

SOCIALIST REVIEW

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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SIXPENCE

ALDERMASTON AND BEYOND

COMRADES Krushchov, Eisenhower and Macmillan are largely responsible for the strength and vigour of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. This may sound paradoxical, but without their activities—or rather antics—the feeling against the bomb would not have reached such intensity. Their desire to pile bomb upon bomb, even after military experts have agreed that existing stocks are sufficient to exterminate one's opponent, is just one symptom of growing mental derangement. *Put this way it is obvious the rulers of the world are the cause of the present impasse. It is their production of nuclear weapons that has created the situation which imperils the very existence of mankind. Only political infants, sucking the dummy tits of pure innocence can expect that these rogues—the cause of all the trouble—will quietly solve the problems of nuclear disarmament at a summit conference. It is like expecting Genghis Khan to lead a movement against capital punishment.*

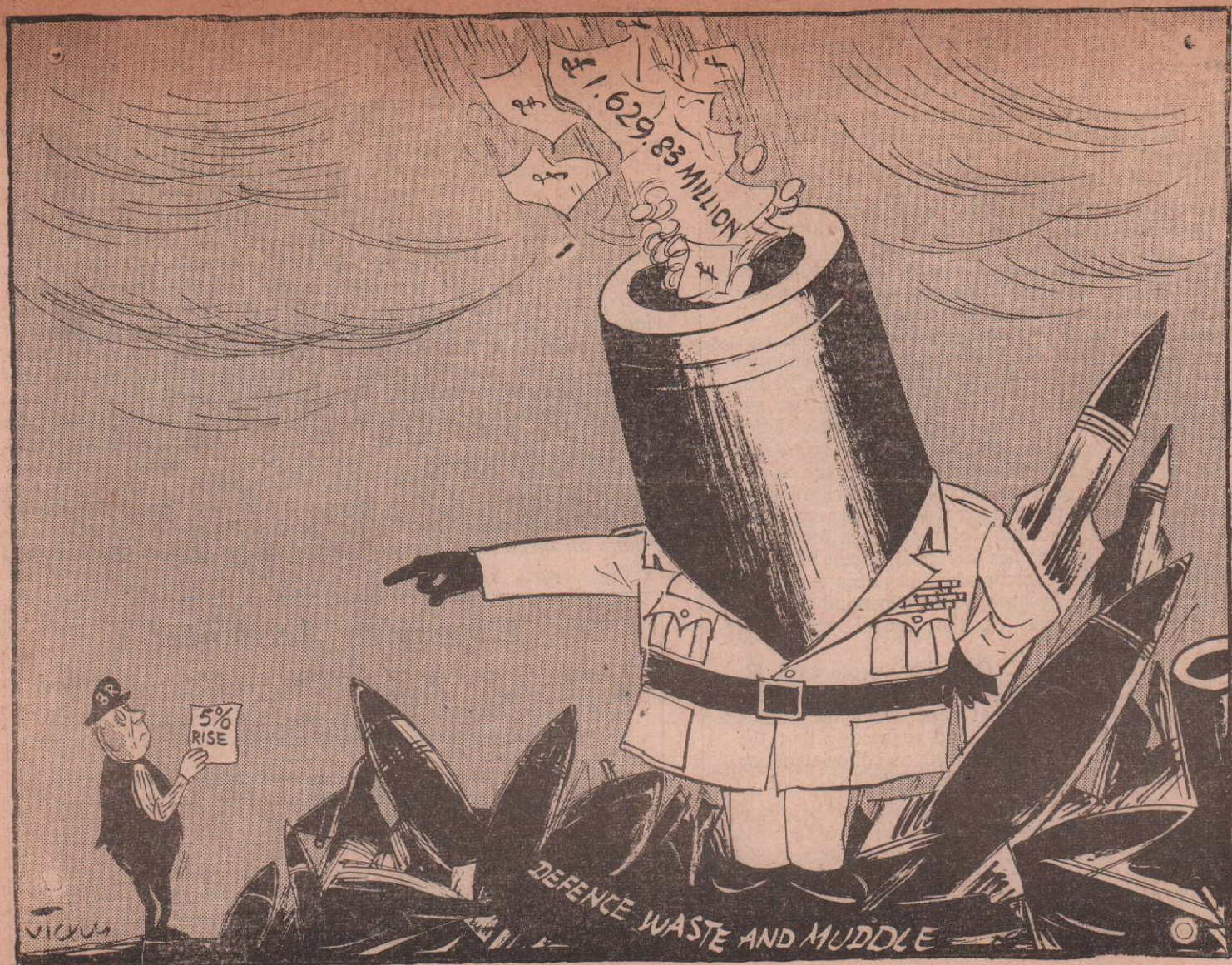
Yet this pathetic fallacy is prevalent inside the Campaign. Many feel that it is only a question of demonstrating against the bomb putting forward cogent arguments and... Mr. Macmillan, in a moment of lucidity, will express his desire to abolish the bomb. And, what is even more fantastic, that this same gentle Mr. Macmillan will then go to the summit to convince others too. Such illusions as these are common among CND supporters, who

while realising the dangers of the arms race and the urgency of nuclear disarmament, have no clear idea of the way ahead, no strategy of how their aim can be achieved. Wishful thinking replaces cool analysis.

