racial barriers and transcending the artificial boundaries imposed by imperialist conquest. Even now Mr. Macmillan fails to recognise the *decisive* changes in the present situation. In his homily to the apartheid rulers he explained that:

Ever since the break-up of the Roman Empire one of the constant facts of political life in Europe has been the emergence of independent nations... You are sprung from Europe, the home of nationalism. And here in Africa you have yourselves created a full nation—a new nation.

So with three million Europeans exercising political and economic domination over ten million Africans 'a full nation—a new nation' has been created!

Confusing the past bourgeois revolutions which opened the way for the growth of capitalism in Europe with the gigantic liberation struggles in Africa is not only blind political stupidity. It betrays a complete ignorance of the new stage of African liberation in a

world where imperialism is being undermined and the new socialist world growing. Just as Mr. Macmillan was making his 'rounds' the second All-African Peoples' Conference was taking place in Tunis. There were present 140 delegates from 50 political parties and mass organisations in 30 African countries. They were able to place on record large-scale struggles during 1959 (Nyasaland, the two Rhodesias, Belgian Congo, Algeria, and South Africa) and a rapid advance of the liberation movements in Kenya, Tanganyika, French Cameroons, and British Somaliland. And still to come in 1960 is the achievement of political independence in French Togoland, Somalia, and Nigeria. African changes in 1959 outstripped the constitutional time-tables. There is every sign they will be even more rapid in 1960. What is more, the Tunis Conference made clear the African liberation movements will not be satisfied with an independent *constitutional* status which attempts to conceal other forms of imperialist domination. President Bourguiba of Tunis (one of the 'moderates') made clear in his opening speech that political independence was not enough. Mr. Kojo Botsio, Ghana's Economic Minister, warned the conference that Africans 'must not allow the colonial exploiters to grant faked independence', and that 'the imperialists were now adopting new strategy and tactics'. In forthright terms he urged the delegates to 'defeat all manoeuvres of the colonial powers which still strive to maintain their domination under the various new forms of repression, division, paternalism, and deceptive modifications of ties imposed upon their victims'. Coming from spokesmen of two independent African countries, these expressions cannot easily be ignored.

African economic development was a most important theme at the Tunis Conference. The resolution pin-pointed foreign domination and the colonial system as the main responsible factors for Africa's backward economy. It warned Africans against economic domination by the colonial powers and urged the independent African States to:

Wrest their countries from economic dependence on the imperialist countries, and to refuse entering into any undertaking with foreign powers which may either directly or indirectly prejudice the movement for liberation and the unity of Africa.

Certainly 1960 is Africa year. The 'wind of change' will grow into a stormy tempest which will sweep away all the obstacles in the way of African liberation.

RUTLAND BOUGHTON

(January 23, 1878—January 25, 1960)

Thomas Russell

THERE are few artists whose careers can be open to more misconceptions than that of Rutland Boughton. His eighty-two years were so full of activity as composer, writer, lecturer, organiser and political figure that a single glance at any one aspect can be dangerously misleading. Throughout this colourful life, two main threads can be perceived—enthusiasm and simplicity. This simplicity can itself be misleading, for it was the simplicity of fearlessness and the consequent unwillingness to come to terms with the expediency of everyday life. This uncompromising front implied pride, but the implication was not valid. He was the best listener in the world, even to an exposition of things in which he did not believe. But, to the last day, he could counter with lucid, telling arguments which revealed a knowledge of authors and authorities profound enough to distinguish a university professor.

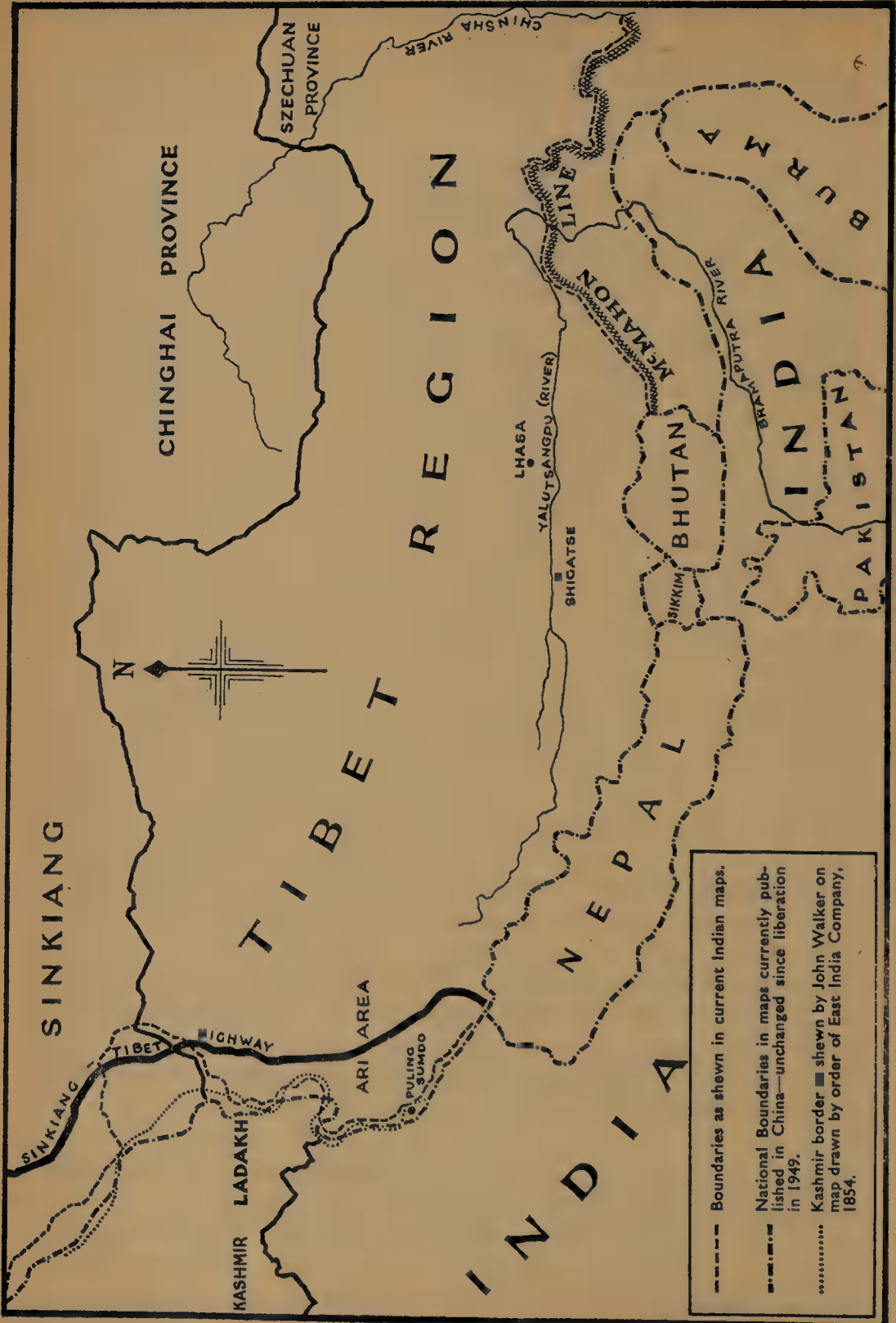
He left school at fourteen and, but for a year at the Royal College of Music, was self-taught. Self-taught, not only as a musician, but as a thinker. His reading ranged from the Bible to Bernard Shaw, covering all the progressive, humanist writers. Marx and Engels were the most lasting influences. He once said: '*Ludwig Feuerbach* has been the mainspring of my philosophy of life'. This was no mere philosophy. Fifty years ago he was conducting working-class choirs and writing music for them. During the General Strike the choirs sang and collected for the workers. In 1926, Boughton performed his carol-drama, *Bethlehem*, at Church House, Westminster, in modern dress, the part of Joseph being played by a miner. This persuaded G. K. Chesterton who was present to say that, 'if Christ returned, he would come as a miner'.

In 1925 he had visited Moscow and now his identification with the strikers demonstrated clearly where he stood. Those who normally would have helped a composer of such promise made him the subject of their studied neglect. This was after he had become the leading British operatic composer. From the beginning of the century his music had begun to be performed, eventually reaching all the leading festivals. His operas were first given at Glastonbury, in a small hall, with piano accompaniment. If the means were meagre, enthusiasm was unlimited and the standards

of performance were unequalled. Here he aimed to found a Festival Theatre for the performance of his own works and for the general introduction of British opera. The time and events were against its realisation; but the works produced there until 1924 made musical history and earned the blessing of Shaw, Elgar and Beecham among many others. His music-dramas, *Bethlehem*, *Alkestis*, *The Queen of Cornwall* and the *Lily Maid* had their measure of success, while *The Immortal Hour* became part of the social fabric of the 1920's. Other compositions saw the light of day, but many have never been heard outside Glastonbury, and some have not been heard at all. This imposed silence prevented us from hearing his Arthurian cycle, a series of music-dramas into which Boughton had put most of himself. No one was ever less of an opportunist than he. His uncompromising nature led him in and out of the Communist Party, in and out of other social groupings, in and out of favour with those who controlled our opera houses and concert halls.

It led him in 1927, to retire into the country, not to sulk in his tent, but to become a hard-working farmer, who yet found time to continue composition, keep up with the affairs of the world and write articles and books. In 1948 he was among the British intellectuals who went to Wroclaw for the international conference on peace. As a result of it all he remained the same man who had read Ruskin and William Morris at the turn of the century, who believed in ordinary people throughout his life, and who still looked forward to a time when happiness and peace, music and culture would be the birthright and heritage of the human race. When a few of us approached him in 1958, asking what we could do to celebrate his 80th birthday, he brushed aside all proposals to perform his works, and said: 'If all my friends associate themselves with the movement to abolish the H-bomb, I shall have the happiest birthday imaginable'. While so many of us are scarred by our encounters with life, Boughton's eighty-two years only enriched him as an artist. As a man, he retained those qualities of enthusiasm and simplicity untarnished, and his candour, which could be infuriating or disarming, was never to be diverted.

(Rutland Boughton was a valued contributor to these pages. Between the years 1926 and 1952 he wrote: How Come These Traitors; Communication on Shaw and Lysenko; Atomic Weapons (a symposium); 30th Birthday Greetings; How Music Expresses Ideas.—Ed., L.M.)



--- Boundaries as shown in current Indian maps.

- · - National Boundaries in maps currently published in China—unchanged since liberation in 1949.

..... Kashmir border ■ shown by John Walker on map drawn by order of East India Company, 1854.

NEED INDIA AND CHINA QUARREL ?

Alan Winnington

[What lies behind the China-India border dispute? Why did Nehru refuse negotiations? Need these two great countries quarrel? We have pleasure in printing this dispatch about the background to a complex issue from a correspondent who has recently travelled both in Tibet and Yunnan. His latest book was reviewed in our February number.—Ed., L.M.]

‘**C**HINA is the great carcass of Asia, and round her the eagles of Europe and America press and jostle one another’ wrote Henry Norman in 1895. Foreign powers intent on seizing colonies and spheres of influence had the dual aim of directly penetrating the vast Chinese land mass and at the same time annexing whatever they could of Chinese territory to surrounding colonies under their rule. Present unsettled borders in the south-west between China and other countries are a heritage of the nibbling that went on in the past. Certain stretches of China’s south-western border have never been defined at all, much less delimited by valid agreements.

This is the crux of the issue between India and China. On the one hand, China claims that the border between the two countries has never been defined; on the other hand, India claims that the borders now being shown on Indian maps have either existed for thousands of years as established by the old Aryan Vedic tribes, or settled by agreement as in the case of the McMahon line.

The areas in dispute, as may be seen from the map on page 128 are only in the sectors where India meets China: to the west, at Ladakh where large areas are in dispute; between Ladakh and Nepal; and east of Bhutan, where there is another large dispute area on the McMahon line.

Apart from some tactical manoeuvrings, Britain always had to recognise Tibet as part of China and the present Indian government continued this tradition. Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan were all part of Tibet and vassals of Peking but in a long process of attrition and aggression throughout most of the last century they came under British influence.

Feeling at that time on both sides is well displayed by an article in the 1838 number of *Chinese Repository*, quoting a letter from

the Nepalese General Umr Singh to the Raja of Nepal, in which he warned against accepting from the British any

mission under the pretence of concluding a treaty of alliance and founding commercial establishments. If we decline receiving their mission, they will insist; if we are unable to oppose force, and desire them to come unaccompanied by troops, they will not comply; they will begin by introducing a company; a battalion will soon follow; and at length an army will assemble for the subjugation of our country. Do not trust them.

So the Gurkha general strongly urged his Raja to appeal for help to Peking and to tell the Chinese emperor, with prophetic accuracy:

If you abandon your dependants . . . the English will soon be masters of Lhasa.

Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan remained under British influence until the demolition of British colonial rule in India.

Now the Chinese have made no changes in the maps they took over from the previous regimes. They say that it would be improper for them to make any alterations unilaterally and that undefined borders should be delimited by negotiation between the powers. And they have many times proposed talks between Nehru and Chou En-lai. India's position is that the borders shown on her present maps were regulated by past agreements, made under British imperial rule.

Take the first sector in dispute. Ladakh marches with Sinkiang and Tibet and was once part of Chinese Tibet. The present border as shown on Chinese maps roughly corresponds with that made by John Walker for the directors of the British East India Company in 1854. India has recently produced new maps showing another line which the Indian Government asserts was fixed between the authorities in Tibet and Kashmir in 1842. In fact that treaty never defined a border. In any case, most of the territory now claimed by India lies within Sinkiang which was not party to any such treaty. This is an area extremely difficult to penetrate from India. As late as 1927, de Terra wrote in the *National Geographic Magazine* of the U.S.A. that in penetrating these regions he had to sign an undertaking with the British Indian Government to keep out of China's Tibet. He wrote:

As the boundaries between Kashmir, Tibet and Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) were so manifestly vague, this promise seemed difficult of fulfilment. Even the British officials smiled at our dilemma, as a veritable no-man's-land exists beyond the Himalayas.

Still later, in 1943—a century after the treaty which supposedly fixed the border—the Survey of India showed no boundary here.

Even in the 1950 edition map it was still marked 'Boundary Undefined'. Masses of historical Chinese documents exist to show that this area traditionally has always been under Chinese rule from Sinkiang or Tibet. In 1950 the first units of the Chinese Peoples' Liberation Army entered Tibet through this region; and in 1956 and 1957 they converted the traditional route from Sinkiang into the 1,200 kilometre arterial Sinkiang-Tibet highway. On the other hand, the first Indian patrol entered this area only in September 1958, was detained by Chinese guards and sent out. Nehru's statement on September 10, 1959, that the area 'has not been under any kind of administration' is belied by such facts and the existence of the road, though it does prove that it was certainly not under Indian control.

In the next area, the central sector contiguous to the Ari Area of Tibet, the disputed areas are not large; but it is worth noting in passing that official Indian maps as late as 1950 carried no boundary line but only the words 'Boundary Undefined'.

Finally we come to the third and most easterly sector, involving the McMahon line. East from Bhutan the disputed territory covers a vast area. Traditionally the border between China and India here lay along the southern foothills of the Himalaya and British influence was very slow in penetrating beyond. This was the area lying north of the traditional frontier as still shown in Chinese maps. The same line was drawn in official maps published by the Survey of India up to its 1938 edition. Since then the Survey of India first moved the boundary north but continued using the marking for undefined boundaries; and from 1954 onwards, without any reference to China, the Survey drew in the northern line—the McMahon line—as a demarcated border. India's claim is that the McMahon line was a product of the Simla Convention of 1914 attended by China, Britain and the Tibetan local authorities. This claim cannot stand a moment's examination. First the McMahon line was never discussed at Simla; second the Chinese Government refused to sign the Simla Convention; and third, every Chinese government since that time has repudiated it. The McMahon line is a figment of imagination. It 'does not exist and never had existed' wrote Henry Twynam, Acting Governor of Assam in 1939, writing to *The Times* in September, 1959.

In 1944, thirty years after the invention of the McMahon line, the Indian Assam authorities sent a Special Officer, Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf to explore the area: he reported that the

area was not administered by Indian authorities. Finally on this sector, the map 'India 1945' attached to Nehru's book *The Discovery of India* was still the same as that which continues to be shown on Chinese maps.

These unsettled border questions are not the only ones inherited by China as a result of British expansion from India and Burma. The writer visited others in South-west Yunnan in 1958, jungle areas inhabited by the Wa and Jingpaw peoples. These have been elevated on certain British maps as the Wa States and Shan States; but in fact they are areas occupied by primitive peoples west and east of the natural boundary formed by the Salween River. There are no international incidents over these areas; and the friendly negotiations about them between China and Burma ended in a settlement last month. If Burma had insisted—as India is suddenly doing—on claiming boundaries created by the British, a vast area of Yunnan would have been in dispute.

Then why the dispute between China and India? Disregarding who is right and who is wrong about the incidents, who shot first and whether this or that patrol had the right to be where it was, what is the standpoint of the two parties?

China urges that the basic fact is that this border has never been delimited; and her standpoint is for a status quo, for the two powers to negotiate at once and meantime withdraw all armed personnel twelve and a half miles from each side of the effective border. Chinese guards have been ordered not to use their arms unless attacked and to stop sending out patrols.

India's position was that the border has been delimited and boundaries drawn on maps by British colonial authorities must be accepted; and that it was pointless to have negotiations unless China accepts India's view of this delimitation. This would mean China withdrawing from a huge area in the west and accepting the McMahan line—which every Chinese government has rejected—in the east. That is to say, she must accept the extreme limit of imaginary penetration of China by the British. Indian frontier guards have instructions 'to resist trespassers' in the disputed areas. This alone is enough to demonstrate India's 'non-negotiating' state of mind.

But why? Nobody really believes that China and India will go to war on this issue—certainly nobody in China believes it. Every Chinese statement is placatory and nobody here in Peking has said that the dispute is a reason for increasing war readiness.

One key to understanding India's position seems to lie in Nehru's remarkable speech of January 3 when he appealed for national unity. Ideologies like capitalism and communism had no application to the present day world, he said. Enough has been said to indicate that no threat exists as far as China is concerned, but only the desire to negotiate. Doubtless the invention of a threat out of an imaginary line drawn in 1914 and another not even drawn at all in 1842 has its value in Indian domestic affairs. On its basis Indian arms can be expanded, sacrifices can be demanded from the people; communists can be attacked; and Tibetan aristocrats can be supported against the cause of the serfs and slaves—thus clouding the issue of what should happen to those classes in India.

The Tibetan border is not a real issue at all. It is an anti-Red herring. The real issue in India is which way to go: to socialism along the lines of land reform and public industry as China has gone; or to greater dependence on foreign, especially American, capitalism, closer alignment with the western powers, the perpetuation of backwardness and beggary for India's masses.

Communication

What view would William Morris have of such labour leaders as Mr. Anthony Crosland and Gaitskell? I think he would consider them suitable as leaders of the Primrose League. Mr. Gaitskell and Crosland need look no further than themselves and their leadership for the failure and loss of votes to the Labour Party. In the *Labour Monthly* of January 1936, which I have before me as I write this letter, is an article by Lenin, which he wrote in *Pravda* May 18, 1913, entitled *Backward Europe and Progressive Asia*. If by any chance the mouthings of Anthony Crosland is expressive of the British labour movement as a whole, Lenin's words are truer today than in 1913. When Henri Barbusse lectured in the U.S.A., the first words he uttered on the platform were: 'Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honour of being a Communist'. I am of the

opinion that had Mr. Crosland and other Labour leaders when speaking from their platform stated: 'We have the honour of belonging to the working class', even if it failed to catch votes, it would enhance their prestige and would eventually bring results. They no doubt like some of our CCF leaders are continually harping that the teachings of Marx are out of date, not realising that it is their approach that is decadent. Compare their failures with China's advance. Labour leader A. Crosland appears more pitiful than intellectual. Could he learn to talk less and follow Lenin's advice to study, study and more study instead of belittling the phrase 'working class', he would realise that they are the sole creative force in contemporary society and the only force that can and will emancipate him and his kind from capitalist slavery.

F.G.A., Canada

WHITER THAN WHITE!

There may be great differences of opinion between BBC and ITA as to the propriety of mixing up Westerns and washing machines. There is, however, complete harmony when it comes to mixing up the viewers by the presentation of news. Our Tory government and their American counterparts always come out whiter than white! The U.S. proposal to stop all but certain nuclear tests was met, they claimed, by the Soviet delegate at Geneva declaring the plan to be 'completely unacceptable'. Failing of course to add that he also said this would be a step backwards from the present no tests to some tests.

It would be very nice if we could have a singing commercial:

*Where's my Labour Monthly Mum,
Truthful Labour Monthly Mum;
Wars are made by Tory lies.
I know, for Quæstor's put me wise.*

Nice but impossible. But can anyone doubt that if just a few more thousands of the news viewers also saw Quæstor's disarmament article, the cause of peace would be much stronger? We were pleased to have an order for our February number from a Lancashire Labour Party committee, together with news from its secretary that he is talking to his comrades to persuade them to take Labour Monthly regularly and place orders with their newsagents. Being a very busy man he cannot undertake a regular sale to them himself. It is fine to see that some reader sold twenty in his factory or six at a union branch. Not everyone can do that sort of thing. But most readers could get one new subscriber each.

Subscriptions have great value. They help share out the load so that already very active readers need not bear the additional burden of taking more copies and being responsible for selling and paying for them; many, who are not near bookshops or within range of the plaintive call of the literature seller, can be assured of regular and early delivery by post; subscribers, in regular touch with the magazine provide a constant source of ideas and comment of great use to us; subscriptions give us additional revenue; last but not least, for once we can ask our foreign readers to join in our circulation campaign. We regularly have new subscribers from the land of the free and the home of the brave. So why not from India, Iceland and Australia too?

G.B.

SIR ANTHONY IN THE TORY CUPBOARD

R. Palme Dutt

AT the present critical turning point in the international situation, when the future of peace or war, of arms race or disarmament, of the extension of nuclear weapons or their destruction, are due to be discussed by the responsible Heads of States at the imminent Summit Conference in May, it is not inappropriate that the volume of Sir Anthony Eden's *Memoirs** covering 1951-57 should now be published and widely discussed. For his role at the first Summit Conference in 1955 (before its outcome was repudiated and destroyed by the West at the ensuing Foreign Ministers' Conference), recorded in this volume as well as his resistance to American plans for war in Indochina in 1954, and his leading part in negotiating the Geneva Peace Agreements for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (all of which have been today grossly dishonoured by the United States and the West) represented his most positive and constructive contribution during this period. The average reader, however, is most likely to turn rapidly to his account of Suez. For this volume does in fact reveal throughout those limitations of the Tory mentality which have again and again brought disastrous consequences for Britain, and which have linked inextricably for all future history the name of Eden with the Shame of Suez.

Last time, Munich. This time, Suez. Before that, the Jameson Raid. How Toryism runs true to type to teach each generation the ugly reality behind the bland and smiling exterior of its public relations countenance. After each bout is over, and the bill has to be paid, every attempt is made to cover up the memory and keep the cupboard well and truly bolted. But occasionally the skeleton rattles its bones. At least Joseph Chamberlain never wrote his memoirs; he left his records to be fumigated and white-washed by the faithful Garvin. Stanley Baldwin never wrote his memoirs; he spent his last years fearing to show his face in the streets of London, lest, as he said, the people turn upon him in their wrath. Neville Chamberlain never wrote his memoirs; he faded out of the picture in ignominy, until today his once most fawning acolyte, the *Daily Telegraph*, can without a blush upon its brazen face casually refer to Munich as 'incredible folly'. But Sir Anthony has written his memoirs while the controversy is still

*The *Memoirs of Sir Anthony Eden* : Full Circle. 620 pp. Cassell & Co. 35s.

fresh and burning. Just after Mr. Macmillan has been at such pains to bury the past and sweeten the stench of the African death-room with a few flowers of enlightenment at Capetown, the skeleton emerges from his cupboard.

Sir Anthony believes that he has a central theme. The lessons of the thirties and their application to the fifties, he declares in his Foreword, 'are the themes of my memoirs'. The publisher's blurb proclaims: 'The fifties are repeating the experiences of the thirties'. And again:

Success in a number of adventures involving the breaking of agreements in Abyssinia, in the Rhineland, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Albania, had persuaded Hitler and Mussolini that the democracies had not the will to resist. . . The second world war resulted.

As my colleagues and I surveyed the scene in the autumn months of 1956, we were determined that the like should not come again. (p.518).

Once more:

The world would have suffered less if Hitler had been resisted on the Rhine. (p.559).

Oddly enough, he does not mention that he was Foreign Secretary when Hitler marched into the Rhineland and tore up the Treaty of Versailles; when France still begged for a stand and British policy opposed any stand; when Hitler was still so weak that he could have been easily stopped if the wish had been there, and had to assure his generals that he would commit suicide if the Anglo-French forces made a move; when the die for war was thus cast. He does not mention that the Conservative, Liberal and Labour Parties equally connived at Hitler's march into the Rhineland ('Germany has only occupied her own territory', as Lloyd George said, and the same line was repeated by the *Daily Herald*), and that only the Communist Party among political parties opposed it and gave correct precise warning of the outcome—at the time, not thirty years later, dear Sir Anthony. However, we can leave that for the first volume of the Memoirs still due to come. For it is the basic conception of appeasement that Eden has got upside down, and has thus fallen into the same trap all over again since 1945, just as toryism and official Labour have done.

For what was appeasement? Everyone by now knows—except the Tory Front Bench—that it was the anti-communist, anti-Soviet obsession of Toryism which led them to connive at and even encourage Hitler's rearmament and aggression as 'the bulwark of Western civilisation against Communism'; to tear up the Treaty of Versailles, to sign the Anglo-German Naval Treaty giving Hitler

the submarines which were later to sink British ships and sailors; to suppress the truth about the concentration camps and the gas chambers until the despatches were exhumed six years later for war propaganda; to equip Hitler with finance and arms; to wink at every new aggression so long as it appeared to be leading to the Grand Crusade to the East; and only to turn against Hitler at the last moment as the 'supreme apostate' (in the words of Lord Halifax, then Foreign Secretary) immediately after he had signed a Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union. All the ranting of Hitler would have been powerless in a disarmed Germany, had not Britain taken the lead to open the gates to German rearmament. Hitler grew only by Britain's backing. It was anti-communism that led toryism to betray the ten million dead of the first world war, who had given their lives, as they thought, to end the menace of German militarism. It was anti-communism that led toryism and right-wing Labour to betray Britain and bring the second world war. In the moment of truth during the second world war, Eden recognised the lesson:

That was the constant theme of German propaganda—the 'Bolshevist bogey', and how well Hitler used it. . .

Make no mistake: the moment the fighting ceases Germany will be out on the old theme of propaganda again. She will again try to play us off against Russia, and Russia against America and ourselves. Let us be very careful that we do not fall victims to that.

(Anthony Eden, House of Commons, February 28, 1945.)

(That speech is not quoted in this book). Mr. Eden did well to warn against this trap; for the whole of this book is proof that he was among the first, along with the entire Tory and Labour Front Benches, to fall into it all over again.

Sir Anthony genuinely believes that in the fifties he reversed the 'appeasement' policy of the thirties. Not so, dear Sir Anthony. You returned to it, after the brief interlude of the British-Soviet Alliance, when Britain's life had to be saved from the consequences of the follies of its rulers by the blood and sacrifice of twenty-five million Soviet citizens in association with the common people of Britain. Before the second world war Britain's rulers 'appeased' Hitler as the champion against communism, at the cost of Britain's vital interests. After the second world war, Britain's rulers, Tory and right-wing Labour alike, have 'appeased' the United States, as the grand champion against communism, equally at the cost of Britain's vital interests. Sir Anthony is full of bitter complaints at the way the United States has constantly paid out Britain in

spite of such faithful service, and yet does not realise that he is only repeating Neville Chamberlain's bitter complaints of being so ill requited by Hitler after all that had been done for him. By the fifties Britain's rulers, with Sir Anthony as Foreign Secretary and then Prime Minister, have even descended to 'appeasing' Adenauer and rearming Germany all over again in violation of their pledged word. Through laborious chapters Sir Anthony relates what a devil of a job he had to manoeuvre France into agreeing to German rearmament—and yet shows not the slightest consciousness that he was exactly repeating the history of the thirties. The climax of absurdity is reached when he presents the heroic crusade of all the armed forces of British and French imperialism against the Egyptian national liberation movement, which he accuses of being linked to communism and the Soviet Union, as the 'reversal' of the appeasement of the thirties in place of its continuation.

From the very first page and paragraph the old anti-Soviet obsession, which has been the occupational disease of all British political leaders, Tory and right-wing Labour, ever since 1917, and which has robbed British diplomacy of all its old skill and former successfulness, protrudes and colours the whole narrative. The first paragraph begins with 'the cravings of Soviet power'. The second paragraph (still on the first page) presents 'foreboding . . . Russian moods and methods . . . increasingly disquieting'. Bevin is praised because it was 'fortunate' that he 'dominated' British foreign policy from 1945 to 1950, and 'soon saw that the problem of his term of office would be how to withstand the growing Soviet appetite' (p.5). 'It was fortunate that it was a Labour Government which had to expose Soviet behaviour after the war' (p.445). With approval he refers to 'the Labour Government's success in concealing for many years their expenditure on the atomic bomb' (p.366). Praise indeed from an 'opponent'.

The most comical sections of the narrative are his melancholy account of the relations of Britain and the United States. Here we have the most perfect vaudeville comedy team of the circus strong man and his stooge. Each time the stooge is knocked down he looks with such a visage of rueful bewilderment to his audience for sympathy, and returns with renewed trustfulness to be knocked down again. Loyalty to the United States is made the unquestioned axiom of British foreign policy by this simple trusting man, just as every Soviet move is automatically described as a sinister plot. 'Following my usual custom, I maintained my hopes of American support' (p.446). And then what pain assails this simple soul as

blow after blow repays this doglike devotion. On Guatemala in 1954:

Despite this representation, Mr. Dulles still did not exclude the United States Navy taking action against a British ship without our permission. . . . This was worrying. Anglo-American solidarity was of over-riding importance to us. (p.135.)

'Without our permission' is charming. If only you would ask my agreement before swiping me in the eye. And then this charge of 'colonialism':

Mr. Dulles' remarks on colonialism. . . a continuing problem in Anglo-American relations. . . What is disturbing is its tendency to reappear at any critical moment in the relations of the United States with one of her western allies. (p. 499-500).

There follow some rather cattish remarks about 'Saudi Arabia and Liberia where American interests play a conspicuously large part'. (p. 501).

Most pathetic is the cry from the heart that whenever Britain or any West European ally asks for support from the United States on a diplomatic issue, they are met with a warning against the dangers of 'ganging up', but when the United States demands support from them it is regarded as only right and proper that they should obey. Thus when Britain wistfully suggested sponsoring support for a British resolution on the Security Council, not of course from the United States, but from a little old pal like Belgium:

In our view nothing was more natural than to call on the support of our friends. But the Americans considered that this looked like 'ganging up'. . .

Negotiators with the United States from many of the Western powers have since become more accustomed to this unhappy frame of mind, though I have never heard the phrase used when representations were made to induce them to align their policies with those of the United States. Nobody suggested, for instance, that acquiescence by Britain and France in the repeated refusal to admit communist China to the United Nations was in any sense 'ganging up'. (p. 461).

The poor satellite has still to learn his place. 'Ganging up' is a one-way system.

His entire Suez narrative is one heartrending complaint of how the cunning Mr. Dulles sold poor Moses a gross of horn spectacles, or rather, led the trusting Sir Anthony up the garden path for month after month from August to November, with one proposal after another (the Twenty Two, the Users' Association, and all the rest of it); only for each proposal to be dropped after Britain had

accepted it, until the infuriated animal went berserk and plunged into one-sided action, hoping that the United States would give support (as over Korea, he remarks, where Britain blindly followed the United States lead for action first without waiting for the United Nations), and the dull thud followed. When Mr. Dulles originally cancelled the project for Western aid for the Aswan Dam, and thereby precipitated the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company, 'we were not consulted' (p. 422). Mr. Dulles 'torpedoed' (p.484) one plan after another. 'Mr. Dulles spoke several times of the state of public opinion in Britain, which he maintained was not in support of the Government's policies over Suez' (p. 492), whereas Sir Anthony insists that British public opinion was 'almost equally divided' (p.546), and that Cabinet divisions or 'shades of opinion . . . did not obtrude', although some Ministers 'whether from conviction or loyalty, were there all the same' (p.520). The plain facts of the effect of the Soviet Note received on the night of November 5, which was immediately followed by the decision of the Cabinet on the morning of November 6 for the cease-fire, although the previous resolution of the United Nations had been ignored and defied for days, are played down in order to place the main blame on the United States and alleged financial pressure because the gold reserves had gone down by 15 per cent. Even after the cease-fire the still credulous hopes in the United States were disappointed:

The direction of American thinking I was perhaps slow to recognise. I did not foresee then that the United States Government would harden against us on almost every point and become harsher after the cease-fire than before (p. 561.)

If it were not for the blood of the massacred women and children of Port Said, for the outrage of calculated aggression against national liberation, one might almost be sorry for the poor mutt. But the blood is on his head.

In general the Suez narrative adds little in essence to what is already known, or only confirms what has been long ago deduced. The one-sided *naiveté* and selection of facts would fall below the level of even a moderately informed newspaper foreign correspondent. When in his Guildhall speech in November, 1955, this 'expert' on the Middle East proposed that the Western powers should guarantee suitably negotiated frontiers between Israel and the Arab States, the proposal was so obviously out of relation to the realities of the Middle Eastern situation that the intelligent searched hard to find some deeper purpose behind this apparently

naive approach. Vain labour. He now says it was just an idea he had, and that he now realises it was 'unwise' (p. 330). He describes with vehement indignation Arab aggressions against Israel (often peasants creeping over the frontier at night to try to go on farming their own lands stolen from them) without even mentioning the United Nations Commission's findings of major Israeli aggressions and massacres across the frontiers against the Arabs. On this basis of omission, by omitting equally that the assailed and military weaker Egypt vainly sought for six months to get arms for defence from the United States and Britain, only to be informed that no arms would be given unless Egypt joined the Baghdad Pact, he is able to present the solution of this dilemma and salvation of national independence which Egypt was able to win through purchasing arms from Czechoslovakia as if it were a sudden bolt from the blue. Similarly he expresses amazement that Egypt should have regarded Western proposals of aid as accompanied by strings, when all that was proposed were a few 'not drastic' conditions, such as that 'aid from communist sources would be refused'. Supposing socialist aid were accompanied by a condition to compel refusal of Western aid, what a hullabaloo about blackmail would be raised. A truly remarkable capacity to see only one side of a question and pretend the other does not exist. But an inadequate equipment for a diplomat.

The charge of collusion with the Israeli attack in the three-sided aggression on Egypt is amply confirmed by his account of the Paris meeting on October 16.

We asked the French Ministers to do everything they could to make clear to Israel that an attack on Jordan would have to be resisted by us. . . . If Israel were to break out against Egypt and not against Jordan, the dilemma would not arise. For this reason, if there were to be a break-out it was better from our point of view that it should be against Egypt (p. 513.)

The order of his chronicle shows precisely the strategic significance of the time-table of the organisation of the counter-revolution in Hungary, intended to draw off the Soviet Union, immediately before the Israeli mobilisation and attack, though he offers no hint of awareness of its significance. So the story of the blind and ill-fated aggression goes forward, which brought to Britain and France only shame and defeat. To the last he does not understand what defeated him. He sees only the United States, whose role was throughout in fact two-sided and devious. He has no understanding of the forces of the new rising world, of the world of socialism and national liberation, of the overwhelming majority of mankind,

including the opposition of the labour movement and public opinion in Britain.

Sir Anthony is in the shadows, and no one will wish to fight the sick. But his legacy goes on. The lesson of the thirties, repeated in even graver form in the fifties, has not yet been learned. 'The insidious appeal of appeasement', he says in a final word whose truth he does not realise, for it is his own policy that he is describing; 'leads to a deadly reckoning' (p. 579). It is no longer a question merely of rearming Germany and the neo-Nazis once again as Hitler was rearmed. It is nuclear weapons that are now being placed in the hands of Adenauer and Hitler's generals, vowed to a policy of revenge. 'Foolproof', says blandly Minister of Defence Watkinson in the House of Commons in answer to the Labour censure motion; the warheads are safely 'under lock and key'. Holy simplicity! With an army of half a million it does not take much to deal with a lock and key. Experience has sufficiently proved that nothing is 'foolproof' against Tory fools in charge of Britain's destinies. It is time to change the course. After all, it is not even excluded that the cycle of the thirties might be repeated a little further, and that in the next phase, amid angry cries of 'supreme apostasy' from Tory Diehards and Right Wing Labour leaders, the United States might announce a Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union. Let us hope for the good of the world that the Camp David talks may have proved a beginning. Let us even hope that Mr. Macmillan, and a victorious left in the Labour Party (for it would be too much to hope anything of Mr. Healey and Mr. George Brown), may yet begin to recognise the realities of the modern world, turn aside from the shameful and suicidal path of the thirties and Munich, and its even more shameful and suicidal repetition in the cold war and Suez, and enter on the new era of peaceful co-existence.

BOOKS

The Crowd in the French Revolution

George Rudé

Oxford University Press. 268pp. 35s.

FOR everyone, except those romantics who make a cult of feudalism as the 'age of chivalry', the French Revolution is one of the greatest battles won for progress in all his-

tory—as great as our English Revolution a century before, and second only to the Russian and Chinese Revolutions of our own day which have made the earth one-third Socialist.

It was a bourgeois revolution in which, as in all bourgeois revolutions, the rising bourgeoisie had to mobilise the mass of the people to fight their feudal enemies. Hence

bourgeoisie historians take up a two-faced attitude towards it. Feudalism had to go—where would the bourgeoisie be if it had not gone? But mobilising the masses is a nasty business. So, while writing *up* the bourgeois victory, historians write *down* the masses who made it possible. Even Carlyle, who wrote sympathetically of the Revolution, treats the uprising of the masses as a dreadful necessity and uses labels like 'anarchy', 'sansculottism' (which means 'ragamuffinism') and so on to describe it. To the ordinary run of historians the masses are just the 'mob', and everything regrettable in the Revolution is put down to them.

George Rudé's book is a painstaking study of the social elements who composed this 'mob', what they did and why they did it. The 'mob' were not the proletariat in our sense of the word. Industrial capitalism, though well under way in Britain, had hardly yet touched France. Most of the people were peasants; and of the town-dwellers most were master-craftsmen or journeymen who hoped with more or less reason to be masters some day. Wage-earners conscious of their class interest as wage-earners existed, but played a minor part in the drama. The epithet *sansculotte* was applied indiscriminately by reactionaries to little people who did not dress like themselves, and from 1792 on was adopted as a title of honour by revolutionaries who meant business.

Rudé takes us through the great events of the Revolution in succession and shows the part played by different classes. At the time of the taking of the Bastille the bourgeoisie were in a sad dilemma. The court threatened them with military force. They would have been helpless if the small tradesmen, artisans and wage-earners of Paris had not come

to their rescue. Bourgeois historians show their gratitude by calling the captors of the Bastille vagabonds and criminals! So it goes on. To save the bourgeois revolution it becomes necessary to bring the royal family to Paris and keep them there. The

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PUBLICATIONS

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people of Paris—led by women who, as housewives, had first-hand knowledge of the shortage of bread—march on Versailles and see it through. They are unsexed viragos hired by the Duke of Orleans. At pricking this sort of nonsensical bubble Rudé is superb.

Naturally, when the bourgeois revolution is won, when traitors without are suppressed and enemies without are on the run, the 'mob' want to know what *they* are to get out of it. There is no labour movement in our sense; the wage-earners are too much in a minority. But at least the revolutionary government might cheapen food. Price control becomes the main issue. In 1793, if only to rally the people to the war, which is at a critical stage, the Convention controls prices and also wages. But price control in a country of small producers is not easy. The maximum is continually evaded; the left-wingers who demand more rigorous enforcement are guillotined; and in 1794, when victory is in the bag, the Paris Commune *reduces* wages. After that the workers are finished with the bourgeois revolution. A few days later Robespierre is overthrown—a scapegoat for the sins of the Government—and the workers leave him to his fate. Capitalism was given the green light. The industrial revolution had to spread to France and further than France, and the class struggle between capital and labour had to become international before, in Rudé's words, 'a new type of "revolutionary crowd"... with new social objectives and new modes of expression' arose to make new history.

ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON.

A READER WRITES TO READERS

Dear Reader,

You will have noticed the classified and display advertisements in the last few issues. They help to raise money to do the job of widening circulation in the Labour movement.

We readers can help in several ways: firstly, by proving to advertisers how closely we read *L.M.* by mentioning it whenever we answer an advertisement; secondly, by asking people to advertise in *L.M.*; thirdly, by using it ourselves as an advertising medium. (e.g. see the Class. Ads., p. 142).

Because the readership is what the trade calls "dedicated" (or just plain dead keen), advertisers can benefit more from advertisements in *L.M.* than in journals of much bigger circulation. If you cannot yourself approach people who might advertise, the *L.M.* office would surely circularise them if you send in names and addresses.

Anyway, this seems yet another way to support our fine magazine.

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SID DOUGLAS.

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the people for the people can you achieve any lasting or worthy result'. Today, 70 years later, there are those who think to throw out the aim of common ownership, as if the descendants of such people would permit a retreat from socialism instead of an advance to it! Today also, whilst Tory employers never had it so good, railwaymen may yet be found working seventy hours and over; not because tyrannous private directors refuse to cut hours, but because wages are so low in ■ industry under state ownership with capitalist control that men are forced to resort to overtime, including working rest days, where they can get it.

A *Notts* reader comments on the rail crisis: 'Have just heard on the wireless of yet another railway accident. All such should be blamed on the Tory Government for the deliberate policy of neglect of the railways, to say nothing of the disgraceful wages'. Others remark on the spirit of the railwaymen, who have already earned the respect of indignant engineering shop stewards and miners battling against redundancy, who draw conclusions for their own

industries. Another *Notts* old friend writes: 'Your gentle endeavour to raise the Fund total ought to move all those who are fortunate enough to possess the wherewithal but unable to write, talk or beg, to do whatever they can with a great gladness'. To those searching for ways to help, read the letter printed opposite by a reader about advertisements; and use L.M. for May Day greetings. Advertising revenue helps to eke out the Fund, which is beginning to look up. 'Very glad to see it up this month', writes a new contributor calling himself 'Backslider'. A *Cumberland* man sends 'conscience money', and means to be regular 'even though I can never hope to clear my indebtedness'. And there are new regulars like the *Middlesex* reader of 18 months standing: 'Here's the first of what I hope to be regular gifts. Meant to earlier, but the Labour movement makes so many calls on the pocket'. The Out-With-The-Manager Fund for sending me out of London, now at £41, is within sight of the halfway mark to £90—which will enable us to claim a like sum from a benevolent *Londoner*.

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LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

TOGETHER FOR PEACE NOW!

'Naked in the Conference'

Ivor Montagu (British Peace Committee)

Why we are marching

Anna Steele (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament)

Peace in my time

Jim Arnison (Building Trades Federation Steward)

LENIN

by R. Palme Dutt

**IF SHARKS WERE
HUMAN**

by Bertolt Brecht

DEFEND CLAUSE 4

by R. W. Wright

**FAILURE OF THE
'MIXED ECONOMY'**

by John Eaton

APRIL · 1960

One Shilling and Sixpence

PACE-MAKERS

MARCHING along for peace behind the teenagers, I always find myself looking round for Jenny. Yet it is foolish to expect to recognise her. The last time we met she was not yet two years old. Her shivering bomb-shocked mother thrust her into my arms, crying: 'Here, mind Jenny for me!' and ran to the doctor's surgery, seeking grannie amongst the long line of casualties. So Jenny and I waited in the Camden Town street, the choking dust after the rocket still fogging the summer sun that Sunday morning. I picked bits of glass out of her hair and held her close when the wounded stumbled by, blackened and bleeding, not recognising their own neighbour. I turned away from the rubble of her home, from the sickening glimpse of artificial limbs spilt from the show window on the corner, the sluggish stream from the overturned milk-float. But Jenny made no sound. She stayed quiet in my arms and went on looking at the wreckage of familiar things. She gave me the same grave look when her mother claimed her back, saying bitterly: 'If only her dad could see her now!' But he had left for Normandy three weeks before, to seek out and destroy the Nazi rocket bases. No, I don't think I shall recognise Jenny amongst the seventeen-year-olds at Aldermaston. But she is there all the same, in thousands; determined, cheerful, enthusiastic, knowing the score and confident of victory, with all the energy and high hopes of youth. We shall have to move fast to keep up with these pace-makers of peace, who are going to build a shining Socialist future out of today's shoddy rubble.

What ■ contrast, this youthful sanity, with what a Scottish-Canadian reader calls 'the suicidal maniacs

who hope to re-arm the Nazis of Western Germany with nuclear weapons—and blackmail mankind with Nazi nuclear aggression'. How best to support the young people's efforts and help them to grasp the whole picture and avoid the mistakes of seeing only a part of the struggle, of disunity and the deadly trap of red-baiting? Young people only reject politics when they can see nothing but a dingy substitute for a real prospect, which seems indistinguishable from the established things-as-they-are. If all they are offered is the same old 'mixed economy' amidst a barrage of lies about the socialist world and the colonial peoples' struggle, little wonder if a handful become 'mixed-up beatniks'. They have to battle their way to understanding through a blare of 'press and radio polluted by nuclear deterrent poison talk', in the words of our Scottish-Canadian. These propaganda organs give a Yorkshire reader 'mental nausea, which L.M., like a breath of fresh air, effectively staves off'.

It is always a pleasure to us to see the impact that L.M. has when put in the hands of active thinking young people like these. I had a letter just recently from a young building worker who finds it 'a marvel of lucidity'. Another letter from a Londoner who has been taking it only since July, and found it 'such a fund of information and a heart-warmer besides' that he demanded back numbers. Now he is out to see 'circulation increases and the lifeblood of true socialism continuing to course through L.M.'s pages for the rest of the time left between now and socialism's triumph in Britain. And here's a donation as a small expression of gratitude for ■ great socialist magazine'. The same spirit of confidence and optimism comes from the letter of a very busy doctor,

Notes of the Month

LENIN AFTER 90 YEARS

No force can dim the torch which Lenin kindled
in the stifling darkness of a crazy world.

Maxim Gorki.

NINETY years have passed since the birth of Lenin. With the passage of years many names famed in their day grow less. Some grow greater. Lenin's place in history—already sufficiently established by common standards—is only beginning to

approach its future fuller recognition as mankind passes into communism. Lenin was not only the outstanding genius and teacher of the modern era—the era of the most decisive change in human history. By the creative activity of his leadership, carrying forward the teachings of Marxism, through the formation of the Communist Party as the organ of the working class leading all the oppressed masses for social change, and through the first victory of the socialist revolution, Lenin was the greatest builder of the modern world. Not of the old world which is dying in a stink of corruption and dreams of suicidal violence. But of the new world which is arising, of hundreds and hundreds of millions of human beings who have broken the fetters of age-old slavery and barbarous brutality and entered into freedom and abounding new life thanks above all to the work of Lenin.

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Assassin's Bullet

Had Lenin lived the span of that noble veteran fighter for freedom, who is still with us, William Du Bois, he would have lived to see this world of achievement today. He would have covered the full range from the still flourishing capitalism of Marx's *Capital* at the time of his birth and early days, to its outcome and degeneration in imperialism and the first world war, the first victory of the world socialist revolution, the savagery of counter-revolution and fascism and the second world war, the new triumphs of socialist and national liberation extending over the world, and the tense choice today between peaceful co-existence or destructive war. His life was cut short prematurely, at the height of his achievement, through the consequences of the bullet fired by the 'Socialist Revolutionary' assassin, the daughter of the bourgeoisie, inspired by the Western-organised campaign of terrorism and assassination (on the same day Uritsky was shot), and subsequently idolised and glorified by the prophets of Western civilisation, just as their forefathers previously idolised and glorified Charlotte Corday, the assassin of Marat.

From Violence to More Violence

Characteristic indeed are the weapons which the representatives of the old ruling order, the self-styled apostles of 'civilisation' and 'superior morality', use against the spokesmen of the working class and popular struggle for social justice. Jaurès—murdered to make way for the first world war. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg—murdered to make way for Social-Democracy followed by Hitler. It is ironic, for the choice of methods, that the Secretary of the old inter-war 'Labour and Socialist International', Fritz Adler, preaching endless sermons against the Bolsheviks for their 'violent methods' of organised mass struggle to defeat capitalist violence, himself won his original fame by assassinating the Austrian Prime Minister. In the United States the chain of violent death for the champions of human freedom ranges in an endless line from John Brown and Abraham Lincoln, through the Chicago Martyrs and Joe Hill, to Sacco and Vanzetti and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in our day. All this pales beside the colonial record, or the extermination of millions in the incinerators of Nazism, that darling of the most cultured representatives of Western civilisation, now being built up anew in the hope of fulfilling similar tasks.



On the occasion of the 90th Anniversary of Lenin's birth, we publish this new portrait of Lenin. Next month we shall print some recollections of him by his widow Nadezhda Krupskaya, recently published for the first time, and especially translated for *Labour Monthly*.

Auschwitz Reminder

At the Auschwitz commemoration ceremony this year—that Auschwitz camp where four millions from all over Europe were done to death—attended by 20,000 participants from 13 countries, including British M.Ps, survivors wept on the shoulders of the Soviet Colonel Yelisavietsky, himself a Jew, the Liberator of Auschwitz: a symbol of the socialist liberation of humanity from the horrors of the dying Western social order. What need of incinerators today? Western civilisation initiated the atom bomb, and is now advancing to the public advocacy of wholesale lethal poison gases, chemical, bacteriological and biological warfare as exceeding the old obsolescent nuclear weapons in the glorious aim of mass extermination. Lenin gave his whole genius and his whole life to save mankind from these horrors of destruction and win a different future.

Light on Lenin

Many readers have written in to say how they were struck by that prediction of Lenin which we quoted in these Notes in February, when, during his interview with H. G. Wells forty years ago he threw his gaze into the future and stated that the coming of the era of inter-planetary travel would bring within reach the end of violence in human affairs. They were struck, not merely because this prediction, so little noted or understood at the time, has become so topical today, in the era of the simultaneous sweep forward of the lunik and the new concrete urgency of disarmament. They were struck because of the contrast of this communist outlook on the future with the grisly imaginings of the more commonplace type of Anglo-American purveyors of 'sci-fic', who could only see in the advance of science the opening of the gates to new inter-planetary wars and destruction. They were struck above all by the light that it threw on the whole foundation of the character and outlook of Lenin, which has been too little recognised by the shallow, that deep humanism which even the chatterers today, who used to prattle of the aridity of Marx and Marxism, are beginning now to rediscover in Marx.

Lenin's Communism

Listen to Gorki on Lenin:

I have never met... nor do I know of any man who hated, loathed and despised so deeply and strongly as Lenin all unhappiness, grief and suffering.

And Gorki, that greatest twentieth century master of understanding of the hearts of men and women, continues :

Lenin was exceptionally great in my opinion precisely because of this feeling in him of irreconcilable, unquenchable hostility towards the sufferings of humanity, his burning faith that suffering is not an essential and unavoidable part of life, but an abomination which people ought and are able to sweep away.

That is the spirit of Communism. That is what Communism means.

Lenin on Capitalism

Lenin's whole life activity was governed, not merely by feeling, by his deep hatred of human suffering and determination to end it, or by sentimental aspirations for a happier future, but by the scientific understanding (Marxism) that the only road to end human suffering and win a happier future lies through the accomplishment of the historical task of our epoch to end capitalism and replace it by socialism as the first stage to a free communist society. Lenin learned from Marx that the capitalist social system, once such a mighty engine of progress, and still so vaunted by its bat-eyed latter day apologists, belonged to the dustbin of history. He wrote :

Our grandchildren will look on the documents and memorials of the capitalist system as curiosities. It will be difficult for them to imagine how it was that trade and articles of prime necessity could be in the hands of private ownership, how it was that factories and workshops could belong to individuals, how it was that one man could exploit another, how it was that people could exist who did no work.

Of course Mr. Gaitskell has now informed us, speaking to Leeds students on March 11, that there is no longer a capitalist class ('if people thought there was a capitalist class and a working class they did not know the true position'), since '99.9 per cent of the people are working' and there is 'virtually no class left that does no work that is capable of working' (*The Times*, March 12, 1960). Certainly. If Sir Gorgious Midas, in the intervals between his prolonged holidays to catch the sun in Bermuda or the Canary Islands, totters in for an hour in the morning to attend a board of directors before proceeding to lunch at his club, he also is 'working' in the Gaitskellian definition and is therefore 'not a capitalist'. Mr. Gaitskell undoubtedly belongs to the 'curiosities' of our time that our grandchildren will view with some amazement.

Lenin on the Socialist Revolution

But Lenin equally understood that capitalism, like every previous social system, does not perish of itself, however out-dated, however harmful. Capitalism has to be destroyed and replaced by socialism

through conscious human action. The destruction of capitalism, every day more urgent as the horrors of its declining years spread a sum of human misery unparalleled by all the pestilences and calamities of the human record and even threaten the human race with extinction, can only be accomplished along the difficult and arduous road, lasting over decades, of struggle and organisation, the organisation of the working class and its leadership, political clarity of the goal, leadership of the struggle of all sections of the people and the great national liberation struggles, to the final victory of the world socialist revolution. Lenin wrote:

Outside of socialism there is no deliverance of humanity from wars, from hunger, from the destruction of millions and millions of human beings.

(Lenin, 'In Louis Blanc's Footsteps', *Pravda*, April 21, 1917.)

Lenin on Revisionism

At the time when Lenin entered into political activity, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, there was a great deal of fashionable talk about the 'new capitalism' which was supposed to have rendered Marx out of date. The sponsors of this view, first put forward by the Fabians, and picked up from them by Bernstein and spread through continental Social-Democracy, were known as 'Revisionists'. Contemporary capitalism, according to them, so far from leading to a 'catastrophic' outcome (their term for the revolutionary analysis), was entering a new era of general prosperity, diminution of crises and class contradictions, and improvement of social conditions, rendering the old goal of socialism a superfluous myth ('the goal is nothing, the movement is everything', as Bernstein said). This was before 1914 dealt their illusions a blow. Against them were ranged the so-called 'Orthodox', or upholders of Marxism. Lenin entered with full energy into the battle against revisionism and on the side of Marxism. He exposed without mercy, not merely in general principle, but with concrete contemporary facts the fallacies of the revisionists. But he had no time for the dogmatic outlook which seeks to defy contemporary reality with abstract formulas. Instead, he set himself to examine, with a thousand times more care and precision than the shoddy generalisations of the revisionists, the new phenomena of twentieth century capitalism, not in order to abandon theory and surrender to capitalism, as the revisionists did, but in order to carry forward the theory of Marx in the same way as Marx ceaselessly did, that is, to master at each new turn the ever-changing, ever-developing, reality.

Lenin on Twentieth Century Capitalism

It was on this basis that Lenin was able to draw together into a single theoretical understanding the multiple diverse phenomena of twentieth century capitalism, which had previously been seen only superficially in a series of miscellaneous unrelated aspects (the 'new imperialism', social reform, trusts and trust-busting, state intervention in industry, 'labour unrest', the colonial question, nationalism, the arms race). He showed how the guiding thread was the development of capitalism, through the operation of the laws of capitalism laid bare by Marx, from the era of liberal free trade capitalism to monopoly capitalism or imperialism, and eventually state monopoly capitalism. He showed further that this new era of imperialism was no era of diminishing contradictions and extending prosperity and peaceful reform, as the Revisionists imagined. It would prove the era, he asserted, of decaying, parasitic, dying capitalism; of all the contradictions carried to their most extreme point; of the subjection and enslavement of all nations of the world to a handful of dominant powers, and their rising revolt; of inter-imperialist conflict flaring out to world war on a scale never before known; of the opening of the world socialist revolution. The experience of the first six decades of this century has proved that what Lenin said was true. The revisionists were wrong.

Lenin on the Twentieth Century World Wars

All the fashionable memoirs of the upper class celebrities of the period speak of the world before 1914 as if it has been a 'golden age' of peaceful serenity and progress blissfully unconscious of the holocaust in front which was to wipe out a generation. This conventional prattle is either plain hypocrisy, if the writers played any role in politics (for the air was thick with the clangour of the arms race, war preparations and the forging of the rival military alliances), or a revelation of how sheltered was their childhood in the nurseries of the imperialist paradise at the top of the pyramid of exploitation from the cruel realities of the living world. But none saw the meaning of the coming war with such merciless clarity of vision as Lenin. Gorki relates a conversation with him in 1908 in Paris:

He brought forward a series of arguments for the imminence of war, and 'probably not of one, but of a whole series of wars'. 'War is coming, it is inevitable. The capitalist world has reached the stage of putrescent fermentation. I think we shall yet see a general European war. The

proletariat will hardly be able to find in itself the strength to avert the carnage. . . The proletariat of course will suffer terribly. Such must be its fate for some time yet. But its enemies will weaken each other; that also is inevitable'.

'For some time yet'. The truth of that was shown in the first world war and the second world war.

'In the End They Will Gain'

And then Gorki's moving account of that conversation in 1908 goes on to reveal how this vision of Lenin was no mere cold-blooded logical analysis of the approaching imperialist war and its outcome. Long before Barbusse and Remarque and Sassoon, Lenin saw and felt with all the passionate intensity of his being those ten million dead of the first world war slaughtered without a cause.

Coming up to me he said forcibly, but not loudly, as if in amazement: 'No, but think of it. Why should people who are well-fed force hungry ones to fight against each other? Could you name a more idiotic or revolting crime? The workers will pay a dreadfully heavy price for this. But in the end they will gain. It is the will of history.'

'In the end they will gain'. The truth of that too has been proved by the event.

Tested by Experience

The truth of Lenin's vision has been tested by experience in the crucible of history, alike through the first world war and the victory of the Russian socialist revolution, not only by the fulfilment of the outcome that he foresaw, but by the direct role of Lenin's leadership in action to master the event and guide that outcome. In the breakdown of the old forms of the international socialist movement under the impact of the first world war, whose blazing heat shrivelled up and exposed forever the rottenness of opportunism and revisionism, it was the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party above all that carried forward the whole international movement and saved the world. The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, followed by its reflection in revolutions in Germany and Central Europe, brought the endlessly protracted first imperialist world war to an end at a time when the military staffs on both sides were planning new holocausts for 1919 in their grand strategy of 'attrition'.

Guidance for Today

And today? Lenin's guidance still points the way forward in the new conditions—not as an empty formula to repeat the past,

but carried forward, as he would have carried it forward, in the new world balance of forces. Failure to carry through the socialist revolution in Western and Central Europe, and the restoration of the old order and capitalism in these countries thanks to the role of Social-Democracy, brought fascism and the second world war on an even more destructive scale, as Lenin had warned. Once again the workers had to 'pay a dreadfully heavy price for this'. Once again 'in the end they gained'. The victory of socialism over one third of the world, and the miracles of scientific and technical construction since achieved, mean that at last imperialism no longer dominates the world. Therefore there is the real possibility to prevent the third world war and win peaceful co-existence. But the revival and open expansionist aims of West German militarism with Western backing at this moment, and the aggressive and ever-increasingly desperate and reckless military plans of powerful circles in the West, show that the biggest hurdles are in front.

Lenin on the World Revolution

Lenin always emphasised that the socialist revolution is no sudden overnight change, but comprises a whole historical epoch over many decades of the most varied and divers form of struggle, gains and losses, successes and defeats, in the advance to the victory of the working class and all the oppressed peoples against imperialism and the building of the new social order. 'The transition from capitalism to socialism occupies an entire historical epoch' (Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution*). And more fully:

The socialist revolution cannot take place in any other form than that of an epoch, uniting the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the leading countries with a whole series of democratic, revolutionary and national-emancipatory movements in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed countries. Why is this? It is because capitalism develops unequally.

(Lenin, *On a Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism*.)

For Lenin the national liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism, always a part of the world democratic movement, was from 1917 an integral part of the world socialist revolution. Herein lies and has always lain one of the most decisive differences of the communist outlook from the narrow egocentric outlook of the old Second International and Social-Democracy, focused on Western Europe and the United States as the hub of the world. Only now in the face of world-wide revolt have they awoken in a flurry to offer charity from the crumbs

of imperialist plunder, but never to stop the plunder. In vain. The Macmillans and Gaitskells will not succeed to stem the tide of revolt. The world revolution will conquer through the union of socialism and the national liberation movements; for these represent the overwhelming majority of the human race.

Fifty Years On

Already Marx had given warning of this character of the world socialist revolution as comprising a whole historical epoch.

We say to the workers: 'You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and international wars, not only in order to change existing conditions, but also in order to change yourselves and fit yourselves for the exercise of political power'.

(Marx, *Revelations on the Communist Trial at Cologne*, 1851.)

A profound thought when we consider the entire character and experience of our age, and not merely a very temporary and unstable corner of sheltered prosperity of a small privileged section in a minute minority sector of the imperialist world. The experience of the Somme and Guernica, of napalm and the H-bomb, of two world wars and world economic crisis, of fascism and white Terror and the extermination chambers, of the international solidarity of the war against fascism in Spain, of the liberating inspiration of the great anti-fascist alliance and joint victory with the socialist world, of the bitter fruits of Social-Democracy throwing away the fruits of victory and rebuilding German militarism, of the new experiences of the fight for peace against nuclear war—all these have helped to shape and are shaping, despite all the lies and indoctrination of capitalist mass propaganda, that strength and that consciousness which shall finally win the victory for the cause of the working people and socialism.

For Peace and Socialism

Since 1917 forty-two years have passed. Marx's 'fifty years' would bring us to 1967. By that date, if we can prevent major war, there is every prospect that socialism will be well on the way to overtaking and leaving behind, not merely the average levels of productivity and living standards of the capitalist world (that has long ago been accomplished), but of the most advanced privileged apex of the capitalist world, so that the economic superiority of socialism will have been finally and inescapably demonstrated to all, and the decisive battle will have been won. This close goal within reach can be realised if we succeed in preventing that third

world war which the nuclear maniacs of the dying Western social order still openly and suicidally plan. That is why the fight for peace is at this moment the heart of the world socialist revolution.

Lenin on Britain

Like Marx before him, Lenin paid special attention to the problems of Britain and the British labour movement. Lenin understood very well the reasons why the classic country of capitalism, Britain, once the leading world industrial power, should have fallen behind in the race with newer capitalist powers like the United States and Germany. He understood equally why the British working class, which had once led the way as the pioneer of the international working class movement with the epic struggles of Chartism and the foundations of the trade unions, should have later lagged behind and remained under the yoke of landlordism and capitalism, while younger working class movements, arriving later in the field, had already advanced to the victory of socialism. The very advantage of the former privileged position, of the world industrial monopoly and colonial monopoly, became a disadvantage. The world tribute led to stagnation of technique and development at home of British capitalism compared to younger competitors. Similarly the relatively privileged condition of a section of the workers on the same foundation, providing 'relatively tolerable petty bourgeois conditions of life' within which they were more interested to struggle for further improvements of those conditions than to change the social order, furnished the basis for the domination of an opportunist leadership in the service of capitalism and rewarded with rich plums.

Lenin on the British Revolution

But Lenin equally showed that the inevitable undermining of this old privileged position of British capitalism was bringing and would further bring profound changes in the political situation in Britain and in the character of the British working class movement. The loss of the world industrial monopoly in the eighteen-eighties brought the beginning of the pioneer socialist movement, which has since become the Communist Party. The opening of the imperialist era brought the foundation of the Labour Party. The victory of the Russian socialist revolution brought the adoption of the aim of common ownership in the constitution of the Labour Party and the unification of the militant socialist movement in the Communist

Party. In the solution of the problems involved in the foundation of the Communist Party, as the indispensable organisation of the Marxist vanguard, and at the same time of its relations with the Labour Party in order to assist the advance of the broad movement to socialist political consciousness and the fight for socialism, Lenin gave unwearying personal guidance and help.

Slowness and Sharp Turns

Lenin understood very well the slowness of development arising from the conditions in Britain:

All the best revolutionary elements in the working class who are dissatisfied with the slow progress of development, which in England perhaps will be slower than in other countries, will come over to us. Development is slow because the British bourgeoisie is in a position to create better conditions for the aristocracy of labour and by that to retard the progress of the revolution.

(Lenin, *Speech to the Second Congress of the Communist International, August 6, 1920.*)

At the same time he indicated that the character of the crisis in Britain could very suddenly give rise to the proletarian revolution:

Take England, for example. We cannot say, and no one is in a position to say beforehand, how soon the real proletarian revolution will flare up and *what* will serve as the *cause* to rouse it, to kindle it and move into the struggle very wide masses who are at present dormant. Hence, it is our duty to carry on our preparatory work in such a manner as to be 'well shod on all four feet', as the late Plekhanov was fond of saying when he was a Marxist and revolutionary. It is possible that a parliamentary crisis will cause the 'breach', will 'break the ice'; perhaps it will be a crisis caused by the hopelessly entangled and increasingly painful and acute colonial and imperialist contradictions; perhaps some third cause, etc. We are not discussing the kind of struggle that will *determine* the fate of the proletarian revolution in England (not a single Communist has any doubts on that score, so far as we are concerned, this question is settled and definitely settled). What we are discussing is the *cause* that will rouse the at present dormant proletarian masses and bring them right up to the revolution.

(Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism, 1920.*)

It is only necessary to recall the experience of Suez in the recent period, or of the general strike in an earlier period, to see in an embryonic form how rapidly such occasions can arise even in the conditions of Britain.

Seeking the Path

Through all the changed circumstances as they have developed the underlying principle of Lenin's approach holds good. The necessity for the active fighters for socialism to be united, organised

and ready to respond to every type of shifting situation, whether in a period of relatively lower and more limited level of mass struggle, or suddenly flaring out to a major political situation and even crisis of the regime. Never to be discouraged by slowness of development ('It is much more difficult—and much more useful—to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open really mass and really revolutionary struggle have not yet matured'). Above all, in the conditions of a country such as Britain, to find the bridge of contact with the broad not yet revolutionary movement, to find that transitional programme which can help to carry forward the fight of the working people on the way to more basic aims:

The main task of contemporary communism in Western Europe and America is to acquire the ability to find, to outline and to carry out a concrete, not quite revolutionary plan of measures and methods for *leading* the masses to the real, determined last and great revolutionary struggle.

(Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism*.)

The past decades have enriched experience in the approach to this problem. At the critical point now reached, when the British people can play such a key role in the choice of peace or war, when the choice between the aim of social ownership or the repudiation of that aim has become the foremost issue before all the organisations of the trade union and labour movement, it is more than ever necessary for all those, of whatever school or current of thought, who stand for the aim of socialism, for the victory of the working class, for the defeat of nuclear war, to find the basis and means of co-operation in a common fight.

'The Times' and Lenin

When Lenin died, *The Times* wrote in January, 1924:

It may be said with confidence that a disintegrating process has begun which will lead to the total collapse of the party. The end is probably only a matter of months.

That was thirty-six years ago. 'The end' of Communism which *The Times* so triumphantly prophesied as due within 'a matter of months' has not come. Communism is stronger than ever, extends more and more widely over the world, will win through finally also in Britain, as the peoples of the world, including in Britain, will become more and more convinced by experience of its necessity. The battle over social ownership now raging in the trade unions and the Labour Party (and the latest 'compromise' reached at the March meeting of the Labour Party Executive will hardly end the battle) is only a preliminary symptom and symbol of the deeper

issues and changes which are preparing in Britain, whose further development will assuredly prove that Lenin's confidence in the final outcome in Britain will be justified by the event.

R.P.D.

March 16, 1960.

ADVICE — GOOD AND BAD

You've got to hand it to the Fleet Street papers; they know it all! They know how trade unionists should run their unions, how the Labour Party should run the Labour Party and how the housewife should spend her money. It would be a most foolish housewife or trade unionist or Labour man who took their advice. But what confusion Fleet Street manage to spread on matters large and small! Which lends considerable point to the views of a London railwayman expressed during the course of our efforts to expand sales to his fellow-workers with our March number which was almost a railwayman's 'special'. He said, Labour Monthly should be regarded as the theoretical magazine of the left in the Labour movement, with particular appeal to Labour Party workers. Here, he says, there are thousands working away up and down the country, fighting hard on this issue and that and looking for guidance on the complex issues of the day. What is urgently needed, in his view, is a consistent effort by L.M. readers to show Labour Monthly to the active people, busily campaigning; to discuss the articles with them and win them for regular readers of the magazine which month in and month out shows the way forward and clears away the confusions ceaselessly created by the ruling class press.

Campaigning for peace, for example, is more than a matter of saying 'Ban the Bomb'. Effective and successful campaigns are possible only if we active campaigners know fully the character and strength of the forces against us. In this number Ivor Montagu, Anna Steele and Jim Arnison provide invaluable facts and telling arguments. Let's use them wisely and well. And plan, too, to use the May, June, July and succeeding numbers as part of a patient, persistent effort to win, each of you, one new reader. We will guarantee the quality that, with your help, will swell the quantity of L.M. readers.

G.B.

'NAKED IN THE CONFERENCE CHAMBER'

Ivor Montagu

IT was Aneurin Bevan's nightmare that without the bomb and the alliance he might have to go 'naked into the conference chamber'. Yet it is in exactly that goose-pimple condition that this country has had to embark on the disarmament conversations that began in Geneva in the middle of March; and its state of total defencelessness is not merely in spite of, but enhanced by, the latest developments of nuclear arms and NATO. Exactly how bare we are you may read in two documents at a cost of two shillings.* The cost of the nudity therein described has been rather more, perhaps £25,000,000,000 spent over a period of fifteen years.

To take first the document which deals with Civil Defence for London.

Evacuation. Work on the 1950 plans has been in abeyance since 1953. In 1956 the government increased its estimate of the number of people moving from 4,000,000 to up to 12,000,000; but 'no request to prepare a scheme on the new basis has yet been received'.

Shelter. If reasonable shelter against blast were provided 'casualties would be reduced by 75 per cent', but 'there is no plan for provision of public shelter in anticipation of war'. White Papers on Defence have made it clear that 'the government did not contemplate any expenditure of this kind'.

Fire-fighting arrangements. Men: 'only about one-tenth of the peace-time establishment'. Appliances: 'resources needed to contain the potential fire situation have been seriously underestimated'. Water: mainly natural supplies like the Serpentine; artificial containers

for which provision has so far been made are sufficient in quantity only for training purposes.

Rescue Section. Peace-time establishment 10,800; present number of volunteers 552. Policy:

in the event of war the rescue service would rely for its mobility on the requisitioning of trade vans of suitable size.

Principal equipment?

pick, shovel, crowbar, rope, etc. . . Some of these have been developed in a specialised form particularly suited to the rescue task. It is under-

*Report on Defence 1960, Cmnd. 952, H.M.S.O., 1s. London County Council General Purposes Committee, Report No. 1 in Agenda Paper (No. 4) for March 8, 1960, County Hall, 1s.

stood from the Home Office that some stocks exist of the earlier types of these, but that so far there has been no stockpiling of the more recent patterns.

Ambulance and Casualty collecting section. Peace-time establishment 5,800, so far about 1,600 volunteers. And 'plans involve the virtual emptying of the central London hospitals'. Transport vehicles with stretcher-carrying fittings are 'adequate in number for the training of the volunteers so far recruited'.

Care of homeless. The report lays stress on the necessity to keep people under cover...since even if unhurt by the explosion they would quickly become casualties from radiation sickness...over much of the area surrounding the initial explosion radioactive fall-out may prohibit movement for 48 hours or more. So far, therefore, '200 rest centres, each capable of taking 200 or more homeless' have been 'earmarked'.

Emergency feeding. 800 premises are 'earmarked'. Ministerial 'guidance is awaited...Policy at that level is still in process of formation and discussion'.

If, as might well be the case, virtually the whole surviving population were in need of emergency feeding during the first weeks after the explosion, the demands on manpower would be extremely great...it can be expected that volunteers would be called on from the general public.

In other words, dear general public, there will be no evacuation, no shelter, virtually no fire-fighting, no medical attention, no after-care, no food and no water. In fact, you are expendable and this is your obituary. No wonder *The Times*, (March 8, 1960) suggests that it might be more sensible, and gain more recruits, to drop the whole idea of Civil Defence, and start a modest service for coping with fire, flood, air and rail crashes.

Consider the other document, presented to Parliament by a gentleman who laughably calls himself the Minister for Defence. It has long been recognised and admitted that, if nuclear war should come, not all the Queen's horses and all the Queen's men, to say nothing of the Queen's tanks, guns, rockets, aeroplanes and battleships, would be able to prevent one single one of the shower of nuclear weapons that might be discharged upon this tight (sadly too tight for modern war) little island. It has long been explained that the object of all this armament for which we have paid and are paying is not defence but deterrence. The idea is that, according to the Defence Report, there is a 'continuing Communist military threat'. And, in the split second before extermination by the un-Christian Red, the last dying act of Christian Britain will be to take measures to exterminate a large number of his women and

children too. (It does not appear to matter that these women and children victims whom we, more like rattlesnake than Christian, are to take it out on, will have had no say in his wicked deed if the said Red is as undemocratic as claimed). No, the mere threat of this possibility will deter him.

The point is: does the Defence Report disclose any serious capacity to strike back? In no way. At present the 'deterrent' depends for delivery on aircraft whose maximum speed makes it certain that only a tiny percentage, if any, could reach an alerted enemy equipped with the latest ground-to-air defensive missiles. Again, their total (200) is by far insufficient to keep perpetually on the move, and invulnerable to a surprise attack, an adequate number to enable that tiny percentage to be an effective figure. Alternatively the 'deterrent' depends for delivery on American missiles, all the emplacements of which are perfectly well-known and easily destructible; a percentage of which missiles can, in any case, be relied upon to fall back on the territory from which they are discharged. There is a lot of talk of the future, which will not alter anything. A warning system, to cost £56,000,000 and give us four minutes notice. (Decisive proof, if anyone thinks it worth building, that at the present time we have not even that much). A Skybolt rocket, to be launched 1,000 miles from aeroplanes, and a Polaris rocket, to be launched from nuclear submarines, neither of which, or their carriers, are yet even on the drawing board, and which as like as not will be obsolete long before they are operational (but after their builders have made millions from them), as the supersonic bomber and the Blue Streak rocket are already. Indeed, an intelligent being on Earth, if such there be, might be forgiven if, after perusing the Defence Report, he were to wonder whether the wicked Red refrains from wiping out Britain not because of a deterrent capacity we do not possess, but because, after all, he happens not to want to?*

NATO, the other vestment relied upon by Nye for clothing, now augments Britain's peril. Weapons development has made its basis obsolete. Its theory was that the presence of G.I.s in Europe, acting as a sort of hostage, would better ensure American involvement, and therefore support for its allies, in case of Soviet attack, than any paper treaty guarantees. But that was in a weapons

*Compare Arthur Horner's famous story, in a lecture delivered to the Imperial Staff College shortly after the war, of his conversation with a Soviet General. Arthur: 'Is it true that just after the war the Soviet armed forces in Europe were much stronger than the Western armed forces?' Soviet General: 'Of course.' Arthur: 'Is it true that, had you wished to, you could easily have swept to the Channel ports and so had Britain at your mercy?' Soviet General: 'Of course.' Arthur: 'Well, why didn't you?' Soviet General: 'How could we? It wouldn't have been cricket.'

era when America could physically strike from Europe with no risk to its homeland in return. Since the moon rockets, U.S.A. must think twice before bringing destruction on itself for any European quarrel, and the presence of American nuclear weapon sites on European territory only means that territory is liable to become a target in case of an exclusively American interest provoking war. NATO obligations, too, gag and bind British diplomacy to the disregard of British safety; Britain must give Strauss the Shetlands and apologise for him in Spain, shut its eyes to Oberlaender and its ears to Adenauer's demands on Eastern territories; Macmillan must accept snubs over his Berlin compromise proposals and his disengagement plans for Central Europe; British scientists must hold their tongues in face of Teller's falsifications on underground nuclear weapon-tests; Lloyd must find pretexts for de Gaulle's flouting of the United Nations and the Asian-African millions with his Sahara bomb; and pirouette—off-agin, on-agin, off-agin—to Herter's gyrations about high flights to Berlin. Partners must not be criticised, the sacred alliance is become the sacred cow. Britain is not merely bare, pneumonia sneezes are bearing down on her from all sides.

Certainly nudity should induce a sense of reality. But the government prepares for the Disarmament Conference in a peculiar way. Arms estimates up by another £167 millions and as Ormsby Gore prepares to present Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's proposals* for 'total' disarmament, the Defence Report (page 8, para. 20) reassuringly observes: 'Whatever changes may come about in defence policy as a result of either technical developments or disarmament, the Government cannot foresee a time when this country will not need highly-trained professional forces to help us to play our part in world affairs'.

The fact is that it is only in the Bible that the walls of Jericho collapse at the sound of the trumpet, only in Hans Andersen that one small child's voice suffices to show everyone that the Emperor has no clothes. Had it been a real court and not a fairy story one, there would have been plenty of vested interests to shush the child. Today everybody who reflects knows that what we have written here is true. That arms do not now provide security but ensure jeopardy; that the arms race is useless because no future discoveries can be conjectured that will alter that position; that in nuclear war Britain, small in area, dense in concentration of industry and popu-

*They start with renunciation of a weapon that does not yet exist (pie in outer space), an increase in present level of U.S. and U.S.S.R. forces, and a series of studies of infinite duration before phase Z is even arrived at.

lation is doomed and can be made uninhabitable for generations; that its alliances double its danger of involvement and the presence or possession of nuclear weapons redouble its attraction as an object of attack; that whatever they fancy to be the dangers of disarmament and co-existence with communism, these latter are less. But interests financial, social and political battle against recognition of this truth.

Why should the arms magnates admit their vast bills are paid for dross? Why should the Field-Marschals admit they are no longer saviours but a luxurious excrescence? How should Gaitskell admit Zilliacus right, or Macmillan that the practical men are Bertie Russell, Jack Priestley and Canon Collins? It is not that any of these want hot war, but their political, social and financial fortunes are bound up with maintaining the lie of the cold war and the fiction that arms are a less danger than disarmament.

Arms used to be for 'defence'. When defence became obsolete their function became 'deterrence'. With the now impossibility of deterrence (*i.e.*, striking back), the generals begin to talk of the necessity—for security, of course—of striking first. They don't want war—oh, no. But only *we* shall be able to impose on them the sanity of risking peace instead of the military logic of making war certain. In 1945 one nuclear-armed power: in 1960, four. How soon, how many more? If you lock four chimpanzees in a room with four typewriters for infinity they will produce the works of Shakespeare. Four-plus naked general staffs locked in one world with an equal number of nuclear weapons will produce serious trouble a good deal sooner.

WHY WE ARE MARCHING

Anna Steele*

THIS Easter 1960 will see again many thousands of people marching in silence past the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston. There will be few watching us at Aldermaston, a tiny village in the heart of Berkshire, just the anonymous-looking Home Office Police staring from behind the barbed wire, Alsatian police dogs alert and eager. The Research Establishment itself is stark and hideous. It seems to exude evil, and my heart goes out to those whose skill and labour were prostituted in the building of such a monstrous place. It is not unlike

*Miss Anna Steele, as many of our readers will know, is the young Secretary to the London Regional Council of The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

a concentration camp to look at, and indeed its purpose is as foul. I would advise anyone who has not yet seen a rocket base or atomic research establishment to go and have a look, and contemplate the appalling waste of scientific ingenuity and skilled labour in a world of starving children and undeveloped land.

Of course there are still some people who think that the continued testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons is preventing war. They would consider that the scientist working at Aldermaston is doing the hero's job of defending his country against Russian aggression. These people believe in the 'great deterrent', but they forget that to have an effective deterrent you have to be able to convince the potential aggressor that you are prepared, if necessary, to bring your deterrent into play; and that he would be beaten by it. If we are thinking of the Soviet Union as the potential aggressor, there is no doubt that she is vastly superior:

Unless we bring the nuclear deterrent into play we are bound to be beaten, and if we do bring it into play we are bound to commit suicide.

(Lt. Gen. Sir John Cowley, War Office, 1959.)

Personally, I would be very surprised to find that the Soviet Union had any aggressive intentions towards this country or to the West in general. After all, did not Mr. Macmillan himself state after his brief visit to the U.S.S.R. that he believed that Russia wanted peace? I seem to remember President Eisenhower saying the same thing after Khrushchov's visit to the U.S. The fact that both these statesmen have given their support to an increase of expenditure on arms in Britain and the U.S. seems to give point to those who say that you can never expect the truth from politicians. Logic, however, seems to be on Khrushchov's side when he says that capitalism will destroy itself. For while the socialist countries increase their productivity and the standard of living for their workers, we continue to cripple ourselves economically and morally in an attempt to stay in the arms race. Our old folk continue to live below subsistence level, our sick to be treated in old and filthy hospitals, and our workers to call for a forty hour week while others enjoy their leisure. Worst of all, we continue to live as slaves—slaves to a State that has taken away our right to choose life rather than annihilation. Never before in the history of mankind has there been such a flouting of basic human rights.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament stands first and foremost for basic human rights. It believes that the Bomb has been allowed to become the master of man, controlling his destiny, and perpetuating fear and distrust of one to another. However, it is

not enough to shout 'ban the Bomb' and hope for the best. The Campaign has specific aims that are not only morally right but politically, economically and strategically feasible.

Unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain is the concept of a break through in the disarmament deadlock designed to achieve a slowing down in the arms race and the prevention of a further spread of nuclear weapons. This would mean: the removal of all nuclear bases from British soil; the cessation of testing, manufacture and storing of nuclear weapons; the discontinuance of H-Bomber patrol flights over the British Isles. All this would create the atmosphere necessary for an international campaign for multilateral disarmament; a nuclear free zone in Europe, including Germany (Rapacki Plan) and a British initiative to strengthen the United Nations and secure the admission of China. It would be impossible for Britain, having taken a unilateral stand, to remain within NATO an alliance based on nuclear strategy and in addition in direct conflict with the Charter of the United Nations. Having freed herself from the economic and political implications of military alliances, Britain would be in a position to resist most strongly, the development of France and Germany as nuclear powers. She would also be able to welcome constructive proposals for disarmament regardless of political expediences.

The resources released by the adoption of this policy would be put to creative work for peace, help to the underdeveloped areas of the world, food to the hungry millions, medical research, etc. It would be possible to improve the conditions at home for young and old and increase the general standard of living for our workers.

This is not a pipe dream; it could be done tomorrow if our statesmen and Generals were capable of adjusting their thinking to meet the new situation. It takes time for old men to realise that the days when disputes could be settled by force are gone forever. It takes time for them to realise that prestige today is not gained by display of military force but by displays of constructive and creative work for peace. De Gaulle is, no doubt, still jumping up and down shouting 'Hurray for France' because she exploded an atomic bomb on African soil, admittedly for prestige purposes. Yet the world condemned France for her action. The day has gone for that type of thinking, it is too dangerous as well as being morally decadent.

When we are marching from Aldermaston this year, similar demonstrations will be taking place in many other countries. The

international contingent on the Aldermaston march will be bigger than ever. The world is seething with talk of disarmament and Summit Talks. It is up to the people to demonstrate in no uncertain manner their will and determination for peace. Every day in the Campaign offices requests are pouring in asking for details on Aldermaston. More and more trade unions are joining. NATSOPA is the latest. If you have not decided to come, please do so, nothing has ever been of such vital importance. Let us bring London to a standstill and force the Government and the Press to look our way and recognise the fact that a unique movement has grown up under their very noses. A movement so powerful that it cannot any longer be ignored. Those people who look on from the pavements alongside the groups of paranoic Fascists will feel ashamed they did not join us, for the 'lunatic fringe' will be those who stand and stare and shout abuses from the side walks, the mentally healthy will be on the march.

People all over the world want peace so much that Governments had better get out of the way and let them have it.

(Dwight D. Eisenhower, BBC/ITV Television Broadcast, September, 1959).

PEACE IN MY TIME

Jim Arnison

WHEN Khrushchov put forward his suggestions for total disarmament at the United Nations I remembered reading that similar proposals had been advanced by Litvinov two years after I first saw the light of day. Thirty-three years—and every one of them affected in one way or another by the struggle for peace that was going on before I was born.

I have never lived anywhere where cupboards and drawers were not stuffed with leaflets, pamphlets and manifestos. I remember Pop coming home from a meeting with a swollen fist that had bounced off the chin of a Mosley thug. Mam going off to a Congress at Battersea while two docker comrades, Joe and George, came daily to cook the family meals and do the housework. Joe it was who went to Spain with the International Brigade, trying to prevent the second world war.

That war came however, and my most vivid recollection of it is of standing amid the ruins of Hiroshima not long after the dropping of the now obsolete atom bomb.

Let the warmakers take note that the age of nuclear weapons has done something else besides making it possible for them to destroy life more easily. It has ushered in the era of international action for peace on a scale that before the war was only a dream. Now the young people of every land gather together at festivals to defy the breeders of hatred and war. Now the peace movement reaches out to all sections of all populations. Now the old stagers, who taught me in my childhood the importance of the struggle for universal peace and disarmament, have been joined by millions the world over.

A small but extremely significant development took place recently among a group of building workers employed by the Salford Direct Works* Department. Imagine a meal break on a building site, men with parcels of sandwiches, drinking tea from tin lids, not very advanced in conditions from the scenes described in *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*. The dialogue however is very different. They are discussing—Neville Shute and in particular that author's stand against the nuclear horror. From this discussion comes the demand to me as the Federation steward that their shop stewards should organise a public demonstration in support of disarmament.

How fitting that it should come from building workers whose industry is frequently hammered because of the arms race. Take note you warmongers that in this instance the workers were in advance, not merely of a trade union leadership that is too often hesitant to lead, but also in advance of the more militant shop committee that had to pull its socks up and get cracking—including me, with all the years I have had at it!

In looking at these developments it must strike home how futile, unnecessary and dangerous it is to have divisions between the various sections of the peace movement.

The recent National Disarmament Conference organised by the British Peace Committee, took a big step toward ending the divisions that exist in Britain. The thing now is to see them off altogether. It is not now a question of another thirty-three years development of the struggle for peace, but of fixing the date when we can say: 'It is no longer necessary—we have won!' Otherwise long before the thirty-three years is up we shall have lost; and the survivors will have learned too late that the luxury of endless debate

*Building labour employed directly by a local Council on its own constructions, instead of contracting the work out to private firms.

and argument between people who want the same thing has cost too much.

Khrushchov's proposals give us just the opportunity we need to end the arguments. All the dishonest trickery of erecting obstacles (control and inspection difficulties, and so on) can be swept aside. Indeed, in their panic the war propagandists let slip a gem for us all to seize upon, '*Disarmament means slump*'. Is that so? Then let every trade union in every land work out a programme and policy for its own industry based on a world without arms. Let everybody's Trades Union Congress present these programmes to the governments. Let the international trade union movement heal the breach; let it work out a programme to eliminate the label 'underdeveloped country'.

Let us see who is afraid of disarmament. Alongside this let the peace movement maintain the firmest unity in directing attention to the danger spots as they arise in order to corner and defeat all the war madmen. Let the conviction burn into our minds that we shall all live in the year when war is abolished for ever.

LABOUR MONTHLY

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

AGAINST BANS

(Here are some extracts from a Trade Union Problems questionnaire, one point of which was on the Trades Union Congress's newly-imposed bans.)

From a railway branch secretary:

The 'Black Circular' is only worthy of the contempt which is growing in an alarming manner, amongst even the most dependable of the old guard adherents, and is typical of the bankrupt ideas of our T.U.C. leaders. Heresy hunting is an old game of a bankrupt civilisation, and is typical of the mediaeval thinking of a type which ought to be living in that age...

H. Holt (Secretary, A.S.L.E.F., Ardsley).

From a Durham miners' lodge delegate:

I think this is a serious mistake and will defeat its own object. My experience has been that local trade union branches will support the very men General Council are trying to ban...

R. Pigford (Ryhope Lodge, Co. Durham).
(*Labour Monthly*, April, 1935.)

SEDATIVES OR SOCIALISM?

R. W. Wright*

THE Labour Party today has two choices. It can retain its identity as the party pledged to introduce a new system of society based on the economic policies of socialism, with full social services, including education, development of sport and culture and freedom from the threat of unemployment. Alternatively it can become a party claiming to be able to manage capitalism better than the capitalists, promising legislation to alleviate hardship and to assist those in need. The rank and file activists in the Labour Party and the trade unions should recognise what these alternatives mean, and, more important, the implications of the policies advocated by Gaitskell, Jay and others, and supported, I suspect, by the 'Knights' of the Trades Union Congress.

Socialism is not a sedative that can be applied to a capitalist system, but a system of economic ownership by the people. Clause 4 of the Labour Party Constitution provides the basic platform upon which the economics of socialism must be built. The development of industry in the interests of the nation can only be carried out in a planned economy. The motive power behind this development can only be the interests of the community. The job of the Labour Party is to base its whole policy on the public ownership of industry, with the workers in each industry concerned and the community at large playing a major part in the day to day administration. That—and not the state capitalism to which the present nationalised industries are committed. Listening to the so-called new thinkers you would suppose that the enormous developments of the new Socialist democracies were non-existent; but it is a fact that, under a capitalist system, none could have been developed to the extent which is now apparent. So it is not sufficient to say that Britain is today a highly organised industrial country which cannot be compared with the Socialist countries. Those who argue that the proposals to amend Clause 4 are put forward as an up-to-date alternative, must take into account such modern economic developments. The fact is that without a policy for common ownership as the economic basis for socialism, the Labour Party would be no better than the Liberal Party and suffer the same fate.

No doubt the very experienced tightrope walkers of the right-wing will conjure up all sorts of bogies to justify their demands and

*Mr. Wright, as many of our readers will know, is the secretary of the Stockport District of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and a leading member of the Labour Party in North-West England.—Ed., *L.M.*

be able to count on block votes controlled by leaders of many not-so-democratic unions. We shall be subjected to the usual coercive pressures of presenting to the public a united front with no splits. No effort will be spared to convince the party that public opinion will not accept public ownership as the mainstay of electoral policy. *Industry and Society* set out the conditions under which public ownership would be considered based on the taking over of industries or factories that were 'failing the nation'. By what yardstick failure will be measured is left to the imagination, as are the implications of amending Clause 4 to remove the committal to public ownership. I feel that the Labour Party is being asked to accept a policy where the next Labour Government would act as the Good Samaritan doling out aid to industries which had been bled dry by profit seekers. The cartels and monopolies would presumably be left to maintain their stranglehold on our economic life and from time to time would be given aid by loans or grants to finance new industrial ventures. The profits of these industries would remain in the hands of the owners with no return, other than interest payments, on the investment of the taxpayers' money, the bulk of it from the working class.

I believe general and by-elections were lost because the working class lost faith in the Labour Party following years of apathetic and half-hearted performance by the parliamentary leadership, which apparently could agree more often than it would disagree with the Tories. Possibly the most commonly used phrase during the General Election was that there was 'no difference between them'. Presumably after this wonderful performance we are going to be asked to accept a common front with the Tories on major political issues and disagree with them on the division of national income and the introduction of reform.

Do you want a socialist future in Britain? Are you prepared to see the socialist heart carved out of the Labour Party? If your answer is 'No', then you must oppose those reformers who do. Every constituency and divisional Labour Party and more particularly every trade union branch must ensure that their annual conferences, their executives and the Executive of the Labour Party are told so in no uncertain terms.

The alternative is for the Labour Party to reaffirm its Socialist ideals and to prepare a five-year plan for the next Parliament, and to present quite clearly to the British people its objectives, both short and long term.

VIEWS OF THE WORLD

[Interesting letters received from readers are printed below, on which we invite others to comment. Councillor Walters' contribution, for example, is highly controversial on a fundamentally important subject; and we feel many will wish to answer the question he raises.—Ed., L.M.]

A Calculated Risk

HOW many socialists employed in heavy manual work (I am a miner), even if we have facilities, can summon the energy to make their own social, political and economic analysis. The physical exactions called for in industry in return for the blood money of the capitalist class, leaves the worker a sodden, sweaty, dissipated rag-of-a-man at the end of the shift and at the week-end, when he is just beginning to feel human again, 'Black Monday' comes and with it the back-breaking toil is resumed. So much for the 'affluent society' of the Gaitskells, Browns, Jays and Francis Williams. The upshot is that we have to leave most of the thinking to men like R. P. Dutt (probably the most profound socialist thinker of the day) who we can trust. But there comes a time in a miner's life when the inevitable injury lays him up for a spell, which gives the old sweaty brain-box time to dry out. The sweep of the newly-found refreshing health, glowing in spite of the injury's pain, all over the body gives him an urge for intellectual pursuits. True, badly equipped and that is where the element of risk comes in. I have been laid off seven weeks now through injury. In Gaitskell's affluent society I receive less than half-pay—Industrial Injuries Benefit, which brings the 'wolf' sniffing round the door. Yet, the rigours of brutal exploitation conditions and attitude of foolhardiness which, when coupled with the newly-found exhilarating glow of health, inclines

one to take risks. I am going to stick my neck out and put down a few economic observations which I claim nullifies the old socialist concept of impending capitalist slump—though the nature of the beast remains unchanged.

So let us take a look at the fourteen post-war years, a period over which the British capitalist system has continued to operate with only minor tremors of slump. What do we find? We see that never in the history of the system have so many workers been exploited at the same time. Yet there has not been a major slump. That suggests the Marxist thesis of surplus value accumulation leading to a breakdown in the system is no longer valid. Does it? Let us go on. For the earlier years (six or seven) of the period under review, we had a ready made three-pronged answer to explain away the phenomenon. They were—the shortages caused by the war; the absence of our chief competitors, viz. Germany and Japan, from the world markets; the arms race which followed the notorious Fulton speech of 1946. No one in his right mind will deny the importance of these factors but for some years now only the latter has applied. I believe the armaments programme does help capitalism to keep going by reducing the capacity of consumer goods and widening the home market *vis-à-vis* the workers and machines engaged in the armaments industry who would otherwise be unemployed. But by itself the armaments programme

cannot solve the internal contradictions of capitalism. As a consequence of Keynes other measures have been devised that provide necessary regulatory checks to a developing slump situation. What are they? First, can we agree that a major slump can develop out of either an unchecked inflationary trend or a deflationary one? That being so, the key to the success of the capitalist economists is the much more commanding role of government administration in the economy. This role is made easier today by the monopoly dominated character of the economy and the active participation of the monopolists in the government. These people use their political and economic power to check inflation from the centre by such regulatory measures as high taxation (income and purchase), a high bank rate and the credit squeeze. Deflation is countered by expansion (civic and industrial); the channelling of more consuming capacity (phew! is this heresy) to the nation through the media of increased wages and pensions—small to the individual but *in toto* a hefty sum—and cuts in taxation. Subsidies too and the health service help in that direction.

Those are my observations. What they imply is that a delicate balance reflected by market changes gives the capitalist economists time to make the adjustments necessary for staving off a major crisis. My analysis may be wrong but rightly or wrongly stated, if it stimulates and provokes a *Labour Monthly* discussion no harm to the socialist movement will be done.

P. C. WALTERS.

(Mr. Walters, as many of our readers will know, is a Fife County Councillor and works in Bowhill Pit.)

A Miner's View

LISTENING to arguments by right-wing Labour as to why the Party should lose its 'class image', get rid of the word 'nationalisation', and drop like a hot potato all this talk about common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, one would conclude that throughout the last three electoral defeats, the Labour Party had ardently portrayed themselves as a class party and tenaciously fought for nationalisation as described in Clause 4.

If so, then I have been going around in a trance for the last ten years since I first took an interest in politics. Could it be that the Labour Party had a socialist policy and I did not realise it? The thought of documents like *A Challenge to Britain; Industry and Society* and people like Morrison bleating that socialism is 'a sense of social responsibility for things of social concern' was sufficient to clear my head and get my feet back on the ground. And if we study the kind of nationalisation which they did carry through, then we discover that it was a very poor substitute for the ideas in Clause 4.

Let us examine the mining industry which passed into a state of nationalisation in 1947, but with many of the old gang who did not even believe in nationalisation left in control. A rate of compensation to the ex-owners was set which has been crippling the industry ever since, and incidentally this money is still being paid for pits long closed. They made the National Coal Board pay for the importing of American coal which over the years amounted to £10 millions. Even more serious, however, because of the government-imposed price policy the N.C.B. had to sell coal to the big industrialists

at a price less than the cost of production. On top of all this, they had to get money for capital investments from the financiers at the normal high rate of interest; the industry received no government subsidies as some people think.

Instead of socialist nationalisation we got state ownership, and since the state is a capitalist state, the ownership is capitalist state ownership. Therefore the mass of the British people have not had the opportunity of deciding for or against socialist nationalisation. Indeed, all the discussion around Clause 4 is now designed to shed the last vestige of socialist principles from the Labour Party.

Who is right, who is wrong? The kind of forces that are rallying behind Gaitskell is proof enough for me. I think it was Bob Smillie who said, 'When the Tory press is praising you, you have gone wrong, but when they are criticising you, you are doing right by the class you represent'.

GEORGE BOLTON.

Fishcross, Alloa.

Paying for Roads and Rails

THEY threaten once more to increase railway fares to make them more 'economic'. Let us, then, take a glance at some features of 'economics' of road and rail transport.

There are nearly 10,000 miles of roads on which transport can travel. How are they maintained and how paid for? Here are a few of the items which go to the upkeep. The street surfaces, widening, roundabouts, By-pass roads, cats eyes, white lines, red reflectors, crossings, road signs, traffic lights, street and road naming, lighting, gravel in frosty weather, snow clearing in winter, police on point duty, school

children's guides at crossings, foot-bridges and underground crossings, bus shelters etc. All this is paid for either out of the rates or from grants from the National Exchequer. The public are now accustomed to these payments and pay them with what grace they can muster. Now, is not all this just good for all *private* transport? They choose what goods they will take and to make matters worse quite a number of C licences are granted so that private firms can run their own vans.

The first charge on the railways is the interest which has to be paid to former shareholders. The sums which were paid for the railways were much in excess of their real worth. First because of long years of neglect, then the war damage. Another drawback is the fact that the railways are 'managed' by people who do not know their job or by people who do not want nationalisation to be too much of a success. It must be remembered that on the railways, every nut and bolt, every sleeper, all the necessary lighting, painting the names of the stations is charged on the account. Bridges, level crossings, signalmen (not police on point duty). Then there are the the factories where the engines, carriages, trucks, and the many things that are needed are made. If only a proportion of the moneys which are readily granted to road transport was expended on the railways, it would not be necessary to raise fares, which is now threatened. Then again with the gigantic machinery we can now use, the system of canals in use should be opened up properly and a good network made. Our engineers could arrange these in conjunction with the conservation of water and thus prevent floods.

W. H. GARDNER.

FAILURE OF 'MIXED ECONOMY'

1. *The Cost of 'Managing' Capitalism*

John Eaton

THE ghost of a myth is haunting Britain—the myth that capitalism now is reformed and no longer is the old devil it was. The story runs something like this. Once upon a time there was a wicked monster called capitalism that made the waters of economic life surge turbulently with tidal waves that every so often engulfed some millions of the people with unemployment and destitution. And then came a fairy prince called Keynes who whispered to the rulers of the people the secret of eternal prosperity and from then on the streams of economic life flowed happily ever after and socialists who had said that the capitalist monster must be killed, made friends with the new kind monster. They agreed not to kill him and said that socialism was not any more to be an economic question and would instead be just a moral question.

Now, however, I think the pantomime is drawing to a close and we are all beginning again to sense some of the deeper realities of the economy in which we live. It was Douglas Jay who just before the war in his *The Socialist Case* seized on Keynesian theory in order to re-bush socialist economics and remove the corner-stone of the socialist economy, namely, planned production for use based upon public ownership of the means of production. In its place he put the theory of the 'mixed economy', retaining a private-ownership and production-for-profit sector, with a guiding control exercised by the state according to Keynesian principles. This theory of the 'mixed economy' has become the official doctrine of the right wing of the Labour movement. (Its most authoritative and recent re-statement by a right wing group of top Labour economists is to be found in the Penguin booklet published in 1956 under the title *Twentieth Century Socialism*.) The practical expression of this theory is opposition to further nationalisation except on a very limited scale, *e.g.*, perhaps the steel industry.

Whilst one cannot deny existence to 'the theory of the mixed economy', history, it must straight away be stressed, denies existence to the 'mixed economy' as an actual social formation. Either private property, the market and production for profit predominates—in which case the so-called mixed economy is capitalism (even though other property forms are contained within the social organ-

ism as a whole). Or, if public ownership, planning and production for use predominates, then the economic formation is socialist (even though some private property forms remain). The term 'mixed economy' as a characterisation of the contemporary British economy is a highly misleading, 'fig-leaf' expression because it suggests a *laissez-faire* capitalist sector modified by admixture with a socialist sector. This is not the reality. Capitalist property and productive relations still determine the character of the economy. The nature of British capitalism has certainly greatly changed since the nineteenth century by the emergence of the big monopolies that predominate over the whole economy including the much enlarged economic functions of the state. The term 'state monopoly capitalism' is, therefore, one that more accurately takes account of the new features of the British economy.

The 'new' proposals therefore amount to living with capitalism for the rest of our lives. Before looking forward to the new decade of the 1960's it would be well to look back to the decade that is past, for this was a decade of this new so-called mixed economy, which, if we drop Clause 4, we are asked to be tied up with for ever and ever.

In the early part of this period, it was generally believed that there was much tangible evidence to support the claims of capitalism to have acquired a 'new look'. Today most opinion is far more hesitant in its judgment. The whole of the capitalist world is in a phase of expansion such as one would normally expect to allay doubts, but instead, even if hardly anyone now expects a dramatic collapse, there is a growing uneasiness about the economic future of Britain and the capitalist world generally. This is due, I think, to the accumulation of a number of reasons—very different in kind—for questioning the fundamental soundness of the economy. The kind of things I have in mind are the recent increase in the bank rate, fears of balance of payments problems and inflation, Professor Mellman's Report on the backwardness of European machine tool industries in comparison with the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union's astounding achievement with moon rockets coupled with sudden awareness of the small number of our university students and the deficiencies of our technical and scientific education, the meagreness of our research expenditure except through the state for destructive purposes, the spate of take-over bids, mergers and constantly swelling values of company shares dealt in on the Stock Exchange, the preponderance of car and consumer durable production in the post-war industrial expansion, the stagnation of

coal and shipbuilding, the growing emphasis on problems of selling as against those of production and the tying up of increasing resources (following the pattern of the U.S. economy) in hire-purchase finance, advertising and other non-productive services, the long stagnation of private manufacturing expenditure on new plant and equipment only just now beginning to end after eighteen months in an overall phase of expansion, the brawling between the Common Market and the European Free Trade Area, the prospective surplus in supplies of most primary products and the consciousness that the weakness of the primary producers as sellers is bound to reappear in their weakness as buyers from the main manufacturing countries. It is a whole chain of continuing incidents none of which in itself is of conclusive significance that is stripping capitalism of its pretensions to have overcome its debilitating contradictions.

The recent increase of the bank rate to 5 per cent has been justified mainly by reference to the internal needs of the economy, to avoid 'over-heating' internally—and, indeed, it is bound to have the effect of damping down our economic activity, holding back housing and other social service expenditures requiring borrowed capital, and generally checking mass consumption. However, it is fairly certain that the main consideration in raising the bank rate just at this time was the external balance of payments situation. Interest rates have been increased in Germany and the U.S.A. and this is creating a certain financial pressure against London which the increased bank rate is designed to correct. However, it is understandable that the authorities are not anxious to stress this aspect. The balance of payments crises in 1951 and 1957 emphasised the subordination of the British economy to financial interests and financial policy and this is still how things are, despite the government's desire to give the impression that the rebuilt gold and dollar reserves have put the economy on a new solid basis. It is in fact the Achilles heel of managed capitalism that is being revealed in Britain's internal and external financial problems. Externally British capitalism has committed itself to maintaining the value of the £ and freeing it from controls and is likely to cling to this policy (even at the cost of great harm to economic activity in Britain), in order to protect its traditional advantages in overseas banking, commerce and investment.

At home it is, of course, true that the state can do quite a number of things to stimulate economic activity, but all such measures must in a predominantly private-profit economy cause inflationary tendencies which are liable to cause a disintegration of

the whole social fabric if not checked. Consequently there now is to be seen in a number of leading capitalist countries the phenomenon of the state oscillating between contradictory policies and being as much concerned about applying brakes to prevent inflation as stimuli to prevent stagnation and unemployment.

The contradictions between monetary policy and productive policy in a capitalist economy were also reflected clearly enough in the report of the Radcliffe Committee. Of course the defence of managed capitalism argues as if these contradictions of state policy torn between the needs of financial stability and economic growth were in fact skillful steering by a helmsman using Keynesian techniques to pilot the ship of state through dangerous waters necessitating frequent changes of course. It is as well therefore to be more concrete about the cost of this performance.

Experience in periods of expansion shows that an annual rate of expansion of 8 per cent in industrial production can be quite easily attained. Japan and West Germany in the fifties averaged 15 per cent and 9 per cent per annum respectively—exceptionally high *average* rates for capitalist economies over prolonged periods but demonstrating incidentally that there are no technical problems about sustaining industrial growth at around about 10 per cent per annum. Incidentally the growth of the West German economy was nothing to do with the techniques of managed capitalism or the mixed economy. It was an economy in which there was an abundant supply of exploitable labour and a minimum of control over capital and market activities and it has enjoyed in common with West Europe as a whole, a boom of which the main basis was heavy capital expenditure on post-war re-equipment of civilian industry. Now the momentum of private investment on re-equipment is slowing down in most capitalist countries and this foreshadows problems in the handling of which those who profess ability to 'manage capitalism' have yet to prove themselves in practice. If through the sixties we were steadily each year to maintain an 8 per cent rate of growth in Britain we would double our industrial product in ten years. Supposing state expenditure remained unchanged (which if disarmament were to become a reality would mean a large increase in social service expenditure) this would permit simultaneously a hundred and fifty per cent increase in investment expenditure and a seventy-five per cent increase in consumer goods. Allowing for increased population and additions to the number of productive workers, this could mean an increase in average weekly earnings from £11 a week as at present to £18 a

week by 1969, prices remaining unchanged. In the decade that has just ended according to the official indices—and the indices reflect nothing of the qualitative aspect of conditions of life within capitalism—average real earnings and output a head increased by one-fifth each, industrial production increased by just over a quarter and consumption expenditure per head (at constant prices) by fifteen per cent. These figures give some means of measuring the cost of the financial trimming that is necessary to 'manage capitalism'.

(To be concluded)

MASSACRE!

'... We asked them for a life of toilsome earning,
 They bade us bide their leisure for our bread;
 We craved to speak to tell our woeful learning:
 We come back speechless, bearing back our dead.
*Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,
 But one and all if they would dusk the day.*

They will not learn; they have no ears to hearken.
 They turn their faces from the eyes of fate;
 Their gay-lit halls shut out the skies that darken.
 But, lo! this dead man knocking at the gate.
*Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,
 But one and all if they would dusk the day...*

(William Morris, after Bloody Sunday, Trafalgar Square, 1887.)

IF SHARKS WERE HUMAN

Bertolt Brecht

[We have pleasure in printing this fable. It has been especially translated for Labour Monthly from BERTOLT BRECHT 'Kalendergeschichten' (published by Gebrüder Weiss Verlag Berlin-Schöneberg). The German title is: 'Wenn die Haiische Menschen wären'].

MR. C., if sharks were human beings, would they be nicer to the little fishes?', asked the little girl.

'Yes, indeed', replied Mr. C., 'they would build great big boxes for the little fishes, with all sorts of food, both vegetable and animal. They would take care that the boxes always had fresh water, and they would make the necessary sanitary arrangements. And when for example a little fish hurt his fin, they would bandage it for him, so that the sharks should not lose him before his time.

'To stop the little fishes getting unhappy, they would give big water fêtes now and then, for happy fishes taste better than unhappy ones.

'There would of course be schools in the big boxes, where the little fishes would learn how to swim into the shark's mouth. They would need geography, too, so that they could find the big lazy sharks hanging about.

'The most important thing, of course, would be the moral education of the little fishes; they would be taught that the greatest and most beautiful thing for little fishes is to sacrifice themselves joyfully, and that they should all have faith in the sharks, especially when they promised them a happy future. The little fishes would be taught that this future would not be safe unless they learnt obedience, and that they must guard against all low, materialist, selfish, or marxist tendencies, and report to the sharks immediately when any of their fellows showed any such tendencies.

'If sharks were human, they would of course wage war with one another, to conquer foreign boxes and foreign fishes. They would have these wars carried on by their own little fishes, and would teach them that there were tremendous differences between them and the little fishes of other sharks. Little fishes, they would explain, are well known to be dumb, but they are silent in many different languages and therefore cannot possibly understand one another. To every little fish that killed one or two other little fishes in war—enemy fishes who are silent in other languages—they

would give a little Order made out of seaweed, and the title of Hero.

'If sharks were human, they would naturally develop Art; there would be beautiful pictures, in which the sharks' teeth would have magnificent colours, and their jaws would look just like pleasure-gardens, in which one could have lovely romps. The theatres on the bed of the sea would show heroic little fishes swimming into the sharks' jaws, and the music would be so lovely that all the little fishes, led by the band, would stream dreamily into the sharks' jaws, full of the happiest thoughts.

'There would be religion too. It would teach little fishes that their real life would only begin in the shark's belly. And besides, if sharks were human, it would no longer be true, as it is at present, that all little fishes are equal. Some of them would get appointments and would be set over others; and those who were a little bigger would be allowed to eat the smaller ones. That would be all right for the sharks, for they would often get bigger pieces to eat themselves. And the bigger ones, who had jobs, would keep the smaller ones in order; they would be teachers, officers, box-building-engineers, and so on.

'In short, there would be real civilisation in the sea, if sharks were human beings.'