Buttressing this attitude is the policy of CND's National Committee, who claim that the Campaign is non-political. As is usually the case when something is said to be non-political it conceals a number of highly questionable and very political assumptions. While this pretence of being non-political can be used against Socialists who use the slogan "Out with the Tories! Out with the Bomb!" the Campaign can issue, officially, a pamphlet of A. J. P. Taylor, *The Deterrent Myth*, which says, "I would not sack our political leaders... I should be sorry to lose Mr. Macmillan or Mr. Gaitskell." This, of course, is a quite non-political statement!

The Campaign hierarchy work on the underlying assumption that the nightmare of nuclear war can be dispelled without altering the social set-up. They try, therefore, to influence existing rulers, statesmen and political leaders by gentle persuasion. They are at pains not to do anything that would offend, and thereby alienate, the Establishment and its hangers-on. Consequently, they are unable to get

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"You're an unpatriotic cad, sir — ruining the Country, you are."

(by courtesy of the Evening Standard.)



THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE BOMB

A *Daily Worker* editorial, August 7th, 1952, headed "A Date to Remember" on the seventh anniversary of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, writes:

"The excuse that, in the long run, this bestial action saved lives, is worthless.

"There has never been a crime committed in war which this excuse has not been used to justify.

It is a rotten excuse which is used to cover up every relapse into barbarism.

"As such, it was always a favourite with Hitler and the Nazi sadists."

It is well to remind readers of the *Daily Worker* of what the editorial of that paper stated on August 7th, 1945, the day following the dropping of the first atom bomb on Hiroshima:

"The employment of the new weapon on a substantial scale should expedite the surrender of Japan. Valuable lives in the Allied nations will have been saved by the new discovery."

Thus, the *Daily Worker* had the honour of being the only paper in Great Britain to editorially call for the employment of the new weapon on a substantial scale.

When the second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, the concluding paragraph of the *Daily Worker* editorial declared:

"The use of the atom bomb has mercifully shortened the war, with a consequent saving of human life."

It is fortunate for the editors of the *Daily Worker* that their readers have short memories.

It is also of interest to note that on the 8th Aug., 1945, the *Daily Worker* stressed that the invention of the atomic bomb was a strong additional argument for co-operation between Russia, America and Britain. "It will enormously increase the strength of the three great powers in relation to all other countries." The *Worker* was probably the first exponent of atomic bomb diplomacy.

On the 14th August, 1945, the *Daily Worker's* front page headline read: "Japs still trying to haggle." In the article they denounced the Japanese for their delay in accepting the Allied armistice terms and criticised the Allied powers for allowing the Japanese to procrastinate. The following passage was emphasised in the article:

"There was no official hint of the length of delay that the Japanese are to be allowed before the full force of Allied power—including the atom bomb—is loosed against them in a blow intended to be final."

The French counterpart of the *Daily Worker*, "L'Humanité," commented on the 8th August 1945:

"The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima seems to have caused considerable destruction. American reports suggest nothing less than the disappearance from the face of the earth of a town of 300,000 inhabitants. The effect of the discovery is considerable. Nevertheless, the Vatican has been pleased to disapprove of it! May we be permitted to express our surprise, because when the Nazis had the privilege of waging total war with a total cruelty the Holy See was not equally indignant."

The Italian Communist Party paper "L'Unita" published an article on the 10th August, 1945, by Mario Spinella, entitled, of all things, "At the Service of Civilisation." It stated:

"The news that an atomic bomb was dropped by the American Air Force has made an enormous impression throughout the whole world and has been received on all sides with a sense of panic and words of condemnation. This shows, it seems to us, a curious psychological perversion and a doctrinaire obedience to a form of abstract humanitarianism. Those who today feel pity for the fate of Japan do not reflect that the dropping of the new terrible weapon of destruction has put an immediate end to the bitter war being waged in the Far East. The atomic bomb—like the Soviet intervention—should be seen as a positive contribution to the sudden elimination of the last great Fascist power in the world and to the rapid institution of that peace for which all decent persons and all peoples feel such urgent need. So we do not share the sense of terror which has been expressed in certain press comments because we bear in mind the concrete use which was made of the fearful engine of destruction."

When Jock Haston, N.C.L.C. Organiser, wrote to J. R. Campbell, Editor of the *Daily Worker*, on August 7th, 1952, calling attention to the role of that paper when the bombs were dropped, as indicated above, and suggesting that the readers of his paper should be reminded of editorial policy in 1945, he replied as follows on August 8th, 1952:

"Dear Sir,

"We admit we were wrong about the bomb in 1945. To err is human."

Yours truly,

J. R. Campbell,

Editor.

Needless to say, neither letter was published.

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satisfactory roots in the most important place—among the workers. For if CND was firmly based on working class foundations instead of being a predominantly middle class organisation, it would be far less respectable, far less acceptable to the Establishment, but far more dangerous. Indeed, the whole fate of the Campaign depends upon ridding it of the obsession of How can we influence the high-ups? and giving a little more thought to How can we influence the working class?

To make an appeal to workers the Campaign's approach needs altering. Pamphlets should be produced which show the cost of the arms race, who are the people who get the contracts, and how this immense expenditure acts as a pep pill to the economy. It is necessary to show, to paraphrase Rosa Luxemburg, that wars and preparations for war are not only terrible—they are terribly profitable! But for this approach to be adopted the Campaign would be well on the way to admitting that the root cause of wars is the social tensions and economic contradictions inherent in capitalism. CND would be well on the way to discovering the most important truth of all: namely, that the nightmare of the Bomb will only be removed when the economic system has been changed.

It is no mere accident that arms expenditure throughout the world has rocketed from £500 million in 1918 to £40,000 million at present—an eightyfold increase—while, at the same time, the last 25 years has seen a rapid rise in the proportion of the world's population suffering from malnutrition. The rising arms burden, a symptom of capitalism in decline, shows the system can only continue through the use of an increasingly extensive scale of force.

From the policeman wielding his truncheon on the picket-line to the soldier shooting natives in the colonies capitalism relies upon force.

To the Establishment, the H-bomb and botulism toxin, the police and detention camps are all essential weapons for the defence of capitalism. A struggle against nuclear weapons should start out not with the objective of trying to persuade Macmillan about the stupidity of Tory policy, but of taking away from him and his class the power that threatens humanity's very existence.

LONG RUN MORE EFFECTIVE

Socialist Review does not contend that the mobilisation of the Labour and Trade Movement is an easy thing that can be accomplished overnight. It demands systematic concerted action and work over quite a long period. It is not a question of simply going to workers on rocket sites and nuclear factories to ask them to 'black' the work. While 'blacking the bomb' is an important milestone we will have to reach on the road to nuclear disarmament, it must be acknowledged that it will only be reached when the climate of opinion against the Bomb has been considerably strengthened among workers. *To do this the Campaign should form committees and groups in each union and constituency party. A step in this direction has been taken by CND through the formation of the Labour Advisory Committee.* But it has not gone far enough. The leaders of CND are very chary about allowing this Committee to raise the standard of revolt in the unions; it might offend some of the trade union bureaucrats who are friendly to the Campaign. Yet, if the Campaign is to succeed it will be as a result of mobilizing working class opinion. And this can only be done if CND is prepared to offend some trades union bureaucrats.

The Direct Action Committee is far less hamstrung by political respectability. It realizes that the struggle for nuclear disarmament will almost certainly involve an intensive struggle, quarrels with the police, and calls to workers to take their destiny into their own hands. However, the DAC attitude, as exemplified by the Swaffham and Harrington demonstrations, shows they too easily fall into the trap of making individual protests as a substitute for class action.

Courting arrest, civil disobedience and the like clearly illustrate the courage of Direct Action supporters, but it is not likely to convince many workers of the need to take action against the Bomb.

Less publicized, less glamorous, but in the long run more effective, will be the constant, insistent work both in the Campaign and Labour Movement, bringing the two organisations closer together, helping them both to understand the deeper, more profound economic basis of the present arms race. Until this is achieved the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will remain without a satisfactory idea of the way ahead. Not knowing how to achieve its objective, it may easily be that CND could go through a period of temporary decline. For it is important to realise that the attitude of CND leaders constitutes an obstacle to the movement's further growth and increased power.

Expensive Accounts!

According to Alexander Thomson, the City Editor of the *Evening Standard* (February 18 1959)

"It is probably true to say that, five days a week, seven out of every ten lunches served in the smarter West End hotels and restaurants are business lunches.

"They are paid for out of expense accounts. So are eight out of every ten Rolls-Royces and Bentleys bought in London. And scores of town flats and hotel suites besides".

Later on he writes:

"In America, where they keep statistics on just about everything, they estimate that expense account spending runs into £1,800 m a year.

"And Somerset House has no idea what it amounts to here. No one has ever bothered to find out."

INTERNATIONAL NOTEBOOK

by T. Cliff

KHRUSHCHEV'S visit to India and Indonesia is striking in that these countries are at the moment in conflict with Russia's ally, China.

While relations between China and India are strained over the border issue, Khrushchev wined and dined with Nehru. While in Indonesia three million Chinese suffer under a ban on their conducting retail trade in rural districts throughout the country, and as many as half a million are intending to leave the country, causing bitter diplomatic war between the two countries, Khrushchev wined and dined with the rulers in Djakarta.

Moscow's affability towards Delhi and Djakarta is one symptom of a growing strain in the Moscow--Peking alliance. Another is the different attitude of the two countries to the United States, co-existence and the Summit. Khrushchev, on his return from the United States, made it clear that he thought Eisenhower a 'man of peace':

As a result of my talks and discussions of concrete questions with the President, I have gained the impression that he sincerely wishes to see the end of the 'cold war', to create normal relations between our two countries, and to help to improve the relations among all countries.

I have no doubt that the President is prepared to exert his efforts and his will to bring about agreement between our countries, to create friendly relations between our peoples, and to settle pressing problems in the interests of durable peace.