ALWYN MACHEN

1901 — 1960

Alwyn Machen, President of the Yorkshire Area of the National Union of Mineworkers, died on March 1, 1960. Son of a Derbyshire miner, and starting work at the pit himself at the age of 13, he became outstanding amongst his fellow miners in Yorkshire, where he served successively as union branch official, compensation secretary and president. But for his untimely death he would have been national President of the miners, to which post he had just been elected. Our readers will recall his article 'The Miners: A re-appraisal', which he wrote for us in April, 1958. His latest article appeared only six months ago, in October, 1959, on 'The Rise and Growth of the Chinese Trade Unions', soon after his return from China.—ED., L.M.

'TAKE-OVER BID' FOR ISRAEL

Lazar Zaidman

WE are in a period when everywhere in the capitalist world there is talk, at least, about assisting the economic development of the backward and under-developed countries. Opportunities open up for all kind of investors, and one may forgive a smile, if in some cases, a virtue is made out of—not the classical 'necessity'—but the advantages expected to follow investment.

These thoughts come to mind as one reads about the establishment of the Anglo-Israel Securities Ltd. Throughout last year, leading figures in the London financial world were investigating the possibilities of investing their capital in Israel. Assurances were sought that investments and profits would be safe-guarded, and that there would be no repetition of the situation when:

A number of people, to put it mildly, have burned their fingers, through lack of objective information on the state of Israeli companies. (*Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, July 17, 1959.)

The new company is sponsored by four of the best known merchant bank houses in the City of London (Samuel Montagu, N. M. Rothschild, M. Samuel, and S. G. Warburg.) Among the signatories to the prospectus are Sir Henry D'Avigdor Goldsmid, Tory M.P.; Edmund de Rothschild; Harold Lever, Labour M.P.; Peter Samuel; Charles Seligman; and Lord Swaythling.

The Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, the organ of the British Zionist Federation, writes in alluring terms:

For the first time, the most representative and respected City names are in effect underwriting sterling area investments in Israel. It is considered by them sufficiently safe and attractive to make them recommend Israeli stocks to the British investor as good business.

And for the Jewish investor:

This marks the first stage of the transition from donation to genuine investment. Israel is now considered a good risk. It is no longer something which the investor has to treat as a donation for which he will see no return. (November 27, 1959.)

Presumably, workers in Britain, Jews and non-Jews alike are expected to take pride in the fact that, according to Harold Lever, M.P., writing in the same journal:

Israel now takes her place for the first time as one of the areas for normal investment from this country by the general public.

Israel has:

Ample cadres of talent and skill which are only partially exploited at present, because of inadequate capital.

But the 'ample cadres' have their spirit broken by long years of unemployment. In a book* just published, Dr. F. Zweig points out that Israel has very large unemployment, both open and disguised, which amounts to more than one-fourth of the total manpower. For these unemployed there is no unemployment pay. Consequently, Dr. Zweig's guess is: 'that about one-third of Israel's population . . . leads an existence below the poverty line'.

As to the rejection of the institution of unemployment insurance, the motives behind it are based on the fact that there is no lack of work in Israel, in the Negev, or the Galilee, or in border settlements. Anyone able and willing to work need not suffer starvation, and can count on full support and all possible help from the respective authorities in Israel. The layer of *Lumpenproletariat*, of the parasitic sector of the population, and generally speaking, of the unproductive classes in Israel, is large enough, and the tendency to sit under a palm tree and to watch the clear blue skies seems to be quite real, so that any encouragement of this tendency by unemployment benefits may be dangerous to Israel's future. (p. 99-100)

In this comment there is no intention to ignore, discount or minimise the extent of the charitable assistance which some of the promoters of this Company have given to Israel since it was established as a State—nor dismiss the uses some of the schemes envisaged in the prospectus of the new Company will have for the ultimate economic development of Israel. But one may be forgiven if one uses the opportunity to point out that it will be Jewish 'sweat and toil' which will be creating 'satisfactory' profits for Jewish capitalists who have waited for the opportune time to invest their capital in Israel—sure of safe and big returns. The dreams of Theodor Herzl, founder of the modern Zionist Movement, are certainly coming true for Jewish investors. Outlining the perspective for the rich Jews in the prospective Jewish State, he wrote:

Rich Jews who are now obliged carefully to secrete their valuables, and to hold their dreary banquets behind lowered curtains, will be able to enjoy their possessions in peace 'over there'. If they co-operate in carrying out this emigration scheme, the capital will be rehabilitated there, and will have served to promote an unexampled undertaking. If rich Jews begin to rebuild in the new settlement their mansions which are stared at in Europe with such envious eyes, it will soon become fashionable to live over there in beautiful modern houses. (*The Jewish State*, p. 41.)

Some months ago, the Israel Parliament passed a law for a new series of concessions to foreign investors. Tax exemptions are the main features of this law. Any foreign enterprise, approved by the Israeli Investment Centre, would be exempt from the *company income tax* for a period of five years from the first year of taxable

*The Israeli Worker by Dr. Ferdynand Zweig. Herzl Press and Sharon Books. New York, 1959. pp. 305. Index. Price \$5.

income. Foreign investors will not pay tax on dividends beyond those taxes which are paid by the Company. An accelerated rate of depreciation is granted to approved enterprises, as well as exemptions from urban and rural taxes for periods of from five to ten years; and unrestricted right to transfer all Israel-earned profits out of Israel into foreign currency. Foreign investors are also exempted from property taxes, custom duties and purchase tax.

Foreign investors hitherto could export only 10 per cent of their profits: this will now be raised to the full 100 per cent. In the four years to 1958, under the old per cent law, they extracted \$55 million—more than a third of the amount invested during that period.

Foreign financial circles are growing more confident that the employers can enormously reduce the preponderant influence of Histradut—the single trade union centre in Israel, owner of many enterprises operating in large parts of the Israeli economy, which enjoys a dominating position in contracting transport and heavy industry and is responsible for about a third of all Israel's economic activity. Strains and stresses in this sphere, already visible, strengthen the confidence of the capitalist class. When allowance is made for State and municipal undertakings and projects operated by communal institutions, the private sector is left in control of only little over a quarter of the Israeli economy. These 'take-over' efforts will mean increased exploitation for the working people of Israel, who will hardly feel happier at the thought that they are providing huge profits to, albeit Jewish, capitalist owners.

Highly organised as they are in the Right-Wing Histradut, the Israeli working class is constantly fighting back in defence of its rights. But the employers are nibbling away at these rights and are hopefully looking forward to the weakening of the trade unions:

The position of the unions has never been quite the same since one of the country's largest manufacturers gained an unsung victory for all employers when he sat out in 1957 a four-months strike to stop excessive wage claims and secure his right to redundancy dismissals.

(The Financial Times, November 6, 1959.)

Employers believe that with a weakened trade union movement they can achieve their aim of reducing the standard of living of the Israeli working people, which as elsewhere is supposed to be the stumbling block to lower export prices.

But we are confident that the last word has not yet been spoken: the working people, under the leadership of their class conscious and militant sections, will succeed in maintaining their present standards and go on improving them.

THE HISTORY OF ERNIE BEVIN, LABOUR LEADER

J. R. Campbell

ERNEST BEVIN was the outstanding right-wing trade union leader between the wars, and it was a good idea to give the writing of his life* to a professional historian, rather than to a slapdash journalistic admirer. Alas, Mr. Bullock who is in his way also an admirer, can be slapdash at times. Where, for example, did he get the following extraordinary information about the 1936 Labour Party Conference?

Two delegates were present from the Spanish Government, one of whom, the celebrated Communist La Pasionaria, had a Scots mother, and spoke in eloquent English.

The delegate in question was from the Socialist Party of Spain, her name being Isabel de Palencia. Nevertheless, Mr. Bullock has done a competent job, relating Bevin to his background, and his book should be of some use to the critically minded. For all the outstanding periods through which the Labour movement has passed in the first forty years of this century are here, with the exception of the Munich period, when Bevin was travelling abroad for health reasons.

We have Bevin's activities in the labour upheaval which preceded the first world war; during the employers' offensive which culminated in the betrayal of the miners in 1921; in the period of the first Labour Government; in the General Strike of 1926; in the collapse of the second Labour Government and in the period when fascism was advancing remorselessly to the second world war and when the reformist leadership was paralysing the British trade union movement. This volume ends on Bevin becoming Minister of Labour in the Coalition Government in 1940. Another volume is promised dealing with Bevin as a Cabinet Minister in the Coalition and Labour Governments.

I put down the volume full of admiration for the heroic struggles of the British workers and of anger at the miserable right-wing leadership with which they were saddled. All the great betrayals brought about by the reformist leadership (though not recognised as such by Mr. Bullock) are detailed here, the betrayal of the miners in 1921 and 1926; the ignominious collapse of the Labour Government in 1931, and the furious anti-communism of the

**The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin*, by Alan Bullock, Vol. 1. Heinemann. 50s.

General Council of the Trades Union Congress when confronted by the demands for a united front against fascism and war. Mr. Bullock defends the indefensible by supporting Bevin's attitude in all these periods. I found particularly painful the account of the disgraceful panic of the General Council who betrayed the General Strike of 1926, at the very moment when the ranks were unbroken and the spirit of fight was rising.

Ernest Bevin was basically a right-wing trade union leader, but with marked personal idiosyncrasies. He was that unusual combination, the skilful, patient organiser and negotiator, and the emotional mass orator. He could tear a passion to tatters denouncing the wrongs suffered by the lower-paid workers, and he could dramatise his opposition to the Communist Party to such an extent that his audience was invariably left with the picture of poor old Ernie, outnumbered a thousand to one, bravely and single-handedly felling the Red Hordes with a block vote. Unlike some of his contemporaries, however, he never quite forgot the role of power in trade union negotiations. Power had to be used at decisive moments to break the resistance of a recalcitrant group of employers and to win concessions. His basic perspective was that of a trade union movement slowly strengthening itself, and by unremitting pressure, winning a greater recognition within capitalist society. He never took risks, however. In the years of depression his policy was to minimise wage cuts, rather than use the organisation in all-out resistance. He could be a formidable opponent in negotiation with the employers on some trade questions: he could be fooled by them on wider issues.

The classic example of this was his wholehearted participation in the movement of class co-operation of union leaders and the more intelligent employers which followed the betrayal of the General Strike. Those employers aimed to catch the trade union leaders on the rebound, and to encourage them to believe that more was to be gained by measures of co-operation than by the use of trade union power. This movement known as Mondism (from Sir Alfred Mond of the Imperial Chemical Industries, who was the best known of the employers' group) happily discussed the recognition of trade unions, the setting up of negotiating machinery, co-operation of unions and employers in the promotion of rationalisation in capitalist industry. A fierce drive was conducted by the right-wing against all Lefts who opposed this movement. The right-wing and their associates among the employers arrived at a number of vague declarations but the powerful employers' organi-

sations like the British Employers' Confederation, were cagey and after the outbreak of the economic crisis of 1929-33, Mondism faded away. The employers' organisations wanted wage cuts and speed-up and not vague phrases about co-operation. But it was always exceedingly difficult to get Bevin to admit that he could possibly have been wrong. At the Trades Union Congress in Bristol in 1931 after the fall of the second Labour Government and after the attack on the workers' wages had commenced, he defended his attitude against criticism. 'I say that if there had been a vigorous application in grasping the idea of rationalisation, as I appealed to the movement to do then we should not be whining about it now'. This was characteristic of the man to the end of his days. If any of his foolish, half-baked notions proved to be wrong, this was always due to some demoniac force, the financiers, or the Communists, or the American Jews or the Russians getting in the way of his entirely beneficent plans. His best laid plans were continually being sabotaged by sinister interests. He loved to tell conferences how he was always being 'stabbed in the back' or 'crucified' by people who opposed him.

Characteristic of this far from endearing trait was his attitude to the Communists, which grew out of an unofficial dock strike in 1923. The previous year Bevin had accepted a wage cut in two stages, the first in 1922 and the second in 1923. When the time came for the second wage cut, there was a brief flash of industrial prosperity and the dockers saw no reason why they should accept the cut. A strike in Hull was followed by strikes elsewhere. Bevin would never admit that it was the bad wage agreement of 1922 which provoked the strike and not the activity of the handful of Communists in the docks. When at the end of the strike a number of Transport and General Union members formed the Stevedores Union the Communists were blamed, although they had opposed the breakaway. So in later years, at the drop of a hat, Ernie was ready to trace the iniquities of the Communists in his union from the year 1923 onwards.

Compared with other routine-ridden trade union officials he had a lively mind. In his mature years he read little except labour movement documents, but picked up whatever ideas were going the rounds by listening and by conversation, and then thought out his own position. Apart from his trade union knowledge, which was profound, he knew a little bit of everything but nothing very much. Though basically a right-winger he always sought to be

a little different than anyone else in his expressed ideas. Taking as he did a lot of his ideas from his entourage, he was, from the capitalist point of view, the best man possible for Foreign Secretary in the post-war Labour Government, though no doubt he thought some of the ideas which the permanent officials imparted to him as his very own. In steering him on the required direction, the permanent official's task was eased by his chronic anti-Communism. However, this volume does not deal with that later period.

I put down this interesting volume with one impression that Mr. Bullock certainly did not intend to convey. Throughout this period there was an alternative policy industrially and politically to the right-wing policy pursued by Bevin. That was provided by the Communist Party and by the Left workers who associated with it during the great events covered by this book. The Communists are treated by Mr. Bullock as 'noises off', as people whom his hero occasionally took a swipe at. What they stood for except 'militancy' and 'extremism' is never mentioned.

All the more reason why in the year of the fortieth anniversary of the Communist Party we should bring that alternative policy to light.

BOOKS

Our Fight for Canada (Selected Writings 1923-1959)

Tim Buck

Progress Books, Canada. 408pp.

IF you travel from one side of Canada to the other you will find no name held in greater respect than that of Tim Buck, the general secretary of the Canadian Communist Party. From the formation of the party he has been in the leadership. He has led discussions, in groups, on the executive, and in party Conventions. In these discussions he has given well-thought-out and valuable views on trade union questions, on Canadian domestic policy, on international affairs, and on French Canada as a nation federated to Canada as a whole. Now many of

these fine Marxist contributions to Canadian and world affairs have been collected and published under the title *Our Fight for Canada*.

While Canada is a British Dominion it has always been strongly influenced by American capitalism and of course, by the henchmen of the big American monopolists, the leaders of the American Federation of Labour. This created a truly complicated situation in the trade union movement of Canada and posed many problems, in the early days for the socialist movement, and later on for the Communist Party.

Reading the early part of this book, the reader will see the sinister part that John L. Lewis played in connection with miners' unions. Then there was the planting of agents, by the employers, in real Yankee style.

After the great strike of the miners in 1909 two men loaded with rum

started a fight at a branch meeting. In the course of the fight the branch secretary shot them. He was arrested for murder but was soon liberated. He was an agent of the mine-owners, just as the two drunks were but they had not been made aware of their respective roles. Twenty years later it was Tim Buck they were shooting at, but they shot another comrade in mistake for him. It has been a long, hard and uphill battle, in the great dominion, that is here made clear.

The party was formed at a Convention in 1922 but owing to the law as it stood, it could not take the name of the Communist Party, it started as The Workers' Party of Canada. Two years later it changed over to an open Communist Party. Then in the thirties, when it was raided and its leaders arrested, it legalised itself as the Labour Progressive Party. In the late thirties, during the economic crisis, Mackenzie King set up a Royal Commission to go into the question of Dominion and Provincial Relations. On this Tim Buck can tell us, in a powerful section dealing with the fight against monopolies, that 'The only political party which submitted a brief to the royal commission setting forth a documented analysis of the source of the crisis and a full programme of constitutional reform was the Communist Party of Canada'. Following this section comes the unceasing campaign for a National Front in the bitter fight against Fascism and war. Here they came up against much the same difficulties as we experienced here in Britain. In this part there is a spirited exposure and condemnation of imperialism, in a speech which Tim made from the dock during the trial of the eight Communist Party leaders. In the course of the trial Tom McEwen, one of the accused, was asked while in the witness box

'if he had ever been in a union that did not have a strike'. The idea being to discredit militant action, or make it a reason for a verdict of guilty on the charge of advocating force and violence. Yet about this time the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Party, a sort of Canadian Labour Party, was following the lead of our own right-wingers by declaring that militant action was responsible for 'provoking fascism'. These so-called socialists not only rejected all attempts to get a united front against fascism, on the contrary, they did everything to encourage fascism by their policy of disarming the working class.

Now they have given up all pretence of being socialists and have become confirmed believers, or confirmed 'opportunists, in the desire to accommodate themselves to the wishes and the policies of the bourgeoisie. In this situation the party had its share of the revisionists who wanted to emasculate the party. Six members of the Quebec provincial committee resigned from the party, in a bloc, causing, but only for a very short time, a somewhat confused state in the Quebec area. But the party got over this disturbance very quickly and it was not very long before the revisionists exposed their real anti-working class character. Tim Buck gives a masterly treatment of revisionism, in the course of which he quotes Lenin where the latter says, 'The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism obliged its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists'. This was in reference to the revisionists of the Bernstein school at the beginning of the century. But the revisionists of the Tito school, the revisionists of 1950, Tim might have added, because of the victories of Marxism-Leninism have been obliged, in

many cases, to disguise themselves as Marxist-Leninists. There are four hundred pages in this book and there is good political reading on each.

W. GALLACHER.

Notes of a Film Director

Sergei Eisenstein

Lawrence & Wishart. 208pp. 18s.

SERGEI EISENSTEIN was one of the few truly great artists of the cinema. This book, made up of articles, notes and lectures, displays, in a way that first-person writing rarely achieves, the qualities of thought and imagination that enabled him to produce such masterpieces as 'Potemkin', 'October', and 'Alexander Nevsky'. For him art and life were not separate but one. And to his branch of aesthetics, the cinema, he was devoted with the passion one expects of a great painter to his. His phrase 'this singularly beautiful and unprecedentedly attractive art'—for me, recalls the first joyful enthusiasm of working in the medium, a feeling that in many of us has to fight hard for survival, but in Eisenstein burned undimmed and challengingly to his life's end.

His descriptions of his working methods are absorbing, and important to all interested in cinema. They show his continuing technical struggle to master form in order to express content. This is true, despite the controversy that raged for a long time over the accusations against him of formalism. That these were justified, as far as some practice went, is undoubted; but never as far as intention. The article on *montage* makes this clear, not in the form of an exculpation, but as a demonstration of that most difficult of all processes for the artist, a re-thinking of his fundamental techniques. In this he was aided by his sense of

humour. He says gravely 'I have a strictly academical approach to all I do', then adds (and one can almost see the twinkle), 'Very often I settle a particular problem of principle only to lose all interest in its practical application'.

The section called 'Portraits of Artists' is full of good things. There is the account of Maxim Gorki reading a draft scenario to young filmmakers, when Eisenstein realised the modesty of the great writer; he saw that his fingers *were trembling*: the Marxist analysis of the comedy of Chaplin that gives a picture as clear and pellucid as the best work of Chaplin himself: the remark that Prokofiev's method of work is 'the exactitude of Stendhal's style translated into music'.

I am dubious about the leading role he assigns to stereoscopy; but there is time for him to be proved right. On colour he should be read by all who work with it. He insists it must be a dramatic factor, not an accidental. He makes one see that what is wrong, for instance, with many cartoons is that their trees are only green because they are so in nature. But they are not necessarily so to a child, nor should they be to an artist. On acting, 'true to life acting is not copying the results of feeling but calling feelings to life'. A treasure house, in fact for all seriously interested in cinema and what it can do. He would, this book confirms, have been a considerable artist anyhow; what makes him great was his passion to understand the world around him in all its manifestations. He did not leave his principles, his humanity, his love of peace outside the door when he entered the studio. There was no separation between the man and his work.

SIDNEY COLE.

Socialism and Religion

Archibald Robertson

Lawrence & Wishart

3s. 6d. 64pp.

THIS is a timely and welcome contribution by a scholarly Marxist to explain the social origins and development of religion and its relation to ancient and modern thought and action, as well as to its evolution and development right up to our own times. In his short introductory remarks he explains the attitude of Marx, Engels and pioneers of socialism as 'a critical detachment from religion combined with a belief in liberty of conscience'. But 'as time went on it became evident that this detachment from religion was not enough' since 'a socialist party aims at becoming a mass party or it may as well shut up shop'; and 'whether we like it or not the fact remains that many workers are religious'. They want 'more than mere toleration; they want respect, and if they do not get it from socialists they will vote against them'. When dealing with religion it is essential that the question be approached 'not dogmatically as if a formula framed for one situation automatically fitted other situations always and everywhere, but dialectically studying the history of religion and the causes which lead to the prevalence of given religions under given conditions'. This our author proceeds to do in three sections of his essay. The first comprises the Social Origins of Religion: Judaism, Christianity and Islam; the Middle Ages; the Reformation; the English Revolution. The second deals with Humanism into Marxism: the French Revolution and after; Marxism in theory; Marxism in practice. The third covers Religion and the Labour movement: the class struggle and the churches; and a conclusion.

To quote from the author's conclusion: 'The centralisation of capitalism has led to revolution in one third of the world, but also to deepening and widening international tension which threatens to bury capitalists and workers alike in common ruin. This threat offers socialists a unique opportunity to mobilise the workers in all capitalist countries against a ruling class who have degenerated from mere thieves and cheats into suicidal maniacs. It also offers a unique opportunity to win to socialism sincere believers whose religion is not a mere social and political convenience. Do they believe in peace on earth etc., or do they believe in mouthing gospel texts while the rulers whom they have elected stockpile the means of mass murder'.

Every chapter is a wonderfully condensed source of information of value to teacher, scholar, agitator in the struggle for socialism and peace.

BOB STEWART.

Spotlight on Coal

Jock Kane

Communist Party. 16pp. 6d.

THIS is an invaluable weapon in our hands in the fight for the socialist alternative as a long-term prospect and for a solution to the current crisis in its immediate application. Jock Kane's pamphlet is a timely one indeed. It gives a searching Marxist analysis of the present crisis in mining and presents practical solutions to its problems. The real reasons for the crisis, the failure of capitalism, and the drive for profits from oil, with Government encouragement, are gone into very thoroughly. Jock Kane correctly defends nationalisation and urges its extension into other vital sectors of the country's

economy: no retreat from Socialist principles here.

The real reasons for the continual 'loss' shown in the annual accounts of the Coal Board are given—compensation charges, fantastic interest charges on money borrowed for pit development, the charge against the mining industry for coal imported from America, and now the £20 to £30 millions for stocking coal. Positive alternatives are put forward. Conference decisions of the National Union of Mineworkers are quoted: for a national fuel policy, condemnation of Tory Government policy, and opposition to pit closures. These are supported and taken a stage further by quoting Communist Party policy: beginning with the need to fight for higher wages, a shorter working day, increased holidays, improved pensions and sick pay schemes; for oil import quotas, for extended research into uses of coal, for new industries in mining areas, against conversion from coal to oil-burning apparatus—all these are systematically and forcefully advanced. He concludes by comparing capitalist and socialist methods. Capitalism with its industrial contraction, its booms and slumps, prosperity for the few, insecurity, unemployment and lower living standards for the many: Socialism with industrial expansion, a planned economy with every type of fuel given its proper share, higher living standards for everybody, shorter working hours, security and freedom from want.

GUY STUBBS.

Astronomy for Entertainment

Y. Perelman

*Foreign Languages Publishing House,
Moscow. 7s. 6d. 194pp.*

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PUBLICATIONS

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, New York, is the voice of progressive America. Edited by James Aronson. 35s. annually. Order from Collet's, 40, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

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WE APOLOGISE! The demand for 1959 bound volumes has been such that our binders have again been obliged to delay delivery. They have now promised them for the second week of April. Please, be patient a little longer.

new publications on the subject has appeared in infinite variety to suit the intellectual levels of everyone, simple or highly technical, to please child, adult, or the advanced technical student. That this was not just a local phenomenon is evident, for this book published at a very reasonable price was first written by Y. Perelman before 1942 and published in Moscow during the war. Unfortunately the author came to an untimely end during the siege of Leningrad in 1942. The text has been brought up to date in several places, for the newest satellites of Uranus, Neptune, and Jupiter, with other information discovered since that date have been inserted into the text. This book, well illustrated, presents a mass of useful, interesting, and in fact unusual information not usually associated with astronomy, yet as the author proves, definitely closely linked with our position in the Solar System, and with our complicated movements in space. It may not be everyone's idea of entertainment, for unless one likes mathematics up to the School Certificate level, and unfortunately very few people do, then the many simple mathematical calculations and formulae will be by-passed and so much of the value of the book will be lost. A few errors due to printing or translation may be found, and in some places, possibly due to the same reason the meaning is apt to be obscure. It is a pity that the author did not have the chance to write the continuation he had planned for one feels that there are to many points left uncovered in this which would have been undoubtedly dealt with in a second book.

W. A. GRANGER, F.R.A.S.

BERNARD SHAW'S ADVICE TO ADVERTISERS

July, 1941

I forget the name of the Frenchman who, on being asked what part he had taken in the French Revolution, replied that he had survived it. The survival of the *Labour Monthly* for twenty years is a feat no less remarkable. The fact that its circulation runs into five figures, making a lucrative vehicle of advertisement for books and other articles appealing to its special clientele (if only advertisers could escape from their well worn grooves) is part of the prodigy; for I have never seen *L.M.* exhibited for sale on a book-stall or otherwise pushed on the public. The five figures seem insignificant contrasted with a population figure of forty millions; but if you subtract from the forty millions the children, the aged, the adults old enough to be hopelessly set in their opinions, the people who get along with their fathers' politics and think what their Party newspapers tells them to think, the mental defectives who may be classed politically as idiots and could not understand a line of the *L.M.* if the wind blew it into their hands, leaving only, say five per cent. of the population between 16 and 30 years old (for on these alone can the *L.M.* produce any considerable effect), and you will see the five figures in quite a different light, and understand why a propaganda that counts so few disciples can produce Renaissances, Reformations and Revolutions.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

(Continued from page ii of cover)

who wrote as soon as his March copy had arrived: 'This morning my great political and literary event occurred—the coming of L.M., with no beating of drums, but a presage of the approaching victory of the people's cause over the dark forces in the world. I usually cast all other reading aside for a few days—for I don't get any uninterrupted time for reading except at 4 or 5 a.m. A small cheque by return, with a strong feeling of its inadequacy'. And from a woman reader 'for many years', whose 'whole heart is with strikers everywhere', in gratitude for 'a lot of information I shouldn't get anywhere else, as well as encouragement'. Rich variety, young and old, miners, builders, engineers and doctors and other workers by brain. Reading their letters, how one feels one would like to meet them all.

And now I have a chance to meet many. For the February fund broke all records for that short month since our magazine began 39 years ago! Donations to the Out-with-the-Manager Fund have finally topped the £90 and earned us the

right to claim an equal sum from our benevolent Londoner which we have triumphantly done. So in the next few months I shall be joyfully packed off out of the office into the country, to meet readers at conferences, in factories, offices and their homes, to discuss how to build a better magazine and better our efforts to increase the circulation. I can hardly wait to get the old grey van on the road, heading north out of London. Amongst them will certainly be the Lancashire man who wins new readers and builds the fund hand-in-hand. He has just written to say that he's starting a collective regular collection in two Lancashire towns 'from now on', where they have never collected 'owt' for L.M. before; and adds a post-script: 'Just off to a South African boycott meeting. I shall see the value of reading L.M. is mentioned'. A London engineer lent his copy with J. R. Scott's article on the award, to his shop steward—who then passed it on to two others. If every active reader did the same we should see the pace to progress quicken, and fast. February donations totalled:

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LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Black and White

A Survey and Analysis by R.P.D.



Benefits of Disarmament

set forth by two trade union general secretaries:

R. W. Briginshaw: Percy Belcher



Forbid the Banns

Bert Ramelson discusses Clause 4 compromise

**ZIG-ZAGS AND
SKIRMISHES**

by Quaestor

**CAMPAIGNERS—
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by S. R. Broadbridge

IT'S OUR FUTURE

by Eiblis O'Shea

SHOSTAKOVITCH

reviewed by Alan Bush

MAY · 1960

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GALE FORCE

WHAT TIMES we live in! Winds of change blow from the four corners of the earth this seventieth May Day—from America, Alabama and Algeria to Aldermaston, from Tibet to Trafalgar Square. Each year, surrounded by our British banners, we call to mind those in other lands in the forefront of the struggle. We see faces of all colours, for the spirit of the international working-class movement is non-racial. This year for most of us in the foreground there will be the dignified and determined, grave and smiling Africans whom we have seen day after day on the television screen. The earth may well seem to shake as Africa's millions too begin to march. And I shall be thinking of another who will be eagerly looking toward them—Lachi, the serf girl. When she was 13, an army came over the mountains and opened a school in her village. Because Lachi longed to learn to read and write there, her serf-owner mistress beat her. But hearing her screams the soldiers came and rescued her. So Lachi joined the army as they marched and built roads all the way from her home in Chamdo to Lhasa, working with the hospital attendants. Asked: 'Wasn't the work too hard for you at that age?' Lachi smiled and replied: 'When I was ten, I had to carry my mistress on my back. No work the army gave me was as hard as that'. Now in Tibet after studying in Peking, Lachi will celebrate this May Day amongst her fellow ex-serfs, whose owners have fled over the border to India. She has gained her freedom, and they have lost theirs to exploit her, for ever. Less than ten short years ago an illiterate child serf; today centuries ahead of her parents' generation. How well Lachi and the Africans

could understand each other. What heights will the African peoples have reached in another ten short years? Already we begin to glimpse the immense strength they will bring to the world. These are times when things are happening throughout the world at revolutionary speed. Hence the tremendous wind of change which can sweep away even mushroom clouds—can and will, as the peoples begin to use their giant strength. 'The best proof that my people are "ready for self-government" is that they demand it', Dr. Hastings Banda said on reaching England after release from a year in the Nyasaland gaol. That is also true much nearer home than Africa.

In 'the West', subject to lies, witch-hunting and war propaganda, we sometimes overlook how things are changing around us—the inch-by-inch retreat forced upon reaction. Glance back less than nine years ago, when one of America's mass-sale weeklies, *Collier's*, devoted its 132-page issue of October 27, 1951, to forecasting the future. It set the scene in this year, 1960, for a retrospect of 'Russia's Defeat and Occupation'. Broadcasters columnists, novelists, military strategists and others—including the trade union leader, Walter Reuther—contributed their expertise in tones ranging from factual-type reporting to frank gloating mixed with nauseous piety. Writing with the 'Occupation Forces' and the date-line 'Moscow, 1960', Robert E. Sherwood describes the 'history' of the Third World War, which began on May 10, 1952 and ended 'when Russia had disintegrated into complete chaos, by January 1955'. On the opposite page, a lurid painting shows the first atom-bomb strike on Moscow 'on July 22, 1953'. This piece of early cold war propaganda which, when it was first published, caused both the

(Continued on page iii of cover)

BLACK AND WHITE

Your bond is not mere colour of skin but the deeper experience of wage slavery and contempt.

W. E. B. Dubois, Message to Accra Conference, December, 1958.

MAY Day, 1960, dawns at one of the highest moments of the long battle of human liberation. At the Summit Conference the choice of peace or war for the future of the world is approaching the anvil of decision. In South Africa the choice of slavery or freedom is being presented with an urgency which is searing the conscience of mankind.

The blood of the martyrs of Sharpeville and Langa, the screams of men, women and children lashed and beaten up and shot indiscriminately in the streets and in their homes, the mass heroism and resistance of African national patriots unarmed in face of their butchers—all these are the signals that herald the approaching downfall of the vile system of 'apartheid' slavery. A century ago the execution of John Brown, whose soul goes marching on, heralded the legal abolition of slavery in the United States, even though the struggle continues today at new heights in the Southern States to end the heritage of that accursed foundation of colour slavery on which the fortunes of the wealthy in Britain and the United States have been built.

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Four decades ago the butchery of 379 Indians at Amritsar heralded the approaching end of British rule in India. Today the speed of events is greater. Africa Year 1960 was the slogan proclaimed already at the beginning of the year. That was before Sharpeville. Now the battle for African freedom, all over the continent, and above all in the key fortress of barbarous servitude and racial terror, in South Africa, visibly in the sight of all occupies the forefront of the international situation.

Their Cause Is Ours

Never before has such universal anger, horror, indignation and protest swept so immediately and swiftly through every country in the world as over the events in South Africa. The truth of fascism and Nazism was long concealed and distorted by governments and official press in the West until years later after the outbreak of war the White Paper giving the long withheld dispatches about the concentration camps was published as an item of progaganda. But here is the direct descendant of Nazism in action, the open admirers and disciples of Hitlerism also during the war now constituted as a government and acting with an indiscriminate violence and terror which even their Nazi tutors, today entrenched in their midst, might envy. In vain the see-no-evil (except in communism) diplomats and ministerial appeasers try to deprecate popular criticism and protest as likely to cause embarrassment or constitute intervention in a 'domestic' question. They cannot escape their own responsibility in this matter. From the blood and tears of African slaves the rich tide of golden tribute flows today into the Tory mansions of Britain, just as of old the slave trade built their fortunes. With sure instinct popular feeling throughout the world has recognised that this struggle against racial fascist terror in South Africa is no domestic question, but the common concern of all of us. Mankind 'cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free'.

What is 'Apartheid'?

How is it possible that the horrors of the slavery regime in South Africa (and Southern Rhodesia) could have been so long held hidden from wider general consciousness, beyond progressive and democratic circles (but with extending protest among these, as shown in the widening support for the international boycott campaign since its inception in the summer of last year and extension to the Labour Party this year) until the explosion of

Sharpeville blew up the conspiracy of silence and brought the monster into the centre of the international arena? One of the reasons is the customary deception of language always used by modern exploiting classes to cover a very different content. Just as the 'mixed economy' is used to describe modern monopoly capitalism, 'integration' to describe colonialism in Algeria, or 'multi-racialism' to describe the refusal of universal suffrage democracy in British settler-dominated colonies in Eastern and Central Africa, so 'Apartheid' has been coined in the jargon of South African exploiter politics to describe the most elaborate apparatus for the subjection and servitude of the majority of the population yet devised in any state (an even more complex and complete subjection and servitude than fascism).

Myth and Reality

'Apartheid' might be imagined by the innocent outsider to mean, and in the bland explanations offered by South African politicians for foreign consumption is described as if it meant, that the two so-called 'races', 'European' and African (or 'Bantu' in the deliberately illiterate terminology adopted by them to designate the various African peoples, with long and proud histories, concerned), as well as the 'Coloured' and 'Asian', are so different in language, tradition and culture that in their mutual interest they should best develop separately without contact. If the logic of this argument were to be followed literally, it would evidently point to the practical conclusion that there should be 'European Reserves' for the European minority, on an area of territory proportionate to their minority numbers, in order that they should be able to live according to their supposed wishes separately from the African majority. But heaven help the simple-minded Candide who might expect to find this accurate fulfilment of the alleged doctrine. The exactly contrary reality was comically illustrated (in the midst of the tragedy) when the Day of Mourning on March 28 and the general strike of African labour brought the South African economy to a standstill, and the bitter complaint went up that the European ladies were having to wash up their own dishes. That the White folk should wash up their own crockery and the Africans theirs might have seemed an ideal fulfilment of 'Apartheid'. On the contrary, it was regarded as a gross violation of the principle.

Structure of Slavery

The essential purpose of allocating the African three-quarters majority of the population to 'reserves' on less than one-eighth of

the territory of their own country, while declaring the rest of the country 'European' territory, is not in order that the African majority should live separately on these reserves, but that they should not be able to live on them. The nominal confinement of the eleven million Africans to twelve per cent of the territory, on which it is physically impossible for them to maintain life, is only a hypocritical device ('Apartheid') to ensure that the greatest part of their able-bodied manpower shall be compelled to seek employment in the European 88 per cent as 'alien' wage-workers without rights in their own country, cut off from their wives and families, forbidden by law to acquire skills (reserved for European workers), and in practice pass-law serfs, either on the farms (two and a half millions) or in the mines and factories (half a million) or as servants in the households of the European masters. On this elementary basis of expropriation, deprivation of rights and subjection, the vast apparatus of pass laws and kindred legislation is erected, with savage penalties for every breach (three-quarters of a million sentenced annually for breaches of the pass laws) and serving to provide European farmers with convict labour in privately owned and run convict jails on the European farms. Such is the modern structure of slavery in A.D. 1960, elaborated with all the ingenious cruelty of a Malan, a Strijdom and a Verwoerd, compared with which the world of Simon Legree was an idyll.

Freedom Struggle

Against this vicious system of enslavement the freedom struggle of the African people has moved forward on a new and extended basis since the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress Alliance on June 26, 1956. This Charter was adopted by the unity of the African National Congress (the major representative organisation of the African people), the Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats (composed largely of progressive Europeans). The Congress Alliance thus represents the unity of the progressive democratic representatives of all four sections of the population, which 'Apartheid' seeks to divide, with the African National Congress as the decisive force. The Government replied to the Freedom Charter with the mass Treason Trial under the 'Suppression of Communism' Act. The Treason Trial was opened in 1956, and formally still continues, although the majority, if not all, of those charged have since been arrested or detained under the present Emergency.

Boycott

In December, 1958, the decision was reached at the Accra All-African Peoples' Conference, on the proposal of the African National Congress, to call for an international boycott of South African goods. The boycott was launched on June 26, 1959, the third anniversary of the Freedom Charter. It was widely taken up, including by the Government of Jamaica, and by trade union, co-operative and progressive organisations in many countries. In Britain the Boycott Movement was initiated in the second half of 1959 by the co-operation of the Committee of African Organisations and the Movement for Colonial Freedom. By the beginning of 1960 support was so strong that the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, as also the progressive religious organisation, Christian Action, together with the Liberal and Communist Parties and progressive Conservatives like Lord Altrincham, officially joined the Boycott Movement and called for a boycott during the month of March. Hundreds of local Boycott Committees were formed all over the country, expressing the unity of all sections of the working class and democratic movement in support of this common aim. Originally the official support of the Labour Party and T.U.C. for the boycott was intended to be confined to the month of March. But the events of Sharpeville made it abundantly clear that it would have to be extended beyond. It is understood that the proposal has been put forward for the Boycott Committee to become an Anti-Apartheid Committee, to continue the campaign until the evil system of 'Apartheid' is ended.

Macmillan's Tour

It was in this situation not only of the universal freedom upsurge throughout the African continent, but also of sharpening international democratic concern over the crisis in Africa and the beginnings of solidarity action, that Premier Macmillan made his tour of British colonies and Commonwealth territories in Africa during the first six weeks of 1960, culminating in his Capetown speech to the South African parliament on February 3. In face of the advance of African national revolt British imperialism has sought to adapt its 'Asian' model, and to develop a perspective for the 'constitutional' advance of a series of selected African former colonial territories to the status of independent states under governments still with close connections with the old imperialist state apparatus and likely to protect imperialist economic assets and exploitation. It was with this perspective in view of partial adaptation to the

African national struggle, while seeking at the same time to maintain the interests of the European colonial exploiting monopolies and settlers, that Macmillan exercised all his diplomatic adroitness in conducting his tour of British colonial territories or newly ex-colonial territories in Africa, as well as visiting the smouldering danger zones of the Central African Federation and South Africa.

From Capetown to Sharpeville

In South Africa Macmillan sought with his customary facing-both-ways ingenuity to bridge the gulf of the contradictions of imperialism in Africa by simultaneously exchanging compliments with his hosts, the racialist-fascist Verwoerd Government, complying with their wishes to meet no African leaders, and deprecating the boycott, and at the same time expressing in his speech to the South African parliament on February 3 a diplomatically worded warning and dissent on the dangers of maintaining a rigid policy of racial suppression in the modern world. In vain. These subtle manoeuvres could not paper over the gulf between the real policies of colonialism and racialism, most brutally and openly expressed by the settlers on the spot, whether Algerian *colons* or the Welensky Government or above all the South African Government, and the aspirations of the African people. 'South Africa has been given formal notice', commented the leading Government organ, *Die Burger*, 'of a state of emergency in her relations with the West'. Macmillan's 'enlightened' Capetown speech had been preceded by his own Government's atrocities and killing of unarmed Africans in Kenya and Nyasaland. It was followed by Sharpeville and its sequel in South Africa.

Campaign Against the Pass Laws

In South Africa by the beginning of this year the campaign was carried forward to the preparation for the next planned objective of non-violent mass refusal to carry the passes of slavery. This stage had been planned by the African National Congress to open on April 1. The campaign was, however, precipitated a fortnight earlier through the action of a smaller section which had broken away on grounds of tactical differences from the Congress to found the 'Pan-Africanist Congress'. The tactical differences do not concern us here, since they belong to the internal problems of the movement in South Africa; the common immediate objective of all sections is the abolition of the pass laws; and Government repression has fallen on both organisations. So far as can be seen from

here, the tactical differences turned on objection to the Congress Alliance conception of co-operation of African with non-African progressive democratic organisations willing to fight Apartheid, criticism of the African National Congress as 'communist-inspired', and the trend to see the conflict in purely racial terms (black versus white, irrespective of political outlook). The main base of the P.A.C. was in Sharpeville and Langa; and it was here that the Government's ruthless firing on peaceful demonstrations of unarmed Africans and killing of scores of men, women and children opened the present major crisis and aroused the horror of the world.

Explosion

The Sharpeville massacre was not the end, but the beginning of a major conflict for African freedom, which has already borne many of the characteristic features of a revolutionary situation—when the ruling regime of oppression finds itself increasingly unable to maintain its rule in the old way and the masses refuse to be governed in the old way. The sequence of events is here important. The Sharpeville massacre on March 21 was in effect the 'Bloody Sunday' not just the repetition of the prototype of an Amritsar, which temporarily terrorised the movement in the Punjab, but leading, like Bloody Sunday, to a still higher level of struggle. The masses were not intimidated, but thronged in thousands to the police stations to court arrest for failure to carry passes, until by March 25 the police authorities admitted that it was impossible to arrest them all because there was 'no room' in the prisons (Cape-town police chief, March 25).

The Sixteen Days

Thus developed the Sixteen Days, from March 21 to April 6, during which the height of the mass movement paralysed the authorities from being able to enforce the operation of the pass laws. On March 26 the police authorities announced temporary suspension of arrests for failure to carry passes. This enforced concession was not a change of policy. It was accompanied by the announcement that enforcement of the pass laws would be resumed as soon as diminution of the 'tension' made it possible, and that new repressive legislation would be immediately introduced against African organisations and leaders. This resumption of enforcement was officially announced on April 6, as soon as the new terror had been imposed with the proclamation of the Emergency, banning of the African organisations and wholesale arrests. Thus the enforced

temporary concession only revealed the crack in the power of the regime, and so far from appeasing the popular movement, raised it higher.

General Strike

The African freedom movement replied with the call for a Day of Mourning on March 28, a mass general strike and the burning of passes to demonstrate the demand for the ending forever of the pass system in place of the temporary suspension of its operation. The general strike had full support (at least 80 per cent according to the *London Times*, 95 per cent according to the American magazine *Time*), together with a hartal of Indian shopkeepers. South African economy was thus brought to a standstill on March 28. South African shares slumped. By April 8 they were reported to have fallen by £125 millions. The potential strength of the Africans as the basis of the South African economy was demonstrated.

Government Terrorism

The Government replied with new terror legislation, introduced on March 28, to ban the A.N.C., P.A.C. and all African or other progressive organisations, with ferocious penalties of five years prison, ten strokes of the lash and fines up to £500. Nevertheless, the movement continued with more demonstrations, strikes and burning of passes. On March 30 the Government proclaimed an Emergency, and arrested 234 leaders of all the African organisations and also progressive European spokesmen in the Liberal Party or Congress of Democrats. This was followed by widespread further arrests, with censorship forbidding the publication of the facts or names of those arrested. The African liberation movement replied with gigantic mass marches for the release of their leaders, notably the march of 30,000 to Capetown. The Government called out Army and Navy units to surround African townships, and mobilised the Territorials or European Volunteer Reserve. Orders to shoot to kill were given, and indiscriminate violence employed to prevent further marches and terrorise the Africans back to work. By April 6 renewal of enforcement of the pass laws was announced. Meanwhile the United Nations Security Council on April 1 by a vote of 9 to 0 (Britain and France abstaining) had carried the resolution 'deploring' the actions of the South African Government and calling on it to 'abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination'.

Sitting on Bayonets

'You can do everything with bayonets except sit on them.' Napoleon's dictum was wasted on Verwoerd, Erasmus and Swart. These gentlemen believe rather in the literal truth of Carlyle's dictum 'God has put into every white man's hand a whip to flog the black'. The preliminary trial of strength during these days of crisis has revealed a series of distinctive features of the character of the struggle in South Africa. The first has been the Government's reliance absolutely and in effect exclusively on armed violence, repression, bans, arrests and terrorism as its sole weapon against the unarmed movement of the African majority. Up to the time of writing there has so far been absolute rejection of any approach, customary in such conditions of crisis, towards negotiation, partial reforms or concessions, or attempts to separate and win over so-called 'moderate' leaders in order to demobilise an overwhelming majority mass movement. It is true that, since the armed forces (though not the police) in South Africa are exclusively European and racial in character, no question could arise of reflection of the mass movement within the armed forces. On the other hand, the weakness of reliance solely on armed force, without any social basis within the oppressed majority, has become increasingly manifest; and the impermanence of any 'settlement' on this basis has been warningly noted by outside observers of every political colour. Hence the manifest anxiety of fellow imperialists over this glaring disregard of the necessary technique of modern imperialism in face of the strength of the national liberation movement in the world today.

Working Class and National Liberation

The second distinctive feature of the African national liberation movement in the conditions of South Africa arises from the fact that the South African economy is based on African employed labour under virtual slave conditions. In all the other colonial territories the main body of the population, and the main basis of the national movement, is the peasantry exploited by imperialism (only Kenya and Southern Rhodesia represent partial exceptions, more comparable to South Africa). In South Africa, through the operation of the system of 'apartheid' servitude already described, the mass movement is overwhelmingly a movement of enslaved wage workers, denied the most elementary rights of organisation and held down by violence. The development of the national

bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie (small traders, or intelligentsia educated in Christian missions or abroad) is very minute; the small traders are mostly Indians. There is no upper skilled section, since the Africans are debarred by law from skilled jobs and rates, which are the prerogative of European workers receiving twenty times an African wage. These conditions make organisation difficult, but the potential strength very great, once unity is achieved. This was shown by the united action of March 28, which brought the entire South African economy to a standstill, leaving the rulers no immediate answer save armed violence and wholesale arrests and terrorist intimidation.

International Repercussions

The third distinctive feature signalled by the events in South Africa has been the speed and extent of the international repercussions, not only within the working class and democratic movement in all countries, but also within the imperialist camp and among their governments. The storm aroused on an international scale by the events in South Africa has been more intensive and widespread than in almost any previous national struggle, including Algeria, and more comparable to that aroused by the Suez War. Alongside the universal popular support and solidarity, the reasons for special concern also among the ruling class of other countries in the imperialist camp, as revealed in the vote on the United Nations Security Council, are manifest. At a time when the imperialists are endeavouring to counter the national revolt in the majority of their African colonial territories by a policy of concessions, proclaiming a new and enlightened outlook and professing to repudiate racial denomination, the open and unconcealed racialism and reckless armed violence of the South African Government is an embarrassment to the other imperialists and even seen as a grave danger holding out the possibility of the loss of all Africa. Hence the complaints of the South African governmental spokesmen and racist press that British imperialism is sacrificing them to the interests of its wider African policy. The equivocal position of the British Conservative Government was demonstrated in the United Nations, where previously Britain, France and fascist Portugal had been the three States daring to vote against a resolution condemning apartheid, and where now the British and French Governments judged it more prudent to abstain—and brought shame upon themselves by their abstention.

Imperialism and South Africa

On the other hand, it would be a dangerous illusion to regard the South African situation as a peculiar and anomalous 'internal question' of the South African ruling class (as the spokesmen of the Macmillan Government seek to pretend) separate from the interests and policy of international imperialism. Anglo-American imperialism, and especially British imperialism, has a powerful and dominant interest in the South African economy. Total overseas capital in South Africa at the end of 1959 was estimated at £1,580 million, with Britain holding 'more than half' the total (£865.6 million already in the census return of 1956) and the United States £250 million (*Financial Times*, March 31, 1960). Over fifteen hundred million golden (or diamond) reasons for extreme 'delicacy' in taking care not to offend the South African Government or do anything to upset the precarious balance of lucrative exploitation.

Dilemma of the Imperialists

From this arises the peculiar dilemma of the imperialists in relation to the present situation in South Africa. Gigantic fortunes have been made, and continue to be made, and vast incomes drawn by the wealthiest families in Britain, including ministerial families, from the slavery system of 'apartheid'. From the end of the nineteenth century and the Edwardian era 'Kaffirs' have played and continue to play a leading role on the London Stock Exchange. Hence the extreme nervousness when the reckless bull in a rage policy of the Verwoerd Government threatens to wreck the whole structure of African exploitation. But hence also the extreme hesitation to offend or get on the wrong foot with the Verwoerd Government so long as it remains the main physical bulwark of British imperialist interests and profits in South Africa. On the one hand, the South African Federation of Industries, mainly British, calls for immediate negotiations by the Government with 'moderate influential African leaders' and the replacement of the existing system of pass laws by a new reformed system of identity cards for all and limited control of movement of Africans. On the other hand, the United Party, the political organ of British interests, and constituting the 'Opposition' for the past ten years, has no alternative policy to Apartheid, and has supported the Verwoerd Government in all its actions in the present crisis and voted for all the new terror laws. No wonder Macmillan's Ministers can only

mumble incoherently, when bombarded with awkward questions in parliament.

Towards What Goal?

We are still only at the beginning of the deeper conflict which has now opened in South Africa, and which, together with the Algerian war of independence in the North, has today come into the front line of the battle of liberation of the whole African continent. It would be premature at this stage to judge the immediate next phase of this still developing and explosive situation. The Verwoerd Government has for the moment re-established and reinforced its physical domination, but at heavy cost and with obvious and permanent insecurity. The sensitive barometer of the money market and the Stock Exchange has revealed the lack of confidence in the future. It may be assumed that British policy, in contact with associated interests in South Africa, will endeavour to manoeuvre for a less dangerously rigid strategy. Influential British interests, reflected by such leading press organs as *The Times*, would evidently wish to see a replacement of the Verwoerd Government by an alternative or Coalition (British and Afrikaner) Government which could show a 'new face' and make some concessions, whether of release of mass leaders or recognition of limited rights of organisation (the model represented by the release of Dr. Banda in Nyasaland, or drawing in of a few representative African leaders to junior ministerial positions in Kenya). But in the conditions of South Africa, with the elaborate apparatus of absolute racial suppression, the unity of the two main parties in upholding it, and the absence of any previous development of a privileged or compromising leading stratum in the African population, such methods of manoeuvre and partial concession are less easy to fulfil. The united demand of the entire African population of South Africa is maintained for the abolition of the Pass Laws and Apartheid, and is strengthened by universal international support.

Unity for Freedom

That is why the strongest possible international solidarity and practical support in unity with the struggle of the African population and all democrats in South Africa is now of such paramount importance. The Emergency Committee of the suppressed African National Congress has issued its call on April 4. In order to

resolve 'the present grave crisis which is sweeping the country', the Congress has put forward the following urgent propositions:

1. *The State of Emergency must be ended, our leaders must be released, freedom of speech and organisation established.*
2. *Pass Laws must be abolished.*
3. *Wages must be raised to a minimum of at least £1 a day.*
4. *A new National Convention representing all the people on a fully democratic basis must be called to lay the foundations of a new Union, a non-racial democracy belonging to all South Africans and in line with the United Nations Charter and the views of all enlightened people everywhere in the world.*

These aims deserve and require international support with the united strength of the peoples of the world to hasten their fulfilment. During the past decade and a half the victory of national liberation has swept forward over the greater part of Asia and the Middle East. Now the battle goes forward in Latin America, and above all in the final reserve and bastion of imperialism and colonialism, in Africa, to win that victory of freedom which shall end for ever the shame of discrimination and servitude on the basis of race or colour, and thereby open the gates to the advance of united humanity.

April 12, 1960.

R.P.D.

LABOUR MONTHLY

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

A MEMORY OF THE VOLGA FAMINE, 1921

The City of Samara on the Volga is the city more than any other indelibly impressed on my own mind.

My first visit to the U.S.S.R. was in 1921, at the time of the famine, and I had the opportunity of going down the Volga, this being the famine area, along with President Kalinin and his staff who were paying a special visit to this stricken area. The city that showed most evidence of the dire effects of the awful drought was Samara. I there saw such grim sights of famine effects and was present at the meetings of local Soviets where the members came to report and to confer with Comrade Kalinin, that although I have visited the Soviet Union a number of times, Samara is ever in mind when I think of Russia.

TOM MANN, May, 1935.

FORBID THE BANNS

Meaning of the Compromise on Clause 4

Bert Ramelson

THE National Executive Committee of the Labour Party met on March 16 to resolve the crisis in the Party which had developed with tremendous speed and intensity around Clause 4. The outcome of the decision was to put up the banns for solemnising in Scarborough next October a marriage of convenience between the Right and the Left, with the Right as the dominant partner. Such a marriage would be a disaster for the Labour movement. It should forbid the banns.

The essence of the crisis is: what is to be the fundamental aim of the Labour movement? Is it to be socialism, or to rescue the capitalist establishment?

What is the significance of Clause 4*, written into the Labour Party constitution in 1918? It is clear and unambiguous. The aim is socialism, defined as a society based on the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. It was adopted as the fundamental aim of the movement as a result of the profound experiences of the people from the agonies of the first world war and under the impact of the October 1917 revolution. The lesson of these experiences embodied in Clause 4 was that no amount of tinkering with capitalism but only the ending of the system itself, would meet the needs and aspirations of the working class.

Though the Right-wing, which dominated its leadership since the inception of the Labour Party to this day, ignored Clause 4 in practice, it would be wrong to underestimate its significance, either as a stimulant to Left activities or as a hindrance to the Right-wing. The Right were certainly aware of this significance, and have always seen Clause 4 as an obstacle. Very careful preparations were made particularly over the last decade to prepare the ground for its burial. At the beginning of this decade began the 'theoretical' preparations with the publication of a whole spate of books, essays and pamphlets by scribes such as Crosland, Strachey and others. The aim of all these outpourings was to 'prove' that the capitalist leopard has not only changed its spots but has transformed itself into the harmless necessary cat. Ownership has ceded

*4. 'To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.'

its power to management who had a common interest with the workers in making industry efficient; with the introduction of welfare, exploitation ended and with the aid of Keynesian gimmicks economic crises and unemployment were no longer serious factors; whilst, with the withdrawal from India, Burma and Ceylon, imperialism and colonial exploitation were relics of the past. The conclusions to be drawn from this 'theorising' were obvious—not social transformation but improvement in the existing order was the need of the hour. Thus there was no longer any need for fundamental differences between the Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties—the quarrel between them being reduced to fringe arguments on how best to make capitalism work.

The next stage was to carry forward these concepts into two important practical documents—*Industry and Society* and *Plan for Progress*. The objective result of the adoption of these documents was for Labour to join the Tories in condemning and denigrating common ownership. It would be a mistake to regard these two policy statements as merely parts of a current election programme and of only transitory significance (which is the way they were 'put over'). They were the means adopted by the Right-wing to smuggle into the movement the phoney ideas of the possibility of planning without ownership and the 'mixed economy' as a permanent form of society.

It is a measure of the weakness of the non-marxist Left that some of them contributed to this state of affairs. Ian Mikardo's contribution to the *New Fabian Essays* concentrated on proving the divorce between ownership and power, on the common interest of management and workers and on the new role of the trade unions to advise management how to increase productivity as the best means of obtaining wage increases. Then there is the fact that *Industry and Society* and *Plan for Progress* were presented to successive Labour Party conferences as documents in 1957 and in 1958 unanimously supported by the National Executive Committee which included Bevan, Wilson, Castle, Mikardo and Driberg. Is it any wonder at the confusion amongst the hundreds of Left delegates so that only a handful voted against these documents?

These were some of the events which emboldened the Right, following the debacle of the general election, to go over to the offensive against Clause 4. But the Right completely misread the position. Isolated from the mass movement, accustomed to easy victories and manoeuvred majorities, they were thunderstruck by the storm which broke round their heads. The powerful and

passionate feeling and the innate common sense of the working class was made manifest in the last six months. They could be misled to accept this or that phoney proposition in what they felt (albeit mistakenly) to be temporary tactical moves in the direction of socialism—but it is an entirely different matter to shift them from the simple proposition that it is no more possible to have socialism without common ownership than it is to live without breathing.

The movement grew daily to frustrate Gaitskell's plot against socialism. Day by day the number of resolutions for the retention of Clause 4 grew. The decisions of the Welsh and Yorkshire miners made it sure that the great National Union of Mineworkers would join the Transport and General Workers Union in leading the opposition. The number of resolutions on the agenda of the National Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union would create difficulties for Mr. Carron to come to Gaitskell's rescue; similar resolutions were being passed by overwhelming majorities in trade union branches, constituency parties, trades councils and federations of trades councils, all of which had a profound effect on a growing number of Labour M.P.s. It became clear that if the delegates at Scarborough were to be given the clear choice between retention or rejection of Clause 4, Gaitskell and his supporters would be routed. It became equally clear that from the fundamental discussion around socialism—for that is in reality what has taken place—it could be the beginning of a much wider and profound movement challenging the whole range of right policies and the leadership which proposed such a betrayal.

Realising the growing strength of the opposition, the Right backed by the Tory press, began to seek a way out; they found refuge in the time-honoured weapon of confusion and ambiguity. George Brown (inspired, it is said, by Charles Pannell), both staunch supporters of Gaitskell, came to the rescue with the theory of the 'Old Testament' and the 'New Testament' as a unifying compromise. So the addendum adopted by the National Executive Committee (with one vote against) accepts this theory of the two testaments—as we shall see, two mutually exclusive testaments.

The statement opens with the misleading sentence that it 're-affirms, amplifies and clarifies . . .' Clause 4. It would have been more truthful to say that it contradicts, dilutes and confuses the objects as contained in Clause 4. The Right-wing had to bow to the storm by retaining Clause 4 and to abandon the original plot to eliminate it altogether. To that extent it is a setback for the

Right. But it would be an error to see only this positive aspect and fail to see the dangerous reformist concepts which have been smuggled into the constitution: concepts which are at the root of Labour's failure to bring about fundamental change; concepts which were the real reasons for Labour's three successive electoral defeats; concepts which negate the essence of Clause 4. The concept of a permanent 'mixed economy' is now enshrined in the constitution by including the phrase '...in recognising that both public and private enterprise have a place in economy. . . .' This is a denial not a reaffirmation of Clause 4.

The concept of the 'shareholders state' with the state sharing in the exploitation of the workers and no say in the industry it invests in—the essence of *Industry and Society*, is now constitutionally recognised as a form of public ownership, by the insertion of the phrase '... and public participation in private concerns. . . .' This is a dilution, not 'amplification' of Clause 4.

The false concept—despite all experience to the contrary—of control without ownership (the essence of *Plan for Progress*) is right at the heart of the 'clarifying' addendum: 'It is believed that these social and economic objectives can be achieved only through extension of common ownership substantial enough to give the community power over the commanding heights of the economy'.

Brave words, but Note that the objective is not to take over the 'commanding heights' but 'power over' them. As the Right-wing have peddled for years the 'theory' of controlling the economy with the sole aid of the gospel according to their Saint Keynes, it would be fatal to interpret that as meaning the socialisation of the 'commanding heights'.

Gaitskell and his associates will find justification in this New Testament for any and every policy he and the Right have ever advocated. Indeed Wyatt and Jay hastened to assure us of just that. In the light of growing movement of opposition it is understandable why Gaitskell was eager to grasp at this 'compromise'. The tragedy is that so many of the Left who played such a big part in mobilising the opposition should have fallen into the trap of a spurious unity when the movement was on the threshold of victory.

Those associated with the Left whether on the National Executive Committee, Parliamentary Labour Party, Victory for Socialism or *Tribune*, who are giving the impression that the battle around fundamental aims is over, that the socialist aim has been rescued, if it were ever in danger (and some have even doubts on that

score)—are doing a great disservice to the movement. They are demobilising, demoralising and confusing a growing army ready and anxious to do battle against capitalism and all it stands for. The battle is far from over, it has only begun. It can be brought to a victorious conclusion next October. It will if the delegates to the next Labour Party conference are given—what they have a right to expect—a clear and unambiguous choice and are not sidetracked by double talk, formulas designed to confuse, and forms of words which mean all things to all men—the real purpose of the addendum.

The need of the moment is to extend even wider the growing forces of opposition to capitalist ideas within our movement. This will be achieved to the extent that we succeed in bringing out into the open the confusions, contradictions and smuggled-in capitalist concepts with which the addendum is riddled.

In this, the coming national conferences of the trade unions are of vital importance. These will provide the opportunity for the heart of the Labour movement to reaffirm their loyalty to their own constitutions, to determine to stand shoulder to shoulder with the mighty Transport and General Workers Union in the defence of socialism, to amend the N.E.C. addendum so that there can be no dubiety that what is required is the socialisation of the 'commanding heights'. If any clarification is needed it is to spell out that the 'commanding heights' are the 600 giant industrial, financial and property-owning firms which dominate our economy and lives; and that all references to shareholding and private ownership be chucked out of the window. Nor is this the responsibility of the trade unions alone—every constituency and ward Labour Party, every Co-operative branch should marshal its forces for such a stand.

Douglas Goldring (1887-1960)

Douglas Goldring, novelist and well-known man of letters, died at Deal on April 9. He was a friend and supporter of *Labour Monthly* and a valued contributor.

ZIG-ZAGS AND SKIRMISHES

On the way to the Summit

Quaestor

AS the date of the Summit meeting approaches, it becomes more and more clear that the decision on whether the world is to move out of the shadow of a third world war lies today, as never before, in the hands of the peoples. It was with good reason that President de Gaulle, in his speech on April 7 in Westminster Hall, contrasted 'the permanent threat of gigantic and instantaneous weapons of destruction' with 'the powerful current which seems to bear the mass of the people and statesmen towards easier relations'. Apply this test to the important international events of the last few weeks, and see how true it is.

Nuclear tests. On this point the pressure of opinion, from the ordinary men and women of all countries, has been concentrated from all directions in recent months. On March 19, at a specially-summoned meeting of the Geneva conference, the Soviet Government—which has campaigned for their banning since May, 1955—announced that it was accepting the United States proposal for a treaty prohibiting all tests except the smaller underground explosions, and for joint research on ways of checking the latter: provided there was a simultaneous voluntary undertaking by all concerned not to make such underground tests meanwhile. There have been many occasions in the past when Soviet acceptance of Western proposals was the signal for Western governments to run away from them; and on this occasion it was 'no secret that the Atomic Energy Commission and the Pentagon have been pressing for a resumption of small underground tests' and that the Soviet proposal was 'denounced by influential members of Congress as a "phony"' (*The Times*, Washington correspondent, March 25—one among many).

However, they failed. On March 29 President Eisenhower and Mr. Macmillan declared that they accepted the Soviet proposals (for which there was world-wide support)—although not agreeing to the four or five years which had been suggested by the Soviet Union as the period of the 'moratorium' on the smaller tests. Moreover the prospective Democratic candidates in the next Presidential elections both assured Eisenhower that they would continue the voluntary undertaking, if elected.

Khrushchov's visit to Paris (March 23-April 3). At the outset, every effort was made in France by the authorities and the capitalist

press to isolate the Soviet party from the people, and to cry down the political importance of the visit. Everyone who read the British newspapers at that time knows that they did the same, by sneers, by insinuations and by direct misrepresentation—such as the suggestion (which the correspondents could not possibly check) that ‘only the Communists’ were cheering Khrushchov.

But the French people themselves broke down this barrier of falsehood, by the tremendous reception they gave the Soviet visitors in factories and villages, in Socialist strongholds like Lille and Conservative centres like Rheims. ‘Khrushchov, to the balcony!’ became the slogan of all France, roared by hundreds of thousands. As the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party put it: ‘The fanatical adversaries of the Soviet Union, the champions of the cold war, turned out to be isolated and paralysed amid an entire people demonstrating its joy at receiving representatives of the U.S.S.R. in its country’ (*Humanité*, April 9). The most openly (or slimily) hostile British newspapers had to admit the same. For eleven days, said *The Guardian* (April 4), Khrushchov had ‘dominated the scene in France’; ‘the cordiality of Khrushchov’s send-off indicated that he had achieved a personal as well as a political success’, cabled the Paris correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*; and even the *New Statesman* (April 2) squeezed out of itself the admission that ‘in no other Western country has Khrushchov been so acclaimed’.

No less clearly was this result felt in the final communiqué of Khrushchov’s talks with de Gaulle. The two statesmen were able to record ‘a considerable increase in trade turnover between the U.S.S.R. and France’ in recent years (which Britain cannot), and to plan for a further increase up to 1965; and they agreed on the signature of agreements for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy and in other scientific research (notably on ways of fighting cancer and leukaemia). In particular, they declared disarmament to be ‘the most important and pressing problem of the present day’, laying stress on the development of friendly relations and co-operation between France and the U.S.S.R. as promoting the further reduction of international tension—which had already made possible the coming Summit meeting. ‘Changes for the better have taken place in Franco-Soviet relations’, was the French Communist Party’s summing up of the results of the visit: and, we must add, they are bound to be reflected in world relations.

De Gaulle’s visit to London (April 5-7) already showed this—and not only in the words of the French president quoted earlier,

or in his reference (overlooked by most British newspapers) to the 'esteem' in which the Western leaders and Nikita Khrushchov hold each other. The press, indeed, rightly underlined the section of de Gaulle's speech which reaffirmed the previous attitude of his government, so harmful to the prospects of disarmament—that France can give up nuclear tests and the making of nuclear weapons only when 'others have ceased to possess them'. It will take all the effect of an Anglo-Soviet-American agreement to stop nuclear tests to shake such an attitude—and that agreement has yet to be signed.

But the most significant *new* feature of de Gaulle's speech (overlooked even more understandably by most capitalist newspapers) was his declaration about peace in Europe. While it should not 'widen divisions nor poison wounds, including those suffered by the German people', said the President (here followed the inevitable bow to Adenauer's régime as 'a vital part of the West and our common ally'), it should 'enable Europe to lead her own life, thanks to the balance established between her two parts which follow different ways of life'. He hoped to see 'the progressive diminution of opposition between these two ways of life, in a peaceful atmosphere'. Rightly understood, these words mean that the supreme interest of the nations of Europe is to agree to live together peaceably, whatever their social, economic and political differences—and that the existence of two German States, one in each part of Europe, one Socialist and the other capitalist, must not be allowed to upset the balance. This was in effect a repudiation of those who want to keep Europe in a perpetual turmoil of tension and alarm by their threats of 'liberation', their propaganda for reconquest of 'lost homelands' and their claims to be a bulwark of Christian civilisation against the 'East' (just like Kaiser Wilhelm II and Adolf Hitler).

Can anyone doubt that, speaking in this way and fresh from Khrushchov's visit, de Gaulle was responding to the wishes of the vast majority of the ordinary working folk of Europe?

But where their pressure is not being brought to bear, the picture is very different.

The Ten-State Disarmament Committee (March 15-April 12). The two plans tabled at Geneva have shown as clear as crystal who wants disarmament and who has to be pushed towards it, struggling all the way.

In the five Socialist States represented (U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania) the working people own the means of production. The new material values turned out every year are the

income of the whole nation. When part of them are used for armaments and armies, the whole people feel it a waste, and are actively interested in ending it. The five Socialist delegations accordingly brought forward Khrushchov's proposals submitted to the United Nations Assembly on September 18 last—*within 12 to 18 months*: reduction of American, Soviet and Chinese forces to 1,700,000 each, British and French to 650,000 each, and others as agreed at an international conference; with corresponding reduction of armaments; all to take place under supervision of an international control agency, beginning its operations at the same time as demobilisation begins.

Within another 18 to 24 months: demobilisation of all remaining national forces, apart from police and militia units (including those on foreign soil); closing down of all military bases abroad; stopping the manufacture of conventional weapons—all under still more extensive international control.

Within one more year: destruction and prohibition of all nuclear and rocket weapons and air forces; dissolving of all general staffs, war ministries, etc., prohibition of military training and of 'defence' budgets—with international controllers ranging freely over all countries.

In the five capitalist States represented (Britain, France, U.S.A., Italy, Canada) groups of monopoly capitalists own the means of production. They use the workers' labour on these means for profit—and armaments are particularly profitable. What their economists call 'national income' is in reality a measure of the monopolists' appropriation, every year, of the fruits of the labour of their 'own' workers and of colonial and dependent peoples—against whom, as much as against each other, they maintain their armed forces. It is only very grudgingly, and under extreme pressure, that the monopolists agree to any weakening of their military machine. Accordingly, the Western plan tabled on March 15 proposed:

During an initial period of unstated duration, no reduction of armies or armaments whatsoever (in fact, 'ceilings' for American and Soviet forces of 2,500,000, higher than the levels they will shortly reach under existing plans); an immense volume of study of methods of control by an international disarmament organisation, collection of information about arms expenditure; and *storage* by each State of 'agreed types and quantities of conventional armaments'.

During a second period of unstated duration, after these 'preparatory studies': reduction of American and Soviet force-level 'ceilings'

to 2,100,000; further 'mothballing' (but not destruction, or prohibition of manufacture of improved types) of armaments, in agreed quantities; ending of production of 'fissionable materials for weapon purposes' (but not of nuclear weapons); prohibition of outer-space missiles; measures for protection against surprise attacks; and the calling of a disarmament conference.

After all this, prohibition of all nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction, establishment of international control over military budgets, reduction of national armed forces, 'after such further joint studies as may be necessary', to levels required by national security 'and fulfilment of obligations under the United Nations Charter'—which will include the establishment of an international police force.

Thus the manufacture of armaments—including nuclear weapons—would go on for an unstated number of years; the maintenance of vast armies, air forces and navies likewise; also the maintenance of huge stocks of weapons in storage too; and of course the whole machinery of war ministries, staffs, training colleges, bases abroad, etc.

Where would disarmament come in?

It is interesting to note that, whereas in 1955 the Western powers were refusing to consider the abolition of nuclear weapons owing to supposed Soviet preponderance in conventional armaments (huge armies and air forces: never a word said about U.S. and British navies), they ran away from their own proposals for cutting these armaments when the U.S.S.R. accepted them—and have proposed *higher levels* in March, 1960! During these latest Geneva talks, the Western delegates began by reproaching the Socialist States, on the contrary, for postponing nuclear arms reduction until the final stage of their plan; yet when the Soviet delegate Zorin, on March 21, said *that they were ready for a complete ban on nuclear weapons at any stage in the disarmament programme*, and the Rumanian delegate Misinescu, on March 31, said they were prepared for it to take place *at the very first stages of general and complete disarmament*—the capitalist press even concealed the fact from British readers!

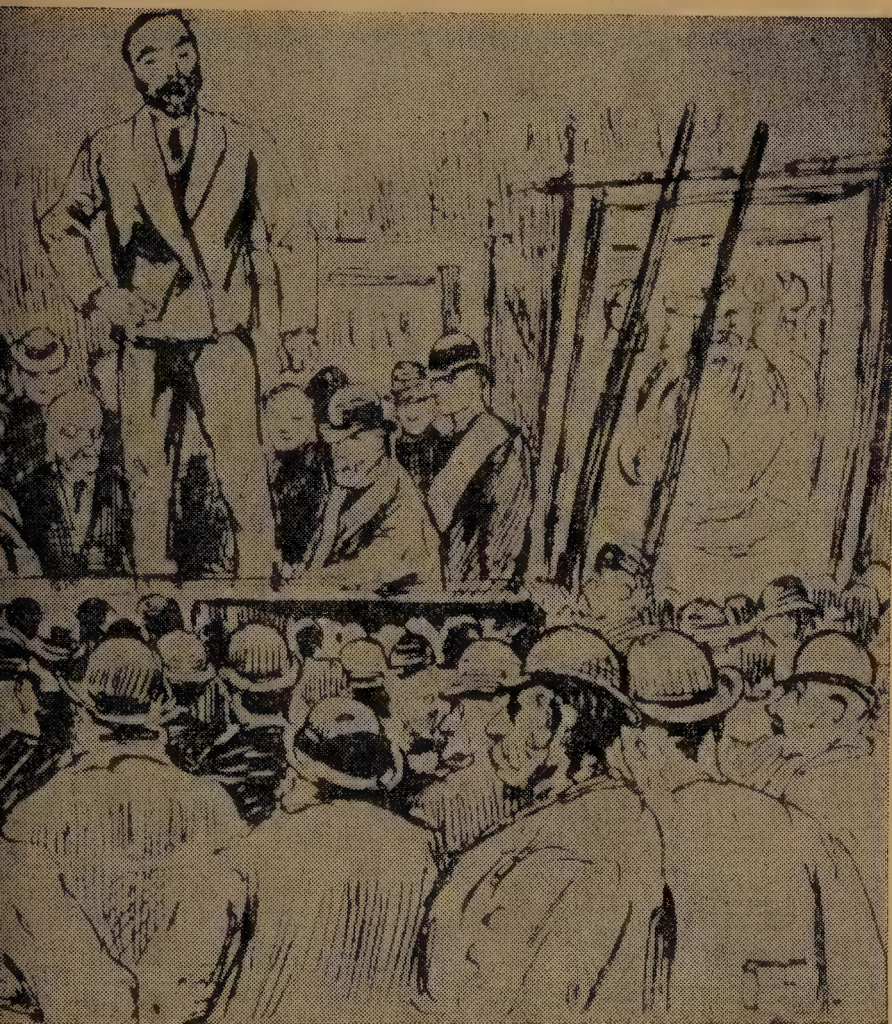
Only the most active intervention of the broad mass of the people, bombarding the Summit meeting with demands for agreement on immediate disarmament measures, will shake the whole issue out of deadlock. That is the lesson of the first month's talks at Geneva.

The First May Day 1890



Seventy years ago, the first May Day festival of the working class was held in London. The decision to hold it was taken the previous year at the Paris Congress of the Second International by Karl Marx and William Morris. The contemporary drawing shows the huge crowd gathered for the festival, with Frederick Engels speaking from one of the platforms.

Engels considered this as 'the grandest and most important political demonstration since the working class awakened from its forty years' winter sleep, *again entered the arena*. The old Chartists are entering the line of battle'.



was celebrated in the main cities of the chief capitalist countries. International Socialist Congress, attended from Britain by Keir Hardie and in London's Hyde Park with John Burns, then 'an old friend'

the whole May Day festival' that 'the English proletariat, newly *sent of its class*'. He emphasised this, saying 'The grandchildren

Germany. Fact after fact, during the last few weeks, drives home the increasingly monstrous role, as a centre of new Fascism and more and more open war preparations, of the Federal German Republic—the capitalists' and landowners' State deliberately re-created for the second time by the Western Allies after 1945, contrary to their solemn pledges in wartime and at Potsdam, just as they did after 1918 and for the same reason: to 'resist the Reds, who are a real danger'. And like Hitler's state, Adenauer's Fourth Reich is proving a vulture which looks *both* ways, taking advantage of differences between east and west and meanwhile getting ready to strike in its own interests, in whichever direction suits them best.

March 23. Surprise inspections at West German arms factories—supposed to be ensured six years ago by 'West European Union'—were revealed at the latter's headquarters to be still impossible because the West Germans 'will not agree' (*Daily Herald*, March 24); a statement which *The Times* Bonn correspondent made more precise (April 12) by explaining that the West German Government had 'failed to submit' to its parliament two conventions of December 14, 1957, which would authorise such snap inspections.

March 25. General Norstad, the Allied Supreme Commander, exchanged letters with the Danish Defence Minister providing for Danish depots for 'German NATO land forces' (*The Times*, March 26).

March 27. Seebohm, Adenauer's Minister of Transport, told a delegate conference of the 'Sudetenland Association' (composed of Germans who helped Hitler to disrupt Czechoslovakia in 1938 and were expelled after the war) that they should fight to return to their former lands and 'take the lead in wiping out the Bolshevik yoke in Eastern Europe' (*Daily Express* and *Daily Telegraph*, March 28). Seebohm was a member of the Nazi Party, director of a mining concern in Upper Silesia and chairman of two mining companies in Czechoslovakia during the Nazi occupation.

March 28. West German Defence Minister Strauss signed an agreement with Gilson, Belgian Minister of Defence, for German supply depots for conventional weapons in Belgium. He also agreed with his French counterpart Messmer on joint manufacture of a 'transport aircraft' (*The Times*, March 29).

April 3. At a meeting in Munich of the 'Association of Sudeten Germans', Seebohm demanded a plebiscite to support their demand for re-occupation of their former lands; and at the same meeting the Social-Democrat Wenzel Jaksch demanded the *anschluss* (joining) of these territories to Germany (*Daily Telegraph* and *Daily*

Express, April 4). Of course they disclaimed any desire to use force—but with their tongue in their cheek, since they knew that Czechoslovakia, backed by all the Socialist countries, would fight to preserve her territory.

April 4. *The Times* Bonn correspondent reported that, during Macmillan's talks in Washington, the American Secretary of State admitted 'that Germany, because of her past, her geography, industry and lack of experience in democratic procedures, could again become a danger to Europe' (incidentally, just as Lord D'Abernon, the British Ambassador in Germany after the first world war, admitted when justifying the 'White' terror against the working class there in November, 1920). And because of this, Britain had to accept West Germany's growing political and economic power in Europe, exercised through the 'Six' (the European Economic Community).

April 8. The Düsseldorf Court found a group of leaders of the peace movement guilty of 'seditious activity' and sentenced them to imprisonment. Their 'sedition' was no different from the peace campaigns carried on by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the British Peace Committee, many Labour Party branches, the Women's Co-operative Guild, etc. Thus Western Germany becomes the *only* country in Western Europe (apart from Fascist Spain and Portugal) where the Government has had banned, first the Communist Party and then the peace movement.

April 10. Mr. Sebastian Haffner, closely connected with German Catholic emigré politicians during the war, and a regular defender of Adenauer since, published in the *Observer* a modest proposal for the *planned return of capitalism* in the German Democratic Republic (renamed 'Prussia', the most hateful name in German history up to Hitler's day), in exchange for its 'neutrality' and 'internationally controlled arms limitation'. If this brazen piece of impudence were not accepted, Mr. Haffner hinted, 'there will probably be a terrible war one day', since the régime in the G.D.R. 'may prove more than flesh and blood can stand' (in West Germany), 'and fury may prevail' (just as Hitler used to argue that 'my patience is exhausted').

It is easy to understand how the Nazi ministers in Adenauer's Government (and those who share their views), and the Nazi generals and other officers in his army and navy, who have been in a state of suppressed 'fury' ever since their defeat in 1945, are encouraged to let it slip out more and more by such plans.

Such demands as those which have been listed here (over a period of less than three weeks!) have been voiced for months and years, but more and more boldly and shamelessly as time went on and encouragement from Paris, London and Washington grew. For that is the character of the aggressive imperialist; you give him an inch and he takes an ell, always finding an appropriate (and different) excuse.

On this point, too, public opinion in Britain should express itself very loudly to the Summit leaders when they meet in Paris. No more encouragement to the Bonn warmakers, it should insist; no more rearmament, no more rocket bases, no more 'supply depots' in other people's territories, strict application of the arms supervision laid down in 1954. And above all, a firm 'no' to the clamour for revision of West Germany's frontiers. Let de Gaulle's words about ensuring peace to Europe by 'the balance established between her two parts which follow different ways of life' be given a practical meaning—by Peace Treaties with both the German Republics, East and West.

'Who cares about the Summit?' asked a leading article in the *Daily Telegraph* on April 12; and it added its own answer, that both optimists and pessimists have begun to lose interest, because 'the general air of cynicism and disillusion, which in the past had contaminated the diplomatic foothills but not the summit, has spread upwards'. This notorious mouthpiece of the cold-war-mongers and the Soviet-haters naturally takes its own wishes for reality. On the contrary, as we have seen, cynicism and disillusionment is the last thing that the mass of the people have been showing, whether in Britain or France, in the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. *They* care about the Summit. What is needed is that they should show it, to the leaders of the Great Powers, at the Paris meeting which begins on May 16, as plainly on general disarmament and peace treaties with the two Germanies as they have on nuclear tests and better relations between the western powers and the U.S.S.R.

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BENEFITS OF DISARMAMENT—I

R. W. Briginshaw

*General Secretary, National Society
of Operative Printers and Assistants*

WHEN I was asked to write these few words on some benefits of disarmament, Philip Noel-Baker, M.P., had been telling a meeting that he would bet evens on a nuclear war within ten years. Our children and grand-children, he said, would die; the world, an incinerated ruin, would go on spinning into eternity. I do not agree with him. I have too much faith in humanity and its will to live to believe that this will be allowed to happen. Yet realism sobers further even a cautious faith. With the arms race proceeding, the dire terror of mishap, of nuclear war by mistake, overhangs us. We must work and press the statesmen for a successful outcome to the Summit meetings.

The first benefit would be to relieve all humanity of the dread pall of threatening death and annihilation. Then, to use anew the wealth and resources that have been diverted to wasteful war preparations. At this time propaganda is being conducted on behalf of the government to provide an atmosphere for tax increases or increased charges for the Health Services. The Budget will have told the tale, but the whole expenditure on the Health Service for 1958 was approximate to the expenditure for 1960/1961 on research development and production of weapons at £625 millions. This may even be currently increased, as at this moment it is announced that more orders for H-bombs and atomic weapons are to be placed, sufficient to keep Aldermaston and Burghfield busy for the next two years.

In Britain, where very few major hospital projects have been completed since the war, we could build eight new hospitals with 500 beds in each in place of one aircraft carrier. We could build homes to accommodate 50,000 people for the cost of the Fylingdale so-called 'early warning' Ballistic Missile Station alone. We could raise our standards of life in general terms ten-fold in the shortest possible time. We might need to remove those who would prevent our social advance possibilities from fully blooming. Dreams of the socialist pioneers of a heaven on earth could be realised. Food, clothing and shelter, and technical advance for the millions in poverty in economically backward areas of the world. A great new life for our children and grand-children.

Disarmament and peace can mean these things.

Humanity must justify its right to live and continue. We must demand peace and disarmament, the greatest imperative of our time.

BENEFITS OF DISARMAMENT—II

Percy Belcher,

General Secretary, Tobacco Workers' Union

FOR the last eleven years I have been actively associated with the peace movement, whilst my union has consistently supported the many resolutions dealing with this subject raised from time to time at the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference. So it would appear somewhat unnecessary for me to point out the advantages which in my opinion, would accrue—not only to my members, but to all workers throughout the world—if and when nations could agree upon a progressive disarmament policy.

Writing without the figures before me, I believe I am correct in saying that many thousand million pounds have been spent annually by the various nations in what is commonly called their 'defence programmes' but what of course is in fact, a programme preparing for war. When one considers that despite the 'never-had-it-so-good' theme, very few workers in Britain, including my own members, have yet reached a standard of living whereby they can be said to be enjoying life to the full. I know, for instance, that the question of the annual holiday still presents difficulties and calls for some sacrifice on the part of most people and many, in fact, are still content with an occasional day at the seaside, spending the rest of their holiday either on the allotment or in 'do-it-yourself' jobs about the home. It is equally true to say that during sickness, especially sickness of a lengthy duration, most workers are reduced to a very meagre standard of living because of the present fairly low benefits paid in our National Insurance scheme. If we took Britain alone, which it is estimated spends £1,600,000,000 a year on defence, it is not an exaggeration to say that the present unemployment and sickness benefits could be doubled and old-age pensions could be more than doubled. Our

whole National Health scheme about which we are so proud could be improved beyond all measure, with the building of hundreds of hospitals and clinics etc., which are still needed; our hospital staffs and nurses could be paid a wage commensurate with the duties they are called upon to perform. Income tax could be almost abolished and we could enjoy a standard of living higher than any other country. All this may sound fantastic; but if you care to examine the position, as you can, from evidence of government spending on the various services, you will find that it is, unfortunately, perfectly true.

Millions of people in what are known now as the under-developed countries, where disease, poverty and bad housing is rife, could for the first time, enjoy standards comparable with those in countries such as our own, and if we are true socialists and really believe in the brotherhood of man, surely this should be our first objective.

It is admitted on all sides today, that if war comes, it most certainly would be the end of the present civilisation and I believe it to be true that no one country is desirous of going to war. As one who has travelled fairly extensively in all parts of Europe, I can certainly say that it is the common desire of all working people to live in harmony and peace together. Why, then, should we continue to spend the millions of pounds in preparing for a war which nobody wants and which in all probability will never happen.

This brings me to my final point and one about which I have written many times. The workers organised in the trade union movement throughout the world have it in their own power to force their governments to agree to such a policy of disarmament; yet because of the present division between the two existing internationals, no real weight has been brought to bear on governments. I suggest, therefore, that without losing sight of other differences, ideological and political, on this one and vital matter, they would be doing the greatest service to their members and to mankind, if they could unite in their demands for agreement on a progressive disarmament policy through the medium of the United Nations. I commend all my fellow trade unionists to do everything in their power through their branches and their executives to bring about this unity in order that we may be saved from this continuous burden and expenditure on armaments.

CAMPAIGNERS—UNITE !

S. R. Broadbridge*

SINCE the foundation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament there have been two organisations working for peace in Britain, with differing policies and appealing to differing sections of the public. It has become increasingly clear recently that this benefits none but the opponents of international agreement and that only a united effort can force success in the many negotiations at present in progress. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the results of the General Election have started a massive process of 'rethinking'—not least in C.N.D.

The great contribution of C.N.D. to the peace fight in this country was the demand for unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain. At first this was mainly a moral appeal—and it is as a moral appeal that it has retained the drive and enthusiasm of its supporters. But, in the day-to-day arguments it became clear that nuclear weapons were not only immoral, but dangerous strategically and politically and that unilateralism was sound political sense. Today unilateralism is essential as a proof of the sincerity of the British government in any negotiations. A Britain pledged to give up the bomb (or to end tests) unilaterally would be clearly fighting for all countries to do likewise and free from suspicion that only lip-service was being paid to the subject. Above all, unilateralism makes it impossible to pretend support while blaming the Russians for lack of agreement.

However, unilateralism is not enough. It must be only a step towards abolition of all H-bombs, everywhere, and it can be a step in that direction only in so far as it reduces tension and improves the international climate. We cannot be 'perfectionists'—we must be prepared to take any such steps, however small, towards our goal of a nuclear-free, disarmed and peaceful world.

At the moment certain policies are clearly essential as an addition to unilateralism. Though Britain must nevermore test nuclear weapons, it is above all essential to get international agreement at Geneva—and force France to be brought in. Mr. Macmillan's recent visit to Eisenhower on this issue is a victory for the campaign but it is not enough; Britain should come out clearly for agreement

*Mr. Broadbridge, as many readers will know, is Treasurer of the C.N.D. North-west Region.

with the Russians even if this does 'embarrass' the Americans. Further, Britain should make quite clear her opposition to an extension of the 'nuclear club', above all by opposing revision of the Paris Agreements so as to permit nuclear weapons for West Germany—not, as is so often said, because of Germany's *past* record, but because of W. Germany's *present* record of pressure for revision of frontiers and unrepentant Nazis in high positions.

It is no good abandoning the bomb and yet sheltering behind someone else's 'umbrella'—nor relying on overwhelming conventional forces. Britain must leave NATO, permit no rocket bases on her soil and press for constructive disarmament proposals that will give controlled total disarmament and not merely control.

All these policies have been accepted by C.N.D. in some form or another—though Frank Beswick (*Reynolds News*, April 10, 1960) tried to retain NATO as a 'non-nuclear club' on the specious plea that the U.S. Strategic Bomber Command is not a part of NATO! Therefore it would appear that the obstacles to joint action with the British Peace Committee have largely disappeared. Of course C.N.D. has always, rightly, feared to lose its identity, but that should be no barrier to co-operation on a wide range of subjects.

This is made much easier by a resolution passed at C.N.D.'s annual conference which 'calls upon the National Executive to take immediate steps to recognise and co-operate with all organisations working for peace and unilateral disarmament in order to make a united effort to abolish nuclear weapons'. That this includes the B.P.C. is made clear by a paragraph added to the latter's policy as a result of the suggestions from the many C.N.D. delegations at its National Disarmament Conference earlier this year demanding 'that Britain give the lead by the renunciation and destruction of nuclear weapons, the removal of bases from British soil and the reduction of arms. If possible we should take these steps in concert with other countries, but Britain should in any case take this decision.'

Closer links between the two organisations could be of the utmost benefit in broadening the basis of the peace fight in Britain, since the two organisations have, up to now, appealed largely to different groups of the population. The C.N.D. has appealed mainly to individuals, the B.P.C. to the organisations of the Labour movement as was shown most clearly at Aldermaston and the June 28 demonstration last year.

Co-operation is already beginning with Canon Collins' appeal to B.P.C. supporters through *Peace Campaign*, the B.P.C. broadsheet; the important part played by the B.P.C. in this year's Aldermaston and the increasing participation by trade unions, shop stewards committees and factory groups. Above all, it will be seen in the united demonstration before the Summit after the St. Paul's service and the Trafalgar Square rally on May 15. The same thing must be carried out at all levels, drawing in the supporters of both organisations to a mighty campaign for peace before and during the Summit negotiations.

It would, however, be unwise to extend co-operation into too close an identity. Not all C.N.D. supporters have lost their hesitations over co-operation, not all trade unions have ceased to believe that C.N.D. is a set of middle class cranks. Co-operation should be taken as far as local circumstances permit. In the North-west region, for example, the Manchester Peace Committee has been represented on C.N.D. committees from the start, but there is still far too little trade union representation—and it has not yet proved possible to organise joint activities, though, at least, we are not rivals! The essential basis for co-operation is the realisation that its aim is peace and not the temporary advantage of either organisation.

IT'S OUR FUTURE

Eiblis O'Shea

ON an Easter week-end three years ago the first Aldermaston March began. This is now regarded by many as a historic march, because it led thousands out from under the edifice of the cold war. It was a bid to break free from the established forces, which with enormous mobilisation of press, radio and other means of propaganda and intimidation tried to blot out thinking of the new generation about the dangerous realities of the post-war era.

The young people have led this march. Except for a courageous sprinkling of the older generation, they *were* the first Aldermaston March. Did anyone visualise that young people, at a time when the newspapers to their glee were discovering teddy boys in every street, would show that there was a cause to be fought for—peace? Did anyone visualise in April, 1958, that the movement would grow to the extent that it has done?

Some say that the movement against the bomb was and has been non-political. The truth is the opposite. From the beginning it was politics—the desire to change things—but expressing itself not in the framework of established politics. Why should it? Fatalism, cynicism, coupled with violence on an international scale had to be withstood, if we were not to lose our identity and purpose entirely. It is sometimes said that the movement against the bomb is negative, that it is short-lived, and that when the bomb has been banned it will have ‘shot its bolt’. Wrong! This misses the vital point. The fight against the bomb is first and foremost a fight for humanity. The fighters against the bomb are fighters against race hatred; they are for the boycott and against proscriptions and witch-hunts. They are for a real full cultural life. The movement against the bomb has been the symbol of young people for the future. While in the beginning all the attention was focussed on the bomb, the movement is now broadening and developing in understanding. The fight against West German rearmament, the struggles of the colonial peoples are all part of the struggle for peace and a better world. The big part played by the socialist youth groups and the Young Communist League in the fight for peace makes this clear.

The International Youth Festivals of past years have helped. They have broken down barriers among youth organisations, not only in foreign countries, but in Britain also. The struggle of today for peace is linked with our future, and more, this is consciously felt. It is our future that Dr. Edward Teller, General Norstad, Dr. Adenauer—yes, and Mr. Macmillan, are trying to destroy. The policies they stand for, dangerous in the past, today in this nuclear age are suicidal.

We are concerned not only with the disasters that will befall our country if war takes place, but also with the disasters that will be encountered if the preparations for war continue. £12,500,000,000 spent in eight years—what could we not have done with that sum of money. Every field of advance for young people is affected by the military burden.

It is said, sometimes by pious old gentlemen in after-dinner speeches in Chambers of Commerce, that the future of the country depends essentially upon its young people. They are right! The youth of today will become the leaders of tomorrow; but if we are to have a real future then we must have a greater say about that future than we have at this present time. Those who want to help the youth peace movement must start from the premise that we do not only want a future—but it is to be *our* future, something we

forge for ourselves, our own. We intend to have a hand in the building of this future, a future with employment for all; and with the industries that are now being used for war, turned to peaceful works so that we can feel the excitement from achieving things for ourselves.

Now that Aldermaston is over, we must turn our strength to make the Summit a success. Some young people think that discussions and meetings will not achieve anything, mainly because they do not produce clear-cut results. They think this mainly because the statesmen have encouraged these views. This is something that we have to counter. Our movement has to persist relentlessly until it achieves its aim of peaceful co-existence. Drama is all very well—we all like dramatic results. Tilting at windmills can be dramatic—until the horseman's lance drops while the windmill continues to revolve undisturbed. That is how Macmillan and Gaitskell would like to think of our campaign.

The outcome of the Summit conference could be decisions that set the wheels of disarmament in motion. As the existence of a Summit conference is the recognition of the desire of the people for peace, so its decisions could carry those desires in practice into the relations between states. That is what we are working for, and we must never take our eyes off this goal. At the Summit conference we intend to have our say. The Youth Peace Campaign will be at the Summit, to lobby the heads of state. Thousands of copies of our petition are circulating through the country. The signatures and collections will send a youth plane to Paris. We can win the Summit! We can go over the top! But only if we include all young people, not only those in youth clubs, and political organisations, but the young workers in factories and on sites throughout Britain. All of those yet unorganised must be brought into the struggle for a better world.

FAILURE OF 'MIXED ECONOMY'

2. *How to Command the Heights*

John Eaton

THE experience of this last decade has established that capitalism cannot break away from the fetters that capitalist property relations impose on the growth of production. Contrast the halting progress of Britain's economy with the steady expansion year after year of industrial production in the Soviet Union. Apart from the break caused by the war years this steady expansion has continued from the beginning of the first Five Year Plan in 1928. From 1950 to 1955 industrial output increased on an average by thirteen per cent per annum and output per worker increased by seven and a half per cent. From 1955 to 1958 corresponding figures were ten per cent and six per cent. Planned increases for 1958 to 1965 are 8.6 per cent and 5.7 per cent. It is the steady maintenance of regular increases that signalises the superiority of socialism as an economic system.

Throughout the fifties the main economic concern of the British ruling class was the strengthening of sterling. It came to an issue as between this and the expansion of the economy in 1955/56 and sterling won. Speaking in February, 1956, Macmillan, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, told the House of Commons:

There is a general agreement that the combined demand of investment and consumption are going too fast for our economic health.

Between 1955 and 1958 the level of industrial production remained virtually unchanged—evidently the only rate of growth that the economic health of sterling could stand was nil. But let us be under no illusions as to the tremendous national cost of 'managing capitalism' when it involves foregoing economic growth in the interest of financial stability. That we have still not escaped from the dilemmas of monetary policy is evident from the current situation. After a period in which the main problem has been the stagnation of private productive investment, the first hint of a change for the better provokes fears of inflation—exaggerated perhaps for reasons explained above—but nonetheless significant as indicating the continuing conflict between productive and monetary policy.

The British economy has reached a familiar and awkward stage of the trade cycle: the moment of the sudden superimposition of an investment boom on top of the existing consumer boom.

(*Economist*, January 30, 1960.)

The inadequacy of the underlying system is reflected in the results to which a consistent application of its principles leads. The *Economist* points to the danger of overtaxing the mechanisms of the economy when, instead of the previously expected stagnation in investment, an increase of less than one-fifth is forecast—and this today when Britain is crying out for scientific techniques in tune with the times. The five per cent increase in wages to the disgracefully underpaid railworkers causes the *Economist*, quite consistently, to tremble for the stability of the system and to deplore it as an unprincipled concession by

a government that was returned last autumn with a majority of one hundred for a mandate to continue to keep prices stable and avoid inflation. (*Economist*, February 20, 1960.)

However, again consistently with capitalist tradition, the calculus of inflation is differently applied to war expenditure and the *Economist*, though voicing technical doubts about the Blue Streak, approves the principle of an increase in these terms:

An increase of the order of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is not unreasonable in terms of the rising national income even after a period in which prices have been stable, if it brings real security. Defence, unlike much else, is not expendable. (*Economist*, February 20, 1960.)

Many Labour theoreticians will say that what was wrong about the 1950's was the way the Tories managed things and not the idea in itself of managing a 'mixed economy'. However, the indications of what the Labour supporters of a 'mixed economy' would have done instead are most confused. In general they stood by the Tory policy on sterling but promised, without explaining how, to combine this with more internal expansion. In fact, the only possible means of stimulating internal growth without precipitating a balance of payments crisis is vigorous and extensive use of import and exchange controls. Controls imply planning, programming, allocation of resources, and necessarily become more and more complex as attempts are made to improve their effectiveness. Half-baked controls invite—and justifiably—oceans of complaints and criticisms. On the other hand, complete control becomes less and less compatible with the rights of private property—and indeed this is the whole point. Once attempts are made to 'manage capitalism' thoroughly, they become quite incompatible with the property basis of capitalism. For reasons such as these I do not think the Labour proponents of 'managed capitalism' could have done much better than the Tories did in the 1950's unless they had abandoned 'managed capitalism' and started to head straight away for socialism

extending controls at the expense of property rights and enlarging the nationalised sector so as to have a stronger economic basis from which to stimulate expansion of the economy as a whole. (It is worth noting that even for the Tories investment in the nationalised industries provided one of their main means of influencing economic growth.)

From the standpoint of economic science every argument points to the necessity of public ownership at least of the commanding heights of the productive apparatus. This must include full public ownership of all the big firms. The 500 giants with net assets of over £2,500,000 each, spread over 25 main branches of industry and distribution, would, for example, provide a basis for planned production and control of the economy as a whole, even if there were political and economic grounds for leaving in being a subordinate private sector of small capitalists. The case against public ownership of the decisive sector is not economic; that is, the real reasons for advocating 'managed capitalism' or 'a mixed economy' are political—namely unwillingness to face up to the political difficulties of challenging the wealthy, powerful, private interests that own the big capital. But, if a proper economic solution is looked for, there is simply no alternative to getting rid of subordination to private ownership and economic conditions imposed by the laws of the market and the laws of commodity exchange. This, I think, becomes clear when some of the other problems facing us are considered. Why can we not do more about raising technical standards, modernisation, investment, etc.? Why is our machine tool industry so backward? Should we not invest more in research in these fields? Are we not now caught up in a maze of interlocking vicious circles? Industry lacks sufficient confidence in the future to put the necessary money into long-term planning and research; the result is low technical standards and high production costs. Also modernisation of equipment, development of automation, application of even existing scientific knowledge calls for pooling of technical knowledge and experience now held apart by the property interests dividing separate firms and branches of industry. Automation in engineering, for example, calls for the closest co-operation between electronics and machine tool production. At present this exists only on a most limited scale and the machine tool industry itself is doing only the meagrest amount of technical research.

In an industry where firms are often too small to support a useful research department or even to finance the development of radically new

tools one might expect co-operative arrangements. The industry has a share in the Production Engineering Research Association, but its attitude towards this or any co-operative research has always been mixed.

(*Economist*, February 6, 1960.)

Certainly the pressure of events will force a number of technical improvements in British industry despite the obstacles that a behind-the-time property system provides to the social use of scientific knowledge. But if we mean to live fully in the twentieth century we must as a nation free our hands from the fetters of private property. Private ownership of the means of production chops our social labour force into isolated segments and destroys the unity of theory and practice on a social scale, a unity that is indispensable if as a nation we are to keep up with this age of science. The socialist movement today lives side by side with a great and growing movement for peace. If the movement for peace succeeds in making headway, disarmament will begin to release resources for civilian purposes. How are we going to make use of these benefits? At present the Universities spend £12 million on research, industry £85 million and the Government on military research into improved methods of destruction £240,000,000.* It is time we began thinking how to spend this £240,000,000 for creative civilian purposes and I believe that the only sensible way is to consider *simply* how to deploy these resources to meet known human needs. If we had to spend all our time puzzling how it can be made profitable for private firms to employ these resources, the chance is they would soon be dissipated and wasted. In short, the time has come to try to be more simple and socialist and less mixed up about the 'mixed economy'. Planning production for use on a national scale would, of course, involve its own problems but these are problems that experience would teach us to overcome. No amount of experience can overcome the problems of capitalism since they are inherent in its property relations which no longer suit the productive forces that humanity now has potentially at its command.

*These figures are given by Dr. B. V. Bowden in his article reprinted by *The Guardian*, December 10, 1959, from *Universities Quarterly*.

Pressure of space has compelled us to hold over to a later number the recently published (and specially translated for Labour Monthly) recollections of Lenin by his widow, Nadezhda Krupskaya.

VIEWS OF THE WORLD

A Town Condemned

Turbulent Shotts, a traditionally militant area in Lanarkshire which has thrived on coal mining for over a century is now just a shadow of its former self. Mining is almost extinct there, eight collieries have been closed since 1949, with the consequent disruption of a proud and self-contained community. Only one colliery, Northfield, now operates. Its people are now struggling for the right to earn a living in the place of their birth. Scores of them have had to leave their home town for many parts of Britain in search of work and yet at one time it gave employment to many outsiders. Before bus companies were known in the area all types of vehicles were used to convey miners and their sons to work in the fourteen pits which operated in Shotts and employed well over four thousand miners. The thousand now still living here only exist with the minimum of social pleasure; hours added to their day's toil in travelling to collieries and other work outside have considerably reduced their leisure time. The sad demise of Shotts as a coal-producing area has been a gigantic upheaval and one that has caused economic and social hardship to the whole community.

Shotts is also renowned for its cold weather and warmth of hospitality. It is equidistant from Glasgow and Edinburgh. Passing in a train, bus or car, you would not give it much attention. But if you were taking a quiet walk in the country lanes of the district you would observe over in the fields little hillocks of earth thrown up by the mole, known in Scotland as 'the moudie'. That's

his mark. A little further over you will see those larger hillocks of earth thrown up by the miner, the human mole. That's his mark; and very often his monument.

Everyone in Shotts knows each other though they may not be on speaking terms. A strange face these days is looked upon with interest because the trend is to leave. It is a town destined to die unless alternative industry is brought in. In 1949 when the first of the pits were closed, all the miners who were classified as mobile were placed in the surrounding collieries or were offered work in expanding mining areas like Fife and Ayrshire. But not everyone likes to move away, even although new houses are offered and travelling expenses paid for the removal. To the young it was mostly an adventure; fresh woods and pastures new. But to the middle-aged (and there are many) it is different. For generations their families have lived in this happy town among the rolling green hills and scenic beauty. They have a burning rural pride of Shotts. There is the economic side too. At the present time there are two thousand people daily travelling out of Shotts to Glasgow, Edinburgh and elsewhere, of whom four-fifths are miners, their sons and daughters. By the end of the week, such travelling expenses mean a reduction in wages.

Shotts is famous for many things. The miners' institute is the hub of activity. There are facilities for swimming, dancing, debating, amateur dramatics, tennis, billiards, dominoes; or you can just sit and chat. The institute with its swimming pool is unique in the whole of the British

coalfield. No-one knows what will happen to this excellent building when the one colliery, Northfield, closes. Is it going to be allowed to be a monument to a deserted town? Shotts has been stripped of most of its links with the past. Two cinemas, the Pavilion and the Empire have been closed. Only one is left, the Regal. The National Coal Board generating station is no longer there. Blast furnaces whose glow was seen for miles around have also closed. And the gas works too is now standing just a relic of the past. Even the gas consumed in Shotts is piped from Armadale eight miles away. The steam horn which was sounded to signal the start and finish of the shifts at the pits and works has been silenced. The telephone service is also now controlled from outside the town at Bathgate.

Culturally the town is very much matured. The Scottish National Orchestra has performed twice in the town in recent years. In 1951 the various organisations in the town staged a fortnight's activities to celebrate the Festival of Britain. Without government or local authority aid the committee who organised the activities showed a profit which was distributed among local charities. Coronation year—1953—was also celebrated with various entertainments. Holders of the world championship four times, Shotts and Dykehead Caledonia Pipe Band has this year created a record in piping circles, by winning the world, European, British and Scottish championships in the one contesting season. In 1958 the Band made a six-weeks tour of the Soviet Union at the expense of the Scottish Area of the National Union of Mineworkers. The town also boasts of brass, silver and flute bands which have been famous in the past years. Drama, operetta

and choral societies are some of the other cultural activities which exist in the town. Athletics also have a place in Shotts sporting calendar. On the fourth Saturday in September for the past ten years, the town has been agog with excitement over the Shotts Highland Games, which attract thousands of spectators, athletes, Highland dancers, pipe bands from all parts of the country—and from England. The games day has become an event for former Shotts people from many countries to return to the town and renew acquaintances with friends of yesteryear. Almost all branches of sport are represented Shotts Bon-Accord football club, which has a stadium envied by many senior clubs, won the Scottish Junior Football Cup three seasons ago. Many of its former players are now in top-grade football both in Scotland and England. This season alone two joined Newcastle United, which is sending a team to play Shotts in a benefit match for a long deserving player, Davie Craig. Juvenile, amateur and youth club football is also played. The swimming pool with its recreation facilities for thousands of school-children and youth in the area has accommodated many star swimmers from all parts of Europe for record-breaking attempts. For the past eight years there has been in existence an inter-town competition between Shotts and Doddington, Co. Durham.

Shotts is certainly a dead town from a coal producing viewpoint, but its energetic citizens who include Margaret Herbison M.P. for North Lanark and ably supported by Frank Gormill, Chairman of the District Council and the rest of the councillors, along with the NUM local branch at Northfield, are working feverishly to bring in new industry. Already an American firm employing

400 people from a wide area has started to produce high and low horse-power diesel engines for a world-wide market.

It is my fervent hope that by the time these notes appear in print some other substantial industry will be established for the benefit of the Shots people to put the town in

the forefront once again where it so rightly belongs.

WILLIAM MOORE.

(The writer, as many of our readers will know, is pit delegate at Northfield colliery, and is a leading member of the local Labour Party.)

Mixed?—It's their Politics

IT has always puzzled me how the idea 'mixed economy' became exalted as a political theory amongst sections in the labour movement. By accepting the legitimacy of a 'mixed economy' as a theory we are swallowing the bait laid by the Gaitskells and Jays. The only thing mixed is their politics. There can be no such thing as a 'mixed economy'. With power in the hands of the ruling class it is Tory economy; and this cannot have escaped the notice of Gaitskell & Co. In Councillor Walters' letter the point he dwelt on most was economic breakdown and slumps. He assumed from this that if the ruling class made certain adjustments here and there—such as regulatory checks on inflationary trends—socialism could be checked indefinitely. This idea overlooks the fact that a serious crisis can exist which can threaten the whole capitalist world not directly connected with economics as such. The South African government at this moment is in deep crisis, and as far as I know not one of the millions of Africans have got their minds on a forty-hour week, increase in wages nor unemployment. The South African government is fully aware of this. I can

do no better than quote R. Palme Dutt from the April *Labour Monthly*: 'The national liberation movement of the Asian, African and the Latin American peoples against imperialism . . . is an integral part of the world socialist revolution.' On the same page Lenin is quoted as saying that the socialist revolution can only take place by the proletariat uniting with the national emancipation movements in the undeveloped and oppressed countries against the bourgeoisie in the leading countries.

Compare this wonderful picture, now coming to fruition, with the flabby hotch-potch of 'shareholding socialism' offered to the labour movement as though it was some 3d. off detergent. It has been reported that Mr. Gaitskell sold all his African shares. This raises the question of what happens if a Gaitskell shareholding government had shares in some monopoly—say, in Africa—who were paying a wage of 3s. weekly?

I would suggest to Councillor Walters that he turns his gaze far beyond the Channel.

A. McDONALD,
Dagenham.

BOOKS

Dmitry Shostakovich

D. Rabinovich

Lawrence and Wishart. 166pp. 18s.

This is the first biographical study of one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest of living composers. As such it is gravely inadequate. There is no complete list of works up to date, no index. These additions would have added little to the cost of the book. Its value would be immensely greater, its cost no doubt somewhat more, had the author included musical examples to illustrate his important explanations of the composer's style and of the content of the eleven symphonies. These defects in the book are doubly unfortunate as they provide a convenient stick with which western music critics can beat Soviet musicologists. The latter, in the writings of Asaviev and Jarustovsky, have provided the most important contributions in the fields of general musical theory and the problems of opera from any country of the world during the past forty years. But western musicology ignores them and remains hostile to the marxist theory of art as a reflection of the world of outer and inner reality, to use Caudwell's terms. It is to be expected that the omissions in this biographical study will confirm the western musicologists in their prejudiced assumption of superiority.

Rabinovich's book is indispensable to conductors and other interpreters of Shostakovich's symphonic and chamber music. Much in the music that is obscure and even repellent becomes clear and more acceptable in the light of the writer's explanations. This biography is somewhat akin to the important work of

Schindler on Beethoven. The writer is an intimate friend of the composer and quotes many of the latter's interesting observations and asides. For example Shostakovich is quoted as having once said:

I wanted to write some good amusing music that would give pleasure and make even the most sophisticated listener laugh. When the audience laughs during the performance of my music or even simply smiles, it gives me pleasure.

The most significant point which the biographer brings out is the way in which the composer has gradually come nearer to the life of the Soviet people. In an article written in 1958, entitled 'Closer to the People', Shostakovich wrote as follows:

Creative activity is fruitless unless the writer, artist or composer has very close ties with the life of the people. Only he who feels their heartbeats and the spirit of the times can truly express the thoughts of the people; no big work of realistic art is possible under any other conditions.

He achieved this noble aim, so difficult of complete realisation, with the Eleventh Symphony. Great as had been his public successes with the Fifth and Seventh Symphonies, these were crowned by the unprecedented scenes of enthusiasm aroused by the Eleventh. A guest from the German Democratic Republic described them as follows:

The Symphony was over... the public, the whole of the huge crowded hall and we with them were seething with excitement. Whether he wanted to or not the composer of this magnificent revolutionary work had to go onto the stage and accept the stormy applause. He wanted to be and remain a member of the audience. But the Soviet people honoured

him justly as a man who had enriched their culture and the culture of mankind with an undying work of art.

In this connection I would like to quote a remark of our composer John Ireland, creator of the immortal *These Things Shall Be*, who said to me that after listening to the Eleventh Symphony he had no doubt that Shostakovich was the greatest living composer.