Against this there is the view of the Chinese leaders, expressed by the *People's Daily* on January 21 in an article which, after analysing United States policies, concluded: "All this makes it clear what a fraud is Eisenhower's professed desire to work for the cause of peace." It goes on to say that more and more people throughout the world are seeing through the American "trick" of "preparing war behind the smokescreen of peace."

The reasons for the differences are numerous, but basically they boil down to this:

1) China is at a level of development long since passed by Russia, a level at which the Stalinist ideology with its emphasis on siege conditions is a necessary condition for tightening the belt and regimenting all aspects of life.

2) So long as the cold war continues Mac can rely on Russian supplies of machinery and arms sent to strengthen the ally against US imperialism. Any prolonged haw could endanger this source of supply.

IT'S RICH

"If there are white settlers who cannot bring themselves to adapt their lives in Kenya to rapidly changing circumstances, the British Government cannot in honour wash their hands of them" — *Times*, February 22.

"Three separate services were held yesterday for the 435 miners who died in the colliery disaster at Coalbrook, OFS. One was for the five white South Africans who died, another for the 429 Africans, and a third for a Hungarian immigrant" — reported in *Daily Worker*, February 24.

"I welcome the recent wage demand and I am surprised that the unions did not press their claim much earlier" — Mr KO Boardman, chairman, Manchester weaving and merchanting group at a meeting of the Bury and District Textile Society, reported in *Times*, February 12.

"If an American knows the local language he may be injecting wrong ideas into his dealings with the natives" — Maj.-Gen. Hefley of the US Air Force

"Many members of these communities (the Criminal Tribes) have shown an inclination to become small traders and shopkeepers" — Government of India Planning Commission, *First Five Year Plan*, p 640.

An Industrial Accident Claims Tribunal heard a claimant's case, ruled that he "is fit for suitable work which does not involve standing, sitting, bending or lying down" — *AEU Journal*, January.

"If you injure a labourer who has limited means, quite obviously the damage he suffers is less than if you injure a professional man with vast earnings" — Mr Justice Streatfield awarding £51,865 damages to a stockbroker injured in a water-skiing accident.

"Norwegian trade unions have asked the State broadcasting company to keep one day a week free from television so that union members will not stay away from meetings to watch programs" — reported in *Times*, February 8.

"Mr Gaitskell hoped that, in future, in the exercise of the conscience clause they would consider it to be an individual thing and not something on which organization should take place" — *Times* report on Parliamentary Labour Party meeting, March 3.

"Mr Gaitskell Changes His Tune" — Headline in *Tribune* in response to Gaitskell's Nottingham speech, February 19.

"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..." — RP Dutt, *Labour Monthly*, January.

"It is perfectly clear now that the ban on the League was part of the struggle to remove Clause 4 from the Labour Party constitution" — G Healy, *Newsletter*, February 27.

ONE excuse for resisting British workers' demands for a shorter working week is the threat of competition from Germany where the workers are reputed to be working very much harder than their British brothers. This myth should be quickly and finally exploded.

Whereas in 1950 it was true that the German workers worked longer than the British (as much as 48 hours) in 1959 they worked an average of only 41.5 hours a week. This compares with 45.1 in France and 45.3 in Britain. (*The Times*, December 31, 1959).

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435 miners lost their lives in the Coalbrook mine disaster in South Africa, of whom 429 were black and 6 white. The colour of their skin did not make a difference to their fate. But it does to their families.

Widows of white miners receive a weekly pension of £3-7. The maximum for an African widow with children is a little over £3 a month!

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THE United Auto Workers' Union, with its 1,150,000 members, in order to strengthen itself against the bosses, collects a sum of 1.25 dollars (something like 8/9) a month per member towards a strike fund. Thus every union member gives about 2/- a week towards a strike fund!

LIGHT IN THE SKY

a review by John Crutchley

JOHN COMLEY'S first published novel is basically a Howard Fast type reconstruction of the culminating stages in the Irish struggle against the imperialist British suppression in 1922 and the initial stages of the civil war following the betrayal of the 'treaty' — imposed upon the rebels by the Lloyd George government. We get a front seat view of the split in the Executive of the Republican Army with De Valera leading the left faction which continued the revolution after the bourgeois elements had backed the treaty compromise and the first battle of the civil war that followed.

'LAW'

Superimposed on this revolutionary background is the personal tragedy of a young IRA section commander, Danny Pearson, who sacrifices his militant ideals for more personal satisfactions. Reminiscent of the Polish film *Ashes and Diamonds*, although written before the film was shown in this country, the novel highlights the perpetual problem of the revolutionary movement — how to achieve complete loyalty to the cause and at the same time have some semblance of a private life.

WHETHER a worker earns a lot or a little, under capitalism he continues to be exploited and oppressed. This is shown most clearly by the bestpaid workers in the world.

It is true that an American coal miner who in 1913 earned only 15 cents (1s 1d) an hour now earns on an average \$26 (£9 5s 4d) a day, but it is also true that his subordination to management has not been in any way mitigated since then. As John Lewis, the retiring President of the United Mine-Workers of America unashamedly put it: "We have had a clause in our contracts for decades of time giving the employer the authority over hiring and firing and over direction of the working force. The Union doesn't interfere in that." (*Labour News from the US*, Jan. 1, 1960).