This unity with his people has not been achieved without a long struggle, and the great value of Rabinovich's book is that it traces the interaction of the historical events through which the composer passed and his increasingly intense participation in them, with the development of his creative achievements. In this process he achieved an ever deepening personal unity with the men and women who have made the Soviet Union into the torch bearer of human progress. Each stage in the composer's development has been documented in a symphony and the details of how he attempted this and the extent of his realisation of it form the profound subject of the book. Dmitry Shostakovich emerges as a very great composer indeed and one of the heroic figures of our time.

ALAN BUSH.

Entertainment in the Soviet Union

An Official Report by the Six British Entertainment Workers' Trade Unions

Delegation's Secretary. 2s. 32pp.

The report* of the British Cultural Delegation, which visited the Soviet Union during April, 1959, is perhaps one of the most valuable that has so far been published. It contains little that is new to those of us who have already visited the U.S.S.R.,

Czechoslovakia, or one of the other People's Republics, but it nevertheless states facts clearly and succinctly without either starry-eyed praise or carping criticism. There are separate sections of the report each dealing with one of the various arts in the field of entertainment, giving much detail about the life and conditions of the artists, technicians and other workers involved in their presentation, whilst the section dealing with trade union organisation should be read by all trade unionists, whether or not they are involved in entertainment, showing clearly, as it does, the important though basically different function of the trade unions under socialism.

The delegation of twelve was drawn from the Musicians' Union, British Actors' Equity Association, Variety Artistes' Federation, Association of Cinematograph and Television Technicians, Electrical Trades Union and National Association of Theatrical and Kine Employees and their unanimous report is perhaps of special value in view of the wide divergence of political opinion represented; there being among them people of Marxist, Social-Democratic and Conservative conviction, others with perhaps no special political belief, and one prominent Advisory Council member of the rabidly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet 'Common Cause'. That they should have presented a unanimous report speaks volumes for the impact resulting from viewing at first hand the great strides made in the U.S.S.R. in the advancement of culture and the general welfare of the people. It also brings home sharply to us the fact of the appalling backwardness of our own society.

HARRY FRANCIS.

*Obtainable from the Secretary to the Delegation, 2, Soho Square, London, W.1.

The Foundry Workers. A Trade Union History

H. J. Fyrth, B.Sc. (Econ.) and Henry Collins, M.A., D.Phil.

Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers. 348pp. 18s.

'EVERY night pandemonium reigned while the moulds were being cast. The yelling and cursing of the foremen; the rattle of overhead cranes; the smoke and dust illuminated by sparks and flames from the molten metal made the place a perfect inferno. Glad we were, when it was all over, to creep into some corner alive with vermin of all kinds, to close our eyes for a few minutes'. Tom Bell, *Pioneering Days*, quoted in *The Foundry Workers*.

There can be no more than a handful of trade unions in the whole world that can trace back their continuous existence for 150 years. The period spans almost the entire history of the modern working class from its birth at the very beginnings of capitalism to its position today as the class that is ushering in the new society. The handful of foundry workers who met at a pub in Bolton on February 6, 1809 to set up a committee to draw up the 'articles or rules' of the Friendly Iron Moulders Society, started something that has gone on to become the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers we know today.

From the outset it had to fight for its right to exist and it has taken part in all the major economic and political movements and struggles ever since. Many of its members were Chartists, fighting for political rights. The union helped to bring into existence the Trades Councils and later the Trades Union Congress. It went through the political disillusionment with Lib-Lab politics that led to the formation of the Labour Party. It suffered in and

fought against all the wars that capitalism has brought in those fifteen decades and it bore, along with the rest of the working class, the brunt of the fifteen or so slumps that the system has produced in the last century and a half.

The record of this union is a cross-section of the history of the working class, indeed of the British people. They fought stubbornly and won—and lost and fought again. Every penny advance on their wages and every improvement in their conditions had to be fought for over and over again. They threw up some outstanding working class leaders. Daniel Guile, their Secretary for 18 years was a man whose

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place in our history is assured. Arthur Henderson of the Labour Party and Tom Bell of the Communist Party were both moulders and each was, in his time, the Union's President. Jim Gardner, General Secretary until he retired last year will be remembered by his fellow workers as the architect of their unity and the foremost fighter for safety in their hazardous job. He will also be remembered by all of us as a great fighter for peace, in which fight he plays a leading part today.

This history is told with amazing detail against the background of economic and political events in Britain and throughout the world. Each period brought its special problems and in tackling them, the foundry men, alongside the rest of the working class, made their impact upon each period. Let nobody regard this book as one for moulders or core makers only. It is a very important contribution to the history of the working class, if only because foundry workers are such key workers and their history covers so long a period.

The union is fortunate in having had the services of such competent and conscientious historians and they, the writers, are to be congratulated on having written such a fine history. Even more are the foundry men themselves to be congratulated on having made that history.

TED AINLEY.

The First Indian War of Independence, 1857-1859

K. Marx and F. Engels

Lawrence and Wishart. 248pp. 4s.

IT is not merely because of Marx's account of the Indian national revolt of 1857, the so-called Indian Mutiny of the English history books, that this collection of his writings about

India is of outstanding importance. It is true that most of the book consists of articles written at the time in which he traced the course of events with characteristic political insight. But he did more than this. As early as 1853 he wrote a short series of articles on British rule in India marked by such comprehensive understanding, remarkable prescience and literary quality that they must rank among the great classics of Marxism.*

In these articles he gave a penetrating analysis not only of the colonial enslavement of India but also of the whole basis of the old Asiatic order and the 'fundamental revolution' that was taking place, in which England was 'the unconscious tool of history'. In a notable passage he foretold that the people of India would not benefit from that revolution until either the industrial proletariat won power in Britain or the Indians threw off the British yoke altogether. Marx's awareness in these writings of the effects of capitalist development in India and of the coming national-colonial struggle, is in sharp contrast to the vast literature of rubbish for a century afterwards about the English 'civilising mission' in India or their divine right 'to govern and subdue'. On the basis of his analysis of the Indian structure and the British colonial regime of plunder, Marx was able to disentangle the factors involved in the revolt of 1857. His articles reproduced here, with a few by Engels also, as well as some extracts from letters exchanged between them, cover every aspect of the rising and its suppression, including its international significance. Marx makes it quite clear that it was not

*The *Labour Monthly* was the first to bring these articles to the attention of British readers. In 1925 it published two of them, although translated from a German version and not quite complete.

a 'sepoy mutiny' but a national revolt involving wide sections of the population. At the same time he notes all the causes of its failure, including on the military side the internal dissensions of the rebels and the absence of centralised leadership. A study of these writings, which retain their value in the conditions of colonial struggle today, should do much to counteract the century-old ignorance of Marxism that made even Laski as late as 1927 ridicule the idea of interpreting India in Marxist terms.

CLEMENS DUTT.

The Fifteen Soviet Republics Today and Tomorrow

(Soviet Booklets 60/A to 60/O. 6d. each)

WRITTEN in nearly every case by the premier of the republic, each booklet contains a mass of information. Each is illustrated by well-reproduced photographs. But the meagre maps which do not contain many of the geographic features and towns mentioned in the text, could be improved: while the frequent short single-sentence paragraphs make irksome reading.

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E. J. Hill Gen. Sec.

profitable sensation intended and a wave of protest which was not, today arouses ridicule as well as disgust. Just how wrong can these war propagandists be? Every political prediction is as cock-eyed as their technique for delivering their out-of-date terror weapon; their lumbering B-36, as Britain abandons production of the Blue Streak rocket which has already outdated it; a glimpse of the war at sea looking like something far more outmoded than Jules Verne. All this, when today's reality is the peaceful Soviet lunik and the proposal for total disarmament within four years. *Collier's* had better produce a Summit number, set in 1964, showing how this 'threat' was defeated in the Council Chamber.

Next month I hope to report to readers and supporters of the 'Out-With-The-Manager' Fund, for I am already on my way out. And here special thanks to two overseas readers who have generously contributed to it. 'California' sends \$22 'to complete the Out-With-The-Manager Fund so that Angela can be on her way out of London. On with the struggle!' Also from the Pacific Coast, 'British Columbia' writes:

'Enclosed is \$17 for that special fund. I wish I could go out too. Still, I do what I can. When I was in Victoria recently I asked for *Labour Monthly* at four newsagents, and I can't tell you how pleased I was to get the current copy from the last; it was like finding an old friend far from home.' A pity I can't drop in on 'California' and 'British Columbia', whilst I'm out. Later, perhaps—who knows? For in Britain we may be slow starters, but we are sure finishers. This really marvellous response to the special fund is the main factor in breaking two records: we have never received so much in the first quarter; and the March total was the highest ever recorded (the nearest was October, 1943, at £134 7s 8d). Now, stand up and cheer!

And as you resume your seats, please note that we need to raise the *regular* total to not less than half this special effort, if the fresh spring breeze is to develop to a gale force wind of change here. To late comers I would say that amongst some people it would be popular if the Manager was *always* kept out of the office! Total received during March:

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LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Summit and After

The background set out by R.P.D.



Men of Metal on the Move

by our Industrial Correspondent



What's this about Korea?

by D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

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CONFERENCE
(Document)

A NEW TOWN
A. H. Luker

STUDENTS'
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Judy Atkinson

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N. Krupskaya

JUNE · 1960

One Shilling and Sixpence

GRAND TOUR

LAST MONTH the grey *Labour Monthly* went out on a 1,700 mile tour through 21 English counties and 13 Scottish counties in the perfect weather of early spring. From London I decided to follow an old trail, that of the first people whose journey through Britain is recorded. So I shot up north, most of the way along the dead straight roads the Romans built two thousand years ago; through their military base at York, over their military wall and beyond the border, across the great firth, past the Kingdom of Fife to the fair city of Perth on the River Tay. (Here the sixty-third Scottish Trades Union Congress was meeting.) It was here that the empire-minded invaders, seeing the broad sweep of the North Inch on the Tay's upper reaches, exclaimed in their condescending Roman way: 'Behold, the Tiber!'—and promptly built the military camp of Inchtuthill. (But not for long; for they were forced to dismantle it, and it was taken away stone by stone.) Naturally a Scot soon quoted to me:

*'Behold, the Tiber!' the vain
Roman cried,*

*Viewing the ample Tay from
Baigley's side.*

*But where's the Scot that would
the vaunt repay*

*And hail the puny Tiber for the
Tay?*

Well, the Romans went, back to their own Tiber, thanks not only to the struggles of the peoples of this island (north, south and west of the border) but also of the subject peoples of Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. And with the decline and fall of their slave civilisation, their military bases fell into ruin too; doubtless the stones provided the

masonry used again and again in grey walls, cottages and churches whose successors we see today. But we kept their roads, which were anyhow probably built by our ancestors' labour, under Roman taskmasters, before we were judged 'ripe for self-government'.

Different kinds of invaders troubled the 450 delegates to this year's Scottish T.U.C. at Perth. What was in their minds, and on their lips, was the danger to peace of rocket bases on Scottish soil and of West German nuclear rearmament. Creeping unemployment, the deterioration of Scottish industry, the loss of craftsmen and of skills. The fight to keep whole communities from becoming twentieth century 'deserted villages' or 'condemned towns' as William Moore described so vividly in the May L.M. How to prevent Scottish economy and trade from shrinking and being distorted under a system where industrialists will only invest their capital where labour is cheap and they can be assured of cheap fuel and transport at privilege prices—at the expense of the nation in general and miners and railwaymen in particular. Where American tycoons have to be begged, cap in hand, to 'bring work' to Scotland—and respond by importing McCarthyite practices and refusing to recognise shop stewards. Where trade and commerce is all at sixes and sevens, because our rulers permit Britain's economy to be dominated by their American and West German rivals in pursuance of 'cold war' policies. In each debate delegates demanded essentially the same thing: a Socialist solution, a stronger Socialist fight, ■ being the bread-and-butter need today. I noted many a speech based on articles in L.M.; and the warm reception we got everywhere was heartening. (There was the Labour councillor who snatched up a bundle

Notes of the Month

1. *Summit and After*

**'For past these Alpine Summits of great pain
Lieth thine Italy'**

THE summoning of the Conference of Heads of State to meet this month has brought the hour of decision for the future of the world. In these Notes written before its opening, when even doubts could be cast on its being held ('If I go', Eisenhower on May 6), it would be idle to speculate in advance on its outcome. That the auspices should be far from favourable at the outset is no matter for surprise. It may indeed be assumed that even at the best this Conference could be no more than the first step towards the wider and serious further negotiation which will be necessary if the aim of a peaceful future free from the menace of nuclear war is to be attained. That the Conference should have been convened at all has already represented an initial victory in the fight for peace. But a long and stubborn further fight will be necessary before the aims of peaceful co-existence and disarmament can be brought within practical reach.

What is the heart of the problem? Negotiation towards an East-West settlement is recognised in principle by the responsible statesmen on both

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sides as indispensable, since the alternative path could lead at any moment, in the present explosive situation, to major war with incalculable destructive consequences. But negotiation is only possible provided there is a serious readiness on both sides to negotiate. The conditions for this are far more advanced than ten years ago (outbreak of the Korean War) or five years ago (abortive first Summit Conference at Geneva). But they are not yet sufficiently advanced to bring a major settlement within view. Every day's incidents (U.S. espionage plane over the Soviet Union; U.S. decision to resume nuclear tests; speeding up of West German nuclear rearmament) increase the urgency. On all sides the popular demand for peace and disarmament, for liberation from the nightmare of nuclear war, is rising in a flood tide—not least in Britain. But between this universal popular aspiration and the actual political and diplomatic situation there is a gap. Hence the necessity to raise the fight for peace and disarmament to a new and higher level, from a general aspiration to a positive and conscious fight for a concrete programme to end the cold war and win an East-West settlement. This is now the main lesson arising from the present Summit Conference.

Blocks in the Path

The Summit Conference is a conference of four participants. But if three of the four participants have fixed up everything between themselves beforehand, what is left for negotiation? Negotiation is not possible on the basis of previous loudly proclaimed rigid and inflexible positions, from which it is publicly announced in advance that no deviation can for a moment be considered. Yet this is the fantastic approach which has been adopted. The fifteen months since Macmillan's visit to Moscow, and the agreement in principle for a Summit Conference, have been occupied with an interminable series of noisily advertised 'Western Summit Conferences', of Western Heads of State, or Western Foreign Ministers, in Washington, London, Paris or Bonn, to proclaim anew each time the successful restoration of unshakable Western unity on unalterable agreed positions from which no deviation will be allowed at the Summit Conference. From his prompter's box Grandfather Adenauer utters threats and imprecations against any agreement being attempted. All this is no doubt revealing for the actual conflicts of interests and mutual suspicions between the partners of the Western alliance. But it hinders useful negotiation. If everything has really been

fixed up beforehand by the Western Summit Conferences, why negotiate?

The Great Contradiction of 1960

The answer to this question brings us to the central, sharp, glaring contradiction of the present international situation. On the one hand, the whole Western nuclear strategy is now in ruins—whether the bombers that can be shot down before they have a chance of arriving, the bomber bases that are sitting ducks for destruction, the imaginary ‘deterrent’ which intimidates no-one except the citizens of the country possessing it, the intermediate rocket missiles, the fixed missile bases or the still hypothetical mobile missile launchers, the Thors, the Blue Streaks, the Blue Steels, the Skybolts, the Polaris, the whole brood of ‘Has Beens’ ‘Never Was’ or ‘Maybe’s’. On the other hand, Western policy and diplomacy has not yet caught up with the facts, is still living in the ‘cold war’ world of all the assumptions of the past fifteen years, the assumptions of the ‘policy of strength’, of a grandiloquent imaginary Western superiority to dictate terms, of the obstinately maintained grandiose system of bases round the world and a crazy patchwork of military blocs of tottering reactionary regimes to encircle communism, ‘contain’ communism, ‘roll back’ its frontiers, ‘liberate’ the peoples of the new rising world, and all the rest of the high-falutin rodomontade of counter-revolutionary bravado.

Can the Twain Meet?

Between these two worlds, the real life world of 1960 and the image-world of Western diplomacy, there is still little contact. The new conditions have compelled the West to enter on the path of negotiation. But the simultaneous refusal to accept the political consequences of the new conditions, the clinging to the old ‘cold war’ assumptions, blocks the path to effective and fruitful negotiation. The ‘policy of strength’ so long and still proclaimed by Western diplomacy as the keynote of its foreign policy (‘The North Atlantic Alliance remains the cornerstone of our foreign policy’, President Eisenhower in December, 1959), was never a noble foreign policy; it recalled only too faithfully the Kaiser’s ‘mailed fist’ conception of diplomacy, constituted the familiar incitement to the arms race and thwarted negotiation. But to attempt to continue the ‘policy of strength’ when the assumptions of strength have collapsed is indeed the last infirmity of ignoble minds. Herein lies the peculiar contradiction of the present phase, which is revealed in the current

problems of the Summit Conference. This contradiction, if unchanged, could eventually only lead to war, whatever the professions or subjective intentions of the statesmen concerned. It is this contradiction which the further advance of the fight for peace needs now to resolve.

Britain the Cockpit

It is not without significance that the heart of this contradiction is most conspicuously and manifestly demonstrated at this moment in Britain, which is at the heart of all the contradictions of dying imperialism. The end of Blue Streak* after the expenditure of years of research and oceans of wealth (£100 million according to the Government, £250 million according to the *Daily Express*), brought into the open the bankruptcy of the loudly boosted nuclear strategy and 'deterrent' theory of the preceding White Papers, supported equally by the Tory Government and the Right-wing Labour leadership. No alternative is found; for the picture of the bombers successfully functioning until 1965 would not deceive a child. But the consequence for policy is not drawn. The Government still proclaims its adherence to nuclear strategy and the 'deterrent' theory, even though it does not know what form it will take and is still 'considering' and 'investigating'. The result is a visible hiatus in British strategy and policy without parallel in the history of British imperialism.

Battleground of Labour

The consequent crisis of Labour Party leadership and policy over nuclear strategy is, as always, the echo and reflection of this crisis of ruling class policy and strategy. On the one hand, the upper leadership still seeks to proclaim undying fidelity to its master's not yet abandoned doctrine of the NATO nuclear strategy and the exploded 'deterrent' theory (on the false and fanciful assumption that the only alternative is non-resistance pacifism). But it is desperately at a loss, after the Government's abandonment of Blue Streak without a visible alternative, to say what form this shall now take ('It would be quite wrong for me to commit myself to any one of the solutions', Gaitskell's May Day speech) until it can hear the master's voice again giving a clear signal. The Front Bench leaders who staked their shirt on the Government's H-bomb policy are now not a little indignant at being let down without further instructions ('Even

*Incidentally also of Zeta, which, being for peaceful purposes, received far less cash.

I cannot be expected to go on supporting a policy which has no chance of ever being realised', George Brown in parliament on April 27).

Towards a New Policy

In striking contrast to this confusion of the leadership, the robust common sense of the active organised workers in the trade unions, as seen most recently in the vote of the engineers, together with the majority of the constituency Labour Parties, and wide sections of the youth and professional people, has already drawn the conclusion to cut the losses on the bankrupt and suicidal NATO nuclear policy and advance to a realist foreign policy for peaceful co-existence and disarmament. The movement against nuclear weapons, and for the repudiation of Britain's support of nuclear strategy, was only five years ago, at the outset of the Government's decision to manufacture the hydrogen bomb, confined to a handful of pacifists and to communists and the militant left. Within the last three years it expanded to a wider movement, even though still at first mainly expressing an emotional aspiration rather than a clear political content. In the most recent period it has swept forward, not only in broad mass support of the most diverse sections, but also in political content, to advance the challenge, not only against the British H-bomb, but also against the use of Britain as a nuclear launching ground and target through the American bases, and therefore against the whole NATO nuclear strategy. Thus the fight for nuclear disarmament in Britain, at first limited and almost insular in tone, has inevitably under the pressure of events grown into a fight for a new foreign policy for Britain, vital for the future of the British people. This new stage of the fight for peace in Britain, now developing to a critical point within the Labour Party, is most closely bound up with all the problems and tasks of the Summit Conference, for the ending of the cold war and for peaceful co-existence and disarmament, and is a powerful weapon on an international scale to promote the fulfilment of these aims.

2. Can We Win Peace?

Why has a Summit Conference been convened anew in 1960 after the failure of the first Summit Conference in 1955? The question is worth asking because, to judge from Western official utterances before the Conference, the Western Powers have been loftily condescending from their great heights to show a great favour to the

anxious desires of the Soviet Union by consenting with a considerable show of reluctance and scepticism to take part in such a Conference at all. The Soviet Union, it has been insisted in the preliminary statements, must be prepared to make very great concessions in order to prove in deeds its wish for peace, if the Conference is to be of any use. The Western Powers, it has been further insisted by each successive communiqué of the preliminary meetings of their spokesmen, must stand absolutely firm and yield no inch of ground.

Pouring Cold Water

In contrast to the positive approach of the socialist world, and the hopes expressed by popular opinion in all countries, Western official public expression has in the main struck a chilly note and sought to damp down popular expectations. Especially United States official expression has been negative in the extreme. The keynote was struck by the declaration of Secretary of State Herter on March 22 that he was 'frankly not too optimistic that the Conference would produce great results. I doubt whether any very important specific decisions will be taken at the Summit'. Asked why in that case the United States was taking part, he replied that this was only because 'Britain and France had wanted a Summit conference', *i.e.*, because of the pressure of public opinion in Britain and France. The most open and violent enemy of the Summit Conference has been Chancellor Adenauer, who has repeatedly expressed apprehension and suspicion with regard to what might arise from it, and has publicly sought to impose in advance a personal veto against any agreement which might weaken his position, interfere with the plans for West German rearmament, including nuclear rearmament, or prepare the way towards recognition of the German Democratic Republic. Every reassurance has been given to this vociferous enemy of East-West agreement. Why then negotiate?

1955 and 1960

The real facts of the world situation, which have compelled a Summit Conference, reveal a very different picture from the braggadocio and bluster of the Western spokesmen. For in fact between 1955 and 1960 the alternative was tried. The first Summit Conference in the summer of 1955 aroused such a wave of popular enthusiasm throughout the world, by the mere fact of its being held, by the mere fact of the statesmen meeting instead of going to war, such a relaxation of tension, such a joyous advance of the progres-

sive forces everywhere, that the Western statesmen took fright as they saw the prospect of their whole ramshackle structure of subsidised reactionary regimes, military blocs, bases and colossal arms build-up come toppling down in the sunshine of peaceful co-existence. Hastily they reversed the engines, and at the Foreign Ministers' Conference in the autumn of 1955 repudiated what had been agreed at Geneva, refused to carry out the Geneva directive with regard to Germany and European security, and created deadlock. Even the Eden Plan for a disengaged zone on either side of the East-West line of division was buried so deep that official spokesmen today try to deny that it ever existed, although the facts are on record in the documents.

Failure of the Alternative

So they tried the alternative. In 1956 the two-pronged armed offensive of imperialism was let loose simultaneously at Suez and in Hungary against the world of socialism and national liberation. Both attempts ended in utter failure. The new world was too strong. Then followed the Anglo-American armed occupation of Lebanon and Jordan. Once again these armed assaults of Western imperialism ended in an ignominious fiasco and withdrawal. The triumphant Iraq revolution smashed the central pillar of the hated Baghdad Pact of imperialist domination in the Middle East, so that it has had to be reorganised under the alias of Cento (why not Dollaro?) to comprise only the anti-Arab or non-Arab reactionary dictatorships of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan; and even these are shaking. The attempted Western agitation on behalf of the serf lords and slave-owners of Tibet aroused no echo. The victorious Cuban popular revolution, despite all the arms supplies from the United States and Britain to the hated dictator Batista, has kindled the flame of a new upsurge of Latin American liberation. Africa has arisen. At the same time the constructive achievements of the new world between 1955 and 1960, unparalleled in scale and character, and demonstrated equally in the Great Leap in China, the Sputnik, the Lunik or the Seven Year Plan, have rendered out of date the impotently vicious 'policies of strength' of Western imperialism and compelled a new approach to negotiation.

New World Balance

Thus the positive facts compelling negotiation are stronger than all the negative, hostile language and acts of the Western spokesmen. What are these positive facts? The first is the decisive

change in the world balance in the present era. The end of the dreams of Western technical and nuclear superiority, and the belated official recognition of the now increasing 'gap' behind the more advanced socialist level, alike in the peaceful and strategic nuclear fields, has exploded all the castles in the air of the Pentagon and NATO strategists and thrown them into confusion. Britain's abandonment of Blue Streak is only one symptom of this confusion. At the same time the economic advance of the socialist world, alongside the admitted higher educational and cultural level, has brought in close prospect the era of absolute economic superiority in production and standards. This in turn exercises a powerful influence on the newly independent countries, who have similar problems of initial backwardness to overcome, and who are now able to get aid from the socialist countries free from the onerous terms, often involving military and strategic servitude, imposed by Western imperialism. The Second Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference at Conakry in April, representing the majority of the world's population, further demonstrated how the balance of the world is changing.* The new outlook found expression in Walter Lippmann's article in January of this year (*New York Herald-Tribune*, January 22, 1960) on 'The Second Best World Power' stating that 'the days of our primacy, which were brief, are ending'. In these circumstances the old arrogant tone of dictation can no longer be maintained. Apart from the programme of the most reckless adventurists (Strauss, Pentagon extremists), no alternative is left at the present moment save to negotiate.

Crisis of Western Imperialism

The second positive factor, compelling a greater degree of caution than in the old heyday of NATO bombast, and the beginning of an approach, however reluctant, to negotiation, is the present stage of deepening crisis of Western imperialism. This deepening crisis is not incompatible with the very considerable measure of capitalist economic restoration and expansion during the recent period. On the contrary, the one flows from the other. The increasing contradictions show themselves in the acutely sharpening economic conflicts and rivalries of the imperialist powers struggling among themselves for the domination of outlets for their increased production: especially, the United States against Britain; West Germany and Japan against Britain; and the Six against the Seven. At the same time the deepening crisis has shown itself in the further speedy

*See page 285 for the text of the Conakry Declaration.

advance of national liberation, especially throughout the continents of Africa and Latin America. A new feature in the recent period has been the beginning of the downfall of the fortresses of subsidised military and terrorist counter-revolutionary dictatorships maintained by Western imperialism as the foundation and strong points of its system of the 'free world'. Only a short time ago Nuri es Said and Batista have fallen. Now the fall of Syngman Rhee, the crisis of the regime of Verwoerd and Apartheid in South Africa, and the revolutionary upsurge in Turkey have shown that the principal bastions of Western imperialist reaction are no longer secure. The most experienced Western imperialist leaders, as notably the typical shrewd representative of the British governing class, Macmillan, are recognising the urgent necessity for temporising tactics.

Peoples' Pressure for Peace

The third positive factor is the overwhelming advance in all countries of the popular demand for peace, for an end of the menace of nuclear war, and for a relaxation of the cold war and international tension. In 1950 the Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons won 482 million signatures. In 1952 the Appeal for a Five Power Peace Pact won 612 million signatures. In 1955 the Appeal against nuclear war and for a pledge from every Government against first using the H-bomb won 650 million signatures. But in these earlier years many representatives of liberal and left opinion in the West, who have since entered into the campaign against nuclear weapons, still abstained, still basked in the illusion of Western nuclear invincibility, and even advocated the use of the atom bomb against the Soviet Union to compel surrender or gloatingly contemplated an American military occupation of Moscow, following atomic war, in the nineteen fifties. All this has changed also in the climate of Western discussion since the Sputnik finally exploded the dream of Western nuclear superiority and revealed that the boot was on the other foot. In 1957 the Sputnik revealed that the Soviet Union could deliver an intercontinental ballistic missile, while the West could not. In 1958 the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was launched, including by previous prominent advocates of atomic war. The most diverse sections have joined in the growing movement. Aldermaston this year represented a demonstration unparalleled in scale in Britain since the war—some have said, since Chartism. On the other side of the world in Japan the popular demonstrations of the Hiroshima Committee and against nuclear armament and the U.S.-Kishi Treaty have been no less overwhelm-

ing. No wonder Eisenhower, in his one unscripted aside in his television talk with Macmillan, had occasion to say that the demand of the peoples everywhere for peace was becoming so strong that it would be difficult for the statesmen to resist it.

If You Want Peace, Work for Peace

All these long-term positive factors on the side of the fight for peace need to be borne in mind, when we are faced with the obvious immediate difficulties and obstructions of the Summit Conference, the plentiful negative signs, the sceptical attitude of Western spokesmen, the provocative actions of powerful hostile circles in the West, the suspicion of every proposal for a settlement or a compromise as a trick, the obstinate clinging to nuclear weapons, resistance to disarmament and even speeding up of the arms race. There will be no easy solutions. The Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament have met with the same absolute opposition as in 1927 from all the capitalist delegates to the Disarmament Conference, who have offered instead a grand 'plan' for inspection and control without any reduction of armaments at all in the first stage of unlimited duration. The Soviet reduction of armed forces by 1,200,000 at the beginning of this year, and the parallel very large-scale Chinese reduction, and cutting of armed forces in all the socialist countries have been met by the increase of the British arms budget by £115 million to the highest level since 1946-47, the stepping up of the U.S. arms budget to \$45.5 billion or 57 per cent of the budget expenditure, the speeding up of West German rearmament with nuclear weapons, and the explosion of the French atom bombs. Soviet acceptance of the American proposal for a limited ban only on major tests and a voluntary moratorium on smaller-scale underground tests has been met by the U.S. Government's announcement of its intention to begin unilaterally the latter type of tests. The moral is plain. A very greatly increased intensity of the fight for peace is now essential if we are to surmount these obstructions and win serious negotiation and agreements on the banning of tests or the diminution of the menace from the powder keg of West Berlin and neo-nazi militarism, let alone the first steps to wider agreements for the banning of nuclear weapons and the reduction of armaments. It is in relation to this situation that the present battle in the Labour Party for a new defence and foreign policy opposed to nuclear weapons and nuclear strategy is of such vital international importance and has the most direct bearing on the tasks of the Summit Conference.

3. *Nuclear Strategy and Nuclear Disarmament*

The crisis of Labour policy over Socialism and Clause 4 has now been followed by an even more far-reaching and immediately urgent crisis of Labour policy over the H-bomb and nuclear strategy. The end of Blue Streak was not only the ignominious and costly end of a whole era of British strategic policy, expressed in the series of Macmillan-Sandys Defence White Papers, which make pitiful reading today. It was also a symptom of the deepening bankruptcy of the whole NATO nuclear strategy, and also of the U.S. Strategic Air Command nuclear strategy. Realisation of this is essential for understanding the present stage of the question. That this realisation is still not general in the current discussion was revealed by Mr. Gaitskell's presentation of his supposed four alternatives.

H-Bomb Dreamland

Most of the dyed-in-the-wool (and woolly) adherents and worshippers of the H-bomb are still consoling themselves with the complacent consolation that all that is involved is a slight transference of allegiance in continuing the worship of the same Moloch. The programme for a so-called 'independent' British H-bomb delivery missile to replace the obsolete bombers has had to be abandoned. It is true that these advocates previously swore with their hands on their hearts that such an 'independent deterrent' was indispensable for Britain's survival as a great power and to prevent dependence on the United States (always a curious argument from these enthusiastic advocates of the American bases and military occupation of Britain). Now these old arguments have to be swallowed with the best face that can be put on it, under cover of plentiful abuse of the Government for letting the side down. The abuse of the Government can always be counted on to win a cheer from the groundlings to conceal the somersault, and even to win applause from some of the more innocent on the left as a miraculous 'conversion' and new triumph of 'unity' on the question of nuclear weapons. But the battle is not so easily won, and the innocent applauders have had reason to be undeceived.

New Bolt Holes

Under cover of this abuse of the Government for its miscalculation, resulting in abandonment of the programme for Britain's

'independent' use of the H-bomb, the attempt is being made to continue the same basic policy in new forms. New bolt holes are being hastily elaborated by the worshippers of the H-bomb to carry forward the nuclear strategy in alternative forms. One group advocates a NATO H-bomb to unite Britain with the neo-Nazis and militarists of West Germany in the construction and use of nuclear weapons and missiles. The Sandys-Strauss conversations appear to indicate that such a policy is in fact already being pursued by the Tory Government, at the same time as formally proclaiming continuance of the 'independent' programme. Another group advocates the familiar Liberal Party programme, that the British people should remain 'under the American umbrella', i.e. under the 'protection' of the American H-bomb, while boldly abandoning the British H-bomb as too expensive to maintain, and thereby courageously 'giving the decisive lead' to the world for 'nuclear disarmament' (*Daily Herald* editorial of April 29, a magnificent marvel of outspoken confusion to please all sections of readers).

Rip Van Winkles

Unfortunately for these wishful thinkers, their new bolt holes will offer them no escape. At best they will only prolong the agony a little further until the same basic question has to be faced. The same difficulties which have beset Blue Streak would beset equally the hypothetical NATO H-bomb. In vain the calculation is switched from the Thors and Blue Streak to a non-existent Skybolt and Polaris. When will Skybolt be ready? 'I think it's 1964, but I can't be categorical about that' answered U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff, General White, on May 4, and added that distribution would in any case be first for the United States and only later for Europe. And meanwhile? What about the 'indispensable deterrent' meanwhile? But already the experts have thrown doubt upon the effective functioning of either Skybolt (medium range only from vulnerable bombers) or Polaris (also medium range from vulnerable submarines) in the new conditions. As for the 'American umbrella' under which these Rip Van Winkles think they can nestle, they appear to have remained blissfully unaware of the raging controversy in American strategic and official quarters over the 'missile gap', consequent on Soviet rocket superiority leaving the United States vulnerable without effective means of reply. No wonder the intelligent rank and file in the trade union and labour organisations are trying to awaken these Rip Van Winkle leaders to the modern facts of nuclear life.

Nuclear Strategy, Stage I: Dreams of Atomic Monopoly

What is the modern Western nuclear strategy? The official answers today would show a rich diversity of contradictions, consistent only in the obsession to hang on to the nuclear weapon at all costs. Once the line was simple. The Anglo-American atom bomb monopoly was the saviour of civilisation, keeping off the Russian hordes, ensuring Anglo-American enlightened domination of the world, and preparing a suitable Fulton 'showdown' to compel the Russians and communists to toe the line. This was the simple understandable strategy of the days of Bevin and Attlee and the welcome to the American bombers. But that monopoly vanished over a decade ago. The wild and whirling words of those days are long forgotten, and would scarcely be believed by the young today.

Stage II: The H-bomb and the Theory of the Deterrent

By the time of the advance from the atomic to the thermonuclear era the Soviet Union was already in front, in 1953, with the first thermonuclear device exploded in the air (Eniwetok in 1952 had been only a cumbersome affair on the ground). The United States was a lap behind, with the first H-bomb in 1954; Britain only by 1955 had reached the decision to construct its own H-bomb. The theory of Western monopoly and supremacy was thus dead. A new theory had to be constructed. This was the theory of the 'H-bomb Deterrent'. Since both sides had the H-bomb, it now had to be admitted that its use would involve mutual universal destruction. Gone were the halycon days of the dreams of 'push-button warfare' to 'teach the Reds a lesson' with the new 'big bomb' delivered from the security of safe Western European bases. The new theory was announced that, though the use of the H-bomb would inevitably result in the destruction of Britain, the threat to use it would 'deter' the Russians from attempting aggression and thus save Britain. The bee would perish if it used its sting; but the threat to use its sting would save the bee. So was evolved the theory of the 'atomic stalemate', the 'deterrent' and 'peace through mutual terror'. This is the theory which further scientific and technological development has now laid low in ruins.

Stage III: The Missile and the Death of the Deterrent Theory

The theory of the 'deterrent' is now in fact dead, although the corpse refuses to lie down, since there are too many interests involved in propping up the fiction. From the moment of the Sputnik

in 1957 it was clear that long range Soviet missiles could destroy every base, not only in Britain and Western Europe, but also in the United States, and that the West had no long range missiles with which to reply, but only intermediate range missiles from vulnerable bases in Europe and the Middle East. The day of the H-bomb-loaded bomber was over. For a time the West sought to keep up its spirits with the decision to construct intermediate range missiles from fixed sites above ground (Thors) or below ground (Blue Streak), and even imagined, according to the naïve Macmillan-Sandys theory, that concentration on the rocket would make it possible to cut down all other arms expenditure. The consoling suggestion was further offered that it would be impossible for the Soviet Union to dispatch its long range missiles to hit targets thousands of miles away with sufficient accuracy. The moon rocket encircling or touching the moon in 1959, and the dispatch of the two rockets 8,000 miles across the earth to the precise pre-calculated spot in the Pacific in January, 1960, shattered these illusions for all time. From this moment it was clear that no static base could be maintained. The Pacific demonstration was in January, 1960. In April Blue Streak was abandoned. The rocket on May Day bringing down the U.S. espionage jet plane twelve miles above the Soviet Union with such accuracy as to wing the plane, while saving the pilot and equipment, completed the destruction of the myth (still stoutly maintained by poor Mr. Watkinson as the next victim in Mr. Sandys' shoes) of the supposed continued efficacy of the H-bomb-loaded bombers 'till 1965'.

What Now, Little Man?

So what has happened to the grand theory of the 'nuclear deterrent'? Perhaps the four minutes 'Early Warning' system at Fylingdale (while the bombers require fifteen minutes to get aloft) will save it? Anyway that will not be built 'for two or three years'. Within three years from now, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defence Mr. Gates has assured us, the United States will have overtaken 'the missile gap' (always assuming that the other fellow remains stationary, and that the gap will not have been further increased), and will also have effective long range missiles in operation. And meanwhile? What happens during the years between? During the years while the 'indispensable Early Warning', without which the West, we are informed, would be defenceless before Soviet aggression, does not exist? During the years while the 'indispensable nuclear deterrent' from mobile launchers (whether airborne or

seaborne), without which the West, we are assured, would be defenceless before Soviet aggression, is still a hypothesis on a drawing board? During the years while the Soviet Union, if it were bent on aggression, could wipe out the whole array of Western bases and bombers at a stroke before there could be any question of retaliation? No one is disturbed. The Western politicians and generals, who terrorise their audiences into coughing up billions against the menace of Soviet aggression, sleep soundly in their beds. No general in the Pentagon jumps out of his window any longer like Forrestal. In the days of Western atomic superiority there was daily panic. Now with Soviet nuclear superiority there is no longer any panic. Why? Because by their deeds all these politicians and generals show that in reality they have not the slightest belief in any menace of Soviet aggression. All the talk about the 'nuclear deterrent' and 'defence' is poppycock for half-wits. Why then cling to the nuclear weapon since it can manifestly fulfil no function for defence? Precisely because it is *not* for defence. Here we come closer to the real Western theory of the nuclear weapon, which has nothing to do with the poppycock about 'the deterrent' and 'defence'.

Stage IV: Current Western Nuclear Strategy: Strike First

The current Western nuclear strategy was in fact always the real strategy planned, and indeed from time to time proclaimed in NATO documents and Defence White Papers, for the use of the atom bomb and the H-bomb as essentially a weapon of *aggression*, not defence, *i.e.*, that the West should strike first. But previously this was camouflaged inside the hypocritical wrapping of 'the deterrent'. Now the wrapping has come apart, since it is no longer strategically tenable to present the imaginary picture of its use for retaliation *after* a supposed aggression. Now the official orthodoxy of the NATO and U.S. war planners is that the only answer to the 'missile gap' is that the West must let loose its nuclear weapons *before* any aggression from the Soviet side.

We should maintain our armed forces in such a way and with such an understanding that, should it ever become obvious that an attack upon us or our allies is imminent, we can launch an attack before the aggressor has hit either us or our allies... Presumably the U.S. attack might have to be delivered without benefit of congressional declaration of war.

U.S. House of Representatives Defence Sub-Committee Chairman,
G. H. Mahon, May, 1960, *Time* 9.5.60.)

This is the familiar Hitlerite theory of aggressive war to 'forestall' a supposed 'imminent' attack by the other side. In the bad old

days it used to be called frankly aggression. In the Fulton days it came to be more euphemistically called a 'preventive war'. Now in the current NATO and Pentagon jargon, to suit the more squeamish latter-day tastes it is called 'a pre-emptive war'.

Paths to Nuclear War

But surely, the intelligent reader will very reasonably query, the United States Government will not deliberately wish to let loose a nuclear war on the Soviet Union, knowing that such a war would mean its own destruction, any more than the Soviet Union wishes to let loose a nuclear war on the United States. Correct. A conscious decision of this nature would be perhaps the least likely hypothesis for the outbreak of a major nuclear war, short of the not impossible 'wild' action of an extremist section of the Strategic Command taking the initiative into their own hands, since civilian control of the military is very weak in the United States. But there are many other openings. The avowed 'brinkmanship' policy of the United States can always lead over the brink. Or take another example, the West German general staff has the blueprints all ready, once they have completed equipment with nuclear weapons, for a blitzkrieg occupation of the German Democratic Republic in a few hours, on the basis of a typical Hitlerite gambling calculation that they might get away with it because it would be presented for propoganda as a national uprising of the German people, the United States would disclaim responsibility but approve the result, and the Soviet Union, as they hope, would be unwilling to see a global nuclear war result. A typical firebrand's gamble; but so was every initial step of Hitler.

Britain's Real Danger

Or the U.S. high command might decide that a particular situation in Europe or the Middle East might be met by a limited action with nuclear weapons from the bases in Britain, Spain or Turkey, without exposing the territory of the United States, again on the typical calculation that the two giants would not wish to enter on the incalculable hazard of full-scale direct conflict, and that therefore only secondary countries would bear the brunt. So long as nuclear weapons are maintained, so long as the Soviet demand for their absolute banning and destruction is resisted and voted down by Britain and the United States, there are a hundred forms, and daily increasing, in which nuclear war may arise and spread. Only

one thing is certain. In any nuclear war, whatever the form, whatever the origin, so long as Britain is the main American nuclear launching site, so long as Britain is tied to the NATO nuclear strategy, Britain will necessarily be the main target and the main victim, marked out for destruction. The H-bomb and the NATO nuclear strategy, so far from representing the 'defence' of Britain, are the main menace to Britain's existence. Gaitskell, Brown, Strachey and the other devotees of the H-bomb, who present themselves as the representatives of the 'defence' of Britain, are the enemies of Britain's defence.

A Practical Policy for Peace

Is the alternative, as these advocates pretend, 'pacifism' in the sense of defenceless isolation, non-resistance, helplessness before an aggressor? Rubbish. Liberation of Britain from the American nuclear bases, the H-bombs and the NATO nuclear strategy is not a heroic gesture to 'lead the world' for nuclear disarmament (this would be hypocrisy though such an action can help to promote the wider aim), but only a practical indispensable first step for the better defence of Britain by removing the biggest immediate danger. A positive policy for peace and international disarmament must accompany this. The first opening towards this is represented by the opportunity of the Summit Conference and after. British Labour once advocated a positive policy for peace, expressed by none more ably than the late Arthur Henderson, but now forgotten. That policy was collective security. It has been abandoned in favour of the opposite policy of sectional war alliances, represented by NATO, and the balance of power and the arms race, whose outcome has always proved fatal. It is time to change this. The new current running through the trade union, labour and co-operative conferences could lead the way towards a new positive policy. A framework for collective security was provided through the United Nations, on the indispensable basis of the co-operation of the leading Powers. The establishment of the American military alliance system and NATO was a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, and the present grave world situation is the result. It is time to return to the co-operation of the Powers, to peaceful co-existence. Britain is not powerless. British-Soviet co-operation could lead the way in restoring co-operation of the Powers and the effective working of the United Nations, including the representation of China; and could rally the nations of the world for the ban on

all nuclear weapons, the drastic reduction of armaments and peaceful East-West settlements. It is the greatest opportunity for British Labour, if only the deadly grip of the H-bomb fanatics can be overcome, to lead the way in the fight for such a policy for Britain, which would represent equally the true interests of the British people and of world peace.

May 12, 1960.

R.P.D.

A BLACK TERCENTENARY

While the B.B.C. is assiduously celebrating the 300-year old restoration of King Charles II and out-doing the newspaper press in its sycophancy to monarchy, the voice of John Milton should once more be heard. Early in the year 1660 the great poet sought in his *Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* to persuade his fellow countrymen against the restoration—'a strange, desperate contagion suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepared for new slavery'. Here are some of his words:

... If we return to kingship, and soon repent.. we may be forced perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and spend over again all that we have spent, but are never likely to attain thus far as we are now advanced to the recovery of our freedom, never to have it in possession as we now have it, never to be vouchsafed hereafter the like mercies and signal assistances from Heaven in our cause, if by our ingrateful backsliding we make these fruitless... making vain and viler than dirt the blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant Englishmen, who left us in this liberty, bought with their lives; losing by a strange aftergame of folly all the battles we have won...

Later in the same pamphlet John Milton warns the people of all lands and not least his own countrymen:

But admit that monarchy itself may be convenient for to some nations: yet to us who have thrown it out, received back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For kings to come, never forgetting their former ejection, will be sure to fortify and arm themselves sufficiently for the future against all such attempts hereafter from the people; who shall then be so narrowly watched and kept so low, that though they would never so fain, and at the same rate of their blood and treasure, they shall never be able to regain what they have now purchased and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any yoke imposed upon them. Nor will they dare to go about it; utterly disheartened for the future, if these their highest attempts prove unsuccessful; which will be the triumph of all tyrants hereafter over any people that shall resist oppression; and their song will then be, to others, 'How sped the rebellious English?' To our posterity, 'How sped the rebels, your fathers?'

MEN OF METAL ON THE MOVE

‘Vulcan’

[The Annual Meeting this month of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions at Llandudno, and of other conferences of unions in the ‘metal industry’, not least that of the Electrical Trades Union at Hastings, give special interest to this article by our Industrial Staff Correspondent.—Ed., L.M.]

FOR two whole weeks—April 25 to May 6—the National Committee (annual national conference) of the Amalgamated Engineering Union was in session. Here fifty-two men delegates and seven women, all working in the factories, have been grappling with the many resolutions sent in by every area and district in the British Isles. Matters of fundamental importance, national, domestic, political and economic affecting the present and the future have been vigorously debated.

This Annual Parliament of the rank and file is possibly the most important gathering of its like held in this country. It represents over a million organised workers, skilled and unskilled men, women and youth. The union will have the dominating vote at the forthcoming annual meeting of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. It plays no small part in the final decisions of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party. Its influence seen and unseen, has a terrific effect on the broad Labour movement, and by virtue of that fact, it has an important role in the social life of the people at home and abroad. No small wonder then, that the ruling class watches with bated breath the daily business of this conference. Before, during and after the conference, the scribes of the newspaper press report and write their versions and interpretations of the decisions reached. In saying all this, we in no way, implied or otherwise, cast any reflection on any other union conference. But not to see and not to fully appreciate the importance of the A.E.U. would be a bad political blunder.

Such a conference calls for the greatest unity between the leaders and the rank and file; but alas! as every day went by, the gap between the platform and the delegates became wider and wider. It is obvious that the President, Mr. W. Carron was completely out of accord with the delegates. His wild incoherent outburst against shop stewards, his horrible, almost illiterate epithets hurled

at the heads of the active militant members,* so incensed the conference that a large minority vote was recorded against his presidential speech being printed as a record of the meeting. This demonstration surely must be without precedent in the whole annals of history in the trade union movement. The delegates went even further in their disapproval of him when later on in the conference they decided to give a £2 a week rise to over 150 of the district full time officials, but not one penny to the President, General Secretary and Executive Council. There is no parallel to this in the existence of the union. Did the delegates mark this down as an appreciation of services rendered to the membership? It seems so.

Similarly, Mr. J. Boyd of the Executive Council, who is also a member of the Executive Committee of the national Labour Party, when speaking against a resolution demanding unilateral nuclear disarmament, proudly stated, according to the *Daily Telegraph*, that he was 'honoured to speak for six sevenths of the Executive Council.' He found himself and the E.C. defeated by a unanimous resolution completely in conflict with the platform and the leadership of the Labour Party. This was the crowning example of how this leadership is far out of accord and out of step with the aspirations and desires of the membership. A unanimous decision for a forward policy against a leadership, whose six sevenths were firmly on the other side of this fence. Mr. Boyd and the Executive Council again found themselves in this unenviable position when the debate closed on Nationalisation and Clause 4 of the Labour Party's constitution. The fact that the delegates rebuffed Mr. Gaitskell in refusing to invite him to the conference is of small importance. What is important is that the delegates unanimously decided in favour of a programme of nationalisation and for the retention of Clause 4.

The gap between the platform and the membership grows wider. The delegates wanted no truck with Mr. Boyd's line on redundancy. He appealed to the delegates to withdraw a resolution from Tyneside protesting at an E.C. instruction to the district committee to allow overtime after eighty workers had been paid off at one firm. Mr. Cellini a delegate from Tyneside said. 'Of course we will not withdraw it. You will have no Tyneside district committee if the resolution is not carried'. The resolution was unanimously

*These were werewolves who are rushing madly towards industrial ruin and howling delightedly at the foam upon their muzzles which they accept ■ the guiding light.' Phrases such as these may in future be called Carronades.

adopted barring overtime working where there is redundancy. It would appear that Mr. Boyd and Mr. Carron are the champion losing speakers and advocates for the E.C. Even on a relatively simple issue of claiming a new status for engineering workers the resolution was carried despite the President Mr. Carron.

The conference expressed itself in no uncertain way how it felt about wages, hours, etc. It unanimously backed demands for a £1 a week increase without any strings and dated from the time of application, for a forty hour week and a further week's holiday with pay. This in itself was an expression of the deep sense of dissatisfaction amongst the membership of the recent settlement of 42 hours a week with no wages increase.

This gives purpose and backbone to the resolution of a general character which the E.C. of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has decided to put to its annual meeting in June; it will no doubt be adopted and become the policy of the forty unions constituting the Confederation.

So the National Committee comes forward, true to its traditions, as a progressive leadership of its members, marking out so to speak, a forward policy and programme for the million members to advocate and fight for in the months ahead. It was meeting at the time when the militancy of the apprentices and youth was at its height in the national stoppage of work embarked upon with so much enthusiasm and determination to bring right out in front of the public's eye the shocking low wages paid to them.

Militancy and organisation has always been the keynote amongst the youth in engineering. Three times in twenty years the youth have engaged in a national stoppage to secure increases in their wage standards—three distinct generations of youth. There is nothing wrong in the youth of today. The traditions and fighting spirit of their predecessors is as strong or even stronger. With this spirit and determination at the bottom, the struggle of trade unionism can never die and never change in its fundamentals. The pity is that the leadership is—of its own volition—right out of step with its membership. It brings into sharp relief the question of what is leadership in democratic organisations? We may return to this theme in a future publication.

Meantime, the working class, at home and abroad have before them a progressive policy on wages, working conditions and social issues, around which a mighty mobilisation can take place bringing forward more and more forces in the march toward Socialism.

'WHAT'S THIS ABOUT KOREA?'

D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

YOU ask me, John, what is at the back of this story about Korea, students and others rioting, the 85 year-old dictator suddenly clearing out, the faked elections being admitted to be faked, a new democratic system proposed, and so on.

To me it is most revealing; but of course when the Korean war broke out in 1950 you were still at school, like hundreds of thousands of other participants in the struggle for peace and in the political and industrial struggles generally. So you want to know. And it is most important that you should know, for the Korean war is even fuller of lessons for all of us than the Spanish war was a few school generations ago.

The obvious lessons of course cover the abominable horrors of war, and the particularly abominable barbarities* practised in the Korean war by the supposedly civilised and cultured rulers of the U.S.A.—barbarities only partly explained by the literally *inhuman* outlook of those who think of human beings whose skin is different in colour from theirs as less than human. The lessons include, too, a belated but important demonstration to the mass of innocent people who are classed as 'non-political'—that is, who in their simplicity believe what they read in the capitalist press—that the socialist and progressive forces of the world have been right all the time in their version of the events which led to the terrible Korean war, of that war itself, and of the subsequent developments under the long and uneasy armistice that followed.

Well, John, let me begin by telling you the hard facts of Korea's recent history.

We can start in 1945, with the knowledge that the thirty-odd million Korean people, who had often been conquered and colonised, were then a Japanese colony. In August 1945, the Soviet forces came down into Korea from the north, and drove the Japanese out. The Koreans—all of them, throughout undivided Korea—immediately set up local people's committees as a start towards establishing a new independent Korean state. As early as September 6, a Congress of these committees was held in Seoul, the capital, and it looked as if the new state would soon be established. But unfortunately, two days later, the U.S.A., horrified at the idea of any

*Amongst these barbarities was the use for the first time of *NAPALM*, an inflammable jelly which burned alive children or anyone else on whom it was cast from an aeroplane. This was much worse than the use of soft-nosed or *dum-dum* bullets which were at one time forbidden. But, as will be seen later, even more horrible devices were used by the rulers of the United States.

country achieving independence with the help of the U.S.S.R. and thus depriving the capitalist world of a profitable field of investment, and of a war base against the Soviet Union, landed troops in Korea from the south, and pushed up to the now famous 38th parallel, an arbitrary line running across the country north of Seoul, and having no more relation to ethnic, industrial, economic, or any other considerations than a straight line from Cardigan to Lowestoft would have in the United Kingdom.

It soon became clear that the Americans had no intention of leaving, and the two divided portions of the country remained divided, with each half trying to develop separately. In the north, the people continued to govern themselves, as they are still doing; their lands were divided among the peasants; the main industries were nationalised and greatly developed; and the country began to prosper. (And today, again, after the appalling and systematic destruction of life and property carried out by the Americans during the years of the war, an unexampled recovery has been achieved, and the country is already prospering again). In the south, the Americans dissolved the people's committees, protected the landlords, money-lenders and factory owners, and brought over in October 1945 a Korean emigré called Li Sing Man (or Syngman Rhee) who had been living in the U.S.A. for no less than forty years, to act as their puppet president.

South Korea never prospered; it was subsidised by the Americans, who invested heavily in its industries; it was ruled dictatorially, with certain democratic semblances, by Syngman Rhee; his government was from the start corrupt, inefficient, oppressive, and unpopular. Even the odd body called UNCOK (United Nations Commission on Korea) with a packed membership drawn exclusively from anti-Soviet and anti-Communist countries, reported officially in August 1949, that press freedom was virtually non-existent, and that in the eight months ending in April 1949, 89,710 people had been arrested under the 'National Peace Protection Act'; and it is interesting that in August 1948, when there was a general election in North Korea, the people in the South, in spite of Syngman Rhee and the Americans took part in the election, the actual percentage voting in the South being 77 per cent.

Early in 1948 the U.S.S.R. suggested a simultaneous withdrawal of Soviet and American troops; the latter refused, and in the following December the Soviet forces withdrew unilaterally. Six months later, the Americans did withdraw the bulk of their forces (because according to the London *Observer*, their Defence Department

The Manchester Trades in 1874

*A Demonstration
to demand the
legal right to
picket*





regarded Korea as 'undefensible in a general war', a revealing glimpse of the reasons for the presence of the troops, and of the aims of American policy generally).

The Americans, whilst 'withdrawing', left enough troops to train and control the South Korean army, which they proceeded to arm and equip, and to build up into a large force. And, from say June 1949 to June 1950, the history of South Korea, as it can be gathered from American and South Korean sources, (carefully concealed from Western readers from the time the war began), is as follows.

Syngman Rhee and his ministers were openly shouting for war against North Korea as—according to them—the only suitable way of re-uniting the country, and were condemning as Communists all who favoured negotiation (an exact parallel to another American puppet of the same advanced age as Rhee, Adenauer, who calls for war against the German Democratic Republic, to unite it by way of 'liberation'). And they carried out scores of military raids across the parallel against the North Korean forces. Opposition by South Koreans to this murderous policy was met by such steps as the prosecution of thirteen members of the National Assembly, who were sentenced on March 14, 1950 to terms of imprisonment varying from 18 months to 10 years for various 'crimes', which expressly included 'opposing the invasion of North Korea by the South Korean forces'. (But Rhee was faced at this period by a general election, held on May 30, 1950, in which 128 of the 210 seats were won by anti-Rhee candidates, and only 45 by definite supporters of Rhee. It was high time for the war diversion, which came within a month).

The Americans, whilst continuing to arm and train the South Korean forces, and to boast of them as 'a fine watchdog over investments placed in this country', and 'a living demonstration of how an intelligent and intensive investment of five hundred combat-hardened American officers and men can train 100,000 men *who will do the shooting for you*' (my italics), were until the end of the period restraining them from actually launching a serious attack on the North (as opposed to raids) by the simple process of keeping them short of ammunition until the Americans might judge the right moment had come.

Then, on June 25, 1950, with the direct approval, uttered on the spot, of John Foster Dulles, the rulers of South Korea were given their heads (and their ammunition) and started the war. Dulles, who was later Secretary of State under the Republican government, was at that time, under the rule of the Democratic President

Truman, merely attached as 'adviser' (an idea which Attlee missed; he never thought of attaching Eden to Bevin); and he told the National Assembly on June 19: 'The eyes of the free world are upon you. Compromise with Communism'—*i.e.*, the peaceful reunion of the whole of Korea under one government by way of negotiation, which was then under discussion—'would be a road leading to disaster'. And he assured his audience of the 'readiness of the U.S.A. to give all necessary moral and material support to South Korea, which is fighting against Communism'.

The evidence against Rhee and the Americans on this crucial question as to who started the war, which was so successfully suppressed in the Western organs of 'information' that it has now become almost an article of faith in the West to assume that the war was started by the North Koreans, was and is in truth virtually overwhelming. It is mostly to be found in American and South Korean sources, and would take many pages to state. I will content myself with one or two small but vivid items; the first is that, within a few hours of the actual start of the war, the well-known journalist and author, John Gunther, then on a journey in Japan with what were described as 'two important members of the occupation'—the American occupiers of Japan—was told by one of the occupants that he had just had a telephone call to the effect that 'a big story has just broken; the South Koreans have attacked North Korea'. (This was later explained as a 'mistake'!) The second item was that, some years later, the Rhee Ambassador in the U.S.A., in a discussion on the radio in New York said: 'That's why we started the war', and when asked for an explanation by someone who thought that the North Koreans had started the war, gave a somewhat laboured explanation which did not detract in the least from his assertion that it was indeed South Korea that had started it.

The next important matter is as to how the United Nations was brought into the war. Within eight hours of the first news of the war reaching Washington, the members of the Security Council who were available were called from their beds, at 3 a.m. By 3 p.m. twelve hours later (still on June 25) the Security Council had met and had pretended to pass a resolution condemning 'the invasion of the Republic of Korea'—*i.e.*, South Korea—'by armed forces from North Korea'. One defect of this resolution was that it was wholly invalid under the Constitution of the United Nations, for such a resolution cannot be passed unless all five permanent members of the Council actually concur, and the U.S.S.R. representative was not present. But its invalidity was in a way not as bad as its utter lack

of any moral or material foundation; for there was no evidence of any such invasion before the Security Council. Every possible effort was made, both at the time and later, to conceal the fact that there was no evidence, not only from the public but even from the members of the Security Council itself! But it is truth quite clear that all that was then known in the U.S.A. in the way of evidence against North Korea was that the South Korean government had asserted that the war had been started by North Korea, and that the North Korean government said the exact opposite; UNCOK, already mentioned, with the advantage of being on the spot and having a complete anti-Soviet membership, did not venture to make for itself any assertion whatever as to what the facts were, and merely contented itself with saying that the South Koreans had asserted it! And of course, the notion that the Security Council should invite the accused North Koreans to give their version before they were condemned was dismissed as old-fashioned nonsense.

The Security Council, two days later, equipped with the same massive ignorance, pretended to pass another (equally invalid) resolution recommending members of the UNO to give military aid to South Korea. The U.S.A. no doubt intelligently anticipating this recommendation, had decided two days earlier to take part.

Thus UNO, which had been established to represent the common aspirations of all parts of the world, in whatever camp they might lie, sanctioned without evidence, without enquiry, without any regard for its own validity, and without any sense of responsibility, a war which was to be carried on in effect by the U.S.A. on behalf of, but in no way controlled by UNO; and that war was destined to bring about the deaths, under circumstances of barbarity unparalleled in history—with the doubtful exception of Hitler—of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, to destroy physically most of a large country, and to create a situation in which only the intelligence and cool-headedness of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic prevented a third world war from starting. (It is only a sort of subsidiary feature that the Americans, seizing the opportunity to experiment on 'Reds', like Hitler and Mussolini experimented with bombing in Spain, tried out the effects of germ-warfare—*i.e.*, of the distribution among the civil population of the bacilli of many deadly and epidemic diseases.)

I could go on and on, John, telling you about this hideous Korean war in all its many phases; but I must not write too much.

The war, after many ups and downs, and after the Chinese were forced into it by the Americans, came to its active end in an armistice which took months to negotiate and has since continued an uneasy existence for years. After the armistice, the two halves of Korea proceeded to rebuild their territories. The North has already magnificently restored its prosperity; the South, under American guidance, has continued its old corrupt and oppressive inefficiency; and this has at last so enraged the population that, in spite of police brutality and shooting that would make even Dr. Verwoerd take breath for a moment, the hopelessness of the Rhee set-up has become so clear that he has abdicated, and a somewhat better constitution is, we are told, to be introduced. The immediate hope is for a beginning of a re-unity of Korea; and the immediate fear is that the Americans, using the old battle-cry that every progressive move must be rejected as Communist, will attempt to fake up some kind of new facade to help it to retain its dominion over South Korea for the purposes of its cold war policy.

That's the position at the moment. We'll wait to see what new problems—and lessons—South Korea brings us. Those it has brought us already are rich enough. One particular one is that distortion, suppression and direct lying have now been carried to such lengths by 'Western civilisation' that, on many vital issues besides Korea generally and germ warfare in Korea in particular, the readers of the capitalist press often accept as unquestionable facts the exact opposite of the truth, even when it involves such obvious nonsense as the story that Chiang Kai-Shek represents the 700 million people of China. And another is that more damage has been caused to human well-being, and more wars and dangers of war created, in the last half-century by anti-Communist and anti-Socialist campaigns than by any previous rascality of the Western ruling-classes.

You can work out the lessons for yourself, John; but don't forget two basic ones; one, that the capitalist racket is doomed, the only doubts and the only anxieties being as to how long it will take to die, and whether the present rulers will set fire to the whole world before they collapse; and two, that we must all work hard to make sure that the doom shall not tarry too long, and that the fire shall not be started.

MORE MEMORIES OF LENIN

Nadezhda Krupskaya

(These recollections of Lenin—Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov—were included by his widow, Nadezhda Krupskaya, in a speech on November 11, 1934 at a meeting of students and teachers of the Communist University of Workers of the East (Moscow). They were published for the first time by Izvestia on January 20, 1960, from the text corrected by Krupskaya herself. On the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth we are pleased to publish them for the first time in English, abridged, especially translated by Andrew Rothstein.—Ed., L.M.)

IN 1894 Lenin published illegally his little book *What Are the 'Friends of the People'?** in which he wrote about the future of the Russian proletariat moving jointly with the proletariat of other countries, by open political struggle along the road to a Communist revolution in which it would lead all the working people. . . Lenin's book was of tremendous importance at that time. But that question of a Communist revolution was something so remote for us then that we did not take much notice of it. The working class of Russia at that time was still extremely weak. The Labour movement was only just beginning. There were only scattered small groups of revolutionary Marxists who understood that the class struggle was necessary. What occupied our attention at that time was how to organise the first steps in that class struggle, how to raise the class consciousness of the workers, and very few even thought about a Communist revolution. But Lenin even at that distant date constantly had the objective in mind.

(After referring to the 1905 Revolution ten years later, when 'our forces were still very small', and the tremendous part that experience played in preparing the way for the 1917 October Revolution, Krupskaya speaks of the years of exile which followed. These are omitted, being fully described in her 'Memories of Lenin', of which a new English edition entitled 'Reminiscences of Lenin' has just been published by Lawrence & Wishart (1960, 8s. 6d.). Her speech continues with an account of how Lenin and she heard in Switzerland the news of the overthrow of the Tsar by the bourgeois revolution of February 27 (Old Style), which is March 12, 1917 of our calendar.)

*A translation, under a slightly different title, is printed in Lenin, *Selected Works* (1950), vol I, part 1.

It was in Zurich, in January 1917, that there was a meeting of the youth, young people of various countries. Speaking at that meeting Lenin said: 'Now is the time when the moment is approaching that there will be a Socialist revolution in a number of countries, and when the proletariat will take power into its hands. But it is difficult to say exactly when that will be'. And he added rather sadly: 'I don't know whether we old ones will live to that time'.*

That was in January, and in February came the first revolution. I remember how we learned about the February Revolution. We had just had dinner. I was washing up. Then we were intending to go to the library. Suddenly a Polish comrade walks in and says: 'What are you sitting here for? There's a revolution in Russia!' Well, of course we forgot everything else and rushed to the lake-side, where all kinds of news telegrams were hung out under an awning. We read them. It certainly was the revolution. Of course it was still a bourgeois revolution. The Tsar had been overthrown, but the power of the landlords and the capitalists still remained. And so Vladimir Ilyich then wrote to the comrades: 'We must now go among the masses in a bigger way, awaken their consciousness, point out that they cannot stop at this, but must carry the struggle further'. . . .

(For many weeks Lenin and Krupskaya tried to get back to Russia, where the Provisional Government was in power, consisting of members chosen (indirectly) by the old unrepresentative Tsarist Duma. Side by side with it was the Council (Soviet) of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, elected in the factories and units of the armed forces. At last they succeeded in reaching Russia and were met by comrades at Belo-Ostrov.)

Talking with them, Vladimir Ilyich asked: 'What do you expect, will we be arrested or not?' No one answered him; they only smiled. And then when we arrived in Petersburg Ilyich saw that the new arrivals were being met by the revolutionary troops; there was a guard of honour; the whole square was flooded with people. That was the moment when Ilyich felt that his dearest wish about a social revolution was close to fulfilment. They put him on a lorry and, addressing himself to the masses, he said: 'Long live the Socialist revolution!'

*The full text of this lecture is available in English in the 'Little Lenin Library', *The Revolution of 1905*.

Now from that moment began the preparation for October.* Lenin studied very attentively what was going on around us. He was listening to what the masses were saying. For that was a time when day and night, in the streets every kind of question was being discussed—the question of the war, the question of revolution. We went to stay with our relatives, Lenin's elder sister. When you opened your window at night and looked out, you would see a soldier sitting in the street and round him workmen, maids, the servants of the house opposite, young people of some kind or other, and all hotly discussing the questions: What are the Soviets? what's it all leading to? will the revolution go further or not? what about the war, should it go on? and so forth. This was what the masses were living through. It was a time of revolutionary upsurge of the masses. But Lenin noted then that the masses yet did not understand that they ought to seize power. And when three weeks later the Party Conference assembled, Lenin said that the main task now was to carry on a work of explanation. He said that it was essential to make the widest possible use of this revolutionary mass upsurge to get them to understand what the Bolsheviks were fighting for and to make it clear that the Bolsheviks were fighting for peace. This slogan—the struggle for peace—was one which united all working people. It brought the village in as well, because after all the soldiers were chiefly from the countryside. And these soldiers who filled all the streets of Petrograd were warmly in favour of peace being concluded. But, Lenin said, we must explain how we can get this and how we want to achieve it. When you carry on propaganda among the masses—Lenin wrote at that time—one must always be very concrete, not talk in general watchwords but explain, give simple and truthful answers to all the questions. One of Lenin's characteristic features was that he knew how to approach the masses very concretely. He never promised anything, never gave any promises, but only said what he himself was thinking. And the workmen said about Lenin: 'He talks to you seriously. . .'

Lenin knew how difficult was the position of the peasants. And so together with the call for peace, he talked about the necessity of putting forward another slogan, that the land should become the property of society. He talked about taking the land away from the landlords. In Russia our peasants hated the landlords perhaps more than in any other country, because it was not only a question of the land being the property of the landlords, but they actually

*The Socialist Revolution took place on October 25 (Old Style), or November 7 (New Style).

farmed it, and in farming it so oppressed the peasants that the peasants hated them particularly, not only as rich people but as their direct oppressors* . . . Therefore the soldiers who mostly were peasants responded particularly warmly to this slogan that the land must be taken from the landlords. The imperialist war had clearly shown that the imperialists, the capitalists, had no thought for the masses and were ready to sacrifice thousands and millions of workers for their own benefit. This the masses could understand. Then there was the question of power, about the necessity of taking it. This question required particularly to be explained. And so Lenin dwelt on the necessity of carrying on this work of explanation. It had a great success, this work that the Bolsheviki undertook, because we chose the slogans which particularly agitated the masses. . . At that time in every house and everywhere people were talking about sacking the capitalist ministers.† Even the children were listening to what the grown-ups were saying. You would see a boy of six playing in the yard. He would set up ten stones in a row, throw another stone at them and shout: 'Down with the ten capitalist Ministers!'

I remember the days of July. I was working in the Vyborg District. We had a conference on cultural work fixed for that day. Representatives from the Machine-Gun Regiment were to come to discuss how to best organise cultural work among the machine-gunners. I waited, but no one came. Then I went to the Kshesinska Palace, where the Secretariat of the Central Committee was. Lo and behold, there were the machine-gunners, marching under arms. . . I remember the following scene: the Machine-Gun Regiment marching and an old workman coming out to meet them, crossing the road in front of them, stopping and bowing with the words: 'Stand up for Soviet power, comrades!'

This action was to a certain extent unexpected by the Party. We discussed the question of what ought to be done, and the Party decided that the action should be stopped. Then the Central Committee gave a directive to all our agitators to restrain this action. You know, when you have to agitate for something to be done, it is easy, but when you have to restrain people from a demonstration it is much more difficult. Everyone who has taken part in the revolutionary struggle knows that it gives much more satisfaction

*The poor peasants (over half of the 12,250,000 peasant households) held about one-seventh of all the land. About 135,000 private owners held over one-third of all land. To eke out a living, the poor peasants had to work most of the year not on their own land but on the landowners' estates—at wages which the latter were for practical purposes free to fix themselves.

†In May, 1917, under pressure from the public, the Provisional Government was reorganised, to take in some Socialists: but it still contained a majority (ten) of capitalist ministers.

when you are agitating, when you are calling for a demonstration and it is successful. But when people want to act, and you have to say: 'No, comrades, you must pull down the barricades, it is not time for that yet, you will have to wait a little for action', that is difficult. And it was very difficult for the Bolsheviki to do this. I remember how one comrade in the Vyborg District, who happened to be working among the machine-gunners, lay down on the sofa and stared at the ceiling for a long time thinking about how he could come and persuade the machine-gunners that they had to surrender. . . .

Then the arrests and the searches began. Lenin after the July days had to go into hiding, because they were looking for him everywhere and trying to trace his movements.

(Krupskaya remained behind in the Vyborg district of Petrograd. But in August, 1917, she went to visit Lenin in Helsingfors, Finland, using the passport of an old working woman to cross the border. She had some difficulty in finding him.)

A fortnight after my first visit, it was already September, I travelled again the same way, with the same passport, in a carriage full of soldiers. Only this time there was quite different talk in the carriage. For example a soldier comes into the carriage and tells us how at Vyborg they had thrown their officers over the bridge. There was a gentleman sitting there with a brief case, and he left the carriage at the very next station. All the way the soldiers were talking about how to take power. You go up to the window, a paper-seller is selling the Cadet paper *Ryech* and you should have seen how a soldier says to the seller, and with what contempt: 'I don't drink out of that bottle'. When I arrived, I told Ilyich about the mood of the soldiers, the mood of the Vyborg workers, and passed on to him all that the comrades wanted him to be told. And, you know, it was quite visible how he immediately plunged into thoughts about the time being at hand, when we should not miss the occasion, when insurrection must be organised. . . .

(She refers to Lenin's famous article 'Will the Bolsheviki Retain Power?'—first printed in England by the Labour Publishing Company (1922), publishers of Labour Monthly. It was written in September, only a few weeks before the October Revolution, setting out what would be the foundations of Soviet power.)

Then he wrote a letter to the Central Committee in which he said: the moment now is such that we have to take power, because the capitalists of Germany want to conclude a separate peace with

Britain, the Provisional Government wants to surrender Petrograd because it does not want to defend a revolutionary city, and now we must not lose the right moment. . . Those long years of emigration when he was studying how revolutions took place in different countries had been of exceptional value to him. Lenin had many times, for example, read and re-read what Marx said about insurrection. He knew the experience of the great French Revolution and the experience of the Paris Commune. Therefore in his letters to the Central Committee he gave the most concrete points; you cannot play at insurrection; if you have decided on it, then you must go through with it to the end. He said what points had to be seized, what bridges occupied, the telegraph and telephone stations, how to tie up with the troops, how to arrest the government and gave a detailed picture of how the revolution must be organised. . . In former days we revolutionaries used to think: 'The people will rise and tyranny will fall',* everything will somehow take place spontaneously. But the strength of the Bolsheviks was that they talked of insurrection and carried it out according to a definite plan, carefully thought out. . . The thing is that by this time the Soviets had already taken the side of the Bolsheviks, they had been sufficiently propagandised.† The Soviets were already for an insurrection. This was also one of the factors which showed that the time for insurrection had come. . .

The Provisional Government existed, but all the troops decided that they would obey the instructions only of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. Of course the situation became more and more acute. The Provisional Government decided to arrest the Military Revolutionary Committee (which included members of our Central Committee), raise the bridges in order to divide the Districts, and then began to draw together the officer cadet units loyal to the Provisional Government around the Winter Palace. The government concentrated its forces at the Winter Palace. In a word it was clear that the time had come when we must either defend Soviet power or be smashed. . .

(Meanwhile Lenin had come from Helsingfors and was in hiding at the flat of a woman comrade in a workers' house, in conditions of strict secrecy. Now the decision of the Provisional Government

*Krupskaya is quoting a line from the last verse of the famous Revolutionary Funeral March mentioned by John Reed in *Ten Days That Shook the World*.

†Throughout the autumn the workers and soldiers were withdrawing their Menshevik, Socialist-Revolutionary and other anti-Bolshevik delegates from the Soviets and electing Bolsheviks, or sympathisers with the Bolsheviks, in their place. In this way, the majorities changed, quite peacefully, in the Petrograd, Moscow and many other Soviets. Similarly the majority of trade unions had elected Bolshevik leaders; and at the 'Democratic Conference' convened by the Provisional Government in September most of their delegations supported the Bolsheviks.

to raise the bridges over the network of canals dividing Leningrad into districts meant interrupting all communications. A messenger came to tell Lenin that the bridges were being raised.)

They had decided between them that Ilyich should leave. He was made up, and had a handkerchief tied round his head; it was all done very clumsily. On the way he lost his hat. . . In short they got to Smolny with great difficulty. Ilyich arrived and began to take a direct part in the leadership of the insurrection. Not knowing anything about this I came to Fofanova's flat and knocked in the way we had arranged. She told me that Ilyich had gone. Then the Secretary of the District, Zhenya Yegorova, and I got a lift on some lorry and went to Smolny. There the impression of the insurrection was so exciting that I do not remember whether I saw Ilyich there or did not. I was thinking about the insurrection. . .

Thanks to such preparedness and forethought the taking of power took place without many losses. The Provisional Government was arrested. Kerensky fled. I must say that we were all very kind-hearted at that time still. Our Red Guards sometimes discussed it in this way: 'Well, even if he is a member of the Provisional Government, he can be let out, he's not active'. And so Kerensky got through somehow while we were looking the other way and a few days later he began an assault on Petrograd. True it was a failure, but it was the beginning of civil war.

All this was taking place simultaneously with the Second Congress of Soviets. And I remember Lenin's speech on the land question. Not far from me was sitting a revolutionary. He was wearing a sheepskin coat, in peasant fashion. And when he was listening to Lenin's speech, his face was somehow particularly lit up. It was obvious that he could see taking shape before him that lifelong dream of which he had thought for many years and for which he had struggled.

ENGELS ON ROBERT OWEN

His advance in the direction of communism was the turning-point in Owen's life. As long as he was simply a philanthropist, he was rewarded with nothing but wealth, applause, honour, and glory. He was the most popular man in Europe. Not only men of his own class, but statesmen and princes listened to him approvingly. But when he came out with his communist theories that was quite another thing.

A NEW TOWN

A. H. Luker

Secretary of Harlow and District Trades Council

HARLOW New Town, situated on the main London to Norwich Road just north of Epping, was one of the first of the new towns following the passing of the New Towns Act by the Labour Government at the end of the last war. As at first proposed, these new towns were to be self-contained units, providing work and social amenities for all living within their boundaries, to relieve the overcrowding of London and other provincial cities. Here was a grand opportunity for an experiment in Socialist planning, but what is the picture today? Harlow, now approximately seventy five per cent complete, with development slowed down to allow for the growth of the present population, still has no hospital or maternity unit, even though it has a birthrate far higher than the national average. A town of young people, but no swimming pool; the local authority, still in its infancy, struggling to raise the cash for a sports arena. But, like Crawley, the problem uppermost in the new town-er's mind is that of employment. Daily, hundreds of people leave the town to travel to work in London or elsewhere, because suitable employment is not available for them locally. Coach hire firms now find it is a lucrative business to run coaches from the town to Fords at Dagenham, Vauxhalls at Luton, and to other centres. London Transport and British Railways are being forced to increase their services to cope with the extra travellers. During last year action had to be taken in a number of factories to prevent large scale sackings because of work shortage. Short-time working in the cabinet industry still faces some of its workers, who find it increasingly difficult to meet hire purchase commitments together with the high cost of living in the new town. The trades council took a leading position in rousing the organised workers to agitate for improved employment prospects. The Development Corporation and Government departments were written to and visited for this purpose. Today, whilst the position has improved it is still unsatisfactory.

Together with the problem of their own employment, the people are now faced with what may become a far more serious problem, suitable employment for their children. Because of the present very unbalanced age structure in the new town, most people are in the twenty-five to thirty-five age group; there is a very high child population who will shortly be seeking employment, at a time when

there will be very few people retiring from work and also when local employers are not too receptive to taking in apprentices. At the start of the 1959 summer holidays some 260 young people left school. By 1964 this number will have increased to 1,420. By the time last year's school-leavers reach adult age some 5,000 children have to be found employment. These figures mean that in Harlow by 1964 there will be approximately 500 per cent increase in the number of school-leavers over last year's figure, compared with a thirty per cent increase in the national figure at the peak year of 1962. The trades council, realising that this problem was coming some two years ago, called a conference of all trade union branches in the town, arising from which local and national press publicity was given to the issue, and a campaign of agitation to have something done was launched. The county Education Authority has now accepted some responsibility for this by appointing a full-time Youth Employment Officer for the town. The Development Corporation have been forced to change their attitude from one of there being no problem, to recognising that there is a problem and that the measures they propose taking will only provide employment for about 80% of these school-leavers. The local Labour movement is by no means satisfied with this and continues to agitate for steps to be taken to provide adequate training and suitable employment for these young people. The local trades council has taken on the active leadership of the trade union movement in the town, striving to build up organisation, rallying support for any section of the movement in struggle, whether it be nationally as with the busmen and printers, or locally with our own employers; continuously struggling to build unity of the whole of the Labour movement in the fight against Tory policy. Last year the first May Day demonstration was successfully held in the town, in which the demand for full employment, adequate social amenities and other new town problems were linked with the demand for peace and an end to nuclear weapons. The experiment in building new towns can be a tremendous success. But this will only happen when the Labour movement, not only in the new towns, but also nationally, take steps to see that this is made the case.

VIEWS OF THE WORLD

Forty Years Ago

WHEN I was about ten years old I was given a shooting game called 'The Sidney Street Siege'. The target was made of cardboard with a facing representing a warehouse building in Sidney Street, London, and at the windows were figures resembling Peter the Painter and his colleagues. A spring gun with wooden bullets was also supplied and I was invited to shoot the 'bandits'. Ten years later, in 1919, while serving in H.M. Forces, I was given a rifle and ammunition and sent to Russia to help in the evacuation of British troops who, we were led to believe, were trying to escape from the Bolshevik 'bandits' before winter set in in the Arctic Circle. Another ten years were to pass before I was to learn why I was sent to Russia and who the Bolshevik 'bandits' really were. That came about through the introduction, by a friend, of a copy of *Labour Monthly*.

One day in July, 1919, the 19th Battalion Machine-Gun Corps was formed up in a square at Shorncliffe Camp, and addressed by the Commanding Officer. Whether it was the weakness of his voice or the way the wind was blowing, I could not catch what he was saying but occasionally heard the word 'Russia' being mentioned. Most of my company were in the same predicament, but we were soon to learn that we had volunteered for service with the North Russian Relief Force that was to be sent out to assist in the evacuation of British troops who had been there for over a year and were now in difficulties. Once we heard that, we were quite pleased to be looked upon as volunteers and be-

sides, there was the seven days draft leave to look forward to.

I well remember my first sight of Russian soil. It looked so grey and not at all inviting but improved a little as we entered the inlet leading to Murmansk. Approaching the quay we passed one of our naval ships, H.M.S. *Glory*. The sight of it cheered us up. Work began almost right away unloading guns and equipment which were carried on to a train in which we were to travel for the next three days to Soroka. That rail journey was to be the strangest one that I have ever made. Apart from the fact that from either side we were liable to attack from the many Bolshevik bands that roamed about, the 'loyalty' of the engine-crew was questionable. One outstanding incident was when the roof of our carriage went on fire and the engine driver refused to stop the train until a few men and an officer crawled along the roofs of the carriages and at the point of the gun compelled him to stop and we were able to extinguish the fire. We arrived at our destination south of Kem and from then onward 'Shank's pony' was our mode of transport.

Our first meeting with the Russian people took place that night when we were billeted in the few houses of the first village at which we arrived. The furnishings of the house I stayed in were the crudest I have ever seen. We found the family of the house very friendly and, in spite of the language difficulty, we managed to exchange food-stuffs to the satisfaction of both parties. The family consisted of an old man and woman, a young

woman and three children. Young men were not to be found, they were either in the ranks of the 'loyal' Russians or Bolshevik Army. Being tired after our long march we soon settled down with our blankets on the floor alongside the family who arranged themselves around the fireplace. When the old lady saw us placing our rifles alongside us she left the room and returned with a double-barrelled gun which she carefully cleaned and loaded and placed alongside herself. She too was taking no chances—but with whom?

From this place we made a few jaunts into the surrounding district but failed to contact the Bolsheviks. During these trips we often had to cross small lakes and, for transportation, fairly large rowing boats were commissioned each having four or six women to do the rowing. It was during one of these trips that a rather unpleasant incident happened. We had almost crossed a lake and were passing a small island thick with trees and shrubbery when one of the women started crossing herself for no obvious reason, and this made us suspicious. The sergeant of our party pulled out his revolver, and threatened her, accusing her of signalling. The rest of us took a more reasonable view and warned him to await developments. The rest of the crew rallied around this woman who was by then in a very agitated state and shouting what I took to be words of abuse at the sergeant. The attitude of the rest of us calmed matters a little and as we got nearer the island the women pointed to a clearing and there were six graves laid out in mound fashion with a wooden cross at each. We were very relieved and glad that common sense had prevailed and we made our apologies as best we could by signs.

Our first engagement took place a

short distance from where we had set up our headquarters. As machine-gunners we were to put up a barrage after which the marines advanced in extended order. Most of these men were of C3 category and had suffered a great deal the previous winter in the Arctic Circle and, although they displayed great gallantry, they were no match for the large number of Bolsheviks they were up against in the approaches to the village. They suffered a good number of casualties and had to retreat. A decision was then taken that a small force of us would have to be left behind while the main body of the marines and our company returned to headquarters. We were supported by a small body of Russians. We had just drummed up a dixie of tea and were settling down to enjoy it when we heard the sound of horses' hooves approaching at the gallop. There were two riders. The first a high-ranking officer in the Russian Army and the other an orderly. On being challenged, the officer shouted that he was General Dadenoff (that is the nearest spelling I can give to what it sounded to me) and added that there was a band of Bolsheviks coming up on our rear. The attack seemed to last for hours, sometimes diminishing to an occasional rifle shot. At last daylight came, the Bolsheviks had retired leaving eight dead, most of whom were young lads of about eighteen who must have been shot while lying down taking cover as the bullet holes were in the crown of their heads. We found that our corporal was missing and immediately started to search for him. On going down the river bank we encountered a wounded Bolshevik coming towards us with his hands up. On reaching him he kept repeating the word 'Comrade' and pointed in the direction from which he came. On scouting around we found the

body of the corporal with a chest and jaw wound and beyond help. The Bolshevik prisoner was handed over to the small body of Russian troops and the last I saw of him he was limping along in their midst. What fate awaited him was very uncertain if the stories we heard were true. Eventually we arrived at our headquarters.

A few days later we took up positions on the top of a wooded hill overlooking a village that was another stronghold of the Bolsheviks. All that we could see was the rounded dome of a church and the tops of some houses which were scattered around it. We put up a barrage then a company of Serbs attacked while two of our bombers flew over the village dropping bombs. The sergeant of the boat incident rather foolishly climbed on top of a boulder to get a better look with his field glasses. Whether from a stray shot or a sniper he received a fatal wound. He lies buried in a cemetery not far from the one which the Russian boat woman so reverently recognised. The last I saw of the church was the dome crashing down in flames. What took place in that village before the close of that Sunday night I will never know but I can well imagine. That job done we returned to our billets and slept peacefully. Soon after we started back to Murmansk, where we immediately boarded the S.S. *Ulua* and sailed for home. Within four months of leaving the Arctic Circle we were on our way to the plains of India, but that is another story that was to school me still further in the ways of British imperialism.

Was our journey to north Russia in the autumn of 1919 really necessary? I am convinced that all that was required to evacuate our troops was an official notification to the

Soviet Government that our troops were withdrawing and that every assistance would have been given. Instead, much bloodshed and millions of pounds had to be spent before the Labour movement succeeded in their 'Hands Off Russia' campaign.

P. G. OLIPHANT.

Students' Action

THE tendency of a section of the 'older generation', holding positions of influence and professing to be knowledgeable, seems to be to condemn young people as not measuring up to the standards which they conformed to when they were young. Youth is now described as being apathetic, callous, indifferent, and a crowd of drifters. As well as giving the diagnosis, many 'experts' also try to explain the cause. Dr. John Burton of the World Health Organisation attributes the 'callousness and exhibitionism' of teddy-boys 'to precocious adolescence resulting from better nutrition, to deprivation of maternal affection, to yearning for stability and gaiety which is supposed to have preceded the first war, and to the normal swing of the pendulum temporarily arrested by the last war'. The Fabian W. I. Rodgers says about the present crop of university students 'they are operators rather than innovators, men and women who will work the system and not try radically to change it'... 'they are sceptical, detached, and busy with their own pursuits. The immediate prospect is that they will stay so'. The fact is of course that young people are quite deeply concerned about changing things, and putting right the chaos at worst caused, and at best tolerated, by the very politicians, businessmen and

others who are their strongest critics. They may not always express their desires in practical actions, admittedly, but in recent months this is in fact increasingly what they have been doing.

To take the most important issue of the moment—nuclear disarmament and the coming Summit Conference. Young people formed the backbone of the Aldermaston March and students were the largest individual group of people, it was estimated. Nor does activity stop merely at a yearly march. From this year's march a group of young people volunteered to carry the banner of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to the Summit Conference and to Geneva—a journey cut short when they were turned back at Calais. Since its beginning student branches of the C.N.D. have been among the most active and a national body, the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was set up as a result. This body was one of the sponsors of an international conference on nuclear disarmament for students and youth just before Easter. 73 delegates and 35 observers from 26 countries attended the conference. 44 organisations were represented, including from Britain, Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Catholic Students C.N.D., Young Friends, Student Labour Federation, Youth Peace Campaign. (The delegation from the Soviet Union was, significantly, refused visas.) Every resolution passed had to be accepted unanimously for inclusion in the policy of the conference, but the policy which finally emerged was well in advance of the C.N.D. policy which so far has been widely supported by youth and in particular by students. The conference, considered as a prime objective a cam-

paign for international agreement between the four atomic powers, for complete nuclear disarmament and demanded an immediate agreement to drop all nuclear tests. It protested against the French tests in the Sahara, demanded the abolition of all nuclear bases, stated opposition to all military pacts, protested against the recent U.S.—Japan Security Treaty and declared its opposition to the arming of West Germany. It urged France and Britain to have no part whatsoever in an interdependent NATO deterrent. While the programme of action for furthering these aims was limited, the policies themselves provide a basis for agreement among very wide sections of youth, as was indicated by the diversity of political ideas represented at the conference. Not only should they increasingly win their place in the existing peace movement but should contribute to its extension. The setting up during the past months of two organisations, the Youth Peace Campaign and the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, has marked the culmination of intensive youth activity for peace, and as a result further and more co-ordinated activity has been possible.

Young people are campaigning not only on the specific peace issue, but also on many other current questions—notably on the racial segregation and apartheid policy in South Africa. Students were among the first to express opinion as an official body on the question of apartheid. At the Council meeting of the National Union of Students in October 1959, a resolution was passed condemning the policy of apartheid applied to South Africa's universities (unfortunately their standard policy is only to discuss questions relating to 'students as such'). N.U.S. also announced its

intention of advising its constituent unions to operate the boycott of South African goods. Following this a considerable number of colleges and universities decided to support the boycott (and carry it through in one degree or another). Throughout the boycott month of March, students and other young people were active in picketing shopping centres and lobbying shopkeepers to agree 'not to buy South African'. Strong protest was aroused towards the end of the month when the Sharpeville shooting and subsequent repressions happened. Students demonstrated all day for several days outside South Africa House following the shooting. At the latest N.U.S. conference in April a Student Committee Against Racial Segregation (S.C.A.R.S.) was set up at an impromptu meeting of 200 delegates. This committee organised a demonstration on May 14 with a view to getting the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference to bring pressure to bear on South Africa to end its murderous policies. This demonstration was attended by 600 students and youth. Apart from these larger campaigns, students and young people are always actively interested in things which affect them more individually—students in demanding better grants, and apprentices fighting for higher wages. Thus students and young people have recently shown that when it comes to important world and national issues, which affect not only themselves but others, they are by no means apathetic. They sense, even if it is only instinctively in many cases, that the present set-up is wrong, and naturally they react against it. It is when they begin to realise what specifically is wrong that they begin protesting actively and positively and do something to bring about change. This

is the reason why youth comes under such heavy fire from these critics who know that potentially, and even actually, youth can bring irresistible pressure to bear on them to change their outmoded policies for programmes of action which can guarantee us and everyone else the future we demand as a right.

JUDY ATKINSON.

(Medical student, Chairman of the London University Union Communist Society.)

Canadian Memories

WILLIAM GALLACHER'S review of *Our Fight for Canada* by Tim Buck brought back memories of the author's wise advice in Canadian affairs, particularly during the economic lunacy of the 'Hungry Thirties' when the Communist programme to solve the anomaly of poverty amidst plenty was met by police bludgeons and jails. The rottenness of capitalism and the need for socialism was proved completely, then as now. Following the economic debacle of 1929, many of us lost our jobs, became social cast-offs in the prime of life. Across Canada nearly a million workers were unemployed, plunged into the depths of misery with poverty, hunger, bread-lines, soup-kitchens and concentration ('relief') camps. From coast to coast, freight trains were loaded with transient workers, driven hither and yon, victims of a social system rotten to the core. I travelled thousands of miles as one of these 'beggars of life' unwanted everywhere. Farmers, too were in a desperate plight, their produce worthless, their land about to be seized by the banks. The Communist Party, led by Tim Buck, did their utmost to organise against

the social rot. There was an abundance of everything to assure the good life for all in Canada. Granaries were replete with grain; packing plants glutted with meat; warehouses filled to the rafters with every kind of goods. Great piles of lumber and building material were available, while equipment for building much-needed roads and highways lay unused. Greatest wealth of all was a skilled, working people eager to build up this vast, new country but forced to live in degradation whilst ample to meet the needs of all was all around them.

The Communist programme called for work at a living wage, building homes, schools, hospitals and highways to end the stagnation. The Social-Democrats (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation) offered pious phrases but no action—'You deserve it if you don't elect us'. The Tory government in office elected on promises to meet the crisis, gave us the police state, poverty enforced by police truncheons, cooked up the Criminal Code to outlaw the Communist Party, arrested its leaders on trumped-up charges and Tim Buck was given five years imprisonment. His speech in his own defence was a lesson to the judge. The Dominion premier then was that 'czar of starvation' R. B. Bennett, later the 'pious' Lord Bennett. Despite his police state, a Communist delegation bearded him in his cabinet den, and demanded work and wages. Bennett

exploding in holy horror 'Where is the money to come from?' showed them the door. The money involved was \$250,000,000 (£60,000,000 then). When the war came some years later, billions of dollars were raised overnight, 'the way of life' of capitalism. The Communist Party ignored illegality, grew until the authorities became jittery. Tim Buck spent over two years in Kingston Jail where an attempt was made by the authorities to murder him. Bullets poured into his cell and only quick thinking saved him when he dived out of range. Yet he organised a Marxist study group in the jail, had eager students. Growing public pressure forced the release of the Communist leaders. Tim Buck made a memorable tour of Canada, the prison pallor still on his face and many of us met him for the first time. We found him to be a real man of the people, a great teacher and example, known to us all as Tim. The book concerns policies that down the years have proved the Communist viewpoint to the hilt. There is one sidelight on the author that deserves to be told. When released from prison, Tim was offered a very lucrative job by the authorities. 'But I already have a good job' Tim told them. 'Oh, what is it, Mr. Buck?' they asked. 'It is secretary of the Communist Party of Canada' answered Tim. Like Willie Gallacher, he could never be bought.

H. G. S.

DOCUMENT OF THE MONTH

DECLARATION OF CONAKRY CONFERENCE

(April 16, 1960)

The second Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, meeting at Conakry, Guinea in April, issued the following declaration:

The Peoples of Africa and Asia whose representatives have gathered here in this second conference at Conakry from 11 to 15 April declare our firm confidence in our moral and spiritual strength arising from our solidarity and our determination to continue unceasingly the struggle for our national independence.

No imperialist machinations can destroy the unity of the African and Asian peoples in the struggle for national independence, freedom and progress. At this vital juncture in world history, we proclaim our unshakable resolve to play our positive and decisive role in shaping the destiny of the world, of which we constitute the great majority, taking mankind along the high road of independence, liberty, prosperity and peace, putting an end to colonialism and imperialism which have brought about injustice, destitution and ruin.

The peoples of Africa and Asia have chosen their way to the realisation of these aims, a way which is clear and precise. The first step along this way is the achievement of national independence. We are determined to destroy all obstacles along this road of freedom and ensure that there shall never be a return to the past.

The second conference hereby reaffirms its adherence to the great spirit of Bandung and reiterates here the ten principles of Bandung:

First, respect for the fundamental rights of man and principles and

objectives of the United Nations Charter.

Second: respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

Third: recognition of equality of all races and of equality of all nations, large and small.

Fourth: abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Fifth: respect for the right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

Sixth: (a) abstention from use of arrangements of collective defence to serve particular interests of any of the big powers; (b) abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries.

Seventh: refraining from acts or threats of aggression or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

Eighth: settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

Ninth: the promotion of cultural interests and co-operation.

Tenth: the respect for justice and international obligations.

We extend our hands of friendship to all men. Nevertheless, long and bitter experiences have taught

us to discern our friends from our foes.

We, peoples of Africa and Asia, declare that we shall never at any price permit our national independence to be made a matter of bargaining. The heroic resistance of the Algerian people is a most eloquent example of this.

National independence implies the fullest control of our own rich resources and potentialities and an end to their exploitation by foreigners and a handful of monopolists. It means an end of domination of colonialism over the Afro-Asian peoples, an end to misery, discrimination and poverty and the beginning of a period of equality for all.

Our struggle for independence and prosperity is at the same time a

struggle for world peace. The Afro-Asian peoples who stand out as a solid force for peace will fight with all our might and resources against military pacts, alignments and all other efforts which seek to destroy through a nuclear holocaust, all that the genius of man has created for the well-being and prosperity of peoples.

We have faith in the future of humanity. We have faith in the intelligence and wisdom of mankind. We are confident that a great era of peace and progress for humanity shall dawn despite all obstacles. In realisation of this new era of fraternity and peace the solidarity of Afro-Asian peoples in the struggle against imperialism and for the building of a new world shall play a more and more decisive role.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

- Power at the Top. Clive Jenkins. MacGibbon and Kee. 293 pp. 21s.
 A Nest of Gentlefolk and Other Stories. (Translated from the Russian: Introduction by Jessie Coulson.) Ivan S. Turgenyev. London University Press. 462 pp. 8s. 6d.
 Der Reichstagsbrand. D. N. Pritt. Kongress-Verlag, Berlin. 79 pp.
 Sociology (The Study of Social Systems). G. Duncan Mitchell. University Tutorial Press Ltd. 174 pp. 11s. 6d.
 Educating Young Nations. W. E. F. Ward. Allen & Unwin. 196 pp. 15s.
 Communism in South-East Asia. J. H. Brimmell. Royal Institute of International Affairs. O.U.P. 414 pp. 42s.
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- China Will Overtake Britain, Niu Chung-Huang. Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1958. 66 pp.
 China Supports the Arab People's Struggle for National Independence. Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. 242 pp.
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 Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the C.P., China. Foreign Languages Press, Peking. 50 pp.
 Rural Electrification in Rapid Progress. Foreign Languages Press, Peking.
 China Beats U.S. in Wheat Production. Foreign Languages Press, Peking.
 Cyprus: The Solution. Movement for Colonial Freedom. 16 pp. 6d.
 Abraham Lincoln and the Working Classes of Britain. The Commonwealth American Current Affairs Unit of the English Speaking Union. 36 pp. 2s.

BOOK

Meeting Soviet Man Manning Clark

Angus & Robertson. 120pp. 13s. 6d.

This book is by an Australian professor of history who in 1958 went to the Soviet Union as one of a delegation of three Australian writers to meet Soviet writers. Bearing in mind that (as pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto*) 'the bourgeoisie has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science'—and of course also the historian—'into its paid wage labourers', we shall not expect Professor Clark to be other than critical of what he saw. All the more remarkable are the concessions which honesty forces him to make.

Professor Clark concedes that in the Soviet Union there is no tipping or other mark of servility—'none of the degradation of the server, none of the embarrassment of the served... no inflaming posters, no reminders of what might happen unless you used a special soap... none of that buffeting of body and mind with which one is surrounded elsewhere... Soviet Man believes in the triumph of the human spirit, not in its defeat: in life, not in death... Wherever one walked, whatever one saw, whether it was the children's reading-room or the microfilm reading-room or the periodicals room, one felt a tremendous uplift, the sense of being with a group of believers away from Western cynicism, madness, despair, and dry academicism... Moscow is the capital city of a society dedicated to end the exploitation of man by man, dedicated to equality, dedicated to end war, dedicated to enlightenment'.

What is wrong then? For of

course something must be wrong. Professor Clark cannot let the Reds get away with it like that. And his answer seems to be literally that the whole thing is wrong. He is rather like the man in the story who went to the zoo for the first time, saw a giraffe and exclaimed, 'I don't believe it'. He has been to the Soviet Union and seen men, women and children striving to build a new world; and his comment in short is that ■ new world cannot be built. Without defeat, despair and all the rest of it we should be lost: it would be 'the end of human history'. And what Soviet Man is trying to do, thinks Professor Clark, is to end history. Success would mean the end of great literature and of great music; for great art exists only to make bearable a life which is other-

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wise unbearable. Fortunately 'such a dream can never come true'.

We have heard this before. It is Nietzsche's horrified wail at the prospect of 'universal, green-meadow happiness of the herd': it is Aldous Huxley's clamour for unhappiness, ugliness and disease as the only way to make life interesting. If Professor Clark likes to align himself with these end-products of bourgeois decay, we cannot stop him.

But even silliness should have limits. Professor Clark relates a

conversation with a Soviet poet who very properly tells him that he does not 'wallow' in 'the bad things in life'. The Professor comments: 'Significantly he did not use the word evil'. In English anyway—I don't know how it is in Russian—'bad' and 'evil' are two ways of saying the same thing. What hair is Professor Clark out to split here? Or is it a metaphysical point too deep for my dull Marxist comprehension?

ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON.

LABOUR MONTHLY

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

JUST BEFORE MUSSOLINI'S WAR

Abyssinia's prominent position in the political news of today surprises none but those who believe that the clash between the Italian native troops and the soldiers of Abyssinia at Wal-Wal was an accident. The outrageous demands of Italy and the consequential tension that these bring are forcing the eyes of the world to focus attention on the matter.

Twice already the Abyssinian and Italian troops have come to blows over territory which the Italians claim as their own. The proposed indemnity demanded by Italy from Abyssinia and her acknowledged salute to the Italian flag, would, even if Abyssinia acquiesced, be just a mere prelude to the dictator's intention of making Abyssinia a protectorate of Italy.

What other intention could Mussolini have? What other purpose can he have in mind for the mighty call to arms he has sent out?

(J. W. SMITH, 'Abyssinia—Italy's Manchukuo?' *Labour Monthly*, June, 1935.)

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(Continued from page ii of cover)

of L.M.'s at a 'smoker' and was around the room with them and back sold out before the next song was called). I talked to many leading Labour Party members in Scotland (and later in Lancashire) discussing how to strengthen and improve L.M. Their view of it was most strikingly expressed, I think, by the national officer of a large union, who said: 'The magazine is so much respected amongst us because it has a class viewpoint on every topic. That's why it is indispensable for any real Socialist'.

From Perth I sped southwest to spend the night in Glasgow; but before midnight I was cheered beyond expectation by meeting there some of the grand new generation of engineering and shipyard apprentices, whose strike had covered the whole of Scotland and was then spreading further. Thence 200 miles south to Lancashire and Cheshire, to meet shop assistants and engineers busy at their annual conferences (and both knocked their platform for six on peace and the H-bomb). Impossible to detail here all the events at which 'L.M. was in the van', in every sense;

but they included factory gate, pit-head and a variety of meetings in Manchester, Oldham, Woodford, Stockport, Blackpool, Blackburn, Salford—yes, and Eccles, for ever associated with one of the fathers of scientific socialism. Here for twenty years Frederick Engels stuck to the grind, helping Karl Marx in a multitude of ways. What one man of Eccles, Manchester, thought then, many millions have proved true today, and more will tomorrow.

This is just a brief outline of a fortnight's tour which supporters of the Out-With-The-Manager fund made possible. Soon we shall see the fruit in many ways, I hope, of the discussions with convenors of some of Britain's biggest workshops, with trade union secretaries and presidents at national, district and branch level and a vast variety of other readers. Not least significant was the decision (although only here and there) to establish regular fund-raising on a collective basis. The need for this is obvious when we see that, following the great triumph of the March record fund, the April total is unduly modest.

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Labour's Nuclear Policy

is discussed by W. Wainwright



What's this about Berlin?

D. N. Pritt, Q.C. gives the answer



**AFTER PARIS—
WHAT NEXT ?**

by R.P.D.

Shirley Graham

on

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A POLICE ROW

SEVENTY YEARS ago this month there was a strike amongst the Metropolitan Police. Unlike the police strikes of 1918 and 1919, which get a mention in the history books and adult education syllabuses, this strike of 1890, with the scenes at Bow Street in Covent Garden pictured on pages 312-3, is quite passed over. But in the pages of *Commonweal*, organ of the Socialist League, the story is told of how in 1890 discontent was growing in the Metropolitan Police Force over pay, hours and pensions. A new factor was that police duties had included chivying socialist propagandists as well as dockers and gasworkers on strike. Many 'in the course of their duty' had been listening to speeches from such people as John Burns, Tom Mann, Ben Tillett, William Morris, Bernard Shaw and Eleanor Marx. Discontent was first concentrated on police pension rights. A Chief Commissioner who had shown himself too sympathetic to the men was sacked by Mr. Matthews, the Home Secretary. He was replaced by Sir Edward Bradford, who is thus described in *Commonweal*: 'This martinet, fresh from bullying and ill-treating the natives of India, directly he attains office begins his reign of despotism—by issuing an edict forbidding the men to hold public meetings to discuss their grievances ...' This ban was aimed at an all-London delegates' meeting of the police. When the men at Bow Street tried to elect their delegates the chief inspector suspended two men; the rest refused to turn out for night duty until the two were reinstated.

Some 400 delegates arrived at Bow Street, only to find their meeting proclaimed. After an excited gathering on the pavement outside—during

which an inspector ordered them to move on and threatened to run them in—they adjourned to the Police Institute and sent in a respectful petition asking for leave to meet at Bow Street the following week. Their petition was contemptuously rejected. Upon this a Circular was sent out by a Bow Street constable urging all divisions to 'make known to your men' that they had a perfect right to petition. Forty men were suspended, some were summarily dismissed and on Monday, July 6, the astounding news appeared in the press that a strike would start that night. Thereupon many Londoners rallied to Bow Street to see what the 'peelers' would do. The strike took place: policemen stayed inside Bow Street, refusing to turn out for duty, and forcibly held back a few black-legs. Outside the crowd cheered and sang the *Marseillaise* 'with immense vigour'. *Commonweal's* account continues: 'But soon a change came over the spirit of the scene. The mounted men were ordered out. They charged up and down, headed by a superintendent who was evidently labouring under a fit of temporary insanity, during which he could do nothing but shout "Ride over them! Ride them down!" This brutality infuriated the people; they hooted the mounted men, calling them "black-legs". The ruffianly police grew savage, and they charged on the pavement, trampling down men, boys and women. Stones then began to fly and the crowd, enraged in their turn, struck fiercely at the police with sticks and umbrellas. Missiles of all kinds were showered upon them. . . . Meanwhile the foot police did nothing; they stood and quietly watched the scene, while from the windows of the station policemen waved their hands to the crowd. . . . The swells in carriages coming from the opera had a very warm reception;

(Continued on page iii of cover)

Notes of the Month

After Paris - What Next?

Here we have absolutely naked imperialism, which does not even consider it necessary to conceal its nakedness in any way, thinking that it is splendid enough as it is.

Lenin on American Imperialism (Collected Works, Vol. XXXI, p.416, Russian edition.)

A DECADE and a half ago the flight of the V2 heralded the last thrust of Hitlerism before its final downfall. Today the flight of the U2 has signalled the desperate offensive of the cold war fanatics to prevent peace. Nothing is to be gained by underestimating the precarious and dangerous character of the international situation which

has now opened. Writing last month on May 12, before the Heads of State had gathered in Paris, we noted the 'far from favourable auspices' for the projected Summit Conference, and even 'doubts on its being held'. This anticipation, unfortunately fulfilled, required no special insight. For the preceding year and more the meaning of the too long delayed Summit Conference had been steadily whittled away by the successive protracted 'Western Summits' proclaiming on every issue rigid inflexible positions on which no negotiation would be permitted. Under these conditions the Summit could at best only have been a first contact towards future negotiation. But we did not anticipate the mailed fist violence of the strategy finally adopted by the enemies of the Summit to prevent its being held.

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A New Stage in Cold War Strategy

No parallel to the present extraordinary situation revealed at Paris can be traced in the whole eighteen years since the cold war was originally planned by the Anglo-American leadership in 1942. The cold war may be regarded as dating from 1942, since 1942 was the year of the Churchill Memorandum on the key strategic aim to prepare for a future Western conflict against the Soviet Union. 1942 was the year of the initiation of the 'Manhattan Project' for the construction of the atom bomb with regard to which General Groves, who was in charge, has subsequently stated that he understood from the outset that its real purpose was against the Soviet Union. 1946 was the year of the public inauguration of the Anglo-American cold war, when Churchill's Fulton speech was delivered with Truman presiding. During all these years the widest variety of forms of cold war have been preached and practised by its exponents, including the extremes of brinkmanship and excursions into regional hot wars. All these ventures have ended in failure, not least the dream of atomic monopoly. Hence the increasing trends of sober statesmanship to recognise the necessity for negotiation, and the increasing desperation of the cold war fanatics to find some means to throw a spanner in the works and prevent negotiation for peaceful co-existence.

Beyond the Wrecking of the Summit

This is the situation in which the decision on the eve of the Summit Conference to commit the U2 aggression into the heart of the Soviet Union takes on a special significance far beyond its immediate effect. For this decision was taken with the knowledge, as Defence Secretary Gates has since made clear in evidence, that it could give rise to 'an international incident'. At first the resulting international incident appeared to be failing to wreck the Summit, owing to the pacific attitude of the Soviet Union, which expressly stated that the incident of this aggression, though grave, should not be allowed to interfere with the proceedings of the Summit Conference, but should be regarded as the indiscreet action of a subordinate to be disclaimed (in the usual way, as with Commander Crabbe). Thereupon a new and provocative decision of a far graver character was taken by the American authorities, calculated to force a crisis. This was the decision of President Eisenhower, after full consultation with the heads of the Intelligence Agency, the State Department and the Chiefs of Staff, to uphold this

admitted violation of international law as authorised and justifiable. It is obvious that this decision takes on a significance far beyond the immediate effect on the Paris meeting. It is not only significant because it wrecked the Summit Conference. It is of continuing present significance as a new and extreme stage of cold war strategy without previous parallel. The understanding of this new stage of cold war strategy is the key to the understanding of the new and more advanced stage of the fight for peace which now opens.

A Revealing Controversy

A resounding controversy has followed the Paris fiasco. The accusation of 'wrecking the Summit Conference' has been expressed on both sides. The charge has not only been expressed by the representatives of the socialist camp and supporters of peace against the American militarists who in fact dispatched the U2 and have since insisted on their right to commit aggression. It has been expressed no less vehemently by Western propagandists against the victims of aggression on the grounds that the latter demanded the repudiation of such aggression. The issues of this controversy, and the question of what really happened at Paris, are dealt with by our diplomatic correspondent Quæstor elsewhere in this number. We do not need to pursue the details of this controversy further here.

Drawing the Lesson

But the fact that the accusation of wrecking the Summit Conference has thus been made the centre of controversy since Paris is evidence of the universal recognition by all, irrespective of political colour, that the hopes of the peoples in all countries were turned towards the Summit Conference, and that the breakdown has been a source of deep disappointment for all the peoples and of just anger against those responsible. The flaming anger of Khrushchov at Paris has been made the main count in the Western indictment against him (since on the actual issue it has to be admitted that he was in the right). On the contrary, it is the main certificate in his honour, just as the smooth-spoken smug consciously lying complacency and self-satisfaction of the others betrayed them. In the downfall of the Summit one man at the top was genuinely angry. One man expressed the genuine feelings of the people. This blazing anger was the just anger of the honest man who cared about the Summit, finding himself in the midst of

glib-tongued, double-dealing, deliberately and admittedly lying spivs and crooks, or subservient satellites who in docility to their gangster big chief dared not speak aloud the truth they knew and admitted in private.

From Anger to Action

But anger and disappointment are not enough. It is necessary to move on, just as Khrushchov and the Soviet Union have moved on to the new proposals for peace and disarmament. Certainly the lesson of Paris needs to be learned. But the militarist cold war offensive which wrecked the Summit is continuing in new forms and threatening further aggression, as at this moment in East Asia. Nuclear arms, including the projected Polaris, are being handed to Adenauer. A 24-hour Anglo-American nuclear alert has been ordered. No time can be lost for the peace movement to gather its strength in order to meet the new conditions. For this purpose it is essential to recognise and define the new factor, which now confronts us since Paris, and which governs the new conditions in the fight for peace.

New Doctrine of the Right of Aggression

What is this new factor? All the infantile prattle about 'espionage' in general ('everybody does it', 'we are men of the world', 'why all the fuss?') is a transparently insincere attempt to cover up the glaring new fact. 'It was hypocritical of Khrushchov or anyone else to complain of spying as such, since we all do it' (Kingsley Martin, *New Statesman*, May 28, 1960). So, too, the comedy of Lodge's production of the plaque and microphone in the United Nations debate (the original being variously reported in the press to date from 1955, 1952, 1946, 1943 and even 1936). Under cover of this irrelevance the attempt is made to conceal from view the real question of air aggression. Similarly the claim that the practice of these flights for four years and Soviet knowledge of these flights proved that there was no new issue relevant to the Summit Conference. On the contrary, the Soviet Note explicitly made clear that the mere fact of the flight, however serious, should not be an obstacle to Summit negotiations. It was only when, in place of the normal face-saving diplomatic disavowal and apology (as in the case of the American bandit planes caught over Indonesia and Cuba) the United States Government finally decided, after the exposure of the 'weather plane' and 'off course' lies, and after a

long consultation of Eisenhower and Dulles, to proclaim the right to commit air aggression, in defiance of international law, and insisted on maintaining this right, even at the cost of killing the Summit Conference, that a new situation was created. The last-minute offer to suspend such flights for a few months only emphasised the claim of the right to resume them at any time thought fit. Under these conditions negotiation for peace became impossible until this new doctrine of the right of aggression could be repudiated. A previous question has been raised—the question of the right of aggression. This is the new question which now confronts the peace movement.

A Menace to All Countries

The stark, brutal, glaring new fact of the present international situation since Paris needs to be stated very plainly—for every device and trick is being used to hide it from the consciousness of the people. It is not a question of a past controversy about what happened at Paris. It is a present fact. The United States today, since Paris, officially, publicly and on the highest level claims the right to invade any country at will, 1,200 miles into the interior, in open and proclaimed defiance of international law, with a plane capable of carrying a nuclear bomb (and the invaded country cannot of course know whether or not the particular illegal unnotified plane is carrying a nuclear bomb, until it is too late). It is obvious that acceptance of this doctrine would place every country at the mercy of the United States. It is obvious that this doctrine is a public menace, not merely to the Soviet Union, but to every country in the world. It is equally a menace to the invaded country, which could be destroyed at will by the United States aggressor plane without any declaration of war or means of defence. It is equally a menace to the country unwise enough to permit American bases on its territory, from which the aggressor planes can take off.

Base Accomplices

For it would be vain to plead, as Pakistan sought to plead, that it could not be responsible for where the American planes departed to from its bases. The acceptance of the American bases or military occupation constitutes the responsibility, and makes the country an accomplice in aggression and a target. Hence the protests of Pakistan and Norway. Mr. Gaitskell would do well to consider the significance of these protests before he dares to talk of the 'defence'

of Britain in connection with NATO and the American bases. When Premier Khrushchov insisted on the repudiation of this doctrine of the right of aggression as a prior condition before negotiation could begin, he was making a stand, not only for the defence of the Soviet Union, but for the defence of every country in the world, for peace. It now becomes the urgent concern of the whole peace movement, and of all peoples standing for peace, to compel the speedy repudiation of this new American doctrine of the right of aggression, in order to open the path for further negotiations. But the fulfilment of this fight will necessarily involve the fight (as the further development of the present discussion in the Labour Party and trade unions and peace movement in Britain is increasingly making clear) against the whole system of American bases, nuclear strategy and sectional war alliances. The tangled web of cold war aggression is not easily separated into its component parts.

Farewell to Legality

Aggression is nothing new from the practitioners of the cold war. Ceaseless aggression, invasion, military occupation and local wars in every part of the world have been conducted by Western, and especially American, imperialism during the past decade and a half since the end of the second world war. But hitherto every aggression, even the most violent, has been covered under a pretence of legality and of respect for international law. Thus the war of aggression and invasion by American imperialism and its satellites against the Korean people was stated—falsely, to have been authorised by the United Nations, on the basis of the in fact illegal vote of the Security Council.* Similarly with the whole ugly brood of NATO, SEATO and CENTO. All are sectional military alliances, expressly forbidden by the Charter of the United Nations, unless directed against Germany or Japan. But the shamefaced attempt was made to 'prove' their legitimacy, at first as 'regional pacts' permitted by the Charter. Then it was discovered that the Charter expressly forbade regional pacts to have any rights of independent decision for military action. Hence the official line has become to offer the fantastic sophistry of treating them as covered by Article 51 on collective self-defence *after* an attack (although military alliances before an attack are forbidden).

* See D. N. Pritt, Q.C., 'What's This About Korea', *Labour Monthly*, June, 1960, for a summary of the unchallengeable facts about the Korean War, which are kept hidden from people today under cover of a lying myth, as with virtually every episode of the cold war. Attention is also called to D. N. Pritt's article giving the truth about Berlin in the current issue

Similarly with the ceaseless acts of aggression in the Far East and the Middle East. The new feature about the U2 aggression and the decision of the American Government to justify it is that for the first time no attempt has been made to find the flimsiest legal pretext for this admitted violation of international law. The justification has been officially stated to be military necessity and the strategic interests of the United States.

A Hitlerite Landmark

Thus the new declaration of policy of the United States Government, following the U2 aggression, represents a landmark of Hitler-type significance in the development of the cold war strategy—a landmark comparable to the moment when Hitler first threw off the initial cloak of pretended respect for international legality, and ostentatiously withdrew from the Disarmament Conference and League of Nations. The plea of justification of air aggression in defiance of international law has been framed to present it as supposedly indispensable for defence against the menace of 'surprise attack'. The innocent might imagine that the menace of 'surprise attack' arises rather for the country which is invaded by the American plane than for the aggressor. But it is characteristic of the one-way egoism of the American military mind that it could not even contemplate the possibility of the victims of aggression having any objection to being subjected to the real (not imaginary) menace of 'surprise attack'. In practice, however, the early official plea of 'defence' was soon dropped, like the previous official pretences about the 'weather survey' and 'off course' and the 'loss of oxygen' and the 'civilian' character of the plane (oddly enough, when President Eisenhower announced his decision in Paris to suspend the flights, he gave the lie to his own previous insistence on the 'civilian' character of the plane by announcing that he had given his instructions to this effect to the Defence Air Secretary and Air Chief of Staff). By the time that Allen Dulles was giving his evidence to Congressional leaders, he made clear, according to the American press, that the object of the flights was 'primarily designed to pinpoint targets for the Strategic Air Force' (*Sunday Times*, May 29, 1960), *i.e.*, that the object was offensive.

'Not Kennt Kein Gebot'

The doctrine of 'military necessity' and 'strategic interests' to justify aggression and override international law—now openly pro-

claimed by the present American ruling group of President Eisenhower (always assuming that his words can be treated as his own, or that he knows the meaning of what he says), Allen Dulles and the Central Intelligence Agency, and General Twining and the Pentagon Chiefs—has a long and in modern times somewhat notorious history. This was the familiar doctrine proclaimed by Hitler in his aggression and the second world war whenever he found it necessary to invade Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, the Balkans, or eventually the Soviet Union, in order to 'forestall' a 'surprise attack'. This was the doctrine equally proclaimed by German imperialism at the outset of the first world war, when the German militarists invaded Belgium in 1914 in violation of international law and of the treaty obligations guaranteeing Belgian neutrality signed by Germany, and Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg justified the aggression on the grounds that '*Not kennt kein Gebot*' 'Necessity knows no law.' Thus this doctrine of 'military necessity' overriding international law to 'forestall surprise attack' has already ushered in two world wars. Now that this same official doctrine has been officially adopted, along with so much else of the Hitler-Goebbels-Krupp Axis 'Anti-Comintern' paraphernalia and slogans, by the American military and political chiefs (with official Britain's acquiescence), let us be on guard to make sure that it does not usher in a third.

On Guard

There is no excuse for illusions. The militarists who have been caught red-handed, and who have had to admit and glory in their aggression and violation of international law, are now in the position of convicted criminals. They have lost their mantle of respectability. Their most solemn official statements are by their own admission lies. Indeed, Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and in charge of the inquiry into the U2 incident, has publicly stated that the main error of President Eisenhower was that he failed to go the whole hog and insist that the whole U2 incident was an invention and fabrication by the Russians. Their credit has fallen to zero. The peoples are rising against them, even in the hitherto most 'reliable' satellite territories. The peoples are rising against the imposed dictators who have turned their countries into American bases and arsenals or mercenary recruiting grounds. In Turkey they have driven out Menderes. In South Korea they have driven out Syngman Rhee.

In South Vietnam they are rising against Ngo Diem. In Japan against Kishi.* Even in Britain, long-suffering docile Britain, the revolt in the Labour Party against the H-bomb and Gaitskell's subservience to the United States is the national expression of this universal movement (and it is characteristic that Gaitskell, like the reactionaries in every country, has sought to exploit the successful torpedoing of the Summit as a bull point for his campaign for nuclear strategy). In these circumstances we must be prepared for new and more reckless aggressions from the American militarists and their accomplices. For they know that time is against them.

Cui Bono?

When a murder has been committed, and the identity of the murderer is in dispute, the old legal maxim raises the question *Cui Bono?* Who gained? Since the killing of the Summit Conference has been universally recognised by all commentators as murder, but the responsibility is in dispute, it may here also be useful to apply the same old legal maxim. Who profited by the wrecking of the Summit Conference? The arms manufacturers, we know. Who else? There is no doubt about the answer. The strongest open opponents of a Summit Conference were the American militarists, Adenauer Germany and the protagonists of the cold war. On the very eve of the Conference President Eisenhower was expressing doubts whether he would go, and Secretary of State Herter was throwing cold water on the whole idea as one to which the U.S. Government had only agreed because the British and French Governments had pressed for it and from which no useful results were to be expected. The hostility of Chancellor Adenauer was even more open.

'The End of Summitry?'

After the successful torpedoing of the Conference the satisfaction of these same quarters has been unmistakable, even behind the smokescreen of pretended indignation and accusations against the Soviet Union. This has not only been visible from the West German press or the unrestrained jubilations of the American military chiefs. Also in Britain, which had most to lose from the breakdown (for the breakdown was in fact a diplomatic defeat for

*The cancellation of the Eisenhower visit enforced by the Japanese people (surely unique as a rebuff to a 'Head of State') took place on June 16 after these Notes were written. It did not surprise readers of *Labour Monthly* which alone amongst political magazines, last winter forecast the storm blowing up in the article 'Japan Today' (November, 1959) by Sanzo Nosaka, chairman of the Communist Party of Japan, who was one of our original contributors in 1921.

Britain and the policy of Macmillan, who had staked everything on the Summit, but was impotent because he feared to free himself from the American straitjacket), the satisfaction of influential reactionary circles found expression in the leading Conservative organ:

Should we regret the collapse of the Summit Conference? We may deplore the circumstance, but approve the fact. For if the Conference had 'succeeded', it could have done so, in all probability, only from the Russian point of view. *(Daily Telegraph, May 20, 1960.)*

A week later the same Conservative organ was expressing in an editorial under the title 'Replacing Summitry' the hope that no Summit Conference would take place 'for many years':

Summitry has once again suffered a crippling blow. Versailles, Munich, Yalta and now Paris—the record of Summitry surely rules out any return to this method for many years. *(Daily Telegraph, May 27, 1960.)*

Short-Term Jubilation

Thus in a short-term calculation the torpedoing of the Summit fulfilled the hopes and desires of the aggressive military cold war circles, and in that sense could even be regarded by them as a tactical victory. But a longer term calculation would show a different significance for the outcome. For the outcome has in fact powerfully exposed the aggressive strategy of the American militarists and cold war politicians, and has thereby further mobilised and strengthened the fight of the peoples for peace against the war plans of the imperialists.

Bellicose Moves and Threats

What is the picture of the world after the Paris breakdown? From the side of the Western powers, a hurricane of new moves to speed up the cold war and the arms race and prepare new military adventures. Britain's Minister of Defence hastens to the United States to purchase the Skybolt pig in a poke. U.S. army chiefs publicly urge that Polaris must be supplied to West German Neo-Nazism since its range could reach into the heart of the Soviet Union. The U.S.-Japanese Military Treaty is rushed through against the mass resistance of the Japanese people. A special U.S. 'strike force' of 120 planes is dispatched to South-East Asia, alongside strengthened U.S. military control and reinforcements in South Vietnam and Laos (in violation of the Geneva Agreements), and the parallel dispatch of parachute units of the British Strategic Reserve to Singapore. 'Britain and the United States are quietly

preparing for a flare-up in the Far East' (*Evening Standard*, June 7, 1960), Anglo-American plans are announced for a 24-hour continuous H-bomb patrol to ensure 'considerable forces within striking distance of Russia all the time' (*Daily Telegraph*, June 13, 1960). Once, such mobilisation would have been considered the next step to war. With the hazards of modern planes, carrying H-bombs, it would be difficult to imagine a device better calculated to bring within view at any moment the possibility of an explosion.

Soviet Disarmament Plan

From the side of the socialist world the first new step since the Paris breakdown has been the presentation of the new Soviet disarmament plan, elaborately worked out and devised to meet all the Western objections to general disarmament as set out in the original draft. Thus for example the new draft proposes that the very first stage should include the destruction of all missiles and banning of all means of delivery of nuclear weapons (*i.e.*, the sphere in which the Soviet Union has the most marked superiority) at the same time as the dismantling of all bases on foreign soil (which have in any case now become vulnerable and of diminishing military value). Similarly the proposals for the fullest control and inspection have been elaborately worked over to meet every point raised by the West. On the question of the Summit Conference, emphasis is laid on the necessity to continue to work for this aim, as soon as the West is ready for peaceful negotiation. 'We can wait.' The vast adjustments involved in the demobilisation of the two million soldiers and officers and their harmonious integration into civilian life and production continue (one of the comic features of the Western mock 'disarmament' plan was that it proposed as a first stage, not only no disarmament at all, but 'limitation' of armed forces to a figure higher than the existing Soviet armed forces). The Seven-Year Plan is reinforced with the preparation of a Twenty-Year Plan, holding out perspectives unparalleled in history which now draw within reach through the organised use of resources for human benefit. A contrast indeed to the nuclear frenzies of the Western militarists. Two worlds. Two ways of life.

A New Stage in the Fight for Peace

The new bellicose moves of the West since Paris are not a sign of strength, although the sharpest vigilance and reinforcement of the popular fight for peace is needed against the menace they repre-

sent. Like the reckless adventure of the U2 aggression, and the subsequent torpedoing of the Summit Conference, all these moves are rather a measure of the increasing weakness and consequent dangerous desperation of the cold war militarist forces, as they see the balance of the world moving inexorably against them. But it is essential for supporters of peace to draw the lesson of Paris and recognise the new stage of the fight for peace which now in consequence follows. Previously the simple essential theme was to present the necessity for negotiation for peaceful co-existence in place of the cold war and nuclear strategy. The experience of the Paris breakdown has shown that it is necessary to do more. It is necessary to take effective steps to end the present aggressions of the cold war in order to establish the conditions for peaceful negotiation. The fight for a future Summit Conference and for the future aim of peaceful co-existence cannot be separated from the fight against the present practice of the cold war and nuclear strategy, against the American bases and aggressive NATO menace. If this lesson is taken to heart and acted on by supporters of peace throughout the world, then the outcome of the Paris breakdown will be a new and strengthened advance of the fight for peace.

June 14, 1960.

R.P.D.

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LABOUR'S NUCLEAR POLICY

William Wainwright

WHAT is Labour's 'new' nuclear policy? It turns out to be a rehash of the old right-wing line of backing for the Pentagon and its nuclear strategy. In no respect does it meet the rising demand for a change. Far from improving the security of this country it puts Britain even more at the mercy of the American militarists. It even limits its objection to the nuclear arming of Western Germany to 'the present circumstances'. There is nothing in the document to give the Pentagon a moment of worry or to disturb the Tory Government.

In past years Labour's right wing used the fraudulent argument as in their 1955 resolution* that Britain must not be dependent on the U.S.A. for nuclear weapons. Even as recently as the March 1 Defence Debate, Gaitskell was still perpetrating the same fraud, saying that without nuclear weapons of our own he feared 'that an excessive dependence on the United States might force upon us policies with which we do not agree'. The Blue Streak fiasco knocked the bottom out of the case that British nuclear weapons could make us less dependent on the U.S. and a more potent force for peace in the world. But does Gaitskell accept the logic of his own argument? By no means. He merely stands on his head and argues the very opposite. The new statement now urges that Britain *must be* dependent on America for nuclear weapons, and in doing so proves beyond shadow of doubt the fraudulent character of all the previous arguments that British nuclear weapons were needed to preserve British independence.

The reasons the right wing gives for supporting the nuclear strategy have nothing to do with the truth. The real reasons are contained in the essential elements of right wing aims which may be summed up as: support for the Pentagon's nuclear weapon campaign against Socialism; commitment to NATO and rearmament of West Germany; and the aim of a bipartisan foreign and defence policy with the Tories. All the right wing arguments are merely devices to conceal these real aims and to divert attention from the real danger. Participation in NATO and other aspects of the

*'Labour believes that it is undesirable that Britain should be dependent on another country for this vital weapon (the hydrogen bomb). If we were, our influence for peace would be lessened in the councils of the world. It was for that reason that the Labour Government decided on the manufacture of the atomic bomb and that we support the production of the hydrogen bomb in this country.'

March 30, 1955. Labour Party Executive Resolution.

Pentagon's policy have been sold to the movement as steps which are needed because of an alleged Soviet threat to peace. But the tide of events has steadily eroded the false foundations of this policy and exposed the 'big lie' of the Soviet threat.

Year by year it has become more difficult for the right wing to defeat the opponents of the tie-up with the Pentagon. Last year the 'non-nuclear club' was produced (have three words ever concealed a bigger lie?); the year before a Declaration accompanied by a Strachey-Gaitskell pamphlet. This year, four scribes—Messrs. Healey, Crossman, Brown and Morgan Phillips—have taken part in the annual period of gestation, rehashing the old stuff to make it look as new, hoping that what is produced will look more attractive in the eye of the beholder than the 'non-nuclear club' which was dead before even the ink was dry. This time the right wing faces greater problems than ever in finding new arguments to bolster up its old discredited policies. The 'big lie' of the Soviet threat is exposed. More people see that the threat to peace comes from the U.S.A. and that the drive for peace comes from the U.S.S.R. More people see that to be tied up with the U.S.A. brings terrible dangers of nuclear war by blunder or deliberate plan dragging us in without a chance to say no. How on earth to keep the movement backing the Pentagon and nuclear weapons in these circumstances—especially when the Pentagon, after the U2 flight and other provocations is becoming the most hated and distrusted organisation in the world?

Thus at the moment when there is greater understanding than ever that the fight to rid Britain of nuclear weapons needs to be linked with a fight to end the tie up with NATO's nuclear strategy and to close the American bases here, Gaitskell and Co. are emerging as the chief campaigners on the Pentagon's behalf in Britain to preserve the NATO nuclear war alliance and to keep alive the 'big lie' of the alleged Soviet threat. As a cold war propagandist Gaitskell has become more active on this subject these days than the leading Tories. This, however, is not making his policy easier to swallow. His fictions about Soviet aims do not correspond with the facts of life. Despite all efforts of the right wing to resurrect the bolshevik bogey, support for policies involving a basic change away from the nuclear strategy are steadily gaining ground at the trade union conferences. The right wing are panic stricken lest last year's substantial minority for abolition by Britain of nuclear weapons becomes this year's majority at the T.U.C. and the Labour Party Conference.

The 'new' statement again lays down the essential principle of all right wing policy: 'we remain loyal supporters of NATO': and to help them to continue to put it across, they remind the movement that 'the Labour Party played a leading role' in its creation—as though the commission of a crime in the past is any justification for its repetition in the future. 'Remaining loyal to NATO' not only means loyalty to the men of the Pentagon. It also means loyalty to the Tory Government whose participation in NATO also continues. How on earth is Labour to be an Opposition when it is pledging itself to be loyal to the very people it needs to oppose? To be 'loyal' to NATO also involves loyalty to other NATO partners, such as West Germany. And it must also mean 'loyalty' to stooges of American policy all over the world—Chiang on Formosa, Franco in Spain and so on. 'Loyalty' to NATO makes Labour subservient to Toryism and to American imperialism, and must inevitably continue to render the Opposition utterly ineffective in Parliament and to weaken it in the country.

The statement tries to make a case for British forces, in future to be equipped by Britain only with 'conventional' weapons, to use nuclear weapons provided by the Americans through NATO. Other members of NATO would also use the nuclear weapons provided by the U.S. Since this obviously means greater control by the Americans over the military forces contributed to NATO, the right wing attempts to produce a formula to quieten the critics. The idea is that there shall be a strengthening of the NATO Council of Foreign Ministers and Defence Ministers to decide 'whether such weapons are to be used' and 'to improve co-operation on foreign policy'. Even if this proposal were accepted it could only be a camouflage for the reality of American control. Are the moguls of the U.S.A. likely to hand over their Western monopoly of the 'strategic' nuclear missile to a committee of their subservient junior partners? A political body attached to NATO could and would only serve to rubber stamp what would in effect be American decisions, and far from giving Britain greater influence is much more likely to lessen it. Indeed the phrase 'improve co-operation on foreign policy' has an ominous ring to it for this could only mean to improve co-operation in the cold war campaign.

In addition to providing nuclear weapons to the NATO forces, the Americans are of course to have nuclear weapons for their own independent use. As this is another source of possible involvement of Britain in a nuclear war as a result of an American aggressive act, the Labour scribes propose to beseech the Pentagon

to consult Britain before they launch their nuclear weapons. We can just imagine the laugh when the news of this gets around to the toughs who man the Pentagon's nuclear set-up. The essence of American nuclear strategy is that the 'nuclear strike' must be launched in secret so that the victim is taken by surprise. To hand over what would be in effect part control of American nuclear policy would be out of the question for America's rulers to contemplate. The Thor missile bases are 'opposed' for the same reason that the Blue Streak was 'opposed'—they are vulnerable and therefore useless. But there is no opposition to American bases in Britain. In consequence Britain would become even more of an H-bomb base than before, following a decision to rely exclusively on imports of American nuclear weapons.

There is no unconditional opposition to nuclear arms for West Germany, but opposition only 'in present circumstances' which might of course be a reference to the United States elections and the bad effect a public announcement of an agreement to provide West Germany with these weapons would have. But what is ignored is the fact that West Germany has already obtained a variety of weapons capable of firing atomic missiles of a Hiroshima strength: the statement by omitting it accepts this dangerous situation. Silence means consent.

Indeed there are indications of deliberate confusion in the wording of references to nuclear weapons not only in the case of West Germany but also in Britain's case. For there is a considerable body of opinion that atomic weapons which could each do as much damage as the Hiroshima bomb must now be considered to be 'conventional' because they are so widespread in the U.S., British and NATO forces. What is not clear is whether the idea that Britain should not make nuclear weapons means that atomic bombs should also no longer be made.

Fears of arms manufacturers that the shift by Britain to conventional weapon equipment of British forces will mean cuts in arms expenditure are quietened by the explicit statement that 'defence' spending will continue at the existing level. Indeed the armed forces are to be provided with more effective 'conventional' weapons and Britain will be obliged by these cold war warriors to bring its forces in Europe 'up to full strength'—which means more atom fodder for the United States, a policy long campaigned for by the Pentagon.

The right wing says that the policy of the left would leave Britain without the means of defence. This is the opposite of the military

fact that the nuclear tie-up renders the defence of Britain impossible. The only policy which can defend Britain is one which ends the nuclear strategy and this tie-up and reverses the processes leading to a nuclear war. Such a policy could be achieved by independent renunciation by Britain of the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons; the closing of all American bases on British soil; no nuclear weapons or bases for Adenauer; an end to the NATO nuclear strategy and replacement of the NATO and WARSAW Pact organisations by a European Security Treaty based on the United Nations; British Government pressure for an immediate test ban agreement and a speed up in the disarmament negotiations.

This summer and at the T.U.C. and Labour Party, the right wing will do its utmost to present its basic old line of NATO, nuclear war strategy and alliance with the Pentagon, in this new and tricky way. The utmost unity of all working for peace and an end to the nuclear threat is needed to defeat the danger of still another year shackling Labour to NATO. If this year the change is made, there is the chance not only of transforming the policy of this country, but in so doing, of contributing to a tremendous transformation for peace throughout the world.

WHAT'S THIS ABOUT BERLIN?

D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

YOU ask me, John, what is at the back of the fuss about Berlin that is always being raised by the Americans and British, and the West (Adenauer) Germans too; why, whenever there seem to be better hopes of successful negotiations, they all start shouting at the tops of their snarls that they will never desert the 'heroes' of West Berlin, nor withdraw their forces, nor alter their policy; and why Adenauer—the American puppet turned Frankenstein—shouts even more bitterly than the rest at any idea of budging even an inch. You want to know how the situation arose; why the Western Powers and their armed forces are in Berlin; whether they have any right to be there, or anything to do there; why they insist on staying; and what the 'blockade' of Berlin really was. These are important questions, for the situation is highly dangerous, and you don't get the truth from the capitalist press; indeed the 'heroism' and the un-touchability of Berlin have become myths, like Korea and the equality of Negroes in the U.S.A.

The story of Berlin is part of the story of post-war Germany and the cold war, but it is a distinct story by itself. When the war ended, Germany was of course occupied, in accordance with the Potsdam agreement, and was divided into four zones, each occupied and governed by one of the four Powers. For the purposes of the occupation, which was to lead to the establishment of one peaceful democratic German state, and to the negotiation of a peace treaty with that state, a central Control Council was set up by the Powers to deal with all matters of central administration and to carry through agreed Allied policies, during the occupation. Berlin, the capital of Germany since 1871, was chosen as the seat of this Control Council, and was governed jointly by the four Powers, the city being divided into four sectors. It lay deep inside the Soviet zone, but it was in no sense a special occupation area; the Western Powers and their armed forces had no function in the city, nor any justification for being there, save so long and so far as they were fulfilling the Potsdam agreement by virtue of which they were there, were working in the Control Council, and were (with the Soviet Union) occupying Germany. Most people expected a fairly quick establishment of the new State, and a peace treaty; and some even expected that the West would not gang up against the U.S.S.R., but would work sincerely with it in the Control Council and generally. But the cold war developed, and co-operation grew at first difficult and then impossible; and as early as March 23, 1948, the Control Council ceased to function, and all central allied control, policy, or even administration of Germany came to an end. The Western Powers governed their three Zones on their own, and soon fused two of them (the American and the British) into 'Bizonia', which was very shortly turned into 'Trizonia'. By the middle of 1948, they had turned Trizonia into a substantially independent sovereign State called the German Federal Republic, under Adenauer as Chancellor, and had formally ended the occupation of that country. The first thing to understand is that, at least as soon as they thus ended the occupation, and probably as soon as they had ended all the work of the Control Council in 1948, the Western Powers had lost all rights, reasons and justifications for sitting in Berlin, let alone for maintaining troops there. The case against their holding on there was by then overwhelming in law, morals, politics and common decency.

See how it works out. Firstly, the sole basis on which it was ever agreed that they should be in Berlin was that they had made the Potsdam agreement; and it is good common sense and plain

honesty, as well as law, that a man cannot break his word and neglect his duties under an agreement and at the same time claim the benefit of it. And they had been breaking Potsdam from a very much earlier date. At Potsdam they pledged themselves to put an end to German militarism and fascism, and to keep Germany unarmed; but we all know that they were plotting from a very early stage to build up huge armed forces in West Germany, thus inevitably re-creating both militarism and fascism. They had promised too, to root out the Nazi Party, and to ensure that there should be no revival of Nazism; but they have allowed the wholesale employment of Nazis in important public offices in West Germany and the establishment of scores and hundreds of new Nazi organisations. They had also agreed to break up the great industrial monopolies; but they have made them more powerful and concentrated than ever, even taking one of the tycoons (Krupp) out of prison and giving him back his millions to help in the work. And, finally, they had agreed to play their part in setting up one democratic and peaceful German state and making a peace treaty with it in accordance with Potsdam principles; and they have made that virtually impossible by setting up in the West the aggressive and militarist Adenauer state. So the West certainly can't rely on Potsdam; nor can they pretend to have any agreed functions to perform in Berlin. And there never was any reason for their maintaining troops there except as part of the forces of the occupation, which they have formally declared to be at an end.*

So, so far as being in Berlin goes, they quite simply have no right to be there. But before I discuss why they insist on staying, at the price of ruining every chance of international settlement by refusing to consider any kind of compromise, I must tell you the story of the 'blockade'. This takes us back to the middle of 1948. The story began on June 20 of that year, when the Western Powers suddenly introduced into Trizonia (it wasn't yet the German Federal Republic) a separate currency, which had in fact been secretly printed in the U.S.A. some eight months earlier. Up to that time, the whole of Germany had used one single currency. This step was a serious blow not just to prospects of a re-unified Germany, and to peace, but to East Germany (the Soviet Zone); for currency

*The troops now in Western Germany are not in occupation of a conquered country by virtue of the conquerors' power and the agreement of the victorious Powers; they are there by the consent of the German Federal Republic as part of an arrangement (or, if you will, a conspiracy) called NATO, designed to 'defend Western civilisation from aggression from the U.S.S.R.', of which country the most intelligent of anti-Soviet Americans, Mr. George F. Kennan, wrote in an article in *Die Welt*, an important W. German daily in 1956: 'The picture of a Russia longing to attack the West . . . was largely a creation of Western phantasy, against which some of us, who were really acquainted with Russian affairs, raised our voices in vain for years and years'.

is funny stuff, and if a country one way or another gets more of it than is needed for running the economy its value (purchasing power) drops catastrophically, just as the price of potatoes would drop if the market were suddenly flooded with three times as many potatoes as people really needed, and East Germany obviously needed only about one-third of the total available for all Germany. Thus, if the Soviet authorities had not acted quickly, the old currency from West Germany would have overflowed into the East, with all the effects of a gigantic inflation. Any such disaster could have been more easily headed off if there had been no currency frontier except the line between West and East Germany; but the Western Powers insisted on also introducing the new currency into West Berlin, in the middle of the Soviet Zone. In Berlin, the sector boundaries run in and out all over the place, so that there was no hope of averting catastrophe there except by stopping communications through East Germany between West Germany and West Berlin.

Of course, the closing of the frontiers created a problem for West Berlin. Economically, it had always been an unworkable place, and in the early days after the war it had had vast unemployment, which could have been cured in a week by letting the West Berliners take jobs in East Berlin, where the Socialist economy could give them plenty of work; but the West had forbidden them to do that, and had made them exist on the dole, which they spent in buying themselves their necessities in East Berlin. And at all stages it has been kept going only by vast subsidies, and can never get enough to eat without huge supplies from outside (either from the East or the West). It had in fact always drawn a good deal of its necessities from the West, by road or rail across the East-West German frontier, as well as from the East German territories that surrounded it. When the frontiers had to be sealed, the Soviet authorities had no desire or intention to starve the Berliners of food and coal, and expressly offered to supply them with everything of that sort that they needed, but that was the last thing the Western Powers wanted. They wanted to get the maximum propaganda profit they could (and one of their generals even wanted to take a train through to Berlin by force of arms). So they proclaimed that Berlin was 'blockaded', and would be starved to death if they did not organise the 'air-lift', a service of planes flying into West Berlin at the rate of one every five minutes, for months on end. And they claimed that they were thus 'defeating' the 'blockade' and feeding the 'heroic' population of West Berlin; but in actual fact the

Western sectors of the city were kept going by daily deliveries of 900 tons of foodstuffs from the East, in addition to a certain amount of coal, textiles, and other commodities. (Incidentally, the economic nonsense of the whole thing can be illustrated by the fact that the actual cost of transport alone for each ton of coal that went to West Berlin over the 'air-lift' was £24.) Nevertheless, they went on shouting about 'blockade' for months; it must surely have been the only blockade in history in which the besieged were kept alive by vast contributions from the besiegers! I remember that on one occasion in the House of Commons, when one of the Ministers referred to the 'blockade' in an answer to a parliamentary question, I asked him why he called it a blockade when 900 tons of food a day were being provided by the 'blockaders', he made no attempt to deny the facts, but said that he called it a 'blockade' because the Soviet authorities were not supplying as much as the West wanted of all the commodities it wanted!

The reality of the situation was neatly betrayed by John Foster Dulles on January 10, 1949, in a talk with the Overseas Writers' Association.* He told his hearers that it would be easy to solve the Berlin dispute at any moment by agreeing on the currency question. 'But', he added with sudden truth,

the deadlock is of great advantage to the U.S. for propaganda purposes; and secondly the danger in settling the Berlin dispute resides in the fact that it would then be impossible to avoid facing the problem of a German Peace Treaty. The U.S.A. would then be faced with a Soviet proposal for the withdrawal of all occupation troops and the establishment of a central German government. Frankly, I do not know what we could say to that.

In all the circumstances, you can see, John, that it was not easy to negotiate a settlement, which takes two to agree and the air-lift went on for months, at appalling expense. One reason for not settling, in addition to those mentioned by Dulles, was that the Western Powers wanted to use the great tension of the blockade to get general Western agreement for the establishment of NATO, which I have already mentioned; and it is significant that the settlement of the Berlin blockade and the agreement on NATO came within a day or two of each other, in April, 1949, and that the German Federal Republic was set up almost immediately after. (Within a few months, in October, 1949, the German Democratic Republic was established and Berlin now lies in the middle of that Republic.)

*See *Labour Monthly*, June, 1949, pp. 178, 179.

There are now in Germany two separate sovereign or virtually sovereign states, and there is neither any vestige of a central government nor any near prospect of one German state being established. Berlin is still a divided city, with two currencies; and in its Western sectors there are large armed forces from the West. The West, including Adenauer, announce *ad nauseam* their firm intention to maintain this position, and to block every attempt at a general settlement rather than accept any compromise; and they make the whole position a little more insane and dangerous by refusing to recognise the German Democratic Republic and by insisting on regarding the German Federal Republic as the only government of all Germany. Well now, since they ought not to be there, and have nothing to do there, why do they insist on staying? Partly, it is 'face', since Berlin is or was the capital of Germany; much more, it is a desire to make the maximum of a nuisance of themselves; and even more, they want a 'bridge-head' (they call it that themselves) from which among other things they can do espionage and other subversive work in the German Democratic Republic. And Adenauer is even worse than his allies and supporters; he refuses even to receive any kind of communication from the German Democratic Republic, and proclaims that he seeks no agreed reunification of Germany, but that he will 'liberate' the East (which he always calls the 'Soviet occupation Zone'. 'German Democratic Republic', for him, is a 'dirty word' like 'peace'). I must add one serious warning, that many responsible people in the German Democratic Republic believe that Adenauer is plotting a sudden invasion of East Germany by armed force, to 'liberate' it—which would almost certainly produce a Third World War. You won't believe that; and I am not sure that I do, yet; but we may be wrong, and I ought to tell you two things: firstly, that Adenauer's speeches are almost as bad as Hitler's, and are in some ways more openly aggressive (he has never said that any of his demands is the last he will make); and, secondly, that whilst I have often been wrong in my judgments, the only occasions on which I have *always* been wrong are those on which I have said of a capitalist government that I really didn't think it was quite as fiendish as had been suggested.

I would like to wind up by telling you something of the now growing prosperity of the German Democratic Republic, and of the instability of the German Federal Republic, so superficially prosperous on the basis of very heavy investments and subsidies from the U.S.A., but I have written too much already.

PENTAGON WRECKS THE SUMMIT

‘Quaestor’

MACHIAVELLI, the sixteenth century Italian politician, had a word for it in *The Prince*, his book of advice to the young tyrant of Florence (Chapter 18): ‘A prudent ruler ought not to keep faith when by so doing it would be against his interest. . . .’ One may be sure that the handful of rogues and hypocrites, in charge of United States policy, who wrecked the Summit meeting in Paris, have read Machiavelli in their youth. The only thing they left out of their calculations is that we are not in the age of warring feudal despots, nor yet of humbugging Gladstones and Lloyd Georges, Teddy Roosevelts and Woodrow Wilsons: ‘the many’ have ideas of their own nowadays, and great Socialist states to voice those ideas when the capitalist newspapers, radio and TV try and stifle them.

That is why, within a very few days of its happening, the ‘Operation Wrecker’ of Eisenhower and his gangsters, backed up publicly—however embarrassed they may feel in private—by the British and French Governments, has been revealed to the whole world as the most sordid, perfidious and brassfaced episode in the diplomatic history of modern times. Moreover even Machiavelli would have been hard put to it to find what the wreckers have gained thereby.

Consider the main stages of the operation.

On May 1 (of all days!) the Americans sent a U2 reconnaissance plane over the Soviet frontier with a marked-out route passing from one NATO base (Adana in Turkey, whence he had come on April 27) to a second NATO base (Peshawar in Pakistan) and then over Afghanistan and (photographing military objectives) over Soviet territory, roughly northwards along the border between Europe and Asia, to a third NATO base (Bodoe in Norway). The Soviet rocket forces brought it down flying at 65,000 feet near Sverdlovsk, in the Urals, 1,250 miles into their territory: and Khrushchov announced the fact on May 5, at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. After two days of gross and shameless lying by the U.S. authorities,* all explanations cooked up at a special meeting of the highest American authorities and swallowed whole, with much abuse of the Soviet Union, by the British millionaire press, Khrushchov re-

*Such as: it was a weather plane, it was only flying over Turkey, the pilot had signalled oxygen-mask trouble, he was probably unconscious when the plane went off course, etc., etc.

Metropolitan Police on Strike—1890



Scene outside Bow Street Poli



tion, July 6, 1890.

(for story see pages ii and iii of cover)

vealed on May 7 that the pilot was alive and well. Moreover he had testified to all the facts, and all the equipment would be on show to the public in Moscow (the U2 was of extremely light material, it was later revealed, which had literally floated down after the rocket explosion had disintegrated the plane). Only then did Washington admit the facts.

The Summit had been dealt a heavy blow. This was not simply spying. Spying is a breach of the national laws of a country, and it is always treated as such, when a foreign national engages in it, whether he has gained admission in a different guise (usually the case) or has crossed the frontier illegally. But the sending of a plane over the frontier by foreign government institutions (in this case the U.S.A. Central Intelligence Agency and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, whose co-operation was later admitted) is a breach of international law. It is a violation of the obligation of all nations (recorded in the United Nations Charter as, before the Second World War, it was in the League of Nations Covenant) to respect one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is an act of aggression, equivalent to piracy at sea. Thus it was a flagrant breach of the pledges of September, 1959, and of the assumptions of mutual good will on which the Summit meeting was to open on May 16. But this was not all.

On May 7, in admitting the facts, the State Department in Washington tried to justify 'the *necessity* for such activities'. This startled even the British capitalist press. The statement meant, wrote *The Times* Washington correspondent (May 9), that America was 'claiming the tacit right to recommence flights over Russia'. The *Daily Herald* editorial asked: 'Who wants to wreck the Summit Conference before it starts?' *The Guardian* editorial said it was 'imperative that the President should make clear he hasn't changed his policy'. He did nothing of the kind.

On May 9 Secretary of State Herter instead made clear to a meeting of Congressmen that 'America would continue with these flights', because Soviet secrecy was 'unacceptable' (*Daily Express*, May 10). The U.S.A. would go on taking 'such measures as are possible unilaterally', said Herter, nor was there any different conclusion in the other British press about Herter's statement. 'The clear suggestion was that these operations would continue,' wrote *The Times* Washington correspondent, the same day. Washington officials' 'new line is that the U.S. will continue its espionage', reported *The Guardian's* correspondent in the same city; and its editorial the next day protested that 'having once been caught red-

handed, the Americans cannot really persist in an illegal course'.

Oh yes they could, President Eisenhower himself gave the world to understand that very day (May 11). At his press conference he stated that secrecy and suspicion in the Soviet Union 'made intelligence operations by other countries *essential . . . a vital necessity*'. And once again there was no doubt in any country that he was referring, not to ordinary espionage, but to air violations of the Soviet frontier.

His evident concern was to give full support to the case marshalled by the State Department in justification of American intelligence flights.

(*The Times*, May 12, 1960.)

Scores of other newspapers agreed. This, moreover, was borne out by an American Note the same day replying to a Soviet protest of May 10. It referred specifically to the State Department's statement of May 9: it agreed that it had pursued such a policy up to now (of course, 'for purely defensive purposes'): *and it conspicuously avoided giving any pledge for the future.*

Thus the United States Government was coming to the Summit meeting armed with the arrogant pretension to violate international law and fly over Soviet frontiers at its own will and pleasure. It had done so, it said, and would continue doing so. It was the householder's fault for not opening his door, said the burglar. Moreover, this was being done (it was claimed) on behalf of the 'free world', *i.e.*, of NATO: and the use of NATO bases certainly seemed to justify the claim. Thus, all at once, the U.S.S.R. was confronted with an ultimatum. You will accept the claim that you are subject to the imposed will of NATO and its American overlord, by sitting down at table with him and discussing other questions, as though nothing has happened—and in that case prepare to have other requirements imposed upon you, because you have accepted a subordinate position in the world. Or you can refuse—and be charged with 'wrecking the Summit'. Instead of the Paris meeting taking place in an atmosphere of relaxed tension, international crisis or humiliation of the U.S.S.R. was the American aim.

The Soviet Government did its utmost to leave open the door for a more conciliatory way out. In his speech on May 5, Khrushchov asked whether 'this act of aggression was committed by the Pentagon militarists without the President's knowledge?' On May 7 he said: 'I am quite willing to grant that the President knew nothing about the plane'. On May 11, at the exhibition of the U2 equipment, he told the foreign press that Herter's statement had 'made us doubt the correctness of our earlier conclusions that the

President did not know about the flights' and that his 'hopes have been somewhat disappointed' about Eisenhower. But he still treated the President's projected visit to the U.S.S.R. as possible, said he would talk over the question in Paris, and intimated that he himself would get there on May 14, two days before the opening of the Summit meeting—a clear hint that the door was still open for conciliation. Even in Paris, interviewed on May 15, by Macmillan, Khrushchov said he was willing to meet Eisenhower privately, if the latter was interested in a meeting. (Herter later deliberately misled the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on this question, stating that Khrushchov had not wanted to meet the President.)

From beginning to end, however, Eisenhower did not take advantage of any of these opportunities. Right up to the opening of the Summit meeting on Monday, May 16, he let it be understood that the U.S. Government stood by its truculent and illegal claim. Many days later, some of the servile, bootlicking pro-American papers in London asserted that on May 15 there had been a 'leak' to the press in Paris that Eisenhower had stopped the flights; or that he had 'given assurances' that the flights would stop. But this lie can easily be run to earth—by looking up the British press next morning. *The Guardian* and *Telegraph* correspondents (May 16) did not even mention the leak; *The Times* reported that no decision had been taken to continue or discontinue the flights; the *Daily Express* correspondent said that 'Eisenhower does not intend to give any promise that U.S. intelligence flights over Russia will be stopped'.

Moreover, for good measure, Vice-President Nixon in a television interview on Sunday night, May 15, reiterated that the flights 'were made necessary by Russian secrecy and the danger of surprise attack' adding that 'he would continue spy flights if he was elected President' (*Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Herald*, May 17). At the same time Defence Secretary Gates ordered a defence alert of U.S. forces throughout the world on learning that Khrushchov next day would ask Eisenhower for an apology and punishment of those responsible for the U2 flights—and 'President Eisenhower concurred in the decision' (*Daily Telegraph* and *Guardian*, June 3). Gates admitted that he had not expected a surprise attack by Russia but had thought the atmosphere in Paris 'not very constructive' (*The Times*, June 3).

The result was a foregone conclusion. Khrushchov told the other leaders, when they met on the Monday morning, that the U.S.S.R.

would not put up with this treatment. The repeated and authoritative declarations of American policy doomed the Summit meeting 'to complete failure in advance'. The Soviet Government could not take part in talks 'in which one of the parties bases its policy with regard to the Soviet Union on treachery'—this would mean deceiving the peoples; nor could Eisenhower's projected visit to the U.S.S.R. in such conditions meet with 'proper cordiality'. The Soviet people cannot be hypocritical, and do not want to be, said Khrushchov. Both Summit and visit had better be postponed—unless the President were prepared to (i) renounce air violations of the Soviet frontier (ii) express his regret (iii) punish those 'directly responsible'. But if the flights continued, the planes would be shot down, and retaliatory action would be taken against the bases (in neighbouring countries) from which they took off.

Only at that point did Eisenhower assert that he had suspended the flights, which were 'not to be resumed'. But he also denied that the United States had ever threatened to continue them and went on talking about 'the *necessity* for all forms of espionage, *including overflights*'. Above all, Eisenhower refused to give a clear and categorical guarantee not to resume them, or express regret, or promise to punish the guilty. This, of course, meant that the practice itself is not repudiated, only postponed.

The word 'assert' was used advisedly just now. The British public has not been informed of the categorical statements of Drew Pearson, based on official information, in the *Washington Post and Times-Herald*, which throw a lurid light on Eisenhower's evasive speech. The Pentagon began to search for the order to suspend U2 flights which Eisenhower said he had given Gates and General Twining—and could not find it. Moreover, neither could recall any such order. Then the President said he had given the order verbally, *before* the U2 was shot down. They could not remember any such verbal order either. So the President explained he had given the order at a meeting of the National Security Council: found nothing in the minutes. Nor could any record be found of the alleged order given on May 12!

After all the lying and doubledealing in Washington before the Summit, who can guarantee that, as Pearson wrote, lying did not continue in Paris? And in fact in a letter to General Franco, Eisenhower once again asserted that the U2 flight was 'one phase of an intelligence system *made necessary* for defence against surprise attack' (*The Times*, May 23). Senator Lodge, U.S. representative at the Security Council, said that if only the U.S.S.R.

would accept Eisenhower's proposed treaty, this 'would end the need for spy flights' (*The Times*, May 24). Eisenhower repeated his defence of the principle of such flights in a television talk on May 25, adding that in any case the usefulness of the U2 had now been 'impaired': and Herter said the same in evidence to the Senate Committee on May 27. The Defence Correspondent of *The Guardian* was therefore fully justified in his comment (June 1) that these statements 'may possibly be interpreted in future as a reference only to the U2s which must soon be regarded as obsolete for the purpose'.

For the moment considerations of logic and facts fell into the background, however. Taking their cue from Eisenhower's reply to Khrushchov, and particularly his assertion that the latter was 'determined to wreck the Conference', the British and American press began a howling campaign of abuse of Khrushchov and the Soviet Government, with a parallel whitewashing of Eisenhower as a model of dignity, injured virtue, almost of Christian martyrdom.

No absurdity was too great for the servile capitalist newspapers to swallow. It was 'a great concession' (wrote the *News Chronicle* on May 17) that Eisenhower had promised to 'stop the flights for good' (which he had not): it was 'a generous gesture', a 'large concession', and so forth. The depths of impudence were plumbed by papers like the *Daily Telegraph*, which announced that Eisenhower had 'been the victim of unprecedented provocation' by a 'brutal Russian performance' (May 18): the *Daily Herald*, which announced that Khrushchov has 'tried to bully us' and held up Tory spokesmen like the Australian Menzies and Macmillan as examples of the British people (May 19); and the *Observer* (May 22) whose ineffable Soviet 'expert' wrote of Khrushchov 'seeking to brazen it out'. With one accord they—and the Tory, Labour and Liberal leaders in Parliament on May 20—accepted Eisenhower's declaration that the U.S.A. could never accept Khrushchov's terms for starting the talks: and all the dictionaries were searched for adjectives like 'insulting', 'humiliating', 'grovelling' (the revolutionary *Tribune* contributed this one, on May 20) to apply to those terms.

Yet as early as May 8 Harold Stassen, former defence adviser to Eisenhower, had said that the U2 had been deliberately sent 'by military officers' to upset the Summit, and called on the President to sack them 'no matter how high up they be' (*Daily Herald*, May 9—which by the way denounced them furiously). What had changed—except that Eisenhower had himself accepted responsi-

bility? He was asked, in that case, to give a public apology. Has no head of government ever apologised? Senator Kennedy—possible Democratic candidate for President—did not think so.

I certainly would express regret at the timing and give assurances that it would not happen again. I would express regret that the flight did take place.

(*The Guardian*, May 19.)

What was there grovelling about that? But the London press—ever responsive to the fervent wish of the British ruling class to keep the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. as far apart as possible—would have none of it. There might have been some ‘blundering’, or ‘foolishness’, or ‘hamhandedness’ by the Americans, it conceded: but apologise to the Russians? Never! And the chorus of denunciation would begin again, varied with speculations about ‘why Khrushchov did it’—one more fatuous than another, but all designed to throw the British public off the scent.*

What was the purpose of all these red herrings—and of still more nonsensical stories of mysterious Soviet trawlers ‘spying’ on NATO manœuvres in the Mediterranean, or elsewhere, *on the high seas* (as though the latter, too, belonged to the U.S.A.)?

It was first to distract attention from the lie which all the capitalist press for a time sought to maintain; that, unlike Britain where Macmillan, Gaitskell and Grimond were touchingly united in backing Eisenhower, the U.S.A. was behind him too. Yet almost at once the truth began to break through: that there was a deep split between the Republicans and the Democrats, and that while some of the orthodox Democratic *leaders* later took fright, this was more than made up by the great *rank and file* rally in support of Kennedy’s and Adlai Stevenson’s criticism, and by the ferment in the Republicans’ own ranks, demonstrated by letters from readers printed in their newspapers all over the country. There are many millions of Americans today who know from bitter political experience the method of the stool-pigeon, the hired liar, the gunman and the screaming headline used by their rulers to procure criminal ends. They have put two and two together. That is why the world had the peculiar and shameful spectacle, during the second half of May and the first weeks of June, of the British public being still drenched with falsehoods about the Paris meeting, scarcely able to take breath and notice that there was another side to the Fleet Street story; while the public in the United States was

*None was so ludicrous as that dragged in by *The Times*, which on May 18 printed a letter (three-quarters of a column in close type) explaining that it was all due to Pavlovian psychological theories which the Russians were putting into practice. Abundant correspondence followed on the subject, lasting nearly a week, and effectively crowding out most of the more pointed letters closer to the subject.

being offered both facts to illustrate that side, and examples of sharp criticism of Eisenhower and of those who use him as their Charlie McCarthy.

It is important to notice, too, that other countries not so accessible to Fleet Street propaganda have not fallen victims to it. There is the case of Afghanistan, and of those caught out as accomplices, willing or unwilling, of their NATO partner: Turkey, Pakistan, Norway. They have sought and obtained positive assurances from the U.S.A. that it will play no more tricks with them, using their territory as stationary aircraft carriers. There are the Arab countries of the Near East, where *The Guardian* itself informs us (May 20) that the 'balance of opinion' is against Eisenhower. There are the smaller States in the United Nations, who found it necessary (even after Eisenhower's assurances which so satisfied the British press) to suggest to the American delegate Lodge 'that he should announce that reconnaissance flights over Russia are not United States Government policy' (*Daily Telegraph*, May 23). And there was the plain statement of Nehru at the All-India Congress Committee which made mincemeat of Eisenhower's protestations:

The U-2 flight over Soviet territory was against international law, and the United States assertion that such flights would continue was a turning-point in the history of the summit conference that collapsed.

(*The Times*, June 6.)

Why did the British capitalist politicians and capitalist press take up an anti-Soviet and a pro-Eisenhower attitude in defiance of the facts? There can be little doubt that it was because they saw that the revelations about the U2, and about American contempt for international law, were a damaging, perhaps decisive, blow at NATO, at the very time when Gaitskell and company were flourishing the 'threat' of NATO collapsing before the eyes of the trade union movement, in revolt against Britain being used by the U.S.A. as her expendable hydrogen-bomb base for attacking the Soviet Union. After all, the U2 would not have been where it was, or gone where it did, but for NATO bases. Thanks to evidence given to the U.S. Senate enquiry, the British public have learned what their government has refused to tell them—that, taking advantage of their presence as NATO forces here, the Americans have sent out the U2 from Lakenheath, in Suffolk (*The Guardian*, June 3). And in reply to Hugh Gaitskell's babble about Britain remaining in NATO, and supporting a NATO hydrogen bomb, under fifteen-nation control, the blunt and obvious answer was

I'LL HAVE A CUP OF COFFEE!

Shirley Graham

ON the morning of March 9, citizens of Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A., opened their morning paper, *The Atlanta Journal*, and saw a full-page advertisement headed: *An Appeal for Human Rights*. Their startled eyes read:

We, the students of the six affiliated institutions forming the Atlanta University Centre—Clark, Morehouse, Morris Brown and Spelman College, join our hearts, minds and bodies in the cause of gaining those rights which are inherently ours as members of the human race and as citizens of these United States.

There followed in boxed sections 'some outstanding examples of inequalities and injustices in Atlanta and Georgia'. The reader learned that 'many Negro children travel ten miles a day in order to reach a school that will admit them', that 'Negroes are denied employment in the majority of city, state and federal government jobs, except in the most menial capacities', 'whereas Atlanta provides some 4,000 beds' for its white people, it provides 430 beds for Negroes who constitute 32 per cent of the population, that if 'a Negro is hungry, his hunger must wait until he comes to a "colored" eating place, even his thirst must await its quenching at a "colored" water fountain'.

To say that the large majority of whites in Atlanta were aghast is putting it mildly. Furious telephone calls to *The Atlanta Journal* brought the defensive reply that the students had *bought* a page at regular advertising rates. And there is a clearly understood 'gentlemen's agreement' in American commercial circles that one may say *anything* in a paid advertisement. Governor Ernest Vandiver promptly declared the advertisement of 'foreign' origin, asserting that no student in Georgia, let alone 'nigra students' could have concocted such a document. The student protest movement, sparked in Greensboro, North Carolina, and blazing across state boundaries with the speed of a forest fire, gave the lie to two of the South's most cherished beliefs. The first is that the southern white, and he alone, 'understands' the Negro. The second holds that most Negroes advocate the practice that goes by the name of 'separate but equal'. It all started on the first day of February when four freshmen students from North Carolina's State College for Negroes entered a Woolworth's Store in Greensboro, quietly sat down at the lunch counter and each politely asked for 'a cup of coffee, please'. They sat there unserved for a couple of hours;

they would not have been served at any similar lunch counter throughout the South. On the next day the four returned accompanied by a crowd of students from the State College for Negroes. On the days that followed came more and more students from every Negro college and from every *white* college in the vicinity. The Negro and white students sat together at Woolworth's lunch counter and at other lunch counters. They sat quietly and politely asked for 'a cup of coffee, please', and the white students would not accept service unless the Negro students were served. So nobody was served. And the stores filled with curious and often angry people who could not believe their eyes. Policemen came and reporters and mobs of cursing gangsters. But still the students sat. Nobody else tried to get near the lunch counter though the stores were crowded from morning until night. Until finally the infuriated managers closed the lunch counters to everybody.

Violence erupted first in South Carolina and Virginia. Not from the students; they just came out in greater and greater numbers and sat at more and more lunch counters. The violence came from club-swinging law enforcement officers, store guards with German police dogs, and white ruffians shouting vile names and invectives, out to protect the 'lily-white womanhood of the South' with chains, baseball bats and stones. But the more students they hauled off in patrol wagons, the more seemed to appear. They came marching through the business district of former Confederate cities by the thousands, carrying banners with slogans protesting against discrimination and injustices which could no longer be endured. They gathered around monuments of Great Americans, sang the National Anthem and made speeches. Always they were orderly; always they acquitted themselves with dignity. On February 22 the *Richmond News-Leader* commented editorially:

Many a Virginian must have felt a tinge of wry regret at the state of things as they are, in reading of Saturday's 'sit-down' by Negro students in Richmond stores. Here were the coloured students, in coats, white shirts, ties and one of them was reading Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the side-walk outside, was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slack-jawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark, were waving the proud and honoured flag of the Southern states in the last war fought by gentlemen. Eheu! It gives one pause.

Up north, Ernest Green, first Negro graduate of Little Rock Central High School, bearing a placard with the words: 'Woolworth's National Policy is Undemocratic', led the demonstration at Michigan State University where he is now a student. The speed

and determination with which students in the north organised in support of their Negro colleagues in the South seemed to indicate that these young people were only waiting for some such clear-cut issue. Overnight the students rose to their feet; they began raising funds to defend the southern students, calling protest mass meetings, picketing and boycotting chain-stores whose branches would not serve Negroes in the South. As an enthusiastic co-ed at the University of Wisconsin said to me, 'If Negro students can *sit down* in the South, surely we can *stand up* in the North'. Yet, the white ruling class of the *Deep South*, while deploring the 'impertinence' and 'antics' of 'spoiled upstarts' in border states and of 'communist-led riff-raff' in the North, affirmed confidently that they would have no trouble with their 'nigras'. *They* properly knew their place. And then the sit-downs started in Georgia and Negro students paid out good money to print such an 'advertisement'!

The Ku Klux Klan began terrorising Negro communities. A student in Texas was dragged from his home, beaten, branded with red-hot irons which left a KKK on his chest, and hung head down from a tree. A gang of whites armed with iron rods broke into another student's home in the middle of the night and beat his mother and sister.

In Louisiana, students of Southern University for Negroes began taking counsel one with another. This is the largest university for Negroes in the United States. Southerners point to its truly beautiful campus adorned with fine, live oaks and many large buildings as an example of what they are doing for their 'nigras'. The students come from small towns, farms and city ghettos of that section of the United States where Negroes 'have no rights that white men are bound to respect'. They are frequently told how fortunate they are to be allowed to attend such a fine school. The campus is on the outskirts of Baton Rouge, capital of Louisiana and one of the chief petro-chemical centres in the country, with such giant enterprises as Esso Standard, United States Rubber, Kaiser Aluminium, Ethyl and Allied Chemical, employing more than 30,000 (mainly white) workers, most of them from Northern Mississippi, the toughest section of that state. To avoid trouble Negroes in Baton Rouge have long been exceedingly quiet and self-effacing. And, under the watchful eye of its well-dressed Negro president, Dr. Felton G. Clark, seldom does anything occur to ruffle the peaceful calm of Southern University's campus. Then, during the first week of March, the all-white, all-elective Louisiana State Board of Education issued a warning that any student joining

in sit-down demonstrations would be subjected to 'stern disciplinary action'. A week after the Board's announcement the first group of students quietly sat down at a lunch counter. They were immediately arrested, charged with 'disturbing the peace' and bail was set for \$1,500 each. On the campus 3,000 students staged a sympathy rally. They carried placards reading 'Here I Stand' and 'The Old Ways No More'. Negroes from Baton Rouge joined them and promised support. The next day when nine other students were arrested at two lunch counters, bails were posted for all by the Negro community. The eighteen students were released and returned to the University. That afternoon most of the college's 5,400 student body, carrying banners, marched silently through the centre of Baton Rouge to the State Capitol. Hundreds of Negroes crowded the sidewalks. They watched with apprehension but with growing pride as the young people filed by in orderly ranks, their heads lifted, their bright young faces determined and unafraid. They packed in front of the Capitol and recited the Lord's Prayer, sang the National Anthem. Then a senior from the University mounted the stairs and declared for all to hear: 'We want the rights given to us by God. . . . We want the right to move as we please, and not be hindered by tradition. . . . We do not seek to be the white man's brother-in-law, only his brother'. Perhaps the white people were too amazed to do anything! Nothing like this had ever happened in Baton Rouge! Unmolested the students climbed into buses and returned to the campus. The next day Dr. Clark suspended the eighteen students! Then the students began withdrawing from the school. Within two days nearly 4,000 filed withdrawal forms. School officials informed them that their forms would be stamped 'expelled for disorderly conduct'. Still they persisted. Finally it was announced that withdrawal forms would be given out only on the written request of parents. Students say that pressures were brought to bear on their parents. Remnants of classes were resumed. The eighteen will soon be tried in the Louisiana court of law. The Negro community has raised several thousand dollars for their defence. The story is not ended, but the 'peace' on Southern's campus is shattered.

The first 'shock tactics' of the student movement left a string of closed lunch counters throughout the south-east, across the southern portion of the nation into Texas and approximately fifteen hundred Negro students in jails, workhouses, on chain gangs or out on bail. Some merchants, after so many students had been arrested, assumed

that no more would dare appear and so opened their lunch counters. Immediately more Negro students 'sat down' until the lunch counters were closed again. This 'hit and run' tactic assured most of the lunch counters being closed most of the time. In San Antonio, Texas, several large merchants, faced with the threat of student sit-downs, announced, March 15, they were opening their counters to Negroes. Baltimore's largest department store admitted Negroes to its dining room on March 29. This was followed by the gradual but unannounced opening of all lunch counters and eating facilities in Baltimore to Negroes. The first negotiated agreement made with the Negro student leaders was in Nashville, Tennessee. After they 'tried out' allowing a certain number of Negroes to eat at a few lunch counters, the merchants of Nashville have begun a permanent and total desegregation of all eating places. Negro students of Fisk University, Meharry Medical College, and their co-working white students from Vanderbilt University made a long, hard struggle. There were massive arrests of students in Nashville, fights, near race riots. After six weeks of 'relay' sit-downs—as soon as one group was arrested, another took its place at the lunch counter—total disorganisation of studies interrupted by nights in rat-infested jails, broken heads, scarred bodies, work on chain gangs and in workhouses, the students were joined by the entire Negro community of the city. An early morning dynamite blast wrecked the home of one of the lawyers working on the students' defence. Other homes in the Negro community were damaged and more than a hundred windows blown out of the buildings of Meharry Medical College. In the week before Easter the Negro community began a massive 'withdrawal of patronage' campaign from the downtown district of Nashville. Merchants now acknowledge that this boycott was virtually 100 per cent effective. Since it is estimated that Negroes spend about \$7,500,000 annually in the downtown store, it is clear that as the weeks passed and the boycott held, the necessities of business survival forced merchants to deal with the students on the integration issue. They held out only long enough to make the change cover *all* eating facilities.

Perhaps the four Carolina students who first 'sat down' in Greensboro, did not realise that in going into F. W. Woolworth they made the best possible choice of lunch counters. They may have started a chain reaction which may yet encircle the globe. For F. W. Woolworth Company almost does encircle the globe. It is the most extensive chain store in the world. When, therefore, by means of pickets, demonstrations and boycott it is brought to

the attention of the masses of people that a well-mannered Negro college student may not drink a cup of coffee in a Woolworth Store, people are shocked into an awareness of a situation they did not realise exists. And people are indignant! Philadelphia is only one example of cities where petitions have been circulated by youth groups recently and thousands of signatures secured; their 'Youth Against Segregation' petition read: 'We, the undersigned, pledge to buy nothing from an F. W. Woolworth Store anywhere until the management of the national chain stores orders all stores everywhere to serve and seat any customer without regard to race or color'. Members of the Presbytery of New York voted unanimously to have representatives of the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., attend a Woolworth stockholders' meeting, May 18, and 'move for a policy of nonsegregation'. The United Presbyterian Church holds \$100,000 worth of common stock in the company. At the recent conference of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organisations, top union leaders pledged themselves to boycott chain stores that refused to serve Negroes at Southern lunch counters. *The Wall Street Journal*, March 14, 1960, reported: 'One Woolworth unit (Durham, North Carolina) that normally does about 50 per cent of its business with Negroes has been practically deserted in recent days'. The same report could be made now on Woolworth Stores in hundreds of communities. On a bright, sunny Saturday here in New York, pickets from the American Jewish Congress, led by its national president, the Rev. Joachim Prinz, practically emptied Woolworth's large Fifth Avenue store.

The Student Movement has goaded long-established adult organisations into unprecedented action. At the Conference of Southern Negro Student Leaders meeting April 15-16, in Raleigh, North Carolina, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was strongly criticised for its lack of militancy in fighting segregation. Its publication the *Crisis* was labelled a magazine of the 'black bourgeois club' falling far short of the ideals of its founder, W. E. B. Du Bois. Now, in addition to defending in court all of the hundreds of students who have been arrested, the N.A.A.C.P. has announced a 'Wade In Campaign' of the public beaches and parks, maintained by tax funds, along the thousand of miles shoreline from Cape May, New Jersey, to Brownsville, Texas. Negroes have been excluded from all these beaches.

A MODERN AMALGAMATION IN PROCESS

W. J. Michael

*General Secretary of the Associated Blacksmiths'
Forge and Smithy Workers' Society.*

[We are pleased to print this fraternal address to the Conference of the United Society of Boilermakers, Shipbuilders and Structural Workers, on May 25, 1960. It exemplifies a modern method being adopted to bring about trade union amalgamation—a process which in the earlier years of the century encountered so many set-backs and obstacles, not only those of a legal nature.—Ed., L.M.]

THIS occasion is of great importance to us for two reasons. Firstly, it takes place when relations between our two societies have reached 'welding heat', as we say in the smithy and forge. Secondly, it is I believe the first time that an official fraternal delegation from our Society has attended your Annual Conference.

As you no doubt are aware it was last November that the executives of our two societies met in Glasgow and framed a 7-point Declaration.* This document contained the basic structure upon which an amalgamation could be formed between us. For our part the struggle to achieve closer unity has been a long and painstaking one (to which I have no desire to bore you with a mass of historical data). It is timely to recall that amalgamation talks between us is not a recent phenomenon. As far back as 1917 our two societies participated in a form of amalgamation with the Shipwrights. Quite true it dissolved itself after a few years. But it was at least a good omen for the future.

Amalgamation of course is not just our private preserve. Many progressive-minded trade unionists have been witnessing over the years the employers banding together into more compact and powerful forms of organisation. In fact, these take-over bids that we hear about so much these days are just another indication of what is taking place. We therefore can hardly dispute that in a crisis the shipbuilding and engineering employers speak with one

*The Seven Points quoted by the Boilermakers' annual report were as follows: '1. That the name "Blacksmiths" will be included in the title of the Society. 2. That a Blacksmiths' Section of the Society should be formed. 3. That the Blacksmiths' Section would have trade autonomy. 4. That the Blacksmiths' membership will be responsible for electing its own officials. 5. That the Blacksmiths' Executive would deal with trade matters only. 6. Financial matters to be dealt with by a General Executive on which two members of the Blacksmiths' Section shall be members. Representatives of the Blacksmiths' Section on a *pro rata* basis, shall be eligible to attend the Annual Delegate Conference of the Society, together with full-time officials. 7. Subject to the acceptance by the respective memberships of the above six points, the joint executives shall proceed with the amalgamation and draft a joint rule book.' The May Conference recommended these points to the membership.

united voice and moreover can act with a speed that is amazing. We of course have our Confederation; but it is often too painfully obvious that sectional divisions do on occasions hamper its ability to act with power and speed.

Nonetheless, we believe the experience of the war years has done much to foster the compelling need of closer unity. The desire of all to defeat the common enemy created more fraternal relations between unions. The sweeping changes in production technique, particularly in the shipbuilding industry, applied a stress upon craft practices and has stimulated some profound thinking.

Small wonder, then, that even before the war had finished the Trades Union Congress was seriously considering trade union structure and unity. In 1945 they published a report on the subject; and in that report they considered it desirable that the boilermakers, blacksmiths and shipwrights should be consulted with regard to the question of amalgamation. They said that a good understanding existed amongst them and little or no evidence existed of inter-union competition. So despite the ill-informed attacks of many of those who are outside the industry—and some who are in it—we firmly maintain that the foregoing good relationship still exists today. At any rate, our Society has with the full backing of its membership patiently pursued the path of closer unity in the post-war years. During that period some attempts were made to achieve amalgamation amongst large groups of unions simultaneously. We participated in these events, which did much to keep the issue alive. Nevertheless, we strongly felt that the most practical course of an approach was along the line of direct contact between two unions of identical interests. We therefore submit with all due respect that this better course has proved the more fruitful.

Well, then, we have come a long way since talks first took place between us in 1951. The going has not just been entirely smooth. Differences and doubts have arisen; that we need not question. While it would be foolish to ignore them it would indeed be criminal to exaggerate them and ignore the obvious fact that the sum of our agreement far outweighs the decimal fraction of our divisions. As most of you are aware we have a section of semi-skilled members whose interests we have catered for since our foundation. We have always upheld the principle that whatever technical difference exists between the smith and his striker, as trade unionists they are brothers with hands firmly clasped across the anvil. We have assured these lads that whatever arena of amalgamation we may enter, we will cross the threshold side by

side; so we ask you to respect that tradition. Again, we have our demarcation differences with you. We are not so foolish as to believe that amalgamation is a magic wand that will cause all such difficulties and differences to disappear. After all, such wonders may occur in fairyland, but they certainly don't occur in dockland. The point is we expect you as lads who have ever been willing to fight for your rights and we in turn ask you to acknowledge that right to us also. At all events what we do believe is that the voluntary association of our two unions in friendly brotherhood will develop a fertile climate which can well remove unnecessary tension on such differences and provide the readily acceptable solution.

And so we come to stand together with dignity and mutual regard with much more in common than we have at variance. In that respect, Mr. President, it is our pleasure to inform you that we now have the powers to progress still further the links that unite us. I refer of course to the decision reached between the two executives at Glasgow in November last. For our part we have implemented that decision and in accordance with the expressed will of our membership as recorded by ballot vote* to our executive in Edinburgh last week, I have therefore to convey to you that this national vote of ours is a very substantial one in favour of lining up as a trade section within the Boilermakers' Society as the parent body.

So there, Mr. President, having clearly made known our position I end on this note. That while we were strong in separation, yet more strong can we become in unity. May this association which marks another step in our history flourish for the benefit of the members we both represent. And may it also serve as an example to those whose desire for a united trade union movement was firm and solid as our own.

*With no less than 60 per cent of the membership voting, the result was nearly nine in ten in favour of the amalgamation proposals.

Continued from page 327

A new day has dawned in America. Our youth is on the march. Diana Nash, a pretty Fisk University co-ed, after serving a sentence in the workhouse, says: 'When we started this thing, we had a strong purpose. But after we stood in a courthouse being tried for our freedom, our dedication doubled, trebled. The fight hasn't begun yet'!

VIEWS OF THE WORLD

Rules Revision

The 42nd National Committee of the A.E.U. held in Blackpool continued as the Rules Revision Committee which is held every five years with two Australian delegates present. Outstanding features of this National Committee have already been noted by Vulcan in the June *Labour Monthly*. In addition to the wide gap between the platform and the floor, there also developed during the five-week period defections from the rigid right-wing policy which the Union leaders attempted to foist on all acquiescent delegates. This policy was responsible for the debacle on officials' salaries. For years in every possible way the right-wing has sought to undermine and restrict the democracy of the union. This gave rise to a number of sharp discussions during the meeting. The first battle took place immediately following Carron's vitriolic attack on the shop stewards. The Executive Council had disallowed about 40 resolutions for the Agenda despite the fact that according to rule such resolutions are subject to the approval of the District Committee and Divisional Committee only. For many years the National Committee by a majority vote accepted standing orders which endorsed this power taken upon themselves by Executive Council in violation of rule. The very fact that some of the resolutions concerned were sharply critical of Executive Council made this denial of democracy more obvious. This year the issue was battled out in a prolonged debate and the amendment to bring Standing Orders in line with rule received 24 votes to 28 against.

When the question of the salaries to be paid to full-time officials came

to be discussed this also gave rise to a lengthy discussion. The tradition in the A.E.U. has been for salaries to be commensurate with wages in the industry. No union branch had proposed increases in the salaries of the full-time officials but the Executive, also having power to make suggestions, proposed a salary for the President of £1,500 and for the Divisional Organisers £1,000, thus increasing the differential to 50%. It is interesting to note that the spokesman for the District Officials, Brother Morrow, was opposed to increased differentials. The debate was opened on a general resolution that the salaries of all officials be increased, which was carried by 44 votes to 10. The salary of the President was then discussed. The proposal for £1,500 meant a £6 10s. a week increase, together with £100 personal allowance, £50 London allowance, delegation expenses and

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other unspecified perquisites. Four amendments were moved during the debate to reduce the £6 10s. increase but all were rejected. This left only the resolution standing for £6 10s., which when put to the vote was rejected by 24 votes in favour to 28 against. This result caused consternation. The left had made its position clear during the debate; it was prepared for a £2 a week increase. The responsibility rested with the supporters of 'all or nothing'. The following day the Committee proceeded to reject the proposed increase for all national officials by the same vote. The local officials however were only down for £120 a year increase and this received the support of those who were in favour of a similar increase for all officials and those who voted for the Executive's proposals. The anomalous position was thus created that the local officials received their increase while the national officials got nothing. No doubt members of the Executive debarred by rule from attending this meeting themselves, had a few unkind words for their President. The sequel followed later when the Standing Orders Committee recommended that the Executive be requested to recall the meeting after the normal closure in order to reconsider the position. The final outcome was that national officials also received the £120.

Much attention was displayed by the press in an Executive proposal that only members of the Labour Party should be allowed to pay the political levy, with the avowed aim of excluding Communists from political rights in the union. It had been the practice for all suggestions made by the Executive to be formally moved by a delegate so that the President could make an explanation on behalf of the Executive. On reaching this item the President

paused hopefully. But the only response he received was 'not moved' and he had to proceed to the next item. A gain for democracy in the union was recorded when a rule made a few years ago to debar candidates from sending out hand-written material canvassing for support was rescinded. During recent years the press lords have used their influence on behalf of all candidates meeting with their approval and vilified those who do not. The alteration may go some way to redress the balance. A few comments on Australia where we have over 2,500 branches and 77,000 members need to be made. Conditions differ considerably from those in Britain. The reactionary Menzies Government in its efforts to combat and hamstring the unions has provided under certain conditions for court-controlled ballots for officials of the union. Under militant leadership high wages have been won. The General Rules provide for the Australian Rules to be amended to meet the requirements of labour legislation. The members in Australia, however, refuse to interpret this as an acceptance of the reactionary policy and legislation of the Menzies Government and battle against it by all means in their power. This has led to many sharp clashes between the Commonwealth Council and the Executive Council. It was therefore vital to the Australian membership that their delegates should attend not only statutory Rules Revision meetings but also all recalled meetings. An Executive proposal that they should only attend if considered necessary was lost. Approval was given for an additional Divisional Organiser for Tasmania. Other issues were debated keenly and led to narrow votes. The increase in contributions for all sections, e.g., Section 1, 2s. 3d. per week to 3s., may

provoke much criticism from the membership. However there can be no doubt that the proceedings as a whole represent a gain for progress and democracy.

A DELEGATE.

BOOKS

Studies in the History of Education

Brian Simon

Lawrence & Wishart, 376pp. 37s. 6d.

HAVE you ever wondered why the ruling class has been unable to solve the problem of educational advance which is as vital to them as it is to the nation as a whole? Why it is that it allows other countries to outstrip us in science and technology?

Here in this book is part of the answer. It is a clearly written and carefully documented account of the slow and painful emergence of a universal system of education (still sadly incomplete) between 1780 and 1870. At the beginning of the 19th century pressure for the reform of the predominantly feudal and clerical institutions — the Public Schools, the decaying Grammar Schools, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge—came both from the rising class of industrialists and the professional middle-class associated with them and from the working-class under the leadership of the Chartists. After a period of suppression following the French Revolution these groups of radicals met with certain success with the founding of University College, London, in 1826, the establishment of a number of schools with a progressive method and content, including University College School (1828), the Liverpool Institute, and others in Leicester and elsewhere.

These catered mainly for the middle-class and may be said to have begun the teaching of science in schools. During the same period Owenite Halls of Science and Mechanics' Institutes to some extent met the needs of the artisans. These movements generally moving on a parallel course but sometimes working together are connected with such famous names as Watt and Boulton of the Soho Steel Works, of Wedgwood the potter, of Erasmus Darwin grandfather of Charles Darwin, and Joseph Priestley the discoverer of oxygen, as well as of the leading Chartists and Robert Owen, who worked out and popularised the idea of a national system of education. But throughout the period progress was slow and painful, ignored by the ancient universities, hindered and even suppressed by the establishment of the time.

It was not until 1870 that the beginnings of a national system of education was established—more than 50 years later than in France! The struggle for popular education is indissolubly connected with the struggle of the classes for power. There can be no general or fundamental educational advance without a preceding shift in political power. There is also a second conclusion that emerges from the abundant material (much of it the fruits of original research) collected by the author. It is that the struggle for popular education is a vital sector in the wider class struggle. As the author says in the introductory chapter: 'It is primarily in the working-class movement that there is expressed the fervent belief in the power of the human reason, in science, in education as an essential means to individual and social development'.

This book is an admirable example of the application of Marxism to a

particular sphere of social life. Its value is greatly enhanced by the clarity and simplicity of the style.

G. C. T. GILES.

Kiev Rus

B. D. Grekov

Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.

18s. 688pp.

FOR more than two centuries—from before 900 till about 1100 A.D.—most of European Russia was united under a powerful feudal state, with its capital at Kiev. From the early twelfth century the same causes which in the west had led to the disintegration of the empire of Charlemagne gradually reduced the Russian state, in spite of the efforts of such rulers as Vladimir Monomakh, to a loose federation of independent and often mutually hostile principalities and republics. When in the thirteenth century the Mongols swept over Russia, there was no concerted resistance to them; indeed, many of the princes and dignitaries capitulated without a fight in order to retain their feudal privileges. Kiev itself was sacked in 1240, its famed churches and palaces largely destroyed, and many thousands of its citizens massacred or led off to slavery. The Kiev state in its heyday was one of the great powers of the mediaeval world, and the history of the period can only be distorted by failure to take account of it. Its trade connections ran from Norway to Baghdad, from France to Bokhara, and the force of its arms was felt from Sweden to Asia Minor. The network of marriages between the Princes of Kiev and the ruling houses of Europe symbolises the political status of the country. To glance only at Anglo-Russian relations, the sons of

King Edmund Ironside, driven from England by Canute, sought refuge in Kiev; among those they met there would be Prince Yaroslav's son-in-law, the Norwegian Harald Hardrada, who was to meet his death at Stamford Bridge in 1066. And Prince Vladimir Monomakh—himself the grandson of a Byzantine emperor, brother-in-law of a German emperor, and father-in-law of a king of Hungary—married a daughter of King Harold of England, driven from her native land by the Norman conquest; their son, Prince Yuri Dolgoruky ('Longarm'), was the founder of Moscow, destined to be the centre of the new Russian state arising upon the ruins of Kiev Rus.

Academician Grekov's book, now available in English after appearing in a number of editions in the Soviet Union in the last fifteen years, was designed primarily as a handbook for school teachers. It presumes a general acquaintance with the course of events, and concentrates on polemical discussion of the most controversial issues. In doing so Grekov has to fight on two fronts: on the one hand against the Normannists, who supposed the Kiev state to be an artificial creation, imposed by a ruling class of Scandinavian invaders on the passive and feckless Slavs, and on the other hand against the tribalists, who believed that Russian society in the Kiev period was not a class society at all, and that the social and political development of Russia was unique. Stated baldly, neither of these theses seems very plausible. Yet they were worked out in great detail by historians of distinction, and strong traces of both, and particularly of the second, are still to be found in popular ideas on the Kiev state. Grekov, dealing particularly with agrarian relations and

the economic history of the towns, shows how the Kiev state arose naturally out of the decaying tribal society—which had already thrown up a powerful but short-lived state in this region—how more and more of the people fell into various forms of bondage to the great landlords, how labour rent tended to be replaced by rent in kind and then by money-rent, how the growing efficiency of the parts—measured in feudal terms—made the local rulers less and less willing to maintain the central apparatus. For those who have some acquaintance with the Middle Ages it is fascinating reading just because of the combination of new material and familiar patterns. A little more imagination on the part of the editor and publishers would have made the book much more readable by the non-specialist. For instance, the Russian terms of feudal land-tenure and social stratification are unfamiliar, and the reader is soon lost in a jungle of *smerds* and *kholops*, *volosts* and *vervs*. These terms are all in due course discussed, and their changing meaning over the centuries elucidated. But why not provide a glossary of rough and ready definitions, such as a Russian reader brings with him from his school-days? Again, though every page is studded with place-names, there are no maps; few English readers know where to look for Tmutarakan or Pereyaslavl, and few English maps are of much help. The Russian reader, too, knows roughly the order and date of the main events of his own history, and the identity of the leading figures. Could chronological and genealogical tables not have been provided for the foreign reader? And why is there no index? A history book cannot be translated as if it were a book on physics or mathematics. There is always an

unfamiliar frame of reference to be supplied.

The translation is accurate and idiomatic, with only here and there a proper name in a strange form, e.g. *Horvatia* for *Croatia*, *Amalikit-yans* for *Amalekites*.

ROBERT BROWNING.

F. M. Dostoyevsky

V. Yermilov

Central Books. 294pp. 6s.

FYODOR Dostoyevsky was born in 1821 at a time when Tsarist Russia was the pillar of reaction in Europe. He grew to manhood at a time when the new capitalist order, victorious in Britain and France, was hammering at established feudalism in Central and Eastern Europe, and when Russian intellectuals were listening to the revolutionary message. Tsarist officialdom was frightened. In 1849 Dostoyevsky and a score of others who had been talking revolution (it was little more than talk) were arrested, condemned to death, reprieved as they faced the firing squad and exiled to Siberia.

It broke his spirit. He had never been deep in the revolutionary movement. As for Socialism, the only kind he knew was the utopian brand of Fourier, as interpreted to Russian intellectuals by Petrashevsky. He never read Marx or any Marxist. The shock of his exile reduced him to a despair of humanity that never left him. It shows in his face, which becomes more and more dejected in each succeeding photograph. And it shows in his work.

To Dostoyevsky man is a miserable being groaning under the rule of hangmen, and what is worse, every man would be a hangman if he could. After recall from exile he travelled in western Europe and had a close-up view of the capitalism that

had stepped into the shoes of feudalism. It horrified him, as it horrified many others. But his horror was not illumined by any scientific theory of social evolution, and drove him (as it drove others similarly unillumined—one thinks of Carlyle in his later years) into violent reaction and vicious racialism.

Yet Dostoyevsky's notes on the capitalist West are shrewd. Particularly so is his picture of London in 1863, with its 'foul Thames' and 'coal-steeped air', its 'splendid parks, gardens and squares' for the rich, its 'frightful' Whitechapel, its 'hungry, savage and ill-clad' East-Enders, and its child-prostitution—not yet exposed by Stead in his *Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon*. But whereas Marx saw all this and pointed the way out through working-class struggle, Dostoyevsky saw it and could only shriek despair.

In his novels, *Crime and Punishment*, *The Possessed*, *the Hobbler*, and *The Karamazov Brothers*, Dostoyevsky works out his melancholy theory of a world composed of jackboots and doormats. His criminals justify themselves by pointing out, truly enough, that successful

capitalists and brass-hats are no better than they are. As capitalism will be no improvement on Tsarism, revolution is simply not worth while. What's the good of anything? Why nothing!

In the end he needs religion to deaden him to the stink of it. The trouble is that Dostoyevsky is too intelligent really to believe in religion. Even suppose we put down human suffering to sin, what about the suffering of children? Dostoyevsky gives up the question, or solves it with the unreal reply (put in the mouth of a priest) that we do not know everything, and that in another world we shall see that it is all right.

It says much for the broad-mindedness of the Soviet Government that they should think Dostoyevsky, with his 'black pessimism' and 'cult of suffering', worth commemorating. As Yermilov says at the end, Dostoyevsky was right to recoil in horror from capitalism, but wrong in lacking the will to struggle against it. He drew its ugly portrait, and left others to punch it on the nose.

ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

- Key Questions for Trade Unionists. Jim Gardner. Lawrence ■ Wishart. 72 pp. 2s. 6d.
 Paved with Gold. Dave Wallis. Heinemann. 242 pp. 16s.
 Let Us Live in Peace and Friendship. N. S. Khrushchov. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books Ltd. 406 pp. 9s.
 Andromeda: A Space-Age Tale. Ivan Yefremov. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books Ltd. 444 pp. 10s. 6d.
 Nationalisation. H. Fagan. Lawrence & Wishart. 64 pp. 2s. 6d.
 Haldane of Cloan. Dudley Sommer. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 448 pp. 42s.
 An Essay on Economic Growth and Planning. Maurice Dobb. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 120 pp. 15s.
 Dancing to Fame. M. Chudnovsky. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books Ltd. 100 pp. 5s.
 Prokofiev. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books Ltd. 334 pp. 21s.
 Russian Decorative Folk Art. M. Ilyin. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books Ltd. 136 pp. 18s.
 Durov and his Performing Animals. E. Dvinsky. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books Ltd. 128 pp. 3s. 6d.
 The Origin of Man. M. Nesturkh. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books Ltd. 350 pp. 30s.

(Continued from page 11 of cover)

carriage windows were shivered into fragments; and his Royal Highness Edward Guelph who was at the opera got away as quietly as he could'.

Commonweal of June 12 (after the 'revolt' had been crushed and another 12 rebels dismissed) contains the text of the circular, which whatever else the signatory of it may have done before or after, singles him out for historic mention. 'Metropolitan Police, Bow Street, July 4, 1890. Dear Sir,—Please make known to your men that Mr. Matthews last night said: "The police have a perfect right to petition". Also ask your sub-divisions to do likewise; it is for their mutual benefit, and the betterment of the whole force. This petition has gone in from Bow Street, and has met our respected Commissioner's approval. For further particulars etc., apply to your obedient servant, Thos. Beevers, P.C. 134E'.

Surely it is somewhat of a rarity to see workers demonstrating in support of policemen on strike? Yet that is what the contemporary picture in this issue recalls so vividly from a long-forgotten incident of seventy years ago. It is unfortunately rather more usual to see police in violent action against strikers: printers will well remember the events of exactly a year ago. Each generation

gets lessons in the meaning of The State, how it works and on whose behalf. During the apprentices' strike there were cases of outrageous police behaviour, which have not yet received the publicity they deserve. It was not merely unjustified arrests, but totally illegal and underhand practices, including finger-printing. But when a spirited lad feels he is speaking up not only for himself but for 50,000 like him, all united, determined and in the right, it takes more than an unholy alliance of State and employers to intimidate him. Certainly the fighting qualities young people have shown in Britain (not to mention Japan and Africa) have earned them respect from their elders. That has been evident at trade union conference after conference, as I have had on several occasions this past month to see for myself, thanks to readers' support for the Out-With-The-Manager Fund. Equally I have been impressed by the high regard for L.M. which conference delegates have shown, and by what new readers have been saying and writing. It only goes to show what opportunities are waiting to be seized.

As to the fund, I can only say that what is needed now is more *group collections* to match the generosity of individual gifts. May totalled:

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Hands off Congo!

Events which will leave an indelible stamp on the record of
colonialism examined by Angela Tuckett.



**HISTORIC ISSUES
FACING LABOUR**

Notes by A. F. Rothstein

SHIPBUILDING

J. E. Mortimer

**CUBA AND THE
CRAZY GANG**

William Gallacher

VOTES FOR YOUTH

Mick McGahey

IN MEMORY OF HARRY POLLITT
R. Palme Dutt

AUGUST · 1960

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OUT AND ABOUT

IN MY PHOTOGRAPH album there is a group of laughing, waving and cheering young people. No, not a holiday snap. They are engineering and shipyard apprentices lobbying outside one of the big trade union conferences which I have been attending. 'Nice to see a bit of cheerfulness in the movement, isn't it?', a leading trade unionist remarked with a twinkle. We were watching a certain general secretary, with a reputation for being keener on 'productivity' than on youth wages, making rather heavy weather of answering the points raised by these 'wolf cubs'. We can't print the snap ('possibly some of the gvnors don't know we're here!'), but it will be one for the record in a few years' time when these lads are the leaders of their unions, in a changed, safer and more cheerful-still world.

It has been a great stimulus and valuable experience to go out and about the country, meeting readers, and seeing them in action, not only for the lucky staff member who is out on tour, but also for those of us who have to stay behind and hold the fort in the office (and with such a small staff, only one away of course adds to the work of the others). Now, for example, we all have a clearer picture of the problems and achievements of the reader in Lancashire who built up his L.M. sales from 5 to 12—three more since that pleasant social evening ten weeks ago spent in good cheer and warm argument. A *Sussex* fund regular writes: 'How glad I am that you have at last got your chance of going round the country, making contacts. It is good that readers have shown their enthusiasm for our splendid monthly and made it possible'. A *Londoner* was 'knocked speechless by that

reader who showed up with the £90, I'll try to do better myself'—and he doubled his regular donation, which is already a big one. Here are some glimpses of how readers are won.

First, a *Glasgow engineer*: 'A shop steward at work has been passing on to me his copy of L.M. Now that he has left the firm I have missed it for a month or two and I find I can't do without it. I'm on the extreme left of the Labour Party, and I regard your publication as a "must" if I am to digest past and current events and come up with the right answer. So here's 18s. for a year's subscription'. From *Monmouthshire*: 'I only discovered L.M. three months ago. I bought one at once and from the very first copy I have something to thank you for. I had been wandering for some time in a wilderness, my whole thinking had become mixed, so disgusted was I by the words and actions of many in the Labour Party leadership who masquerade as Socialists but are Conservatives in disguise. L.M. restored my faith. What I like most is that it does not consist of a series of slogans but of sound, cogent arguments'. A University teacher from the *Midlands* describes passing on 'my copy when I have read it to an Irish comrade, though I don't always appreciate parting with it. He has been passing it on in his turn to Irish friends in his factory. As a result, "they have come very close to our viewpoint, which is especially important, as they are influential shop stewards", he writes'. Then there is the story of a *Lancashire engineer*, now 29, who spent the last seven years a-roving all around the world. He described how, after three years in the U.S.A., he 'suddenly became interested in politics, and since then I have drifted steadily towards Socialism'. Now he is 'sick of travelling', and came home to settle down. But first he decided to blow all his savings on a trip to Moscow and Leningrad, 'the cradle

(Continued on page 111 of cover)

Notes of the Month

HISTORIC ISSUES FACING LABOUR

Andrew Rothstein*

ORGANISED labour—and particularly, the trade union movement—holds the future of Britain in the hollow of its hand today as it has not done since 1945. For many years the attention and the speculations of the capitalist press have not been riveted

to the coming Trades Union Congress, and still more to the approaching Labour Party Conference, as they have been during the last few months.

Week by week the newspapers have printed the score tables in trade union voting on the two great issues of home and foreign policy with a breathless eagerness that gave the lie to all their talk of the 'ineffectiveness' and 'hopeless split' in the Labour movement. More and more they showed that the kind of 'effectiveness' their millionaire proprietors wanted was for the Labour Party to continue obediently in the tow of the Conservative Party on what Lord Balfour, one of the most subtle Tory politicians in British history, called 'the foundations of society'—that is, in plain language, on maintaining private property in the means of production and hostility to countries which have ended it. More and more

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*The Editor will resume the Notes of the Month in the next issue.

obviously the capitalist press has shown that the only split it regards as 'hopeless' is one in which the Socialist, working-class trend in the Labour Party breaks away from domination by the Liberal trend—the trend which at every turn looks for ways of co-operating with the exploiters and class enemies of the working people. What British capitalism is afraid of, in short, is that British Labour may close its ranks and resume an effective fight for Socialism.

Why Clause Four?

The first of the great issues is Clause 4—whether or not the Labour Party is to continue in its aim of bringing about the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The case for Clause 4 was put nearly 70 years ago by Robert Blatchford in *Merrie England*: and because most of what he and all other British Socialists advocated then has not been put into effect, the case is as fresh and strong now as it was in 1891-92.

At present the land—that is, England—does not belong to the people—to the English—but to a few rich men. The mines, mills, ships, shops, canals, railways, houses, docks, harbours and machinery do not belong to the people, but to a few rich men. Therefore, the land, the factories, the railways, ships and machinery are not used for the general good of the people, but are used to make wealth for the few rich men who own them. Socialists say that this arrangement is unjust and unwise, that it entails waste as well as misery.

We may add today that the stranglehold of 'a few rich men' retained over the nationalised mines and railways and London transport since 1945—in the shape of eternal compensation payments and interest on loans by privately-owned banks—provides an object lesson every day of how right Blatchford was. And what trade union organising workers on the land, in the engineering factories and the shipyards, in the building industry, the aircraft construction or in chemicals, does not know the urgent need for taking his advice? Indeed such unions for years past have shown it—by putting down resolutions on the Labour Party Conference agenda.

The Liberals' First Defeat

As these lines are being written, the news comes that the Labour Party Executive, faced with the prospect that over four million votes would be cast against them at the Conference, have decided to withdraw their amendment or addition to Clause 4. This of course is a very great victory for the Socialist trend in the Labour Party. It shows the immense potential strength of that trend in

the trade unions and the successful appeal which it can make to the rank and file on fundamental issues affecting the life of the working class. It is also a defeat for the Liberal trend, which had not hesitated to use forgery (the suggestion that Clause 4 required 'all' the means of production to be nationalised—including the workman's tools and the smallest farm), distortion (the suggestion that Labour's electoral defeat in 1959 was due to excessive threats of nationalisation) and blackmail (threats to resign) in the campaign to bulldoze the rank and file into accepting a revision of Clause 4. The defeat of this campaign has another importance too: the discussion about the fundamental aims of the working class has to some extent exposed to the rank and file the interests of which class the Liberal trend was serving—whether its mouthpieces intended it or not.

How They Hope to Get Round It

But the defeat is not yet final. There should be no illusions about that. The Liberal trend in the Labour Party has been entrenched in and around the leadership since the foundation in 1900, and—though it has had to give ground here and there, over the years—it does not propose to give way to the Socialist, working-class trend on this big issue without a struggle. That is shown by the decision of the majority of the Executive, on July 13, to include in its annual report the 'statement of aims' which it adopted, in the first attempt to water down Clause 4, on March 16. Although Morgan Phillips explained that this was only as a record, because 'you cannot avoid reporting what you have done', this manifestly is not the case. For the majority decided to describe the statement as 'a valuable expression of the aims of the Labour Party', and to 'commend it to the conference accordingly'. That is to say, the majority was not merely reporting, it was recommending—and doing so with high praise. If the Conference therefore were to accept the report, it would be accepting the opinions and the recommendation of the majority. Thus the Liberal trend seeks to slip in by the back door what it has just, very reluctantly, agreed to throw out at the front: a typical example of what Lenin called 'bourgeois parliamentarism', but a trick which should not be accepted by a working-class conference. The spokesmen of the Transport Workers, the Engineers and the Boilermakers, as well as two M.P.'s, had every justification in voting against it at the Executive meeting.

Out at the Front Door, In at the Back

For what did this 'statement of aims' assert, over and above the provisions of Clause 4? It declared that 'both public and private enterprise have a place in the economy'—which meant (by carefully avoiding any indication of *which* private enterprise was referred to) that the 512 big monopoly corporations specially commended in the Executive Committee's 1957 report on *Industry and Society* should continue to exist. This was a concealed rejection of Clause 4. Like that report, the statement went further: it recommended 'public participation in private concerns'. This meant Government investment of public funds in the most successful and 'efficient' of the 512 monopoly corporations. 'Efficient' in what way? In earning profits, *i.e.*, in extracting surplus value from the labour of the workers whom they employ. This was not merely a rejection of common ownership of the means of production, not merely State protection of monopoly capitalism: it was proclaiming the most barefaced form of *State* monopoly capitalism to be a principle of the Labour Party. To add insult to injury, the 'statement of aims' told Socialists that by this method the community would be given 'power over the commanding heights of the economy'—whereas clearly the effect would be precisely the opposite: to give the monopolists increased capital and increased power at the expense of the community. The insertion of such a statement in the Executive's report as 'valuable', and its commendation to the Conference, was a declaration of war on the rank and file who had just rejected it; and the Conference will only do justice to its own common sense if it recognises this.

More to Fight at Scarborough

To reassert the economic principles of Socialism successfully after an attack of such dimensions—supported by the entire capitalist press—will be a great step forward, and the Scarborough conference will already have played an historic part if it sends the 'statement of aims' to follow the Executive's 'amendment' and 'addendum' where they all belong. But it has more to do still, to reassert the responsibility of the working class, as the leading class of the British people, to protect the lives and well-being of all who live in these islands, and thus to re-establish the claim of the working class to refashion the nation after its own image, by the Socialist transformation of society. The Labour Party Executive's statement on foreign policy and defence will also come before the conference, with hastily-secured endorsement by 18 votes to 5 at the T.U.C.

General Council (out of 35 members) and by 97 to 15 in the Parliamentary Labour Party (with 145 members absent). But this statement, too, has been dictated by the Liberal trend against the Socialist trend. It ties the foreign policy of the Labour Party to that of the Conservatives and the ruling class of the United States, the interests of the British people to those of British monopoly capitalism and American imperialism—an unnatural and monstrous ‘alliance’, which in reality is only a new form of bondage for the British working class.

A ‘New’ Defence Policy—Just Like the Old

It is not necessary to repeat here the detailed analysis of the defence statement made in our last issue by William Wainwright. The essentials (after all the talk about a supposed ‘advance’ it represents on previous statements) are that (i) it provides for retention of existing British nuclear weapons—George Brown, M.P., explained at an official press conference that they might even have to be ‘reworked’ for future use—and only says they should be renounced at some unspecified future; (ii) it provides for the retention of American hydrogen bomb bases in Britain; (iii) it approves British participation, with other national armies forming part of NATO, in the manufacture and use of ‘smaller’ (or ‘tactical’) nuclear weapons, providing the armies concerned are not too ‘perilously dependent’ upon them; (iv) it only asks, in all this, that the United States should agree not to use their own hydrogen bombs, rockets, etc., without the consent of all fourteen NATO Powers (an idea which the American military and their politicians have ridiculed again and again); (v) it accepts German rearmament, only asserting that this should not include nuclear weapons ‘in present circumstances’; (vi) as the framework for all this, it declares—in tacit rejection of the Soviet offer to replace existing military blocs in Europe by a single Security Treaty—‘we must remain loyal supporters of NATO’. The more it changes, in other words, the more it remains the same. It is clearly and totally incompatible with the resolutions passed by the conferences of the Transport Workers, the Engineers, the Railwaymen, the Shop and Distributive Workers, the Electrical Trades’ Union, the Public Employees, the Building Trade Workers and a number of other unions. This point is important, as will be shown later.

NATO—The Death-Trap for Britain

All the policies in the Executive’s defence statement hinge on one point—the last. ‘It’s only the first step that counts’, runs the

French saying—and that is not only an advice to young ladies. Membership of NATO—the organisation formed in 1949 under American direction, with the active co-operation of the Liberal trend in the Labour movement then controlling the Labour Government, against a Soviet ‘menace’ which did not exist, on the pretext of a ‘Berlin blockade’ invented by John Foster Dulles and Ernest Bevin (as D. N. Pritt, Q.C., demonstrated with facts and documents in our last number): this determines everything else. It was on account of membership of NATO that the Labour Government admitted American bomber bases to this country and, as has now been revealed, agreed in 1951 to allow them to conduct spy-flights. It was on account of the obligations of NATO that, in 1954, the Liberal trend in the leadership of the Labour Party ‘organised’ the defiance of their own conference mandates by several union delegations at the Morecambe conference, to secure approval of the suicidal decision to rearm Western Germany—even against the protests of the German trade unions and Social-Democrats. It is commitment to NATO that has hamstrung the Parliamentary Labour Party, year after year, in criticising the ruinous expenditure of one-third of the National Budget on war preparations. And when the spokesmen of Liberalism in the Labour Party try to defend the ‘new’ defence policy by their ultimate argument, ‘you will be wrecking NATO’, they can now be reminded of two more recent proofs that NATO is not a ‘shield’ for the British people, but a deadly trap. The fight against it is not a question of pacifism, or ‘unilateralism’, or ‘going naked into the council chamber’. It is a class fight of the workers against a policy dictated by imperialism.

Two Sides at Geneva

One latest proof is the refusal of the Western Powers, led by the U.S.A., to give any serious consideration to the Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament, tabled on September 18, 1959, at the United Nations Assembly and again, in a form revised to meet Western criticisms, on June 2, 1960, at Geneva—proposals which, in each case, provided for sweeping reductions in armaments and forces at the very first stage, with full international inspection. Instead, the Western Powers proposed, in their two schemes drafted in March and June, 1960, to have a prolonged and indefinite period without any disarmament whatsoever, and only controls of various kinds. Only one capitalist newspaper, *The Times*, has ventured (June 29) to publish a summary of the ‘new’ proposals drafted by the U.S.A.—but hastily backed by the other Western Powers, when

the Socialist countries declared at Geneva on June 27 that they would no longer be parties to what had become 'deception of the peoples', but would transfer the whole question to the United Nations.

The Hoax of the Western Proposals

Why this coyness of the capitalist press (including the *Daily Herald*)? Because, under the 'new' proposals, there was to be no reduction of conventional forces for an indefinite period. There was to be no banning, renunciation or even reduction of nuclear and atomic weapon stocks, also for an indeterminate period. There would be no destruction of the fixed or floating bases from which H-bombs and rockets could be launched. Existing stocks of fissionable material could be used for making more such weapons. But instead, there would be established six different forms of land and air control—a perfect illustration of legalised espionage instead of disarmament. No wonder the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent in Geneva had cabled on June 26 that there was 'no expectation of any really spectacular new move by the West', and the Washington correspondent of *The Times* had forecast, the next day, that the 'new' American proposals would not 'appreciably diminish the gulf between the Russian and Western proposals'! The whole outcry by the capitalist press (including the *Daily Herald*) about the Russians not waiting to see the new proposals—which the said press has carefully refrained from publishing—has been a gigantic hoax, not the first of its kind. And the purpose of the hoax was to conceal how completely the British Government is tied by its NATO obligations to dragging at the heel of the U.S.A., to the great detriment of the British people which badly needs the relief that disarmament would bring.

RB47—And Its Defenders

The second, and more immediately threatening consequence of NATO, has been the discovery that the RB47, an American six-engined reconnaissance bomber, armed with two 20 mm guns, and equipped with special radio-electronic and photographic apparatus, which was shot down over Soviet territorial waters on July 1, had taken off from Brize Norton, in Oxfordshire. Of course the Americans—echoed by their obedient stooges in this country—immediately set up the expected hullabaloo. 'The plane wasn't anywhere near Soviet territory'—although when they first missed it ten days before, they said they hadn't had any radio communi-

cation with it for hours. 'The plane was engaged on purely scientific research work'—although in that case it was curious that they hadn't invited the Soviet Union's co-operation, and as the *Guardian* sarcastically wrote (July 12): 'What was it doing on the Murmansk coast—if it really was there? How could it have got so far off the innocent course approximate to its ostensible purpose of electro-magnetic survey?' 'The Americans are not likely to have used such a plane for spying'—although the captured pilots have said that that is precisely what it was being used for. 'They wouldn't do such a thing so soon after being caught out with the U-2'—when the essence of the U-2 incident was that the United States Government proclaimed that it had committed that breach of international law *as of right*, in virtue of its own decision, and would continue to do so (though not for the time being with U-2's).

NATO's Deadly Grip

But the British Government had supported the U.S.A. in the Security Council, when the Soviet Union complained of the U-2 incident: and Gaitskell, with his supporters, made no protest. Now Macmillan again hurried in, on July 12, with a declaration that the British Government accepted the American version—and the majority of the Labour M.P.'s, headed by Gaitskell, made no protest at that either; although a Soviet Note had specifically warned the British Government of the dangerous consequences of allowing its territory to be used as a base for American spy flights. After the U-2 discovery, such states as Norway, Pakistan, Turkey and Japan had secured pledges from the U.S.A. not to use their territory for such purposes, and even to remove U-2's altogether. Not so the British Government—or the Liberal majority in the leadership of the Parliamentary Labour Party. All it pressed for, and all that Macmillan conceded, was an approach to the United States Government to secure assurances of greater 'consultation' before any flights from bases in this country. Yet all present in the House of Commons knew that the Government had no objection to the spy flights in themselves (with all the peril of a third world war which they bring)—and that the double-dealing and lying of the U.S. State Department and Pentagon have gone too far past 'the point of no return' for their assurances to be trusted. Why was the RB-47 able to take off from Brize Norton? Because of NATO. Why did Macmillan hedge and hesitate, and cover up the American provocations? Because of obligations to NATO. Why could Labour M.P.'s only plead for 'consultation' and 'assurances', when

the lives of fifty millions in these islands, and hundreds of millions all over the world, are at stake? Because of their acceptance of NATO. The logic is inescapable. NATO is a death-trap for Britain, not a shield.

The Socialist Alternative

And when its advocates try to bulldoze the Scarborough Conference into voting for the Gaitskell-Brown-Crossman 'defence policy' by saying that there is no alternative, and therefore that American bases and American-British 'deterrents' must stay, there is an obvious reply. Firstly, the Soviet Union has offered a practical and drastic plan of complete and general disarmament, under international control; secondly, through Khrushchov's speech at the United Nations on September 18 last year it proposed a series of interim measures which would change the whole international atmosphere and make complete disarmament more acceptable to doubters. These were

- (i) an agreement on prevention of surprise attack by one State upon another; (ii) a non-aggression pact between the NATO States and those belonging to the Warsaw Treaty; (iii) withdrawal of foreign troops from all European States and the closing down of military bases on foreign territories; (iv) an atom-free zone in Central Europe; (v) reduction of foreign troops in a zone of international control and inspection in Europe.

Thus, both in defence of Britain and as a step to promoting world peace and disarmament, rejection at the T.U.C. and Labour Party Conference of the 'defence statement' put forward by the majority of the Labour Party executive, and the adoption of the motions for Britain's abandonment of horror weapons and expulsion of the American bases, will be practical acts of Socialist internationalism.

Vigilance—For ■ Socialist Victory

These, then, are the tremendous issues facing the delegates at the conferences this autumn. What is involved is the future of Socialism in this country—and the future of the country itself. Never yet have the forces of working-class Socialism come so close within sight of victory. And that explains the open and unashamed appeals to union leaders to try and wangle things so that they can 'switch the vote'—in plain language, defy the clearly voiced decisions of their union conference (at present showing 2·8 millions to 1·8 millions against the 'defence policy'). For this, every trade union branch, every district committee, every local Labour Party and every trade council should be on their guard,

urging the Socialist majority leaders in the movement—how long since that could be said!—to stand firm. The prospect of a Socialist victory over Liberalism also explains the brazen appeals in such journals as the *Economist* (July 2), and the *Listener* (June 30) and others to Gaitskell and those Labour M.P.'s who will follow him—if conference doesn't go as they like, to break away, defy it, 'explode the myth of control by annual conference and publicly proclaim the reality that the parliamentary leadership exercises the power of decision' (Mr. Ivan Yates on the Third Programme). How dearly the various agencies of capitalism outside the Labour Party, and the mouthpieces of Liberalism inside it, would love to see that happen! But conference delegates can remind all tempted by such siren voices of earlier aspirants (in 1931) to 'explode the myth'. Their names were James Ramsay Macdonald, J. H. Thomas and Philip Snowden. Let the delegates and delegations stand firm—and the cause of the working class—the cause of Socialism, will gain the day at Scarborough.

July 14, 1960.

LABOUR MONTHLY

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

WARNING TO JAY WALKERS

Let the country never forget that the Labour Party is the instrument of the trade unions; instituted to acquire control of the government for the main purpose of passing their programme into law. It is sometimes necessary to reiterate the declaration that the unions did not create the Labour Party to enable quacks to voice their particular nostrums to the detriment of the programme.

(From *Problems of Trade Unionism in 1936* by J. D. LAWRENCE,
Chairman London District, A.E.U.)

FORTY YEARS AGO

Forty years ago the Communist Party was founded in Britain. In our next issue, Bob Stewart, who was elected at the founding convention to the provisional executive, will give his recollections of 'Forty Splendid Years'.

CRISIS IN COAL

Will Paynter

THERE is a crisis in the coal industry—brought about by the policy of the Government. It is a double crisis. First there is the critical situation which has engaged the attention of three successive annual conferences of the National Union of Mineworkers and has led to our insistent demand for a national fuel policy. Second, there is the new political crisis precipitated by the government. Our annual conference on July 5 warned the government that certain aspects of its 'decentralisation' proposals will invoke 'the most forceful resistance'.

What is the effect on the mineworkers? For twelve years after the war there were appeals to them to work their hardest, to work overtime, to toil six shifts in every week; while the call went out all these years for more and more to come into the industry. Then, less than 30 months ago they began to be thrown out of the industry and the prospects of the future were darkened to such an extent that this year they are leaving of their own accord.

But anyone who thinks that 'inevitable' economic and technical changes in fuel consumption are solely responsible for this three years' crisis must be either a simpleton or somebody doped by the propaganda of capitalist newspapers—which themselves depend largely on the oil magnates for advertisement revenue and for profits. No, it is government policy which has helped to create the crisis: and behind that policy there is within the Tory Party a power group with a long-lasting and deep-seated hatred of the nationalised industry. Hence the wording of the emergency resolution* of the N.U.M. Executive Committee which was carried unanimously at the Annual Conference.