Without workers control over hiring and firing, the worker is merely a cog in the capitalist machine!

NO THANKS!

The Land Ministers of Justice (in Western Germany) have decided at a meeting at Wiesbaden to reject the offer of information recently made by Dr Melsheimer, the East German Public Prosecutor, concerning the former activities in Nazi Courts of about 1000 West German judges and public prosecutors. Dr Melsheimer is himself a former member of the Nazi Party and the SS.

Jewish Chronicle February 1

During the transition to capitalism the bourgeoisie embraced the self denying religion of Protestantism with its stress on material success. Only in the more extreme forms of Leninism has the revolutionary movement found a creed which will unite the oppressed classes to achieve a similar transition to socialism.

Unfortunately this uncompromising creed which is necessary in revolutionary crises, and arises spontaneously even in non-Leninist movements, (EOKA and FLN are contemporary examples) cannot be maintained for more than short periods in a mass movement. With any abatement in the general situation the moderate elements will compromise leaving the hard 'vanguard' core to go out on a limb to inevitable defeat. It is the great achievement of this novel that it relates in personal terms this historical 'law'.

SPOTLIGHTS

However, too much has been attempted and not enough is revealed either of the historical period or of the character dynamism that drives Danny Pearson. I feel that the author should

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DEMOCRACY AND THE TUC

by J. Martin

WHEN 110 out of 700 ETU branches are disqualified from elections for the General Secretary of the union it is clear that there is something rotten in the ETU. There is no better proof of the lack of real democracy in this union.

The TUC General Council's ire on this score would, however, carry much more weight if the Knights of the TUC defended democracy as well in other unions. The malpractices in many right-wing unions are more prevalent than in the ETU.

In the Transport and General Workers' Union, the Municipal and General and the National Union of Railwaymen, to name just three big unions, the General Secretary is elected for *life* (or retirement age). The same rule applies in many other unions.

'OFFICIAL'

The elections in the ETU, however distorted they may be, are models of democracy compared with elections in some other unions. In the M&GWU, for instance, in an election for a position outside the branch, the majority present cast the vote for the whole absent membership of the branch by a show of hands. A branch has, say, 1000 members of whom 20 attend the meeting; eleven may vote for candidate A and nine for candidate B; the whole 1000 votes then go to candidate A. (When it comes to declaring a strike Sir Tom Williamson is even more "democratic". "Two-thirds of the members of the branch or body immediately concerned" must vote in favour. Thus an attendance at the branch meeting of more than two-thirds of the members is the minimum necessary! No wonder no strikes are "official" by Sir Tom's standards).

COMMITTEES

In the same union, District Secretaries are not elected, but appointed. As Sir Tom's predecessor as General Secretary, Charles Dukes, explained in justification of this openly anti-democratic procedure:

"Without in any way, being prejudicial to, or decrying the merits of, lay members, I do not think that anyone with a proper sense of responsibility can reasonably suggest that men totally inexperienced and without official service could have been permitted

DIG THIS!

President Eisenhower has asked Congress for new legislation on farm surpluses and subsidies. "His only concrete suggestion was that the 'Soil bank' should be increased from 28 million acres to 60 million. This is a scheme under which the Government tries to reduce surpluses by paying farmers to take land out of production. The Department of Agriculture has estimated that this expansion would raise the annual cost from \$375m (£134m) to \$875m (£312m)".

Times, February 10

to become candidates for these major positions. In the exceptional circumstances we simply could not, in the interests of the Union, afford the risk of the haphazard chances of election whereby any unqualified candidate might have been elected."

"District committees had, therefore, been asked to submit from amongst those of their officers who had still ten or fifteen years before reaching retirement age a panel from which the National Executive should make an appointment." (H.A. Clegg, *General Union*, Oxford 1954, p. 74.)

HYPOCRITICAL

After two years service, the appointed officer stands for election. However the process is so democratic that the historian of this union could say: "No

temporary or appointed officer has ever lost his election, and normally he wins by an overwhelming majority." (*Ibid.* p. 76). To make the bureaucrats' grip on the union even more secure the 'whole-time secretary is considered a "lay member" and not a "full time official", thus making him eligible for election to the district councils and committees, to the union's congress with full voting rights, and to the General Council and National Executive as a lay member' (*Ibid.* p. 44).

With his private Empire so well tied up, Sir Tom could with absolute confidence convene the congress needed to reverse the decision against the Bomb!

Sir Tom Williamson, Sir Tom O'Brien and Sir Tom Yates are themselves no angels when they

denounce the lack of democracy in the ETU. The concern of the press lords for trade union democracy is even more hypocritical.

MALPRACTICES

The crisis in the ETU brings into focus the need for a general clean-up in trade union movement, for the establishment on a wide basis of the right of election and recall of all officials. Such a struggle can not be carried out by the bureaucrats of Transport House or of King Street. It is only when the rank and file of the trade union movement combine opposition to bureaucratic malpractices with basic industrial issues such as wages, the shorter working week and defence of shop stewards that this will be done.

LABOUR COUNCILS MUDDLE ON

SAYS KARL DUNBAR

YET another Labour Council has succumbed to the relentless pressure exerted by a reactionary Government. On the last day in January Willesden's Labour Group, 26 years in control of the Council, decided by 17 votes to 5 to operate a rent rebate scheme. All rents will of course be raised, by something like 10/ to 15/- per week, in the process. A sole cry from one of the five dissenters, "now for the Socialist vote", brought the debate to a bitter conclusion.

What were those five councillors voting against? It is not enough merely to parrot, "a means test is anti-social" or Socialists cannot support rent increases and remain socialists". Let us face it, the purpose of a rent increase is to help pay for all the hundred and one different projects which the Council are trying, in almost impossible conditions, to carry through.

Most important of these is of course the housing schemes, and Willesden, like most other Councils, is faced with a gigantic housing problem. Here are a few of the difficulties: the end of pre-fabs all to be demolished this year; the end of requisitioning this year; the rehousing of some 80 odd families evicted through the 1957 Tory rent act, this year; a housing waiting list of over 10,000; a slum clearance and redevelopment program that constantly demands more and more money to keep it going. The existing council estates need money spent on them to keep them in good repair, and there is no money. Pre-1945 houses need money spent on them to provide some of the conveniences that we demand with today's housing.

The price of land is constantly rising and Councils are held to ransom when the agents know it is 'public money' that is being spent on this or that prize piece of building land. From 1945 to 1952 local councils obtained their loans from the Government. The Tories, at the behest of their big business backers restricted

the Councils' demands on the Board by making all applicants try to raise finance on the 'open money market', from the sharks in other words. This was in 1955, and it is worthwhile to note that the interest on advances from the Board rose from 3 percent in January 1948, to 3½ percent in October 1958.

This is the position then: Council housing programs were financed, until 1955, by loans from the Board with reasonable interest rates, rates which, incidentally, could not be increased during the period in which the loans would be repaid from revenue. Now, on the open market, the interest rates are both high and carry no certainty as to the future position.

All in all, councils are facing a bleak future. Willesden tried only last year, to solve their immediate financial need by raising rents. This didn't work and so again, this year, another rent rise and the leader of the Council openly states that "this rent increase is not a solution."

RESOLUTION

It is time we asked ourselves what is the solution? Obviously rent raising is absurd, it is the easy way out, the most convenient door through which Councils can, temporarily, escape the net which has been thrown out by the Tories and their profit-hungry supporters. It may be all right for Tory-controlled Councils to adopt the will of their masters in Westminster, but for the Labour groups to also fall flat on their faces without so much as an effective squeak is for Labour to deny the existence of the slum dwellers, the thousands upon thousands who are living—did I say living?—herded together in 'rabbit-hutch' rooms, of the young couples trying desperately to rear their families in furnished rooms at an exorbitant rent.

If we continue to accept the proposition that 'Councils are

bound by law to carry out Government orders regardless of the anti-social content of those orders', then we face defeat at the hands of the working class every time Labour puts up a candidate. And rightly so.

We return therefore to the beginning. 'What were the five Councillors voting against?' The answer is simplicity itself: they were demanding an end to retreat. They were demanding in the most forthright manner that we should adopt a socialist attitude towards the reactionaries in Westminster. This is what they had to propose:

Resolution: "We reject the theory that raising rents will solve our financial problems either now or in the future. Only by fundamentally challenging the perpetrators of our difficulties, i.e., the Tory Government, can we hope for a solution. We propose therefore to 1) shelve the question of rent increases; 2) initiate a campaign aimed at unifying the Labour Groups on all local councils in a national demand for the reversal of Government policies which are crippling our programs; 3) call upon the NEC to support this campaign; 4) set up a committee of action to formulate positive steps to develop the campaign."

AUDITOR

Boldness the key, and this was rejected by a Labour Group too conscious of the pressures of the Tory press, the local Tory opposition, the 'unfindable' rate-payers; too frightened that the pressures might lose them a seat or two in May; afraid that the District Auditor might 'do a St. Pancras' on them; scared of the immensity of the problem they faced, too afraid to remember that they represent the greatest force in history, a force which, given the facts, given the correct lead, will back their representatives to the hilt.

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Dudley Edwards writes on the future roles of

THE INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES

HOW can the political struggle for socialism be linked to the industrial struggle to win a larger share of the economic cake for the working class? This is the basic problem to which all British socialists (Marxist or otherwise) should apply themselves to-day.

The failure of the Labour Party to oust the Tories last October represents the severest political defeat for the broad Labour movement since the collapse of the second Labour Government in 1931. At three successive Elections, most of the middle class, the new industrial technocracy and a decisive minority of the working class have rejected the political leadership offered by official Labour and brushed aside the alternative guidance, often brilliantly advocated, by various left-wing groups.

Put in this way, the future for British socialism looks black indeed. In fact, this is only half the picture. In the industrial field the British working-class has suffered no major defeat since 1926. Its trade union organisation is more resilient, powerful and extensive than ever. It continues to conduct a virile struggle to raise the social and economic status of all workers. The unions have succeeded to such an extent that the employing class has been prevented from taking full advantage of the Tory victories in the Parliamentary field.