Let me deal first with the new proposals that are being hatched by the government. What do we know of them? We know definitely and with certainty that the government have promoted proposals to decentralise control and statutory authority in the

*DECENTRALISATION (*Emergency Resolution*). 'This Conference of the National Union of Mineworkers reiterates that the Union will continue to co-operate with the National Coal Board to improve the efficiency of the industry but warns the Government that any attempt to decentralise control and statutory authority in the nationalised coal-mining industry, will invoke the most forceful resistance by the mineworkers irrespective of who may be the Chairman of the National Coal Board. The Union's apprehension is based upon the understanding that proposals are being considered to transfer certain major statutory responsibilities, which include accounting and marketing, from the National Coal Board to Divisional Boards. No assurances have yet been forthcoming from the Government to allay this apprehension. Such measures of decentralisation would resuscitate the anarchy and trade competition between districts, weaken the position of coal in competition with fuel oil, and lead to the ruin of this basic industry. The Union calls upon the Labour and Trade Union Movement to vigorously support the mineworkers in their resistance to this attack upon nationalisation.'

coal-mining industry. We know too that these proposals include divisional boards operating as separate entities with statutory powers in respect of trade and accounting together with a fundamental change in the constitution of the National Coal Board. Mr. Wood, the Minister for Fuel and Power (and son of the late Lord Halifax) was tackled by Labour members in the House of Commons on this matter of his 'decentralisation' proposals. He replied that he had no intention to denationalise, no intention to restore district wage agreements. No one had asked him about that. For it was obvious that whatever his future intentions might be, his present intention must be either to decentralise or not to decentralise. That and no other was the question he was asked. He evaded an answer and talked of this and that. Thus at our conference I accused Mr. Wood of evasion and word-spinning. I challenged the Minister to give a direct answer to the statement in our resolution and to reveal to all the nature of the government intentions. So far he has made no reply.

What would this form of decentralisation mean? First, it would mean the divisions selling and purchasing as corporate entities. If eight or nine divisions were given powers to organise their own marketing and to fix their own prices under government approval it would mean price war between coalfield and coalfield. It would mean prosperity for some, ruin for others and disunity for all. It could bring about disintegration in the union and, whatever they say, could be a first step to district wages (as it once was under private ownership) and the breakdown of national wage agreements.

Secondly, it would mean that with such separate divisional boards the national board would be made up of whole time divisional chiefs. The result in the control of the industry would be anarchy. There would be no objective decisions on policy. Divisional chairmen would come to the N.C.B. as advocates and defenders of their own cause. How could they resolve competing claims for capital or for markets? It would be impossible. Central control is essential for finance, organisation of marketing, organisation of production and for wages and conditions of labour.

The arguments that are being peddled about to justify any such decentralisation proposals are that the volume of work and the responsibility lies too heavily on the National Coal Board and that there has been in the recent period a change in the nature of the industry's problems. This is a specious excuse. The problems of nationalised mining do not stem from organisational defects. They arise mainly from political measures and from the failure or rather

the refusal to adopt a national fuel policy to meet the energy requirements of this country. The real argument which the government dare not state is that it has capitulated to the 'power group' of the Tory Party, the 'Crazy Gang' of British politics which has been agitating and pushing and intriguing for such changes ever since the Nationalisation Act of 1946. This is their real argument and their real platform. It is this that has been hinted at by Ministers. Thus the government which has created the present condition of oil competition, atomic energy stations competition, etc., now uses this as the excuse to attack nationalisation.

Married to all this there is to be a new financial policy. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has promised that the N.C.B. requests for capital would be submitted to Parliament each year. This would mean that planning for years ahead, which is essential for the coal mining industry, would be rendered impossible. Further on the financial question I said at our Annual Conference:

We have reason to believe that added to increased Parliamentary controls there are being mooted new proposals as to how nationalised industries should operate financially: a new interpretation that revenue surpluses must be sufficient to cover deficits over a set period and the surpluses must cover interest and depreciation.

We have reason to believe that as a measure to accomplish this, ideas are floating around that nationalised industries shall be given a target of a fixed return on the capital employed by them and if that target is not realised in any year it could mean that the Government would intervene and examine what is wrong in the industry, and as a result take more direct control in its actual running.

Thus the assault on nationalisation is a double-barrelled assault: it is both structural and financial. If the government persist in it, egged on by all the greedy interests within the Tory Party, then they will evoke a resistance on a national scale. Speaker after speaker on the Conference resolution emphasised 'we mean what we say'.

But the mineworkers have not only a negative attitude to any assault on the nationalised industry. They have a positive attitude which recognises that all fuels have a part to play in the economy of the country. Hence their demand for a national fuel policy, which would be fair and just. What they do object to is that an unfair discrimination should be made against coal for the benefit of the oil monopolies.

Consider what the situation has been with the drastic cut-back of the last three years. In the period 1957 to 1959, there has been a fall in coal demand of 33 million tons. In the three years 1958 to 1960, there will have been a cut in production of some 29 million

tons, a fall in manpower of 120,000 and the closure of scores of pits. So far this year there has been some slight improvement in coal demand, but nothing has happened which obviates the need for a National Fuel Policy, and the Union is continuing to press for this. While inland coal consumption so far this year has increased by less than 2 per cent, compared with the same period last year, fuel oil consumption has increased by a further 30 per cent, after a rise of 100 per cent in the last two years. Fuel oil imports, which rose over five-fold between 1955 and 1959, have risen a further 50 per cent so far this year compared with the same period last year. It is perfectly clear from these figures that coal is not benefiting in the way it should from the revival in economic activity. Our campaign for a National Fuel Policy must be continued.

What has been the result of our activities so far, and what changes have taken place?

The T.U.C.-Labour Party Committee has completed an interim Report on Fuel Policy which will now be placed before the T.U.C. General Council and the Labour Party National Executive Committee for approval. The main emphasis of this interim report is the need to give an assured position to the coal industry in meeting the energy requirements. Specific measures include:

- (i) Dual-fired power stations now burning oil to be converted to coal.
- (ii) The reduction of opencast output.
- (iii) The re-imposition of fuel oil taxation and a corresponding reduction in tax on diesel oil.
- (iv) An investigation into the production costs of fuel oil and into the general price policies of the oil companies.
- (v) Associated with action under (iii) and (iv) the Government should enter into discussion with the oil companies with a view to the voluntary regulation of fuel oil imports.
- (vi) In the event of short-run deficiencies in the demand for coal, it is right that the Government, having laid down the target for coal, should assume responsibility for the financing of excess coal stocks.
- (vii) High priority should be given to scientific research into the fuel industry.

There has been some revision in plans, it is true, on atomic energy and on oil-burning, largely in response to our campaign. But what of the future? Oil competition is in no way abating. No confidence can be placed in the Board's plan unless the estimates of coal demand are underwritten by the Government.

Another threat to the N.C.B.'s plan is that it might not be ful-

filled because of a shortage of manpower. In 1958 manpower fell by 22,000 men; in 1959 by 47,000 men and in 1960, the N.C.B. plan to reduce manpower by another 45,000 to 595,000 at the end of the year. But already manpower has fallen to 600,000, and the fall is running at the rate of 1,000 to 1,500 a week. By the end of the year, the labour force on present trends will be under 575,000, or at least 20,000 less than the N.C.B. have budgeted. The exodus from the industry is the result of insecurity, due to Government policy, and to the relative worsening of wages and conditions in the industry compared with other industries. These things must be rectified if the out-flow of manpower is to be halted.

This is only for the immediate future and only on the points mentioned. A thorough-going examination of the causes of the coal crisis and of its necessary full solution would have to go deeper. It would go into the past, with the mistakes made by successive governments in handicapping the nationalised industry, crippling its finances, making it the milch-cow for denationalised steel companies, etc., etc. But it is enough for the moment to show that there could be immediate help in the present crisis through the adoption of a National Fuel Policy. On the other hand the present government assault on nationalisation, to worsen the present form, and thereby to worsen wages and conditions of labour will be resisted. In all this question the whole working class movement are also concerned: and the mineworkers will expect resistance to be on such a scale that the Tories will think twice before they persist with their attack.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Many reviews have died in the past few years, each protesting that it has been unlucky. That is only part of the truth. So consistent a mortality among free organs of opinion is a communal responsibility, just as truly as is infantile mortality. A free platform in print, maintained by the personal conscience of one or two people of probity, should surely not be left to the same hazards as ice cream sales in a heat wave. My chairman, in this week's public announcement, has mentioned that *Time and Tide* might have died last year had it not been for the fluke that some steel companies wished to advertise certain views before the general election.

Robert Sinclair, Managing Editor of *Time and Tide*,
letter in *The Times*, March 11, 1960.

The first freedom of the press consists in its not being a business.

Karl Marx, in *Debaten ueber Pressfreiheit*.

HANDS OFF CONGO !

Angela Tuckett

THEY never give up: but they no longer know the world they live in. Vast financial empires like the Belgian *Société Générale* and their affiliated mining company (The *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*) with British and American connections, own everything that you can touch, see and hear in the Congo—except the Congolese with their vision of freedom. The white masters lose their grasp of realities as their world of fantastic colonial super-profits begins to be prised from their grip.

Look at the facts of the first two weeks of the independent Republic of Congo, reluctantly declared by the Belgians on June 30. Belgian imperialist hopes first of setting tribe against tribe to prevent the formation of the republic at all: defeated. Intrigues by their agents, political and military, to disrupt the new administration from within: defeated. Schemes to wreck entirely the Congolese economy by detaching the Katanga province producing 60 per cent of the wealth: a near thing, and only achieved at gunpoint. Every propaganda resource used to present to the world a totally false picture of chaos as a pretext for re-occupying the country to 'protect' the very lives whom their callous policy had jeopardised: all their lying propaganda exposed. They were left with their only remaining weapon—attempted military reconquest of the Congolese people whose understanding, spirit and ability they had so grossly underestimated. Whereupon, on the appeal of the Congolese Premier to the United Nations, the Security Council ordered the Belgian troops to withdraw: the final humiliation.

Whatever the future developments, the events of the first fortnight of July will leave an indelible stamp on the record of colonialism.

When the press—the *Daily Herald* amongst the most despicable—came out with its shrieking headlines: 'Atrocities in the Congo!', it recalled to working class memories a hideous history of 'white' atrocities in the Congo, which sickened world opinion fifty years ago. For in every Socialist household then there could be found a paper-backed book, *Red Rubber*, by E. D. Morel. It was a deadly exposure of the unspeakable atrocities perpetrated against the Congolese slaves during the mad scramble for rubber profits on King Leopold's own private lands ('Domaine de la Couronne'). The unprintable horrors carried out as normal commercial practice

by the rubber slave-traders lasted from 1890 until 1910, when world-wide protest forced the Belgian authorities to mitigate the worst excesses. Human arms and genitals were no longer to be hacked off for failure to deliver the rubber 'quota'.*

Perhaps the consciousness of that guilty past partly accounts for the instant mass panic and flight of Europeans, stimulated by deliberately organised wild rumours of murder and rape:

As the confusion eased somewhat it became clear that many Europeans in Katanga province have been the victims of mass panic. There was shooting and disorder. But some of the stories told by refugees are now being recognised as wildly exaggerated. . . The stories they told were often contradictory, and it was impossible to substantiate earlier accounts of Europeans being hanged in Elizabethville. . . Of all the refugees I interviewed, only one actually saw bloodshed.

(Richard Hall, *Daily Mail*, July 13.)

In Britain T.V. reported the hangings—without contradiction. Meanwhile in the capital named after the slave-owning king:

The 'white' city of Leopoldville had come warily to life this morning after its 36 hours of fear. No time had been set for the lifting of last night's curfew, but soon after dawn Africans began to stream, whistling and singing, to work in the white town. For many of the troops and African bystanders it was perhaps no more than a more satisfying manifestation of their new sense of independence than any of the celebrations arranged for them by the retiring Belgian Administration.

(George Clay, *The Observer*, July 10, 1960.)

The next day the Belgian Prime Minister told Parliament that over 20,000 had fled; but the Defence Minister announced that the casualties in the past two days were—ten Europeans killed, ten disappeared and eight injured. With all the propaganda organs whooping it up, the Belgians dropped paratroops and started their invasion of the Congo, at once occupying the Katanga Province and its uranium and copper plants and mines, from which the Europeans had first been withdrawn. Fighting was inevitable: Congolese troops loyal to their Republic, and therefore 'mutinous' according to the Belgians and their agents, were reported to be

*Two missionaries quoted by E. D. Morel in *Red Rubber* (1906). First, a Swede, Sjöblom, with the American Baptist Union, near Leopoldville; the second, a Scot, Dugald Campbell, in Katanga: 'There is a small island in a stream at Lake Mantumba. The people had not been able to bring in the full amount of rubber. The officer with some soldiers went along there. Several of the natives were killed. I saw the dead bodies floating on the lake with the right hand cut off, and the officer told me when I came back why they had been killed. It was for the rubber.'

'The crowds were fired into promiscuously, and fifteen were killed, including four women with a babe on its mother's breast. The heads were cut off and brought to the officer in charge, who then sent men to cut off the hands also, and these were pierced, strung and dried over the camp fire. The heads, with many others, I saw myself. The town, prosperous once, was burnt, and what they could not carry off was destroyed. Crowds of people were caught, mostly old women and young women, and three fresh rope gangs were added. These poor prisoner gangs were mere skeletons of skin and bone, and their bodies frightfully cut with the *chicotte* (whip) when I saw them.'

savagely ill-treated when Belgian troops had overwhelmed them. This created 'further excitement among the Congolese', *The Times* correspondent reported from Elizabethville on July 12, adding:

Such reports are causing much anxiety among the remaining whites. The city is now, however, entirely controlled by the Belgian military. Much in Katanga depends on what the *Union Minière*, which supports Mr. Tshombe, the Premier, now decides to do.

Within a matter of hours, Mr. Moise Tshombe, the provincial Premier, declared the secession of the Katanga Province, its 'independence' guaranteed by Belgian troops with 'unlimited' reinforcements promised.

First reactions were that on the Brussels Stock Exchange; there was a great leap upwards of the shares of the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*, which controls the vast mineral wealth of the province. But for the moment there was hesitation about the future of Katanga, on the border of its fellow copper-producing Northern Rhodesia. The circle of Great Powers sat round, watching like wolves both the prospective victim and each other, whilst glancing fearfully over their shoulders at unknown factors. There were the United Nations, Ghana's offer to aid Congo, Khrushchov's statement. Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, told *The Times* correspondent that Northern Rhodesian troops had not been sent into the Congo because

. . . it must be recognised that if outside intervention were to take place and was accepted, the way would be open for intervention by others also.

(*The Times* correspondent, July 11.)

For not only were Belgian imperialist interests involved in this vast area of Central Africa, the size of Europe, with a super-exploited population of some 13,000,000.*

There are far-reaching international economic and strategic interests. Here is uranium ore, which ten years ago constituted virtually a monopoly of the capitalist world's resources, so essential to America's atomic weapons project. (And if new sources of uranium have been opened up in other parts of the world in the past ten years, and possibly weakened the Katanga companies' monopolist position, the demand for uranium has equally increased enormously.) Hence American and British had been competing to oust the Belgians from financial control of the company which operates the uranium mines, the *Union Minière du*

*Close on 18,000,000 with the trust territory Ruanda-Urundi, or twice the population of Belgium.

Haut Katanga. This company, once valued at some £700 million, besides the uranium ore, also produces 75 per cent of the world's cobalt and 80 per cent of the industrial diamonds, nearly ten per cent of the world's copper, as well as radium, zinc, coal and tin. Although part of the money empire of the *Société Générale de Belgique* (closely associated with the Royal House), a dominating interest was held by the British monopoly, Tanganyika Concessions, or 'Tanks', as the City gents fondly call this firm in which a very prominent figure is Captain Waterhouse, leader of the 'Suez Rebel' M.P.s.

Here is where the Americans enter the picture. For the Labour Government sold a huge block of 'Tanks' shares in April, 1950, the bulk of which passed under Rockefeller control.* Now as the new Republic of Congo was coming into being and the monopolist grip on the new country had to be rearranged, financial re-deals were undertaken, with 'Tanks' getting more of the re-divided shares of the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga* than the old lion, the Belgian *Société Générale*, and a substantial proportion going to the Congolese Government—but which? The Republic's, or a breakaway puppet? Hence the initial hesitations and manoeuvrings, as the financial interests watched to see how the subversive intrigues against the Congolese Government would turn out, and who would control the fabulously wealthy Katanga Province.

Today keeping grip on empire whilst competing with rivals and protecting insistent 'national interests' has become a very delicate question. Observe the spectacle early on of Mr. Harold Macmillan giving agonised tic-tac signals across the floor of the House to the Opposition Front Bench, not to be indelicate about whose troops, what troops, where, when and how to get in. Watch even President Eisenhower almost doing himself an injury leaning over backwards to countermand fools' orders rushing in American troops. And finally note the mutterings of the vultures of all countries as they complain of the Belgians' 'ineptitude'. Yet for all that, the imperialists hang together, as always, against their common enemy, the people, when it comes to the final showdown. Thus there was also praise for Belgian 'determination':

In the Katanga and in the Congo as a whole the Belgians mean to stay boss. They are tackling the problem as they behaved when they were the masters—with subtlety, toughness and a determination to hang on to their own.

(*The Observer*, July 10.)

*According to the memoirs of Senator Vandenberg, one of the conditions of Marshall aid to Britain was that the U.S. should get a share in the development of uranium in the Congo.

But they all totally underestimated the political maturity and quick understanding of the Congolese people, despite years of suppression and the legacy of illiteracy. Through all the distortions a classic picture comes through. A limited degree of legal independence achieved, however hedged around, released immense revolutionary surging initiative to defend, maintain and advance their longed-for freedom. Immediately on the declaration of independence the Congolese people began to act. Otraco workers went on strike. Demonstrations began everywhere. In Leopoldville communications workers marched up and warned European employees to clear out: 'We want more pay and no Europeans for our bosses'. Then the Congolese troops everywhere began to act. They elected deputations demanding the removal of white officers they distrusted. They pressed the Congolese Government for 'quicker Africanisation', adding point to their demands by themselves putting officers under arrest. Under their own able non-commissioned officers—the highest rank Congolese could gain under Belgian control—they searched European establishments for arms. At Brazzaville, when the official communiqué had announced the first attempts by Europeans at assassination of Congolese Government leaders, they closed the frontiers, grounded aircraft and held up river ferries of refugees whilst searching for arms. Even in the first days they captured and held the Belgian Navy base at Matadi, forcing crack Belgian paratroopers into 'a strategic withdrawal'. With such mass pressure from below, subversive agents which the Belgians had left behind in the administration were powerless. Equally the Belgian masters counted without the spirit of those Congolese workers who came 'singing and whistling' to their work after the first day of independence.

The monopolists, their puppets and servants, their wits dulled by vast possessions and past power, have yet to understand that it is no longer King Leopold's time. Not only a whole continent, but the peoples of the world will not permit today the age-long 'atrocities of the Congo'.

For yet one more part of the world the shout goes up: 'Hands off!'

Our special Harry Pollitt Memorial, which follows on the next eight pages, may be lifted out and kept as a memoir.

HARRY POLLITT



Born: 22 November 1890

Died: 26 June 1960



**We mourn the loss of Harry Pollitt, the truest and noblest hearted
fighter and leader of the British working class in our time.**

On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the party to whose creation, building and leadership he gave more than any other single comrade, and on the eve of his own seventieth birthday, when working people of the whole world would have been able to express directly to him their affection and their admiration for his achievement, he was struck down by death. He died as he had lived, in the full tide of tireless activity, at the end of a triumphal tour of Australia and New Zealand, where he had drawn closer the bonds of international solidarity and peace and friendship between the peoples.

The rich event-filled half century record of Harry Pollitt's unflagging political battle and creative leadership spans a whole era of the working class movement. His role in the vanguard of militant socialism and trade unionism goes back to the stormy formative period of the great labour upsurge before 1914 and during the first world war and the heroic age of the response to the first opening of the world socialist revolution. He played an active part in the formation of the Communist Party and in all its early struggles. Elected to the Executive Committee of the Communist Party in 1922, he became General Secretary in 1929, and through all these succeeding decades bore the heaviest burdens of responsibility and leadership in the forefront of every battle.

In Trades Union Congresses and Labour Party Conferences until the later twenties his was the voice whose persuasive eloquence, cool logic and burning sincerity was most feared by the leaders of reaction, until that voice was banned and barred and excluded by these champions of democracy, lest, as a member of the General Council publicly declared at the time, the minority he represented would otherwise soon have become the majority. Through the Minority Movement in its day, and thereafter through every form of constitutional advocacy, with his ceaseless close attention to all the problems of trade unionism, his profound experience, practical wisdom and constructive policies, he helped to build up a generation of younger militant leaders in the trade unions. The lasting fruits of this work are visible today as the class movement presses forward through the old forms, despite all the artificial barriers, and is already beginning to cause panic alarms among the representatives of betrayal and the enemies of socialism.

When the old once militant *Daily Herald* was sold out to the millionaires, it was the dynamic initiative, the refusal to accept obstacles, the unquenchable energy of Harry Pollitt above all which helped to organise the united effort of the Communist Party and all

militant workers to accomplish the impossible and establish and maintain now into its fourth decade the first independent newspaper of the working class in the very home of the most rigid and concentrated multi-millionaire press monopoly in the world.

When the onslaught of fascism followed on the disruptive role and false promises of social democracy in Central and Western Europe, replacing the sugared phantasies of the 'new capitalism' with the horrors of racial barbarism, civil war and international war, the flame of Harry Pollitt's spirit burned with white-hot intensity to kindle the campaign and arouse every section of the people to the common fight for the defeat of fascism, for the cause of Spain, for the British Battalion of the International Brigade, for the great alliance of the peoples, with the Socialist Soviet Union in the forefront, which finally smashed and razed to the ground the military might of Axis fascism and opened a new era.

When, in the face of this new era of the advance of socialism and national liberation through the world, the representatives of the old order, at the centre of power of American imperialism, with their allies in high places in the Labour Government and British Conservatism, sought to turn back the wheel of history and organise their cold war with its military alliances, subsidised counter-revolution, revival of Nazi militarism, arms race and hideous weapons, Harry fought in the forefront to expose the latest campaign of reaction, to end the cold war and nuclear strategy, and to awaken opinion for the support of peaceful co-existence and co-operation with the new world which is speeding forward in our day.

It was above all his initiative which inspired the collective effort to produce during these years the first and only concrete programme for the fulfilment of socialism in the conditions of Britain in the modern world situation—*The British Road to Socialism*.

In the international sphere Harry Pollitt was known throughout the world as a leader of international communism and the foremost representative of communism in Britain. Wherever imperialist reaction or colonial oppression or fascism struck the peoples, his efforts would be exerted without limit to organise solidarity in support and to awaken among the workers in Britain understanding and response to the call of working class internationalism. He hated the crimes of British imperialism with a blazing hatred. His passionate support for the struggles of the colonial peoples was expressed in every speech and action. For the Chinese peoples battling against the Yangtse aggression of the *Amethyst*, for the

Indian workers' leaders (alongside the British Communist trade unionist Bradley) prosecuted by a British Labour Government in the courtrooms and jail cells of Meerut, for the anti-fascist fighters in Spain or the refugees from fascism in Britain, or for the early struggling movements in Africa or the West Indies, the name of Harry Pollitt was the symbol of the other Britain, not of the oppressors and exploiters, but of the Britain of the working people, whose future victory would end forever the old aggressions and oppression and bring new relations of peace and friendship.

Everything about Harry Pollitt defeated the conventional caricatures which the sedulous hacks of the millionaires and Transport House strove to spread about 'communist agents', 'Stalin's men', 'Russia's fifth column', and all the rest of the poisonous rubbish. He was as English as a Lancashire rose or an oak. Honour and integrity breathed from his every utterance. His was the disciplined practical capacity of the skilled industrial worker; and at the same time the deeply humane, broad and widely read culture of the finest representatives of the class-conscious skilled workers of Britain, which so often puts to shame the hollow smattering and abysmal ignorance of many so-called 'educated' people. He knew the people of every part of England, Scotland and Wales like the back of his hand. If he was able to draw and hold crowds to hear him as no other speaker in Britain, it was not only because of his gifts as an orator, or because of his capacity for simple political explanation, and for kindling enthusiasm, but because he was close to every man and woman in his audience and able to express for them their own hopes, fears and aspirations, and at the same time to give the answer to their problems and show them the way forward.

Above all, Harry Pollitt was the embodiment of incorruptible loyalty to the cause of the working class and of socialism. 'It suits today the weak and base, whose hearts are fixed on self and place.' There was no position in the Trades Union Congress or the Labour Party, as the leaders in the early days did not fail to convey to him, which could not have been his for the asking, if he had consented to break with his principles, with the Marxist party of the working class, with communism. But Harry Pollitt was not of those who 'haul the glorious emblem down'. For him there was no higher position in the entire working class movement than that of General Secretary of the Communist Party. He never forgot the burning hatred of capitalism, imbued from his earliest memories and only strengthened by experience. He never weakened

in his passionate devotion and unquenchable confidence in the victory of the working class and socialism.

Today the prophets and pundits of the capitalist press, right, left and centre, unite to pay tribute to Pollitt and praise his virtues. So it has ever been, as Lenin long ago remarked. The living revolutionary is reviled. Once safely off the scene, the dead revolutionary is canonised. With the singular monotonous repetition of the same stereotyped formula so characteristic of the standardised 'free' press, they have all united in proclaiming the formula 'the communist with a sense of humour' as the discovery of an extraordinary anomaly. Have they never realised the Olympian laughter of Marx, the lightning play of the smiling ironic wit of Lenin, or the boisterous gale of a Khrushchov? The pigmies of the gutter press, who earn their pitiful crumbs from the millionaires' table by spitting on the ideals of mankind, now unite to say how much they always really loved and admired Pollitt. Even the Special Branch, who earned their keep by creeping and crawling to spy on him day and night, now join the chorus to say how much they always esteemed and valued his sterling character. Truly the living ass brays over the dead lion.

The rich many-sided humanity, the humour, the deep loyalty to comrades, the courage, the tireless energy and undying inspiration and capacity of inspiring others—all these, and much more, that made the personality of Pollitt were inextricably fused with that devotion to socialism, to the cause of the working people and the oppressed, to the vision of the future, which was the mainspring of his life.

For our journal *LABOUR MONTHLY*, virtually from its inception to the last, for the close on forty years of our existence, Harry Pollitt has always been the unfailing friend, helper and guide—never too occupied to respond to every call and to give of his best in our pages. Those who may turn to his message for our thirtieth anniversary, in our issue of July, 1951, will see how dear to his heart was *LABOUR MONTHLY* and how warm was his feeling for the work our journal seeks to fulfil in assisting political development in the labour movement. Sixty-five contributions from his pen have appeared in our past volumes. Scarcely an important event or landmark in the labour movement, a significant Trades Union Congress or Labour Party Conference or Communist Party Congress, passed through all these years without his penetrating comment and constructive conclusions being made available for our readers. His earliest contributions in 1922 dealt with 'The

Future of the General Council' and 'Light on the Lock-Out'. His last, in 1956, was moving tribute on the centenary of another great son of the British workers, Tom Mann.

To young people who are seeking their way forward today amid the din of conflicting voices and empty denials, we would say. Study the life of Harry Pollitt. You could do worse than make his example yours. Be fearless, as he was fearless. Be true to socialism, as he was true. Above all, let the same enthusiasm, based on clear-sighted understanding of the causes of present evils and vision of the future, inspire you, as it inspired him, to give meaning to your life and spend and burn up with joy, all your being and all your strength in the greatest cause of all, the cause of the emancipation of the working class, the liberation of mankind, the cause of communism.

We lower our banners in tribute to a comrade who takes his place with the honoured names of the British working class and international communism.

R.P.D.

A BOILERMAKER'S LETTERS

Harry Pollitt

[When forty years ago Harry Pollitt was working as a boilermaker at the London Docks he wrote almost every month to his union journal. Each letter was a model of persuasive lucidity and socialist thinking, hammering home two urgent needs: 1. For Socialism and public ownership. 2. For democracy in the unions. That in 1960, for example, the Boilermakers' Society held its ninth annual delegate conference is in no small measure due to his campaign. We are proud to reprint for the first time two typical letters.—Ed., L.M.]

May, 1920.

WORTHY BROTHERS,

When a labour-saving machine is introduced the biggest opponents of the new machine are generally the very people who are at pains to support the capitalist system at election times, etc., and they entirely fail to see that it is not the fault of the machine that labour is displaced, but that the fact that the machine is privately owned and is used expressly for the exploitation of men and not to lighten their toil.

In our own trade the last ten years has practically brought about a revolution in our methods, due to the constant introduction of labour-saving machinery. In our boiler shops, railway shops and constructional shops the punching press has practically been super-

seded by the Asquith high-speeding drilling machines, hydraulic presses, with all manner of blocks, in doing away with hand flanging in our furnaces that ten years ago looked impossible to be done by a machine.

In our shipyards new machinery is being introduced that is more and more simplifying ship construction and placing more of our members on the streets every year. In our repair yards we see ships practically eaten away with one or two men operating the burning machine, and the ever-growing perfection of the electric welding machine for use on boiler repairs is bringing about such a change that makes one wonder what are the limits of this invention.

What applies to our trade applies to every other, so that we have arrived at that stage in our history when the modern tendency is not for men to become highly-skilled craftsmen, but for the machine to turn craftsmen into mere machine minders, so that the progress of industrial development will of necessity compel men to forget their craft unions and force them into the one big union, not to pass bye-laws limiting one burning machine to 25 men, but to organise in the workshop to own the burning machine in common with all other means of production.

London No. 11.

September, 1920.

WORTHY BROTHERS,

The decision of the Wages Board not to grant any advance to the members of the skilled unions has created surprise and consternation amongst trade unionists all over the country, and particularly that section of mechanics who only work a straight day work system, and who had been looking forward to an increase in their wages to relieve them from the crushing burden of the high cost of living.

It is obvious that this decision cannot be left unchallenged and it is now the business of all unions to prepare for common action in order that the standard of living can be raised. The solution of the whole problem is simple, that is why boilermakers in common with other workers are not prepared to adopt it, and that is Socialism; but until there is a greater desire evidenced for Socialism than we find now one must act as things are and not as our ideals wish.

I want therefore to again urge as I did in the April report for the branches to insist on the E.C. calling a National Conference of representatives from every branch, so that a comprehensive

report can be given to the delegates as to how the society stands financially; then the delegates could formulate a policy that would get the backing of the Conference, and from that of the whole society. At present our way of doing business is a farce, the monthly meetings being only attended by about one-tenth of the membership, and this will continue to be so until we launch a policy that will kindle a new enthusiasm amongst the rank and file.

The miners, dockers, railwaymen, all have their National Conference, programmes are formulated, the delegates return to their branches, popularise the decisions of the Conference, and look at the result. All these unions are raising the status of their members whilst we sit tight and moan about the good old days and what is, always was and always will be, and it is time this damnable state of affairs was ended, and I want to suggest that a conference called for October, where the opinion of the whole society could be put on record, would do more to quicken and stimulate interest than all the letters the E.C. have ever sent out to the branches.

Fellow members, one could suggest far more, but this is only written in the hope that it will lead to better suggestions from other members. The big thing is to make a start. Progress isn't counted by the amount of money the society has in the bank, or the big increase in membership, but by the intellect and fighting spirit of the society, and by the respect and confidence its officials can claim, due to them for correctly interpreting the members' wishes. One hates to find fault, realising to the full how hard the struggle is; and if the officials haven't done all they might it is because they perhaps were not sure of the rank and file. A National Conference points the way out. It would be good for all officials and delegates from the branches alike, a better spirit would be engendered, a class unity generated, and the society would reap the reward in increased prestige and the renewed confidence of its members.

A hard and cruel winter will soon be upon us, the employers are out for trouble, and if we only organise our forces we can give them a double dose of their own medicine. It is better to fight for something and not get it, than continually grumbling and doing nothing. Let us then make the branch meetings a rallying point and press for this conference; but whatever we do, let us do something to shake off this heartbreaking fossilising process that seems to have us in its grip.

Let us then be up and doing, with a heart for any fate.

London No. 11.

CUBA AND THE CRAZY GANG

William Gallacher

FOR thirty years an American puppet, vicious, brutal and corrupt, ruled as dictator in Cuba: a dictator to the Cuban people, but a timid subservient tool to the American sugar barons and the big oil moguls. In Cuba everything was for the Americans: the best of the land, the luxury homes, the industries—all were theirs; whilst the mass of the six million Cuban people, openly treated as 'a lesser breed', had to bow humbly before them and accept whatever scraps, in the form of low wages, that their loud-mouthed masters cared to throw them.

The Great October Revolution of 1917 was described by a different type of American—there are many like him—as 'Ten Days that Shook the World'. And that was an apt description; it truly 'shook the world', and started a process of change that 'all the king's horses and all the Yankee dollars' cannot stop. It has taken some time for the 'shaking' to manifest itself in change in the Latin American countries and the West Indies; but there, as elsewhere, all the elements necessary to finish the old robber order are there. We saw them coming to the surface in British Guiana. When the Jagan government, democratically elected in 1953 refused to act against the sugar workers who were on strike against the gluttonous profiteers of that industry, it was suppressed by the British Government. Serve the big monopolies, or get out! That was the creed that was enforced by the rush of warships and troops.

In Guatemala the next year, 1954, a similar operation was carried through by the Yanks, a democratically elected government overthrown and replaced by a puppet of the American fruit monopolists. In the eyes of the imperialists, British or American, it is intolerable that a democratic government should seek to offer some protection to their own people against foreign exploiters.

But only six years later Fidel Castro, his revolutionary army, and his revolutionary government in Cuba, occupy a much stronger position than did British Guiana and Guatemala. Castro and his government came to power as outcome of a relentless struggle against the dictator Batista and his American backers. Bitter hard fighting by the masses of the Cuban people represented in the Liberation Army brought them victorious into Havana, and finally in November, 1958, drove Batista and his corrupt henchmen into

ignominious flight. Since his overthrow the American imperialists have never ceased conspiring to get him back there. For them this puppet on foreign strings guaranteed a steady flow of ever-increasing profits, protected their land-grubbing and luxury living in the midst of Cuban poverty.

What a change the Castro government represents! The Liberation Army promised land for the landless peasants and a better living for the people as a whole. The government, immediately after taking power, introduced a land measure, acquiring all land over a certain acreage, for distribution amongst the peasants. Schools are being built, a health service is being developed, trade unions are being encouraged and supported in their efforts to improve the condition of the workers. All this is anathema to the Yankee profit-mongers as it is to their corrupt Cuban puppets.

Against a background of never-ceasing counter-revolutionary conspiracy and intrigue of the defeated traitors, both on the island and in exile on neighbouring territory, the Americans have been discussing measures aimed at disrupting the economy of Cuba. In particular, they made much talk of the power they possessed owing to the fact that the bulk of Cuba's sugar exports went to the United States. 'Stop the import of Cuban sugar and we'll soon have Castro on the run.' Thus the backwoodsmen of America. They had failed to note that the balance in international affairs was no longer controlled by dollars, and that a great new force for peace and friendship, for honest trading as between nation and nation was now operating throughout the world.

Thus they awakened one morning shocked to learn that the Soviet Union, on February 13, 1960, had made a trade agreement very favourable to Cuba, arranging to take a large amount of Cuban sugar, as well as other goods, giving a considerable credit for industrial machinery, supplying crude oil and other goods.

This was a body blow to the backwoodsmen of America who thought they owned the world and that they could kick it around any way they pleased. What to do about this? The shock of realising that the balance is turning against them has made them desperate; and desperate men are incapable of cool, clear judgment. 'We buy you, or we bomb you' has all along been their guiding rule. It was behind all the brinkmanship of John Foster Dulles; it is still there in the Pentagon. But they are now coming up against forces that cannot be bought and who are not intimidated by threats. Will crazy men, crazy for profits, realise the tide of change cannot be turned back at their sweet will?

They go from one false step to another. So the Soviet Union is going to take Cuban sugar and give the Cubans crude oil? But, they say, we own the refineries. All we have got to do is to inform Castro that we will not allow Soviet oil to be refined. That'll fix him! Instead of the government controlling the oil industry, the oil industry will control the government. That is how these crazy multi-millionaires saw it, these people who are always babbling about 'the free nations' and of democratic government.

The Cuban government gave the only answer possible: they took over the oil industry; and with willing help from Venezuela and other sources they will run it efficiently, as the Egyptian government operated the Suez Canal against all the predictions of failure from British and other 'experts'.

The American Congress then gave the President power to cut the sugar imports from Cuba. Before it was even signed, the quota was cut. This was more a demonstration of their own futile hatred of the revolutionary government than an economic measure that can now have any real serious effect. But American backwoodsmen who bawled for the President to go beyond economic war to start a shooting war, and 'do a Suez' in Cuba, got a sharp rebuke. Speaking in Moscow on July 9, Khrushchov gave 'a warning to those who might want to solve problems by force and not by reason'. He reminded them that the latest Soviet rocket tests 'proved that we can hit a target at a distance of 8,000 miles'.

Speaking figuratively, in case of necessity Soviet artillery can support the Cuban people with their rocket fire if aggressive forces in the Pentagon dare start an intervention against Cuba.

(N. S. Khrushchev, addressing the All-Russian Teachers' Conference, Moscow.)

The thwarted crazy gang of Congressmen, in their unrefined stink of oil politics, can rage and hatch new conspiracies, but to no purpose. Their opposite numbers in Britain, the diehard Tory backbenchers, can vent their spleen in Parliament, and shuddering recall once more the Persian people's attempt to nationalise their oil, and the Egyptians to own their canal. It is to no avail.

Economic warfare against them will only call for more stringent measures by the Cuban government in opposition to the deliberate attempts of the Yankee imperialists to interfere in the affairs of their country by such means, just as they will repel any attempts at military action, whether direct or through Cuban traitors. The Cuban Liberation Army fought hard to win their country for their own people. Having won it they will never give it up.

FOR A WORLD WITHOUT WAR

Jim Gardner

Secretary of the British Peace Committee

THE flight of the RB-47 Reconnaissance plane over Soviet territorial waters has made clear to everybody in Britain how near we are to the nuclear abyss. We are only one step away from the point of no return. The U-2 flight across the Soviet Union and the alerting of the American forces on the eve of the Paris Conference in May wrecked our hopes of a successful Summit. The RB-47 flight from Brize Norton has revealed British complicity in these American actions and brought shame on the British Government. Another such provocation could, by mistake, accident or design, set the world ablaze.

These flights are not only a violation of international law; they are a violation of common sense and of the best interests of the British people. They must stop, the American bases from which they take off closed down, and the American forces in our country given notice to quit.

It is impossible to separate Britain's continued membership of NATO, to which the Government and Opposition are both committed, from the policies of the U.S., the dominant partner in this alliance. Recent declarations of American policy are therefore worth repeating: espionage flights over Soviet territory has been declared official policy; the American Government has declared it is free to resume tests of nuclear weapons when it wishes; it has decided for round-the-clock flying of H-bomb-loaded bomber planes over our heads; it is preparing to supply West Germany with nuclear weapons; it has refused to discuss Soviet proposals for complete general and controlled disarmament.

This is the kind of world in which we live and which we must change. It is a world in which the words and deeds of Western statesmen are at complete variance. When Eisenhower declared in Delhi on December 10 last that 'controlled universal disarmament is the imperative of our time' he spoke the truth, but what he said in India is in striking contrast with what he does at home. While the Geneva conference makes very slow progress, the U.S. Government announces its intention to undertake eleven underground tests with an explosive power equivalent to that which killed

100,000 people in Hiroshima. Eisenhower had better study his own spoken words in a TV broadcast from London in September last year when he said:

I think that the people want peace so much that one of these days Governments had better get out of the way and let them have it.

He was, of course, pandering to the inherent desire of the people for peace and an end to the constant threat of nuclear destruction. He was also paying tribute, however unintentional, to the success of the peace movement in restraining the cold war forces from committing the ultimate crime of a nuclear war. The temporary success of the cold warriors in Paris and Geneva detracts nothing from that success, but it does emphasise the need for an even stronger peace movement to stop the provocations that have alarmed the world since May of this year.

Each year that passes sees the peace movement growing in strength and vigour. This year's Aldermaston March of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was bigger and better and more representative of the trade union and labour movement than in any previous year. The representative character of the British Peace Committee's National Disarmament Conference in February and of the delegation to the Paris Summit in May confirms the growing interest and activity in opposition to the lie of the deterrent and to the cold war. The rising tide of opposition in the labour movement to the right-wing adherence to NATO strategy is expressed in the constituency organisations of the Labour Party and confirmed in the decisions of this year's trade union conferences. The Trades Union Congress in September and Labour Party Conference in October are therefore of particular significance in the struggle for peace. The peace forces in the labour movement can and must compel the complete abandonment of right-wing policies based on NATO nuclear strategy. The peace movement with the active support of the trade union and labour movement, can with vigour and determination, compel a change of Government policy and the abandonment of all commitment to nuclear insanity.

The success of the campaign in Japan against Eisenhower's visit and the war alliance with America which has compelled Prime Minister Kishi to resign was the result of unity in the Japanese peace movement. A united effort by the peace forces in Britain would be no less successful and could achieve results even more decisive for the peace of the world.

Already a measure of co-ordination has been secured between members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, local peace committees and other peace bodies in various activities throughout the country. In Yorkshire a campaign is in progress which will culminate in a demonstration and lobby during the week of the Labour Party Conference in Scarborough. Full support is being given to the C.N.D. walk from Edinburgh to London in September by local peace committees of all kinds. Activity in protest against RB-47 and the use of bases in Britain for such purposes is effecting a measure of unity that can grow with decisive results.

In this connection the British Peace Committee has launched a campaign, addressing a *Notice to Quit* to the American forces in Britain:

WE, the undersigned British citizens, give notice that in our opinion the existence of American nuclear rocket and air bases in Britain constitutes a terrible danger to the people of Britain and increases the risk of war.

It is clear to us that the British Government has no effective control over the use to which these bases are, or may be, put.

We have a warm regard for the American people, but in the interests of world peace and British security we give notice of our demand that the U.S.A. shall cease forthwith to have any military bases or installations on British soil.

Enforced, this would mean the abandonment of espionage flights, world alerts and loaded bombers flying over our heads in accord with policies which our own Government is required to comply with as a partner in the NATO alliance.

The B.P.C. 'Notice to Quit to the American Forces' Campaign has been taken up enthusiastically in many localities, and is meeting with support in the peace movement generally. This is the answer which the people of Britain must give to war pacts and alliances and the provocative strategy of espionage planes or other interferences in the affairs of any nation. Together with the peace forces in other countries, including America, we can compel the withdrawal of all bases on foreign soil; a resumption of negotiations for the solution of all outstanding problems which divide the nations; agreements on complete and general disarmament with effective controls that would guarantee peace and remove the threat of disaster from the use of nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction.

The B.P.C. Petition will be featured in the general campaign of the peace movement and it is up to all of us to bring success to these efforts. It does no more than express the aims of ordinary people everywhere and their aspirations for a 'World without War'.

THE SEA OF ANGER

It is the fifteenth anniversary of the first atom bomb being dropped on Hiroshima. We are pleased to print a poem by Wataru Kaji, Japan's veteran poet, who took part in the Tokyo demonstration on June 11.—Ed., L.M.

Kishi, the dirty dog
 because Hagarty's car
 was surrounded by a mass
 of angry people who smashed
 car windows, this same Kishi
 burst into tears, shamelessly!
 His Foreign Minister said
 'really this was too impolite'
 so now we can write his name
 in the foreign way, as more befitting him;
 Hagarty, now that you have been here
 you can see that those
 who call themselves a government are but
 a dummy defence post on a bridgehead
 you and your master Eisenhower—
 the unwelcome—
 dreamed that you could so easily penetrate
 this sea of anger to salvage
 the filthy, stinking bit of paper
 you call a treaty! We
 the Japanese people, know best
 what kind of courtesy we should use
 in dealing with you.



A raging sea whose waves
 rise continuously, with the strength
 that an unbreakable unity endows;
 youth, workers, students, girls and boys
 streaming with sweat, I salute you!
 A free and peaceful motherland
 will express deep-felt gratitude!
 Don't laugh at me when I can no longer
 withhold tears; in the midst
 of your earth-shaking cries impossible
 not to be gripped by emotion! Flames
 have erupted from the volcanoes
 of the island of Japan, heating my blood
 to boiling point, recalling my youth;
 All down the streets, from every window
 come voices shouting support; waving hands
 from the scaffolding of every
 construction site; uncles with towels
 around their heads, children on

their shoulders, join the ranks; aunts
rush out of the houses drying their hands
on aprons; monks with arms raised high
then Christians, singing hymns; never
have I felt this way before; everyone
so near to each other, so closely knit
together; arms linked to arms, so let us
hold together under the dancing banners
that lead the people, becoming a great sea
with each great wave higher than the last!
Let us with our own hands, snatch back
democracy, recover our motherland! Now
the express train on which we ride
is hurtling towards a precipice, so must we
halt the locomotive; a hundred million
people standing firmly; in the driver's seat
there sits a messenger of hell who says
there is no way to change direction; so must we
throttle him, pull him down, for he
is one of those who have driven wickedly
before, but who still arrogantly says
the passengers have no power to halt
their road to doom! Now must we
teach him a hard lesson—get him to know
what are the regulations, who makes them;
that democracy is real; that it must be
the people who make rules; we, ourselves;
the soundless voices still come
from the precipice of Okinawa, from under
the monument there, where a group
of girl students were killed; then at
the sites of Hiroshima and Nagasaki
pitiful sobbing still breaks through;
halt this train!
Change its driver!
the time has come for our Motherland
to drive forward on the great road that leads
to freedom and peace.

(Translated by Rewi Alley)



PROSPECTS FOR SHIPBUILDING

J. E. Mortimer*

THE case for the social ownership of industry is not something remote from the needs of the workers. On the contrary, it is only through social ownership that steadily rising living standards, without periodic recession and unemployment, can be ensured. The inherently unstable characteristics of capitalism are particularly well illustrated by the present position of the shipbuilding industry.

As long ago as 1928, before the great depression of the early thirties, the Balfour Committee on Industry and Trade pointed out that no industry had quite the same record of instability:

Shipbuilding is an industry notable for the large differences between the high and low points of production. Periods of slump alternate with periods of boom, with the consequence that production in any given year is generally much above or much below the average annual production over a period.

The present uncertainty about the future of the industry has led the Shipbuilding Advisory Committee, with the concurrence of the Government, to set up a sub-committee 'to consider the future of the industry'. The decision to set up this enquiry coincided with the announcement of the resignation of Sir Graham Cunningham, independent chairman of the Shipbuilding Advisory Committee. Sir Graham stated, in explanation, that it was the opposition of the shipbuilding employers to his suggestion for an enquiry that led to his resignation. The shipbuilding employers' excuses were so frustrating, he said, that it would be fruitless to continue serving the industry as independent chairman.

Towards the end of March this year Lord Hailsham, Minister of Science, stated at a centenary function of the Royal Institution of Naval Architects:

It is not at all impossible—for one reason or another, not by any means all our own fault—that shipbuilding production in the United Kingdom may fall heavily in the next five years.

Lord Hailsham asked whether the industry was satisfied with what it was doing. Are there not perhaps too many shipyards? 'Perhaps the future lies with fewer and larger units', he added.

If these words of Lord Hailsham about too many units in the industry implied a recognition of the need for a planned reorganisa-

*As many of our readers will know, J. E. Mortimer is editor of *The Draughtsman*, organ of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen.—ED., L.M.

tion of the main shipbuilding estuaries they might well be welcomed by those whose first regard is for the prosperity of the industry and the welfare of its workers. But, as is more likely under conditions of capitalism, they may be a forewarning of the kind of rationalisation which was carried out by National Shipbuilders' Securities Limited in the 'thirties. In the course of a few years N.S.S. Ltd. reduced the annual capacity of the British shipbuilding industry by over one million tons, scrapped or sold abroad the equipment of the redundant yards, and restricted the sites of these yards from any further use for shipbuilding purposes.

A statement on the maritime industries, published eleven years ago by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, pointed to the main purpose of National Shipbuilders' Securities Limited. This was not to secure greater efficiency and to eliminate the most inefficient yards. It was to eliminate competition in the interests of certain financially dominant firms, irrespective of the national interest, the wider social costs involved and the technical efficiency of the yards selected for purchase and subsequent closure. The activities of N.S.S. Ltd., said the C.S.E.U., were guided throughout by the financial motives of private interests.

In his speech to the Royal Institution of Naval Architects Lord Hailsham made other significant observations. Were the yards, he asked, making the best use of their space? This is a question which underlines the need for reorganisation. In the last twenty-five years methods of ship construction have been transformed. Rivetting has been largely replaced by welding, and more and more units are being prefabricated in workshops and lifted to the building berths by cranes. Other new methods have also been introduced, including the flame-cutting of plates and, more recently, the optical marking of plates. If full advantage is to be taken of these new methods of construction adequate space is essential. In Britain's main shipbuilding estuaries, the Clyde, Tyne and Wear, some of the yards, dating from the last century or the first decade of the present century, are congested. They are hemmed-in by surrounding houses or commercial property, and the space along the river or estuary bank is artificially divided by the lines of private property.

Lord Hailsham also asked whether enough was being spent on research. He said that, in 1958, individual firms spent about £1,500,000 on research to which should be added another million or so—part of which is Government money—spent by the National Physical Laboratory and two research associations connected with the industry. This total, said Lord Hailsham, is a much smaller

proportion of net output than the average in other engineering industries:

I know of no research on production techniques and methods at present being undertaken in organisations representing the industry.

The main difficulties facing the British shipbuilding industry are briefly as follows.

First, at the present time the world's shipbuilding capacity is nearly double its requirements. In other words, the shipyards of the world can produce each year twice as many ships as are likely to be required on a normal annual replacement cycle. New yards are being built and planned in countries which, hitherto, did not build ships. During the past ten years the output of ships in Britain has been maintained at a fairly steady level, but Britain's share of the world market has dropped from about 37 per cent to 16 per cent.

Secondly, more and more countries are subsidising certain of their shipping lines and are insisting that some, at least, of their ships should be built in home yards. According to Sir Donald F. Anderson, a past president of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom and chairman of the P. & O. Steam Navigation Company, a substantial proportion of foreign flag fleets are now run at a loss and receive Government help, direct or indirect, or both. In Britain, ship-owners receive a special investment allowance, and the recent report of the Chandos Committee on the replacement of the *Queen Mary* recommended that substantial financial help should be given for the building of a replacement ship. They urged that the Government should provide an £18,000,000 loan at a favourable rate of interest towards an estimated £30,000,000 cost of replacing the *Queen Mary*.

The third problem facing the shipbuilding industry, and one which vividly illustrates the instability of capitalism, is that the flow of orders is so uneven from one year to the next. In a boom year the British shipbuilding industry receives considerably more orders than its annual output. On the other hand when there is a trade recession and when freight rates are low, orders may represent only a small fraction of the annual output capacity of the industry. Shipowners place their orders according to their estimation of the likely trend of profits and not according to long-term replacement requirements.

Although the British shipbuilding industry is faced with these problems the means are available to ensure a substantial measure of stability in the industry. In round figures, Britain has a merchant

fleet of about twenty million tons. On a twenty to twenty-five year replacement cycle this should provide work for British shipyards of somewhere between three-quarters and one million tons per year. In addition, the industry is able to compete for foreign orders. The essential requirement is that the flow of orders from British shipping to the industry should be regulated to bring stability. A big advantage of the British shipbuilding industry is that its labour force is highly skilled. Despite what is said in the newspapers about the labour problems of shipbuilding it is an industry in which productivity in Britain, in relation not only to output but to quality and specification, compares favourably with most other countries. In addition, British prices for ships are *not* out of line with the rest of the world. If British-built ships were not competitive the British shipbuilding industry would not have been able to maintain for so many years the largest order book in the world. Even today it has an order book of approximately four million tons, which represents between two and three years' work. The orders are not distributed evenly between the various yards in the industry. On the other hand the range of ships built in Britain is wider than that of probably any other country. It includes passenger and cargo liners, tramps, tankers, specialist carriers, coasters and other vessels. No other country in the world has such a broadly based order book. The very high output figures achieved, for example, in Japan in recent years were largely due to a narrow specialisation on the construction of large tankers. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that a giant tanker may represent less work and value as a shipbuilding product than a passenger liner of only one-third its displacement.

A long-term favourable factor for the shipbuilding industry is that world trade is likely to expand rather than contract. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility—and indeed the likelihood—of periods of contraction. Nevertheless, the economic development of the former colonial and semi-colonial areas of the world will help to stimulate the growth of international trade. More ships will be required. Within the foreseeable future the consumption of oil is also likely to expand. In Europe, for example, it has been estimated that oil consumption has risen in the last ten years by about 14 per cent per year. The greatest known resources of oil are in the Middle East. The extracted product has then to be transported to the countries where it is consumed, and the cheapest known form of transport is by sea—very much cheaper under normal conditions than by continental pipeline. At the moment

over three and a half million tons of tankers are laid up. There is no reason to think, however, that with the further growth in the demand for oil this surplus of tanker tonnage will remain as a permanent feature of world shipping.

Although the means are available to bring prosperity to the shipbuilding industry the essential requirement is that there should be economic planning. The kind of planning which is necessary can be carried out effectively only on the basis of the social ownership of the maritime industries. This was the policy put forward by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions in its statement on the maritime industries in 1949. Through the social ownership of the maritime industries—shipping, shipbuilding, marine engineering and ship-repairing—it would be possible to plan the flow of orders for new ships. Britain would have an efficient merchant fleet on the basis of a regular replacement cycle, and there would be a considerable measure of stability in the shipbuilding industry. It would be possible also for the industry to increase the resources which it allocates for research and development. In his book, *British Economic Policy Since the War*, Andrew Shonfield said:

Things may now be changing, but in most years during the 1950's the amount of money spent on plant and equipment can have been barely sufficient to cover normal wear and tear and obsolescence in the shipyards. During the four crucial years from 1951 to 1954, when first the German yards and later the Japanese were going ahead with large-scale re-equipment, British shipbuilding firms spent four million pounds annually on their fixed assets. For an industry which was producing an average of £120m. a year at this time and employing over 200,000 workers, this is a figure which is so low that it would suggest to the outside observer that someone was trying to get out of the business, and in the meantime was determined to spend as little as possible on it.

The introduction of social ownership, together with adequate public control on the use of land, would also make it possible to replan the shipbuilding facilities of some of the main estuaries. This would enable the industry to take the fullest possible advantage of modern methods of ship construction.

It was significant that in a recent series of articles in *Lloyds' List and Shipping Gazette* suggestions were put forward for the rationalisation of the shipbuilding industry. It said that the days of the sprawling shipbuilding industry were over. It then proceeded to make a number of detailed suggestions for the amalgamation of firms in the main shipbuilding areas. The Shipbuilding Conference subsequently issued a statement to the effect that reports

on proposals for merging shipbuilding firms were pure speculation.

When the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions adopted its policy statement on the maritime industries it sought discussions with the shipping unions. The shipping unions replied by stating that they felt no useful purpose would be served by such joint discussions, and they expressed the hope that the Confederation would delete the shipping industry from the nationalisation proposals. The seafarers' union stated that they 'are mindful of the magnificent recovery which shipping has effected since 1945'. Now that some big shipping interests are seeking Government assistance in various forms to help them to overcome the problems of their industry, the observations of the seafarers' unions made in 1949 are even less valid than they were. The annual report of the North of England Ship-owners' Association, published earlier this year, for example, made a plea for Government assistance for shipping. It is impossible for British owners, they said, to compete successfully against difficulties unless they are assisted by the Government. The difficulties to which they referred were flags of convenience, flags of discrimination and subsidies to foreign fleets.

Sir Donald Anderson, past president of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, in a paper presented in the spring of this year wrote:

It seems clear that the era of maximum freedom and independence is past, and that unless Governments in general reverse the present trend towards the subsidisation and artificial stimulation of national shipping, coupled with discrimination so as to force traffic into its hands, British shipping, over a gradually increasing field, will be forced into choosing between the need for support from its own Government, together with the implications of that course, and a contraction of its business.

The case for public ownership of the maritime industries has never been stronger.

ERNEST BROWN

As we go to press we regret to learn of the death of Ernest Brown, especially well known in the labour movement for his part in organising the hunger marches and aid to Spain. His contributions to Labour Monthly included No Quiet on the Spanish Front, September, 1939.—Ed., L.M.

THE VOTE AT 18

M. McGahey*

THE National Union of Mineworkers has just gone on record in favour of the right to vote at 18. Their resolution called on the whole labour and trade union movement to support the demand 'in preparation for the next General Election', and welcomed the Labour Party's decision to establish a Youth Socialist Movement. If these two principles are really operated, and to the full, it can have far-reaching effects for our movement and for our country.

We are living in a period of great social and economic change. Mankind is on the eve of space travel; the all-embracing fully automated factory is a practical possibility; science and technology are placing in man's control the means of eradicating disease, pestilence and ill-health. But why are we not using these powerful resources to fullest advantage?

Toryism and the bankrupt capitalist class they represent can never meet the challenge of our time, for they fear and resist social and economic change. Just as their madhouse economic system, for example, destroys the very source of heat and power through pit closures and clamping down on the great mining industry, so their hatred of socialism drives them to distort and prostitute the great achievements of our age.

More than anything else they destroy the greatest asset this country possesses, by stultifying the proper training and development of our youth. It is nothing less than a national scandal when we consider that the vast majority of our young people finish their education altogether on reaching 15 years. How is it possible for us to capture and harness all the benefits of modern scientific achievements when only 2 per cent of young people between eighteen and twenty-one receive higher education in science and technology? The very nature of capitalist society drives it to look on youth as a source of cheap labour. In this Britain of ours—where we have never been had so good—hundreds of thousands of our young people are existing on wages of £3, £4 and £5.

But never let us forget that it is the youth who are fighting back today. Look at the magnificent struggle of those shipbuilding and engineering apprentices. For the first time in their lives they went

*E.C. member of the Scottish Area of the N.U.M., which sponsored the successful resolution at the miners' conference, Michael McGahey was formerly secretary of the Scottish Miners' Youth Committee.

on strike, and in their enthusiasm and unity broke down the resistance of the employers—and the slow-foot indifference to their claims of some within the trade union movement itself. The labour movement should compliment them on their ability to organise and to struggle, on their liveliness and initiative, which won them a hearing at the Annual Meeting of the Confederation of Ship-building and Engineering Unions and made a deep impression on the delegates representing 3,000,000 in those industries. Again, the youth have shown their maturity and spirit in the peace movement. Everyone knows that young people made up the big majority of the 100,000 Aldermaston March. The same is true in the many Peace Marches all over Britain, whilst University students and those still at school have been well to the fore in protests against the treatment of colonial people in South Africa and elsewhere.

Youth has most to lose by war. They have shown that they know it. And if they are old enough to fight, then they are old enough to vote at 18.

Let those who castigate our young people for their Rock and Roll and drainpipe trousers remember their own youthful days, dominated by the Charleston plus fours, and Oxford bags! Yes, they rock and roll; but when young people are on the march those who rock most are the bosses. We should place our faith in the socialist future, and in the modern youth who will win it. And a practical way of expressing it is to throw the whole weight of the movement behind support for socialist youth organisations and the vote at 18—now.

ANEURIN BEVAN

The Editorial Board of Labour Monthly express sincere regret at the premature death, at the age of 62, of the Rt. Hon. Aneurin Bevan, M.P. A brilliant speaker, he was also unrivalled amongst Labour leaders at Westminster for his skill and tactics as a Parliamentarian. In addition to many articles and pamphlets, he published a book in 1952 entitled In Place of Fear. His contributions to Labour Monthly included an interview, in the form of an article, on Problems of Labour Policy (June, 1936); and a review of Wal Hannington's book Unemployed Struggles (December, 1936). We extend to his widow, Jennie Lee, M.P., and to his family sincere sympathy.

VIEWS OF THE WORLD

A Tribute to the Apprentices

(We are pleased to print this tribute to the engineering and shipbuilding apprentices from Mr. Frank Foulkes, president of the Electrical Trades Union. He was in the chair at the Annual Meeting of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, of which he was ending his term of office as president, at Llandudno last month, when deputations of apprentices from every shipyard arrived. They made such a marked impression that the meeting took the unusual course of allowing the apprentices' spokesman to address the delegates, to loud applause.)

I would like to congratulate warmly the engineering and shipbuilding apprentices on their efforts to prove how justified is their claim for increased wages. It has been most heartening to trade unionists of my generation to see the qualities they have shown. What a marked contrast to the picture that is generally painted of the decadence of the youth of this generation! The engineering and shipbuilding apprentices have shown that Britain's future craftsmen are capable of assimilating the fighting spirit of trade unionists of earlier generations. They displayed organising ability, self-discipline, enterprise, good behaviour and good manners. In their demonstrations and deputations they proved that they possessed all the essential qualifications for successful agitation and negotiation, together with a sense of humour and tolerance. There was no 'gangsterism' here, but a keen desire and determination to halt once and for all the exploitation of the apprenticeship

system as a means of obtaining cheap labour by employers in this capitalist 'Free World'.

The trade unions to which they belong should be proud of them; they should encourage these young people to attend branch meetings, and give them a warm welcome to enable them to get the necessary experience to fit them to become leaders in the trade union and Socialist movement. There is room for considerably more help which the movement can give to the young people generally.

My own union conference in June, for example, decided to urge the Trades Union Congress to press the government to introduce legislation concerning youth employment and training. By another resolution, Conference emphatically supported their claim for higher wages, and demanded an extension of the school-leaving age, improvement in training methods and adequate time off for training up to the age of 21. Our union itself provides educational facilities, of course; with grants and prizes at the rate of £10 per 8,000 members made available to Area Committees for apprentices making the best progress in advancing their technical skill. Last year 72 such awards were presented to apprentices at branch meetings. Next year further awards will be offered. Much more could be done on these lines.

My advice to the apprentices themselves as the present phase of the struggle is completed would be: Keep your organisation intact. Concentrate on 100 per cent trade unionism for all apprentices from the age of 16. Attend your branch meetings, participate in discussion—

whether you get encouragement or not—and retain your dignity and your good manners: there is every prospect of a Socialist Britain in the very early future—and in your time.

FRANK FOULKES.

Remember

It should take you two hours to read this issue of *Labour Monthly* from cover to cover. During that time 47 miners will have been injured in the British coalfields.

During 1959, in all 209,023 men were the victims of accidents. Of these 348 were killed. And that was 1,944 more than in 1958, although the total number of working miners was less. This, apart from the slower

death and injury that comes from the special diseases which beset miners.

As you read these words I would ask you to bear in mind what is written in the miners' memorial in Durham Cathedral:

'Remember before God the Durham miners who have given their lives in the pits of this county and those who work in darkness and danger in those pits today.'

Both there, and in every British coalfield.

But above all I would ask you to remember, as you read, the 45 miners of Six Bells, who lost their lives in an explosion at Arrael Griffin No. 5 pit on June 28.

'ENID'.

BOOKS

Empire Today. Idris Cox.

(No. 6 of Socialism Today Series).

Lawrence and Wishart, 64 pp. 2s. 6d.

THE YOUNG—in years or in political learning—should find this book very helpful; for it gives them, shortly, clearly, and not too drily, the classical lessons necessary for a proper understanding of the colonial system, which has bedevilled the whole world, and tortured and starved more than half of it, for over two centuries (the Irish would say, over eight!), and isn't yet quite dead.

What are the main classical points, elementary in a sense, but often overlooked, that the book makes? Firstly, that Colonialism means for hundreds of millions poverty—grinding poverty such as even the poorest Englishman or Scotsman cannot imagine, and fabulous wealth for a few thousands. Next, that

political freedom, essential as it is to all true freedom or progress, is never enough in itself, for economic freedom must follow it; compare the leap forward of China with the slow creep of economically dependent India. Then, that the impact of the Socialist world on colonial peoples has been tremendous, in setting examples and giving encouragement, in saying and proving that 'You, too, can shake off all your chains' (and the new impact, too, of economic aid without strings).

Further, that the speed of advance towards independence, ever since 1945, has been incredibly swift. (Think of Asia—in 1939, scarcely a single uncolonialised territory outside Siberia, and today scarcely a colonial territory left. Think still more of Africa, of which the imperialists were openly boasting less than fifteen years ago as their remaining stronghold, secure enough to make a base for the Third World War; now one has to keep on one's radio set day and night to

keep pace with successive liberations, and even Kenya settlers have heard that the world is moving.) Then by way of contrast, the lesson that the swift speed is in fact too slow, for the jackals have not yet surrendered. They are still trying to survive; in many territories (not in all—Congo! Algeria!) they have had to give up attempts to hold their ground with bullets instead of reforms, as their grandfathers did at Peterloo, but they are still fooling some people with offers of 'generous aid', and with talks of 'helping', colonial peoples to ripen for self-government; and still peddling the tale that they are good, kind 'trustees' for the colonial peoples. (I still recall Willie Gallacher in the House of Commons interrupting one of the 'trustee' speeches with the remark: 'Trustees?—Burrglars, ye mean'.) And remember, they are still gulling some sections of the workers, as well as their right wing leaders.

And the last and most important lesson is that the book shows what

sort of policy is needed to end the system. For whilst a huge majority of ordinary decent people will agree step by step with you about the colour bar, the denial of human dignity, the super exploitation and starving of colonial peoples, the shooting of demonstrators, the detention of leaders, and every other inhuman (and unchristian) abomination of the system, what is needed is to pursue a policy which will end it.

D. N. PRITT.

Africa's Year of Destiny

Fenner Brockway, M.P.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom
London. 16pp. 6d.

The mass upsurge of the African people and the achievement of constitutional independence in various parts of that continent rightly make 1960 Africa's year of destiny. In West Africa, including the French dominated territories, a number of new states have emerged or are emerging; and this fact has already made its imprint on the rest of Africa. At the beginning of this year nine African states with a total population of over 73,000,000 were already politically independent. By the end of this year, six more, with a population of 54,000,000, will have come into existence. Furthermore, a number of French colonies, principally in French Equatorial Africa, will achieve a semi-independent status. And so well over half of Africa's long oppressed people this year will be free or on the firm road to freedom. Elsewhere, as in Kenya, South Africa, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the revolt of the African people against colonialism and white settler domination is rapidly reaching a climax. Even in the 'silent zones'—such as Portuguese-held Angola and Mozambique—reports

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN, New York, is the voice of progressive America. Edited by James Aronson. 35s. annually. Order from Collet's, 40, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

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are filtering through of the trial and detention of the people's leaders and of military action by the colonialists.

In this little pamphlet, Fenner Brockway presents a useful survey of the African independence movement, and shows the contrast between the 'areas of hope' for the immediate future—Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, and Uganda, where independence appears to be early within reach—and the 'areas of crisis', such as the regions of white-settler domination and Portuguese colonialism. The author does not refer to the recent crisis in South Africa and the central role of the urbanised African population, principally the growing number of African factory workers in the liberation movement of those regions with a white-settler population. There is only one comment that needs to be made about this otherwise useful

survey. The achievement of constitutional independence in the African colonies, important as it is, by no means ensures full independence. Mr. Brockway, no doubt for lack of space, does not mention the great fact that the African colonial economy remains heavily weighted in favour of the monopolies resident in the imperialist countries. Despite political independence, the bulk of Africa's foreign trade is in foreign hands. Sizeable proportions of the working population are in the employment of foreign monopolies and the surplus from the hard work of the African peoples continues to be accumulated outside their continent. To achieve full independence and to win for the African people the fruits of their work then is a struggle that has still to be completed.

V. P.

POOR FISH !

Goldfish and tropical fish bred here (Hong Kong) now must have visas to enter the United States.

The English-language newspaper *Hong Kong Standard* said fish sold to United States buyers must have special permits showing they were not bred in Communist China.

The Vancouver Sun, June 20, 1960.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

- Sandan. Rewi Alley. Caxton Press. Christchurch, N.Z. 192 pp.
 A Short History of Chinese Philosophy. Hou Wai-lu. Foreign Languages Press. Peking. 178 pp.
 Pressure Group Politics. Harry Eckstein. George Allen & Unwin. 168 pp. 16s.
 The Truth about Oberlander. Committee for German Unity. 224 pp.
 On Colonialism. K. Marx and F. Engels. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. 344 pp.
 The Towns of Ancient Rus. M. Tikhomirov. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books Ltd.
 Aram Khachatryan. Grigory Shneerson. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books Ltd. 102 pp. 10s. 6d.
 Outside Paradise. A. Upits. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books Ltd. 364 pp. 6s.
 U.S.S.R. Today and Tomorrow—Facts, Figures and Pictures. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books Ltd. 326 pp. 7s. 6d.
 Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945. Martin Harrison. George Allen & Unwin. 360 pp. 32s.
 This Little Band of Prophets. Anne Fremantle. George Allen & Unwin. 256 pp. 28s.
 Out of Apathy (New Left Books). E. P. Thompson. Stevens & Son Ltd. 308 pp. 15s.

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(Continued from page 11 of cover)

of this fantastic experiment', and never mind language difficulty. Whilst there he saw 'the May Day parade—and also two issues of L.M. on the hotel bookstall'. After reading news about other readers in this column, he decided we were the right people to put him in touch with others in his home town with whom he could discuss his new 'deas. (And we are, so we did.) He might equally have found his copy in *Canada*, and met the subscriber who often copies 'L.M. articles and quotes others, in writing to M.P.'s and cabinet ministers here arguing against Canadian Government support of the Yankee-dominated NATO, and refusing to recognise the Chinese Republic'. Or whilst working in *Australia* he might have discussed it with 'an L.M. student of long-standing' who wrote only this week with greetings and 'great respect for the loyal band of stalwarts at L.M.'

A *Midlands* reader insists that 'selling L.M. is so easy. A few months ago I spoke to the secretary of the local Council of Labour, who is our Co-op baker. He agreed to buy a copy when he brings the bread. Now he reads it regularly with great interest. I went to one of our Communist Party factory branch members during the June card clearance. Arranged for him to get stamps each month in future off a dues collector—and

also L.M. at the same time. So easy! not an *extra* task, but part of day-to-day working class life'. A *Scot*, sending 10s. to the fund in memory of 'our dear comrade Harry Pollitt', adds: 'I for one will do my best to carry on the great work he did, and the L.M. still does. I will try to get one or two new readers'. (Harry Pollitt wrote more eloquently and convincingly than anyone I know about the value of L.M. to militant workers.' Perhaps some day I may be able to reprint what he said).

I cannot resist quoting from an African reader's letter, in which he asks us to send out bound volumes, and to accept the balance of his remittance 'as my humble contribution to L.M., the vanguard of the working class in its struggle. May I convey my sincere appreciation for keeping in touch with us here. You shall be as happy as I am when I say that my last month's copy has been patched a dozen times by people who were eager to read and re-read the May Notes (*Black and White*). Let no man ever believe that humanity can be separated. Forward, therefore, to our inevitable victory!' We are indeed happy, and proud, as we know all our readers will be.

Please, *watch the fund!* Holiday times can also be dangerous times. June totalled:

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SPECIAL T.U.C. NUMBER

Coal: What Future?

Arthur Horner makes outspoken comments on oil, decentralisation and the men behind it



Have We The Leadership We Deserve?

Trade unionists must solve the problem of leadership and democracy, writes 'Vulcan', on the T.U.C.

**CONGO, CUBA
AND PEACE**
Notes by R.P.D.

A BELGIAN VIEW
Pierre Joye

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George Hardy

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A THOUSAND CHANCES

ONE SATURDAY NIGHT twenty years ago this month, I went to the pictures; the film was *Night Train to Munich*. I came out to find a rain of incendiaries pouring down on deserted London streets, and the whole sky lit up by the blazing Surrey Docks. Hitler's Blitz had begun. Londoners heard the whistle of their first bomb and each held his breath—until the bomb crashed on some other victim. It took time to judge how close a stick of bombs might fall; we looked for assurance to International Brigaders, back from experiencing Nazi bombing amongst civilians in Spain. 'Cheer up!' said they sardonically. 'The ones you hear coming have missed you'. So Londoners began their underground life, which lasted over 200 consecutive nights, in air-raid shelters and Tube stations. I can see them now, packed solid on the Tube platforms, some of them quite homeless; a mother laying her baby to sleep in a suitcase for cradle; an old man crouched on his bundle of bedding, watching the trains go by, waiting for the last to pass, so that he could stretch out his bed-roll. That 'night train to Munich', that flight to Berchtesgaden of Lord Home and Mr. Macmillan's predecessor, had indeed reached its destination. Since nightly one building after another in Holborn was being demolished by bombs, some the 'giant' 1,000-lb. landmines, *Labour Monthly's* offices were moved six miles out from central London. Today, when a single nuclear bomb on Holborn would devastate these offices in far-off Finchley, Mr. Macmillan flies to Germany to discuss 'joint defence measures' with Adenauer, whilst H-bombers and spy planes circle above

American bases on British soil. Of those in the Tube who told each other bitterly: 'Never again!', I know nothing except that the baby in the suitcase-cradle is now a young man, who goes on every possible march against American missile bases. He is one of those who serve 'Notice to Quit' on American forces; and he will certainly be on the March to the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough to which two readers refer in our 'Views of the World' this month. It is about young fellows like him that an *Essex* reader wrote: 'Please send extra copies for the next three months. I want them for my nephew who is greatly interested in peace. He's a bit of an individualist, perhaps, but he went on two Aldermaston marches, and helped to organise a protest lie-down at a base. He needs *L.M.*, I feel'.

It is interesting to hear from United States readers how the effect of world opinion is felt there. A *Florida* reader refers to 'what the Japanese people were trying to teach us in their June demonstrations; and now on our own doorstep valiant Cuba is hewing to the line. Surely the U.S. Government dare not attempt to crush this revolution as they did in Guatemala. The world watches!' Another describes radio reports from London, Italy, Paris and Japan 'about the general feeling in those countries regarding the present standing of the U.S. as world power. I knew the facts, of course; but when I realised that literally millions were hearing it who had never heard it before—I felt ashamed!' From *California*: 'I could never be without *L.M.* in this day and age, the inspiring champion for peace and decent living standards for all humanity and all over the world'. He adds that he thinks it the best English-language periodical 'for strengthening the peace-loving forces of the world'. A *New Zealand*

(Continued on page 111 of cover)

Notes of the Month

Congo, Cuba and Peace

The hand of every European Power which has had dealings with him is stained deep with the blood of the African.

E. D. MOREL, *The Black Man's Burden*.

THIS month we approach the twenty-first anniversary of the launching of the second world war in Europe. A dangerous moment. A new generation has grown up which knows nothing of the second world war and is taught only lies by the spate of war films. A new generation for the military butchers to delude with false slogans and send to destruction. Twenty-one years after the first world war Musso-

lini sent his *giovanezza* to invade Ethiopia, then the last remaining historic independent African state. That was a quarter of a century ago. Today the memory of Mussolini is the memory of the inverted corpse strung up by the anger of the Italian people, while the troops of Haile Selassie march in the name of the United Nations to defend the newly won independence of an African neighbour against the aggression of its old oppressor. We have reached the fifteenth anniversary of the end of the second world war. Fifteen years after the first world war Hitler was placed in power in Germany by the monopolists and militarists immediately after his electoral defeat by the German

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people with a loss of two million votes. Today the same monopolists and militarists, entrenched anew around Adenauer in the West German state; the Krupps and Thyssens, restored to their full possessions and power by the favour of the West; the selfsame generals of Hitler, placed at the head of the new Wehrmacht, now equipped with nuclear weapons; these proclaim anew already openly and publicly their offensive expansionist aims to re-establish the frontiers of Nazi Germany, and sedulously draw up their blueprints for their new blitzkrieg. Once again a British Conservative Premier makes the Munich pilgrimage, to be received at the airport with a welcoming umbrella, and with the selfsame docile acolyte who accompanied Neville Chamberlain on the preceding occasion, Lord Home, to provide the Missing Link.

Yes, there are plenty of ugly features in the present situation. To the old monsters have been added new ones. There is no lack of warning parallels. But yet the present situation is not the same today as then. And it is the difference that is decisive.

Mills of History

The mills grind slowly. But they grind exceedingly small. After all his crimes and bombast Hitler did end in the blazing Chancellery, tracked down by justice embodied in Soviet arms. All his lies and guile of the typical Western master of propaganda did not save Goebbels—even though his final 'Iron Curtain' formula bequeathed as his parting gift before death to organise the Western Cold War after 1945 still rattles every day today, fifteen years later, in every speech and every article of every political leader and journalist of the 'free world' to denote their fidelity to the Testament of Nazism. Syngman Rhee, to maintain whose bloodstained dictatorship all the legions of all the powers of the 'free world' invaded Korea only ten years ago, has at last been overthrown by the wrath of the Korean people and fled to take refuge under the protection of his American masters. Three decades after the sell-out of the *Daily Herald* by the T.U.C. to the millionaires, the last turn of the screw is revealing the ultimate outcome of this pioneer experiment in shareholding partnership with big business as the boasted solution of Labour's problems, now that Fifty One Per Cent Odhams is exercising its whip hand to demand the removal of the last figleaf of Labour affiliation. One quarter of a century after the assault on the last stronghold of African freedom, the living Haile Selassie triumphs over the dead Mussolini. And now

Congo, Red Congo, the Congo of Red Rubber, the Congo of the greatest crimes of modern imperialism till Nazism, of millions slain and tortured and exterminated, has risen, has proclaimed independence, and is fighting tenaciously, shoulder to shoulder with brother African states, to maintain that independence and defeat the renewed attempts of imperialism, whether through direct armed assault or subtler penetration, to overthrow the hard won independence and dissect the living body of the risen giant.

Congo Atrocities

It was unwise of the Belgian Government and publicists to dare to speak of atrocities in the Congo. Do they really think that public memory is so short? Or that the world has forgotten those crimes without equal which first awakened universal consciousness at the dawn of this century to the horrors of modern imperialism, when the intrepid endeavours of noble-hearted fighters for humanity like E. D. Morel and Roger Casement penetrated the veil of darkness and laid bare the sickening record. 'The greatest crime in all history', in the words of Conan Doyle, can stagger even present-day imagination, which has supped full of horrors and plunged deeper and deeper into the abyss as imperialism has progressed. One single fact betrays the record. At the beginning of this century the population of Belgian Congo was varyingly estimated by different authorities at from twenty to thirty millions; the lowest estimate was twenty millions. Let us now take the lowest estimate. Today the population is thirteen millions. The loss of seven millions, one third of the population, and not even by forced migration as in the colonisation and depopulation of Ireland. Seven million unnatural deaths; seven millions wiped out, exterminated, in a short space of years; more, many more, if we allow for what would have been the normal increase of population. In relation to the size of population even the record of Nazism pales besides this.

Casement 'Diaries'

In this connection a footnote on Casement may be forgiven, since his memory is forever bound up with the revelation of the truth about the Belgian Congo. It is characteristic that even a third of a century later British officialism still seeks to blacken the memory of the Irish patriot Roger Casement by continuing to maintain the slanderous charges about the alleged 'diaries' produced by those

self-vaunted masters of forgery, Admiral Sir Reginald Hall of Naval Intelligence in association with the Red-baiter Basil Thompson. In their successive conflicting versions of how and where they professed to have found these 'diaries' they have been as clumsy as the American Secret Service, in their successive conflicting versions over both the U2 and the RB47 (which latter they vainly searched for over the whole Arctic during ten days, and then when the Russians told them where and how it was brought down, pretended they had always known, in order to have the insolence to challenge the Soviet account). Latterly the secretive British authorities, till then so shy about producing any material evidence regarding the Casement 'diaries', but obviously itching from a guilty conscience, have after thirty-four years to hatch the latest brood, produced a new set of volumes as the really authentic version to permit limited inspection by selected witnesses. Unfortunately for this latest effort the Associated Press correspondent, Ben Allen, who was shown the original version of the alleged 'diaries' in 1916, has borne witness that this latest version does not correspond to the old ones which he was shown in 1916:

Mr. Allen told *The Times* yesterday that the documents on exhibition in the Record Office were certainly not the ones which were shown to him in 1916 by the late Admiral Sir Reginald Hall of Naval Intelligence, and which he was then told was Casement's diary. . . . Mr. Allen said that Hall called him aside, presented him with the diaries and urged him to circulate them in America through the Associated Press.

For several reasons . . . he was not satisfied that they were authentic. Mr. Allen said that he refused to use the material unless he was allowed to see Casement and to ask him whether he was the author. This he was not allowed to do.

Mr. Allen said that what he was shown was a thick rolled manuscript . . . The sheets were at least twice the size of any of the exhibits now on display in the Record Office.

(*The Times*, August 6, 1960.)

All this would be an old story for the masters in forgery who produced the Piggott forgeries to damn Parnell, the forged *Pravda* put out by Scotland Yard for the anti-Soviet campaign, or the forged 'Red Letter' to win a general election. The memory of Casement (however misled in his final desperate attempt to serve the cause of Ireland with the aid of another imperialism) can never be blackened from such dirty sources.

'Steeped in Blood'

The once prosperous Congo of abundance, described by early travellers, was laid waste by King Leopold's system of appropri-

tion of its natural resources and murderous violence to compel the population to supply the insatiable demand for rubber and ivory in order to maintain the luxury of the palace favourites in Brussels, the corrupt Catholic politicians and the smug concessionaires in Paris, London and New York. Morel quotes the report of a Belgian merchant:

There is not an inhabited village left in four days' steaming through a country formerly so rich: today entirely ruined. . . . The villages are compelled to furnish so many kilos of rubber every week. . . . The soldiers sent out to get rubber and ivory are depopulating the country. They find that the quickest and cheapest method is to raid villages, seize prisoners, and have them redeemed afterwards for ivory.

Letters of European agents employed by the Concessionaire Companies found their way into the papers. One such agent confessed to having killed 150 men, cut off 60 hands, crucified women and children and hung the remains of mutilated men on the village fence. He quotes the American missionary Clark:

It is blood-curdling to see them (the soldiers) returning with the hands of the slain, and to find the hands of young children amongst the bigger ones evidencing their bravery. . . . The rubber from this district has cost hundreds of lives, and the scenes I have witnessed, while unable to help the oppressed, have been almost enough to make me wish I were dead. . . . The rubber traffic is steeped in blood, and if the natives were to rise and sweep every white person on the Upper Congo into eternity, there would still be a fearful balance to their credit.

Prophetic words. What must be the memories in every family of every Congolese man and woman? The amazing thing is not that there may have been incidents of violence (and all the reporters are agreed that the main violence after liberation has come from the Belgian paratroopers who, in the words of *Time* correspondent, 'got out of hand', 'beat up any stray Africans they encountered', and were 'trigger-happy'). The amazing thing has been the nobility and tolerance of the wronged Congolese people towards their former oppressors once they have won their independence.

Profit and Loss

'Do Empires Still Pay?' asked the naïve John Strachey in his *End of Empire* last year. He proceeded to offer the conventional current official answer that, even if there was exploitation in the past, all this no longer applies to any significant extent to modern 'post-imperialist' capitalism. The Marxist analysis, he accordingly claimed, of the prosperity of the Western imperialist metropolitan centres of the 'free world' as based on a foundation of colonial

plunder, exploitation and impoverishment no longer corresponds to the facts of the modern world. This opinion is evidently not shared by the Belgian Minister of Finance, Van Houtte; who, as soon as the revolt of the Congolese Force Publique revealed the collapse of the dreams of the Belgian monopolists to continue domination of the Congo under new forms, immediately announced to the panic-stricken Belgian parliament that the loss of Congo would bring the menace of financial catastrophe and devaluation of the franc and make it necessary to introduce at once emergency measures of 'financial austerity', increased taxation and all-round cuts in the standard of living of the Belgian population. Clearly Mr. Van Houtte had failed to study his Strachey.

Balance Sheet of Empire

There could be no more classic demonstration of the economics of modern imperialism (not 'post-imperialism') than the relations of Belgium and Congo. Did the exploitation come to an end when the autocracy of King Leopold was replaced on the eve of the first world war by the direct colonial rule of the Belgian state operating through the same octopus of the *Société Générale* (older than the Belgian State) and the great overseas monopolism, the *Haut Katanga* and the rest, linked with British and later also American monopoly interests? On the contrary, the exploitation became more scientific, more intensive. During the five years 1955-59, according to *The Economist* of August 6, 1960, Congo had to pay Belgium (deficit on the balance of payments with Belgium) £472,000,000, or £94,000,000 a year, or, allowing for re-investment in Congo, a net £422,000,000, while earning from the rest of the world, in dollars, sterling or other currencies, £322,000,000, and having to cover the remainder from reserves previously accumulated. Thus the vast dollar earnings from Congo resources and labour all went to build up the prosperity of the Belgian economy. Other estimates have given a higher figure for the net return to Belgium from Congo; thus the *U.S. News and World Report* (August 1, 1960) has estimated the total over the past five years as \$1,700,000,000, or £750,000,000, equivalent to £150,000,000 a year for a country with a population of 9,000,000, and an area one-seventy-seventh of its Congo colony.

Uranium and the Atom Bomb

In the modern period uranium and copper have displaced the old rubber and ivory (alongside diamonds, palm kernels, coffee, cotton

and continuing rubber and ivory) as the main source of profit. The American atom bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and after, and the first hydrogen bombs, were based on Congo uranium. The uranium mines of the Belgian Congo were operated by the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*, the controlling interest in whose shares used to be held by the British monopoly, Tanganyika Concessions. In April 1950, the British Government sold 1,677,961 of the ordinary shares of Tanganyika Concessions (or nearly half the total of 3,831,412 ordinary shares issued up to that date), which it owned at the time, to an Anglo-Belgian group, which in turn sold 600,000 of these shares to an American group associated with the Rockefeller monopoly interests. According to the posthumously published memoirs of Senator Vandenberg, one of the conditions of aid to Britain in connection with the Marshall Plan was that the United States should obtain a share in Congo uranium. Thus the brassy neon-lit prosperity of the show facade of post-war Brussels has been built on the foundation of the atom bomb and the exploitation of the Congo workers, who in the uranium mines, for mining the highest priced raw ore in the world—selling for several thousand dollars a ton—were paid wages of less than three shillings a day. The veil of secrecy over uranium has covered the subsequent financial transactions or the still unsettled question of the future disposition of the shares after the formation of the Congo Government. But it will assuredly be healthier for the world when the Congo people become masters of their own resources.

A National Revolution

No wonder the Congo people have arisen in one of the greatest popular national revolutions of our era. No wonder the smug Belgian, British, French and American monopolists are so tenacious to use every device and stratagem and brutality to hold their rich booty even after they have been compelled to recognise the juridical right of independence. Congo is the heart of Africa. As Congo goes, so will go Rhodesia, Angola, South Africa. Here is being enacted at this moment the battle of all Africa's future. The self-satisfied experts of imperialism, blind as always everywhere to what really moves among the people until revolution strikes them in the face, prattled until the last minute of the passive torpor of the Congo people, where the skilful Belgian colonialists allowed no nonsense of political institutions or education or new ideas or rights, and where the people were supposed to be sunk in passive acceptance, immune from the currents stirring all Africa. That typical

American tourist's *vade mecum* to the Continents, Gunther's *Inside Africa*, could still declare as late as 1955:

The great bulk of Congolese do not think at all in nationalist terms, i.e. of freedom from Belgian rule, because they are not educated enough to know what nationalism is. The Belgian system works well, and organised discontent does not exist. . . The Congo is almost completely tranquil politically. . . Practically no danger exists of any African uprising. . . The Belgian government is a very sound government indeed.

Even this shallow American author had nevertheless to record the fact that official statistics recognised 3,800 political prisoners (and official statistics in these matters usually understate the true extent). The seeds of the future harvest were already sown.

People Arisen

There is no corner of the world, however remote, however held in chains and blinkers, that can be cut off from the world advance of liberation, whatever the differences in tempo of development. Gunther's wisdom on Congo tranquillity was published in 1955. That was the year of Bandung, landmark of the great Afro-Asian sweep forward. Already in that year, in 1955 all the groups in Congo (no parties were allowed) united in a common manifesto demanding independence, even though the goal then seemed distant and was set to be won in thirty years. With the development of the organised Congo National Movement around the leadership of its President, Patrice Lumumba, the tempo quickened. At the Accra All-Africa Peoples' Conference in December 1958, Lumumba was head of the Congo delegation and was elected to the Executive Committee of the All-Africa Secretariat. The Accra Conference pledged support of all African peoples for Congo freedom.

Bloodbath of Freedom

It was at the immediately following demonstrations in Leopoldville in January 1959, gathered in defiance of bans to hear and acclaim the report of the Accra Conference, that the bloodbath followed, with Belgian armoured cars firing on the people and 49 Africans killed (according to official admissions; actual figures were far higher). This bloodbath was the dawn of Congo freedom. There followed the renewed shootings of October 1959, with 20 Africans shot dead, and the arrest and imprisonment of Lumumba in November. In vain the scribblers of imperialism try to pretend that Belgium made a 'too hasty' 'gift' of freedom to Congo, like Attlee's 'gift' of freedom to India (not to mention George III's

'gift' of freedom to the United States). In the words of Lumumba at the ceremony inaugurating independence on June 30:

We have endured contempt, insults and blows endured morning and night. We knew law was never the same for the whites and the blacks. The fate of the political prisoners was worse than death. Who can forget the hangings and shootings in which perished so many of our brethren? Who can forget the gaols into which were flung those who had escaped the bullets of the soldiers?

Such was the fitting epitaph on Belgian Congo.

Vultures Gather

Imperialism will not lightly surrender its rich prey. As soon as the hold of Belgium was seen to weaken, all the vultures of imperialism are hovering to bury their claws in the flesh of the hoped for victim before the young bird has gathered strength. In the hour of collapse of the old colonial system and frontiers the imperialists dream of a new partition of Africa. Already the Belgian monopolists had been confident that their evacuation would be a masquerade, and that by their intrigues and manoeuvres to buy up leaders and organisations they could disintegrate the national front into hopeless confusion, and then, in the name of suppressing disorder, march in again to resume armed occupation, utilising the 25,000 professional soldiers of their Force Publique under Belgian officers. 'Nothing has changed', as the magnates of *Haut Katanga* in their Brussels headquarters placidly informed *The Observer* correspondent as late as July 6, one week after the proclamation of independence. But on that day the soldiers of the Force Publique rose against their Belgian officers and united with the national cause. From that moment everything changed. The masquerade gave place to battle. Once again was demonstrated the profound truth of the merciless Marxist definition of the essence of the state as the body of armed men. The Belgian monopolists had now to rush in by airlift their own armed forces, parachutists and battalions, eleven thousand in all, to create a reign of terror. This invasion bore the character of open Belgian armed aggression, since it took place just after the sovereign independence of Congo had been solemnly recognised by the United Nations on July 7, in accordance with the old plan. Hence the Congo Government was able to appeal to the United Nations for protection of its independence against the Belgian armed aggression. With all the Afro-Asian states promptly responding, alongside the socialist states ranged with them against imperialism, the United Nations Security Council had no alternative but to vote a resolution authorising

measures to support the legal Congo Government and ensure the withdrawal of the invaders. The sequel has been a study in the tactics of imperialism (or, for those who prefer it, 'post-imperialism').

New Colonialism

Already before the liberation of Congo the rival imperialists were staking their claims. From the side of the British imperialists Central African Federation troops were massed on the Congo border months in advance in hungry anticipation, and on March 2 Premier Welensky startled the world with an interview in the *Daily Express* stating that negotiations had begun for the incorporation of Katanga in the Federation; while later trial balloons were floated suggesting the amalgamation of Katanga with Tanganyika. The French imperialists through the Foreign Minister, Couve de Murville, reminded the Belgian Government on February 26 that France still maintained its rights under the 1908 Franco-Belgian Agreement by which France was given the first option to purchase Belgian Congo in the event of its relinquishment by Belgium. Belgium meanwhile was seeking to ensure its continued grip on the wealth of Katanga through its puppet Tshombe. But the tactics of U.S. imperialism were the most subtle, just as over Suez in relation to Britain, seeking to give lip service to the United Nations call for Congo independence and Belgian withdrawal in order to weaken the Belgian position, and secure their gradual withdrawal, and utilise the United Nations for U.S. penetration and domination. Thus the U.N. units under Western imperialist command were used only to disarm Congolese troops, while maintaining the friendliest relations with the Belgian armed forces and puppets, repeatedly snubbing and cold-shouldering the Congo Government, and preparing the way for proposals for a U.N. mandate over Congo.

'Collective Imperialism'?

By August 12 the plan to re-establish imperialist control in Congo through a form of U.N. mandate came into the open:

Mr. Hammerskjöld's report said that a consultative group of international experts would go to work early next week to draw up programmes in 11 different areas of Government responsibility. These were: agriculture, communications, education, finance, foreign trade, health, national security, labour, the magistrature, natural resources and industry, and public administration.

(*The Guardian*, August 13, 1960.)

A sufficiently comprehensive list. The well-informed *Toronto Globe and Mail* on August 1 had already spelled out the aim:

Mince words as it may, maintain the fiction of Congolese sovereignty as it may, the United Nations has taken over a country. . . Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the U.N., is proposing a five year occupation.

And of course that organ of philanthropic imperialism, the *New Statesman*, on August 6, leaped with joy over the plan:

New horizons can be glimpsed for the United Nations. It will for the first time assume direct responsibility in the colonial and ex-colonial world. Such a scheme would be much more acceptable to colonial peoples than the best-intentioned imperial efforts. The Congo, even though independent, would become a U.N. ward.

One thing these gentlemen forget. That is the wishes of the Congo people, who did not fight for their independence in order to hand it back to imperialism in a new suit.

Africa and Imperialism

A clergyman back from Congo at the beginning of August, Dr. George Carpenter, a Secretary of the International Missionary Council, reporting to the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, remarked that all the reports published from Congo failed to give the viewpoint of the Congo people:

The news reports in the press of the western world have concentrated on the spectacular and violent aspects of the scene. They tell the story from the white man's viewpoint; for the most part they show little awareness that there is another side. . . Is fellow feeling with peoples struggling to establish their freedom to be more keenly felt and more vigorously expressed among communists than among the free peoples of the west?
(*The Times*, August 6, 1960.)

He has touched his finger on the vulnerable nerve. During these weeks reporters have swarmed over Congo and filled the columns of the press. Yet not one, so far as the Western press is concerned, has attempted to give a picture of what the ordinary people of Congo are thinking. Not one appears to have attempted to interview the ordinary man and woman of the Congo people. Not one has attempted to interview a members of the Force Publique—these men trained by the alien rulers to hold down their own people, yet in the moment of crisis responding to the most elementary national feeling, turning out their hated Belgian officers and fighting to protect their own Congo Government. How many of them have been shot down in Katanga and elsewhere by the Belgian rocket planes and guns? A veil of silence has been drawn. But it is the people

of Congo who will say the last word. United with them stand all the peoples of Africa, with their eleven now independent African states due to meet in an 'African Summit' at Leopoldville at the end of August. United with them stand all the peoples of the new world of national liberation and the mighty socialist world—the new majority of the world. The last word is no longer with imperialism.

Cuba and Laos

Turn to Cuba on the other side of the world from Congo. Here is revealed a new height of the democratic national revolution. In face of all the threats and provocation from the U.S. imperialist giant across the water, the armed plane assaults and economic blackmail, the Cuban people have courageously gone forward to wipe out the old oppression and dependence and wrest key resources from the foreign monopolies into the hands of the people. Visibly the dollar tycoons itch to lash out in the old way, when the dispatch of a couple of gunboats and a curt order to the Marines was sufficient to deal with any recalcitrant Latin American state and restore a docile dictator. Their press spits venom. Every speech of Eisenhower thunders threats and imprecations. And yet they hesitate. They have hesitated so far to repeat the armed aggression with which they overthrew Arbenz in Guatemala. Why? Because they have discovered that the Latin American peoples are standing by Cuba. Because the Soviet Union has warned them that any attempt at armed aggression will be followed by quick retribution. Comically they appeal to the Monroe Doctrine, which would bind them to withdraw their bases from Europe. The one-time dictators of all America, the aggressors of Korea and Formosa, the lords of a hundred bases over the world, writhe in impotent fury. But they have not yet dared to act. Cuba is small. But Cuba is not alone. In the next continent even little Laos has valiantly set on the path to clear out the American military invaders and defy the thunderbolts of SEATO. There is danger still, danger of violent action from imperialism on every side. But the balance is moving, is moving every day, on the side of the peoples and of peace. Let us hasten to do our part to speed the movement of that balance while there is time.

R.P.D.

August 16, 1960.

COAL : WHAT FUTURE ?

Arthur Horner

THE article 'Crisis in Coal', written so concisely and I think correctly by Will Paynter in the August issue, leaves little to add to the facts about the present situation. But to judge from the prospect before us, a brief retrospect may be of some value.

Briefly, the position is that there is a decline in coal consumption aggravated by Government policy, which is quite deliberately to let coal, indigenous or not, find its level, in competition with oil or other sources of heat and energy, from wherever they may be obtained. There was an occasion when we had to meet Lord Mills, then Minister of Power, when he made no bones about the position. We raised all the questions as to the importance of coal in the event of oil supplies being cut off; the difficulties of sinking new mines if existing ones were allowed to die, and so on. But he quite frankly explained that if the coal industry, burdened though it is by heavy interest charges, losses on foreign imports of coal, Government control of prices, and stocking, could not survive—well, it was just too bad for coal.

I have never been one of those who believed in the eternity of coal, as the sole source of heat and energy, nor do I think that it would be good if it was so. Coal like everything else is subject to change in outside factors, as well as within itself as an industry. The deliberate policy of encouraging and speeding up the inevitable process for purposes of taxation returns on oil and of subservience to the oil monopolies, of which the British Government is an important part, is a different matter. This attitude takes no account of social consequences—or does it? Because the effect of greatly increased imports of oil has been, and must be, to reduce the ability of the miners' union to secure working and living conditions which correspond to the ever-increasing productive output per man shift.

I have no doubt whatever that this Government would follow the logic of their competitive conception by importing coal from abroad to be sold against the home-produced products, if this could be secured at lower prices. The fact, however, is that British coal is still procurable more cheaply than European and U.S.A. coal when the ultimate price to the customer is taken into account. The fact that the industry is nationalised means nothing to those who think like Lord Mills, either in terms of loyalty or anything else. They completely ignore, or even make capital out of the

difficulties, most of which the National Coal Board inherited from private owners: the need, as the Reid Committee stated in 1945, to reorganise completely the industry at vast cost; unjustifiable charges on foreign imports; shockingly high interest charges, and so on. The miners' union knows that it is futile to look for sympathy or help from this Government, on grounds of social consequences, such as the ruin of towns and villages and unemployment. They know that any solution must be found within their own ranks and those of their Labour and trade union allies.

The manoeuvre of putting £173,000,000 worth of coal in stock, to stave off the need to spread destitution which is the motive of Jim Bowman and his colleagues (and which was and is deplored by the Government) will no longer be pursued by the new regime, if Messrs. Robens and Brown pursue their policy of so-called decentralisation. This is a policy which I have always known Mr. Brown, the new deputy chairman, to favour; and I now learn it is one that Mr. Robens has always secretly supported, although in my contacts with him he has always successfully hidden these views and paid lip-service to nationalisation, with central control over all essentials. Well! circumstances alter cases, and I recognise that to have announced these views might have jeopardised his representation as Member of Parliament in a mining constituency. I understand his dilemma, but he should cease to talk of his great sacrifice in becoming Chairman of the National Coal Board at £10,000 a year plus £1,000 tax free expenses, when he states he could have done much better had he accepted offers to employ him in privately owned capitalist industry. I write this sharply, not because I have disliked Alf Robens personally, on the contrary; but lest his ignorance of a most complicated industry should make him a subservient tool to implement reactionary Tory Government policy. If this turns out to be the case, great harm and suffering can come to my people, the miners and their families.

What can happen if this policy of decentralisation is carried to its logical end? Great coalfields can be almost completely eliminated, others partially destroyed. For example, take East Midlands and Scotland, the one making a nett profit of approximately £18,000,000 per year, the other showing a loss of over £1,000,000 per month, or some £12,000,000 yearly. According to the rules of capitalist society, Scotland should have been closed down and the Midland coal transported to Scotland, instead of large quantities being stocked at considerable expense there. Is this position of profit and loss the result of some virtue on the one part and delinquency

on the other? Of course not. When as part of the so-called 'Big Six', I travelled the country, to investigate the causes of deficiency in production, we took evidence from men and managements. We found cases in Scotland where men were producing at the coalface as much as 18 tons per shift, filling with a shovel in less than a height of two feet. No one could exceed this in the circumstances, and Sir Hubert Holdsworth, Bill Sales and I could not do anything about the losses at the colliery, except to congratulate the men and hope for rapid reorganisation.

Fortunately there is no likelihood of Notts or Derby, the high producing profitable districts, being drawn into conflict with the non-profitable, or less profitable, areas or pits within areas. The bitter experiences of the Spencer period have been learned. 'Never again', was the substance of the speeches I heard at the Llandudno Conference last month from the Chairman of the Notts Area, and the Secretary of the Derbyshire Area. I have just written a book, which has much to say of the 1920s, when the ascertainment system was devised, with terrible consequences for the mining community. Frank Hodges, the then Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, sponsored it. Its outcome was to reduce the industry's man-power from 1,227,000 in 1920 to 766,000 in 1939, so that over 450,000 men were driven from the industry, thousands from their homes and families. Those who were left were forced below subsistence levels: awards had to be brought in to make up the minimum sustenance on which men could still work.

That was the then form of 'decentralisation', each district depending upon its own resources. That's what it means, Messrs. Robens and Brown, however politely you put your case for it. No one, whether in the Coal Board or the Union, objects to District application of principles agreed nationally. There is plenty of room for local initiative now in both spheres. But there are matters which are inviolable and cannot be ignored unless you first arrange for the funerals of your miners, who will no longer be there to get your coal. This is a matter of life or death.

There is a contraction of the men employed in the industry from 669,800 in July last year to 613,500 in July this year, a reduction of 56,300 men. This would have calamitous effects without nationalisation. Fortunately the worst possible results have been avoided through centralisation, which made possible control of recruitment, redundancy schemes, retirement at 65 years with a lump sum payment, and so on. That the number of men employed will fall still further is certain. Not only has oil come to stay, but in the

coming years nuclear energy for peaceful purposes will do to oil, what oil is now doing to coal. The process of development can be speeded up or slowed down, it cannot be halted. Even more important is the increased quantities of coal got by machines, power-loaders, etc. The output at the face, now 4.093 tons per shift, will soon be at 5 tons, whilst output per all employed, now at 1.408 tons, will pass the thirty hundredweight mark. Where will it stop? I went down many mines in Australia; one on the south coast of New South Wales had an output from one face seven feet six inches thick of 2,300 tons per shift from 60 operational men; that is, from face to washery, over 38 tons per man per shift. I see that in the U.S.S.R. there are advanced experiments which, it is said, may result in it not being necessary for men to go into the pits at all, except to install machinery which can be operated by remote control from the surface.

I have never belonged to the school of thought which accepted it as inevitable that men will always have to work in pits. (I call them slaughter-houses without humane killers.) There are many safer, better jobs: I know of none more dangerous, or onerous. Of the more than 450,000 miners who were driven out in the depression, I met hundreds in my visits to Birmingham, Slough, Coventry and elsewhere, and none regretted the break, once it was made. They had a safe roof over their heads, and did not undergo the subconscious fear of pneumoconiosis, or other pit diseases, which are at the back of the mind of most miners.

It is only possible to plan completely for such a vast contingency under Socialism, which is in control of alternative employment. We, however, live under capitalism, which has neither the desire nor the means to organise a great transition. We, however, have a nationalised coal industry, with centralised power over all its parts and more important still, there exists a national united mine-workers' union capable of compelling the implementation of the Nationalisation Act by the National Coal Board. There is a group of miners' M.P.s, whose first loyalty is to the miners. There are many ways to meet the situation: improved wages; re-introduction of the 7-Hour Day, leading to 6 hours, as the Sankey Commission recommended 40 years ago; better pensions at 60, leading to pensions at 55 years of age. (It is 60 years, with a pension of approximately £10 per week in Australia.) Oh, there are so many reforms which are progressively feasible and practicable, and more will become apparent. I am sure that the National Union of Mine-workers will find and apply them as need and opportunity arises.

A BELGIAN VIEW OF CONGO

Pierre Joye

[An anti-imperialist voice from Belgium comes as a refreshing breeze of sanity after the hurricanes of propaganda from Belgian news monopolies (sedulously picked up and repeated by the B.B.C. and others). We are pleased therefore to print this article written especially for us by the Editor of Le Drapeau Rouge (Red Flag), organ of the Belgian Communist Party which is active in the struggle for complete withdrawal of troops and a new treaty of friendship to be negotiated with the Congo Republic.—Ed., L.M.]

ON JUNE 30, 1960, the Republic of Congo was solemnly proclaimed at Leopoldville in the presence on the one hand of the new President, M. Kasavubu, and on the other of the Belgian Head of State, King Baudouin. At that point, it might have appeared that the Congolese people had become master of their fate in circumstances almost unprecedented in the history of colonialism: without having had to face a very long struggle to vindicate their rights; and even with the full agreement, support and co-operation of the former masters of the country.

This peaceful achievement of independence was the more astonishing because only two years earlier the creation of an independent State would have seemed to the Congolese people themselves only a remote prospect. Their spokesmen had long been extremely moderate: when in 1956 they asserted the need to prepare for independence they were only proposing to achieve it by stages within thirty years! Indeed, Congo was then still a very 'silent empire'. The Belgian colonialists had been governing it for seventy-five years as though firmly entrenched to all eternity. They occupied every leading post and exercised absolute power: the signature of an European official was enough to deport Africans on mere suspicion of disturbing the established order, with no right of appeal, and sometimes for life.

However, in January, 1959, following violent demonstrations in Leopoldville which cost three hundred African lives, the Belgian authorities entirely modified their attitude. The most representative leaders of Belgium—King Baudouin and Prime Minister Eyskens—suddenly adopted the very principle which they had flatly rejected only some weeks earlier: the independence of Congo.

Why did Belgian capitalists so readily resign themselves to abandoning one of the richest colonies in Africa?

It would seem that their most influential representatives had recognised the bankruptcy of the old-style colonialism today; they had realised that it is becoming more and more difficult to resist by brute force the liberation movement of the colonial peoples. The break-up of the colonial empires of Britain, France and Holland gave them food for thought. As one of their leading official spokesmen, Theo Lefèvre, President of the Christian-Social Party (Catholic), said recently: 'How could a little country like Belgium succeed where great Powers like France and Great Britain have failed?'

In granting independence to the Congo the Belgian bourgeoisie had nevertheless no intention of renouncing the enormous benefits they derived from their colony. The leaders of the great capitalist trusts reckoned that a 'realistic' policy would enable them to keep all their privileges in a nominally independent Congo which would nevertheless remain completely under their economic control, their political influence, and their actual domination. The Congolese people, they claimed, could not do without Belgian 'guardianship'. They had neither experienced administrators, technicians, nor capital.

And the truth is that in seventy-five years of colonial rule, Belgium had done nothing to enable the Congolese people to run their own affairs. Congo has hundreds of priests, and even four African bishops, but in the administration, from top to bottom, there are 4,600 Belgian officials and only three Congolese officials. In the whole of Congo there was not one African Army officer, nor engineer, not a single lawyer, agricultural scientist, nor doctor.

Belgian capitalist circles had imagined that it would be easy to erect a political facade for their use in independent Congo, where key posts could be entrusted to amenable Congolese always willing to obey Belgian 'advisers'. The colonial authorities had done all they could to mould the Congolese into 'good Negroes'. For many years they had forbidden all political activity in Congo, throwing the Kasavubus and the Lumumbas into jail, and by every means building up non-nationalist 'political parties' led by subservient men, like Tshombe's Conakat in Katanga, and the *Parti National du Progres* (National Progressive Party) or P.N.P., which the Congolese were quick to dub the '*Parti des Nègres payés*' ('Party of Negro Paid Men').

Whilst accepting the principle of Congolese independence, the Belgian authorities moreover took care not to fix a date for it. Serious difficulties then rapidly arose when the Congolese leaders insisted on specifying a definite date. On that occasion they had the advantage of unanimous and effective support of the whole Belgian working class; and the Belgian government, after resisting for a year, was obliged to accept June 30, 1960, as the date.

In Congo itself despite all the manoeuvres of the colonial administration, the General Election, the first in the history of the Congo, was held in May last to establish a Parliament and then a government. It resulted in a complete triumph for the national parties, except in Katanga, where the Belgian mining interests are too strong. The winners in the elections were the Congolese National Movement (M.N.C.) led by Patrice Lumumba; the losers were the P.N.P. created almost from top to bottom by the Belgian administration.

On June 30, therefore, it was two former Congolese political prisoners, two 'extremists', who were to meet King Baudouin at Leopoldville: Kasavubu, the President of the Republic, and Lumumba, the Premier. It was a severe setback to those Belgian political leaders who had thought that by means of a little hypocrisy the old regime could in practice be maintained in a nominally independent Congo.

The most reactionary circles, the 'ultras', who had protested all along against the colonial policy of the Eyskens Government, which they regarded as too liberal and described as 'the policy of abandonment', were not slow to rub it in. When some days later Congolese army units refused to recognise the authority of Belgian officers remaining in command, the diehard reactionaries unleashed a violent campaign aimed at imposing military and political intervention in Congo. For them, it was essential to drive out Lumumba and reconquer Congo 'by tanks and jets'. Under their pressure, exploiting jingo sentiments evoked by tales of thousands of Belgians who had fled in panic from Congo, the Eyskens Government sent thousands of paratroops into Congo, whilst they supported secretly the separatist movement organised in Katanga at the instigation of the European colonialists and the *Union Minière*.

Events have shown that the Belgian capitalists have achieved no greater success by this attempt to revert to a 'policy of force'.

HAVE WE THE LEADERSHIP WE DESERVE ?

‘Vulcan’

THE ninety-second annual gathering of the trade unions takes place in Douglas, Isle of Man, when the Trades Union Congress meets during the first week of September. International affairs dominate the Congress agenda, though this does not mean that national and internal matters take a back seat. It is right and proper that the issue of nuclear weapons should take first place, because the use of such a barbaric weapon would affect every man, woman and child irrespective of race, religion or political affiliation. Important as it is, it will not overshadow important national matters such as nationalisation, Clause 4 of the Labour Party’s constitution, the role of shop stewards, old age pensions and wages.

On all these questions, the striking thing in the last six months has been how strongly critical of reactionary policies the trade unions’ members have shown themselves. Outstanding has been the overwhelming rejection of the Gaitskell proposal to emasculate Clause 4 (the socialist aim) by the trade union conferences; they will have none of it. At the same time the members of the union by their actions in factory and workshop, dock and ship, have shown their readiness to have a go. How will this splendid spirit find expression in this Congress and be made effective? This is what is looked for from this Trades Union Congress, and that is the responsibility that rests upon each delegate.

For make no mistakes; there are sharp battles ahead, on a new scale: and during this week in the Isle of Man, and afterwards, delegates must give some serious thought, not only to the burning issues confronting the working class here and now, but to the way in which the whole movement is being led, or misled.

Is it not a remarkable thing that in these past months a lead has not been coming from the General Council to the unions? On the contrary, it is the unions that have been giving a lead to the General Council. What the General Council have been busy about (harrying and nagging at the constituent unions) has been discussed in earlier articles.*

Therefore, whilst the main attention must of course be directed to the Congress agenda, delegates are bound to be thinking about

*‘The Salt of the Earth’, J. R. Scott, January: ‘The General Council and the Shop Stewards’, Vulcan, February: ‘Men of Metal on the Move’, Vulcan, June.

the increasingly serious question of leadership. The Trades Union Congress has existed for over ninety years. After its first twenty-five years, its mainly Liberal leaders made new rules which Keir Hardie stated were 'framed for the express purpose of excluding Broadhurst, Tom Mann and myself'. Another twenty-five years passed: and Congress decided to set up the General Council, all its headquarters and all its men—the lot. That was forty years ago this month. Maybe it is now time for the unions in Congress to take a look at their General Council, weigh it up, see whether something better cannot be made of it.

First of all, everyone has to admit that the General Council has not turned out to be 'the General Staff of the Army of Labour' as was hoped for just forty years ago. It is a very mixed bunch, both in outlook and abilities. In outlook, it varies from those on the extreme right, with views and behaviour that makes them the darlings of the capitalist press, through a large middle group with a very moderate standpoint indeed—or sometimes no standpoint at all outside the problems of their own union, to a small number with a keen socialist outlook, of the type of Ted Hill, Frank Cousins and Robert Willis. In abilities, it is even more mixed: and it is really astonishing how large a proportion of them have—shall we say?—hidden their light under a bushel, so that they are unknown people to the vast majority of trade unionists.

If anyone doubts this estimation, we suggest that the next time they address a trade union branch meeting, they break off during the speech and ask anyone in the audience to name the members of this General Council. They will be lucky to get half a dozen named. As for the rest, justifiably you could ask: 'How then do they ever get on to the General Council?' The answer is, by large-scale voting: you vote for me and we'll vote for you. Forty years ago Bob Smillie demanded, and got, a 'committee of inquiry into the bartering of votes'. It was proved to the hilt. Any penalties inflicted? Not on your life; and they thought with the big brand-new General Council the scandal would cease. That was a mistaken belief: and to the bartering of votes in the years since Smillie died there was added a scarcely disguised witch-hunt. It is about time this whole matter was taken up again.*

*The Musicians' Union and the British Actors' Equity Association propose that general councillors should be elected only by the unions in the group they represent, and not by the Congress as a whole. Such a revision of procedure would certainly cause some heads in the present General Council to roll, and will be rejected for that reason; but it would also remove much of the obsequiousness which leaders of small unions now show to their bigger brethren in order to be sure of their votes'.

This year's Congress has another important feature: a new General Secretary will be appointed. For Sir Vincent Tewson retires (on grounds of ill-health) and George Woodcock steps into his shoes. For there is to be no contest. Yet there are several million trade unionists to choose from, every one of those eligible for the post. But one thing is certain: the General Council do not want, and they are certainly not going to have, another Walter Citrine. Everyone knows that when Citrine left the post of General Secretary to take up an appointment with a newly nationalised industry, in 1946, the majority of the General Council made up their mind that they did not want anybody with similar ability. For say what you will about him, Citrine had outstanding ability, and as a consequence, with Ernest Bevin, he dominated the General Council, he spoon-fed them all. He took the responsibilities and the decisions and they carried them out. Many were afraid of him, jealous of him and as a consequence, hated him. So when he resigned they rose in their mouse-like might and looked for the opposite—and found it in Vincent Tewson. And now? What is the background of the secretary elect, George Woodcock? Has he worked for years in factory, mine or mill? Served an apprenticeship in shipbuilding, mining or any other important industry? Has he been prominent as a shop steward, branch secretary, district president? In short, has he 'served his time' in the class struggles of the workers? No, this is one of the new-type administrators.

It all comes back to one thing: the question of leadership and democracy; how leadership should be elected and how it should function in the democratic organisations of the working class. For the whole General Council set up is only the reflexion of a much deeper problem. There needs to be an examination of the constituent bodies that make up the TUC. The position of the British trade unions themselves, both in their basis in the workshop and in the rarified atmosphere up top, has to be gone into very carefully, before the question of leadership can be solved. But it must be done soon. Else we shall sail into the sixties without a chart or means of navigation, for it is not only the seamen, now on strike, that may find themselves up against the owners, the law courts and their own 'leadership'.

We must work for a state of things in which, throughout the trade union movement, platform and delegates will be collectively hammering out a policy completely in tune with the rank and file, marking out the next steps to mobilise the workers for action against the Tory Government and the ruling class, for peace and

socialism. If not this year maybe, yet tomorrow this must happen; and then the TUC will emerge as the great Parliament of the organised workers with mutual confidence between the leaders and the rank and file. It can then be said that the forward march is really beginning, forward in fulfilling the historic mission of the working class; the destruction of capitalism and creation of socialism. This is the true objective of left-thinking people, Communists and others. But it needs organising.

WILLIAM MORRIS ON SOLIDARITY

[On March 15, 1890, the miners of Britain came out on strike, in a trial of strength before bigger battles to come. William Morris was quick to comment: and he wrote the following in *The Commonweal* the next week.]

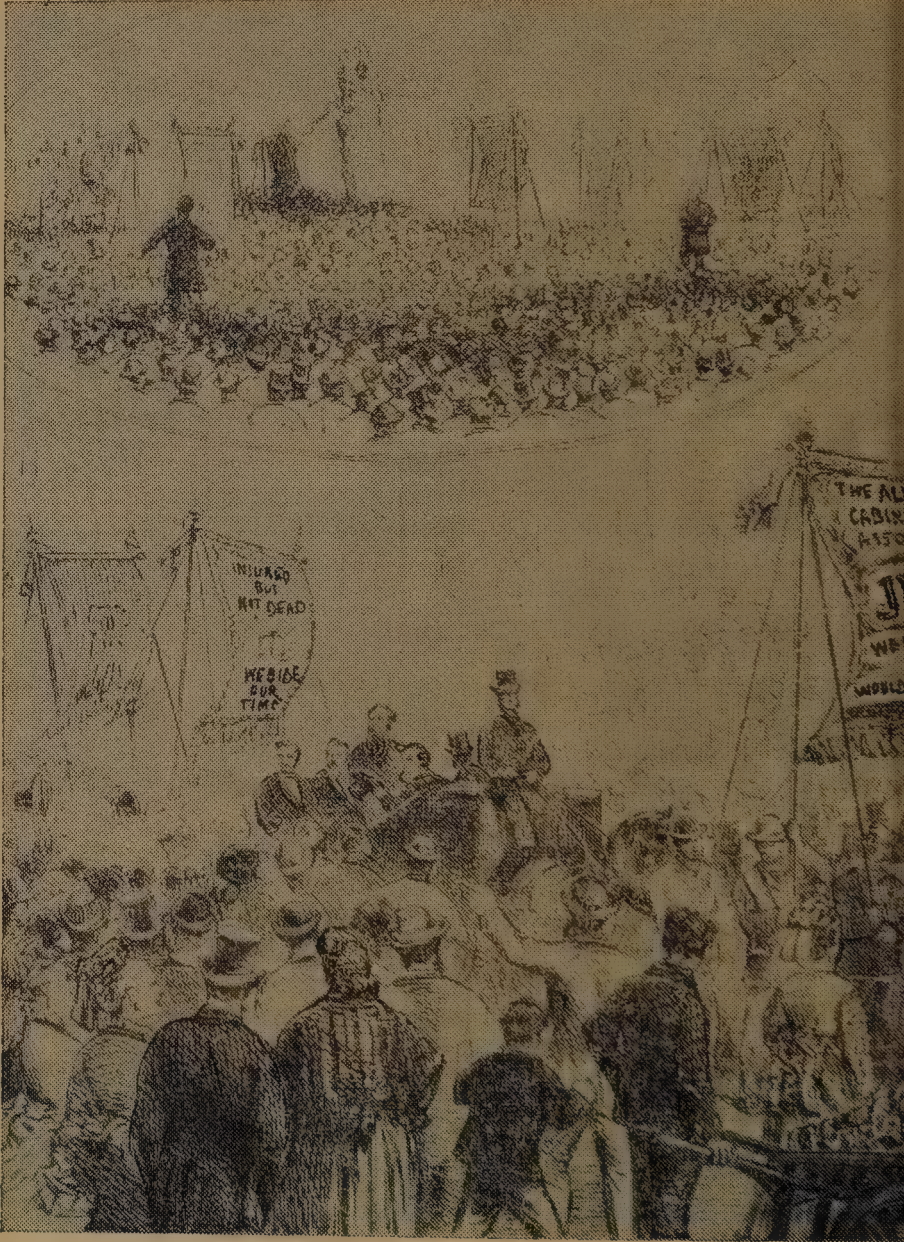
The great coal strike is ominous of coming changes, and cannot be looked on as even a great strike might have been a few years ago. The demands of the miners are so moderate, and so uncomplicated with any difficulties as to method of employment and the like, and moreover, the business facts on which the strike is based are so clear and so much in favour of the men, that it was expected in many quarters that the masters would give in at once, and in ordinary times they would have done so. The fact that they are preparing for an obstinate resistance shows that they are not so much thinking of the present strike as of their general position in face of the awakening of Labour. The red spectre of Revolution looms threateningly in the distance before them, and instinctively they are prepared to fight.

Let us look at it from the same point of view, and understand that it is a battle, not a mere business dispute. If the miners act well together, and if they are supported by the sympathy of their brother workers, even those who will suffer by the strike, they will now for the first time understand their power, and a weapon for the hand of revolution will be fashioned, which will be irresistible; which can only be resisted by the brute-force in the hands of the upper classes—*i.e.*, the army and police. This instrument, the striking-power of the coal miners backed by the assent of their fellow workers, being once ready, there will be nothing between us and revolution but a knowledge on the part of the workers of *what to claim*, which can be nothing short of an *abolition of the monopoly of the resources of nature*, *i.e.*, *the land and all that is on it, which is used for the reproduction of wealth*.

This, and not a pitiful rise in wages, is what in the long run lies before the strike of the coal miners: let us hope that the events of this strike will show them how necessary it is for them to make this claim, how feasible to get what they demand.

(*The Commonweal*, March 22, 1890. William Morris.)

The Case of the Cabinetman



The London trade unions demonstrate to greet five members of peaceful picketing, on their release. The support of public opinion of anti-trade union laws, and established the right of picketing in Hyde Park. *Inset, right:* Reception outside Coldbaths Field Prison.

s, 1875.



liance Cabinet Makers' Association, imprisoned for perfectly
ming at the end of a long trade union campaign, forced modi-
bicketing. *Inset, left:* Messrs. Broadhurst and Odger speaking

MISMANAGING THE ECONOMY

Leonard Thomas

RECENT economic events in Britain have a depressingly familiar air. Since the beginning of the year we have had two increases in Bank Rate and consequent increases in other interest rates, a new credit squeeze, the re-introduction of controls on hire purchase, and a stand-still decreed for public capital investment in 1961-62. In his recent speech, Mr. Macmillan had indeed some new phrases—‘exportfreudigkeit’, ‘a great band of merchant adventurers’, etc., but the message was hardly original—‘Britain must export more’. In short, for the umpteenth time since the War, the balance of payments is once more in trouble. In 1958 and 1959 things had seemed better, on the surface, thanks mainly to the slump in raw materials’ prices and therefore in British import prices, and to a rapid increase in exports, particularly of cars, to the U.S.A. But since the beginning of 1960, exports have begun to fall, while imports have continued to increase, if more slowly.

The increases in Bank Rate and the credit squeeze have served to mask, so far, the effects of this deterioration in the trade balance. Higher interest rates in London have drawn in funds from abroad, notably from New York, and foreign buyers of British goods have found it cheaper to pay early, rather than obtain credit in London. But these short-term funds, the ‘hot money’ of the City Editors’ columns, can flow out as fast as they came in. It would be foolhardy to count simply on a continued inflow of such funds to keep the pound sterling out of trouble, while the real trade balance worsens.

The other and more far-reaching purpose of the Government’s restrictive monetary policy is to hold down the level of wages and home consumer demand, to discourage imports and push exports. But this has caused much grumbling in business and Conservative Party circles. A sharp contradiction appears between immediate and long-term needs. The dilemma and the frustration are clearly expressed in the July issue of the *Economic Review*. This argues that deflationary measures have been justified this year, but it is also against deflation being pressed home:

It is a most wasteful cure to a persistent balance of payments problem: the effects upon imports and exports are small; it is bound to disturb industrial confidence and to induce a decline in investment; and the check to growth is likely to make the real competitive position weaker and so to

have a bad effect in the future. The British economy has suffered this too often in recent years. The measures taken this year already include steps to curtail investment.

This journal therefore starts to reopen the debate on the general structure of the balance of payments which boiled up in 1957 but subsided again in 1958-59. Its main point is that 'the balance of payments includes a burden of overseas investment and of overseas military expenditure greater than that of most of our competitors'. It remarks that a 'surprisingly large part' of total defence expenditure falls on the balance of payments.

Readers of *Labour Monthly* will find this neither new nor surprising! But it is useful to underline again some of the basic facts of Britain's present political economy. Some 5 per cent of our exports go to cover the cost of overseas military expenditure, and after allowing for this we need, according to the Treasury experts, a current account surplus of £450,000,000 a year to stabilise the balance of payments. (The current account consists of exports and imports, plus all other current receipts and payments). This large surplus is required to cover the *present* exports of capital and to build up the gold reserves to enable the £ sterling to play its present role as an international currency. In practice this £450,000,000 is a fantasy, a chimera. The nearest figure actually achieved was £349,000,000 in 1958, but the surplus dropped back to £145,000,000 in 1959 and may be even smaller in 1960. But the Treasury is nonetheless correct; with its present burdens the balance of payments will remain unstable without the £450,000,000 surplus. This fact is dragged back into the light again as soon as the trading account deteriorates.

The position is that the United Kingdom's share in total world exports of manufactured goods has fallen steadily year by year since 1950 and seems to be falling again in 1960. As to imports, a new feature of the situation is that recently it has been imports of manufactured goods rather than of raw materials which have increased most rapidly. Particularly since the 1957-58 recession, international trade in the non-socialist world sector has developed in a peculiar fashion. The main expansion has been in trade between the big capitalist countries. The trade of the primary producing countries has been relatively depressed; the volume of their exports has risen, but since their prices have remained at a low level, they have been forced in turn to keep their imports down.

The struggle between the capitalist countries for markets in the primary producing countries remains of course important, and

here Britain has lost out heavily. The most serious loss in its share of world markets for manufactures has been its reduced share of the sterling area market, where the U.S.A., West Germany and Japan have all made gains. But the capitalist countries tend now to see each other's domestic markets as the most profitable. In this battle the aim is to sell the maximum to one's rivals, while competing vigorously to stop these rivals getting too big a share of one's own domestic market. The U.S.A., having seen its own export surplus drastically reduced, is now fighting back within its home market, e.g. the 'compact' car versus the British and other foreign cars; and has also launched a new export drive, profiting by the reduction of trade barriers to its goods in the U.K., the sterling area, and Western Europe. Western Europe has been split into two blocs, the Six and the Seven, each designed to intensify trade exchanges within its own area. The Six are also erecting a common tariff wall vis-à-vis the rest of the world. The Common Market of the Six is by far the more powerful, and its leading power, Western Germany, has built up an enormous export surplus with the rest of the world.

What then is the attitude of the great monopolies which dominate our economy, and of their Macmillan government? Firstly, they are trying to put the blame on the small firms for failing to make a proper contribution to exports while they, the virtuous monopolists, have been sweating blood doing their patriotic export duty! This is a particularly nauseating piece of hypocrisy. Apart from anything else, these are the very people who carved out the Empire as a fat protected market for themselves, styled their companies the 'Imperial' this and the other, finally concentrated half of our foreign trade in the Empire, and now find themselves being jostled out by apparently more vigorous competitors. For a time they staked heavily on the American market, and for a time this seemed to work. But U.K. imports from the U.S.A. have recently been rising fast, while exports of cars to that market fell abruptly by two-thirds from May to June. In relation to Western Europe their first gambit was a humiliating failure. In the sacred name of anti-Communism they encouraged the creation of a bloc in the image of Hitler's New Order, and then found themselves firmly locked out, their only compensation being the captaincy of a motley Second XI in the form of the European Free Trade Area. By all appearances they are now nerving themselves for a new gambler's throw, to take the U.K. into the Common Market on the best terms they can get. Imperial Tariff Preference, the Seven, and British agriculture would just have to be accommodated to this one way or another.

The idea is that such a move would force the British economy to become more 'dynamic', in the capitalist sense. It would be forced into an accelerated process of rationalisation and concentration, with a further strengthening of the great monopoly concerns in order to fight their German partners and/or form closer links with them. Secondly, the wages and conditions of the British working people would come under stronger attack, on the plea of the need to be fully competitive in the struggle within the Common Market. It need hardly be said that the goal of economic expansion, as working people understand it, would still elude us.

More than ever, under conditions of the continued decay of the old structure of the British Imperial economy, it is evident that the solution of the problems of our trade and economic expansion will not be found by our present State-managed monopoly capitalism. The fight for Socialist nationalisation is connected directly with the 'external' aspect of Britain's economic problems.

LABOUR MONTHLY

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

WHAT AFRICA'S KENYATTA WROTE THEN

The people of Africa will oppose the destruction of Ethiopian independence with all their might. We have a united front of Negroes and we ask all members of other races sympathetic to us to join us against the organised forces of reaction. With 200,000 men massed on the Ethiopian frontiers, Fascist Italy is prepared to attack a country which is not only the last remaining relic of the greatness of an Africa that once was, but a country which, in view of the Monroe doctrines, promulgated by Japan and America for the East and West, is the only independent country to which Imperialism, with its need for fresh fields and new pastures for economic exploitation, is turning to in its great international crisis. To support Ethiopia is to fight Fascism.

(From *Hands off Abyssinia!*, by J. M. KENYATTA, Honorary Secretary of the International African Friends of Abyssinia.)

'This recently formed organisation (office: 62 New Oxford Street, W.C.1) has as its object "to assist by all means in their power, in the maintenance of the territorial integrity and the political independence of Abyssinia". An All-Negro organisation, it has on its committee or amongst its officers, representatives of the following countries: West Indies, British Guiana, U.S.A., West Africa, Gold Coast, Somaliland and East Africa.'

(Labour Monthly, September 1935.)

FORTY SPLENDID YEARS

Bob Stewart

HISTORY will record that the birth of a Communist Party in Britain was the outstanding event of the 1920's. The fact that it was nearly three years after the Bolshevik victory of 1917 indicates the difficulties encountered and overcome before it saw the light of day. Small as the event appeared, it was nevertheless the political culmination of more than a hundred years of British working class struggle against the rule of the capitalist class. These years had inscribed indelible victories as well as many defeats on the banners of the oldest working class movement of Europe.

Along the years it built the modern Trade Union movement which despite weakness, sectionalism and betrayal is still a powerful weapon and a training ground for militant workers. It embraced Chartism which meant the intrusion into politics of revolutionary ideas and practices on a mass scale. It eventually cast off the manacles of the Liberal Party even if it is not yet free from their illusions. It gave birth to the Labour Party—out of the strange assortment of Fabians, Independent Labour Party, Social Democratic Federation which became the British Socialist Party, the latter becoming a leading component of the Communist Party, and was itself affiliated to the Labour Party. Due to historic circumstances which I have not space to detail, the Labour Party has rejected a scientific outlook. It rejected Marxism, abhorred revolution, and has spent half a century confusing and befuddling the working class with hopes that capitalism would change its spots or at least let the right wing leaders of Labour paint them a different hue.

Necessarily capitalism imputed foreign parentage to the C.P. as it had done to Chartism and to early Socialist or other progressive movements. The mud refused to stick. The C.P. was bone and flesh of the British working class. Of course it had and is proud of its international connections. That also is a fine tradition of our class. The more immediate circumstances attending the birth of the C.P. may be thus described. Prior to 1914-18 and during the First World War there were outside of the official Labour Party many of the most class-conscious and militant workers who were split up amongst a number of more or less Marxist sects, *e.g.*, the Socialist Labour Party, Workers' Socialist Federation, South Wales Socialist Society, and many lesser bodies in various localities. These

were largely concerned about the purity of their gospel. There were also the shop stewards, the workers' committees and many unattached rebels, *New Age* readers, Guildsmen, etc. Amongst them were great agitators and strike leaders who had with Tom Mann and others headed the struggles of workers on Merseyside, Clyde and elsewhere before World War I.

August, 1914, saw official Labour, like official Social Democracy, dip their flags of red and appear in the flamboyant colours of the capitalists they were supposed to fight against. A sorry spectacle indeed, relieved if but a little by the few who kept the flag aloft. The course of the war brought hellish experiences to the workers. Along came Military Service Acts, which gave rise to an Anti-Conscription movement, Munitions Acts, Rent Acts, high prices. Out of these struggles the clamant need for unity, discipline and wider understanding was arising—here, as in every country.

Then came 1917, and the glorious victory of the Russian workers and peasants. The movement in Britain was reborn out of the fires of war. On July 31 and August 1, 1920, after months of negotiation, a convention was brought together in London by the Joint Provisional Committee of the Communist Unity Conference, representing chiefly British Socialist Party, Communist Unity Group, South Wales Communist Council. (The unification was completed in the early months of 1921. The Leeds Congress in January, 1921, brought in the Scottish Communist Labour Party, whose leading members included William Gallacher and J. R. Campbell; while the left wing of the Independent Labour Party, including Shapurji Saklatvala, came in a month or two afterwards.)

At this founding convention in August, 1920, well-known figures included Bob Williams of the Transport Workers Federation, A. A. Purcell, Colonel Malone, William Mellor, Joe Vaughan, Arthur McManus, Tom Bell, William Paul and Albert Inkpin. Of the Provisional Executive elected I fear I am now alone. Some have done their day and passed on. Others sought other fields and have faded from my memory. The convention was serious and full of zeal, sharply divided on the question of affiliation to the Labour Party, but when Paul and Hodgson had finished debate and affiliation was carried the Conference agreed in unanimity. I recollect that after the convention finished on the Sunday, a group comprising Bill Hewlett of Wales, Bill Jackson of Sheffield, Frank Simpson of Perth, George Anderson of Coatbridge, Fred Douglas and myself from Dundee were steered by Jock Laurie of Aberdeen to what he called the 'Merble Airch'. Before long we were spectators at a

B.S.P. meeting. Jock said, 'the speaker's gey cauld'. Off he went and how he managed it I had not time to find out before I was hustled through the crowd and found myself making what I suppose must have been the first report back of the first Party Conference, which was received with great enthusiasm. Then to the train, where fate had delivered a *very* orthodox clergyman into our carriage, and did we baptise him!

That was our send-off. What have we to show for our Party over the years? Not enough but still a lot. We played our part in pulling capitalism's hands off Russia. We backed and fought for British Miners when officialdom turned their backs and even their guns on them. We expelled even big Bob Williams for his part in the Triple Alliance betrayal of the miners. The defeat of the miners opened the way for attacks on engineers, textile-workers, seamen, etc. In all of these struggles our members were active. In the heat of these struggles some succumbed and left us for easier paths. We fought the opportunist heritage brought in by local Councillors or personal egoists. The Government of the day soon recognised the new type of Party. Raids were frequent, our General Secretary, Albert Inkpen, was arrested and sentenced, active workers, especially in the minefields, were doing time. Our organisation was still lamentably weak and sectarian. Printers were blackmailed into refusing to print our articles and pamphlets. We started our own printing works. Our editors faced libel and sedition charges, so that we needed a double shift, sometimes a treble one.

By 1924 we had our first taste of Labour Government, rather sourish at that. Johnny Campbell put the cat among the pigeons and very much upset MacDonald & Co. By 1924 we began to put new life into the trade unions through the Minority Movement whose secretary was Harry Pollitt, later Arthur Horner. So 1925 opened new economic battles. Government was compelled to subsidise mineowners and assume emergency powers. To prepare for the next round they arrested twelve of our leading members. They were found guilty of conspiracy to utter seditious libels. Six, with previous convictions, were given twelve months. Six were offered release if they would forswear their allegiance. But one and all refused and served six months' sentences. Further attacks on the miners were more than decent workers were prepared to put up with, so came the General Strike and wholesale arrests, office raids. This greatest confrontation of the classes in

Britain in our time sent their leaders shivering to sell the pass and leave the miners to their fate. Fierce punishment befell the workers in consequence of this betrayal. Victimisation was common and hard, hard times kept knocking at the door. The miners survived their desperate ordeal. . . .

1929. Once again a Labour government which succumbed to American capitalist pressure. The defection of MacDonald, Thomas and Snowden and their descent into a 'National Government' did not stop the economic rot. Unemployed relief was cut to the bone. These tested our membership and they withstood the pressure and nobly headed or fought in the ranks of the unemployed, joined in hunger marches, fought the police and won concessions. Meantime the German monopolists had been set on their feet again by American and British investments. But being unable to rule in the old way, they washed out the remnants of democratic practice and forged a rod of iron for Hitler to wield while they cheered him on to the fight against the growing Soviet power. Fascism reared its black flags in Britain too, but the working class showed its strength and routed it. In 1935 we scored a real Parliamentary success by the return of William Gallacher who by his Communist attitude did much to add to his own and the Party's prestige. We led the fight and formed the British section of the International Brigade which saved the honour of the British working class in the battlefields of Spain. 1939: that fatal year that saw the outbreak of that most vicious war of the centuries. Here also our Party gave freely of its dearest and best to bring the war to a victorious end. When it ended the British workers' stored-up anger burst through to the defeat of Churchill and placed their hopes on the Labour Government, which shooed them off with meagre reforms and played a sorry second fiddle to American big business so that once again our Party is leading the fight against further war.

Now we have established the Party as a potent factor in British politics. Our numbers have grown. We have lost many brave and able leaders but we have raised able successors. Our camp of Peace grows daily and despite provocation we know that the forces of Peace will prevail. All our efforts are turned in that direction. Our literature is improving daily. Our *Daily Worker* is known the world over. We are no longer the feeble body of propagandists that we were in 1920 but a strong virile Party worthy of the class we find it an honour to serve.

SOCIALIST REALISM IN AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE

Judah Waten

A SIGNIFICANT feature of the current literary scene in Australia is the considerable and growing number of socialist realist writers. Socialist realism, i.e. realism combined with belief in and support for socialism is professed by most of the members of the Societies of Realist Writers which are to be found in almost every state in Australia. These writers vary greatly in style; their works are artistically different but ideologically close. In the last decade or so at least half a dozen novels and collections of short stories from them have won acclaim both in Australia and abroad: and the writings of Katharine Susannah Prichard, Frank Hardy, John Morrison and Ralph de Boissiere have been translated into many languages. They are highly regarded in the Soviet Union where their work has appeared in considerable editions and in magazines with big reading publics. Of one of the latest novels by a socialist realist writer, Dorothy Hewitt, *Bobbin Up*, a novel of women textile workers in Sydney, *The Times Literary Supplement* wrote on November 27, 1959: 'Miss Dorothy Hewitt is one of the new generation of novelists that is bringing vitality to the Australian literary scene'. *Bobbin Up*, like a number of other such novels, was published by the Australasian Book Society, an organisation of writers and readers with a seven years record of publishing and encouraging Australian writers, socialist realist and others. It has organised fourteen inter-state tours by authors lecturing to readers in halls and factories on their own books and on Australian literature. Of the twenty-four titles published by the Society as members' selections and the other supplementary volumes of interest not solely by socialist realists, the most popular have been the work of Katharine Susannah Prichard, Frank Hardy, John Morrison and Dorothy Hewitt. Perhaps in no other English-speaking country are there such active groups of socialist realist writers as in Australia nor is there anything equivalent to the Book Society with its two thousand to two and a half thousand members, a large percentage of whom are workers, and its additional one thousand to one and a half thousand readers who buy one book at a time from the bookshops. Editions have generally been between three and four thousand—not inconsiderable in any English-speaking country.

The majority of the socialist realists are short story writers, the

short story being a traditional Australian medium. Quite a number are worker writers who have produced stories and sketches of their work places in the building industry, abattoirs and railways. Over the years many of these stories have appeared in the Communist Party and trade union press as well as in various literary publications. There is also a number of poets and playwrights in the Societies of Realist Writers and some are well known to the Australian public. The significance of socialist realism and the achievements of the writers are recognised by all schools of literary opinion. Today there is not a study of modern Australian literature which does not make mention of the work of the socialist realists. Writing on 'Trends in Australian Literature' in *Voice*, Sydney, January 1956, Tom Inglis Moore, a member of the Commonwealth Literary Board, poet and lecturer in Australian literature at the Canberra University, said:

The main trend continues towards social realism, using the term in its broad literary sense... The trend to social criticism inherited from the nineties also continues unabated. Indeed a number of left wing writers have sharpened the criticism.

Socialist realism springs naturally from the realism which is the dominant trend in our literature, the result of the whole course of Australian historical development. The earliest fruits of this literature were bush ballads and short stories more like yarns. These were the songs and tales of convicts and of drovers moving cattle and sheep in the great unfenced inland. From the very beginning it was a realistic literature of the common people filled with a spirit of defiance. Most of the significant writers in this period were strongly influenced by the ideas of chartism widely held in Australia for half a century. This was the case with Henry Parkes and with Raffaello who wrote *The Eureka Stockade*, a colourful and realistic account of the most celebrated battle for independence in Australian history, an event written about by Karl Marx in his article, 'News from Australia'. By contrast with these writers and the bush balladists, the authors most admired by the upper classes the landowners and the colonial governors' circles, modelled themselves on the worst melodramatic English novelists and had nothing but contempt for the Australian reality. Here was born the second trend, the reactionary trend in Australian writing.

The upper classes and their newspapers hated the young, realistic, indigenous literature which they first tried to ignore and then later derided as they have never ceased to do. But by the end of the

nineteenth century, Australian literature was firmly established, an independent literature in the English language not a mere offshoot of English literature. The 80's and 90's are particularly memorable. This was the period of the struggle for Federation, the great shearers' and maritime strikes, and the establishment of the Labour Party that was to win parliamentary victory before any other Labour or Social-Democratic Party in the world. The whole ferment was reflected in the work of Henry Lawson, Australia's greatest literary figure (1867-1922) and the other leading writers of the time. This group, the school of the nineties as it is called, in the first golden age of Australian writing, was inseparable from the Labour movement, from the first socialist movement of which the writer William Lane was the most outstanding figure. Bernard O'Dowd, Joseph Furphy, Victor Daly, all believed in the ideal of socialism and the last living survivor of that school, Dame Mary Gilmore, the famous poet, now in her 95th year, still contributes a weekly column to the Communist Party weekly, *Tribune*. Arthur Parker, the friend and workmate of Henry Lawson, has left it on record that during the maritime strike, Lawson took him round to join the Australian Socialist League in Sydney, and he wrote that Lawson's 'whole soul was in his writing and his hopes for Socialism'.

The school of the nineties, harbinger of the modern socialist realist school, disintegrated with the disillusionment that set in among the writers after the establishment of federation and the first Labour Governments in Australia. The dream that the Labour Party would usher in the new socialist age dissolved in the face of reality; the Labour Governments were busily building Australian capitalism then rapidly becoming a junior partner of British imperialism. The revival of realism came after the Russian revolution and the foundation of the Communist Party in Australia. The ideas of the Russian revolution exercised a profound influence on a new body of writers just making their appearance before the Australian readers. The most significant of these expressed sympathy with the Russian revolution that revived hopes of the victory of socialism and pointed the way to a new life. They included the poet, Furnley Maurice, Louis Esson, the founder of the Australian drama, and the prose writers Vance Palmer and Katharine Susannah Prichard who were instrumental in restoring the realistic short story and novel. With her novel, *Working Bullocks*, in 1926, Katharine Susannah Prichard, who was also a member of the Communist Party, began the new school of socialist realism. Just as the writers of the nineties were inspired by the Labour move-

ment of the time, so modern socialist realists find inspiration in the Communist Party, the only party of socialism in Australia. In the *New Statesman* (January 23, 1960) J. B. Priestley, who recently visited Australia, rightly observed that a 'surprising number' of writers were Communists.

In the epoch between the two wars socialist realism extended its influence, particularly after the First Congress of the Soviet Writers, an event widely discussed in the Writers' League, a pre-war precursor of the Societies of Realist Writers. One of the most distinguished figures in the Writers' League was Alan Marshall who wrote many stories of working class life for the left-wing press and the English *Left Review* as well as a novel of factory life, *How Beautiful Are Thy Feet*. Then immediately after the war came the realist societies embracing some former members of the Writers' League but consisting mostly of new writers, including ex-soldiers who had begun to write during the war. Many of the first published stories by members of these societies were about the war in the Middle East and the Islands. A then member of the Melbourne Realist Society, Eric Lambert who wrote the best selling war novel, *The Twenty Thousand Thieves*, subsequently passed into the reactionary camp, one of the very few writers to succumb to the revisionist onslaught. The socialist realists have introduced many new themes into the Australian literature, extending its subject matter that had formerly tended to deal with the life of the itinerant worker, small settler and drover, rather than the factory worker and city dweller. Because of the support for this new trend in Australian literature, the ruling classes and their press in recent times have begun to pay more attention to Australian literature. Critics in the daily press and lecturers in literature at the universities where until recently Australian literature was hardly mentioned, have begun to encourage more vigorously those writers who belong to the reactionary trend—American imitators and obscurantists.

But socialist realism advances, new works by socialist writers keep appearing and the capitalist press feels obliged to review this work, even paying grudging tributes. This year will see new works by Hardy, Waten, John Morrison and De Boissiere. *Follow the Sun* by Ron Tullipan, a new Queensland writer and former wharf labourer, is shortly to be published by the Australasian Book Society and the work of new short story writers is to appear in a magazine to be issued by the Society of Realist Writers in Sydney. The torch that was lit nearly forty years ago by Katharine Susannah Prichard is burning more brightly than ever.

STRIKE FOR THE PENSIONERS !

George Hardy

DELEGATES to the Old Age Pensioners' Federation Conference broke into resounding cheers when they heard that the Boilermakers' Society was calling for a twenty-four hour strike to enforce justice for the pensioners. Happy indeed were the old folk to learn that a vital union had given a correct lead to the whole labour movement, a lead which received endorsement by the delegate Conference of the much-maligned Electrical Trades Union before being submitted for endorsement by delegates to the Trades Union Congress

Prior to the general election each party campaigned for the old age pensioners' vote. In general terms the Tories promised that pensioners would certainly 'enjoy a share in prosperity'. As election results showed Labour's promise of an immediate 10s. rise proved unattractive. Only the Communists have a practical programme against the scandalous treatment inflicted upon elderly folk—over five million of them—who throughout a lifetime of hard labour produced the nation's wealth.

What did they get? Next to nothing! Reluctantly the Minister restored the five shillings deducted from those in receipt of National Assistance when the 10s. swindle was perpetrated against the O.A.P.s. When not content with filching the above 5s., the scrooges also at the same time took away the tobacco coupon, worth 2s. 4d., from the poor old folk, reducing the so-called 10s. rise to two shillings and eightpence. Little wonder that pensioners are fed-up and cynical, particularly when some M.P.s and defeated Labour candidates tell O.A.P.s they are getting what they voted for. Many pensioners now see themselves as political shuttlecocks for election purposes. They want action now—not empty promises.

This decision for a national stoppage has elevated pensions on to a new stage, making the pensioners' demand for an increase a broad working class issue. Self-interest demands workers of today defend the old age pensioners; are they not the pensioners of tomorrow? More and more workers are realising this. It is implicit in the Boilermakers' call for direct action—the only action the Government understands. Implicit too is the conscious feeling of what awaits the workers upon retirement. Think of what it means: recently published official figures gave £14 odd as the weekly average earnings for men and around £7 for women (a case for equal pay!). Even the millions on low wages (if we fail

to add present day pensioners) will be plunged into ever deeper poverty on £2 10s. 0d. for a single person and £4 for a married couple. And herein lay the justification for the Federation of Old Age Pensioners' demand for £4 for both man and woman alike, making £8 for a married couple.

For a measure of poverty—not only among pensioners—every delegate to the Blackpool Trades Union Congress should carefully study the recent Report of the National Assistance Board. It covers 2,500,000 people. Nearly half, or close on a million and a quarter, are old people. Of 1,766,000 weekly grants, 976,000 are to people on retirement pensions; 118,000 are non-contributory pensioners, whilst 119,000 are old people not receiving any kind of pension. Besides, many in dire want refuse to apply for assistance.

As a direct consequence of the Rent Act alone 260,000 of these were forced to apply for National Assistance grants, passed on to greedy and unscrupulous landlords who at once raised rents beyond ability to pay. Thus the Government grants become subsidies to the landlords from public funds rather than an adequate increase to the pensioner.

Although treatment of the aged in Britain is among the worst in Europe the Government has the audacity to urge workers due for retirement to go on working. By this exhortation, if obeyed, they affect a double saving for the Treasury: (a) on Insurance stamp contributions, and (b) weekly payments on pensions. Having worked and reached 'three scores and ten', even with small additions to the pension, it is safe to say that few live long enough after retirement to retrieve their losses. Thus it is clear who are the benefactors. In this respect let us consider health facts of those entering retirement. An H.M.S.O. publication (1954) states that 25.2% of the men retiring at 65 do so because of chronic illness and 25.8% were suffering ill-health. Large numbers are regularly found in the overcrowded doctors' surgeries. From their meagre pensions they must now pay for all prescriptions, item by item, and often amounting to three or four shillings, a situation envisaged by the late Aneurin Bevan when he resigned as Minister of Health, and, mark you well, under a Labour Government.

On this background another dodge has emerged: pensioners are urged to take up part-time employment at a shilling an hour. No one can blame the O.A.P.s trying to enhance their miserly pensions; but not as cheap labour which must receive wholehearted condemnation of all trade unionists. In such cases T.U. rates must be paid. The only real solution is an adequate pension.

However, each time the Minister of Pensions is approached with this demand a blank refusal is given. They are told National Assistance is open to all in need. Resentful of the Minister's foul attitude many O.A.P.s in need reject his proposal. Proudly they link National Assistance with paupers, poor law relief, and the 'work house'. When told they are entitled to all they can get, invariably they answer, 'I would rather starve!' They rightly demand security, and security does not mean only food, clothing and shelter—but a guaranteed standard of living from want and worry until the end of their lives. To exist on an indefinite future and consequent worry gives rise to hypertension and leads to nervous instability among tens of thousands of elderly folk.

This is also why the Boilermakers' Society's resolution is so important. Many more examples could be given to justify action now. Swedish old age pensioners receive equivalent to £4 a week for a single person and £8 6s. 0d. for a married couple. Mr. C. Bjorklund, of the Swedish Old Age Pensioners' Association, speaking at the O.A.P. Conference at Skegness reported a 'gradual increase until 1968, when a single person will receive about £8 a week and a married couple about £11' and 'no Means test'. (*The Old Age Pensioner*, July issue.) West Germany is also far ahead of Britain. In the U.S.S.R. no one received less than 50% of their average wages, going much higher in accord with services rendered. Even China, hampered by a backward economy, is far ahead of Britain, with *Homes of Respect for the Aged* established in both rural and urban areas which care for those without relatives.

As representatives of monopoly tycoons the Tory Government asks: where is the money to come from to meet increased pensions? The answer is clear: from the fabulous profits increasing year by year, and by cuts in expenditure for war preparations. The Chinese have solved this problem by a direct assessment on industry for social security services. 'Where there's a will there's a way'. To implement the Boilermakers' Resolution a tremendous campaign must be launched immediately covering every unit of the Labour and Co-operative Movement, starting from the Trades Union Congress. Pensioners are indeed grateful for support expressed in many resolutions adopted at National Conferences. They provide an ample basis for immediate action, and brook no delay.

Above all else there is need for organic unity between members of the O.A.P. Federation and the rest of the Labour movement on all levels. Magnificent examples of joint activity exists already in London, Scotland and Manchester on behalf of the old age

pensioners. The 1958 Dunoon Conference of the National Federation of Old Age Pensioners decided to support the formation of joint Committees of O.A.P.s and Trade Unions in every region. Given a lead from the Trades Union Congress and the Federation of O.A.P.s and the National Executives of the trade unions the rank and file would at once respond in forming joint Committees. I see no reason whatever why such joint Committees should not, in accord with the Constitution of the O.A.P. Federation, pay their half-crowns and become affiliated.

Exasperated pensioners are ready for action. They will respond and co-operate wholeheartedly to make the Boilermakers' call for a 24 hours stoppage a reality. Divorced as they are from industry, their hopes have been raised. Don't let the pensioners down! On with the fight!

VIEWS OF THE WORLD

Hiroshima Day in Yorkshire

THROUGHOUT the world, August 6 is remembered with horror as 'Hiroshima Day', the day in 1945 that we experimented with 100,000 human 'guinea pigs'. The experiment was successful and we killed most of them. The thousands of others, who were only mutilated beyond all recognition as human beings, must often have felt that they were the unlucky ones to have been left alive. Today many of these people are still existing—may we never forget them. Today parents are still giving birth to lumpen monstrosities. No-one knows how many generations will continue to have children in fear.

In Yorkshire we have a proud record of disarmament activity, of which remembrance of 'Hiroshima Day' is an important part. In conjunction with the Japanese Consulate, the Bradford Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament organised a 'Motor Cavalcade', which consisted of a loudspeaker car, an eye-catching float and a contingent of well

postered cars, each fully laden with eager pamphleteers. The plan was to tour the area that would be devastated if a 10 megaton bomb were dropped on Bradford Town Hall. At the main towns in this area, the Cavalcade stopped, leaflets were distributed and the crowds were addressed through the loudspeaker. Local C.N.D. members were waiting to assist us in most towns, a sign of the organisational effort put in. At Halifax we were greeted by the ever welcome sight of the 'Halifax Trades Council' banner: what a fine record of peace demonstrations this banner has!

The effects of constant propaganda on the man-in-the-street were easy to see. Everywhere we went we were well received. Many more people seemed to stop and think about the situation than did in the early days, when unilateralists were treated as a bunch of cranks. After a full day of a hundred miles tour, we returned to Bradford and a welcome tea at the Friends' Meeting House. In the evening a meeting

was held in the Mechanics' Institute, Bradford, where the film *'Shadow of Hiroshima'* was followed by speakers John Kere, Dr. Moller, Dr. Grunwald and Mr. John Rowbottom: a fine finish to a day's work.

This was the third major demonstration in Yorkshire in two months, following the protest march from Fylingdales 'Early Warning Station' and the headline hitting 'Operation Finningley'. All the time local activity still goes on. One striking idea was a publicity campaign by Bradford C.N.D. using double size posters in the proprietary hoardings. We are now preparing for what should be the most important demonstration yet—the pre-Labour Party Conference rally at Scarborough. Let us all make this a massive and convincing display of the rank and file desire for peace.

A. M. GASCOYNE,
York.

A New Approach to Peace

(Following Jim Gardner's article last month, For a World Without War, we are glad to print the following letter which raises some questions, a number of which are controversial on the present campaigns. The writer is the North-West Region Treasurer of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, who is also a member of the General Council of the British Peace Committee.—Ed., L.M.)

IF the peace movement in Britain is to play its full part in building a world without war, it will have to reach out to far more people—particularly in the Labour movement—than those at present actively engaged in the struggle for peace. To do this it must seize upon and campaign around the key issues. At

present these are clearly the provocative U.S. flights and the defence debates at the forthcoming Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference (though we must not allow ourselves to forget such danger points as Germany, the Congo and Cuba). At the moment a wide measure of unity is developing around the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament demonstrations on the eve of the Conferences—the Edinburgh-to-London Campaign and the Scarborough demonstration in particular. Every effort needs to be made to make these as big a success as Aldermaston. The joint committee of trade unions, peace committees and CND groups set up following the Leeds Conference must be strengthened by the support of local branches and shop committees; an effort must be made to follow up with report-back meetings and discussions.

At present, however, unity tends to be one-sided; peace committees support CND activities, but CND groups tend to be chary of supporting activities organised by the British Peace Committee, which is still felt by many to be 'Communist-dominated'. To some extent time and experience alone can cure this; but a real attempt must be made to overcome the barriers. The key seems to be joint discussion of activities at the earliest possible stage (in this lies the tremendous importance of the Leeds committee) and the avoidance of anything which could offend, however 'silly' the offence may seem. For example, CND campaigns against NATO bases and spy flights, but avoids anything which appears 'anti-American'; and that is what seems to me a weakness of the 'Notice to Quit' petition. An obvious essential is clearly more and more committees of the Leeds type

and, above all, a drive to establish new local committees—perhaps with no particular allegiance?—in the blank spots, of which there are still too many. Above all, the new situation requires a new approach and a realisation that it is better to go part of the way together than all of the way alone.

S. R. BROADBRIDGE,
Manchester.

Sam, You've Changed!

(This open letter to the American neighbour, 'Uncle Sam', by the Canadian newspaper, the 'Vancouver Sun', about the U-2 spy plane, was sent us by a Canadian reader.)

AS a neighbour and friend, Sam, may we have a chat with you across the back fence? Seems we used to talk this way more often in the past, Sam. But since you struck it rich it's been hard to find you at home.

We hate to start out with complaints but, frankly, everybody in the block is still talking about your boy Alan Dulles and his U-2 spy plane. Not only on this block for that matter. The East-enders have got his number too. But you don't seem to think it's anything but a boyish caper. Maybe you don't realise that some of your best friends are maybe going to refuse to let your kids play in their yards any more. And then, your lying about it—somehow that hurts us worst of all. Sure, you've made mistakes before. So has everybody else. But we always felt that whatever else might be said about Sam, he was always a straight-shooter. Nothing fancy about Sam, we used to say. Means well and says what he thinks.

Has all that money you've got made you different, Sam?

And there's that crowd you're running with nowadays.

We know, you say you've got a new standing in the community. Got a position to uphold, you say. Have to be sociable now with people like Franco and Syngman Rhee and some of those war criminals. Got to hold up our end against the East side, you say. But is it worth it? You're associating with people today that your old dad would never have permitted to put their feet under his table, whether they were important to him or not.

See, we knew your folks a long time, Sam. Knew them away back—the tough, old whaling captains from Nantucket, the men who walked the ox-teams across the Oregon Trail, that big homely guy named Lincoln, who had more brains and less brag than almost anybody else we can bring to mind. We knew them all. The Quaker branch and the Mormon branch, the Lafayette Squadron, our own boy Alexander Graham Bell, who married into your family, Chief Crazy Horse and Robert E. Lee. They were very simple people, Sam. The Europeans used to laugh at them because they were so unsophisticated. We never laughed at them. We liked your family.

Now you're maybe the biggest man around here and we're worried about you. You don't seem to talk about much except your latest refrigerator, or how big your car is. You don't seem to be interested in digging the garden any more, you seem to be more interested in some fancy woman in Hollywood.

What's happened to you, Sam? Did you get too rich too fast?

THE VANCOUVER SUN,
Canada.

Railwaymen in Conference: a delegate's view

WHEN my union, the National Union of Railwaymen, met in Conference at Torquay this summer, I was amongst the seventy-seven delegates—my second time. From the point of view of the Left, representative of the rank and file, it was a good conference. To start off, the platform looked to be in a very strong position, having just got settlement of the wage award. But the militant mood of conference was early seen. On the first day an appeal against an E.C. decision to accept an invitation to send a delegation to see how NATO works was passed by 38 votes to 22, although the platform speakers argued that the delegation had already gone and come back. Delegates nevertheless censured the executive for their action and told them in no uncertain terms not to do it again. The result was the more impressive because a similar protest was defeated the previous year.

A highlight was the debate on the Tories' attitude to the British Transport Commission, with speaker after speaker—including the General Secretary—saying Hands off our industry. A delegate from the rails catering and hotels staff, which the Tories would like to return to private hands, made the best speech. Delegates showed their attitude on Clause Four on two counts. First, against strong opposition from the platform, they carried by a majority of six to one a resolution that made it perfectly clear they would accept no modification that would alter our Socialist aims. Then came a second bite at the cherry when they disapproved by a five to one majority the executive's support for the policy document issued by the Labour Party executive.

Then came the much publicised H-Bomb debate. Although it had already been announced to the Press that Labour's Defence Policy Statement would be discussed, delegates refused to discuss this because it was not on the agenda. Instead they debated a straightforward composite resolution calling on Great Britain to renounce nuclear weapons and get rid of American bases, which was carried by 39 votes to 38. Delegates unanimously supported a resolution on West German rearmament which called for no atomic weapons, curbing military preparations and a peaceful solution. Conference took a militant attitude on wages. A resolution calling for a biennial review, which would have condemned railwaymen to tailing continually behind other industries, found delegate after delegate standing up to repudiate this policy. Delegates also reaffirmed their support for 100% trade unionism and called for closer working with other trade unions, with the eventual idea of one railway trade union in mind.

After it was all over, one of the full-time officials was heard to say to a Left Wing delegate: 'Well, you've had a good conference haven't you?' He was right. On all but one internal question the Left carried the day; and if the NUR delegates to the TUC and Labour Party Conference do their job properly, our 290,000 votes will help to push the Labour Movement back on to the Socialist Road.

BILL SHEPPARD,

Essex.

Taped!

COULD any reader lend us a portable tape recorder?

MANAGER,

Labour Monthly.

BOOKS

Freedom

Brian Simon

Communist Party. 24pp. 1s.

On the Nature of Freedom

Herbert Aptheker

New Century: New York.

36pp. 35 cents

TWENTY-FIVE years ago the stock argument against communism was 'It's a wonderful *idea* but the trouble is it just won't work'. Today the same sort of people—and sometimes the very same people—now say: 'It works all right but it's a terrible *idea*'. In other words the argument has shifted from the practical/economic to the ideological/moral. In the face of the sputniks and the rate of growth of the Soviet economy it is hard for even the Victor Zorzias to claim that socialism is on the point of collapse; so they have to concentrate on a less tangible line of talk. Freedom is what socialism lacks. Communists are not interested in freedom.

This is why two new pamphlets—one British and one American—from the Marxist point of view are so timely and important. They are both most useful pieces of work and can be relied upon to provoke any amount of thought and discussion.

What will most strike a non-Marxist reader, one suspects, is the historical approach of both writers. They both say, in effect, you can not discuss freedom in the abstract. Freedom is not a beautiful ideal, it is the actual ability of men and women to do what they need to do in order to advance and develop. As Brian Simon puts it (did he have *The Angry Silence* in mind?):

'The worker who, in the name of an abstract "freedom" refuses to join a trade union, weakens the working class in its struggle against capitalist exploitation... Such a worker undermines the very conditions for the freedom of his class and therefore of himself. The working class as a whole can increase its freedom only by acting together in solidarity to maintain the freedoms already gained and to extend them further'.

The Marxist answer to the charge that Communists do not care about freedom is not and never can be, to suggest that freedom is not after all so very important. Because Marxists attack and oppose the hypocrisies of ruling-class and idealist attitudes to freedom, this does not mean that they have some better alternative to freedom; it means that they want more freedom than liberals dare even contemplate—the freedom of *all* men to control the world. The most striking difference between bourgeois and socialist attitudes towards freedom, as both these pamphlets show, is that, whereas to the bourgeois liberal freedom is associated with absence of control and seen as the antithesis of power (though in practice liberals have never been hesitant to use power when it suits them), to the Marxist the area of men's freedom is enlarged precisely to the degree that they obtain control over the workings of nature and society and are able fearlessly to wield power on their own behalf.

ARNOLD KETTLE.

An Essay on Economic Growth and Planning

Maurice Dobb

Routledge and Kegan Paul 120 pp. 15s.

A brief review can do no more than hint at the riches that lie hid-

den in this modestly entitled Essay with which Maurice Dobb once more puts socialists in his debt. His individual contribution is not diminished by the fact that, as he has himself stated elsewhere, Marxists in the socialist world have moved towards similar conclusions. The essay is concerned to develop the tools required for analysing economic growth especially in planned economies. It provides both an advance in Marxist theory and a critique of the theories on whose basis there flows a constant stream of 'expert advice' to former colonial countries. Some of the book's riches are easily got. The first two chapters contain an illuminating comparison of the effects of the aims and social structure of capital-

ism and socialism upon their potentialities for growth, and expose the speciousness of the 'textiles first' path so often presented as an alternative to the 'unnecessary' hardships incurred by the USSR in giving priority to heavy industry. The central chapters discuss how resources should be allocated between consumption and investment and within the investment sector, what techniques of production should be chosen and how the choices made affect the growth rate and employment. Here the gold is much more densely packed and harder won, even for the full-time economist. But a decade from now, when currently fashionable cold-war products on economic growth are where they belong—in the dust-bin, Marxists and non-Marxists alike will still be fruitfully and gratefully quarrying here.

R. BELLAMY.

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Economic and Financial Aspects of Social Security: An International Survey

J. Henry Richardson

George Allen & Unwin. 254 pp. 30s.

THE author says: 'Because of the high cost of old age pensions, care is needed when adopting systems to resist political pressures that would tend to make them too generous' (p. 92). Our rulers are scarcely in need of such advice, but since this book is intended as an 'international survey' we might have expected the author to reveal some corner of the world where a 'too generous' pension scheme has brought the country to the verge of disaster. But no! Indeed, though the book is packed with information, it is not on the whole very illuminating information. And the opinions are nearly all of the

variety quoted above. And how much longer do we have to put up with 'international surveys' which virtually ignore what is being done in the socialist countries? The book has one virtue—it avoids the pretentious jargon now fashionable among writers on this subject. The author's ideas may be stuffy, but at least you can understand what he says!

KATHERINE HOOD.

American Foreign Policy

Louis J. Halle

Allen & Unwin. 328 pp. 25s.

FAR from providing an intelligent insight into the formation of his Government's foreign policy, Mr. Halle leaves us wondering what he actually did with himself when he was a member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff. Roughly seven-eighths of the book is given over to an historical account of America's external policy, dealing with the Monroe Doctrine, the conquest of the Phillipines, etc. His approach is to pose the traditional desire of the American people for peace, democracy and good neighbour relations against certain strategic needs which rendered it impracticable at certain crucial stages. In 1898, for example, he tells us, 'we used our strength as became our liberal tradition, for the liberation of the long-suffering Cubans from Spanish tyranny', which ran counter to isolationist tradition.

The author struggles to organise words to conceal reality, and thus ends by misusing history to justify the reactionary policies of present-day America. He claims that the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine placed America for the

first time in fifty years in a 'realistic' relationship to the rest of the world. The 'collapse' of Europe after 1945 forced America to its senses: Britain, Italy and France in 1947 faced total collapse, and 'with the ensuing anarchy and bloodshed, a return to barbarism'. And: 'The communist vultures, one might say, were already beginning to pick on the flesh of a dying Italy and a dying France'. Thus the State Department attempted to justify to its own people the enormous overseas expenditure for military purposes.

COLIN SWEET.

The Red Snows

Sir John Hunt and Christopher Brasher

Hutchinson & Co. 176 pp. 25s.

THIS is an interesting book. It gives a good and clear account of the climbs the British climbers made in the Caucasus, the difficulties of getting there in the first place and their experiences with the Russians on their climbs. The account (enthralling for a mountaineer, especially as the Caucasus mountains are the greatest European range) closes with Sir John Hunt's thoughts and comments on the mountaineers and the mountains, British and Russian, and his hopes for a return visit of his Russian colleagues so as to show them what British mountaineers are like and to introduce them to climbing friends at home, and so 'multiply the contacts between ordinary folk like ourselves. . . Therein lies the best hope of realising a true brotherhood of man.' To someone who is not a mountaineer it is also of great interest. On the one hand, to note the courage and endurance that mountaineering demands of its

votaries; and on the other hand, what a hindrance it is to understanding, when none of those concerned, and certainly not Christopher Brasher, have any notion of the forces or the theories of the new society growing up in the Soviet Union: yet at the same time the close comradeship and dependence on one another's skill began to make a break in this inspissated ignorance.

But the actual experience on the mountains did open their eyes to some of the basic realities in the Soviet Union. Brasher comments: 'More and more does one find in Russia that what at first sight appear to be unpardonable restrictions on personal liberties are, in fact, only sensible precautions. Every activity has its organisation, and no doubt in many spheres these are irksome; but, perhaps, in the West we sometimes have too much freedom, when the only controlling force is the moral obligation to one's relations and companions' (p. 59).

In fact we would do well to consider some of the ways of the Soviet Union with regard to mountaineering for our own benefit. For their concern is to see that lives are not uselessly and carelessly thrown away. Brasher says of their rules: 'To climbers in the West who have complete freedom, this at first sight seems a cumbersome and bureaucratic process, but it has much to commend it in a sport which can be so dangerous. The authorities know, if

bad weather breaks, where everybody is, how competent the party is, and how much food and equipment they are carrying with them. In mountains as severe and wild as the Caucasus it is an excellent system. Undoubtedly, it does much to keep down the accidents' (p. 58-9). And with mountains as wild as the Cuillins with the hazards of mist and cloud there and in the Lakes and Snowdon, the toll of accidents here should make us look again at our own habits and ways. A final chapter on 'Did the Russians Attempt Everest?' shows that even mountaineering does not escape the attention of the lie-factories. For Brasher was convinced by his knowledge of the Russian mountaineers that the Russians had not attempted to climb Everest (he quotes *The Times* of September 12, 1953, giving extensive particulars); he believed them when they told him that so far they had not done so, for he knew them. So he investigated the various newspaper reports and discovered 'that both those which had emanated from Geneva and those which had emanated from Stockholm had come in the first instance from Berlin'. He adds: 'It seemed more than likely that an East German mountaineer who knew something of Russian climbing had defected to the West and, being short of money, had sold a good story to the Press'.

OLIVE ARNOT.

THROUGH PICASSO'S EYES

What is essential in this time of moral poverty is to create enthusiasm.
I am a Communist so that there will be less misery.

(Pablo Picasso)

(Continued from page ii of cover)

reader singles out a different feature: 'The summing up on trade union and political questions is tops'. And what a tremendous response there has been to the August number, with Will Paynter's *Crisis in Coal* and Jim Mortimer's unanswerable case for nationalisation, *Prospect for Shipbuilding*. We circularised these two industries in advance and close on 1,000 extra copies were sold. Orders came from mining Area executives and councils, lodges, institutes and working men's clubs in Derbyshire and in Scotland, Durham, Cumberland and South Wales, as well as shipbuilding districts, particularly such as Belfast where there is no small degree of unemployment. And finally we had extra orders, including from Australia, because of the Harry Pollitt Tribute, 'at the heart of a splendid issue', as an English fund supporter puts it. So here are all these people, who either have only read *L.M.* occasionally, or perhaps saw it for the first time in August. A thousand chances to ensure new regular readers! This September issue is just the job for that. For, following the present

Miners' Secretary, now we have Arthur Horner, 'the ablest negotiator the miners ever had', according to their arch-enemy, in a unique position to give a retrospect and prospect. Then, too, we have a remarkable article by 'Vulcan', on aims and actions of the Trades Union Congress; informed, informative and hard-hitting, it will prove an education to many, not least our young trade union readers. Here we provide ammunition to win new regular readers—and depend upon you.

A Londoner hopes that the fund is holding up 'during the holiday lull'. If it is, it is due to one or two minor windfalls, like the *Cumberland* reader, who sends part of the 'money which, masquerading under the guise of "postwar credits", and forcibly withheld for nigh on 14 years, has at last been paid without even a whisper of acknowledgement, much less a cent of interest'. This is up to July; the test comes now. And will stamp fans please turn to classified ads on page 430, for details of gifts we have received for the benefit of the fund? July donations totalled:

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LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Battle of Scarborough

Notes of the Month by R.P.D.



Case against Nuclear Arms

by Jim Mortimer



Nationalisation of Insurance

by Frank Crump, General Secretary of the National
Amalgamated Union of Life Assurance Workers

**THE SIEGE OF
St. PANCRAS**

Don Cook, tenants'
leader

U.S. ELECTIONS
Herbert Aptheker

**SEAMEN'S
STRUGGLES**

George Hardy recalls the
Union in the 'twenties

MY FIRST STRIKE
Don McLaren, engineering
apprentice

OCTOBER · 1960

One Shilling and Sixpence

IN THE THICK OF IT

'MY CONSTITUENCY Labour Party discussed last night what is the practical and realistic way to throw out the Tories and get a Labour Government in power,' writes a *North West* reader. 'I say that a bold declaration of war on the Tories, promising to disarm and clear out the U.S. occupying forces, while nationalising the key industries would win the next election by an overwhelming majority. But how can you get unity in the Party with extreme right wing leaders who Squint-Both-Ways, and are after something quite different?' If delegates to conferences all consisted of fellow *Labour Monthly* readers, his policy would be carried unanimously; and then what a campaign this country would see! No need for pathetic racking of brains looking round for 'a Leader'. We should find and make leaders everywhere. Look at what is already happening in different sectors of the battle front today: the Long Peace March, the Notice to Quit U.S. bases, the tremendous victories in trade union conferences; tenants associations springing up apparently overnight, from the dragon's teeth sown by the 1957 Rent Act and the Government's Help-the-Landlords policy; the seamen standing out for elementary rights; engineers a-stir, young and old; railwaymen and miners keen to resist attack. A wealth of initiative and leadership here, in different sections each impatient to get a move on with all the enthusiasm and confidence of working together, united in aim. It is no accident that in the pages following the *Notes of the Month* the articles are all from people in the thick of the fight. There is Don Cook, describing *The Siege of*

St. Pancras from his barricaded flat, which sparked off the biggest national rents protest yet seen. A veteran seamen's leader, George Hardy, vividly recalls the lessons of past betrayals; whilst at the opposite end of the age scale, an engineering apprentices' leader, Don McLaren, describes *My First Strike*. Another young reader gives a picture of the prospect of *Looking For Jobs*, and a London railwayman has a go at *The Great Trains Robbery*. Again, following the two immensely important—and much studied—articles on the coal industry by the present miners' General Secretary, Will Paynter, and his predecessor, Arthur Horner, this month we have a third General Secretary, Frank Crump, presenting the case for the long overdue *Nationalisation of Insurance*, one of the most important sectors of the economy.

And the over-riding question of peace? I don't think it would be easy to find a more thorough and informative account of *The Case Against Nuclear Weapons* than Jim Mortimer presents, after a close study on the spot of events at the Trades Union Congress. Then delegates to Scarborough, 1960, might well note the unique *Reminder* by Roland Casasola, before his retirement president of the Foundry-workers and Labour Party Executive member, of the Conference at Scarborough, 1954. There he moved the resolution opposing German Rearmament, only defeated by the narrowest margin—and the much disputed delegation vote of a single union. Ranged against to sway that Conference, were the redoubtable leading figures of Clement Attlee, the late Arthur Deakin, Herbert Morrison. If that resolution had been carried six years ago, what a difference today, says Casasola, in a moving plea to this year's Scarborough delegates.

(Continued on page 111 of cover)

BATTLE OF SCARBOROUGH

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide.

Uncle Ebenezer's Collection of Favourite Corn of the Old Labour Movement.

THIS time it really is a moment to decide. Everything, not merely of Labour's future, but of Britain's future—and indeed, in no insignificant degree, of the future of peace in the world—comes on the anvil of decision at Scarborough this October. Will

Scarborough decide? Will Scarborough reach firm decisions to end and close for ever the accursed past decade of cold war and Labour defeats and enter on a new era of triumphant advance in harmony with the advance of socialism and liberation throughout the world? Or will the crooks and tricksters, the architects of defeat, the purveyors of poison through the megaphone columns of Mammmon's press, get their way once again to drag down Labour's banner still deeper in the mud? One thing is certain. Every device will be attempted to prevent the clear expression of the declared will of the majority of the organised working class. We saw the methods over German rearmament—with disastrous consequences now admitted even by the authors of the stratagem. We have seen the same

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methods at the Douglas Trades Union Congress last month when the overwhelming victorious majority against nuclear strategy, which could no longer be prevented, was sullied and confused and turned into a public mock by the simultaneous false majority for the opposite policy. This time every working class fighter and honest delegate needs to be on guard. All the tricks will be tried. These past-masters of electoral defeat will try to smuggle through their policies in the name of electoral necessity. These experts of disruption, of the witch-hunt and expulsion of militants, will plead for 'unity' to accept their minority policies. We have had enough. It is time for a change. It is time to move forward. The delegates to Scarborough have the chance to lead the way.

1. *Why this crisis?*

What is it all about? Is it really only a battle of leaders? Of Gaitskell versus Cousins? Rubbish. Every one knows that deep issues of policy, class issues, are involved. The opposing policies are expressed by spokesmen of the opposing classes within the uneasy coalition form of the Labour Party. Is it really a battle of 'hoary traditionalists' clinging to 'obsolete shibboleths' about the 'common ownership of the means of production' against the bright and breezy salesmen of 'modern realities' of the 'new capitalism' who wish to project a 'modern up-to-date image' (in their characteristic showmen's jargon) of *Labour in the Sixties*? Rubbish again. Every one is (happily or gloomily) aware that the era of the Sixties is the era of the most victorious advance yet known of socialism (real socialism, social ownership of the means of production, not phrasemaking) outstripping capitalism by the admission of the capitalists themselves in sphere after sphere, the era of the accelerating transition from capitalism to socialism throughout the world. Or is it a battle of starry-eyed 'pacifism' against sturdy apostles of Britain's 'defence'? Super-rubbish this time; for the official White Paper of nuclear strategy has emphasised that there is no question in a nuclear war of the defence of Britain, but that the plan is to use Britain as a launching base and for this purpose the strategy is to try to defend the bases, not the population. All these parrot phrases to confuse the real controversies are only the familiar conjuror's tricks to gull the unwary. For the real issues which find expression at this moment in the present controversies it is necessary to look a little deeper.

Crisis of Western Social Democracy

The present crisis of the Labour Party is in fact the crisis of all modern social democracy in all the countries of imperialism. The greater sharpness of the battle in the Labour Party is the reflection of the special character and trade union basis of the Labour Party. All these parties made their promises at the end of the second world war to offer their alternative non-communist supposed 'democratic' path to socialism. All these promises have ended in admitted failure in every case, in the strengthened entrenchment of capitalist monopoly, and in the political domination of reaction in the leading countries of Western Europe, as in Britain, France and Western Germany. Therefore these parties are compelled today to choose between two alternatives. Either to go forward to the real fight for socialism, the class fight, in unity with the Communists, on the basis of working class unity leading the majority of the people against monopoly capitalism. Or to abandon publicly and repudiate the aim of socialism, formally adopt the gospel of private capitalist enterprise and competition as the foundation of 'freedom', and denounce social ownership as a 'totalitarian' conception and the negation of 'freedom' (as in the new German Social Democratic Programme).

Trade Unions and Socialism

In the German, Austrian, Swedish and other social democratic parties this revisionist transformation of the programme has gone through with relative ease. But in Britain the same revisionist leadership have found themselves thwarted in their endeavours to carry through the same transformation of the programme because the opposition of the socialists among the individual members has been reinforced by the opposition of the main body of the trade unions, who most of them have nationalisation at least of their own industry inscribed in their constitutions or union programmes and who have the decisive voting strength at the Conference. Thus an extraordinary and significant situation has been reached. Originally the Labour Party was founded sixty years ago by the handful of socialist pioneers building an alliance with the trade unions, which were still suspicious of socialism and traditionally followed the Liberal Party, to draw them into the beginnings of independent political activity in the hope of later winning them for socialism. Today a stage has been reached when the leadership of the Labour Party conducts the fight against socialism, while

it is the mass of the workers in the trade unions who stand in the forefront of the fight for the aim of socialism. This is a measure of the advance of the political consciousness of the working class. The Labour Party is at once the largest and leading party of modern social democracy and the central battleground of the fight for or against socialism within its ranks.

Who Killed Cock Robin?

In Britain the deeper root of the present battle is the responsibility for the destruction of the 1945 victory. Who killed the mass enthusiasm of 1945 which swept Labour to victory and Toryism to rout? Who is responsible for the extending series of Labour defeats and Tory victories for the past decade? What must be done to change the course? This is the common starting point on both sides. Logic would say: the dominant leadership and policies must bear the responsibility for the ruin they have caused. That is, the right-wing leadership and policies, represented by Attlee and Bevin yesterday or Gaitskell and his colleagues today. But these representatives have the insolence to proclaim that the only cure is to supply more of their poison which has already struck down the victim. They blame socialism. They blame nationalisation. They blame the class basis of the Labour Party. They blame the trade unions. They blame everything and everyone but themselves. They blame everything that has ever brought Labour electoral victory, and whose betrayal has always brought Labour electoral defeat. They dare to pose as accusers, when they should be in the dock.

Look On This Picture ...

The lesson of these fifteen years must be learned. In 1945 Labour swept to power in an unparalleled victory. On what basis? Was it on the basis of the mild 'moderate' liberal-capitalist cold-war anti-Soviet pro-American nuclear strategy programme now advocated by the revisionists? Not on your life. Labour swept to power in the mighty mass upsurge following the joint victory over fascism, mass enthusiasm for the Soviet Union and Soviet victories as socialist victories, hatred of Toryism and fascism and German militarism, demand for a basic social transformation in the direction of socialism. Labour won its unprecedented majority on an electoral programme promising peace and close co-operation with the Soviet Union, destruction of German militarism, and

large-scale nationalisation (the last forced into the programme by the 1944 Conference against the wishes of the leadership who declared it would mean electoral defeat). Such was the programme of electoral victory.

... And On That

What followed? The Attlee-Bevin leadership proceeded to embark on a programme of vicious anti-Soviet hostility from the outset, the cold war, surrender of Britain to the United States, construction of the atom bomb (this last without even consulting the Cabinet).^{*} American bomber bases in Britain, colonial wars, N.A.T.O., the rebuilding of German militarism, and colossal rearmament. When the bill for all this resulted in austerity, the reversal of social reforms and the wage freeze, the previous mass enthusiasm gave place to mass disillusionment. On this basis, not through their own virtues, the previously discredited Tories were able to creep back. This was the murder of the mass upsurge and enthusiasm of 1945, the same mass upsurge and enthusiasm that has led to the sweeping advance of socialist victories and socialist construction in Eastern Europe. It was this murder by social democracy (allied to U.S. capitalism) in Western Europe that has led to what all the political commentators have agreed in describing as the general 'political apathy' of the fifties and advance of reaction (de Gaulle, Adenauer, Macmillan) in Western Europe. This is the glaring lesson of the past decade and a half which now confronts Scarborough to make the Sixties a new decade of advance.

A Healthy Revolt

Scarborough has the opportunity to deliver the verdict and draw the necessary political conclusions for the future. So far as the dominant leadership is concerned, they have sunk deeper and deeper, dragging down the Labour Party with them. The immediate demand of the rank and file after 1951 for a radical change and a positive programme was choked and suffocated by the outpourings of the tiny handful of academic 'new thinkers' singing

^{*}I was Minister of Defence in 1950 but knew nothing of how the decision to manufacture the atom bomb was reached. Only recently, as a result of my investigations, did I discover that the decision to undertake research and development was taken in 1947 in consultation with a few of my Government colleagues. So far as I am aware the subject was never mentioned at any of the Cabinet meetings. And apart from the Minister of Defence, A. V. Alexander, who held the post in 1947, none of the other Service Ministers was taken into confidence. In his own book Earl Attlee omits any reference to the subject and gives no details of how this momentous decision came to be made' (Emanuel Shinwell, 'The Anatomy of Leadership', *Sunday Times*, September 18, 1960).

the praises of the 'new capitalism' and churning out an unreadable (and unread) series of verbose policy pamphlets which never touched a single one of the burning issues of our epoch or aroused one iota of response from the masses. The erection of the dreary economics lecturer Gaitskell to the leadership in 1956 represented the enthronement of the academic 'new thinkers' clique, who dream of vivisectioning the Labour Party to make a pretty little new Liberal Party after their hearts' desire. At each successive election of the fifties this leadership tailed further behind Toryism (thus performing their one political miracle of presenting a hat trick of increasing Tory majorities to a continuous Tory Government), preaching their gospel of the cold war, the H-bomb and N.A.T.O., and appearing as the most envenomed anti-Soviet spitfires (the Brown-Bevan scandal at the Khrushchov dinner), while the Tories were able to waltz away at each successive election (1950, 1955 and 1959) with a show of conciliatory gestures to the Soviet Union and proposals for a Summit. It is no wonder that the revolt of the Labour Party and trade union membership has arisen to make an end of this suicidal idiocy and to change the course. And it is correct that this revolt has fastened on the two key issues. First, opposition to the H-bomb and nuclear strategy. Second, the demand for far-reaching measures against the monopolies to extend social ownership and advance towards the clearly proclaimed aim of socialism. The lines of fight are drawn.

2. *Nuclear Disarmament*

Three major issues in fact come before the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough. The first is the question of peace and nuclear disarmament. The second is the question of the aim of socialism and Clause 4. The third may not arise for final settlement at this Conference, although a number of resolutions from local parties do raise it: but it has already been widely presented by the Executive majority and the capitalist press as the way of escape in the event of defeat on a vital policy. This is the question of the relationship of the Labour Party Conference and the Parliamentary Labour Party; whether the democratically elected Conference shall be sovereign, or whether the M.P.s shall be a law unto themselves. All these issues have been widely discussed before the Conference. A few final points may be suggested for consideration.

Peace and Nuclear Disarmament

Peace and Nuclear Disarmament is justly the most important issue before the Conference; for it is at this moment the most important issue before mankind. It is also the heart of all Britain's problems, including home economic problems and the aim of socialism. When George Brown declared on September 3 that this question is 'not fundamental to socialism', he was not only revealing that typical blinkered parochial distortion of socialism which has always been the curse of the so-called 'British School of Socialism' (actually 'imperialist school of distortion of socialism'). He was also revealing that terrifying blindness to the concrete realities of the modern world which is characteristic of the abstract right-wing theorists (just as the Fabians in 1914 admitted they had never paid attention to 'international affairs'). The international socialist movement has a long record in the fight for peace and has always linked closely the aims of peace and socialism. In the age of nuclear weapons, when at the same time the strength of socialism over one third of the world, together with the newly independent nations and the peoples everywhere can defeat the menace of a nuclear war, this question has taken on a new urgency. It is the paramount question of the present moment. Therefore it is right that, thanks to the over 160 resolutions of trade unions and local parties on the agenda, and the previous flood of decisions of union conferences and the vote of the T.U.C., this question will take first place in the proceedings of the Labour Party Conference.

Why Unilateral?

In Britain the fight against nuclear weapons has taken the special form of the demand for Britain's immediate unilateral nuclear disarmament in advance of the universally agreed aim of a general international ban on nuclear weapons. This demand, originally voiced in respect of the H-bomb by the Communist Party Election Manifesto in 1955, has since been taken up by an extending range of trade union, democratic and peace organisations, and has been actively furthered in the recent period by the united Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, founded in 1958. It has now been adopted by a majority of over a million at the Trades Union Congress last month (not using the term 'unilateral', but specifying 'complete rejection of any defence policy based on the threat of the use of strategic or tactical nuclear weapons'), and has a mandated majority for the Labour Party Conference. This demand corresponds to the special conditions of Britain, which is

not a major nuclear power, but only a junior partner of American nuclear power, with the British H-bomb an estimated mere token 3 per cent of the Anglo-American H-bomb, and with Britain's practical role as the main American nuclear launching base. Hence for the United States and the Soviet Union, confronting each other with full nuclear power, nuclear disarmament will need to be mutual, since any proposal for unilateral disarmament in the case of these two countries could only be advocated on grounds of pure pacifism. But in the case of Britain the proposal for unilateral nuclear disarmament is in fact not, as its enemies pretend, a heroic moral gesture of pure pacifism (though its fulfilment can assist the general fight for an international ban on nuclear weapons) but a prudent, practical business-like gesture, supported equally by pacifists and non-pacifists, to save Britain from the menace of being the main American nuclear launching base and destined first victim in a nuclear war.

For the Defence of Britain

Thus the proposal for unilateral nuclear disarmament is a proposal for the better defence of Britain. All the arguments about 'defence' versus 'pacifism', 'would you leave Britain defenceless?' are irrelevant. They miss the main point about the H-bomb and Britain. Britain is in deadly danger at present precisely because the H-bomb is based on Britain, because Britain is at present the main American or American-controlled N.A.T.O. nuclear launching base, and therefore inevitably the main immediate target for destruction in a nuclear war. It is no use trying to find consolation in the promise of 'consultation' or 'joint decision' before use (a ten seconds telephone call to the Premier in a moment of hysteria and false reports such as launched the Korean war). For the U.S. Strategic Air Command has always publicly maintained and maintains its absolute sovereign unshared unilateral right to launch nuclear war at any moment it may choose from any base under its direct control, and in that event Britain by its alliance commitments would be automatically drawn in, irrespective of consultation. Only unilateral nuclear disarmament and the clearing out of the American bases can save Britain from this menace, which is the main menace threatening Britain today.

'Menace of Soviet Aggression'

But what of the 'menace of Soviet aggression?' 'Can you trust the Russians?' It is not a question of 'trusting the Russians'

—even though every statesman and military expert has by now publicly recognised that Soviet policy is entirely for peace. The short answer to this favourite poser is that Britain is already ‘trusting the Russians’. For Britain is already completely defenceless before Soviet rockets, which, as the official arguments for abandoning Blue Streak admitted, could wipe out every base in Britain in ten minutes without any possibility of resistance. The argument is indeed remarkably like that preceding N.A.T.O. Then it was declared that the wicked Kremlin rulers could overrun defenceless Western Europe in a couple of days with their hordes, and were bent on doing so, but that when N.A.T.O. had built up 30, 50 or 70 divisions in three years’, or five years’, or seven years’ time, Western Europe could be defended, and every sacrifice was justified for this great aim. And meanwhile? During the three, five or seven years? The implicit assumption was that the Russians would be too gentlemanly to violate the rules of cricket by attacking before they were quite sure the enemy was ready to repulse them. So now the Government assures us that Britain will be at the mercy of the Soviet Union, which can wipe out every present base, unless Britain gets Skybolt at a large dollar cost by 1964 or possibly 1965. And meanwhile? The pretended official theory that meanwhile perhaps the old bombers may get through deceives no one after the bringing down of the U-2 at 68,000 feet with the first rocket. But no one is worried. Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Strachey and the rest all snore away peacefully without anxiety in their beds. Because they all know that the official handouts about the ‘menace of Soviet aggression’ are poppycock for the gallery (or, shall we rather say, for the stalls?) to cover very different designs behind N.A.T.O. and the nuclear strategy.

Menace of Whose Aggression?

The real menace of aggression is rather different, as the whole record of wars of the past fifteen years, in Greece, Malaya, Indonesia, China, Korea, Vietnam, Yemen, Suez and Algeria has shown. It was the West that first dropped the needless atom bombs, when Japan was suing for peace (as the publication of the official American records has now admitted). It is the West that for fifteen years has resisted and resists, under a hundred ever-changing pretexts, every Soviet proposal for the banning and destruction of all nuclear weapons. Why? For defence? The H-bomb is not a weapon for defence. It is an offensive weapon, for infinite in-

discriminate slaughter of distant peoples. But, we are assured, we need the H-bomb only as 'a deterrent' to prevent aggression. Every strategist knows that the 'deterrent' theory is a pretty deception to gull the innocent. The 'deterrent' theory means that if the enemy strikes you with an H-bomb, you will strike back, and this knowledge will 'deter' him. But this is not the strategic theory of the West. The Western strategists suspect that if you wait to use the H-bomb until the other side has used it you will not be there to use it. Therefore the official U.S. and N.A.T.O. nuclear strategy is to 'Strike First' with nuclear weapons even though the other side does not use them. The pitiful attempt of the Labour 'Defence Statement' to cover up this awkward fact by promising that if in power they will beg the United States to change this policy does not make one atom of difference to the actual present fact so long as they accept in practice the present N.A.T.O. and the present N.A.T.O. strategy.

'Strike First'

But, we are assured for final consolation, this official 'Strike First' nuclear strategy of the West against an enemy not using nuclear weapons is not really so dangerous, because it will only be used against a serious 'aggression'. And what will be regarded as an 'aggression?' Every attempt to secure an answer to this question has failed equally in London and Washington. The Soviet draft for an internationally agreed definition of 'aggression' has been resisted by the West. When and under what conditions will the N.A.T.O. nuclear strategy come into operation? That is a State secret, Congressional committees have been informed when the question has been pressed. But Secretary of State Dulles made clear that under 'aggression' they include 'indirect aggression' or 'subversion', which can mean either a revolution anywhere or, as has been further made clear by American official statements, an elected Government with Communist representatives. So the chances of the use of nuclear weapons by the West, if we let them get away with it, are quite rosy, according to their official doctrine, beneath all their bland innocent pretence of 'only defensive'.

Liberation of Britain

This is the real menace against which we need defence. The first essential practical measure which the British people can now take for their defence from this menace is to free Britain from the

deadly bonds of this nuclear strategy, N.A.T.O. and the American bases, as the initial step to winning by the will of the peoples of the world the international prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons and all weapons of mass destruction. Towards this objective Scarborough has the unique opportunity, without parallel in the history of the Labour movement, to lead the way for the survival and future of the whole British people.

3. *Socialism and Clause 4*

On the second great question before the Scarborough Conference, the question of the aim of socialism as set out in Clause 4 of the Constitution, over which the loudest noise of controversy arose in the earlier part of the year, the issue in principle has already in fact been settled, as the T.U.C. unanimous resolution has shown. The overwhelming unanimity of the entire working class and socialist movement has resisted the attempt of Mr. Gaitskell to delete the 'common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange', as set out in Clause 4 Point 4, from the Constitution. The executive has had to carry out retreat after retreat. But the battle is not over. While nominally leaving Clause 4, the revisionists are still trying to smuggle through the same objective in a hundred alternative forms. The sharpest vigilance of the Conference will be necessary to stop the smugglers from getting away with their booty. For this reason it may be worth while to say a few words on the various manoeuvres which are being attempted.

Why Now?

Why has this battle arisen over Clause 4 forty-two years after its adoption? When it was originally adopted in 1918, under the influence of the victorious Bolshevik Revolution, it was inserted by the right-wing leadership in the new Constitution as a means of appeasing the left-wing revolt with a formula, while leaving the practice unchanged. Since that time, for over four decades, while enabling idealists and utopians to point to this clause as proof of their belief in the Labour Party as a socialist party, despite its capitalist practice, this formula has always been ignored in practice by the leadership and regarded much as the Church of England regards the Sermon on the Mount. But in 1960 the slumbers have been broken and the issue of this formula has suddenly become a burning issue. Why?

Moment of Awakening

The answer is evident in the situation. The conspicuous bankruptcy of reformist policy, exposed in the fall of the Labour Government and the subsequent increasing electoral defeats, has inevitably led to a demand in the trade union and Labour Party organisations for a basic change of policy in a socialist direction, in the sense of the demand that a Government based on the organised working class should take over or nationalise the main sectors of economy out of the hands of the monopolists. To head off this demand, the right-wing revisionist leaders, with Gaitskell as their spokesman, launched their offensive at the Blackpool Conference at the end of 1959, immediately after their electoral defeat, to propose the removal of the aim of socialism from the constitution and the replacement of Clause 4 by a new liberal programme. The irony of the situation is that this counter-revolutionary offensive has produced the opposite effect. Previously Clause 4 slumbered in peace. Now for the first time in the sixty years of the Labour Party the issue of the aim of socialism has become the central burning issue of controversy from top to bottom of the party. This will indeed be a historic moment if at the Scarborough Conference the battle for the aim of socialism—no longer as a shibboleth to receive pious assent and be ignored, but as a programme to be accepted or rejected—is for the first time fought and won.

Successive Manoeuvres

But the battle is not yet won. The direct offensive to delete the old Clause 4 and replace it by Twelve Points of wishy-washy liberal platitudes and the 'mixed' (capitalist) economy was attempted by Gaitskell in the Executive early this year and adopted in March for presentation to the Conference. Universal opposition compelled the withdrawal of this proposal. But since then a bewildering variety of alternative formulations for the same revisionist objective has been tried out in the hope of fooling the Conference to pass one of them by inadvertence. The second attempt was to retain Clause 4, but 'amplify' and 'clarify' it by Mr. Gaitskell's Twelve Points as a restatement 'adopted in 1960'. This new version was adopted by the obedient Executive majority in May. Once again it had to be abandoned in face of mass opposition. By June the third version was tried and adopted by the obedient Executive majority.

The national executive resolves not to proceed with any amendment of or addition to Clause 4 of the constitution, but declares the statement

which it adopted on March 16 is an invaluable expression of the aims of the Labour Party in the second half of the twentieth century and commends it to conference accordingly.

The trick is barefaced. If this apparently anodyne statement were allowed to slip through without rejection by the Conference, we are back where we were and the Gaitskell Twelve Points will be declared to have been accepted as 'the aims of the Labour Party in the second half of the twentieth century'. *Caveat emptor*, as the law says. Let the buyer beware.

'Labour in the Sixties'

One final manoeuvre has been added for good measure. In July the by now bewildered Executive had before it yet one more document of Labour's aims entitled *Labour in the Sixties*. This pamphlet, the General Secretary announced in his Newsletter of August, 'may well turn out to be one of the most significant milestones along the Party's road forward'. High praise from a quarter well placed to judge, since the pamphlet was by the General Secretary. This pamphlet sought to sidestep the dangerous problem by inserting frequently the phrase 'socialism', 'our socialist faith', 'a socialist victory' without ever defining what socialism is; promising two future reports some day on 'domestic and foreign affairs'; and meanwhile presenting the usual revisionist hotch-potch ending in a characteristic liberal reform programme for measures for (a) location of industry; (b) transport reorganisation; (c) educational reform; (d) social services improvement; (e) extended capital investment and industrial development. Organisational proposals follow at the end. The Executive, more cunning this time, did not adopt the document as its own, but put out the statement:

Labour in the Sixties was prepared by the General Secretary on the instructions of the N.E.C. The N.E.C. commends this Report to Annual Conference and will seek approval for the action points it contains.

This stratagem is once again barefaced. Who can object to the anodyne phrase 'commends to the Annual Conference'? Once this slips by unchallenged, the new document *Labour in the Sixties* can be declared to be the current statement of Labour's aims approved by the Conference (if the Twelve Points have failed to get through as 'an invaluable expression of Labour's aims'), to be followed by the two Reports in the bag—and Clause 4 is safely back on the shelf. In vain the net is spread in the sight of the bird. But the delegates to Scarborough will certainly need to get up early in the morning and be vigilant in the extreme if the man-

date of their organisations for the aim of the common ownership of the means of production, as set out in Clause 4, and for an immediate programme of extended nationalisation, is to be made effective.

Scarborough's Chance

Delegates to Scarborough have indeed a big chance; and the hearts and minds of trade unionists and socialists and peace supporters all over the country are with them. If they can defeat the manoeuvres of confusion and carry through the majority mandates already entrusted to them by their organisations; if they can win the day for Britain's repudiation of nuclear weapons and nuclear strategy; if they can win the day for the plain aim of socialism, of common ownership, against the rule of the monopolies: then indeed they will have prepared the way to resume the advance which has been interrupted; they will have prepared the way to move in harmony with the advance of socialism throughout the world; they will have prepared the way for the real advance of Labour in the Sixties.

September 20, 1960.

R.P.D.

LABOUR MONTHLY

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

A LIE NAILED

It declares that the main slogan in the sphere of activity against war is the struggle for peace. This destroys—at least we hope it will—the *canard* that the Communists want war because it brings revolution. The Communists are not interested in fomenting war, but are vitally interested in preserving peace.

*(The Seventh Congress of the Communist International,
by Harry Pollitt, October, 1935.)*

Labour Party and Labour Monthly

A Misconception Corrected

IN publishing an extract from Arthur Horner's article 'Coal; What Future?' which appeared in our September number, the *Daily Telegraph* referred to our journal as 'proscribed by the Labour Party'. A letter was accordingly sent to the *Daily Telegraph* to request that this misconception be corrected. The News Editor, after consulting with Labour Party Headquarters, has replied, apologising for the error, and a correction has accordingly been published in the *Daily Telegraph* of September 1. For the information of our readers we print the correspondence.

Extract from Daily Telegraph, August 27, 1960:

In an article in *Labour Monthly*, which is proscribed by the Labour Party, Mr. Horner says . . .

Letter from the Editor of Labour Monthly to the Editor of the Daily Telegraph, August 29, 1960:

Sir,

May I correct an inadvertent error which has crept into your citation from *Labour Monthly* in your issue of August 27. You state that *Labour Monthly* is 'proscribed by the Labour Party'. The list of Labour Party proscriptions is given in the last Report on Page 178, and does not include *Labour Monthly*. Over our 40 years of existence we have been happy to print contributions from such leading figures in the Labour and Trade Union movement as Aneurin Bevan, Citrine, Shinwell, Lansbury, Crossman, Strachey, Shaw, Laski, Cole, Brailsford, Sir Stafford Cripps, Fred Henderson, Joe Reeves, A. J. Cook, Will Lawther, W. H. Hutchinson, Gavin Martin, Harry Brotherton, Jack Tanner, Sir Richard Coppock and many Labour Members of Parliament, Trade Union General Secretaries and local Labour Councillors. It is possible that some sections in the Labour Party may disagree with what our contributors say just as others may agree; but this is no ground for interference.

Our main sales circulation, which runs into five figures, and is, possibly, the widest of any political monthly in the Labour movement, or indeed among many serious political monthlies, although we have no advantage of subsidies or financing by a publishing house or other organisation, is mainly in the Labour Party and Trade Union movement.

I shall be most grateful if you can publish this slight correction of a misconception which could otherwise be harmful to our journal.

Yours faithfully,

R. PALME DUTT,
Editor.

Letter from the News Editor of the Daily Telegraph to the Editor of Labour Monthly, September 1, 1960:

Dear Mr. Palme Dutt,

You would notice that we published a correction this morning following your letter addressed to the Editor.

I'm sorry about the error, but I ought to say that the reporter concerned checked with Transport House before writing his story! Transport House pleaded guilty when we challenged them yesterday.

Yours sincerely,

A. McLAREN,
News Editor.

Correction in Daily Telegraph, September 1, 1960:

The journal *Labour Monthly* is not on the Labour Party's list of proscribed organisations as was inadvertently stated on Saturday, a party spokesman said yesterday.

MONICA WHATELY (1891-1960)

We pay tribute to the memory of Monica Whately, well known for her selfless service in progressive causes. She contributed 'The Real Terrorists in Kenya' in Labour Monthly, January, 1954.

THE CASE AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS

J. E. Mortimer*

THE passing of the resolution from the Transport and General Workers on world peace and atomic weapons at the recent Trades Union Congress was of great significance for the labour movement. For the first time, unions representing a majority of the affiliated membership supported a resolution which directly challenged the nuclear policy on which NATO strategy is based.

The terms of the resolution deserve more than a summary even in a short article. The full text was as follows.

This Congress, believing that the great majority of this country are earnestly seeking a lasting peace and recognising that the present state of world tension accentuates the great danger of an accidental drift into war, is convinced that the defence and foreign policies of the future Labour Government should be based upon:

1. A complete rejection of any defence policy based on the threat of the use of strategic or tactical nuclear weapons.

2. The permanent cessation of the manufacture or testing of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

3. Patrols of aircraft carrying nuclear weapons and operating from British bases ceasing forthwith.

4. The continuation of the opposition to the establishment of missile bases in Great Britain.

5. A strengthening of the United Nations Organisation, including the admission of representatives of the Chinese Peoples Republic, with a view to the creation of a new world order and the avoidance of a return to the methods of the cold war period.

6. Pressing for the re-opening of discussions between nations at the earliest possible moment as the means by which world disarmament and peaceful co-existence can be most readily achieved.

This resolution was adopted by 4,356,000 votes to 3,213,000, a majority of 1,143,000.

It is true that the joint declaration on foreign policy and defence drawn up by the T.U.C. General Council and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party was also adopted. The voting was 4,150,000 to 3,400,000, giving a majority of 690,000 for the declaration. The circumstances of this voting inconsistency are, of course,

*Mr. J. E. Mortimer, as many of our readers well know, is Editor of *The Draughtsman*.

already widely known.* The fact that the Transport and General Workers' Union resolution and the joint declaration secured majorities, however, does not mean that they can be reconciled. The Transport and General Workers' Union resolution and the joint declaration are at variance on certain fundamental issues. The majority secured for the Transport and General Workers' Union resolution was the result not only of the pressure of international events but of the activity and discussion which has taken place around the subject of nuclear weapons among the British people, and particularly in the labour movement in recent years.

The supporters of the T. & G.W.U. resolution made a number of main points:

First: nuclear weapons are instruments of human annihilation. Their use in another war would threaten the extinction of the human race. Nuclear war, or the threat to use nuclear weapons cannot, therefore, be regarded as an instrument of policy.

Second: the joint T.U.C.-Labour Party declaration envisages Britain's continuous association with and, indeed, in practice, subordination to the nuclear weapons strategy of the U.S.A. This means that in the event of war Britain would be in the greatest possible danger of becoming an immediate target for nuclear destruction. Such a war might start not so much as the result of deliberate aggression but because of dangerous incidents or provocations with un-premeditated consequences.

Third: that Britain's continuing association with the nuclear weapons strategy of the U.S.A. makes it impossible for us to resist logically the spread of nuclear weapons or foreign bases to every country in the world. We have no right to ask of others what we are not prepared to do ourselves. There is no virtue but only hypocrisy in arguing for a 'non-nuclear club' among others, and simultaneously that Britain should remain tied through NATO to the U.S. nuclear weapons strategy.

If nuclear weapons and/or foreign bases for nuclear weapons are to spread to more and more countries the danger of nuclear war will grow. The world will be at the brink of destruction whenever there is a 'local' incident following tension between even relatively small powers.

Fourth: that Britain's limited resources should be used for the development of her economy, for the improvement of the social services and housing, and for increasing pensions and other insurance benefits, and should not be wasted in support of an arms policy which certainly adds to our danger in the event of war but which cannot provide for the defence of Britain. The money which was spent, for example, on Bluestreak could have commanded resources to build many new hospitals.

Of those who opposed the resolution of the Transport Workers there were significant variations of emphasis. Sir Vincent Tewson argued in reasoned terms and took account of changes in the inter-

*The delegates of the Amalgamated Engineering Union held a meeting and decided by 17 to 16 to cast their vote of nearly a million for both resolutions. This earned for their General Secretary, Mr. William Carron, the nickname of Mr. Facing-Both-Ways from the British press.—Ed., L.M.

national scene. His speech was not on the familiar theme of the cold war though, in effect, it supported the NATO alliance.

Other speakers—and, in my view, notably Mr. Sam Watson of the National Union of Mineworkers—appeared not to have moved an inch from the position which they adopted some years ago at the height of the cold war. The content of the arguments which they used was that nuclear weapons deter the Russians from aggression. The underlying assumption of this reasoning is, of course, that the Soviet Union would attack Western Europe if it felt that the circumstances were favourable for 'success'.

I was never persuaded that this was a valid interpretation of Soviet policy even when the cold war was at its coldest. Certainly some of the actions of the Soviet Union were unjustifiable—for example, her bitter hostility towards Yugoslavia and the accompanying political and economic sanctions—but they were, in part at least, a reaction to Western policies at that time. The capitalist powers sought to resist fundamental economic changes towards socialism in the countries of Eastern Europe and regarded these changes as though they were examples of Russian aggression. The Russians in turn, sought to mould the East European countries into a monolithic *bloc* to defend the new social order, and regarded almost any kind of difference as a manifestation of imperialist influence, to be stamped out by ruthless means. When full allowance has been given for the wrongs committed during this period, the fact still remains that in the countries of Eastern Europe the old social basis of fascist reaction and militarism was destroyed with the help and support of the Soviet Union. If the Americans had succeeded in their policies the inevitable result would have been restoration of capitalism and reactionary rule throughout Europe.

Today the argument that Soviet policy is aggressive disregards so many features of the present situation that it has become quite unrealistic even to many who have no sympathy with either communism or socialism but who are not blinded by ideological prejudice. The most obvious fallacy of the argument that the Soviet Union is aggressive is that the U.S.S.R. has far more to gain in peaceful competition than in a war which could bring tremendous destruction. In such circumstances, to maintain that the Soviet leaders are aggressive is to say that they are fools and are incapable of making this kind of calculation. All the evidence points, however, to the fact that they have made this kind of calculation and are determined to do everything possible to maintain peace.

Moreover—and this is a particularly important point—it is in the interest of Soviet economic growth to divert resources from arms production to peaceful constructive purposes. With its planned, socialist economy the Soviet Union can ensure that disarmament will lead to better conditions and higher living standards, and not to unemployment. In the capitalist countries, on the other hand, disarmament presents the economic system and the government with a problem of maintaining full employment. To the big firms with a direct interest in arms production, disarmament may well lead to lower profits. It is not for nothing that certain leading share prices on Wall Street tend to move upwards when there is an unfavourable turn in the international situation and when there is talk of more and more arms, missiles and nuclear weapons.

The resolution of the Transport and General Workers' Union provides the framework for a programme which would offer a real effective challenge to the Conservative Government, the cold war and the policies which endanger Britain. Its adoption by the entire labour movement would evoke the kind of enthusiasm among tens of thousands of active rank and file members which could influence the 'marginal' voters. If the Labour Party Conference follows the precedent of the 1960 T.U.C. the first major steps will have been taken to free the British labour movement from its self-destructive adherence to the philosophy of the 'cold war'. This will be of immense significance, not only for the political future of Britain but for the preservation of peace in the world and the development of better relations between East and West.

SELF - PRESERVATION

In regard to bombing from the air, everybody approved of its complete abolition, but Britain added a proviso: 'except for police purposes in outlying areas,' which meant a free hand to bomb in her Empire. This proviso was not acceptable to others, and so the whole proposal for abolition fell through.

Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*, 1939.

I had the utmost difficulty at that time, amid the public outcry, in preserving the use of the bombing aeroplane.

Lord Londonderry, 1935.

THE U.S. ELECTIONS

Herbert Aptheker*

New York, August 29, 1960

THE basic dynamic of life in U.S.A. is the intensifying general crisis afflicting the system of imperialism. The United States is its bastion; here the might of monopoly capitalism is greatest, and the affluence, brazenness and depravity of its rulers are most blatant.

At the same time, here the contradictions reflecting the crisis are most glaring. Among the rich and their servitors, they manifest themselves in a grossness of immorality without equal since the most decadent period of ancient society. Among the middle strata they show themselves in a mounting sense of alienation and loss of purpose without precedent in our U.S. history; mental illness has become epidemic in its proportions, alcoholism and tranquillisation are universal nostrums. In the arts a fantastic corruption permeates the scene. From both strata, and especially from the latter, warnings of disaster are mounting, and even principled protests are appearing. Particularly from growing numbers of artists, professionals, scientists, and assorted intellectuals, expressions of disgust with the utter foulness that dominates their sphere are becoming more and more numerous and vigorous.

From the working masses, significant rumblings and outbursts are appearing, ranging from the heroic four-month-long strike of 500,000 steel-workers in 1959 to the impending strike (as these lines are written) by the workers of the Pennsylvania Railroad—the largest in the country. Mutterings verging on the point of rebellion are coming from the farm belts as the crisis in agriculture deepens with no prospect of solution in the offing. Mr. James F. Patton, President of the National Farmers' Union, re-emphasised the well-known facts again in his letter to the President last April: he pointed out that net farm income was 30 per cent below that of 1953; that farm prices were only 80 per cent of parity, or the break-even point; that the average per capita income on the farm is about half that of the city dweller, and that *one hundred thousand farm families are being forced to leave the land every year.*

Special discontent fills the hearts of the 32,000,000 officially admitted to be 'impoverished', plus—there is considerable overlap—the 25,000,000 'darker folk', Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican-

*Mr. Aptheker, as many of our readers will know, is Editor of *Political Affairs*.

American, who suffer not only dire material disadvantage but also barbaric racist persecution.

One of the signs of decay in the social order of U.S.A. is the starving of public services, especially education and health and housing. This is particularly important in helping to explain the 'juvenile delinquency' which a delinquent society has made of fearful proportions. At the same time, it is part of the scandalous neglect of older people, one of the chief symbols of the callousness that marks the dominant 'way of life'.

The newest element here, however, is the rising militancy and popular sweep of the opposition to the decay, injustice, and exploitation. Never in a long history of magnificent struggle have the Negro people been so aroused, so united, and so insistent upon full equality as now. Not since the 1930's has there been so much movement, stirring and debating among youth as there is today—with, once again, the Negro youth showing the way. Never since the Townsend movement in the New Deal days have the aged been so aroused and so effectively organised as they are today. And signs of rank-and-file revolt and pressure in the trade union movement, and among the farming millions, are clear.

Finally, the bankruptcy of official U.S. foreign policy is widely recognised. Note that history shows no other period in which so many people so decisively rejected that official policy—on varying levels of understanding—as is true at this moment. The most dramatic manifestation of this bankruptcy is Cuba; but the U-2, RB-47, Powers' trial, disarmament fiasco, Japanese rejection, Rhee's dismissal, and so on, have all had cumulative effect in persuading many millions of the people that 'something is awfully wrong in Washington'.

The ruling elements, of course, are keenly aware of these developments—however their estimations of them may differ; the most alert among them, like Walter Lippmann, know that they are living in a new era, in which the balance of forces has shifted towards the Socialist world and in which the exceptional circumstances favouring United States capitalism are now ending. Politically, the ruling class is having its troubles, too, with the population at home. The fact is that ever since 1954—when McCarthyism was dealt decisive blows—the electorate of U.S.A. has been moving Left. Whenever voters have had a clear-cut issue, they have chosen the progressive side; whenever they have been faced with a choice between candidates in which one clearly represented reaction and the other at least some protest against

reaction, they have voted against reaction. (The exceptions, such as Senator Goldwater in Arizona, are exceedingly rare.)

In statistics, the result has been that while the Republican and Democratic Parties each received exactly 49 per cent of the total votes in the 1950 Congressional elections, in 1954 the percentages were 47 and 52, and in 1958 they were 44 and 56 respectively. In terms of office, this means that today the Democrats have 346 members in Congress (Senate and House) to 186 for the Republicans; they control 34 Governorships to 16 for the Republicans; and of the 177 largest cities with elected mayors Democrats number 128 and Republicans 49.

Big business, of course, dominates both political parties. The fact is, however, that ever since Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in particular, its most decisive elements have tended to prefer the Republican Party, while the masses of people—especially the working class and the Negro people—have favoured the Democratic. This, we repeat, does not alter the fact that both parties, throughout, have been instruments, basically, of monopoly capitalism. The Democratic Party, while it has been the vehicle through which the masses have sought to achieve their aims—and partially succeeded in doing so in certain significant areas—has simultaneously been the straitjacket employed by the bourgeoisie to keep the masses bound within the confines of their two-party system.

There is therefore today a great flux in United States politics—and even within the Republican Party there are at times significant struggles between hidebound reactionary and more enlightened liberal positions. The tactic of unity between the Dixiecrat Democrats of the South and the Republican reactionaries in particular has made the two-party system most useful to the monopolists. This tactic, by the way, actually drove the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt, to consider very seriously in 1944, as Tugwell tells us in his biography, leading a breakaway from the Democratic Party and establishing a new people's party. Increasingly the bourgeoisie seeks to empty the political process of any real content. Hence, the tendency is to choose 'middle-of-the-roaders', or, as the Liberal-Democratic paper *The New York Post* put it (July 20, 1960), to give the electorate 'a choice between two muddle ways'. Naturally, distinctions between parties and their candidates tend to be blurred.

We give an impression of staging an election which is but a race with one horse, or, one might say, two parties and two candidates split from the same monolithic whole.

C. L. Sulzberger, *New York Times* (July 25, 1960).

LATIN AMERICA, for Independence



TIPOGRAFIA NACIONAL—GUATEMALA

ARTURO GARCIA BUSTOS

These posters came from Guatemala, before the people's movement there was suppressed by foreign intervention ('Intervencion Extranjera') in 1954. Today they express the mood throughout the Latin American continent.

ence and Land Reform

¡UNA REALIDAD!



Ley de

REFORMA AGRARIA

In program the Democratic Party does present the more liberal outlook in its labour plank as contrasted with that of the Republican Party. In the decisive areas of civil rights and particularly in peace and disarmament, however, there is little to choose either between the candidates or their party platforms. It is true, nevertheless, that Nixon personally and the Republican Party in general are identified with the worst of McCarthyism and red-baiting and the worst of the Dulles 'liberation', 'massive retaliation' and 'brinkmanship' lunacies; in this sense, as the American people more or less keenly feel, the re-election of a Republican Administration will be viewed by the world as a vote of confidence in a suicidal and bankrupt foreign policy.

This ruling-class policy of camouflage and transparent demagogy, however, has a boomerang tendency. More and more millions of the people became disillusioned about the two-party system; many seek other ways of expressing their needs and demands. Sometimes it means still working within the two-party system, especially the Democratic Party; or working within the party framework whilst setting up independent committees; others, especially the Negro masses, break away from the framework and battle independently in their own organisations.

Increasingly, too, there has been discussion about the need for a new party; most significantly this has come more and more frequently from trade union and Negro leaders. When, for example, the leadership of the AFL-CIO endorsed the candidature of Kennedy-Johnson, there was a notable lack of enthusiasm; only 18 of the 29 members of the General Board even bothered to put in an appearance. A. Philip Randolph, the Negro leader and President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, explicitly withheld endorsement, saying 'there was not enough difference between the candidates', and suggesting the need for a new, labour-based party.

In this situation, the Communist Party refuses to endorse either candidate; it rejects a 'what's the use' attitude; it recognises that the majority of the masses still prefer the Democratic Party and still do not see how to break away from the two-party system. But its main efforts will be devoted to developing independent political action by the masses themselves, where they battle on issues of immediate and overwhelming concern to themselves. The Party believes that the process of disillusionment with the two-party system is well advanced and that it will be pushed forward as the masses themselves learn, through struggle, that they must take

matters into their own hands, create their own organs, choose their own leaders and implement their own programmes. There are, said the statement adopted by the Party's National Executive Committee on August 14, 1960 (and published in full in *Political Affairs* for September), two primary considerations:

(a) How can we reach, work with, and influence workers, Negroes, farmers, the aged, the youth, liberals, progressives, and the broader 'Left' to enter into determined, persistent mass pressure campaigns—of all kinds, at all levels, from the simplest to the highest forms—for peace, in support of colonial struggles, for civil rights, and for a full range of labour and social legislation; and

(b) How, through these efforts, can we help to further the growth of grass-roots independent political movement, in the first place involving the trade unions, but including such other independent pressure movements as can be developed among all sections of the people.

The real meaning of the 1960 elections is to develop still further the people's confidence in their own strength, to help them see more and more clearly the ruling-class trap that is the two-party system, and so assist in unfolding a true popular ground-swell that will produce a mass party of the trade union movement, the Negro masses, the poorer farmers, the harassed middle class, the distressed professional and intellectual, and the distraught youth.

With such a new party, the grip of monopoly capitalism upon life in U.S.A. will be successfully challenged, a positive outcome to the struggle for peace will be assured, and a splendid life of creativeness and dignity will open up for the hundred and eighty millions of our country.

THEIR TRUE VOICE

Washington has often declared to me that he considered our new Constitution as an experiment on the practicability of Republican Government, and with what dose of liberty man could be trusted for his own good, that he was determined the experiment should have a fair trial, and would lose the last drop of his blood in support of it.

Thomas Jefferson.

The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, all nations, and tongues, and kindreds.

Abraham Lincoln.

NATIONALISATION OF INSURANCE

Frank Crump

*General Secretary of the National Amalgamated Union of Life Assurance
Workers*

IN considering the case for nationalisation of any industry, it is essential, particularly if its advocates appear to have a sectional interest, to state from what standpoint the desire is motivated. The National Amalgamated Union of Life Assurance Workers have always had a socialist approach: that nationalisation is in the best interests of society as a whole. That the sectional interest of insurance workers would be enhanced in no way detracts from this politically conscious concept.

Insurance divides into two main fields. First there is industrial assurance, collected at people's homes weekly or monthly. Secondly, there are the multifarious forms of insurance on a much larger financial scale, effected by insurance brokers, members of Lloyds and banks. Although the proponents of nationalisation usually envisage the public ownership of all forms as the ultimate goal, the emphasis is generally concentrated on industrial assurance. It is this which has been most criticised, and it is close to the daily lives of the working population.

Nationalisation is advocated because of the widespread social use of the commodity or service and of its importance in Britain's economic life; this is certainly true of industrial assurance. Over ten years ago a survey conducted by the industrial life offices estimated that policies were held in nine out of ten working-class homes. The last Report of the Industrial Assurance Commissioner, referred to the increase in average sum assured per policy:

Probably the most important factor at work is the increase in the level of wages earned by the classes from which the companies draw most of their support.

One might also say: profits. Industrial assurance ranks as one of the biggest industries. Its financial importance is indicated in the following figures: in 1952 the total annual premium income was £104,000,000 and the total industrial assurance funds £661,000,000. In 1958 these figures rose to £137,000,000 and £905,000,000 respectively. Surely the insurance business is among the 'commanding heights' of our economy.

Industrial assurance has been strongly criticised for many years. Official commissions and independent inquiries have followed one after another: never once has the industry been given a clean bill of health.* As far back as 1864 Gladstone was critical of its defects; amongst some later comments are the following:

1874. *The Northgate Commission* described the system as extravagant and marked by gross abuses.

1909. Winston Churchill, while President of the Board of Trade, introducing the *Assurance Companies Bill*, called it

a class of business particularly open to abuse. It is a poor man's business. It consists in the process of sinking a lump sum by monthly or weekly payments extending over a long period. In these cases if one payment lapsed the whole premiums previously made are forfeited and some of these societies live almost entirely on that provision. Anything more injurious to the thrift of the people, anything more calculated to discourage saving habits on the part of a large mass of our countrymen one cannot conceive.