40-HOUR WEEK

If the Conservative organisation is still controlled by its "moderates" and continues to underwrite most of the welfare state; if Macmillan and his friends have accepted the need to avoid mass unemployment; if the shop stewards' movement, now firmly rooted in the workshop, has been left fairly free to organise; all this is because the Tory establishment recognises the potential striking force of the trade union movement and fears the reaction of the industrial workers should any attempt be made to return to pre-war conditions.

Nor are the industrial workers to-day content to mark time. They are beginning to go on the offensive in spite of an often timid and opportunist leadership. One example is the struggle for the 40-hour week which has now become a rallying cry for millions. Already the printers, who are often regarded as being among the most conservative workers, have come out on the streets in militant strikes achieving the demand for which they & their forebearers have been

fighting since the nineteenth century. For the first time since 1919 the whole mass of British railwaymen have demonstrated their willingness to go into battle for an immediate increase in the pay packet. Three million engineers, although badly misled, are clearly determined to reach the goal of a 40-hour week and at least another £1 pay increase. Even a section like the catering workers, who are always difficult to organise, showed in the dining-car strike 100% solidarity. Hundreds of similar examples of industrial militancy could be quoted over the last eighteen months.

PICKETING

Of course the capitalist press affects to see in this development only an inexplicable outbreak of wild-cat strikes. In their eagerness to discredit militant industrial action, they fail to notice that, if the phrase wild-cat means anything, it implies thoughtless action by a thoughtless minority. Such action always leads to disunity. But the outstanding feature of all recent strikes has been the unprecedented unity of the workers concerned. Nowhere today can ever the "five star" reporters find a minority of black-legs to be written up as heroes and provided with squads of police to protect them and their anti-trade union consciences. In fact, picketing to-day often becomes a mere formality.

The vote-catching slogans of the Tories are taking on a new meaning in the minds of millions. If Macmillan and his friends tell us that our standard of living can be doubled in 25 years the workers are making sure in their own way that immediate and substantial advances in this direction will be made. If the Tories shout 'You've never had it so good', then millions, on wages of less than £10 a week, are ready to strike to make sure that they get it a great deal better. Of course the social advance which can be made through industrial action alone should not be exaggerated. Nor can it be denied that there is often confusion in the industrial arena. Nevertheless this willingness to struggle surely reveals that the mass of the workers who still vote Labour feel little sense of defeat because Mr. Gaitskell failed with his glossy Labour programme to get himself into 10 Downing St.

VOTE-CATCHING

This lack of any sense of defeat among the trade unions is a sign of the health of the working-class movement. But there is a danger of a type of second-rate Americanisation developing, that is, of the Unions becoming increasingly involved in safeguarding the new 'hire-purchase' standard of living and jockeying for position in the 'rat race'. They might then become less concerned with any ultimate objective outside and beyond the capitalist system.

This would suit very well the new Tory strategists such as the Bow Group. Hence the present Tory campaign for contracting out of the political levy. Fortunately, the political roots of the trade unions are too firmly planted for the Tories to have any easy success in winning them over to an insipid neutralism.

But it is essential that the still numerous socialist trade unionists should organise themselves. This does not mean self-conscious efforts to inject politics into the branch meeting. They must try to bring the trade union movement back to a sense of its historic mission, by demonstrating the need to struggle for an ultimate goal as well as for day-to-day demands. They must remind their fellow unionists that millions here and even more in the colonial countries are still 'having it very bad'; that any gains we make can never be secure until we have a new social order free from the threat of nuclear war; in other words that the unions *must* be anti-capitalist. We must remind them that the rule books of the big unions declare the aim of workers' control of industry.

It is because many of the leaders of the Labour Party have drifted away from the conception of the Party and the unions as being integral parts of one great movement that so many workers regard the Party as just another vote-catching organisation, no longer interested in fundamental social change. Socialists must really participate in the struggle and not run away from the fact that the class struggle still exists, as amply demonstrated by the big industrial clashes.

PHILOSOPHY

The pretence that the class struggle has ceased has never won a General Election for any Socialist Party anywhere. On the contrary, if the Labour leaders had given full backing to all the major industrial struggles of the 1950's, especially if these struggles had led to real economic victories for the workers they would have got a unanimous working class vote and therefore victory in the 1959 Election.

Of course many Labour leaders are simply reformists and

therefore the leadership must be changed, in the course of changing the relationship between the two wings of the movement. Socialists must aim not at the creation of a new party but at the transformation of the present organisation into a party of a new type.

How can we bring about a rebirth of Socialist consciousness throughout the whole movement? We must make it clear that the enemy is capitalism in all its forms, new or old. It is always a hateful system of production, based on the exploitation of man by man, morally ugly with its 'dog eat dog' philosophy. At heart millions of workers are anti-capitalist. They need to regain full confidence in the power of the working class to change the world for the better.