1920. *The Parmoor Committee* stated that the system 'lends itself to abuses in many directions'.

1932. *The National Council of Social Service* giving evidence before the Cohen Committee stated:

We really feel that industrial assurance is carried on on such a big scale that it ought to be a public service.

1933. *The Cohen Committee* came to the conclusion that excessive competition with its almost feverish pressure for 'increase' firstly by the offices upon their staffs, and secondly by the latter upon the working class population, is responsible for the principle defects of the business.

1942. *The Beveridge Report* said amongst its recommendations the only satisfactory solution to the problem of industrial assurance, retaining the good while curing the defects of the present system, will be in following out the final hint of the Cohen Committee and converting industrial assurance from being a competitive sellers' business to being a monopoly consumers' service.

No account of criticisms would be complete without quoting a Conservative M.P., the late Sir Arnold Wilson, in his book *Industrial Assurance* (1937):

The salient characteristic of industrial assurance is the existence of vast aggregations of capital in a very few hands, with unlimited power, exercised in secrecy and uncontrolled by any external agency, to give or withhold financial assistance in any country, at home or abroad, to any industry or trade. Without in any way reflecting on the probity and skill of those who direct this great business—and it is seldom that either

*In 1944 a Tory Reform Committee pamphlet said: 'Every official committee which has investigated industrial assurance in the past has criticised the conduct and results of the business'.

one or the other is questioned—it is submitted that under modern conditions they have become a repository of power greater by far than the banks, and less under effective social control. Some limitation of their scope seems desirable in the public interest.

Some abuses have been curtailed by legislation, or through a more responsible attitude by insurance offices themselves. Others, however, are inherent in the system. Lapsing policies shortly after entry is still too high, and is bound to continue when pressure to procure new policies is almost the sole criterion of a successful agent. In 1957 the number of policies forfeited entirely was still alarmingly high: with companies it was 15.2 per cent of all policies written up during the year; with societies, 16.5 per cent. Not only is this a complete loss to the policyholder, but it also reflects the intense pressure on the field staff, and hence on the insuring public, through a soul-destroying high-pressure sales drive, which is indeed intensified now in comparative prosperity and 'full employment'.

The National Amalgamated Union of Life Assurance Workers continuously since 1926 has criticised this wasteful process. Only in recent years has there been support from other insurance workers' organisations, which have frequently been under the domination and patronage of the employers. That this domination still continues was disclosed by Henry Levitt (Guild of Insurance Officials) at the recent Trades Union Congress. Even today the unions are called upon to defend elderly agents with long service who cannot respond to the demand for 'increase' and are being harassed or forced into premature retirement or 'resignation'.

There is hardly a major industry or financial undertaking in which the insurance offices have not a substantial interest. There has never been a need for the introduction of new capital in the insurance companies and yet the issue of bonus shares and watered capital over the years has been colossal. Fortunes are made, frequently for the favoured few, often within the confines of one family. Dividends paid in a number of companies on such inflated capital have for years varied between fifty and a hundred per cent.

Whilst the companies have borne the brunt of criticism, friendly societies have not been immune, although policyholders and employees have tended to regard them more favourably because of a more liberal outlook and the democratic control vested in their members. Up to 1910 or so, this was probably true. But in succeeding years their constitution and articles were so modified by management influence, geographical conditions and the apathy of members, that their democratic nature became more apparent than

real. It is not unusual for annual meetings to be composed almost entirely of chief office, clerical and executive staffs (agents are precluded by legislation from attending)—sometimes hand-picked. In societies with delegates locally elected, there still remain vestiges of control by members; but delegates are frequently elected by a minority.

Ever since 1926, nationalisation of insurance has been in the programme of the Labour Party, frequently confirmed by annual conference. Always the Party case has been reinforced by the findings of committees of inquiry, the investigation of private individuals representative even of political opponents, as well as recommendations by sub-committees of the Labour Party. In 1918 the Labour Party was much more radical and proposed the expropriation of private industrial and life assurance companies. Subsequently, however, the approach was much less drastic, although the question of workers' control was for a number of years much canvassed. In 1949, following the Beveridge Report, the Party embraced the idea of taking over industrial insurance as a publicly-owned mutual with ownership vested in the policyholders. This was dictated to some extent by pressure from the co-operative movement in some special pleading on behalf of the Co-operative Insurance Society, which despite its title, is an insurance company, with shares owned jointly by the English and Scottish co-operative societies. Although controlled under the co-operative system of democratic centralism, in its functioning, it is even less democratic than the friendly societies, and in its business operation generally indistinguishable from the companies.

Reading a recent book by an American, Herbert E. Weiner, *British Labour and Public Ownership*, tracing the history of the case for public ownership, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion, so far as industrial assurance is concerned, that the leadership has been reluctant to tackle the issue and implement policy. In brief space it is impossible to recapitulate all the facts, figures and criticism which justify the case for nationalisation of industrial assurance as a prime social necessity; but enough has been said to show that some form of public ownership is long overdue.

It is to be hoped that the growing resurgence of radical and socialist thought in the Labour Party will result, following conference discussion of Clause 4 and the nationalisation resolutions, in a policy accepting nationalisation of insurance as a fundamental first step to storming the 'commanding heights' of power.

SEAMEN'S STRUGGLES

George Hardy

MANY aged seamen will still remember the first successful national seamen's strike in 1911, led by the late Havelock Wilson, C.H., C.B.E., who had spent years in building the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union in face of bitter opposition of the shipowners.

By national action, well supported by the dockers and other transport workers, they not only won a wage increase and a national agreement, but also the abolition of the Federation Ticket (a method of blacklist) which all seamen had to possess in order to obtain work. Doubtless shipowners took into consideration the impending war against Germany, in which seamen would play a vital role. Nevertheless, this victory acted as a stimulant to other transport workers, culminating in the fierce struggles in 1912 involving road, rail and sea transport, when infantry, cavalry and armoured vehicles were used to suppress the strikers. Thus, against this background we see Havelock Wilson first played a positive role, having suffered imprisonment for his earlier activity. From then onwards, however, this positive feature was not maintained. Devoid of any democratic control by the membership, more and more he turned the union into an instrument of the shipowners, bureaucratically controlled by himself.

Following the first world war, in which 15,000 British seamen lost their lives, a new opposition union was organised under the leadership of Joe Cotter and Emanuel Shinwell—the Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union. The vested interests of Havelock Wilson were now challenged. The shipowners, always anxious to maintain a control over the seamen, both ashore and afloat, now openly revealed the extent to which he served their interests. With his collaboration they instituted a new form of federation ticket, known as the P.C.5, which to obtain work, could only be got through the union controlled by him. Thus a form of blacklist became operative against militant seamen and members of the A.M.W.U., which was also affiliated to the Trades Union Congress; and the P.C.5 played a major role in its final elimination.

Then came the bitter struggles arising from the strike of German seamen. Reduced to starvation on the collapse of German currency in 1923, they sought the aid of organised workers abroad to tie up vessels overseas. In 1924 the impoverished seamen struck in

foreign ports, including Britain. From the first day of their strike, Havelock Wilson pledged support, but only, as we learned later, to betray them. Instead of a show-down with the German shipowners based on help from the British seamen's union, the German strikers were shipped back to Hamburg, in doing which Wilson played a part. Many were arrested and given prison sentences, whilst German vessels were taken back by the officers.

In these circumstances German competition was made the excuse for an attack on British seamen's wages and conditions. On July 3, 1925, with large numbers of British seamen unemployed, Havelock Wilson, and his silent officials, met the shipowners' representatives, the so-called Maritime Board under the chairmanship of Sir F. Shadwell Watts of the Shipping Federation. Watts said, and I quote from the verbatim report which fell into my hands:

Speaking for myself and a good many of us, we prefer to just come and ask you—more or less formally—I shall just say that we have come to ask you what you propose to do about it (*a reduction in wages*).

To this Havelock Wilson replied:

We have come to say to you this morning, we will give up that £1 at once—without any arguments, without any alarming statements about what is going to happen—and I hope, Mr. Chairman, and you gentlemen, will recognise that in doing that, we are doing a manly thing... It is better for us to suggest a reduction—and we advise you strongly to accept—so we offer you that £1.

This offer amounted to placing £1,500,000 into the pockets of the shipowners annually. Shadwell Watts replied accepting 'this generous offer':

from the point of view in which it has been made, and also because we think it may be of assistance to us in bringing about other reductions. I wish to thank you for... what after all, you will understand is a drop in the bucket.

Conscious of the extent of this open betrayal of the seamen, and anticipating their reaction to this treasonable act, Wilson warned of its effect, and said:

What does it matter to me if a fellow on a ship is cursing me and saying I ought to be shot. I am safely fixed in a place called St. Georges Hall (*the union headquarters*).

Whenever officials of the labour movement enter into treasonable conspiracies, the treachery knows no end: 1925 was a vital year for British trade unionism. The mineowners were feverishly preparing to reduce wages, destroy the seven-hour day and abolish national agreements and the effectiveness of the Miners' Federation.

Havelock Wilson knew this. Therefore he asked the shipowners to blacklist militant seamen, again I quote from the report:

If you were to have a great upheaval in this country and that is possible—supposing you have a miners' strike and you have the railwaymen and dockers coming in—then you would have this gang of men, 'danger men' I call them, throwing in their lot against your side, and your shipping would be reduced to pulp.

Here was the nature of this conspiracy against the whole working class clearly stated.

However, the seamen quickly responded. Mass meetings were called spontaneously. Amongst others I was asked to give them help and guidance. My first mass meeting of the seamen was in Poplar Town Hall. It was packed to overflowing. Many seamen's wives were present. On the same day a libellous leaflet was issued, charging me with being 'a German spy' during the war. It was handed to me as I entered the platform, and I read it aloud to the seamen. Then I read from the verbatim report quoted above, and asked the audience to judge as to who was the traitor. To the resounding shouts of unprintable language the seamen unanimously condemned Havelock Wilson; and after I had explained the nature of the struggle they were about to enter, they decided for strike action. The response was immediate. Seamen left their ships in South Africa, New Zealand, Australia and other foreign ports. After nine weeks the strike was called off. We did not gain retention of the £1; nonetheless, only after seven years elapsed did the shipowners dare to seek another 'drop in the bucket'.

As Havelock Wilson predicted, the General Strike followed the coalowners' notice of a lockout of the miners. He instructed the seamen to blackleg by refusing to obey the call by the General Council of the T.U.C. But to the credit of large numbers, together with a number of the N.U.S. officials, they joined the General Strike.

The treacherous story does not end here. When nine days later the General Council of the T.U.C. abandoned the miners and called off the General Strike, Havelock Wilson then proceeded to disrupt the miners' union. Together with the Tories he became an advocate of company unionism, of the so-called 'non-political unions'. He actually used union funds to finance a yellow company union, the Spencer Union, in the Notts coalfield. He also tried it in South Wales and other coalfields. This left no alternative but expulsion of the National Union of Seamen from the Trades Union Congress, the decision at long last being endorsed unanimously on Sep-

tember 4, 1928,* at the Swansea T.U.C. Now thoroughly exposed, Havelock Wilson withdrew the seamens' union from affiliation to the Labour Party and from the International Federation of Transport Workers, isolating them nationally and internationally.

There would be no point in repeating this treasonable story unless some lessons were drawn. Of course, Havelock Wilson was not alone. But how could he get away with his treacherous game? Only by denying the membership any effective democratic control over union affairs, enabling himself to exercise a bureaucratic control of all union business. Union representatives and delegates were appointed and could be sacked at will, as were those who supported the General Strike. Seventy per cent of the seamen are always at sea. In troublesome times even branch meetings are denied those in home ports. This is why the long-standing demand for delegates and Committees aboard ships is so important.

MY FIRST STRIKE

Donald McLaren†

WHEN we shipbuilding and engineering apprentices on Clydeside downed tools on Thursday, April 22, 1960, we did not withdraw our labour because the weather was warm and sunny, as some armchair philosophers would so readily tell you. We declared official strike action in pursuit of decent living standards, because there was no other means left by which to increase our mere pittance of a wage. I say now with full conviction, and with the voice of every apprentice behind me, that the full blame for the strike rests entirely with that despicable breed of people, the shipbuilding and engineering employers; it was by their consistent refusal over the past six years, by their vicious victimisation of boys who had demonstrated to bring attention to their wage claim and—most disgusting of all—by sending threatening letters to the boys' parents, trying to enlist parents' help in their low attempts at intimidation. They must accept full responsibility for what has happened and what can happen in the future.

If the employers are slow to learn, we are not. I know we apprentices were learning more and more every day that passed.

*In the chair was Alderman Ben Turner, one of the foremost trade union supporters of 'Mondism'.

†As many of our readers will know, Don McLaren is secretary of the Clydeside Apprentices' Committee.

After the first turmoil of thousands of apprentices pouring out from every yard and factory on Clydeside, we in the Clydeside Apprentices' Committee (C.A.C.) settled down to plan a campaign that would ensure ultimate success. Finally we agreed on a line of action round this idea. First stage: 100 per cent apprentices out in Scotland. Second stage: Winning adult support, both financial and militant, first on Clydeside, and then nationally. Third stage: 100 per cent apprentices out in Great Britain. We felt that each stage had to be secured and won, to show the boys that our action was progressing in a logical form, and that we were winning every round. The Committee knew too that contact with the main body of apprentices at all times was essential, as the Tory press by misrepresentation and obscuring the facts would try to create confusion amongst our ranks. They had little success throughout the strike, the tremendous enthusiasm and militancy of the boys in their determination for higher wages cut through all attempts by the press to disunite them.

The solidarity of the lads right from the word 'go' was something to behold. There was a real sense of earnestness about the boys. They took to the maxim 'United we stand, divided we fall' like a duck to water. Very early on, the press wanted 'names'. 'Who's the leader?' 'Are there any Communists on the Committee?', 'Has the Committee or any member of the Committee been in touch with the Communist Party Headquarters?' But we saw through that; and all such attempts met with a firm stubbornness to give them no foothold to divide us.

Another lesson that struck home to me was 'Leaders are born in struggle'. This is certainly true! Anyone who witnessed the development of some of the apprentices' leaders would have been left in no doubt about this. Boys who had never uttered more than three or four consecutive sentences, became budding public speakers holding forth to thousands of apprentices, arguing a direct, forceful and sincere case. They travelled all over Britain, addressing meetings. They appeared on T.V. and organised mass lobbies of trade union conferences, like the Confederation Annual Meeting, as Frank Foulkes described in the August *L.M.* The organisational ability of some of my fellow apprentices was a real surprise. Lads I had known for months, even years, amazed me by the business-like way in which they carried through the job of organising the strike. The Finance Committee handling hundreds of pounds with the ease of Wall Street Bankers. The Propaganda Committee storming Clydeside with their leaflets, whitewashing teams and

factory-gate meetings, that would have put Labour Party election boys to shame. The Demonstration Committee topped the lot. It is doubtful if Clydeside has ever seen anything as amusingly funny, yet at times so grimly determined, as some of the demonstrations organised before and during the strike.

One thing certainly occurred to me; if most of my companions were half as good at their trade as they were at fighting the bosses, then they deserved double the money that we were asking for!

At this stage there is not really much more to be said. The strike is over and we have been awarded increases ranging from 4s. at 15 years to 16s. at 20 years. Certainly this falls a long way short of what we were fighting for, an average of £2 12s. 6d. per week; but of one thing we are all convinced and that is, had it not been for our determined strike action, we would not have received a penny, far less 16s. There are few boys who do not realise this.

VIEWS OF THE WORLD

A Reminder of Scarborough, 1954

(On the Labour Party National Executive Committee in 1957, and former President of the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers, Roland Casasola received an ovation at the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough in 1954, when he moved the historic resolution to resist German rearmament.—Ed., L.M.)

ONCE MORE the Labour Party Conference is being held at Scarborough, as it was in 1954, when the key question was: Should West Germany be rearmed? I had the honour of moving the composite resolution, No. 22, seconded by Ben Parkin, M.P., which said No! to rearmament, and called instead 'for negotiations at the highest level for a peace treaty that will bring about a united, democratic Germany'. I stated in moving that a rearmed Germany would bring fear of another war in Europe, it would be a move towards war and make further negotiations with the Rus-

sians more difficult. Well! we were defeated by only 371,000 votes out of a total of 6,191,000; whilst the E.C.'s resolution was carried by an even smaller margin of 248,000 out of 6,292,000: and if every union delegation had stood by their annual conference decisions, the Labour party six years ago would have gone against German rearmament.

How close that decision was, on that morning of Tuesday, September 28, 1954! As I read statements by the people who opposed us then I wonder how they like the situation now. For it is just what we said it would be. Germany now wants nuclear weapons: Berlin has become the flash point in Europe.

Now once again at Scarborough the Labour Party must make a vital decision—on the unilateral abandonment of all nuclear weapons. The reason we are in this position today in my opinion is because Conference in 1954 made the wrong decision. To delegates at this conference I would say: Don't make the same mistake, for there will be no third

chance. In a nuclear war this country will be destroyed. The question is whether the human race as we know it is going to inhabit this globe, and move forward in the atomic age to a world of plenty and universal brotherhood—to world socialism.

And I would say to the delegates from the unions: stick to your annual conference and national committee decision. Don't be manoeuvred into a false position. Let it be a warning to you.

The people of the world do not want war. They want real peace, not armed truce. You are in that privileged position, that by your vote on October 5, 1960, you can give the world that lead.

'Come comrades! Tis not too late to seek a newer world.

Swing inward, O gates of the Future!

Swing outward, ye gates of the Past!

For the minds of the people are moving

And rising from slumber at last!'

ROLAND CASASOLA,

Manchester.

Casement, Ireland and Africa

I WRITE to thank you for your tribute to Roger Casement, who did so much to expose the brutality of Belgian imperialism in the Congo before laying down his life in the struggle against British imperialism in his native Ireland.

At the same time I wish to question your statement that he was 'misled in his final desperate attempt to serve the cause of Ireland with the aid of another imperialism'. If he was misled, so were the other leaders of the Easter Week Rising, because German aid was part of their plan. Connolly wrote: 'For our part we take our stand openly upon the fundamental truth that

Ireland is a subject nation, and that therefore Ireland has no national enemy in Europe save one, and that one is the nation that holds her in subjection'. (From *The Workers' Republic*, March 25, 1916, quoted in *Labour and Easter Week*, p.165.)

This stand taken by the Irish leaders was in line with the Bolshevik policy of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. Moreover, in the year following the Easter Week rising in Ireland, it was with German aid that Lenin got back to Russia in time to lead the October Revolution; and he too was denounced as a German agent. In the second world war, the leaders of the Greek resistance accepted British aid against German imperialism; so did the leaders of the Malayan resistance against Japanese imperialism. We know how the British Government betrayed them after the war was won. Were they, then, misled? Should we not rather say that they were right to strike a blow against imperialism when and where they did, and that it was we who were so far misled that we permitted our own Labour Government to perpetrate those acts of treachery? If the working-class had not made use of the contradictions of imperialism for its own advantage, there would have been no socialist revolution.

It is also wrong, I think, to speak of the Rising as 'desperate'. It was soon crushed, but it left behind a spark that started a prairie fire. It was with good reason therefore, that, when he saw the flag of the Irish Republic flying in the Dublin sunshine on that Monday morning, Jim Connolly turned to Tom Clarke with tears of joy in his eyes and cried: 'Thanks be to God, Tom, that we have lived to see this day!' The truth of the matter was surely stated by Lenin: 'The misfortune of the

Irish is that they rose prematurely, when the European revolt of the proletariat had not yet matured. Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various springs of rebellion can immediately merge into one, of their own accord, without reverses and defeats'. (*Selected Works*, Vol. V, p.306.)

To-day, forty-four years afterwards, the springs have so far merged that the whole of Africa is in revolt, and a new flag is flying in the Congo. There, as in Ireland, the memory of Roger Casement will be honoured for ever.

GEORGE THOMSON,
Birmingham.

(We welcome warmly the spirit of George Thomson's letter, even though there might be a slight misconception in the criticism. The reference to 'misled' and 'desperate' was not of course to the Easter Rising, the Marxist-Leninist estimate of which is well-known, but to the unhappy conditions in which Casement found himself in the hands of the German militarists who failed to supply him with the arms he had hoped to get and who landed him without arms on the Kerry coast to fall into the hands of the British military authorities—Ed., L.M.)

The Great Trains Robbery

THE 1960 Conferences of the National Union of Railwaymen, the Transport Salaried Staff Association and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, have proved the growing awareness of the railmen of their place in society. There was a strong Left-wing sentiment running through all the rail conferences, and it was a welcome sign. World peace, the H-bomb, Clause 4, and *apartheid*, modernisation, exploitation, wages and conditions, nationalisation, these are the

subjects which are agitating railwaymen. Their massive strength is vital to the well-being of the labour movement, and a new spirit of unity is manifest amongst them. To democratise their industry, to put it on a real socialist basis, to prove to the British working class that they have truly donned the mantle of the pioneers—that is the future for the railwaymen.

In July 1960, the British Transport Commission laid before Parliament its 1959 balance sheet. Two things were immediately apparent. First, that exploitation of the present labour force and the efficiency of the industry has reached unprecedented levels. Secondly, despite the handicaps of vast compensation payments and the interest on new loans (reaching £85,000,000 annually by 1965), the planners and administrators of the varied undertakings have now proved that a public utility can operate successfully, pay good wages and provide adequate pensions for its staff and still provide a working surplus for modernisation and research.

The 1959 Report showed startling advances in the affairs of the British Transport Commission, both operational and financial, whilst 1960 will show an even higher degree of exploitation of men and machines. Here are some examples. On British Railways, although gross receipts were £14,000,000 less than in 1958, when the big users of metals were charged 3½d. per ton mile for iron, steel, ore and limestone haulage, working expenses were cut by £20,000,000, leaving working deficit down by £6,000,000. British road services section 1959 net receipts were £3,000,000—an increase of £1,000,000 over 1958; Tilling and Scottish buses made good progress and London Transport Ser-

vice covered both its operating tasks and its share of British Railways central charges. What contributed to this? Greater car mileage, fare increases, reduction in the licensed vehicle duty, together with the B.T.C. being able to depress wages in 1959 (whilst railmen awaited the pay enquiry). For the hotels and catering services, it was the best year since 1948, with a surplus of £410,000. No wonder greedy hands are stretching out demanding that these undertakings should be handed back to 'private enterprise'. The Docks were up by £3,000,000. Total profit of the B.T.C. was £29,000,000, or £9,000,000 more. Compensation payments for 1959 were around £48,000,000. The increased productivity due to greater use of manpower, skilful routing of fully loaded trains, and mechanical improvements, together with work-study and time-and-motion agreements, proved the case for public ownership. The impact of electrification and the diesel engine is astounding. By the end of 1958, some 1000 route miles of railway had been electrified, with another 110 miles added last year and 200 more miles due this year. Diesel railcar services are increasing revenue at a tremendous rate: receipts on the Leeds-Barnsley branch shot up 416 per cent. In a few years 2000 diesel shunting engines will be operating in our marshalling yards; they are one-man driven in nearly every case, so this is a major problem for the footplatemen, whose ranks are fast diminishing, by nearly 50 per cent since 1939. For signalmen, electrically controlled signal boxes mean many fewer. At Carlisle, nine marshalling yards will be replaced by one central yard, handling 260 trains per day by push-button methods.

A long overdue revolution is taking place in British Transport, but it is not making itself felt in the wage packets of the men who are switching over to new machines, new techniques, and new responsibilities. After two years of brooding, the pay enquiry laid its report—a bad egg—before the nation in April, 1960. The Tory back-benchers had plenty to say about inflation occurring if the railmen were paid; but the wages scales were merely the minimum that the Government knew the railmen would accept without recourse to strike action. Thousands of railway workers are still under £9 a week, thousands more under £10.

It has been a story of massive negotiating machinery exhausted, with small results, committees and enquiries galore. First the Cameron Committee, next the Morris Enquiry, then Guillebaud. Now the Parliamentary Select Committee submitting a vast report, while Lord Stedeford (Tube Investments) and his own committee of business men, seeks to break the industry up into 'more viable units' (Shades of the steel de-nationalisation game!). The Select Committee asserted that profitability should be the main target, but would consider subsidising some lines and services retained as 'a social need', even if 'uneconomic'. More out of the railwaymen on profitable lines to bolster up the non-profitable tracks! Why not make the big users of the metals pay an 'economic' price for heavy freight? As for Lord Stedeford's little team and their strategy, the trade union movement will have to watch the bowling. Breaking up the industry into viable units means to railwaymen a return to regional practices and regional competition for traffic. The negative aspects of nationalisation under capitalism are clear;

but the case for large scale planning and administration of transport has been proved to the hilt. It does not need a plethora of committees to convince railwaymen that public ownership is feasible and workable. It will take more than Select Committees and capitalist rationalisers to divert them from their true aim—real Socialist nationalisation with the workers in control at all levels, responsible to the nation.

FRANK MCKENNA.

Looking for Jobs

DECENT JOBS with a future are a rarity for the increasing numbers of young people leaving school. As each Easter, August and December comes by, the Youth Employment Officers are presented with overwhelming problems, and youth with a 'take it or leave it' choice.

This skeleton in the Tory government's cupboard that has rattled its bones throughout hundreds of column inches of national and local press, and filled pages of Hansard, is the postwar increase in the birth rate which presents industry with an increase of more than fifty per cent in the numbers of school leavers starting work in 1962 compared with the figures for 1957. The Tory attitude is, perhaps, summed up in the words of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce President, Mr. W. Hope-Collins (July, 1960), when he appealed to unions and employers, 'to co-operate in training them (youth) to the journeyman stage, perhaps on a grant aided basis and on condition that only those willing and ready to emigrate would be trained'. And suppose young people don't choose to accept this beatnik policy of despair from such pillars of capitalist society?

The Carr Committee* in its report *Training for Skill*, 1958, appealed for many more skilled openings in industry to meet the increase in the numbers of young workers. What is the response from employers after two years? Rotary Clubs and the like may display careers exhibitions, but they fail to dish up the goods, to offer jobs with a future. For the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* (June, 1960) disclosed that in 1959 'the number of boys under 18 entering employment rose, compared with 1958 by 9 per cent, but the number of apprentices or learners rose by only 6 per cent'. The increase of boys entering 'other employment' which does not include clerical or professional occupations and means unskilled work, was 54 per cent. As for the girl school-leavers in 1959, only 9 per cent became apprentices (nearly half being hairdressing and manicure) or took jobs that would lead to professional qualifications. Some 35 per cent took clerical jobs, while 56 per cent faced the same old 'other employment'.

The government has had some fifteen years' notice of these problems. It has had its chance to take action. Many trade union conferences over the past three or four years have drawn attention to the gravity of the situation. It is time the Labour movement took up this question of young people's futures as a key question. There has been too much plushy seat talk, and boardroom good manners about it so far. The Labour Party's new pamphlet to be discussed at Conference, *Labour in the Sixties*, states: 'Recruitment of young people must now become the main organisational task of the party'. They should heed

*This sub-committee of the National Joint Advisory Council issued a report entitled *Training for Skill: The Recruitment and Training of Young Workers in Industry*.

the article in this journal last month by Mick McGahey on the vote at 18, where he showed how young people have responded to the major political campaigns of the Labour movement.

There are practical steps which the working class movement should fight for *now*. First, to insist upon government action and legislation. Put teeth into the Carr Committee Report by the government compelling industry to take in the extra school-leavers and give them higher quality training. Next there is need for some central organisation with this power of compulsion, working closely with the joint training committees of the TUC and the British Employers' Confederation, to co-ordinate and direct training. It should have power to levy all firms within an industry, to help the smaller firms to provide effective training; local authorities could give a lead in their building departments. The school-leaving age should be raised to sixteen at once. At present, young people have to choose between staying on at school or being apprentices, because the age of entry upon apprenticeship is too inflexible. And is it any longer necessary for most apprenticeships to last for a period of five years? Has not the effect of automation and mechanisation broken down the necessary training periods for many trades?

Britain's youth is angry, not at looking back, but at looking forward into an uncertain future. The might and power of the Labour movement must be thrown on the side of the young workers. Our

movement knows the language of our class; its history has taught us the cruel way capitalism exploits its young people. A big increase in the number of young people provides great opportunities. Employers may revel in an opportunity to increase the numbers of unskilled labourers vying with each other for meagre low-paid work. But progressive people see it as an opportunity to recruit to Britain's industry vast thousands of eager new young hands which can provide our country with a skilled force that is second to none.

JOHN DELAHOY,
Kent.

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MONARCHISTS PLEASE NOTE

The book of Kings is fast closing in the great Bible of humanity.

Ernest Jones, *Northern Star*,
March 4, 1848.

THE SIEGE OF ST. PANCRAS

[With all the planning of a military operation, over 1,000 police invaded blocks of flats in St. Pancras, London, in the early hours of September 22. Here they engaged in a pitched battle with council tenants, two of whom had barricaded themselves in for 25 days, resisting eviction orders from the Tory council. Men, women and children, some still in pyjamas, rushed from their homes in the neighbourhood to defend their fellow tenants, who were finally dragged out of their homes after a sustained battle, in which many were injured and dozens arrested. Before noon London industrial workers had already come out on protest strike, including railway depots and building sites, from one of which, 300 marched to St. Pancras. So began a new stage in the nation-wide struggles against government rent and housing policy, unprecedented since the Clydeside industrial workers struck in support of the tenants' movement during the 1914-1918 War.]

Below we print an article by Don Cook, one of the evicted tenants, written only the day before in his barricaded flat.—Ed., L.M.]

Don Cook

September 21, 1960.

I WRITE this from my barricaded top-floor council flat at Kenistoun House, St. Pancras, where we are reaching the climax of a long struggle against rising rents. As we await the bailiffs in the fourth week of this siege, many hundreds of council tenants are now on full rent strike. Over 500 notices to quit have been issued. In the courtyard below the guard on the gates is maintained by a mass picket, twenty-four hours a day, made up of tenants and local trade unionists, many ex-service men and women. A rocket stands mounted ready to fire an alert which will bring hundreds of neighbours rushing to the defences within minutes from the blocks of council flats and private dwelling houses, whose roofs I am looking down on from behind our barricades.

It seems a good moment to review the campaign, which may be of value to the labour and trade union movement nationally, as the full menace of the Tory Government's Rent Act begins to come home to tens of thousands.

An organisation to combat the 1957 Rent Act had been established earlier under the leadership of John Lawrence, Labour Council Leader up to 1958, which drew together many trade

unionists, private and council tenants, and members of the Labour and Communist Parties. But lack of national leadership against the Rent Act destroyed its effectiveness. So the first attempt to build a united movement failed. When some councillors were expelled from the Labour Party it caused a shift in power in the council elections and the Tories gained a majority in April, 1959. In July they introduced a Differential Rent Scheme, under which council tenants had to submit to a 'Means Test', and were confronted with big increases. The few existing Tenants' Associations were primarily social clubs, unwilling to give a lead. The first open meeting to oppose the scheme was called by the St. Pancras Trades Council on July 26, 1959.

In August and September a small group of tenants made a determined effort to awaken the others to the harshness and danger of the Rent policy and 33 individual tenants' associations sprang up. They were united through a central committee and became the St. Pancras United Borough Council Tenants' Association. Big demonstrations took place during September to December.

At a conference on November 8, 1959, the enthusiasm and initiative of the tenants struck the imagination of the delegates from trade union branches, the Labour and Communist Parties and other organisations. The support proved the all-round opposition to the Tory scheme. As a result, many resolutions were received by the Council, and later a deputation from the London District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen had a long discussion with the Council Leader. So far, however, the practical opposition came from the tenants themselves. Whilst many Labour Party members firmly supported them, certain others attempted to introduce the fear of 'Communist domination' into the smooth-running of the tenants' organisation. Fortunately this was rejected by the tenants.

When the Rent Scheme began on January 4, 1960, over 1,000 tenants refused to pay the increases, rising to 3,000 in the third week. But when the Council threatened tenants with eviction many began to pay up. It looked as though the tenants' opposition was breaking down.

Then came the turning-point on June 28, when three tenants were sued for possession and arrears. The Secretary of the St. Pancras Tenants presented the case, which won sympathy; and a moral victory was gained over the Council, particularly as the court was favourable to the tenants as the law could allow. This boosted morale tremendously; and when a second round of increases began on July 4, many tenants refused to pay. This time Council threats

were of no avail. A determined effort was launched to bring in the unions and other organisations. Speakers went to many branches, open-air meetings took place daily. This time it was obvious that the tenants were determined to fight. Resolutions of support, money and speakers poured in; District Committees of five unions went on record in support. The Labour Party, now alert to the possibilities of a real fight, joined in the extending campaign.

Knowing that evictions were just ahead, by the middle of August a new and decidedly unusual committee was formed, called the Action Committee, representing tenants, Labour Party, Communist Party and trade unions. Its role was to organise support and defence of two tenants, myself and Arthur Rowe in another block of Council flats, faced with eviction. Without discord, the representatives of the four groups worked solidly, deliberately and successfully; there had emerged a real united expression of working-class solidarity and organisation. Its effect was obvious; help arrived of every kind—materials, food stores, money—poured in from trade union branches and factories, including my own.* At last the Council were faced with the united labour movement. A great demonstration supported by all organisations took place on E-Day, Eviction Day, August 28. Trade unionists and members of political parties joined the tenants at the barricades and on the picket lines. The painters, railwaymen and several factories declared their intention to strike if the tenants were attacked. Messages of support came from all over Britain: the St. Pancras Rent Struggle was being closely watched by the whole Labour movement. When an alarm was sounded by rocket on Monday, August 29, the response was electrifying; thousands of people poured out to the besieged flats, within minutes the streets all round were jammed.

The lesson was obvious. A mighty movement had emerged from the ranks of the workers to support a cause recognised to be of paramount importance to all. The call had been sounded and the response was there for all to see.

Now we are reaching the climax of the struggle in St. Pancras. But already it is obvious that on a clear issue, the organisations of the workers are prepared, indeed, are eager to join together to repel attack. This class solidarity shines like a beacon of hope for the future.

*Don Cook is an engineering shop steward at Handley Page, the big aircraft works.

A PIONEER MARXIST HISTORIAN

Nicholas Hannaford

AS John Milton wrote, books can be 'as lively and as vigorously productive as the fabulous dragon's teeth', which sown overnight, 'may chance to spring up armed men'. A case in point is a book denouncing the lack of statesmanship shown by 'those who are at present ruling the destinies of this country' over Egypt.

We are afraid, however, that this statesmanship is lacking in both parties, who between them share the political power in present-day England. The hope of the Egyptians, as in the case of most subject races, lies partly with themselves, partly with Europe, and partly with the growing democracy all the world over; and though at present it may look faint, it is nevertheless bound to be realised at one time or another. That this time may come speedily and without cataclysm ought to be the sincerest wish of all honest men and lovers of freedom who have been saddled by the rulers of this country with an heritage of cruelty and shame, much against their will, and certainly without their full knowledge.

These words were written exactly fifty years ago. They concluded a remarkable book, *Egypt's Ruin*, by Theodore Rothstein, published in London in October 1910. The two ruling parties were the Tories and the Liberals. Egypt's hope was to win her independence from Britain and to repair the ravages inflicted by foreign occupation then only twenty-eight years old.

In his introduction to the book, the poet Wilfrid Scawen Blunt—friend of many leading Egyptian nationalists of that time—writes that it was 'undertaken by a mind singularly well adapted to its subject both by its extreme accuracy and by its intimate knowledge of those hidden springs of action which in money interests control the world of affairs in Europe'.

What Blunt did not say was that Theodore Rothstein was a Marxist scholar and that his extreme accuracy and his insight into the real springs of political action were due to his deep understanding of Marxist philosophy and historical materialism. *Egypt's Ruin* is in fact one of the earliest examples of the Marxist approach to the history of imperialism: it described events over a period of forty years with the greatest truth and honesty, it revealed the social forces in action, it showed their inevitable trend and by so doing helped them along their course.

Theodore Rothstein died on August 30, 1953, in the U.S.S.R. An Academician, he was working as an historian and a consultant for postgraduate historical research students within a few days of his death. An exile in England from 1893 to 1920, he applied his personal talent and his Marxist understanding to many of the grave problems of the day: he was a member of the Social Democratic Federation and the British Socialist Party.

His book on Egypt is a devastating indictment of the piratical methods of British imperialism in its heyday. 'The truth set plainly forth in chapter and verse', says Blunt. In other words, a step by step exposure of the gradual spoliation of a weaker country by intrigues and manoeuvres, the military occupation, the looting, the reaction and the terror. His aim? To break the wall of lies and deceit which made it possible for Liberal and Tory Governments to brutalize and to loot in the name of the British people, but also to put events in their historical perspective and to show the way ahead, the inevitable march of the Egyptian people towards independence.

Had it reached a wide circulation the book would indeed have opened many eyes. Quietly but effectively, the powers of the day withdrew from circulation as many copies as they could lay hands on, and only a few copies of the only English edition exist today. But banned Marxist writings have their own way of keeping alive. *Egypt's Ruin* has served as a text-book and inspiration to later Marxist writers in this country (and notably Elinor Burns, whose study of *British Imperialism in Egypt* was published in 1928), in the U.S.S.R. and other Socialist countries. A second Russian edition appeared in the U.S.S.R. last January. It has also been studied by the new Arab generation as an important contribution to the understanding of Egypt's history of 50 years ago. If any justification were needed for this small tribute, this in itself would be enough.

BOOKS

Out of Apathy

Edited by E. P. Thompson

Stevens & Sons. 308 pp. 15s.

THIS VOLUME is the first of a series of books to be published by the 'New Left Review' group. It is difficult to see to whom it is

addressed, except a vague audience of uncommitted intellectuals. But, we are told in the preface, 'this is not an academic series... We write for the entire Labour movement'. It is permissible to doubt whether the 'entire Labour movement' would make much of the essays in this volume, even if it were interested in reading them, written as they are in a peculiar jargon compounded of the Angry Young

Men school style and the American-type sociology which is all the rage.

The thesis of this volume is that Britain is 'over-ripe' for socialism, that is, 'the point of maturity has been passed and processes of decay have set in. Apathy is the form this decay takes in our public life'. Various aspects of this situation, political, economic, literary and philosophical, are discussed by the contributors. The essential points could have been made in a third of the length. As it stands, the overwhelming impression it leaves is of a torrent of words (the editor appropriates more than a quarter of the volume). In this space it succeeds in creating a general left-wing atmosphere of dissatisfaction with mid-20th century British capitalism, as well as a distrust of the achievements of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries (some of the contributors even seem to *fear* these achievements where they are most undeniable), and an arrogant sense of the futility of any *organised* political action to bring about a change in the situation. Some of the analyses, e.g., R. Samuel on the structure of big business, and A. Macintyre on contemporary sociological theories, make interesting points. Others, such as P. Worsley's on 'Imperial Retreat', in which a distinction between 'old' and 'new' imperialisms (where 'new' imperialism means no more than 'economic imperialism') is produced as a theoretical distinction of great importance, are simply misleading.

Few of the articles reach any positive, helpful, or remotely practical conclusions. To do so, however, does not seem to be the purpose the group has set itself. On page 306 of a 308-page volume, the editor writes: 'And *how* is this [the building of socialism] to be done? At this point a new volume should

begin'. On the evidence of the present work, this should not prove at all difficult, but those who expect any concrete discussion of the way forward from the present situation of a renewed Tory offensive on the working-class movement and of right-wing Labour betrayal, must look elsewhere (the pages of *Labour Monthly* and *Marxism Today*, say).

Nor are intellectuals offered much comfort. A. Macintyre concludes a long and specialised article with the words: 'Two images have been with me throughout the writing of this essay. Between them they seem to show the alternative paths for the intellectual. The one is of J. M. Keynes, the other of Leon Trotsky. ... I think of them at the end, Keynes with his peerage, Trotsky with an ice-pick in his skull. They are the twin lives between which intellectual choice in our society lies'. This is not much of a prospect to offer to the intellectual, uncommitted but still breathing.

This kind of thing is symptomatic of the total absence of anything positive or optimistic in this volume, and indeed, in the 'New Left' position. The generation of a vaguely anti-capitalist frame of mind is about all that it achieves, and this, in the face of its ambitious claims, is hopelessly inadequate. In so far as this volume encourages intellectuals to think that this type of shoddy thinking and sloppy writing is all that is involved in political awareness and commitment, and in so far as it leads the labour movement to believe that intellectuals are capable only of inconclusive and interminable discussions divorced from the realities of political struggle, it is a positive disservice both to progressive intellectuals and to the Labour movement.

D. NANDY.

(Continued from page 11 of cover)

A Kent reader, celebrating 'my first year with you', calls *L.M.* 'a treasure house of Socialist analytical information. It should reach every working-class home instead of the heavily biased BBC newscasters, or the stupid *Daily Mirror*. What a mine of information!' Another new reader from *Durham*, writing for information about Jomo Kenyatta and the history of the struggle in Kenya says: 'How I wish I'd known of *L.M.*'s existence before!' Of course, it has been good to see a number of miners' lodges increasing their order or starting a regular one; and I hope to hear from many trade union branches as our new and most important series on *Trade Union Problems Today* gets under way next month. Here readers can help; first, by making the series widely known and getting their organisations to put in a regular order for it. Secondly, when such problems are being discussed to send in comments and contributions to *Views of the World*. And thirdly, to make sure it gets proper attention in trade union branches when it comes up. On request we will always circularise an organisation with information about it; but we have not the money to do this widely without making sure that what we do send out does

not get passed over when the item 'Correspondence' comes up by secretaries struggling through a heavy agenda. So co-operation and advice from readers on this point would be a great help and money-saver.

Lack of money is a severe limitation on what we can do. Take this question of circularising news of a vitally important article or series. It costs us nearly £18 *in postage alone* to send out to only 2,000 organisations—which would scarcely cover the Amalgamated Engineering Union branches, let alone factory committees, the miners, builders, railwaymen. To send an *L.M.* representative to the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough can't be done under £15, however narrowly we watch expenses. But the fund, despite the devotion of the regulars is not keeping pace with the opportunities we have of expanding. So we must ask more to follow the example of readers who express appreciation of the magazine by giving what they can—and collecting. Many thanks to those who during holidays have been amongst the missing, and are now catching up. As 'Backslider' writes: 'That fund! what a headache! Herewith an "Aspro"'—his headache cure amounted to 10s. August donations totalled:

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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TURNING POINT FOR TRADE UNIONISTS

General Secretary of the London Typographical Society, **ROBERT WILLIS** opens our series "Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties"



other articles include:

AFTER SCARBOROUGH:

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NOVEMBER · 1960

One Shilling and Sixpence

HIGH TIDE, HIGH TIME

*For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.*

TEN YEARS ago a ward Labour Party with sixteen Labour Councillors was suspended without a warning and bull-dozed out of existence for putting forward as an aim that 'Britain should pursue the path of neutrality and so end its disastrous part in the cold war on the side of American imperialism'. Three weeks ago at Scarborough I saw there come 'flooding in the main', as the Annual Conference of the Labour Party went on record for a similar policy. And if right-wing leaders had their way they would have bull-dozed the whole conference out of existence. As one of those suspended councillors writes to me today: 'Things move!' His was one of the hundreds of those 'inlets' through which the tide has been making.

Only two years ago in this same Scarborough hall I watched Gaitskell succeed in fobbing off the delegates with his 'moral lead' of the 'Non-nuclear Club'. Then they were puzzling how to cast a progressive vote on reactionary policy documents, also long since discarded. Trade unionists struggled as a minority in delegations against odds. I left Scarborough then noting what a fight was needed against the depressing effect of calculated division and diversion. This year I watched the tide come in—rough seas that broke over the promenade. From now on, whatever the difficulties and dangers, it will be different. Delegates learned from defeats. Coming out after the defence debate to where some of our friends were sitting quiet and thoughtful, I said: 'No one would think, to look at you, that you had just won a great victory.' The

answer came: 'Ten years—and more—we've been bashing away at a stone wall. Suddenly it's no longer there. This lad here is walking about in a daze.' Another added: 'At last we've stopped the retreat from socialism. But you can't just stand still. So far we've had to fight against twists and tricks and bans and behind-the-scenes intrigue. Now they're beaten some of these people are ready to smash the whole movement.' Several trade union delegates had a short answer to that: 'Put them out!' A local Party agent retorted: 'That's all very fine! But when did your trade union branch last back us up in the local Party?' An engineer replied: 'Well, how do you think the Left carried our union's vote this time with such a smashing majority? Simply, the lads in the factories got a bit annoyed about the facing-both-ways caper at the T.U.C. and took notice.' About time too, grumbled the agent, adding: 'You lads can come and have a go at our Member if you think it's easy as that.' I left them amicably exercising the rights of a democracy so vastly different from what the 'democratic-socialists' phrase-monger about from the platform.

Amongst the overjoyed, the slightly dazed, those worrying already about the next step not even aware of how big was the victory, there were some with mixed feelings. Delegates who had hoped that the simple magic of a vote one way or another would produce at once the unity they yearned for, the 'healing of the breach' they had only noticed during the past year. Others were

(Continued on page 111 of cover)

Notes of the Month

THINK FAST! ACT FAST!

How soon the English workers will free themselves from their apparent bourgeois infection one must wait and see. . . In developments of such magnitude twenty years are no more than a day—though later on days may come again in which twenty years are embodied.

Marx, Letter to Engels, April 9, 1863.

EVERYTHING is changed after Scarborough—and nothing is yet changed. Such is the paradox of the present temporary transient unstable situation in the Labour Party. A paradox which the mighty upsurge that won the voting majorities at Scarborough will need speedily to resolve.

Consider the picture. On the one hand, the Scarborough decisions, ferociously contested by the leadership, carried against the platform by the mass weight of the industrial working class, have sounded the challenge of the British people, through their most representative mass organisations, against the entire strategy of the Western war camp. On the other hand, the defeated and discredited leadership which was routed at Scarborough remains so far in control. The policy which was rejected at Scarborough continues to be proclaimed from the Front Bench and Smith Square. The Leader of the Labour Party grandiloquently announces that he will 'fight and fight and fight'—against whom? Against Toryism? No. Against capitalism? Never. Against his own party. No

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wonder popular opinion is amazed and asks in bewilderment what kind of party is this. No wonder the enemy press is openly contemptuous and gloatingly predicts a split. From all the official megaphones of radio and press the same flood of panegyric and fulsome flattery is poured over the disrupter Gaitskell as previously over Ramsay MacDonald in 1931. But 1960 is no longer 1931. It is time for the same strength of the organised working class which won the day at Scarborough to end this disgraceful situation before the Scarborough decisions are turned into a mockery.

1. *Battle for Labour's Future*

Every victory in the class struggle opens a new challenge. The initial victory which was won at Scarborough has opened a larger battle for the whole future of the labour movement. Scarborough has shown that the organised working class is on the move, not only in the industrial field, but also in the political field. Scarborough has shown that the British people are stirring to free themselves from the fetters of the cold war and nuclear mania, to go forward with the advancing new world. All the obstacles of the old order are set in the path. The battle for the future of Labour has become the battle for the future of Britain. A plain duty falls on every delegate to Scarborough, on every trade union and labour organisation, to end an intolerable situation and ensure respect for democratic decisions. The will of the organised working class must prevail. The leadership which repudiates Conference decisions is a leadership in defiance. It has no claim to authority. Its days are numbered. The time has come to free Labour from the dead hand of the anti-working class infiltrators, the right-wing disrupters, the Tory Fellow Travellers. The battle for the Scarborough decisions can open the way to a new phase of the political labour movement, based on true unity of all working class and socialist organisations and fighters, determining policy by democratic decisions democratically carried out, and advancing to the aims of peace and socialism.

Historic Decisions

The victory of the battle at Scarborough for the renunciation of nuclear weapons and for the removal of the American bases represents a blow, not only against the main policy of the right wing leadership, but also against the entire bipartisan foreign policy of Toryism and official Labour which has been the essential feature of

British foreign policy since the war, equally under Labour and Conservative Governments. It represents a blow against the foundations of the modern policy and strategy of British imperialism, that is, NATO, the cold war, nuclear strategy and the American military alliance. For these were the main pillars of the Labour Party E.C.-T.U.C. 'Defence' statement; and this statement was explicitly rejected by the Conference. Hence there is no occasion for surprise at the tense attention and concern with which the debates and votes of Scarborough were followed by the entire capitalist press and throughout the capitalist political world, both in Britain and in the United States and in Western Europe. Scarborough has cast a warning shadow across the aggressive aims of the Western war alliance. At the very moment of Scarborough NATO High Command and British Bomber Command were staging manoeuvres to prefigure the third world war, beginning from a land battle of the Reichswehr against the German Democratic Republic and a simultaneous NATO atomic strike against Eastern Europe ('not retaliatory', as Defence Minister Watkinson explained to press correspondents, but fulfilling the Western official principle of 'Strike First'). The British people at Scarborough have made clear that they have no wish for their country or the world to be destroyed in order to fulfil the insensate nuclear war dreams of the new Anti-Comintern Pact of General Norstad, Adenauer, Eisenhower and Gaitskell.

No Parallel for Sixty Years

This defeat of the right wing leadership on nuclear strategy was accompanied by the enforced surrender of their direct offensive against Clause Four defining the aim of the common ownership of the means of production. Decisions were taken instructing the Executive to prepare a programme for extending public ownership. A further decision affirmed the sovereignty of the elected delegate Conference as 'the final authority' to determine policy, with only 'day to day tactics' in carrying out such policy as the province of the parliamentary representatives. Although all these latter decisions were heavily qualified by successful right wing manoeuvres to weaken their effect, the general trend they expressed was unmistakable. Such a series of Conference voting victories and of defeats of the dominant right wing leadership on basic issues of policy has not been paralleled in the sixty years of history of the Labour Party. It is therefore no matter for surprise that the most intense counter-

offensive of the right wing leadership, backed by all the resources of the Conservative press lords and official propaganda mechanism, is now in full blast to wipe out the Scarborough decisions and prevent their fulfilment. The battle is advancing to a new height after Scarborough.

2. *Lessons and Warnings*

At the same time, we must beware of exaggerating the victories of Scarborough or over-estimating the stage of advance reached. As noted, apart from the indisputable victory on the basic issue of nuclear strategy, the other progressive decisions were distorted or partially negated by the simultaneous acceptance of or failure to defeat transparent right wing manœuvres to destroy their plain meaning. Thus the decision affirming the sovereignty of the conference to determine policy was twisted out of shape by apparent acceptance (by the mover) of an Executive gloss laying down that the decision must change nothing, emphasising the absolute independence of the parliamentary party and even exhuming a rule (never before brought into operation) to require a two-thirds majority for a conference decision on questions of programme to be valid. Similarly the reaffirmation of Clause Four was accompanied by the simultaneous adoption of Mr. Gaitskell's revisionist Twelve Points as 'an invaluable expression of the aims of the Labour Party in the second half of the twentieth century', including the ninth point outlining the programme for state shareholding in private monopolies, the parallel role of the 'public sector' and 'private sector', and all the rest of the bag of tricks of the so-called 'mixed economy' (actually, modern monopoly capitalism).^{*} So also the resolution instructing the Executive to prepare a programme for extending public ownership, and even specifying industries to be covered, was wet-blanketed by a simultaneous Executive gloss that 'we are not in accepting this resolution committing ourselves to putting into the programme any particular one of the industries mentioned; we are agreeing only to re-examining them'. Thus all these resolutions were rather of demonstrative value than binding decisions; and their effectiveness in practice would depend on the executive leadership operating them.

^{*}It is worth noting that the resolution endorsing Mr. Gaitskell's Twelve Points was adopted by a less than two-thirds majority (4,304,000 to 2,224,000), and therefore, in accordance with the rule now exhumed by the Executive as governing any conference decision on questions of programme, cannot be regarded as a valid conference decision.

Who Holds Power?

Hence the decisive question after the Conference is the fulfilment of the decisions; and this in turn centres on the character of the executive leadership and public organs of the party entrusted with the fulfilment of the Conference decisions. Here in the present structure of the Labour Party is revealed the most perfect classic demonstration of the traditional British bourgeois constitutional principle for safeguarding the status quo, the principle of the separation of powers: the separation of the legislative and executive. While the Conference has dispersed and vanishes from the scene for twelve months, the right wing leadership, defeated at the conference, operates policy in practice on behalf of the Labour Party, through the parliamentary party, the Executive and the administrative machine. This is the crucial question which has now come to the front in the sharpest form consequent on the Scarborough decisions.

A Dangerous Contradiction

What is the position? While the delegate Conference, representing the membership, has moved to the left and defeated basic right wing policies, the balance of power in the labour movement has not yet changed. The right wing leadership, though shaken, remains in effective control of the party machine and executive organs. The parliamentary party is controlled by the right wing. The local constituency parties are subjected to the influence and pressure of the right wing, including in some cases discipline and reorganisation. Even within the trade unions, the main bulwark of independent working class strength to govern policy, the level of democratic consultation and functioning varies (in the majority of cases the left is strongest where the constitution is most democratic, and vice versa), and the progressive decisions are often precariously won by delegate conferences and subject to subsequent sabotage by the official right wing apparatus still dominating the majority of the unions. Once again the separation of the legislative and the executive, so conspicuously illustrated in the present glaring contradiction between the National Committee and the Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Growing Pains of the Left

Further, it has to be recognised that the political formulation of the outlook of the left is still in process of development. Alongside

a healthy and vigorous spirit of opposition to the policies of surrender to Toryism and capitalism, there is still a measure of political unclarity or ambiguity of expression and programme among the divers sections of the left, of which the right wing is quick to take advantage, as the debates at Scarborough revealed. The trends of left feeling are marked and increasing. But the sections on the left are very varied in outlook, and have not yet reached a united and fully developed consistent alternative programme, especially in the sphere of foreign policy and defence. The claim of the right wing to have had 'the weight of the argument' on their side in the debate on foreign policy and defence is mainly true in the physical sense that their principal speakers had the 'weight' of fifty-five and thirty-five minutes respectively, while the maximum time allowed for any speaker on the other side was only ten minutes. But it is true that, alongside the strong and just opposition to nuclear arms and American bases, the left still needs to hammer out and make plain and popularise a positive common sense united alternative foreign policy for peace, answering all the myriad questions on NATO, military blocs, neutralism, collective security and the rest. Similarly on colonial policy, where there was marked weakness and practical conciliation to imperialism (including swallowing the lies on the Congo) in the short debate. Nor would it be difficult to reach such a common concrete programme on the basis of trends of discussion already developed. Only such a concrete alternative programme for peace could finally smash the hypocritical pretence of the right wing that the choice is between 'defence' and 'pacifism' or 'surrender'.

Communism and the Left

Political co-operation of all sections is essential for the elaboration of such a programme, just as it is essential in the sphere of organisation to mobilise sufficient strength to defeat the entrenched right wing machine. While the advocacy and arguments of the Communist Party, representing the political outlook of Marxism and the strongest organised section of the left, have been able to play their part in assisting and influencing the development of the political outlook of the left, especially in the trade unions, many on the left still fear to be branded by the right wing leadership as communists or sympathetic to communism or to the socialist camp in the world. Vulnerability to this trick is still able to confuse, distort or even defeat emotional aspirations towards the left. The

claim of the right wing to have secured the majority of the votes of the constituency labour parties in the crucial division (Gaitskell claimed two-thirds, *The Times* correspondent estimated three-fourths) has been challenged by Mikardo, and cannot be brought to the test of measurement in the absence of any record (incidentally the cameramen were removed for this vote, though not for any other).

Problem of the Constituency Labour Parties

It is impossible not to note the contrast between the 1,413,000 majority for nuclear disarmament at the Trades Union Congress, where only the trade unions voted and the communist delegates were able to play their equal part, and the 407,000 highest majority at the Labour Party Conference, where alongside the trade unions the constituency parties had over one million votes and the communists were excluded; the cause of this drop of over one million in the majority is partially accounted for by the lower affiliation of the unions to the Labour Party, but not completely. It is evident from the consensus of opinion of observers that the right wing did obtain a disquieting proportion of support from the constituency labour parties, from which communists are excluded, and that the decisive weight of the left majority came from the trade unions, where the co-operation of communists and non-communists in industry is able in the majority of cases, despite certain limitations and debarring from the floor of the political conference, to play a fruitful role in the common discussion and formulation of policy. The lesson is plain for all supporters of the left.

Drawing the Lessons

The signals of Scarborough point the way forward. But the signposts need to be read. For there are also warning signals where weakness was shown. We need to measure in a sober and realist fashion both the positive gains and significance of the outcome of the Scarborough Labour Party Conference, and also the negative aspects. In the light of such a survey as has been here attempted we need to assess the present stage of development of the left and what is needed for its further advance. Above all, we need to endeavour to estimate the future perspective and the next immediate tasks in the battle which has now opened after Scarborough.

3. *Parliament and Democracy*

The immediate battle after Scarborough has opened in the parliamentary Labour Party as the central arena, extending therefrom throughout the party. Mr. Gaitskell and his associates are reported to count on the support of four-fifths of the Labour M.P.s to defy the Conference, although it is far from certain that they will hold so many. On this basis, if Mr. Gaitskell is re-elected leader, they will claim to occupy the Front Bench, speak for 'Labour' and present their policy in opposition to that of the Labour Party Conference. On the other hand, the group of Labour M.P.s loyal to the party policy have made clear that they will put forward an amendment to the Queen's speech in accordance with the Conference decision. In this event there will be two 'Labour' amendments diametrically opposed in policy. An official Labour amendment moved by the loyal M.P.s. An unofficial Labour amendment moved by Mr. Gaitskell and the dissidents. The Speaker and the press will no doubt treat the latter as the official Labour amendment, since their vision is confined to parliament. From the point of view of the ordinary public there will appear to be 'two Labour Parties' in parliament. Nor could such a confrontation be confined to parliament.

Licking their Lips for a Split

All the vultures of the capitalist press are hovering over their anticipated prey and gloatingly prophesy an inevitable 'split'. With unanimous fervour they exhort Gaitskell to stand firm and go through with it; nothing but a surgical operation will suffice; the left minority in the parliamentary party can hive off and form their own party; or alternatively, Gaitskell and his valiant pro-NATO anti-Clause Four majority could form a new Radical Party, to join up eventually with Grimond in a new Gaitskell-Grimond Axis. And so forth. And so forth interminably from these parliamentary pundits completely ignorant of the working of the labour movement. A 'split' would be 'salutary', declares that true friend of the Labour Party, *The Times*:

A split now seems almost unavoidable; indeed, if contained within bounds, it would now be salutary. (*The Times*, October 6, 1960.)

Is there any point in trying to hold this party together any longer?

(R. T. McKenzie, *Observer*, October 9, 1960.)

In effect two rival Labour Parties would begin to emerge in the country. (Sunday Times, October 9, 1960.)

The case of those who advocate that the T.U.C. should reduce or sever its connection with the party would be greatly strengthened.

(The Times, October 7, 1960.)

Such are the eager hopes which their idol Gaitskell arouses in the hearts of the enemy.

Parliamentary Illusions

Unfortunately for these parliamentary pundits the outcome may prove very different from their expectations. For their confined vision can see the choice only within the framework of parliament in the foreground. To them it is obvious that if Gaitskell holds the parliamentary majority, he represents the party, and the rest can go into the wilderness. This is in accordance with the bourgeois parliamentary tradition. In the bourgeois parliamentary tradition the parties were first formed in parliament, and only later developed an electoral mechanism and mass organisation as an adjunct to meet the requirements of an enlarged electorate. But this is not the position with the Labour Party. The Labour Party came first in order to establish parliamentary representation; the parliamentary representation is the adjunct that came later. The Labour Party is not primarily the group in parliament. The Labour Party is the party in the country.

Class and Party

More. The Labour Party in the country is not just a collection of adherents of a certain doctrine, despite all the attempts of the MacDonaldis and Gaitskells to force it into this strait-waistcoat. The Labour Party as an organisation is in respect of five-sixths of its membership the political wing of the trade unions or economic mass organisations of the working class against capitalism. In this sense its basis—however horrifying and infuriating the fact to the MacDonaldis and Gaitskells—is a class basis, even though the corresponding political class consciousness, whose full expression is Marxism or communism, is still in process of development. In consequence the ordinary rules of the traditional parliamentary parties cannot be applied to the Labour Party. We have here a unique political phenomenon. Doctrinal and even organisational division on the parliamentary level does not automatically mean a split of the party below. For the strongest tradition of British trade

unionism is the maintenance of unity and resistance to splits. The defection of the most powerful reformist anti-communist leaders of the Labour Party in 1931, of MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas, far more idolised than any Attlee or Gaitskell since, and their formation of their 'National Labour Party' to disrupt the Labour Party, shattered temporarily the parliamentary party. But they could not fulfil one atom of the Tory aim to break the unity of Labour; and their 'National Labour Party' became a laughing stock. To attempt to split Labour with the aid of reactionary parliamentary disrupters is to fight with a broken reed; and the New Revisionists may yet learn in further political experience rougher lessons that they have already received in a preliminary form at Scarborough.

Burke and Rousseau

A host of arguments is trotted out to establish the supremacy, dubbed 'independence', of the parliamentarians and their supposed right or even duty to defy the democratic majority decisions of the Conference. Favourite in this catalogue is the familiar appeal to the pure and abstract conception of the British bourgeois parliamentary constitutional tradition, whereby the M.P. must be 'independent' from any 'outside' influence or sectional interest—the conception set out in the well worn quotation from Burke's Address to the Electors of Bristol. The Labour right wing theorists and 'New Thinkers' are fond of quoting Burke as their hallowed authority. They forget that Burke was the patron saint of Tory counter-revolution, the hired hack of the British oligarchy to vilify the French Revolution. The theory of the French Revolution derived from the theory of Rousseau, the theory of the 'general will', that the will of the people, of the many, should prevail over the will of the privileged few. This theory found fulfilment, within the conditions of the time, in Jacobin democracy, and in the modern era in Bolshevism, Soviet democracy and people's democracy.

Parliament and Democracy

Against this subversive theory of the democratic revolution Burke fulminated on behalf of the British oligarchy. Rousseau had said of the British Constitution:

The English people fancy they are free; it is only during the election of members of Parliament they are so. As soon as these are elected the people are slaves.
(Rousseau, *Contrat Social*.)

Burke denounced democracy :

A perfect democracy is the most shameless thing in the world.

(Burke, *Reflections on the French Revolution.*)

For Burke 'the men of England' whose rights he upheld meant the upper class :

The men of England, the men, I mean, of light and leading in England.
(*ibid.*)

Against the sovereignty of the general will over the privileged few Burke proclaimed the priority of the rights of the individual, not of course of the humble individual or colonial slave (Burke's paymasters drew rich profits from slavery and the slave trade), but of the V.I.P., the 'men of light and leading', the privileged few, the Member of Parliament. It is in this context must be understood his hymn to the holy 'independence' of Members of Parliament from control by any popular organisation. In his day such 'independence' meant in practice the right to take the biggest bribe, just as today it means the right to betray the electors and surrender every principle at the behest of the Whips, who represent the commands of monopoly capital. The demand of the popular elected Labour Party Conference to have the right to govern the practice of their parliamentary representatives is the beginning of the introduction of an element of democracy into the oligarchic tradition of British bourgeois parliamentarism.

Electorate and Trade Unions

But, it is argued, the Labour M.P.s and candidates represent 12,000,000 Labour electors, whereas the Conference only represents the active trade unionists and local party workers. Therefore it is only right, the argument runs, that the former should determine policy. A naive argument indeed. For these Labour M.P.s and candidates are only there because the Labour Party put them there. They are children of the Labour Party. Without the Labour Party they would be nothing. They would vanish from the political scene (or only survive if taken under the wing of the Liberal Party or the Tory Party). Sometimes the argument is put in even more naive form. Should not the Labour M.P.s and candidates, it is asked, carry a 'block vote' in the Conference corresponding to the number of 'their' voters, just as union officials carry a block vote corresponding to the number of affiliated members in their union. The extreme naiveté of this argument, which has actually been paraded

in the columns of the press, reveals the sublime ignorance of the functioning of the labour movement.

Living Democracy

There is no analogy, because there is no collective organisation of Labour electors, other than in the Labour Party, to discuss policy, prepare resolutions and amendments, reach conclusions or mandate their spokesman, so that the claim to speak on their behalf is only the claim for the individual to voice his own opinion. The union block vote, on the other hand, is not the private property of an official, but in the majority of cases reflects the outcome of a very considerable democratic process, through branch, district and national delegate conferences, elected executives and the meetings of elected delegations, in the course of which—as happened notably over the arms vote at Scarborough—the union official may be overruled by his rank and file and forced to cast the block vote contrary to his personal wishes. Certainly there is plenty of room for improvement of the democratic functioning in this process, especially to remove the distorting effect of bans and proscriptions. But the critics want to destroy precisely this democratic element in favour of the Fuehrerprinzip of the traditional British party political system, whereby policy is laid down by the Leader from above. On the contrary, with all its faults and limitations, the thrashing out of policy in the annual discussions of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference is the most democratic element in the British political system, since it is the only opportunity for the direct popular participation of the mass organisations of the people in the formulation of national policy to be expressed and fought for on a national scale.

Battle Above and Below

The Parliamentary Labour Party is the nationally visible and conspicuous arena of the battle. But it is not the final centre of decision. Only a parliamentary cretin (to use the term which was once the standard term employed by the old Social Democracy, while it was still Marxist) would believe that. If there should develop the appearance of 'two Labour Parties' above in parliament, because of the refusal of the Gaitskellite disrupters to accept democratic majority decisions, then this battle will inevitably be carried forward, and will need to be carried forward, in every Labour organisation, in every constituency party, in every trade union

branch and district committee and executive committee. Indeed, the battle has already begun, in consequence of the open disruptive challenge flung out by the Gaitskellites. Resolutions demanding loyalty to democratic decisions have begun to pour in from Labour organisations. Nor can there be any doubt of the final outcome, once the battle is joined. The entire Tory press and all the apparatus of capitalism is behind Gaitskell. But the deepest instinct of the organised working class movement resists Tory dictation and disruption. This battle is speeding the day to reject the right wing revisionist poison and advance to a new phase of the political labour movement, based on democracy, class loyalty and unity of all workers and fighters for socialism.

Trade Unions in the Vanguard

In this battle the trade unions will play the decisive role. The offensive of the right wing revisionists to abolish the aim of the common ownership of the means of production broke against the mass resistance of the unions. The left offensive against the British H-bomb, opened by the Communist Party five years ago in isolation among political parties with a small minority of back benchers and pacifists, extending in the succeeding years until three years later reaching to the common front of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, drawing in new sections of young people and middle strata, has only attained to its present position as the dominant political issue of the Labour Party, and therefore of the British political situation, when the major trade unions swung into action. Now a further and even more crucial stage of the battle has opened when the elementary trade union principles of the sovereignty of the elected Conference and loyalty to democratic majority decisions are being challenged by the same revisionist anti-working class disrupters.

Trade Unions and Politics

No wonder the right wing revisionists hate the trade unions, even at the same time as they desire to have the advantage of their mass organisation and membership and finances—but not their voice. ‘Servants should keep in the kitchen’ is the axiom of these gentlemen. Thus their organ *Socialist Commentary* writes in October:

Certain unions are attempting to usurp the power of the leadership entirely. . . The separation of political and industrial issues has always been understood. . . Trade unions by their very nature are not political

parties. . . The issue (defence) is not an industrial one, on which the unions might be expected to have the last word, but the most fundamental political issue of all.

In other words, "Trade Unions! Keep out of Politics!"—the good old Tory slogan, which originally sought to prevent the creation of the Labour Party and now seeks to destroy its foundation. On this basis the new revisionist offensive is threatened, already announced by Gaitskell in his Scarborough speech, to 'revise' the constitution in order to pare the claws of the trade unions. Unfortunately for these plotters the agreement of the trade unions will be necessary for such a 'revision'.

New Times—New Tasks

The exact contrary of what these revisionists claim is true. The increased active role of the trade unions on political issues, no longer content to be the passive voting fodder of a right wing anti-working class leadership, but showing increasing determination to impose a policy in the interests of the working people and socialism—this is one of the most hopeful and positive signs of the present political situation. Certainly there will be need of drastic review of all the problems of trade unionism in the modern age, both industrial and political, and also of internal organisation, and the strengthening of democratic functioning and leadership. It is with this in mind that we begin this month a series on Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties, inaugurated with a significant post-Scarborough contribution from Robert Willis, former Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, and to be followed by other representative contributors. Scarborough has indeed opened a new phase of the labour movement and of the political situation. The outcome will depend on the most active fight of all who are concerned for the future of socialism and peace.

October 17, 1960.

R.P.D.

Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties

[All the events of the past twelve months since the General Election, both at home and abroad, have been reflected in the struggles within the trade union movement. The situation is hopeful, but it is also critical. Urgent issues, both industrial and political, lie ahead. Strikes and new questions arising from them and the controversies in every field of trade union activity have raised fundamental problems both of leadership and of democracy. These are already being discussed, mostly from a hostile standpoint, in column after column of the newspapers.]

In the past, Labour Monthly has on more than one occasion offered its pages as a medium for thorough discussion by trade unionists. This month we open a discussion on these fundamental questions, to which we invite contributions.—Ed., L.M.]

TURNING POINT FOR TRADE UNIONISTS

Robert Willis*

IN the history of the Labour Movement the autumn weeks of 1960 may well come to be regarded as a landmark. Vital questions, which those who led the Labour Party to electoral defeat a year ago thought to have dealt with in their hasty Blackpool post-mortem of December 1959, were not so easily settled. Thoroughly discussed as they were this spring and summer at trade union conferences they then came up for debate at Douglas T.U.C. and the Labour Conference at Scarborough. They were issues of supreme importance: and the decisions now taken make the conferences a landmark—provided they are followed up effectively. To see to that is the job of the organised trade unionists of this country.

Both conferences showed a new wave of militancy. The delegates refused to play the game of statesmanship, a game whose rules were drawn up long ago by their opponents. This wave of militancy has been mounting up both in matters industrial and political—and later in this article I hope to show some of the reasons for it.

*As most readers will know, Robert Willis was Chairman of the T.U.C. in 1959 and is General Secretary of the London Typographical Society.

But the elected leaders of our movement for the most part have not recognised the fact. They have been remote from the realities of what is happening deep down in the consciousness of ordinary people. In their high positions (to which they were elected) they find themselves immediately surrounded by the press, praised and lauded to the skies, flattered by the attentions paid to them by high society: and they become caught up in this new celestial atmosphere, far away up above the earthy conditions of the workshop. The result is that they are not giving the leadership.

This applies to many if not most of them. It applies particularly to those who, by one process or another have become for the time being the parliamentary leaders. They tend, like Hugh Gaitskell, to rely on specialist advisers, advisers that are often altogether too specialised, and are expert in nearly everything except the trade union movement. Hampstead coteries are no substitute for a close and living connection with the trade unions on which this labour movement has been built up.

The details of the debates need not be gone into here. I would only like to recall that on the H-bomb my own standpoint was made clear when I said:

We have no right to take decisions for countless millions yet unborn. That is a matter that must be on the conscience of every one of us.

I believe that there has been a deliberate confusion caused in the minds of delegates. It has been said time and time again that if we support a policy of unilateral disarmament NATO is finished and we become a neutral or even a pacifist country.

Today NATO is nothing more or less than a base for American military strategy. It is an advance post and has already been written off by America as expendable.

It is frightening, because it is not the land that is expendable but the people who live on it.

So much for debates now past. The future is now at stake. What is our movement, what are the trade unions to do? Are they to go simply through their annual routine? Or is the question of leadership, raised in so sharp a form, to be tackled thoroughly? Leadership itself must depend in a democratic movement on the will of the majority. But this has now been challenged and with that challenge the most fundamental principles of democracy are brought into question.

I consider it important that all trade unionists in these coming months should set themselves to examine these matters. In the meantime I propose to raise two questions only, one dealing with industrial relations and one with inner union questions. Each is

of considerable importance within the broader context of the present debates and difficulties.

Two centuries ago began an Industrial Revolution in Britain. Today there is a Second Industrial Revolution begun. The first brought the growth of the working class amidst horrible conditions and grinding poverty, the struggle for trade unions to gain recognition and defend their members' bare right to existence—a struggle that lasted well on into this century. All this is part of the well-known history of our labour movement. But the Second Industrial Revolution, arising amid conditions of full employment (in the main) for the last fifteen years, starts with new techniques, new developments in industry, new materials and even new motive powers. The increasing use of electronics and the introduction of automation has presented a whole series of new problems to the worker as well as to management and it may well be that one of the problems of the future will be the creation of a new type of worker—the white coat worker as against the man in overalls. The push button operative as against the skilled craftsman.

These changes can either mean the removal to the scrapheap of industry of large numbers of workers or the steady retraining of those workers for the new techniques which will inevitably take the place of the older machines still in use in our factories and workshops.

What has changed is not the fundamental basis of labour and capital, of workers and managements but the standard of values. Today the worker's fight is not primarily for the right to work or the right of existence. His fight today is for the higher standard of living which modern science and new techniques have made available to him.

Here then lies the new source of industrial unrest: here lies to some extent, the explanation for the so-called 'wildcat strikes' that are sporadic in almost every industry. And may I say that I for one do not believe that these 'wildcat strikes' are merely the result of communist agitation or the pressures of trouble-makers in the factory. There has to be a deeper basis than merely the desire to make trouble to cause thousands of men to down tools, to stay out on unofficial strikes without strike pay and without any monetary recompense, sometimes for weeks, in order to secure what they feel is a common entitlement so far as they are concerned. Nor must we lose sight of a large section of the population struggling along on comparatively low wages—comparatively low in the sense that al-

though the wage packet has increased in size, it has not increased in proportion to the new demands made upon it.

The demand today is no longer for the right to work, for bread, for butter, for rents, for clothing. The demand today is for the higher standard of life which has come in with the television, the refrigerator, the washing machine, the car, yes—the continental holidays. These things are no longer something beyond the reach of the average worker. They have been made available to him either for cash or by means of hire purchase.

The growing need, indeed, the determination to secure and maintain these new standards has placed a new sense of values on the wage packet. Real wages are no longer considered as basic, the assessment these days is earnings. With full employment, with new techniques the wage differential between craft and non-craft, skilled and semi-skilled has narrowed. These two factors have made higher standards a commonplace and, therefore, any lack of such standards reflects a new type of poverty. If it is true that riches are relative, so also is poverty. What has changed is not man's *need*—that is constant—it is his sense of values that has been altered.

For that reason thousands of workers seek additional means of increasing their earnings by way of overtime, by working through holidays, by the wife going out to work to increase the family income and make possible standards which are now common to so many. Stop that overtime as a result of new methods of production and the economic basis of the worker's life begins to crack. There lies the worry, the irritation, the frustration and the feeling that he must fight for the standards to which he and his family have become accustomed. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the trade unions and managements to find the solution for these problems.

Another cause for irritation and frustration is frequently the long drawn-out negotiations over comparatively small wage increases fixed on the basis of the increase in the cost of living—that is, the necessities of life and not having any relation to the standard of living to which I have referred. This frequently means that by the time a wage increase has reached the wage packet, often after prolonged negotiations, demands are already pouring in for a further increase and industry is disrupted from time to time by long drawn-out negotiations which in some cases appear to be almost continuous.

There then is the problem of industrial relations in this Second Industrial Revolution, a problem that demands the closest attention

of every trade unionist. I need not here go into detail into one solution which I have put forward time and again: and most recently in my address to the Institute of Personnel Management at Harrogate on October 8. It included a surcease from the continual spate of negotiations, an average annual increase (say ten or twelve per cent) worked out in advance and given for a period of years thus ensuring stability (quite apart from an automatic wages adjustment of the Cost of Living index) and suggestions for maintaining and improving the system of collective bargaining. There may be more than one solution, and indeed each trade union will have its special outlook on the facets of the general problem to be solved. What is essential is that trade unionists should be alive to the problem before us and should set themselves to seek and find the solution or solutions.

Lastly, to touch briefly on an inner union question, I should like to call attention to a recent development in our own trade. In the printing trade there has been for years beyond record the election in each shop of the Father of the Chapel, corresponding to the more recent growth of the shop steward in the engineering and ship-building trades and elsewhere. The old London Society of Compositors was built on this foundation. Now this year my Executive Council decided to convene a Conference of Fathers of Chapels. It proved highly successful and there can be little doubt that further meetings of Fathers of Chapels will be a feature in the future activities of the London Typographical Society.

However, these meetings can only be of value if it is recognised that every aspect of a problem must be examined and put before the members assembled. It was precisely because of the new complications bound to arise from technological advances that this new step came to be considered. It may be that other unions will find in this new development something which has a bearing on problems of industries other than the printing trades. And there, for the moment, I must leave it.

MASTERS

Mankind will yet be masters of the earth. The right of the people to make the laws—this produced the first great modern earthquake, whose latent shocks, even now, are heaving in the heart of the world. The right of the people to own the land—this will produce the next. Train your hands, and your sons' hands, gentlemen of the earth, for you and they will yet have to use them.

James Fintan Lalor, editor of *The Irish Felon*.

ANTIDOTE FOR DEFEATISM

Dick Kelley, M.P.

I WAS at Scarborough and it was an education for me to hear the 'new thinkers' accusing the Left of conservatism, of an unwillingness to absorb new ideas, and from the same rostrum threatening the movement with doom if it departed from its *traditional* reliance for defence on the spurious security of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance—an alliance which came into being in a world that is no longer with us—the world of 1949.

NATO was foisted on the Labour Party as a 'purely defensive' organisation, where the massive conventional Soviet forces could be held in check by the atomic might of the United States. That was the argument we so often heard from the late Ernest Bevin. Now both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have enormous stocks of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons which could not only destroy themselves, and us, but could put an end to organised human life on earth. Britain's position in this changed world is a totally different one to what it was 10 years ago. In fact we are no longer able to produce the normal instruments of modern war and we have been in this position since the means of delivering hydrogen bombs became the principal technique of up-to-date ballistic science. Our position within NATO has changed and the relationships of the rest of the world to us have changed radically. But the 'modern thinkers' in the Labour Party, who are so anxious to let nationalisation and public ownership go down the drain, to become the effluent of an affluent society, so to speak, will 'fight and fight and fight again' to avoid changing our foreign policy to meet the requirements of a 1960 world.

It is true that our defence policy has somewhat changed and been accepted by the 'new thinkers', but only after the Tory Government had abandoned the machinery upon which it was based. I have not the slightest doubt that great battles will be fought by some people to get the foreign and defence policies of the British Labour Party tied up with the American defence system. But they will be phoney battles—fought on plush battlefields, amid the popping of corks and in the reek of non-Cuban cigars. This kind of army will not pound the highways to victory like youngsters who march against nuclear suicide. There will be no 'We want the Bomb' demonstrations—although plenty of parlour intrigue. But

the mercenary instinct in our movement has always fallen before the fervour and faith of the rank and file. I say this because I cannot think of any reason, other than advantage to the individual, why anyone could wish the working class movement to be tied to the most warlike and vicious capitalist nation in the world.

Despite the massive block votes of the *Daily Mirror*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Herald*, *Express* and, in fact, the whole of the daily press in this country with the exception of the *Daily Worker*, being brought in on the side of the American Alliance, it was defeated on the floor of the Scarborough Conference. Even right up to the last moment there were feverish efforts being made by the pro-Americans to swing the vote away from a free and independent British foreign policy within the United Nations.

And who were the most vocal opponents of a *new*, free and independent British Foreign policy within the framework of the United Nations—why! the very same people who said that a Socialist who could not abandon nationalisation was really a conservative—they call themselves ‘the multilateralists’.

Now those of us who wish to see carried out the policies agreed at National Conference will probably have to fight as hard to see them implemented as we fought to bring them about. Our ideas will be attacked by every organ of publicity controlled by capitalism. Even some of the newspapers which cast a tolerant eye on the Aldermaston marchers will now turn upon them with fury—irrespective of what kind of collar they wear or how they wear it.

But all those fine young people who took part in that memorable march round Scarborough streets on pre-conference Sunday, are deeply conscious of the fact that they have achieved something, politically, as a result of their efforts. They won't let go now. The more the pro-American faction turn on them, the more they fight back and the more victories they will win.

When we come to the business of the Parliamentary Labour Party and, indeed the fight within the movement generally, there are certain rules to be observed and certain precedents to follow. For instance, as my friend Tom Swain, M.P. has pointed out elsewhere, if any member of the Parliamentary Party wishes to speak in the House of Commons on the question of defence or foreign policy, and the views he intends to put forward are not in accord with the policy decisions of the Scarborough conference, he should certainly not be allowed to make such a speech from the Front Bench. People who speak on behalf of the Party should, naturally,

follow the Party line. It should be understood that the latitude which was agreed to by conference to assist the Parliamentary Party in its day to day work cannot be used by individual members as a licence to allow them to act *against* party policy in the House.

The totally dishonest argument that M.P.'s have no right to change their minds between elections should be discredited with all means honest men have at their command. The very people who use this argument now are the same people who advocated the abandonment of the policy of 'an independent British nuclear deterrent' last June, despite the fact that they had fought the election on this programme. What cant and humbug!

We of the left shall expect the N.E.C. to use the whole of the resources of the movement to ensure that the maximum amount of publicity and educational work is done to promote an understanding and acceptance of the policy, both by the movement as a whole and by the public. An attitude of neutrality cannot be tolerated.

All regional and constituency Party organs should be brought actively into the campaign to promote public acceptance of the 'New Policy'. We should reach out in a new spirit to give people our new message of hope. Whatever time we are able to occupy on radio and television should be devoted to explaining to the millions who can be reached via these media, that we now have a policy on foreign affairs and defence which will release us from the clutches of the Pentagon generals; a policy which will enable us to make friends with all nations, not just the American bloc; a policy which is a real alternative to the Tory and Liberal ideas of power groups and nineteenth century diplomacy; a policy which, if put before the United Nations, will cause a breakthrough in a nuclear-mad world; a policy of positive neutralism. The fight for this policy will be inevitably bound up with the battle for a modern Socialist policy to destroy the growing power of capitalist monopolies.

For the same people who declare that the issue of the ownership of industry is no longer relevant and that a future Labour Government should be charged with the mission of introducing socialism without interfering with capitalism, and who point to the miserable little Social-Democratic Parties of West Germany and France as an example to the great British Labour Movement—these are the same people who wish to gear the British Labour Party to American defence, to the defence of a country where the ideas of Socialism are persecuted with all the sadistic glee that one could expect to find in the greatest capitalist nation in the world. Let us free ourselves from this hypocrisy—and go forward.

HOW COMMUNISM ENDS COLONIALISM

Nikita Khrushchov

[To celebrate the 43rd Anniversary of the socialist revolution (November 7, 1917) we print for the interest of our readers a significant and topical portion from a recent speech of Nikita Khrushchov. It was delivered in the 15th session of the United Nations General Assembly on September 23, 1960: and the passages below are taken from the second section on the need to make an end of colonialism.—Ed., L.M.]

WE have no colonies, just as we have no capital invested in other countries. But there was a time when many nationalities inhabiting our country experienced the grave oppression of tsarism, of the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. The position of the fringe areas of the tsarist empire was hardly different from that of colonies, because they were brutally oppressed by the monarchy and by capitalism. Whereas the monarchy had regarded the peoples of Central Asia, Transcaucasia and other nationalities which inhabited the Russian Empire as a source of enrichment, after the October Revolution—when these people attained full freedom—they rapidly developed their economy, culture and welfare.

Let us take, for instance, the Soviet Republics of Central Asia. Today Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenia and Tajikistan are fraternal Republics of Central Asia. These former backward colonies of tsarist Russia have become advanced Socialist Republics with a highly developed industry. Between 1913 and 1960 inclusive, the output of large-scale industry in those Republics has increased more than 60 times over. Such a once-backward country as Kazakhstan now produces as many manufactured goods per head as Italy, while power generated per head in Kazakhstan is greater than that in Italy and equal to that of Japan.

Before the Revolution, only seven million kwh of electricity were generated on the territory of Central Asia and Kazakhstan—one three-hundredth of that generated in the Russian Empire as a whole. Today the annual generation of electricity amounts here to 19,000 million kwh—which is nine times the power generation of all Russia before the Revolution.



om China



The peoples of the Soviet Union are engrossed in peaceful constructive labour, successfully carrying out the Soviet Union's Seven-Year Plan of economic development for 1959-65. With the fulfilment of this plan, the total volume of Soviet industrial production will have approximately doubled within the seven years. On a national scale, power generation will have more than doubled, while in Central Asia the increase will be almost threefold.

Already now the Central Asian Republics generate about 800 kwh of electricity a year per head, which is considerably more, for instance, than in any of the Latin-American Republics. The Soviet Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan produce many times more electricity than such of their neighbour countries as Turkey, where power output per head is 95 kwh, Iran 36 kwh and Pakistan 11 kwh. The economic and cultural progress of other relatively small peoples of the Soviet Union, which are united in autonomous republics, has also been immeasurable. For instance, between 1913 and 1959, the output of the large-scale industry of the Yakut Autonomous Republic has increased 53 times over, that of the Komi Autonomous Republic 109 times over, of the Tatar Autonomous Republic 147 times over and the Bashkir Autonomous Republic 163 times over.

In the community of equal Socialist republics, the former marginal areas of prerevolutionary Russia, which faced extinction from undernourishment and disease, have become prosperous lands in which the standard of life has risen, as it has throughout the Soviet Union. The earnings of factory and office workers here are on a par with those in the other republics of the Soviet Union. On an equal basis with all Soviet citizens, they receive pensions, sick pay and other social benefits.

Even more striking is the cultural progress of the national Republics of the Soviet Union. It is well known, for instance, that before the revolution the illiteracy rate among the peoples of Kazakhstan and the Republics of Central Asia was almost 100 per cent. There were practically no people with secondary or higher education. The Soviet system has opened wide access to education and culture to all peoples. As in all the other Republics of the Soviet Union, illiteracy has been wiped out among the population of Kazakhstan and the Republics of Central Asia. One hundred per cent literacy has been attained here, as throughout the Soviet Union.

Before the Revolution, there were no higher educational establishments in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan or Turkmenia. Kirghizia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia did not even have secondary technical schools. In contrast to this, in the past academic year the higher schools alone had a student roll of 211,000, while 176,000 students attended technical and other specialised secondary schools. In this republic there is an average of 88 students at higher schools and 73 technical school students in every 10,000 of the population. And this ignores the large number of young people who have left their republics to study in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov, Saratov, Novosibirsk, Tomsk and other cultural centres. It will be recalled that in France there are only 40 higher-school students per 10,000 of the population, that there are 34 in Italy and 31 in Western Germany—three times fewer than in Soviet Central Asia.

One of the major conditions behind the successful economic and cultural development of the national republics is the growth in the numbers of skilled workers and well-qualified intellectuals.

Enormous achievements in economic, cultural and scientific development have been gained, of course, not only in the Republics of Central Asia, which were particularly backward before the Revolution, but in all the other Soviet Republics as well. All the constituent Republics, for instance, have set up Academies of Sciences, and have a large number of research establishments and schools of university standard. All the Republics have trained, skilled workers during the years of Soviet rule, and the numbers of their intellectuals have increased enormously.

Following the Great October Socialist Revolution, the bourgeoisie all over the world prophesied the inevitable downfall of the Soviets, on the grounds that Russia was an under-educated nation, and that its working class had no specialists capable of running the machinery of State and the country's economy. Experience has shown the correctness of Lenin's prediction that the Revolution would give an outlet to the initiative of the people, that Soviet power would produce leaders and organisers from among the masses of the people, and that the ordinary workers and peasants, with power in their hands, would learn to run the State and master all the achievements of modern science and engineering.

In the borderlands of Russia, the tsarist Government pursued what was in effect a colonial policy, which had little to set it apart from what one can see today in the colonial countries. The Uzbeks,

Kazakhs, Tajiks and other non-Russian nationalities were scornfully called "aliens." They were treated as sub-human and mercilessly exploited. National strife, enmity and internecine warfare were fanned among those peoples, and all there was to prop up the tsar's empire was bayonets and oppression. When the peoples of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus were granted national freedom and equal rights with the other peoples of Russia, they showed their potentialities in developing their national economics and culture.

Now, did our country's progress suffer from the granting of independence and self-determination to the peoples? Are there any squabbles or enmity between our peoples, or any disintegration of the state in our multi-national country? No! There is nothing of the kind, nor can there be. Under the constitution, each of our 15 constituent Republics has the right to form part of the Union or to secede from it if it so desires. The existence of 19 autonomous republics, nine autonomous regions and ten national areas makes it possible to preserve the national qualities and cultural individuality of every people and nationality.

All the nationalities of the Soviet Union have been brought together into an unparalleled united community. They have developed genuine friendship which none of the ordeals of the Second World War could break. The benefits from these great changes have accrued not only to the minority nationalities, but also to the Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, the nations which make up the bulk of the Soviet population. We are proud to say that the experience of Russia's borderlands has proved that it is perfectly possible for the Eastern countries to put an end within the lifetime of one generation to all backwardness, poverty, disease and ignorance, and to catch up with the economically advanced nations.

Now let me turn to different examples to illustrate the way the colonialists are carrying out their 'civilising mission' in the colonies. By the time the former colonies had gained their independence, the national annual income of Indonesia in per capita terms was, according to the official United Nations estimates, as low as 25 American dollars, while that of the Netherlands was 20 times that figure. Burma's income was 36 dollars and India's 57—or less than one-tenth of Britain's. The national income per head in Belgium by the time the Congolese people had won their independence was 13 times as high as that of a Congolese. In addition, the lion's share of this wretchedly low income was pocketed by the colonialists in the Congo, just as it was in other colonial countries.

Let us take the rate of power output, a most important index of a country's economic development. By the time it received independence, Burma was producing 4 kwh per head a year, India about 15 kwh, Pakistan 2 kwh and Egypt about 50 kwh—whereas Britain was generating over 1,100 kwh per capita in 1947.

The colonialists kept the enslaved nations in ignorance and darkness. In 1950 literacy in Indonesia did not exceed 15 or 20 per cent. The rate of literacy in India was as low as 16 per cent even several years after she had won independence and undertaken some measures to expand the educational system. In Pakistan it was 14 per cent. By the time the countries of French Indo-China had gained independence, France had 330 students per 100,000 people, while Cambodia had four. In Indonesia there was one doctor to every 67,000 people in 1948. Small wonder that the average expectation of life in all the former colonies is appallingly low compared with the metropolitan countries, because of the low standard of living and the lack of proper medical care. The average span of life in a number of those countries is no more than 35 years, that is almost half that of the countries which kept them in colonial bondage. This is a heritage of colonial order which is yet to be overcome.

If the metropolitan countries did guide themselves by the interests of the colonial countries, and if they did give them the aid they are so fond of talking about, instead of robbing and exploiting them, then the peoples of the colonies and the metropolitan countries would have developed equally and would not have differed so strikingly in the development of their national economies, culture and well-being. Now what sort of co-operation is it when the living standards of the Western nations and the colonies cannot even be compared at all? This is no co-operation, but domination of one by another, in which some are exploiting the work and resources of the others and robbing them by pumping their national wealth away into the metropolitan countries. There is only one way by which the colonial peoples can end their poverty and lack of rights—and that is by abolishing the system of colonial rule.

Khrushchov sees the real America

Dockers in a chartered launch booed and shouted cat-calls. As the New York Dockers' Union is run by gangsters, racketeers and killers—and has been for years—this was one way, no doubt, of showing that though criminals, they are 100 per cent American.

(*Daily Herald*, September 20, 1960.)

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THE RENT RACKET

Katherine Hood

THE end of a wet summer saw the beginning of naked aggression against tenants. St. Pancras Tory Council imports 500 police to evict Messrs. Cook and Rowe. East End slum landlords serve treble-or-quit ultimatums. West End property sharks count gains and prepare to dispossess tenants who cannot meet fantastic demands.

The capitalist press has been in full cry on the side of the aggressors. Leader writers are mobilised to pontificate—on the side of the aggressors. Phoney economics and crooked figures are called up as witnesses; every little trumpery 'expert' is given his head so long as he can sow confusion about 'market value', 'economic rents' and the rest—so long as he can twist words to mean their opposite. 'Your letter left us wondering to what base uses the English language can on occasion be put in order to bolster up a bad case', wrote the Clare and Downing Court tenants to Mr. Brooke.

If this propaganda barrage has failed to convince, it has at least confused. Let us try to get some clarity on what is happening.

The basis of the crisis is the severe housing shortage. The 'experts' have of course been working overtime trying to 'prove' that no such shortage really exists. For example, they point out that the total number of dwellings in this country is now greater per head of population than it was before the war when 'to let' notices abounded and 'empties' were plentiful. Therefore they say, all that is wrong is that the available accommodation is badly distributed. This argument is a beautiful example of 'white lies, damn lies, and . . .'. For the need for houses cannot be measured by counting heads, you have to begin by counting *households*. With the rising age of the population, households have been multiplying much faster than people, and it is reasonably certain that their number greatly exceeds the number of dwellings in the country.

Take London only. The London County Council have estimated that in 1956 there were 126,000 households, comprising one-tenth of the L.C.C. population, without a separate home of their own. They estimate that on top of this there is a net increase every year in the number of households of around 6,500, in spite of the fact that the total L.C.C. population is declining.

When goods are scarce their prices rise unless price control is imposed. Abandon price control and the profiteer has a field day—

he can hold the public to ransom and sell his goods at an exorbitant price regardless of quality or the costs of production. In the same way if rent control is removed at a time of housing scarcity it creates a profiteer's paradise. Rotten old houses, the original costs of which have already been paid for many times over in rent, become transformed once more into gold mines. There is only one way to stop this profiteering—maintain rent control until such time as the supply of houses substantially overtakes demand. If we ever reached such a position rent might become irrelevant; there would be too many rotten old houses chasing too few tenants and rents might fall of their own accord.

Mr. Brooke, the minister responsible for housing, however has done the exact opposite. He has first of all reduced house-building so that the scarcity shall be prolonged. He has secondly removed rent control from a substantial number of privately rented houses. The upshot was never in doubt. It has meant a splendid gift to the profiteers while everyone else loses out.

It is doubtful whether such a diabolical plot could ever have been carried through had the press not blanketed it with a fog of double-talk. There is first the double-talk about 'market rent'. It is taken for granted that a tenant should pay 'market rent' in a 'free society', otherwise his landlord is apparently 'subsidising' him. Mr. Brooke is all for 'market rent'; he even tried to soothe the Clare and Downing tenants by telling them that 'landlords will in any case be restricted to the market value of the accommodation they offer'. The rising storm, however, compelled him on August 18 to suggest to local authorities that they might use the threat of compulsory purchase to prevent the eviction of tenants under threat of 'exorbitant rents'. An admission indeed that the 'market rent' to which the landlord is supposed to be 'restricted' by the operation of supply and demand can, nevertheless, be an 'exorbitant' rent. The truth is that 'market rent' is *bound* to be exorbitant; as we have seen, it represents the most that an acquisitive landlord can demand in conditions of scarcity.

But the double-talk does not stop here; we are now being told that the rents crisis is due to the fact that the so-called 'free market' is operating on 'too narrow a field'—there has been too little de-control, not too much. Before the General Election the Tories promised that there would be no further decontrol during their present term of office. Pressure is rising from the landlords to abandon that pledge; preposterous claims are made about the

advantages tenants would derive from total 100 per cent decontrol. 'The British people's tenderness towards rent control is a major barrier to the next stage of its advance to an affluent society' shouts *Economist* (August 27, 1960). 'There might have been fewer cases of serious hardship if the Government had not promised to continue protection for the lower rented houses for the duration of the present Parliament' observes the *Daily Telegraph* (August 29, 1960). And Mr. Alan Day writing in that organ of progressive thought, the *Observer*, denounces the Government's pledge as 'cowardly' (September 11, 1960). The Peachey Property Corporation, one of the big landlord companies, has given us an idea of what further decontrol would mean. At present the rents of those houses still controlled under the Rent Act are fixed by reference to 'twice gross value'. But Peachey says that the 'realistic free-market rents' for some of its controlled properties would be five or six times gross value (*Financial Times*, August 17, 1960)—in other words *treble* the rents now paid. The experts, however, continue in their campaign to persuade us that the more rent we pay the more affluent we get.

The landlords go further still; they actually argue that all-out decontrol would mean that more houses would get built. *Property*, the landlords' organ, says that all the rents agitation will not produce a single additional house but 'Rents at market levels will produce thousands' (quoted in *The Guardian*, September 17, 1960). How idiotic do they think we are? In the last five years, while 'market rents' have been increasingly imposed, the annual output of houses has fallen by 20 per cent.

While new and ever more preposterous arguments in favour of decontrol are thought up, the old ones are being revived. For instance, that rents 'ought' to form the same proportion of a worker's expenditure as it did before the war. One writer was accorded immense space in *The Times* on two successive days (September 6 and 7) in order to make just this point. Those old enough to remember the thirties, can recall how these heavy rents in relation to income helped to cause malnutrition and low living standards—in fact whole books were written by Medical Officers of Health and others proving just this point. So the next stage of the affluent society is evidently intended to take us straight back to the hungry thirties.

But the most vicious press barrage of all has been reserved for the St. Pancras Council tenants. Even papers which have been nominally opposing the private landlord racket, like the obsequious

Daily Herald, have joined the rat race to distort the issues in this particular battle and smear those who are participating in it. It may be thought that the council tenants' struggle has no connection with that of private tenants—this is not so. It is the reverse side of the same medal. Nearly one-quarter of all families live in council houses. In proportion as the stock of council houses grows, so the field in which private landlordism can operate narrows; sites which the private builder wants get taken over for council housing; the more people feel they have a chance of a council house, the less they can be blackmailed into paying for a non-council house. Conversely, if council housebuilding drops, the greater the opportunity for the private landlords' racket. So the Government does its best to reduce council house building. And it withdraws Exchequer subsidies from most new house building, encourages local authorities to withdraw any subsidy from local rates, and forces up interest rates on local authority housing loans to around 6 per cent. At this level the ultimate cost of a £2,000 house is £7,425—of which £5,425 is interest.

This policy has been deliberately designed not only to discourage council house building but to force up the rents of existing council tenants. For any local council which continues house-building at such huge expense without an Exchequer subsidy cannot build at rents which the majority on its waiting list can afford. It is therefore faced with the choice of providing subsidies from the rates or putting up the rents of its old council flats to finance those of the new. The latter is the course urged by the Government, and the favourite method of doing so is the Differential Rent Scheme, whereby rents are fixed according to the income of the tenant. Indeed a resolution was tabled at the recent Tory Party Conference demanding that Differential Rent Schemes should be made obligatory on local authorities, so that no tenant will get the 'benefit' of a subsidy until he has been through a Means Test. It has long been obvious that Differential Rent Schemes are a device for getting more money out of the tenants as a whole. The local authorities with the highest average rents in the country all use Differential Rent Schemes to achieve that proud position. In extreme cases such as that of St. Pancras, the object is not just to grab subsidies on old houses to help finance the new; it is to make a handsome *profit* out of pre-war council dwellings, inferior in design, built at pre-war costs and relatively low interest rates, and to use this profit to help foot the bill for the high interest rates on new flats, thus relieving the ratepayer from any obligation in this respect. This policy is justi-

fied by writers like Mr. Alan Day of the *Observer*, who believes that the 'only sensible yardstick' for fixing the rents of pre-war council property is the cost of building additional houses now. No Tory has yet stopped to explain why it is right and proper for old council tenants to subsidise new ones, but evidently 'immoral' for the rate-payers or taxpayers to do so.

The whole policy involves a savage attack on the living standards of council tenants. The attempt to enforce 'Means testing' is an attempt to down-grade council tenants to the status of second-class citizens. The hope is that if life is made sufficiently expensive and unpleasant for the council tenant he will go elsewhere and find his own accommodation. Alderman Jones, who submitted a paper on housing policy to the Tory Party Conference said as much. 'If councils adopt rent rebate schemes on an economic basis for some or all of their houses, tenants may decide to purchase their own homes.' The private decontrolled tenant in his desperate search for accommodation will not have his task made any easier if former council tenants are to go into competition with him in this search.

What is really involved here is the gradual attempt to destroy the place of council housing as a social service. Mr. Enoch Powell, recently taken into the Cabinet in the capacity of Minister of Health, was saying only a year ago that the council house system was 'immoral and socially damaging' and the present system of subsidising council houses was 'incompatible with the sort of free economy the Government was trying to create' (*Daily Telegraph*, November 23, 1959). We have seen earlier in this article what a 'free economy' means in the housing sphere; it means the law of the jungle. Bit by bit the jungle is creeping up on us, engulfing a little more territory every day. In this process everybody suffers—owner-occupier, private tenant, council tenant.

The destruction of council housing will not only make things worse for the council tenant, it will make things worse for the private tenant too. For the stopping of council house building aggravates the shortage which is the basis of the private tenants' misery. The forcing up of council house rents has been used in the past and will be used in the future to permit ever more outrageous depredations by the private landlord. The housing subsidies which the owner-occupier is told are such a burden to him are a drop in the ocean compared to the burden of high interest rates which hang like a millstone round the neck of owner-occupier and council tenant alike. The only way to get good housing for all is to take the profit out of it.

HOLDING FAST TO THE ROPE

I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson

JUST four hundred years after John Hawkins, one of the sea-captains of Queen Elizabeth, carried out the first slave raid on its coast, Sierra Leone is at last to achieve the status of an independent State'. Hawkin's first raid was in 1562: the British Government's declaration is to come into force in 1961. The strong wind blows over to this outpost on the West Coast of Africa, with its 27,925 square miles and its population of 2,000,000.*

Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and Italy have been holding trusteeship over territories in Africa. What are the responsibilities of these Trustee Countries supposed to be? They are:

- (a) to administer their trusts in such manner as would make them worthy and beneficial to those for whom they are holding the trust; and
- (b) to train the beneficiaries of the trusts in such manner as would enable them to make the best use of their properties when they are eventually handed to them.

It seems, however, that these Trustee governments or powers have been and are still deriving such benefits from their individual trusts that they are more reluctant than keen to hand over their trust responsibilities to the beneficiaries. But to adopt an attitude of blunt refusal to hand over their trusts would be tantamount not only to a betrayal, but a rather too open travesty of the fundamental principles of trusteeship; thus they employ more subterranean methods either to deprive the beneficiaries of their right with a view to continuing their hold on the trust properties, or to re-colonise after handing them over to the beneficiaries, by attaching strings to the agreement. They may be described as 'handing over the goat but holding fast to the rope round its horns'.

Two major policies are adopted. The first is failure to give proper and sufficient training to the people for the eventual handling of their responsibilities. This policy is exemplified in the case of the Belgian Government and the Congo. The next is to create such a situation in the territory that will provide the most feasible opportunity to drive the wedge of division and confusion among the people so that when their territories are declared independent,

*Of this population, about 1,000 are European and 2,000 Asiatic. Some 62,000 attend 490 schools, of which less than 30 provide secondary or better education. For comparison take the former Tsarist colony of Georgia, the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. With territory of the same size and the population not quite twice that of Sierra Leone, 700,000 attend 4,500 schools, and the rate of those with higher education is 18 per 1,000. There are three doctors to every 1,000 people, and 130,000 flats were built since the war. But the wind of change blew there forty years ago.

strife instead of peace will reign. Thus a complete collapse of civilisation and a triumph of chaos might be looked for.

Great Britain appears to be a master in this technique. For years she ruled India as one colonial territory and exploited her natural resources and manpower in the same manner; but as soon as it came to the time when she was forced, as it were, to hand over her trust to the beneficiaries, she saw to it that the country was divided into two opposing parts—India and Pakistan.

The same attempt was made in the Gold Coast (now Ghana); but the foresight and alertness of the politicians there (with special reference to President Nkrumah) averted the disaster. In Nigeria a Constitution on the principles of tribalism has been introduced as the basis of election prior to the granting of independence. But again the Nigerian politicians (thanks to the foresight of Dr. Azikiwe) have been able so far to patch up their differences in order to be able to approach the situation at the declaration of independence with a United Front.

In Sierra Leone, however, the situation appears to be more gloomy because the game is being played with a people who appear to lack the foresight of the politicians of Ghana and Nigeria. It is a community in which there are rather too many people after the sweets of office instead of having the country's interest at heart.

The British Government is to declare the territory an independent State in April, 1961. At the moment, as a result of the Constitutional Conference held in London in April-May this year, the country has been plunged into political, social and tribal unrest.

According to the decision of the Conference, the territory is to be granted independent status before a general election is held. This strange attitude which has been adopted by the British Government in dealing with their Sierra Leone Trust, has created grave suspicion in the minds of the progressive element of the country and an election before independence is now being called for.

Instead of the British Government entering right now into the situation with a view to settling the dispute once and for all, they appear to be adopting the policy of sitting on the fence and watching the tide of affairs as it ebbs and flows.

Nevertheless, of one thing I am certain, and that is that the days of Trusteeship are numbered. Soon the 'Last Post' will be sounded and then these Trustee governments will be able to appreciate the seriousness of their responsibilities—whether they have faithfully administered their trusts or not. Time will decide.

THE WHOLE ZOO

John Berger

I HAVE noticed that not all animals react to living in captivity in the same way. Indeed there seem to be many ways of coming to terms with life in a zoo.

The lions and tigers take to food like ex-prize-fighters can take to drink. They live for the regular meat. They eat it, they bask in the guaranteed warm air and then they sleep a regular sleep.

The smaller hunting animals may at first sight look as though they are miserable. Wolves and jackals pace endlessly up and down their small cages. They originally began this pacing in the hope of finding a way out. Then it became a frantic activity like that of a man searching in his pockets over and over again for a ticket that he has lost. But comparatively quickly the pacing up and down became its own solace. The compulsion to pace made the animal forget the cage. If the bars were now silently removed, these animals would still pace up and down in the same way, without noticing the opportunity presented to them. They are free to pace and so pacing becomes the object of their lives.

Most of the timid animals have never been aware that they are in captivity. For shrews, agoutis, mice, squirrels, the whole world is dangerous and mysterious. Every noise, every shadow is treated as an alarm. Life is a sequence of safety tests. When they meet the bars they test them. The bars remain silent and still. Thus they constitute no threat, and they can sharpen their rodent teeth on them. The very wisest of these timid animals also come to realise that the bars are a protection.

The elephants are consoled by the fact that they are trusted. Every day they have a dozen opportunities to run berserk or escape. And this is enough to prevent them feeling imprisoned or exploited.

The tortoises and turtles are happy to wait.

It is the attitude of the apes that is perhaps the strangest of all. They are fully aware that they are caged, but they care more about the people who come to gaze at them in their captivity. For these people they perform, pretending to be happy, amorous, sad. They are only miserable when no-one is watching them.

From house to house, I could go round the whole zoo like this—from the huge ant-eater who is kept happy with ants to the camel who is happy because he need not work. And why do I do this? So that I need not suffer for the animals in the zoo? Not really.

It's because I admire their common sense. If, of course, their situation weren't hopeless, if they could communicate with one another, if they had the chance of understanding what a zoo means, if they could plan together to change their destiny, and yet still behaved as I have described, then, far from admiring them, I would hate them. Wouldn't you?

BOOKS

The Towns of Ancient Rus

M. Tikhomirov

Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books, London. 503 pp. 15s.

A BOOK recently published in Germany on the early history of the towns of Europe—Edith Ennen, *Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt*, Bonn, 1953—contrives to say nothing whatever about the cities of early mediaeval Russia. Yet Kiev and Novgorod—to mention only the most famous—were in their time among the greatest cities of Europe, linked by ties of trade and politics with northern Europe, the Mediterranean, the Moslem world, and central Asia. A stream of merchants, pilgrims, diplomats, and soldiers of fortune flowed between the Hanseatic towns, Russia and Constantinople; and the surviving diaries of some of them bear witness to their admiration of the glories of Kiev. In fact Russia was less cut off from the rest of Europe in the twelfth century than at any time afterwards until our own day. Most serious historians, of course, do not pass over the towns of Russia in silence. But many, both in Russia and outside of it, regarded them as by-

products of long-distance trade, as caravan-cities on the route from the Baltic to Byzantium, owing little or nothing to the society in whose midst they arose. The underlying assumption was that mediaeval Russian society was backward, stagnant, or at any rate different from that of central and western Europe, and incapable of reaching the stage of development when urban life arises.

Academician M. N. Tikhomirov, the second edition of whose book on the towns of mediaeval Russia is now presented in an English translation, shows convincingly that 'it was not foreign trade, but the separation of the handicrafts from agriculture, the intensification of exchange between industrial and agricultural production, the development of agriculture and feudal relationships that was the prime cause of the growth of the Rus towns in the 10th-13th centuries' (p. 461). The invasion of the Mongols, who devastated every major Russian city except Novgorod—it was left to the Nazis to do that—and shattered the whole economic structure of the country, was a calamity which the rest of Europe was spared, and which set back the development of city life in Russia for centuries. In the first section of his book (pp. 7-300) Tikhomirov surveys the rise of Russian towns, urban economy, the divisions of the

urban population, the struggle for civic freedoms, the structure of civic authority, the external appearance of the towns, and their cultural life, all in great detail and with a wealth of examples. In the second section (pp. 303-460) he gives short histories of the individual towns, arranged by geographical regions.

Throughout the book the evidence of the written sources—which for obvious reasons are rather scanty for the pre-Mongolian period—is supplemented and illuminated by the discoveries of archaeology, in which great advances have been made in the last twenty-five years. (Those interested will find a good summary of archaeological work on mediaeval Russian towns in A. Mongait, *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, pp. 351-384.) There emerges a picture of the way in which, from the 9th and 10th centuries onwards, ever growing groups of craftsmen and merchants settled around the fortified baileys of feudal landowners and in other suitable spots. Their suburbs grew into cities, with churches, monasteries, workshops, markets, city walls and civic government. The industrial and mercantile population in its turn began to fragment into the rich—the urban boyars—and the mass of the poor. We find city councils, guilds of craftsmen and merchants, regulations for the control of foreign trade. And we hear of uprisings of the city populace, struggles of rich against poor, of urban patriciate against feudal nobility. There are many specifically Russian features, but the pattern is that familiar in the rest of Europe north of the Mediterranean region. One would like to hear more about the role of the Scandinavians. Soviet scholars, rightly rejecting the 'Normanist' theory that the mediaeval Russian

state was the creation of Swedish freebooters, are inclined to shut their eyes altogether to the Scandinavian element in the population. But they were certainly there, and turn up every so often in Tikhomirov's pages. Their presence cannot have been wholly without influence.

The book is clearly and idiomatically translated by Y. Sdobnikov. Occasional oddities, like 'transcript' for 'manuscript', and infelicities, like 'edge' for 'advantage', do not seriously mar an eminently competent piece of work. There are six maps and forty pages of index.

ROBERT BROWNING.

Kirghizia Today

Victor Vitkovich

Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, Central Books Ltd., 270pp. 9s.

IN the mid-nineteenth century, writing of the country which is now Kirghizia, a famous explorer said 'We know the surface of the moon better than this region', so inaccessible were the mountains. Legends also coming down from Hsuan Tsang, the Chinese traveller of the seventh century, speak of the great mountain lake of Issyk-Kul: 'Dragons and fish live there together'. Victor Vitkovich tells vivid stories of the old times, interwoven with facts of the surge forward of the last decades: the story of the mountain witch doctor and the description of the Chinese peasants driven after revolt into the far Chinese West, and at last over the terrible Tien Shan Peaks in winter time. The author lingers over the story of the progress of these once nomadic peoples; Russian people

also, who had settled in these regions together with the remnants of the Chinese fugitives, all united in building reservoirs and canals to catch the water from the perpetual snows and lead it down to irrigate the arid sun-baked valleys, lying far below. The great sea of Issyk-Kul is being gradually stocked with new species of fish and the mountains stocked with new flora and fauna brought from other lands and regions. New and beautiful towns grow up, technological colleges, institutes and universities, hospitals and medical colleges with theatres and opera halls, schools abound everywhere. Roads and railways are built through previously inaccessible mountain ranges. The description of poets and singers and festival days of sport and riding are fascinating.

Having visited Tadjikistan, the country to the South-west of Kirghizia and stayed twice in Alma Ata, on the northern slopes of the Tien Shans, this book brings back memories of gorgeous colours, mountain airs and scents, snow peaks, and brilliant sunshine. It makes one long to see it all again and above all, to meet the warm-hearted, hospitable people who extend their generosity and kindness to strangers from afar.

NOELLE HEWLETT JOHNSON.

Inside the Khrushchov Era

Giuseppe Boffa

Allen & Unwin. 227pp. 25s.

GIUSEPPE BOFFA was *L'Unità's* correspondent in Moscow for five years: he arrived there at the end of 1953, and so was in the U.S.S.R. at the time of Beria's unmasking, the 20th Congress and its aftermath,

the Molotov-Malenkov dispute, and the 21st Congress with its adoption of the Seven Year Plan. In Italian, the book was called *The Great Change*, which indicates its theme more fully than the catchpenny English title. Boffa writes sympathetically, yet frankly and critically, of the causes, course and destruction of the 'cult of the individual', and offers a candid interpretation of the faults which developed in Soviet society and the attempts to eradicate them since the 20th Congress. The second part of his book examines Soviet achievements in the 'sputnik' era, and the problems still unsolved in such fields as education, agriculture, the production and distribution of consumption goods, and the intensification of socialist democracy. There is room for discussion on some of the conclusions which he reaches, but his direct approach is excellently calculated to stimulate it.

JUDITH TODD.

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More on Casement

I VENTURE to write again about Casement's part in the Rising of Easter Week 1916, because some further clarification is necessary.

The attempt to land German arms on the Kerry coast was part of the plan of operations drawn up by the revolutionary leaders in Dublin. They had fixed the rising for Easter Sunday (April 23); and they had arranged with the German Government that a ship bringing arms should arrive in Tralee Bay between the Thursday and Saturday (April 20-22) and should exchange an agreed signal of green lights with a party of Volunteers who would be waiting at Fenit Pier. The task of loading the arms on to a train and distributing them by rail to Limerick and Cork was entrusted, on Connolly's instructions, to members of the Irish Transport Workers' Union. The negotiations with the German Government were conducted by John Devoy and other Irish leaders in the U.S.A., who were in touch with the German Embassy in Washington. The arrangements were completed early in March, and on April 6 Casement, who was then in Berlin, received a message confirming them which had been sent to him from Dublin by way of Switzerland. This message included a further request for a German submarine.

On the afternoon of Thursday April 20 a German ship, the *Aud*, arrived in Tralee Bay. She was flying the Norwegian flag, with the consignment of arms concealed under a camouflage of timber. As soon as dusk fell, she gave the agreed signal, but there was no reply. She waited all night, but without result. Next morning (Good Friday) she was challenged by

a British patrol vessel, whose commander boarded her and interrogated her captain; then, satisfied with his assurances, he withdrew. At noon she was challenged again by another vessel and taken under arrest to Queenstown Harbour, where her captain scuttled her rather than let her fall into enemy hands. By this time there were twenty-nine British warships patrolling the area.

Meanwhile, on Good Friday morning, a German submarine had arrived in the Bay and landed Casement with two companions on Banna Strand to the north of Fenit. He was arrested almost at once, but the others managed to get a message to Dublin reporting the failure of their mission. The failure was due to a change of plan, for which the leaders in Dublin were responsible. At the beginning of April they decided to postpone the rising until Easter Monday. This meant a delay of two whole days, possibly more, after the gun-running. To avoid the risk of so long an interval they decided to postpone the landing of the arms till the Sunday night. A message to this effect was conveyed to John Devoy, who had it telegraphed at once to Berlin. It was received there on the 15th, but the *Aud* had sailed on the 9th, and she carried no wireless. To make matters worse, the message was intercepted in New York by American secret service agents, who passed it on to the British Government, but of course without knowing that it had reached Berlin too late to be acted on. Accordingly, the British Navy was warned to expect a landing in Tralee Bay on the Sunday night. If the Volunteers had been ready to receive the arms on the Thursday, they would have got them. Some of them actually sighted the *Aud* that afternoon, but did not realise

who she was, because they were not expecting her so soon.

From all this it is clear that the enterprise in which Casement was engaged was an integral part of the Rising, and it must be judged as such. There can be no doubt that Lenin's estimate of the Rising, to which I referred in my previous letter, was intended to include his part in it. It is true that his part was not free from errors and weaknesses, due largely to his long absence abroad; but they did not affect the outcome and were amply redeemed by his final stand at his trial in London. After being sentenced to death he said:

"Let me pass from myself and my own fate to a far more pressing as it is a far more urgent theme—not the fate of the individual Irishman who may have tried and failed, but the claims and fate of the country that has not failed. Ireland has outlived the failure of all her hopes—and yet she still hopes. Ireland has seen her sons—aye and her daughters too—suffer from generation to generation always for the same cause, meeting always the same fate, and always at the hands of the same power; and always a fresh generation has passed on to withstand the same oppression. For, if English authority be omnipotent—a power, as Mr. Gladstone phrased it, that reaches to the very ends of the earth—Irish hope exceeds the dimensions of that power, excels its authority, and renews with each generation the claims of the last. The cause that begets this indomitable persistency, the faculty of preserving through centuries of misery the remembrance of lost liberty, this surely is the noblest cause men ever strove for, ever lived for, ever died for. If this be the cause I stand here today indicted for and convicted of sustaining, then I stand in a goodly company and a right noble succession."

He was executed on August 3, 1916. On the same day in the following year, the remote spot on Banna

Strand where he had been arrested was crowded with pilgrims from all parts of Ireland, many of them on foot, paying homage to his memory. Casement will always be remembered and honoured in Ireland as one of the sixteen patriots who were executed by the British militarists for their part in the Rising of Easter Week. These men gave their lives deliberately, not desperately, and they were not misled.

Allow me, in conclusion, to make two remarks. The attainment of national liberation from imperialist oppression is now being celebrated by one people after another in all parts of the world; and it is well to remember at such a time how the trial was blazed in Ireland. Further, the Irish Revolution contains, I believe, some precious lessons, particularly in regard to the relation between the struggle for national independence and the struggle for socialism, which have still to be learnt by the English labour movement; and only when we have learnt them shall we understand the full meaning of the Marxist thesis that a nation which oppresses another nation cannot itself be free.

GEORGE THOMSON,
Birmingham.

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THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE CONGO

A Diary of Events

*Following on the unanimous recognition by the United Nations of the sovereign independence of the Congo on July 7, Prime Minister Lumumba appealed to the U.N. for technicians and for military assistance to help drive the Belgian troops out of the Congo. On July 14, the Security Council of the U.N. passed a resolution calling upon the Belgian Government to withdraw its troops from the Congo and decided 'to take the necessary steps in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo to provide the Government with such military assistance as may be necessary, until, through the efforts of the Congolese Government, with the technical assistance of the United Nations, the national security forces may be able, in the opinion of the Government, to meet fully their tasks'. The British representative abstained from voting.**

July 19. The Belgian Prime Minister says no U.N. troops should go to Katanga province (D.T.).

July 21. At Matadi, after Belgian civilians had been evacuated, Belgian forces invaded on July 11, killing 19 and wounding 32; its population was 'in the grip of fear', after being attacked by four naval ships firing from the River Congo, and 'Belgian aircraft strafing them from the skies' (D.T. Corr.).

August 1. Mr. Hammarskjold has appealed to the Belgian Government to make a public statement of her intention to honour the U.N. resolutions on the Congo and that Belgium does not object 'in principle' to U.N. forces entering Katanga. The Soviet Government warned against 'aggression encouraged by all the Colonial Nato powers' in the Congo (D.T.).

August 7. 'Mr. Hammarskjold in his report to the Security Council

said that the Belgian Government had not withdrawn its military forces from Katanga (S.T. corr.).

August 8. President Nkrumah threatens to lend the Ghana army to Lumumba to help him re-occupy Katanga because Tshombe's resistance is backed by Belgium (D.E. and D.T.). 'The change from Belgian to U.N. troops in Katanga will have to take place slowly enough to ensure that there are Belgian troops here for some months yet' (T. corr.). Katanga industrialists have been secretly threatening 'to sabotage the installations and wreck the economy of the country before they leave Katanga'. Tshombe has been 'the political stooge of the Belgian industrialists' (D.M.).

August 9. Mr. Hammarskjold, in his report to the Security Council, 'called for the immediate withdrawal of all Belgian forces from the Congo'. Further, Mr. H. stated that 'the Soviet delegate had said that the force should assist the central Government of the Congo'. Mr. H. said that 'It certainly should be used in the maintenance of order but not as a political instrument. That had

*The items of the diary are compiled under dates of newspapers, which are referred to in parentheses by the following initials: D.T. = *Daily Telegraph*; S.T. = *Sunday Times*; T. = *The Times*; D.E. = *Daily Express*; D.M. = *Daily Mail*; O. = *Observer*; D.H. = *Daily Herald*; E.S. = *Evening Standard*; G. = *Guardian*; F.T. = *Financial Times*; S.E. = *Sunday Express*; N.C. = *News Chronicle*; N.S. = *New Statesman*; Ed. = Editorial columns; Dip. corr. = diplomatic correspondent.

never been the intention and it went against the very principles on which the force was established' (T.).

August 10. The U.N. Security Council (which a month earlier had rejected the Soviet proposal) now calls upon the Belgian Government 'to withdraw immediately its troops from the province of Katanga' (T.).

August 14. In Katanga, 'Belgians who trained Mr. Tshombe's paramilitary police and the Belgian mission head here who drafted 'the nine conditions' of acceptance in Katanga of U.N. forces which Mr. Hammarskjold naturally refused to consider' (S.T.). When the Secretary General landed in Katanga, 'Mr. Hammarskjold had no option but to stand with his host (Tshombe) in apparent respect for the symbols of Katanga's sovereignty' (O.). 'The masquerade of Katanga's "independence" is becoming daily more pathetic. Mr. Tshombe, the self-styled President, is today far more under the domination of Belgian officials, than he was as an obscure politician before Congo independence. His regime depends entirely on Belgian arms, men and money. Without this his government would in all probability be quickly pulled down from within or without' (D.T. corr., Elizabethville, July 27).

August 15. The talks in Katanga between Mr. Hammarskjold and Mr. Tshombe are considered in Belgium 'to have established that Katanga can hold on to her independence'. The Belgians feel that the next step 'should be the drafting of a permanent constitution which, by allowing for an autonomous Katanga, would make it possible for Belgium to maintain her commercial links with Katanga mineral wealth' (D.T. corr.).

August 20. 'It is, therefore, all the more vital that the U.S. and

Britain should continue to place their trust in Mr. H. and give him all the backing he asks for. Plainly, all now depends on his willingness and ability to assume what is virtually the government of a divided country, bedevilled by every conceivable great and small-power rivalry' (N.S.).

September 2. Kalonji volunteers were dressed in American combat helmets, Belgian tropical uniforms, British webbing and packs (D.T.).

September 5. 'So far the Republic of the Congo has shown itself to be no more than a highly unconvincing legal fiction. It is not the duty of the United Nations to lend its authority to the support of that fiction' (D.T., Ed.).

September 7. The interruption of broadcasting by the U.N., 'seems an even clearer intervention by the United Nations in internal affairs on the side of Mr. Kasavubu than does the closure of the airfields' (T.).

'The U.S. is pressing Hammar-skjold... to take a much firmer line in the Congo. Indeed there is reason to believe the U.S. has been searching for many days for means of ousting Lumumba and securing an anti-communist Government and disarming the Force Publique' (N.C. Corr., Washington). A Cabinet communique of the Lumumba Government asserted that President Kasavubu in dismissing Mr. Lumumba as Prime Minister had violated the fundamental law on which the Government was based and that he had committed an act of high treason. Meanwhile it was reported that U.N. troops were deploying heavy guards at Kasavubu's house and Mr. Ileo, named by Kasavubu as Prime Minister, was also under U.N. guard (D.T.). Referring to Lumumba, 'There is no reason why

he (Mr. H.) should not discipline this dangerous megalomaniac now that he is no longer protected by the legitimacy of office' (D.T., Ed.).

September 8. By sixty votes to nineteen the Congolese Chamber of Deputies at Leopoldville decided to regard as null and void Kasavubu's dismissal of Lumumba (T.).

As *The Times* reported on June 25, in the Chamber of Deputies, Lumumba's original support was 74 votes out of a possible 137, while the next day in the Senate a vote of confidence was accorded to him by 60 votes to 12. Also, an aircraft with nine tons of arms for the Katanga army had arrived from Brussels, said to be 'only part of a continuing airlift of arms from Belgium' (T.).

The unloading of the arms was watched by Swedish U.N. troops who 'had orders not to interfere' (D.T. corr.). 'The guns and ammunition are being distributed to strategic points on the Katanga border in aircraft owned by the Union Miniere' (D.H.).

September 9. By forty-one votes to two, with six abstentions, the Congo Senate rejected Kasavubu's decree dismissing Lumumba. Lumumba had listed seven 'flagrant violations' by the U.N. of the Security Council's decisions that they should not interfere in internal affairs (T). The list, forwarded to the U.N., runs: (1) The closure of the radio station, which he said deprived the people of the ability to hear of parliamentary proceedings in the country. (2) The occupation of the airfields in the Congo by the U.N. (3) Those two acts have been done without consultation with the Congolese Government provided for in the Security Council resolution of July 14. (4) Congo Government troops had loaded arms and ammunition on to an aircraft as part of

the measures to maintain the integrity of the country and the aircraft had been unloaded by the U.N. (5) The aircraft carrying General Lundula, C.-in-C. of the Congolese army had been refused permission to land at Leopoldville. (6) The U.N. had refused an aircraft to Mr. Kamiatu, the representative of the Provincial Government. (7) U.N. representatives had allowed an aircraft carrying Mr. Ileo. These acts seemed to indicate that the U.N. had taken sides against the Government which was the legal representative (D.T.).

September 10. 'Four Belgian volunteer officers* of the Katanga police force' took control of Elizabethville airport to get possession of two Dove aircraft. 'After a short parley with the U.N. officer in charge of the airfield guard, they took off for the north. In the aircraft were arms and ammunition.'

September 11. 'It is no secret that the airports were originally closed to deprive Mr. Lumumba of his freedom to use his fleet of Soviet transport aircraft for military operations against the dissident provinces (O. dip. corr.).—Lumumba to press conference said that the U.N. 'came here to give us the technical and economic help we need. Now they are here as an army of occupation'.

September 12. 'The U.N. has not formally recognised his breakaway state, but the border plan is clearly a U.N. guarantee of Katanga's continued existence. . . The U.N. were allowed into Katanga only on Tshombe's conditions' (D.H. corr., Elizabethville). The Ghana Government issued a statement that 'it would be entirely wrong for the U.N. to recognise the "pretended and illegal Ileo Government". . . The Government dissociated itself from

*D.E. corr. reported them as thirty.

statements reported to have been made by Maj. Gen. H. T. Alexander, the British Chief of the Ghana Defence Staff' (T.). One of these statements was 'I am not sorry to see the Prime Minister go' (D.E.).

September 13. 'For weeks now his (Lumumba's) behaviour has invited assassination. A diplomat said to me only a few days ago: "If this was a civilised country Lumumba would have been assassinated long ago!"' (D.E. corr.).

September 14. President Nkrumah in a letter to Mr. H. told him that if Lumumba was not allowed to use his own radio station at Leopoldville, 'Ghana would withdraw her troops from the U.N. command'. 'At present', he wrote, 'Ghana's troops are used almost exclusively as a cat's-paw against Mr. Lumumba, preventing him from using his own radio station' (D.T.). 'At the same time', Dr. Nkrumah added, 'Radio Brassaville, which he said was controlled by France and Radio Elizabethville (which in effect is under Belgian control) were allowed to indulge in most violent propaganda against Mr. Lumumba' (T.).

On the U.N. decision to reopen the radio station and all Congo's airports, this 'remarkable *volte-face* of the United Nations... appears to be a desperate attempt to return to what always seemed an unrealistic position of total neutrality in the Congo's internal affairs' (T.).

September 15. With reference to the *coup* carried out by Mobutu and a handful of soldiers paid by the United Nations, 'At the entrance of the room, where Mobutu spoke stood a Belgian in Congolese uniform. He was General Fernand Revers, a sergeant-major in the Belgian army. He told reporters he had been appointed Mobutu's military adviser...

A Belgian blonde in tight slacks squeezed herself into the crowd round Mobutu... Outside a U.N. air force officer in civilian clothes smiled with patience' (E.S.).

September 16. Mobutu rose to the rank of sergeant-major under the Belgians. 'He spent six months in Belgium at the time of the Brussels Trade Fair and has made briefer visits more recently' (D.T. corr.).

After 'the last Belgian combatant soldier', said the *Times*, had left the country at the beginning of September, Mr. H. needed fresh instructions from the Security Council. His agents in the Congo 'began to get themselves into deep water. The closing of Leopoldville radio station and of the airfields no doubt appeared administratively justifiable in Leopoldville. In the eyes of the world, and the Afro-Asian world in particular, they looked like political acts against Mr. Lumumba' (T.).

When Col. Mobutu announced he was going to expel the Soviet and Czechoslovakian representatives, he was greeted with 'wild applause... especially from the strong Belgian contingent now present' (T. corr.).

Colonel Mobutu's action in expelling Russian and Czech embassies from the Congo 'was almost certainly... inspired by the United States' (S.E. corr.). 'Make no mistake about this': said the *Sunday Express* editorial, 'this is a major diplomatic triumph for the United States.'

September 21. An article attributing the expulsion of the Russian and Czech embassies from the Congo to the intrigues of the American Ambassador there, mentions that there is 'talk, nothing more yet—of a holding company composed of Americans, Germans and British (in that order I fear) operating the vast interests of the Union Miniere' (D.E. corr.).

September 22. The U.S. Embassy said that 'it would not grant U.N. diplomatic visas to Mr. Lumumba and five supporters to go to New York to attend the United Nations General Assembly pending clarification of the confused situation (G.).

September 24. Dr. K. Nkrumah, in his speech to the United Nations Assembly said 'I can assure distinguished delegates that but for the intrigues of the colonialists, a document of reconciliation, which had been drafted in the presence of my Ambassador in Leopoldville, and approved by both Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Lumumba, would have been signed by them. Imperialist intrigue, stark and naked, was desperately at work to prevent this being signed. . . It is quite clear that a desperate attempt is being made to create confusion in the Congo. . . In these particular circumstances the Congo crisis should be handed over to the independent African States for solution. . . There can be no question of trusteeship in the Congo. The Congo is independent and sovereign' (T.).

September 26. 'Just how independent Mr. Tshombe wishes Katanga to be is still a mystery to U.N. officials here. His reliance on Belgian officials, technicians and officers is still considerable' (D.T. corr.).

September 28. The Belgian Prime Minister, M. Eyskens, announced the Government's determination to stay in the Congo 'to safeguard her moral and material interests'.

October 3. In a speech to the Guinea delegation at Leopoldville, Lumumba said that 'certain officials of the U.N. are against the legal government and have denied us the

military aid to which we are entitled. Only Russia has been willing to aid us. . . We would be willing to work with the U.N., the United States and Belgium, provided they recognise the sovereignty of the Congo' (D.T.).

October 5. *Financial Times* article asked the question who of the various contenders 'is the U.N. going to support?' Though the U.N. has given some sort of endorsement to President Kasavubu 'the U.N. command is bound by the Security Council to a policy of strict political neutrality'. It asks why attempts by the Ghana mission in Leopoldville to bring about a reconciliation between Kasavubu and Lumumba 'came to grief at the last minute'. It states that the Ghana mission thinks this was because of the pressure from French, Belgian and Portuguese interests. 'They could be right'.

It then says Lumumba 'retains the support of the majority of African missions in Leopoldville: he would probably also still command a majority in the two Congolese parliamentary chambers, and some moral advantage in the doubt surrounding the constitutional legality of Mr. Kasavubu's decisions to dismiss him. . . Mr. Kasavubu is probably unable to count on overall Western support in Leopoldville. The French in particular . . . are concerned that he may revive plans for a greater Bakongo Kingdom. This projected state would include parts of the ex-French Congo as well as of Angola. Colonel Mobutu, the sources of whose power are otherwise obscure, enjoys the tacit support of the French, Portuguese and Belgian interests' (F.T. corr.).

H.R.

(Continued from page ii of cover)

so deeply entangled in the Leadership Principle, the Personality Cult, from Ramsay MacDonald, Bevin or Gaitskell down to the smaller master-mind at each town hall, that they were wringing their hands at seeing so many mighty T.V. personalities threatening to develop the epidemic of conscience trouble. ('Running through 'em like colic', grunted a miner.) One delegate exclaimed almost tearfully: 'It looks as though all our leaders are letting us down. I don't know what we'll do locally'. Others were not concerned with Left policy as a whole: they saw nothing but the Bomb, and on every other topic were indifferent or conformist; even arguing for a strengthened NATO 'free of the Bomb'. But there were far more whose whole outlook has been gradually changed by the Bomb and the campaign against it. I listened to one elderly official, formerly a miner, explaining to a contemporary: 'These young people nowadays, they haven't been through what we have, and they won't listen when you tell them. They put everything to one test: "If a programme needs a defence policy based on nuclear weapons, we want no part in it, for it can be neither defence nor demo-

cracy." I've argued and argued with my own grandchildren; they won't have it.' And he had argued himself into a position when, after being a life-long right-winger, to his own slow surprise he found he was applying the same test.

That he was not alone was strikingly evidenced by the pre-conference anti-Bomb demonstration. Instead of 600 as in 1958, more than four times that marched in 1960. Amongst the youthful veterans of Aldermaston and Edinburgh-to-London, the workers of the industrial north with their trade unions and trades council banners were heavily represented. I met readers from Oldham, Rochdale, Blackburn, Manchester, Salford, Stockport, Huddersfield, Sheffield, Leeds, Durham, Newcastle—so many engineering shop stewards!—and miners from all coalfields on the march. 'Ban the Bomb! Ban the Bases!' we roared. And that, after all these years of sweat and strain, was what the Annual Conference of the Labour Party decided was its policy. LABOUR MONTHLY and its readers have had our share in this; and today we share the happiness, pride and determination of the majority. September donations totalled:

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Editor: R. Palme Dutt



The Press Jungle

R. W. BRIGINSHAW, General Secretary of the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants, looks at the near-monopoly in this 'Phoney Estate'

N.A.T.O. Prevents Peace

Getting free of this, with its Polaris and other bases, is amongst the most urgent Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties, writes GEORGE SCOTT, who led the Electrical Trade Union delegates at Scarborough

POLARIS & CONSENT

Gordon Schaffer

NOTES OF THE MONTH

on Economic Storm Clouds:
Trade Unions and Politics.

**WHO BLOCKS
DISARMAMENT ?**

Quaestor

GOLD SCARES

John Eaton

DECEMBER · 1960

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OLD AND FAITHFUL

WHAT A TRANSFORMED scene this December from a year ago, when Gaitskell and his fellow Right Rebels began their open campaign against the very idea of a Labour Party with Socialist principles and programme. At the time we noted how much 'patient explanation and fighting for Socialist ideas' had to be done; and in that, as a reader writes: 'L.M. has played a good part'. Whilst preparing the Subjects Index in this issue I was struck by how apt and useful were the articles classified there under 'Labour and Trade Union Movement'. Especially those from trade unionists young and old, whether the apprentice in the workshop or the union General Secretary. Now, with the majority won in the Labour Party conference for an end to the twelve years of a bipartisan war policy, everything has indeed changed; and now there is needed more than ever an immense increase in Socialist discussion and education such as L.M. provides a forum for. What could be more timely than our present series on *Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties?* Questions opened up in November by the printers' leader, Robert Willis ('Turning Point for Trade Unionists') and the Yorkshire mining M.P., Dick Kelley ('Antidote for Defeatism') are followed by the contributions on pp. 555-560. Each week swells the queue of articles including, for example, those by John Newton (Tailors & Garment Workers), Harry Weaver (Builders), and Frank Winchester (Vehicle Builders). It is striking that two leading trade unionists (one a general secretary) have concentrated upon peace and war questions. To-

day a 'bread and butter' question cannot but be considered against the background of the over-riding 'life and death' question. Perhaps the one single factor which made this great change at Scarborough was that life and death has become 'trade union business' in a big way.

There is another reason why this series is timely—a more domestic reason. For after this issue we enter on our fortieth year of publication. Following 'Black Friday', 1921, and the dismay in the labour and trade union movement at the break up of spurious forms of unity, L.M. first started to provide a forum for trade unionists who, whatever their differences, were agreed on the need for feeling the way forward to a real unity in struggle of the working class and the mass of the people. Throughout next year we shall be celebrating in various ways: I would ask readers to start now by ensuring that the Series receives the attention it deserves. Bring it to the notice of your organisation. Use it as a starting point for discussion on constructive lines, in your factory and trade union branch, etc. Discuss it and send in your own contributions. You have only to ask us and we will circularise your organisation about orders for the whole series; or we can send you copies of a circular to hand out yourselves, as some prefer. But don't delay. New readers will be asking for back numbers for months to come; we don't want to reply 'Sold out' ■ we had to with the September number containing Arthur Horner's *Coal: What Future?* Warmest thanks to all who answered our appeal to return their September copy. Like the Kent reader who wrote: 'I have always made it a practice to hand L.M. on as soon as I have read mine, only asking that it should be handed on

(Continued on page iii of cover)

1. Economic Storm Clouds

It used to be said that a trade cycle took seven or eight years. Now, however, because governments in the more advanced countries, at least, have learned more about the factors that control economics, the period has shortened. From peak to peak a typical cycle lasts more like four years.

(A. P. L. Barber, Economic Secretary to the Treasury, House of Commons, November 10, 1960.)

ONCE again, not within four years even, but within less than three years of last time, the capitalist economic sky has darkened, especially in the United States and Britain. In the United States the rise of the official total of unemployed in October to 3.6

million (well known to be below the real total) or 6.4 per cent was withheld from announcement until the day after the presidential election. This delay in breaking the ugly facts did not save the Eisenhower-Nixon administration from the wrath of the people, even though the sheer bafflement and frustration of the enforced 'Hobson's choice' between the two candidates of wealth led to only a small and even precarious majority for Kennedy. In Britain the crisis of wholesale dismissals and short-time working in the so recently booming car and radio industries has highlighted the situation. The motor industry, whose output represents one-quarter of the total output of Britain's engineering and shipbuilding industries, is ever the most subject to sharp fluctuations and the most sensitive to register speedily the movements of the market. But

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the same spectre confronts the prospect of shipbuilding. The blow has already fallen on the miners, with a Robens to administer it. Before them it was the textile workers that were the hardest hit. Such are the beauties of the 'new capitalism' beloved of Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Strachey. The treasury boasts that modern governments in the West have now learned to 'control economics' so that depression comes round every four years instead of every eight. A charming 'controlled economy' which blasts homes.

Ups and Downs

Where now is the bright and buoyant optimism with which the capitalist world entered on the beginning of this year?

Rarely has a new decade been greeted with such buoyant optimism in the economic world as the nineteen-sixties. Already the 'golden sixties' are being warmly welcomed on all sides.

There is no mistaking the current optimism. The stock markets in Wall Street and London have both finished the old year at new peaks. In London share prices have risen over 50 per cent in a year. This confidence is not confined to the stock markets. Business optimism is rising fast both here and abroad.

(*The Times*, January 1, 1960.)

For a short time share prices were boosted up to still more crazy heights while the suckers were drawn in to pour their savings into the unit trusts in the fond belief that little fish are meant to share in the feast of the cormorants. Then the fall began, especially in the United States. In Britain the deficit in the balance of payments had reappeared by the second quarter, to mount up still further in the third. In June the Government clamped on the 6 per cent Bank Rate and the new credit squeeze to bolster up the pound. *The Times*, so joyful and optimistic in January, by June breathed only resentment and gloom:

The necessity of resorting to these monetary measures so soon after the economy had begun to re-expand is disturbing and unsatisfactory, and a serious reflection on the Government's economic policy.

(*The Times*, June 24, 1960.)

By September U.S. steel production was running at 53 per cent of capacity, and the *Financial Times* was pronouncing the verdict:

This year seems fated to go down in history as the year of the disappearing boom.

Capitalism, it appears, is still capitalism after all.

Mysteries of 'Controlled Capitalism'

Already in January of this year Mr. Amory, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, let the cat out of the bag and initiated the public

into the mysteries of his magic art of 'controlling' capitalism:

As always, we must steer a careful course between inflation and deflation, at one time stimulating demand if it slackens, and at another moderating it if it becomes exuberant. A year ago through tax reductions and an expansion of credit a measure of stimulation was administered. This has worked. Recently a cautionary movement in the reverse direction was due.

(Rt. Hon. D. H. Amory, Chancellor of the Exchequer, January 25, 1960.)

Up we go. Down we come. Is it not a delightful economic system under which we have the privilege of living? Mr. Macmillan and Lord Hailsham will never tire of explaining that this perpetual switchback, with its obvious failure to use productive resources and its retardation of economic growth, is the worthwhile price of the 'free' economic system under which the West lives. But in fact no longer the 'free' liberal pre-monopoly competitive capitalism of the old style, with its precipitous heights of boom and slump. Nor yet the common sense organisation and continuous growth of the modern socialist economy of production for use. Instead—'controlled' seasickness.

In Human Terms

Tens of thousands of families in key industrial centres of Britain and Northern Ireland are thrown at a moment's notice into unemployment or find their incomes slashed by short time and the 2½ or 3-day week. Hundreds of millions of pounds of profits have been made from the labour of these same workers during the past few years—plenty enough to maintain them at full wages until new employment is found. But that is not how the 'free' system works. After piling up the profits for their masters, the moment they are no longer wanted, they are thrown on the scrapheap with a week's notice. Are these the 'submerged tenth'—the two and a half to three millions dependent on poor relief in Britain, or the 'seventeen million Americans' who 'go to bed hungry every night' of Kennedy's election speeches, for whom prophets of the 'affluent society' still have tears as representing the 'exceptional' stratum of poverty? No. These are the 'prosperous' 'high wage' workers presented by the Jays and Croslands as the 'new classless working class' escaped from proletarian subjection, for whom the old class propaganda of the obsolete Labour movement is meaningless, since in their luxurious abundance of material well-being they no longer have any grievances save a few spiritual frustrations. And now? The homes which

were paraded in the servile press and Tory election propaganda as the homes of high wages and 'you never had it so good' prosperity have now become the scene of a thousand personal tragedies. Capitalism is still capitalism.

Answer, Gentlemen of the Right!

Where now is Mr. Gaitskell in this real fight of the workers? Where now are all his friends and prophets of the 'new' 'crisis-free' capitalism, the Jays and the Stracheys and the Croslands and all the rest of the petty academic crew of rosewater beautifiers of capitalism? Silence descends upon them when their fairytale theories are confronted with brute facts. What is Mr. Gaitskell, that doughty self-styled 'fighter' against his own party, doing to help the fight of the car workers against capitalism? What about Mr. Carron, so valiant against the militant trade unionists to denounce them as 'werewolves', and so exuberant in geniality at dinners with the employers? Here is the test of practice, of real capitalism, gentlemen of the right wing. What is your answer? What is your advice to the car workers? Mr. Gaitskell and his friends are too busy helping the Tories to impose the Polaris missile site to have time for the battle of the car workers against redundancy dismissals, or of the miners in the closed pits or of the imprisoned rent strikers. Mr. Carron and his friends on the Executive Council of the A.E.U. are busily engaged in using the machinery and finances of the union to circulate literature challenging the union's own democratically decided policy, as 'Engineer's' letter in our current issue reminds us.

Socialist Answer

It is indeed appropriate that the forty-third anniversary of the victorious socialist revolution should have brought into sharp focus the socialist answer at the very moment of the redundancy dismissals in Britain or the three and a half million official unemployment figure in the United States. The anniversary celebration did not merely bring into view that industrial production in the Soviet Union for 1959-60 has increased 23 per cent, against a plan target of 17 per cent for the two years (industrial output in Britain 'has now stopped rising'—*Treasury Bulletin for Industry*, November, 1960), or over the sixteen post-war years since 1945 has increased at an annual rate of 10.7 per cent against 1.8 per cent for the United States. It also brought out the information that 50 million out of

some 55 million Soviet factory and office workers have now gone over to the six or seven-hour day, and the switch will be completed by the end of the year. The average Soviet working week will then be 40.2 hours—less than in Britain, France, West Germany or the United States.

Shorter Hours and Rising Standards

But are not many British and American car workers now being cut down to a 2½ to 3-day or 19-hour week? True, with a corresponding slash in their wages to sudden poverty, and goodbye to the beautiful H.P. goods. It is only under socialism that automation brings no terrors and that technical advance means shorter hours with higher standards. The current Seven Year Plan will bring to Soviet workers not only the shortest working day and working week in the world, but simultaneously a 40 per cent increase in real wages. Let Mr. Carron put that in his pipe and smoke it. It is worth adding, for those who may be bemused by pictures of Western 'freedom' and the socialist 'police' state, that prisons are now having to be successively dismantled in the Soviet Union for lack of occupants, while a grand new plan for building new prisons has had to be inaugurated in Britain to ease the overcrowding of the present vastly increased prison population.

Tory Economic Policy

While no one in his senses would dream of accusing the Tory Government or any capitalist government of being able to control capitalism, there is no doubt that the present offensive of the Government and the employers against the industrial workers, which finds expression at this moment in the wholesale redundancy dismissals and imposition of short time, is the deliberate and planned offensive of the Tory Government's economic policy. Every one recalls the election spree, with the tax reliefs and easing of hire purchase and credit facilities to encourage a spending boom on the basis of which the 'Tory prosperity' and 'you never had it so good' election propaganda could be put over. Let us never forget that the Labour revisionists aided and abetted this Tory propaganda by highlighting the same facts to paint the same spurious picture of the miraculous 'new capitalism' and the supposed prosperity of the higher paid workers. It is the Gaitskells, Jays and Stracheys, with their grandiose theories in essence glorifying modern capitalism, who were the

true organisers of the Tory election victories of the fifties—together with their Orwell-inspired propaganda of denunciation of socialism.*

Reversing the Engines

Immediately after the election spree to win votes, at the beginning of this year the Tory Government, as in the Amory statement quoted above, openly proclaimed their plan to reverse the engines and apply restrictions on the economy by the credit squeeze, restriction of hire purchase and high interest rates. 'A cautionary movement in the reverse direction' in the charming phrase of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which somehow failed to be included in the election manifesto. These high interest rates not only served to line the pockets of the financiers and bring rich profits to the City from foreign short term capital rushed to London—at whatever cost to British exporters and the consequent effects on the balance of payments. Some of the classic contradiction of the nineteen-thirties era between the interests of the City and the interests of the industrialists, characteristic of the distinctive structure of British finance-capital in contrast to the French-German model, has begun to re-appear in the present phase.

Short History of Post-War British Capitalism

This trend has always been the hallmark of the deeper decay and imperialist parasitic character of modern British capitalism. It was temporarily and partially interrupted immediately after the war by the heavy reduction of the overseas capital assets and the consequent enforced domestic reconstruction, with starveling Daltonian rates for the financiers, and spurt at all costs to rebuild the overseas capital assets. Once these had been rebuilt, there followed the increasing reversion to type during the fifties, with higher interest rates and the conspicuous lag in the rate of development of British manufacturing production and exports in contrast with its main capitalist competitors in Western Europe and Japan. Thus between 1950 and 1958 industrial output of West Germany rose by 111 per cent, of Italy by 81 per cent, and of France by 65 per cent, but of Britain by only 21 per cent. Similarly between 1950 and 1959 Britain's share in the capitalist world exports of manufactures fell from 25.5 per cent to 17.3 per cent. The first period of British post-war capitalism found political expression in the Labour Government, with its nationalisation measures and austerity. The second

*The effect of George Orwell's books on public opinion had been enormous. The impact of his 1984, a picture of what life was like under socialism, had more than any other single factor to do with the Socialists' defeat in the 1951 general election'. (C. Curran, Conservative M.P., House of Commons, July 21, 1960.) A tribute from a worthy source.

period, during the fifties, comparable in certain respects (not in others) with the Baldwin era of the nineteen-thirties, has found its suitable political expression in the Conservative Governments, with the 'unflappable' Adenauer-courting Macmillan replacing simultaneously the 'placid' pipe-smoking Baldwin and the Hitler-courting Neville Chamberlain.

Parasites' Paradise

It is worth noting that interest on the National Debt rose between 1951 and 1959 from £550 million to £778 million, and on local authorities' loans from £89 million to £265 million, while landlords' income from rent rose in the same period from £511 million to £1,082 million. Not without reason that incomparable master of the apt phrase, Mr. Butler, in his defence of the Rent Act in parliament on November 8, used what the *Daily Telegraph* next day wryly described as the 'unfortunate' expression that 'the Rent Act is going to bring dividends in the end'. Nor would it be correct to imagine that the lag in the advance of British production or exports under the Conservative Government has meant a lag in the profits of the industrialists. Between 1951 and 1959 the profits of companies, including nationalised industries, rose from £2,326 million to £3,806 million. Between the same years the market values of ordinary shares of companies rose from £9,600 million in 1951 to £21,400 million in September, 1959, or an increase of £11,800 million. It was in 1960 that the fall in these inflated values began.

Economic Offensive

These astronomical increases in the cash incomes (alongside tax reductions on those incomes) of all the parasites, landlords, money-lenders and coupon-clippers under a decade of Conservative Government (the marvellous new 'Contemporary Capitalism', as Strachey would say, but Gaitskell and Crosland are doubtful whether it should any longer be called capitalism) are not whistled out of thin air. They have to take material shape out of the labour of the workers. It is here that arises the elegant double action effect of the Conservative Government's economic policy. The higher interest rates have not only served to line the pockets of the financiers. The consequent contraction of the economy provides the basis to attack the standards of the workers and seek to head off their demands on wages or hours or enforce retreats by the fall in the level of employment, fear of the sack, redundancy dismissals and victimisation of shop

stewards. In all the countries of the capitalist world, but especially in the United States and Britain, signs have gathered of what is nowadays euphemistically called 'a recession'. Once again the only solution of the capitalists is to try to throw the burden on the workers.

Trade Unions and Politics

It is in this situation that the trade unions now occupy the main front of battle of the whole labour movement. The advance of the left in the Labour Party has occupied universal attention and is transforming the political situation and perspective in Britain. But this advance of the left in the Labour Party has only been made possible by the role of the trade unions. It has been made possible by the transformation of the role of the majority of the trade unions from that of passive bulwark of the dominant right wing political leadership to that of the main powerful and irresistible driving force of the progressive sweep forward for militant policies in the interests of the working class, peace and socialism. But this transformation in the role of the trade unions has not taken place in a vacuum. It is a reflection of the sharpening of the class struggle and of the economic situation, and of the deepening of the conflict against the policies of monopoly capitalism, including the war policies of monopoly capitalism. Hence the new confrontation is developing simultaneously in the industrial and in the political fields.

Trade Unions' Testing Time

The level of the industrial and the political struggle has risen simultaneously during the current year—always a sign that the left victories at Douglas and Scarborough were not some temporary unrepresentative 'doctrinaire' or 'pacifist' aberration, as the Gait-skells and Carrons would like to pretend, but a barometer of rising class struggle. During the first nine months of 1960, 8,153,000 workers won wage increases of £2,966,000 per week, together with some gains on the shorter hours front. This contrasts with the first nine months of 1959, when 4,236,000 workers won wage increases of £1,085,000 per week. In fact, however, the 1960 gains were only a very partial overtaking of ground lost in the relative lag of 1959. Advances in wage rates during the recent period have fallen far behind the advance in productivity or in profits and dividends. During 1959 productivity rose 8 per cent, profits 10 per cent, dividends 13 per cent, but wage rates only 2.6 per cent. Yet at the first

sign of rising militancy in 1960, the full counter-offensive of the Government, the employers, the capitalist press, television and the right wing trade union leaders has been launched against militant trade unionism, strikes and shop stewards. The political counter-offensive in the Labour Party by the same reactionary alliance to reverse the decisions of Scarborough is the parallel of this industrial counter-offensive. In both cases the trade unions are the centre of the battle, where the final decisions will be reached. Therefore it is urgent to look to the preparedness of the trade union movement from top to bottom for the struggles which have now opened. It is in relation to this testing time of trade unionism that our series 'Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties' by leading trade union representatives has been launched as a contribution to discussion and preparedness.

What Kind of General Council?

In 1921 the General Council was formed to replace the old 'Parliamentary Committee' and constitute, in the aims of the pioneers, a General Staff of Labour. At that time the Assistant Secretary (later, Secretary) of the Trades Union Congress, Fred Bramley, could write, envisaging a future Triple Alliance of Trade Unionism, Co-operation and Labour Politics:

A workers' combine of this kind, representing somewhere about 12,000,000 adults and 25,000,000 of the population, would make the passing of resolutions of protest against the present economic system as but a foolish pastime. We should so act that capitalism and all its disadvantages would disappear.

This was your predecessor, George Woodcock. How sharp the descent even in claims and aims. In these Notes in the October, 1921, issue of our journal we wrote of the formation of the General Council:

The birth of Labour's new General Council has taken place amid scenes of no very great enthusiasm. . . . The lack of notice is the less surprising, in so far as the difference in personnel between the old Parliamentary Committee and the new General Council is, apart from the increase in numbers, almost negligible. And yet the formation of this new General Staff of Labour will either have to mean the beginning of a new period in the history of Labour in this country; or else it will mean the failure of the last experiment of the old trade unionism to face the conditions of modern capitalism. Is the General Council the last stage of the old order or the first stage of the new? That is the question which the coming period will have to decide.

(Notes of the Month, *Labour Monthly*, October, 1921.)

Close on forty years have passed since we wrote those words. The General Council is still far from fulfilling the dreams of the pioneers.

Serving What Master?

That the General Council, under its so far dominant right wing majority, and despite the participation at different times of first-class militant fighters in its midst, has up to the present signally failed to lead the army of eight million trade unionists or co-ordinate their industrial struggles, is by now a familiar story. The great leap forward of the Douglas Trades Union Congress this year, which laid the foundation for the Scarborough victories, was not inspired by the General Council—on the contrary. At that same Congress the General Council majority aimed at putting over a Report on Strikes and Shop Stewards which coincided with and played into the hands of the parallel offensive by the employers and the capitalist press.

A Curious Manifesto

But at least it might have been thought that these paid functionaries of the unions, these sticklers for constitutional propriety, would have considered it their duty to carry out the decisions of their organisations. Again on the contrary. Twenty members of the General Council have signed a manifesto to declare that 'we as members of the General Council should like to make it clear that we adhere to' the minority defeated H-bomb and NATO statement which was rejected at Scarborough. The signatories include, not merely the representatives of the defeated minority, but the official 'representatives' of the major unions which carried the majority resolution for unilateral nuclear disarmament and the removal of American bases. Carron, placed on the General Council by the nomination of the A.E.U., signs this public manifesto against the policy vote of the A.E.U. and the majority decision of the Labour Party Conference; similarly Greene of the National Union of Railwaymen; and others. What kind of 'representation' is this? Whom do they 'represent'? Their unions? Or their august selves? Once it was the boast of these right wing trade union officials, when they yelped for action against a Bevan or a Zilliacus, that they as trade unionists, in contrast to 'the politicians', understood the virtues of 'discipline' and 'loyalty' to majority decisions. This conception appears to have vanished, once the boot is on the other foot. Is it not time that the unions should begin to concern themselves a little more with the character and functioning of some of their representatives on the General Council?

Who Are These 'Trade Union M.P.s'?

Still more peculiar is the case of the so-called 'Group of Trade Union M.P.s', a group with no official standing in the structure of the Labour Party, and which used to perform an auxiliary function in relation to industrial legislation, but which its present officers (for this unofficial group has its own officers) appear to imagine they can use as a kind of right wing caucus. This group on November 7 was reported, at a meeting of 60 of its 96 members, to have carried a resolution of confidence in Mr. Gaitskell, deploring 'public attacks' upon him, at the very moment when he was engaged in defying Conference majority decisions carried by the votes of unions which pay for these M.P.s. The resolution, oddly enough, was moved by a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union, the largest union supporting the policy defied by Gaitskell, and was seconded by a lord. It is evident that these 'Trade Union M.P.s' do not represent the trade unions, which expressed their democratic majority viewpoint clearly enough at Scarborough. The old-fashioned trade union conception of loyalty to majority decisions of their organisations has also evidently disappeared from their ranks.

Engels on Some Labour M.P.s

Three quarters of a century ago Engels wrote some words possibly applicable to some of these 'Trade Union M.P.s':

There will be workers in Parliament, in increasing numbers, and each one worse than the last. But that is necessary in England. All the scoundrels who played the part of respectable bourgeois radicals at the time of the International must show themselves in Parliament for what they are. Then the masses will turn socialist here too.

(Engels, letter to J. P. Becker, June 15, 1885.)

And again:

What is most necessary of all here is that masses of the official labour leaders should get into Parliament. Then things will soon go finely; they will expose themselves quickly enough.

(Engels, letter to Bebel, October 28, 1885.)

On another occasion he satirically suggested that the best way to get rid of some of the obsolete misfits in the working class organisations would be to send them into parliament. A piece of satirical advice which seems regrettably to have been followed all too literally in some quarters.

Trade Union Responsibility and Parliamentary Representation

But that was three-quarters of a century ago. It is time to move on a stage. Martin Harrison, in his industrious and carefully docu-

mented study 'Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945',* has described the pathetic situation of the 'Trade Union M.P.s', suspended in limbo between a parliamentary political leadership which awards them few plums and a trade union leadership with which they have little connection. He quotes the unhappy complaint of one of their number:

Those of us who find ourselves working on the political side of the union's activities are made to feel rather cut off from it. Apart from occasional meetings with and communications from Executive Council, our contacts with our fellow members of the Union are of the most tenuous nature.

It is time that the unions treated seriously this question of parliamentary representation. The unions have still in their gift, even if on a diminishing scale owing to previous neglect, some of the best impregnable working class constituencies—the equivalent of the 'pocket boroughs' of the working class, just as the Tory cathedral cities and watering places are in practice no more than the 'pocket boroughs' of Toryism in the archaic British constitution. Such unchallengeable strongholds of the working class, instead of being used as refuges for superannuation or for rejects from higher union office, should be exploited to the full as the invulnerable base for the most effective fighters and champions of the working class to bring honour equally to the union that selects them as its voice and to the whole working class whose representatives they are. For the fulfilment of this aim, not only greater care in selection, but continuous contact after return to parliament is essential.

United Industrial and Political Battle

It is a single industrial and political battle—at all times, but more than ever in present conditions. The traditional structure of the British labour movement is such that the trade unions carry the main weight, not only in the industrial battle, but also in the Labour Party. Previously they have not exercised their potential strength in the political field, because under dominantly right wing leadership they have provided in general passive voting majorities for a parliamentary political leadership pursuing capitalist politics. But the political advance in the unions has now reached the stage of begin-

**Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945* by Martin Harrison. Allen & Unwin. 32s. A valuable and indispensable survey, irrespective of the outlook of the author (which is not obtruded, and follows conventional 'moderate' lines) for all concerned with the source material in this important field. The study covers, with many tables and considerable statistical detail, the payment of the political levy and the trade union financial role in the Labour Party; policy formation, at the branch level, the union delegate conference and the party national conference, with an analysis of the role of different unions on different issues; the election of the Executive; and trade union parliamentary representation. Some unpublished sources are used, and full use is made of union journals.

ning to challenge the capitalist politics of the parliamentary leadership and return majorities for new independent policies. From this point the crisis opens—the battle which at this stage expresses itself as the battle over the future policy and leadership of the Labour Party. But it is evident to all that the question of leadership cannot be solved in terms of this or that individual. What is involved is the victory of a political trend, which in turn requires corresponding political organisation. It is here that we come to the essential character of the present battle as a class battle, which expresses itself superficially in the rival parliamentary alignments, and more profoundly in the question of the relation of the Conference and the parliamentary representatives.

Class and Party

The trade unions are not as such political organisations; yet they have to exercise a decisive political role in the present crisis in the Labour Party. This is the crux of the problem of the present situation. The unions are class organisations, drawing in all workers irrespective of politics. In these conditions either capitalist or working class politics must prevail. Spontaneity means the domination of capitalist politics (the right wing). But the victory of working class politics requires corresponding organisation, other than the all-inclusive unions, yet within the unions: in other words a political class party of the fight of the working class and socialism, not separate from the unions, but rooted in the industrial working class and the unions as the voice, the spearhead and organising force of the common fight. This is the indispensable rôle of the Communist Party in the common advance of the left and the working class movement. Once this alliance develops of the political class party and the mass organisations of the trade unions, the conditions open for decisive change in the political labour movement and in the political future in Britain. Scarborough has shown that this alliance is beginning to develop, though much needs still to be done to strengthen and carry forward this alliance. The supreme immediate task now is to unite all sections to ensure the fulfilment of the Scarborough decisions and the victory of democracy in the labour movement, in order to go forward in the present fight against the economic offensive and the war policies of capitalism and Toryism, and thus prepare the way for the greater political changes which are becoming ever more manifestly urgent in Britain.

November 15, 1960.

R.P.D.

DON'T MISS THIS!

Turn to page 555 for this month's contributions to our Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties series.

Amongst future contributions to the series already in hand are the following: **THE GREAT TRAGEDY**, by **JOHN NEWTON** (who, as most of our readers will know, is a member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and secretary of the Tailor & Garment Workers); articles by **HARRY WEAVER** (Building Trade Workers), **F. S. WINCHESTER** (Vehicle Builders), **GEORGE ELVIN** (Cinetechnicians), etc., as well as Discussion items from leading shop stewards and job representatives. Order your copies NOW. (See back cover.)

SELF-EDUCATION

Keep clear of the poison of the press
 Let your grand old misleaders alone
 It will pay for all your pains to educate your brains
 And do a little thinking of your own.
 When leisure and pleasure shall be free,
 And hardship and hunger shall go
 When the worker has his place at the top of the tree
 And the loafer is somewhere down below, below,
 And the loafer is somewhere down below.

C. W. Beckett, published in *Commonweal*, March 17, 1888.

THE PRESS JUNGLE

R. W. Briginshaw

General Secretary, National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants.

THE concentration of large-scale newspaper and periodical printing into a small number of powerful business groups has led to a position of near monopoly in national newspaper production. Space will not allow the detailing of the different groupings which operate in both the national and English provincial as well as the Scottish press, but the demise of the *News Chronicle* and the London evening paper *The Star* focuses attention on a further development in this process.

In articles in *Natsopa Journal* I warned that cold war political conformity would further weaken and eventually kill some newspapers. This factor, together with faltering and inept management, ended these two papers. I anticipated in May last that if such a thing happened, efforts would be made to put the blame on printing workers and journalists and their unions which seek to obtain and maintain decent wages and working conditions for their members. Two Tory Members of Parliament—Captain H. B. Kerby and Dr. Donald Johnson—dragged in a red herring when they put down a question in the House of Commons complaining of printing workers' restrictive practices. In time similar charges have been made against miners, railwaymen, engineers, amongst others, of ruining their industries when they struggled for better conditions.

These angry spoutings are not borne out by facts. In the printing industry the major percentages go on raw materials, overheads and expenses other than production wages. Even with these expenses, the *Mirror* Group profited in the past financial half year to the tune of £2,319,777. The *News Chronicle-Star* set-up, whilst not expecting to reach this level, could have profitably survived had it not been for 'the failure of management—a combination of fussiness and uncertainty'. I think the aptest epitaph came from James Cameron writing to *Reynolds News* recently:

the *News Chronicle* died of thrombosis, which is an active circulation impeded by clots.

In May last I wrote:

The *News Chronicle*—whoever was responsible for the death of its Radical policy—will be responsible for its total death, whether it is next year, the year after, or in ten years' time. At present the *Chronicle*, a policy ghost of the past, conforms with the NATO best.

Neither the *News Chronicle* nor *The Star* need have died. In both their fields, real anti-Establishment newspapers are needed. Instead of providing platforms of Radical opposition, they fawned on the Establishment and regularly stabbed at trade unionists. Others fawn and stab to better business.

That a newspaper which, with all its faults, can command a circulation of over a million and can be pushed towards death by large-scale advertisers is in itself a scandal. It is a contradiction and denial of democracy and freedom that organs of expression, even when they lap up the capitalist Establishment, can be pushed out of existence because the advertising life blood is withheld from them, run as they are primarily as businesses. Life in the newspaper and periodical printing world, as matters stand, resembles a jungle in which the weakest go to the wall. At present there is no doubt that those individuals and groups in control of the newspapers in this country have freedom of expression. They use this in such a way as to protect, preserve and project their interests in particular and those of the Establishment in general. Ninety-nine per cent of the press is for the Establishment, one way or another. Jeremy Thorpe, M.P., in commenting on the demise of the two papers recently, said:

More than ever before the right wing was now left with a virtual monopoly of the national press.

Monopoly of such an integral part of our life is self-evidently bad. The same views, with a more, or less, ultra slant—according to the predilections of the paper concerned—are presented to the populace, whose ideas are thus influenced by the unadulterated voice of the Establishment. The 99 per cent press monopoly in the hands of similar minded operators—it is not the end they quarrel about, only the means—plus the B.B.C. and T.V. (commercial television is owned by and large by the same monopolists controlling the newspapers) means the monotone of propaganda, the double-think of conformity, the brainwashing on behalf of big business, being thrust morning, noon and night before the people of this country. The voice of sanity can be but a small voice crying in the wilderness when this lot gets going—look at their unanimity in connection with the Summit failure, their whole-hearted support for Gaitskell. Yes, the 'Fourth Estate',* although divided between individuals, provides a singleness of mind when it comes to the basic issues. They will, to

*The Three Estates of the Realm, supposed to control Britain, are the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal and the Commons. Edmund Burke, eighteenth century reactionary Parliamentary orator, is credited with inventing the 'Fourth Estate', when, pointing to the Reporters' Gallery in the House of Commons, he exclaimed: 'Yonder sits the Fourth Estate, more important than them all'. But at that time the press was not owned by millionaire monopolists: on the contrary, it was then a threat to the old-established order which Burke represented.—Ed., L.M.

their last breath, defend their set-up and attack anything that threatens their position, or the position of those on behalf of whom they operate, even against basic national patriotism.

I believe that we all have an interest in the social effect of the application of near monopoly in national newspaper production. We, as citizens, must challenge the humbug of those owners and editors who claim they are operating newspapers in the public interest; that their objective is a check inside our country on bureaucracy; that they are a respectable 'Fourth Estate'. How rich, after the Diana Dors epics, *Forever Amber* and the prostitution of D. H. Lawrence's writings! Most of them are awfully shy concerning the truth that they are engaged, as they are entitled to be under the set-up, in running newspapers as businesses and edifices of power. Roy Thomson has the attribute, in this regard, of being patently honest and open about this matter; but what he says openly is a fact of life so far as newspaper production in this country is concerned.

Let me repeat what I said elsewhere in this connection. The labour and trade union movement, in particular the printing trade unions in the industry, together with an aroused public opinion, must express themselves on these important matters. Printing trade unionists have a double interest: firstly, as citizens in the social effect and application of monopolisation of national newspapers in particular and the domination of groupings in the provincial press; and secondly, as printing trade unionists with our fellows in the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, we have a particular interest in seeking indications for a stable future for those employed in newspaper production. Public expression must find its way into the Houses of Parliament again as it did following the conclusion of the war when the press and its operation in all its aspects came in for considerable fire and criticism. A new 'white-washing' Royal Commission will not be sufficient.

We must see what can be done both publicly and otherwise to provide some solid foundation for the possibilities that if newspapers are a public and social necessity, the service to the community should be supported by public funds to the extent at least of providing buildings and equipment for proper expression in the basic interests of the people of our country, challenging the near monopolists of the Establishment. Fresh thought must be given to ways and means of establishing a really free press in Britain, not dominated by big business in the interests of the narrow Establishment. The British people are entitled to speak and be heard.

WHO BLOCKS DISARMAMENT?

Quaestor

Until such time as the political agreement is concluded, the Delegation should therefore go very slowly with the conversations. . . . Until the political agreement is reached, the Delegation must treat the Russians with reserve. . . . The British Government is unwilling to enter into any detailed commitments which are likely to tie our hands in all cases.

*From the British Government's instructions to its Delegation negotiating in Moscow about military mutual assistance against Hitler, August, 1939.**

SUCH were the sage directions given by Downing Street to its military mission at a moment when Hitler had 2,000,000 men concentrated round the Polish borders, when in every speech he was threatening to attack Poland—and when the British press was faithfully echoing Foreign Office propaganda that the Government was doing all in its power to speed up an early military agreement with the Soviet Union and thus facilitate a political pact of mutual assistance. In fact, therefore, the Foreign Office was lying. The British Government was preventing an early agreement, not trying to hasten it. Soothing public alarm with empty assurances, it was in reality dragging out the talks on the off-chance that Hitler would decide to attack the U.S.S.R. before any British-Soviet agreement to stand by each other was reached.

Can anyone who has followed the recent negotiations about disarmament, twenty years later, doubt that—in some secret file or other—there are similar instructions, sent to the British delegation discussing disarmament, first at Geneva and then at the United Nations Assembly? And with a similar purpose, to avoid any commitment to disarm, on the off-chance that before any agreement is reached, the Pentagon and political gangsters ruling the U.S.A. may on some pretext attack the Soviet Union?

Can there be any other explanation of the fact that, directly the U.S.S.R. in 1955 accepted the levels of reduced armies and armaments on which Britain, France and the U.S.A. had been insisting for many months, the capitalist Powers repudiated them?

Can there be any other explanation of the fact that, when the U.S.S.R. in 1958 accepted the preliminary condition for a treaty stopping nuclear tests on which Britain, France and the U.S.A. had been insisting for many months (that a conference of experts should agree about means of detection) and the conference reached full

*Documents of British Foreign Policy, 1939, Vol. VI, p. 763.

agreement in a few weeks, the capitalist Powers immediately dragged out of a hat the bogey of underground tests, and refused to sign the treaty?

Can there be any other explanation of the fact that in March, 1959, when in Moscow, Macmillan agreed with Khrushchov that it would increase world security to study 'some method of limitation of forces and weapons, both conventional and nuclear, in an agreed area of Europe, coupled with an appropriate system of inspection'; and that, once the General Election was over, he 'forgot' the agreement?

Only people who want to be deceived can doubt that Macmillan is pursuing, in relations with the U.S.S.R. and particularly on the question of disarmament, the same policy as Chamberlain before the war. That of course is why Chamberlain's former confidant, Lord Home, was selected by Macmillan as his Foreign Secretary. That too is why Lord Home, after his first important journey in that capacity (to visit Adenauer), when asked by British journalists what he regarded as his main aim in foreign policy, did not reply that it was to achieve disarmament, or to relax international tension. No, he said it was: 'Containment of Communism'—just what Lord Halifax, one of Chamberlain's intimate advisers, complimented Hitler on, in November, 1937.

These basic truths about the Tory Government's foreign policy, which Gaitskell and his group of rebels against their party conference's decisions have never challenged, have been well illustrated by the course of disarmament discussions at the United Nations General Assembly.

On September 23 the Soviet delegation submitted draft principles of a treaty for general and complete disarmament under international supervision. This draft followed the lines of those submitted earlier, at the United Nations Assembly on September 18, 1959, and at the Geneva Disarmament Committee on June 2, 1960, with still further modifications to meet various western criticisms. It is important to note that, in regard to supervision, the draft provided that practical measures to set up an international control organisation should begin directly the treaty was *signed*, and that the organisation should begin to function 'the moment the treaty *comes into force*'. Thus it was clear that there could be no disarmament without control (supervision). Moreover, the draft laid down that

at none of these (three) stages shall any State obtain any military advantages over other States through the process of disarmament.

As an illustration of how these provisions would operate, one can take the first stage of the Soviet proposals, intended to be completed within twelve to eighteen months:

1. All means of delivery of nuclear weapons would be withdrawn from national armed forces, their manufacture stopped and their stocks destroyed.

2. These would include missiles, rockets, aircraft, surface ships, submarines, artillery and any other means capable of carrying atomic and nuclear weapons.

3. Armed forces would be cut down to agreed limits, with a maximum for the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. of 1,700,000 men each (at present the U.S.A. has 2,500,000 and the U.S.S.R. rather less). The arms and ammunition would be destroyed, their equipment scrapped or turned to peaceful uses, and the national defence budgets reduced accordingly.

4. All foreign troops would be withdrawn from other countries' territories to their own, and their bases closed down.

5. Rocket launchings, sailings of warships beyond territorial waters and flights of military planes capable of carrying nuclear weapons would stop, pending the complete destruction of means of delivering the latter. Rockets could be launched for peaceful purposes, but only under on-the-spot inspection.

6. States possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to hand over such weapons, or information on how to produce them, to other States not possessing them.

7. International inspection groups would supervise the destruction of the different carriers of nuclear weapons; at military bases, airfields and ports, rocket-launching ramps and all factories, shipyards, etc., used for making nuclear weapons. Others would supervise disbanding of troops, destruction of armaments and ammunition, conversion of equipment, etc., and would have access to all documents relative to defence budgets.

8. In the first stage there would be joint study of measures to stop the manufacture of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons themselves, and to destroy their stocks, which would occur in the second stage.

9. The international control organisation would report on results of the first stage to the signatories of the treaty and to the United Nations.

What would be the effect of this scheme? Abolishing means of delivery would meet the point first raised by France, loudly applauded at the time. It would strike a crippling blow straight away at the peril of nuclear war, and prepare for doing away with the peril altogether. The point about submarines would eliminate both the Polaris base in Scotland and the rocket-firing submarines which the Soviet Union also possesses as Khrushchov has revealed. Cutting down armed forces by about one-third would effectively dispose of the myth (repeated by Gaitskell at Scarborough) that the Soviet land forces might 'overrun Western Europe'. For bearing in

mind the size of the U.S.S.R. and its 40,000 miles of frontier, it could no more do that, against the other continental armies, than the U.S.A. could (in that case) invade the U.S.S.R. Thus, a real balance of forces at the lower level would be ensured. Restraining flights, warship sailings, etc., during stage I would add an element of international confidence. International inspection would be all-pervasive: at the same time it would begin *simultaneously* with disarmament, and the coming into force of the treaty (as distinct from its signature) could be arranged to ensure that the inspection machinery was ready to function. The preparations for preventing biological and chemical warfare would be a timely check on the brazen American preparations for it (the *Daily Telegraph* on November 8 printed a Washington message detailing these preparations, for which budgetary provisions exceeding \$70 million a year are being made, on the lying pretext that 'the Russian Army is equipped to use chemical and bacteriological weapons').

It is instructive that most British newspapers on September 24 avoided setting out the Soviet proposals in detail; and some of them published grossly misleading accounts. Thus the *Guardian's* diplomatic correspondent said that the Soviet plan meant that the West would give up its nuclear deterrent 'without any reduction in the vastly larger Soviet conventional forces available in Europe'. His colleague at the United Nations cabled that Khrushchov had repeated previous proposals for 'total and instant disarmament'. The leading article the same day said that the plan contained no proposals 'about how the destruction of rockets, missiles, bombers and such is to be verified'. Again, the *Daily Telegraph* on September 30 said that 'the East' was refusing 'to agree to the necessary measures of inspection and control'.

Direct and brazen misrepresentations like these are one more piece of evidence that the apologists for the capitalist Powers feel the weakness of their own case. The last time they put forward any counter-proposal of their own was at Geneva on June 27; and what was stated about that proposal in this journal in August remains true in November; not a single British capitalist newspaper has dared to print the text of the American proposals introduced that day and backed by the British and French governments! Why? Simply because (as a summary in *The Times* of June 29, the only one vouchsafed to British readers, showed) the proposals did not include the slightest measure of disarmament in any field for years to come; but did provide for six different forms of 'control', which in the absence

of any disarmament means espionage. And this is a settled line of policy—once more giving the lie to the Gaitskellites' story at Scarborough that it is the U.S.S.R. which is a menace to world peace. Opening the United Nations Assembly on September 22, President Eisenhower talked a lot about disarmament. But the only proposal he made was to stop production of fissionable material for weapons purposes—meaning that huge stocks already in existence would remain (Eisenhower proposed that 'substantial quantities' be transferred to international stockpiles) and nuclear weapons would go on being manufactured. Meanwhile experts would begin discussing how to verify their elimination—at some remote date in the future.

Again, when the Soviet delegation on October 13 introduced a resolution summarising the principal points of their plan, the western Powers next day introduced a counter-resolution which once again did not pledge any immediate disarmament, but in four of its six points laid stress on verification. As though to underline this, the British delegation simultaneously put in a separate resolution calling for a meeting of experts to 'examine means of verifying measures of disarmament'. The Soviet representatives repeatedly specified that they were ready to discuss verification at once, provided the representatives of the capitalist Powers agreed to discuss their proposals (or any alternative) which, if embodied in a treaty, would mean immediate and drastic measures of disarmament. But that was the one thing the British, American, French and Italian governments would not do. As a matter of fact, David Susskind, the leading American television commentator, when interviewing Khrushchov on October 9, put the issue very plainly: 'We consider that in the absence of trust, disarmament is simply impossible.' We should welcome such unusual frankness.

Naturally, the Foreign Office negotiators in 1939 did not tell the Russians—or their own people—that they considered a pact to stand by each other against Hitler was 'simply impossible'. But in practice they worked to sabotage such a pact. And the same is happening with disarmament today. Macmillan and Gaitskell do not say in public that they hate the U.S.S.R., and therefore that they regard a disarmament agreement with it as 'impossible'. But in practice they work to make it impossible—by standing pat for American bases and H-bomb stockpiles on British soil, for British subordination to the U.S.A. through the death-trap called NATO, for 'Polaris' submarines in British waters, and for the American-British refusal to accept or discuss in detail the Soviet proposals.

POLARIS AND CONSENT

Gordon Schaffer

IN the light of Mr. Macmillan's attempts to suggest that although there is no agreement, Britain can expect to be consulted before Polaris or other nuclear weapons are used, it is useful to recall that President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill actually made an agreement that the United States would not use the atom bomb without British consent. The British government released the U.S.A. from that pledge in return for Marshall Aid. The story is told in the *Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston) and the *Diary of James Forrestal* (Viking Press, New York).

Vandenberg's account (on page 359)—and it has never been denied by any of the parties—says that in the late spring or early summer of 1947, he and Senator Hickenlooper were startled to discover that President Roosevelt had agreed that the U.S. would not use the atomic bomb against any country without the consent of the British. The senators promptly got in touch with President Truman, Secretary of State Marshall and Defence Secretary Forrestal to 'express their surprise and opposition to any such arrangement and to urge the necessity for an immediate rectification of the agreement'. The diary goes on to record how Hickenlooper said he would not support American aid to Britain if this agreement remained in force and how they both told the administration that a satisfactory conclusion must be reached before any final action on the Marshall plan for aid to Britain. The Vandenberg Papers then go on to state that the British surrendered their right of veto on the use of the bomb in January, 1948.

The Forrestal diary (page 455) describes the surprise of the American government at the prompt acceptance by the British government of the proposal to send U.S. bombers to Britain in the summer of 1948 (after the right of veto on the bomb had been surrendered). The U.S. Ambassador was instructed to ask Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin if he had considered the 'implications' of this acceptance of the bombers. Bevin replied that he had, and the Editor of the Forrestal diaries adds the footnote:

The diary does not further explain the 'implications' which General Marshall had in mind but some of them may be readily guessed. The B29s were known throughout the world as the atomic bombers and to put a strong force of them in Britain's bases would bring them within striking distance of Moscow.

PIN MONEY



These pictures of social contrasts were
in London's Police Courts of the scene
Thomas Hood wrote his *Song of the*
of poor sempstresses were paid by the
shirt, and in proportion for other artic
ing tailors who were known to hav
un

NEEDLE MONEY



ublished in 1849, following disclosures
ating of the sempstresses about whom
contemporary account says 'Numbers
rs only three halfpence for making a
dy-made clothing sold by the advertis-
large fortunes by such disreputable
at'.

On July 15 Forrestal wrote in his diary:

We have the opportunity *now* (underlined in the original) of sending these planes, and once sent they are an accepted fixture, whilst a deterioration of the situation in Europe might lead to a condition of mind under which the British would be compelled to reverse their present attitude.

Even Churchill himself at the time raised a startled eyebrow at this one-sided bargain, the meaning of which is now clear to all.

FOREVER ENGLAND

If I should die, think only this of me,
That there's some corner of a foreign land
That is forever England.

RUPERT BROOKE (1914).

We found the tomb neglected and defaced. . . Part of the ironwork has already fallen or been wrenched away, and the railings at the head of the tomb barely hold together. . . The imperial War Graves Commission had no responsibility for isolated burial places such as this. . . The townspeople have renamed the open space surrounding his monument 'Cyprus Square'.

H. D. ZIMAN, '*Rupert Brooke's Neglected Grave*', DAILY TELEGRAPH,
October 14, 1960.

HUNGARIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

An interesting question is, who supplies the funds to hire the professionals who surround embassies and follow foreign visitors with insulting signs and shouted epithets? I find it hard to believe, but I am informed that substantial funds for such undesirable activities come from federal appropriations, under a disguised name.

After the Soviet Deputy Premier, Mr. Mikoyan, visited me in Cleveland, I made a point of investigating the group of Hungarians who endeavoured to molest him in Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago. It turned out that the identical people had gone into all three cities by car and had obviously been hired and financed by someone with ample funds, reputedly Uncle Sam. In Cleveland representatives of the State Department gave every evidence of conniving with the Hungarian hecklers by putting at their disposal the routes and locations most advantageous for their hostile demonstrations against the Mikoyan party.

I have also looked carefully into the background of the so-called Hungarian Freedom Fighters. Many of them turn out to be former officers of the Nazi Army that invaded Hungary; they were, of course, obliged to flee the country when Hitler was defeated.

CYRUS EATON, Cleveland industrialist, *Letter to Senator Fulbright*,
DAILY TELEGRAPH, October 12, 1960.

Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties

N.A.T.O. PREVENTS PEACE

George Scott *

IN a changing world nothing has been more fleeting than Labour's defence policy. Three times in the last three years it has suffered rapid and drastic change. This year it was indeed time for a change: and before we look at the next steps which must be taken, it is worth a glance back. We need not go so far back as the beginning of this sorry business when Ernest Bevin developed what his close acquaintance, the late G. D. H. Cole, described as his 'disastrous policy'; or when even the Tory Winston Churchill was astonished at Bevin inviting the U.S.A. bombers into Britain without any quid pro quo. The last three years are enough.

Today the trade unions of this country are faced by the consequences of a disastrous policy which was never properly examined: and amongst these consequences is the challenge to the democratic decisions of Scarborough, by no other than the leader who led us all to defeat at the General Election fourteen months ago. Let us examine therefore, the quick-change-artist policies of these years.

The first policy was based upon the theory that Britain should possess nuclear weapons in order to preserve its power and influence in the world. This was vehemently expressed at the 1957 Brighton Conference. The parliamentary chiefs of the Shadow Cabinet (in the shadow of the 1955 defeat they had brought on the Labour Movement by their policy) were all for Britain having nuclear weapons. Anyone of them could be quoted. But those who had lived in the company of the upper-class Admirals and Field-Marshals were particularly outspoken. A former Minister of War, John Strachey, said that

unilateral action... would be to make Britain the wholly dependent satellite of the United States... It would make a future Labour Foreign Secretary unable even to consider policies which were not approved by the State Department in Washington.

(Labour Party Annual Conference Report, October 3, 1957.)

The policy for which they won acceptance at Brighton† by 5,836,000 votes to 781,000 was not only illogical. It was also highly danger-

*Mr. Scott, as many of our readers will know, is a National Officer of the Electrical Trades Union, and led that union's delegation at the Labour Party Conference in Scarborough.

†It was at this Conference that Aneurin Bevan, no longer leading the Left, had made his much-quoted appeal to the delegates not to send 'a British Foreign Secretary, whoever he may be, naked into the Conference Chamber' without the H-bomb.

ous; since by the same reasoning, other countries would also strive to possess nuclear arms, thus making more difficult the task of securing agreement to ban these terrible weapons.

The next year at Scarborough found Gaitskell arguing for a free hand, when he wound up the debate about the then latest defence statement, which he regarded 'as an outstanding policy for foreign affairs for the future Labour Government':

The truth is that it is impossible to lay down the details of defence policy and what you should do in matters of this kind in opposition. . . . Firstly, because a great many of these things are secret. . . . Secondly, because you cannot really determine your defence policy in isolation. You have to have your discussions with the United States.

On unilateral disarmament he said:

If we do this on our own and we remain in the NATO alliance, all we are doing is to shelter behind the American bombs.

(Labour Party Annual Conference Report, October 2, 1958.)

After that he argued against a resolution (defeated by 5,538,000 votes to 1,005,000), which proposed a non-nuclear club, that it would be ineffective.

Yet six months later that 'outstanding policy' was already out, and he was sponsoring, as the next abortive policy, that highly publicised Non-Nuclear Club, under which Britain would renounce these weapons if countries other than the United States and the Soviet Union would do likewise. This notorious non-starter failed to note that others such as de Gaulle also believed, with our Labour Party foreign policy experts, that nuclear weapons conferred power and independence from American policy. And de Gaulle refused to be convinced by the logic of Mr. Gaitskell's second illogical policy.

Finally came the Blue Streak fiasco, and it was found that Britain had 'an independent deterrent', but no independent means of delivering it. So, to quote the policy:

In future the provision of the nuclear deterrent must be left to America.

Thus ends the costly failure to attempt to provide an independent deterrent, and British policy rests where it always has done: not on the foundation of Labour policy, but on that of Washington and the Pentagon. For dependence on NATO, CENTO, and SEATO means exactly that.

Let us make no mistake, this alliance is not a defence of freedom against slavery, but of international Capitalism against Communism. Some of the countries in these 'defensive' set-ups are dictatorships, or semi-authoritarian régimes, which are anything but democratic. We all know now, for example, that it was not for freedom that

Britain intervened in a bloody civil war in Korea, in support of the infamous Syngman Rhee.

This servile attachment to U.S. foreign policy has given British Labour the cold shivers for years. Remember how a British Prime Minister had to fly to Washington in December, 1950, to prevent a United States General from dropping an atomic bomb on China, when his forces together with those of Syngman Rhee had suffered defeat after defeat in Korea. Then, in 1954 we were nearly dragged into war with Indo-China (with Nehru revealing what Dulles in his 'brinkmanship' had got ready to do), in order somehow to keep the French Army and white settlers safe in their fortress of Dien Bien Phu, from which they were ignominiously expelled. Then came the intervention of the United States Seventh Fleet at the off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu in 1958, and the frantic attempts to avert what could well have proved the final conflict; and now we have the latest cold war idea, the proposal to re-arm Western Germany with nuclear weapons.

All these potential disasters are a direct result of our military commitments in NATO. Like the bomb, it is not a defence: it is a dangerous delusion. It should be abolished, like all other war-like pacts, and we should repudiate the futile pretence that we can be protected if only we 'reform' it, and gain more control over it.

It seems that Labour's foreign policy has consisted of polite attempts merely to prevent the U.S.A., our patron and ally, from involving us in suicidal international adventures. It is time for a change. It is widely accepted that in the event of nuclear war, Britain, with its closely packed millions, will be the most vulnerable country in the world and probably the first casualty. Our future depends on how Labour acts today. The Labour Party must speak, and act, overwhelmingly for Britain's people: for international understanding and peace: for humanity to have a future.

The problems of trade unionism in the sixties are indeed important: and the *Labour Monthly* has done a good job in bringing them up for discussion. But to my mind the most crucial of all our problems is how the trade unions can work out a policy of world peace. Of first importance is to be rid of the Polaris and other bases.

It was from this standpoint that my organisation, the Electrical Trades Union, put down for discussion by the Labour Party at Scarborough a resolution which declared:

This Conference is of the opinion that the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons and the existence of foreign military bases in Britain endanger the safety and security of the British people. It believes that

the continuance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Eastern European Mutual Assistance Alliance (Warsaw Pact) prevent the peaceful settlement of outstanding differences and agreement being reached on nuclear disarmament. Conference, therefore, demands that the Government:

- (a) Takes steps to end the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons by all countries and particularly Great Britain;
- (b) Removes foreign military bases from British soil; and
- (c) withdraws from NATO and strives for the disbandment of that organisation and the Warsaw Pact.

At Scarborough the E.T.U. withdrew the resolution in favour of supporting the successful resolutions of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Transport and General Workers Union.

The E.T.U. is proud of the physical and financial support it gives to the Labour Party; they intend to see the Labour Party Conference's defence policy carried out, in the same spirit that they are loyal to and implement their own conference decisions.

DISCUSSION

Below are contributions on :

1. Combine Committees
2. The A.E.U. and the Bomb

1. From L.H.G. Guy:

(Sec., British Light Steel Pressings Shop Steward Committee (Acton); Rootes Combine Committee; E.C. Member, National Union of Sheet Metal Workers and Coppersmiths.)

IT WAS with great interest that I read the invitation to contribute to this series, and the first article 'Turning Point for Trade Unionists' by Robert Willis. One could only agree with the majority of it. But when he says: 'Today the workers' fight is not primarily for the right to work or the right to existence', does he mean that mass unemployment will never rear its ugly head again or even that the work people

believe it will not? I can hardly think so; for already the motor workers, and most people employed in industries where hire purchase terms and credit restrictions operate, are more than concerned with full employment and the right to work.

At this time in the sixties, what problems face the workers as they struggle for the right to work and for higher standards? First, the one problem that has always been with them: a Tory Government. Secondly, an ineffective Labour Party leadership. Thirdly, many of the larger unions led by class collaborationists. Fourthly, the bans and proscriptions against Communists and many militants within the Labour movement.

Last but not least, the forming of combines, mergers and monopolies by leading industrialists and property owners. This presents trade unionists with new problems calling for effective consultation and action in a combine's units; and so the rank and file have been forced into producing their own machine and leadership. It is true that full employment (up to a few months ago) and the change in industrial techniques have led to a much more widespread demand for consumer goods and holidays abroad, such as used to be only available to the old middle class. At the same time, it has forced craftsmen, semi-skilled and skilled, into a greater unity of organisation, particularly in the mass-producing industries, such as motor cars.

In these factories it is not unusual to find works committees covering all unions involved acting with their counterparts in other factories in their particular industrial group or combine: the shop stewards Combine committees. They are obviously the product of the sixties, arising in opposition to the combining and merging of their employers. But in addition they have also appeared to do a job most trade union officials at district and national level were either not prepared to do or were actively opposed to doing. In the sixties ahead many more combine committees must be developed. Stewards themselves do not see these organisations as 'take-over bids' for national executive authority, but as organisations typical of the sixties, which can be used quickly and effectively when occasion arises. An example was the Rootes Group dispute in October.

Bad leaders are afraid of strong working class organisations and see in them threats to their own inactivity. Good leaders will use the

stewards' and combine committees to strengthen the labour movement and enforce its demands. This must be the prospect for the sixties. Good leaders are those seen out in front of the movement, with ideas and policies taking the working class a step forward; not so far in front that the workers cannot reach out and touch them on the shoulder, but leading and shaping the pure gold of the movement existing in the rank and file. This sort of leadership is exactly that of the stewards' and combine committees: close to the membership, feeling its pulse every day in the cut-and-thrust of factory negotiations. Full-time trade union officials worth their salt will understand this and put it to the service of the labour movement and the creation of socialism. For inevitably those who believe in the working class and are not afraid of its strength will be the new leaders of the sixties. The power of the movement developing will sweep away the Gaitskells, Carrons, Matthews and the like.

They are a product of the fifties, a product born and destined to die in this, the century of the people.

2. From 'Engineer'

THE Executive Committee of the A.E.U., in campaigning to line up the union behind Gaitskell's 'defence' policy, say they 'should have intervened more positively and not permitted the Labour Party delegation to reverse our T.U.C. support for the joint statement in view of its similarity with our own policy'. What is 'our own policy'? As spelled out in the A.E.U. resolution it is 'for an international agreement on complete disarmament, and in the meantime demands the unilateral renunciation of the testing, manufacture, stockpiling *and basing*

of all nuclear weapons in Great Britain' (my italics). The Labour Party statement, on the other hand, calls for 'continued loyal membership of NATO' and support in future for a U.S. 'thermo-nuclear deterrent'. Now Gaitskell's acceptance of the Polaris submarine base in Holy Loch proves to all that 'loyalty to NATO' does mean basing nuclear weapons in Britain. How right the delegation at Scarborough was to vote against the Gaitskell 'Defence' statement!

But who do the E.C. think they are to talk of 'permitting' the delegation to vote as they did on the official statement? The delegation doesn't have to get a permit to vote for the policy of the union, democratically arrived at. And defeated on that, note how the E.C. leaders next resorted to pressing the delega-

tion to abstaining from voting against the Gaitskell line. If they had got their way and the A.E.U. had abstained, the Gaitskell policy would have been carried at Scarborough (since the vote against would have been reduced from 3,339,000 to 2,666,000, with 3,042,000 for it). The result would have been the same double-think, double-face result as at Douglas! Now these same E.C. people come out publicly campaigning against their own members' delegation decision, spending time and money which could be put to better use in campaigning for better wages and conditions. And here they are ready to use press, radio and T.V. and all facilities put at their disposal by the enemies of the working class to subvert the decisions of their members. They need a short, sharp answer.

DID YOU MISS THESE?

For readers who have missed previous articles on trade union problems, in the past six months, may we draw attention to the following:

- W. J. Michael (*Blacksmiths*), 'A Modern Amalgamation in Progress' (July).
- W. Paynter (*Miners*), 'Crisis in Coal' (August).
- J. E. Mortimer (*Draughtsmen*), 'Prospects for Shipbuilding' (August).
- A. L. Horner (*Miners*), 'Coal: What Future?' (September).
- Vulcan, 'Have we the Leadership we Deserve?' (September).
- F. Crump (*Life Assurance Workers*), 'The Case for Nationalising Insurance' (October).
- D. McLaren (*Engineering Apprentices*), 'My First Strike' (October).
- F. McKenna (*Railwaymen*), 'The Great Trains Robbery' (October).
- R. Willis (*London Typographical*), 'Turning Point for Trade Unionists' (November).

Others may be found by referring to the Index.

CUBA: TWO SHORT YEARS

C. Desmond Greaves

AT the end of this month Cuban freedom will be two years old. Batista's flight took place on New Year's Day, 1959, and next morning Fidel Castro entered Santiago at the head of what was now the army of the Republic. Since then two years have brought Cuba greater changes than the preceding sixty. It is therefore of great interest to trace the causes of the revolution's extraordinary tempo.

The defeated Batista régime would have polled well as the 'world's most hated Government'. It was also one of the most unstable, resting on a narrow base of semi-feudal plantation owners, compradore capitalists, and a corrupt officialdom which included the trade union leadership. The sole reason for its existence was to protect against popular opposition a system of total economic subordination to foreign monopoly interests—a subordination surely well nigh unparalleled in any nominally sovereign state.

While the American military mission sat making policy in Havana, the monopolies glutted themselves on the produce of the people. A thousand million dollars of American investment included not only all big industry but thousands of acres of land—in an island the size of England with a population of six and a half million. So far had the balance of rural life been sacrificed to the one crop (sugar) the monopolists were most interested in, that a great part of the peasantry, completely landless, worked only during the sugar harvest and spent the rest of the year in enforced idleness and semi-starvation. Illiteracy, lack of elementary sanitation, infantile mortality, and disease went alongside rent and electricity rates which were among the highest in the world. The fact of American domination was written on the face of the country, and into every aspect of the lives of the people. The political domination (under the Platt Amendment providing for the intervention of U.S. troops) was set up in 1901, and maintained by a series of corrupted despotic puppets.

For this reason the struggle against the Batista tyranny had the character of a national-liberation struggle from the start. The régime lacked any vestige of moral authority. Its visible record damned it. Its anti-Cuban character was plain. One of the outstanding features of the revolution was therefore quite naturally its clean sweep of the Batista State apparatus. The democratic constitution of 1940 had been destroyed by Batista: the constitution of 1940 was restored. The military mission was expelled; the army

disbanded; the police agencies dissolved; the municipal and provincial administrations dismissed; the corrupt trade union bureaucracy removed. In their place were established the institutions of the people, the Council of Ministers, the revolutionary army (including workers' militia) the National Institute for Agrarian Reform, and the two State banks. The Communist party was restored to legality, and trade union democracy re-established. The new régime had enthusiastic mass support.

The programme of the Castro Government was national independence, agrarian reform and industrialisation. On the human side this meant an improved standard of living, and vastly expanded education, health and housing services. Its centre was the agrarian reform which began in January, 1960, when powers were used to confiscate all estates of above one thousand acres.*

This measure was essential. Without it there could be no full employment in the countryside, no diversification of agriculture, no raising of living standards or expansion of the internal market. It was not discriminatory. Foreign and Cuban landowners were treated alike. Nor did it affect the bulk of foreign investment which was industrial. Nevertheless the first confiscations of American property under the reform were the signal for a crescendo of economic reprisal from the U.S.A., with military provocation.

A possible explanation of American intransigence, which cost them every dollar of their Cuban investments within nine months, is that Agrarian reform corresponds to the centuries old aspirations of the entire South American continent. This dangerous beacon must be dowsed at once, whatever the risk. One by one American-owned industries were thrown into the economic sabotage of the Cuban revolution, and one by one they were 'intervened' or nationalised outright by the revolutionary State. Such firmness on the part of the new national Government was only possible because at each stage in the struggle assistance was immediately forthcoming from countries of the socialist world, which supplied oil, machinery and equipment, accepting in return the sugar and fruit which Americans now refused to touch. The economic strength of the Socialist world, as well as its own internal vigour, preserved the Cuban revolution from one of the most thorough-going Trade Wars of modern times.

**CUBA: Anatomy of a Revolution*, by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy (Monthly Review Press, New York, 176 pp. \$3.50), is full of interesting and useful material, particularly on Fidel Castro's background and experiences and on the Movement of July Twenty Six (the day in 1953 when Castro first headed a rising). Under-estimation of the development of the Cuban working class led the authors to some mistaken conclusions.

In the course of nine months, the entire pattern of external trade was revolutionised, but Cuba ended with greater foreign currency reserves than when she started.

American pressure, instead of slowing up the revolution, under the existing conditions, forced it to move with constant acceleration. With the realisation of defeat, came the attempt to produce a figure-head who might lead an intervention from among the mutually feuding emigres of Florida. Just as in the trade war the economic strength of world democracy was shown, so at the United Nations appeared its diplomatic strength. The U.S.A. has been compelled to disclaim any desire of military intervention, while taking its marines to and from the Guantanamo base like the brave old Duke of York. The danger is not yet over but the world peace forces have been strong enough to prevent intervention.

Attempts to isolate Cuba by badgering the members of the Organisation of American States to condemn the Castro régime, have already proved a failure, and incidentally made the attitude to Cuba the touchstone for progress throughout Latin America.

The Cuban revolution heralds the liberation of Latin America from imperialism. Internally its strength has been the alliance of workers and peasants. Externally, it has enjoyed the solidarity of world democracy, from the American progressives (and especially the Negro people) to the Soviet Union itself. What then is its present character? The Cuban Communists, who support the Castro Government unconditionally, but have no minister within it, declare:

The present stage of the revolution is the stage of national liberation, agrarian reform, and the smashing of the fetters of colonialism and the elimination of the remnants of feudalism, a stage preceding the one in which the relations of production based on collective ownership of the means of production will be fundamentally and decisively established.

Speech of Anibal Escalante at 8th National Congress of the Popular Socialist Party, August 18, 1960.

The forces which are carrying out the programme of 'national liberation and agrarian revolution' are the 'proletariat as a whole, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and even the national bourgeoisie' despite vacillations among important sections of the last. The Communists are striving to retain the national bourgeoisie within the revolutionary camp, for the preservation of the alliance of the classes against imperialism and its agents in Cuba. According to Escalante, 'the programme today is not a socialist programme, but we, adherents of socialism, tell the masses that the logical development of the revolution leads to socialism'.

GOLD SCARES

John Eaton

What a god's gold! . . .

To thee be worship and thy saints for aye

Be crowned with plagues, that thee alone obey!

(Timon of Athens)

SUDDENLY in the last weeks of October the 'gold rush' began on Tuesday the eighteenth: the price of gold in the London market soared from 250s. an ounce (the normal price corresponding to the American Treasury's fixed selling price of \$35 an ounce) to over 285s. equivalent to \$40. It was as if the seismograph of the capitalist world economy had suddenly begun to oscillate wildly. And speculation ran frantically through the banking parlours and stock exchanges, some hot with hopes of profit, but most shivering with cold apprehensions and wondering what it portended. In mid-November, as I write, the seismograph has steadied, with gold only slightly above the normal price; but confidences have been shaken and the incident leaves a mark that will never fully be eradicated.

Forces that neither New York, nor London, nor Bonn, nor Paris, nor Tokyo know how to control have shaken—only an inch or two perhaps—but distinctly moved at least—the marbled institutions of those great financial centres, that advertise unshakeability as their first asset. *The Banker* (November, 1960), describing the incident as a 'further manifestation of deep-seated instability in the world's mechanism for international payments', writes:

The most disquieting aspect of the break away of the gold-price is that it is not only a consequence, but also a new cause, of distrust of the U.S. dollar.

The immediate cause of the 'break-away' was that speculators in Switzerland (at least a third of them believed to be American) decided as an insurance against their (and other people's) fears to buy gold and were ready to pay 'above the odds' for it at a time when supplies in the gold market were limited. The U.S. Treasury only sells to central banks 'for legitimate monetary purposes'. Its price of \$35 an ounce normally sets the limits to the free gold market so that prices there keep within about 8 cents of the U.S. price, 8 cents being the estimated cost of transferring gold from the U.S. This October 'breakaway' was a severance between the 'free market' price in London and the bankers' price in New York which could,

of course, have been ended if the central bankers or the U.S. authorities had allowed gold unrestrictedly to flow into the free market.

This is not the first time that the market price of gold has widely diverged from the official price. In 1949 it rose to \$50 and during the Korean war to \$42 but it was believed widely in capitalist circles that now a stable relation between the gold market and the official price had been established and this breakaway came as a profound shock to all who imagined that monetary relations between the currencies were now surely based and under control. The various currencies are all hitched to the dollar and through the dollar to gold at the officially prescribed price. Collapse in the dollar-gold relationship would inevitably dislocate the whole structure of currencies in the capitalist world.

The several reasons underlying the current distrust of the dollar include—changed economic relations between the great powers, the U.S.A.'s loss of economic and political prestige (U-2 incident, UN meeting, etc., etc.), speculation on Democratic policy if Kennedy wins and a general atmosphere of uneasiness due to international tension and the worsening economic situation in the U.S.A. and elsewhere. The *U.S. News and World Report*, October 31, 1960, quotes an international banker in reply to the question 'Why this sudden interest in gold?' as saying:

Whenever people begin to fear for the value of their currencies, or other things, they think of gold. Land can be seized by Governments, but gold can be hidden. Governments can legislate all they want but they can't change people. And, right now, people are worried about many things. Where they can, people are turning in many cases to gold as a haven for their savings.

Where is this incident likely to lead? Of course, in such a situation innumerable axes are brought out to grind—an increased gold price is urged, revaluation of the D-mark, devaluation of the dollar, etc., etc. But the last thing the U.S. imperialists want is to devalue the dollar. Their problem is that, apart from trade, the U.S.A. is spending annually about \$9 billion abroad, one-third approximately on private investment and the like, one-third on Government loans and grants and one-third on military expenditure. Its trade surplus covers less than two-thirds of this and the balance which in past years has been largely met by the inflow of funds into the U.S.A., is now mainly being met by the outflow of gold. Of late, because interest rates are higher elsewhere and because U.S.A. is no longer so confidently regarded as the unshakeable citadel of capitalist power, the movement of funds out of the U.S.A. has been quite rapid

and for the first time in recent history its balance of payments situation causes alarm to U.S. imperialism. Of course, if U.S. imperialism ceased to be imperialistic, its problem would be solved overnight, but imperialism being what it is, the last thing the U.S. authorities want is a devaluation which would force them to pay more dollars to cover the cost of their interference with other peoples overseas. The Germans, on the other hand, are at this particular stage not investing or spending much abroad outside of trade but are accumulating huge reserves to the great embarrassment of everyone else and driving hell for leather to continue the rapid expansion of their exports. Consequently they are uneager to revalue the D-mark and even on the reduction of interest rates made it quite evident that they will consult their own convenience first and foremost. The British authorities still cling to the Tory shibboleth of 'absolute priority' for 'keeping sterling strong', but any realist must shiver when he contemplates the decline in the fortunes of British exports and the profound underlying weakness in the technical equipment of British industry. Temporarily the Pound is moving ahead only on the backwash of America's misfortunes. And so the tensions and unbalances remain; the threats to exchange stability creates fears for international liquidity and the gold scare though it has passed from the headlines must be read as a symptom of deep-seated difficulties.

UNITED NATIONS IN THE CONGO

A Diary of Events

*This is a continuation of the Diary commenced last month giving a history of the relations of the United Nations with the Congo.**

October 11. In Ruanda-Urundi (still under Belgian trusteeship) the Ruanda king protested against 'the enormous build-up of Belgian military forces' in the territory (D.T.).

October 16. A correspondent says gangsterism in Leopoldville is 'causing serious concern and a growing lack of confidence in Col. Mobutu's

ability to protect even his nearest colleagues' (O.).

October 18. In a statement Mobutu said that he had received assurances from Tshombe of full support 'military, financial and economic. . . . There is no question of Parliament meeting. Whether the U.N. want it or the Afro-Asian bloc likes it makes no difference' (D.W.).

October 22. Belgium has rejected a demand of Mr. Hammarskjold that 'about eighteen hundred Belgian technicians still working there be recalled' (G.).

*The items of the diary are compiled under dates of newspapers, which are referred to in parentheses by the following initials: D.T. = *Daily Telegraph*; T = *The Times*; O = *The Observer*; G = *The Guardian*; D.W. = *Daily Worker*; A.P. = *The Associated Press* agency; T. Mag. = *Time Magazine*; D.E. = *Daily Express*; D.H. = *Daily Herald*; Ec. = *Economist*.

October 24. A report from U.N. confirmed that the United States had given 'private backing' to Mobutu, and commented that should the United States stick to Mobutu 'it might find itself backing a loser' (A.P.).

October 27. Mobutu, says a report, has agreed with U.N. officials to withdraw his Congolese troops from Leopoldville 'where they have been terrorising civilians in the African quarter' (G.).

October 28. The Pan African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa, at its Conference held in Uganda, has issued a 'declaration of support for Mr. Lumumba as rightful ruler of the Congo' (T.). In Leopoldville U.N. officials were concerned about 'increased Belgian "penetration" into the Congolese central and provincial administration in recent weeks . . . their number in Leopoldville had risen from 4,500 in July to 6,500' (G.). Another report said that 'Belgians in key positions in the Congo are attempting to influence local politics by creating anti-Lumumba atmosphere' (D.T.).

October 29. Mr. Yav, the Katanga 'Defence Minister' arrived in Brussels with 47 Army trainees for training in Belgium. He said Belgium 'was the only country in the world which fully understood Congolese problems' (G.).

October 30. Eight Afro-Asian states tabled a resolution calling upon the Secretary General 'to take all useful steps towards facilitating and assuring of a meeting in the shortest possible time of the Parliament of the Republic of the Congo'. It also calls for 'a decision by the Assembly to seat immediately the representatives of "the central Government" of the Congo (meaning Mr. Lumumba's Government)' (O.).

October 31. A report stated Mobutu's 'control of the Army was wavering and everywhere, it seemed, there were plotters trying to push Patrice Lumumba back into power. . . . Tshombe still depends on Belgian aid to keep his government going. Belgian engineers and money still operate the big copper mines, and Belgian advisers and experts on Tshombe's payroll virtually run the Katanga government departments and provide leadership for the army. Every government minister has a Belgian *chef de cabinet* to advise him on every move: more often than not the Belgian summons the minister when he wants him, sits while he stands' (T.Mag.).

November 3. The U.N. reports that J. M. Roberts, an Englishman aged 23, was arrested for violating a U.N. sponsored truce and 'directing reprisal massacres' in Kasai Province. He was recruited by 'a secret recruiting agency for white volunteers' with 'a Belgian colonel in charge' and was given the rank of captain. 'He said: "I did it mostly for the money (£179 a month plus £3 10s. 0d. for every day in action) but also because I did not like what Mr. Lumumba had done in the Congo".' According to the report he said that in one action at a village called Malundu: "I burnt the village down. There were two hundred huts. . . . Our men opened all the huts and looted some" (T. and G.).

November 4. A report was presented to the General Assembly from the U.N. Special Representative in the Congo, Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal (who was Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan). He had arrived in Leopoldville on September 6, to replace Dr. Bunche, who had been withdrawn. Dayal had submitted a preliminary progress report on Sept-

ember 21. His next report 'to some extent supports charges which the Russians have been making against the Belgian Government' (D.T.). About Mobutu's army coup: 'The eruption of the Army into the political scene constituted a menace to peace and security and actually inhibited peaceful political activity'. He described Mobutu's Commission of University Students as 'invariably accompanied by numerous Belgian advisers' (G.). Dayal reveals that 'some Belgian nationals are believed to have been actively arming separatist Congolese forces and in some cases Belgian officers have directed and led such forces which, in certain areas, have been responsible for brutal and oppressive acts of violence' (D.E.). The 'report says "a gradual but purposeful" return is being staged by Belgian nationals' (D.H.).

November 5. A New York dispatch said that the U.S. State Department has criticised Mr. Dayal's report, being 'unable to accept the implications of bad faith on the part of the Belgians. The department's remarks seem to derive largely from uneasiness at what is regarded here as support for Mr. Lumumba by U.N. staff in the Congo' (T.).

Writing about the Afro-Asian Conciliation Group: 'It is an open secret that the U.N. has lately been more in conflict with the Colonel (Mobutu) than with Mr. Lumumba. . . . Their first imperative will be to find a way of seeing that the Congo parliament is recalled to take a decision on who is to lead the government. Even if it seems likely that Mr. Lumumba will be able to hypnotise the deputies yet again the risk must be taken' (Ec.).

November 6. A Leopoldville correspondent says: 'Congolese sup-

porters of Mr. Lumumba are, of course, delighted that their campaign for the restoration of Parliament—which Mr. Lumumba can probably control without much difficulty—now has Mr. Dayal's support. It is believed that there can be no political settlement of the present crisis without the participation of Mr. Lumumba, who still commands considerable support in the country.' The correspondent adds: 'there are now Belgian advisers in almost every Government office in Leopoldville. Some Provincial Ministers also have Belgian councillors. . . . The United Nations alleges that these advisers are . . . encouraging the *commissaires* installed by Col. Mobutu . . . to by-pass U.N. advisers and experts . . . that the object of the Belgians is to re-establish themselves as masters of the Congo' (O.).

November 7. It was reported from New York that the U.N. 'conciliation group' has been instructed 'to try to re-establish parliamentary rule in the Congo. If this means merely re-convening the "rump Parliament" over which Mr. Lumumba has shown his mastery, it will amount to restoring him to power.' Brussels states that the Belgian Government has decided 'to reject the United Nations request for the withdrawal of technicians from the Congo' (T.).

November 8. In a report from Leopoldville, Mr. Lumumba said that 'he fully supported the U.N. report by Mr. Dayal. . . . He called on the U.N. to respect and conform to the decisions of the Congolese Parliament . . . he also expressed his "full confidence" in the U.N. and Mr. Hammarskjöld'. Mr. Tshombe in Elizabethville however, 'described the U.N. report as "completely lacking in objectivity"' (G.).

H.R.

BOOKS

Room at the Bottom

Katherine Hood

Lawrence & Wishart, Ltd. 72pp.
3s. 6d.

THIS is a valuable book; it sets out in detail—but without dullness—the hard facts about the operation and effect of the social services; and it adds many of the valuable political lessons to be drawn from those facts, leaving to the thoughtful student the opportunity to draw many further such lessons for himself.

Among the facts which will surprise most of those who do not have to resort to the social services for themselves is the very high proportion of those who ought to be eligible for benefit under a scheme which claims to cover the whole field, but are not in fact covered; one fifth of those who ought to be drawing retirement pensions are not in fact drawing them, being disqualified for 'insufficient contribution record' or similar causes, and the proportion of those losing unemployment payment on similar grounds is nearly the double of one fifth; those who suffer are of course those who most urgently need the benefits. Another surprise is the high proportion of those actually drawing benefits who have to seek supplementary payments from the National Assistance Board, with its hateful and degrading means test; for example, about one fifth of those drawing retirement pensions are also 'on the N.A.B.'

When one turns to deeper and more long-term defects, the author brings out very well the results of the whole service being on a contributory basis. These go far beyond the fact that workers have to pay

a substantial part of their weekly earnings; they alter the whole nature and basis of the scheme. In place of proclaiming the duty of the state to spend out of its vast resources whatever is needed for the maintenance of our greatest human and economic asset, the working population, contributory schemes base everything on a 'fund', notional or actual, with all its capitalist implications of solvency, of balancing a budget, of 'We can't afford'. As a result benefits are kept low, and the bogey of 'financial practicability' is allowed to prevail over true economy—just as if it was the duty of all of us to ensure always that no worker should ever for a moment even appear to be getting out of the community more than he puts in. If one takes the famous definition of Bernard Shaw that a gentleman is one who does not seek to consume more than he produces, then the workman can never for a moment cease to be a gentleman, and become a cad like the Tories who design these social service schemes to postpone the revolution, or the Labour leaders who in 1946 created the 'welfare state' on a contributory basis. Another lesson is that the somewhat better conditions applying to unemployment relief, as compared to retirement pensions, are the direct result of the struggles of the working class, and particularly those of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement, to which the nation owes a great debt of gratitude. It is interesting to recall that the mere approach of the Hunger Marchers to London in 1934 scared the Government so badly that they arrested and prosecuted Tom Mann and Harry Pollitt on charges of sedition, simply in order to make it impossible for them to get to London to welcome the marchers; result,

a humiliating defeat for the Government when Mann was acquitted at Swansea Assizes, and the case against Pollitt was thereupon withdrawn!

The great central lesson to be drawn, of course, is that only under Socialism can we get satisfactory social services; and yet, of course, under capitalism, what we have in fact got is so much better than nothing that we could not dream of scrapping it. The 'Beveridge Plan', when brought forward in the later stages of the war, with all its defects, was good enough to be so unwelcome to the Tories that Arthur Greenwood was rewarded for his persistence in forcing it into actual politics by being kicked out of the War Cabinet!

D. N. PRITT.

Sowing: An Autobiography of the Years 1880-1904

Leonard Woolf

Hogarth Press. 206 pp. 21s.

In this first volume of autobiography Leonard Woolf tells the story of his childhood and youth in an England that was beginning—but still only beginning—to sow the imperialist wind that we might reap the nuclear whirlwind.

Born of a bourgeois family, the son of a wealthy barrister who carelessly left his widow and children in 'comparative poverty', Mr. Woolf ventures the opinion that 'money is not nearly as important as we are inclined to believe'. Perhaps not, if we have sensible tastes and just enough to supply them. Mrs. Woolf, though in reduced circumstances, 'had a little capital' and by economy was able to educate her children and start them in life. If they had gone really short, the author might have been less cocksure.

He was a clever boy, won scholarships, and early on shed the Jewish

faith of his parents and became a rebel after his fashion. 'I have', he says, 'an instinctive dislike of all gods and Gods, kings, queens and princes'. So far so good! Unfortunately rebellion with Woolf seems never to have been more than a parlour game—a matter to be talked over at tea-tables with his friends in Cambridge or Bloomsbury. Thus, while seeing the capitalist Establishment for what it is, he recoils from anyone who fights it. To fight it, according to Woolf, is merely 'to sublimate' your 'private grudges and hatreds, the torture of real or imaginary inferiorities, in the public or oecumenical grudges and hatreds of the Communist Party'. Marx and the Russians have merely created an 'international political lunatic asylum... in which intelligent people can, in the name of humanity, satisfy animosities and

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salve their consciences'. Incidentally, the 'international political lunatic asylum' tore the guts out of Hitler's army, has sent a rocket to the moon and is training more scientists than the whole capitalist world combined. But the Woolfs of this world care for none of these things.

The plain fact is that while Mr. Woolf *talked* Socialism, certain other people set out to *build* it. It was the same thing, on a far smaller scale, in the French bourgeois revolution. The Girondins—the Woolfs of that age—talked; the Jacobins acted and saved France. That is the answer to the dilettante Woolfs who smugly lump together 'communism and national socialism and fascism, Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin', as if they were all one thing. They are *not* one thing, any more than a policeman frog-marching a tough is the same as a tough coshing a policeman, or Hiroshima the same as the Aldermaston March.

Only an indifference to what happens to mankind, so long as he can have his little day talking armchair philosophy with Bloomsbury intellectuals, can account for such phenomena as Mr. Leonard Woolf.

ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON.

The Garnet Bracelet and Other Stories

Alexander Kuprin
380pp. 7s. 6d.

The Simpleton

A. Pisemsky
224pp. 4s. 6d.

Outside Paradise and Other Stories

A. Ubits
364pp. 6s.

It Happened in Penkovo

S. Antonov
210pp. 4s. 6d.

All four from *Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow*

Central Books, London, W.C.1

THE first two are attractive new editions of two classics of Russian literature. Kuprin's stories are varied, but all give a clear picture of pre-revolutionary Russia. 'Moloch' in particular, the story of the visit of a member of the Board of Directors to a small town steelworks, of rioting at the works, and of the people involved, is a fine, compact example of Kuprin's style. *The Simpleton*, full of wry humour, tells the story of Pavel Beshmetev—'No manners, you know, none of that tact other young men have, no clever serious conversation. . . .' In spite of these handicaps, Pavel comes out second in his University finals, and woos and wins the belle of the town. Pisemsky uses all his literary skill in this description of the life of mid-nineteenth century provincial Russian gentry, and the book glows with vivid characterisation and humour. The books have been well translated, the first by Stepan Apresyan, the second by Ivy Litvinova.

The third is a satirical novel from the Soviet Union, *It Happened in Penkovo*. Penkovo is the centre of

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the 'Red Wave' Collective Farm—not a very big farm, not very efficient, but full of real people. The story, translated by Olga Shartse, tells of the effect of the arrival of Tonya, the new young zootechnician, and her efforts to improve life on 'Red Wave'. It is full of the nicest sort of sly humour, and makes you feel that this is a story of things as they really happen, and that among the great multi-millionaire collective farms of which we hear so much

praise, there must be a few 'Red Waves'.

At the same time, Central Books are issuing a handy volume of the short stories of A. Upits, *Outside Paradise and Other Stories*, which have been translated from the Lettish by T. Zalite. The volume contains a mixture of stories of Latvia, and of flights of fancy about the expulsion from the Garden of Eden and other religious subjects.

JUNE MOSS.

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SETTLED OUT OF COURT

Should any member after the decision of a committee and a general meeting on his case, appeal to a court of law for redress, he shall be expelled this Society, and forfeit all interest he has in the Society's funds.

From the *Rules of the Glasgow Tin Plate Workers, 1860.*

(Continued from page ii of cover)

in turn. I was fortunate to get the enclosed September copy back before it had travelled very far'. Where this means that a reader intending to return his loose copies for binding is short, we will of course credit him with that copy. And please tell us soon about your orders for binding this 1960 volume; details on back cover.

One of the best ways of being certain of not missing any in this series is to take out a postal subscription; for yourself, your branch secretary, for a friend. Note the enclosed order for the L.M. Gift Subscription; we will also forward any message to your friend which you send with your remittance. From then on a copy of L.M. will drop through the letter box on or before the first of each month. I hope, too, that more will follow the example of the reader who attends a Miners' Day Release school 'where I have four readers in my class, three of them Labour councillors'.

Greetings to all readers from the Japanese veteran poet, Wataru Kaji, who wrote so movingly about the June anti-Bomb demonstrations which he took part in, in the August L.M. Now he writes: 'It is a great honour for me, if my poem can convey to your fellow-countrymen how our people feel in endeavouring to avoid war. I send a warm greeting to all you fighting for our common cause—peace'.

Next month we must come back to the question of the fund; obviously there is so much that must be done now things are moving so fast. Circulation and support must move fast too. And you don't celebrate a unique birthday like our 40th without it, either. We will return to that subject after December 31. But meanwhile, when you are making up your list of presents in the next weeks, don't forget to put a bit aside for a New Year's greeting to your very old and faithful friend, LABOUR MONTHLY. October's total was:

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