PROFITS

The enormous profits of the capitalist, the increasing number of millionaires show that far higher wages could easily be paid to the workers. *Reynold News* (Jan. 1st, 1960) suggested an average pay packet of £14 per week. This means an immediate increase of £2 per week, on average. When this advance has been secured, a sliding scale could be considered (based on an up-to-date cost of living index) to prevent wage increases from being cancelled out by price increases and to provide a jumping off ground for further advances. It is on the prospect of winning such an advance that we must set our sights.

UNITY

The great industrial struggles now maturing will constitute the next crisis for Labour. The TUC in its present form will not provide the necessary militant leadership, nor will the Communist Party, still handicapped by its legacy of Stalinism. The leadership will be thrown up by the working class themselves in the course of the struggle. All socialists must work within their different organisations to assist its development. Unity in action must be created over the years among the various left-wingers, including the many hundreds of non-Stalinist-mined comrades in the CP.

De Gaulle and Hitler

The following is a description of Hitler taken from the third volume of General de Gaulle's *Memoirs*:

To avoid being put in shackles, Prometheus threw himself into the abyss... This man who had set out from nothing, offered himself to Germany at a moment when she was longing for a new lover... Germany, utterly seduced, followed its leader with enthusiasm. Down to the very end, she was infatuated with him, serving him with a power and devotion such as no nation had ever given to a ruler... Hitler's ambition was superhuman and inhuman... Down to the last hours, he remained unassailed by doubt, ruthless and inflexible, as he had been in his most glorious days. For the sake of the sombre grandeur of his struggle and his legend, he had decided never to waver, never to compromise or retreat. The Titan, determined to change face of the earth, can never yield and never surrender.

From *The Wiener Library Bulletin* VOL. XIII No.5-6.

● contd from page 4

This is the fight of the working class, let the Labour movement not forget that. Willesden has failed to give the lead. Which Council, which Party, which Trade Union, is prepared, in this 9th year of Toryism, to take up the glove thrown down by the 5 Willesden Couacillors?

ERIC HEFFER DISCUSSES

TRENDS IN US LABOUR

AFTER a two months' visit to the USA, travelling through the major cities and speaking with Labour leaders, businessmen, lawyers, university personnel and rank and file workers, I am convinced that within the next few years we shall see interesting and important developments in the US labour scene with tremendous political implications.

Today, American labour is in a crisis of some magnitude. This is fully appreciated by the more enlightened of the leaders and rank and file workers, but pitifully underestimated by most. The philosophy of Samuel Gompers (one-time Socialist and founder of the American Federation of Labour, later a defender of the capitalist system) will no longer suffice. Labour cannot be content merely to get "more", but due to the problems now raised by the affluent society and the worker's position in it (admirably discussed by Vance Packard in the *Status Seekers*), it must now seriously consider the future of society, its changing character, and begin to play a conscious role in bringing further changes.

AFFLUENCE

US labour has achieved great things. Most workers (except the mass of negroes) have a higher standard of living than elsewhere. Unfortunately, labour's outlook up to now has often been narrow, restrictive, satisfied with the *status quo* and its entire thinking has been swamped by capitalist ideology. As far as I could see, it was not a question of keeping up with the Joneses, but of keeping ahead of them, and everyone, including most workers I spoke to, preferred to be called "middle-class".

However, this affluence has not ushered in an era of social tranquillity. Although the class struggle is rarely talked of, it exists and shows itself in strike battles and anti-labour legislation. Labour in America is now under serious attack. Congress has recently passed an Act known as the Landrum-Griffin Act (after its sponsors) which can effectively tie labour's hands and which in particular can be a great drawback to labour's efforts in organizing the Southern States. The act is an extension of the Taft-Hartley

KRUPP

There is news of Alfred Krupp taking part in armaments (missiles and what else?) in Spain. It seems nothing has changed. For some hundred years the Krupps have been the armament Kings of Germany. For his part in employing slave labour for the Nazi war machine Alfred Krupp was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment and confiscation of all his property. This was returned to him on his release from prison in 1953. Now he is an ally of NATO, and Krushov seeks after his favour, declaring on his visit to East Germany last year 'Long Live Krupp'.

labour laws, and is fully backed by the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers.

With the introduction of this Act, Gompers' famous dictum, "Reward your friends and punish your enemies" has proved pretty hollow. Many of the so-called friends, Democrat and Republican alike, voted for the act and conveniently forget about the financial and other aid given during election time.

At the time, it was thought that the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 would lead to greater political activity by labour in the US (this means by the unions). To a limited degree this happened in the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) American Federation of Labour (AFL) was only lightly touched. Now as a result of the CIO and AFL merger in 1955 a new situation exists and even the older AFL unions are recognising the need for Labour to enter politics seriously.

AUTO WORKERS

The Landrum-Griffin Act, the attempt (successful in some states) to introduce so-called "right-to-work" laws (actually upholding the right to strike-break and scab) has forced labour to reconsider its position. Everyone (right, left and centre) now admits that it cannot continue in the old way, and indeed political activity through the Committees of Political Education (COPE) which have been established in most states and large cities, is on the increase.

There are varying views on what ought to be done. The United Automobile Workers, led by Reuther, believe that what is required is a re-alignment in the two major political parties, and are working to split the Southern Dixie-crats in the Democratic Party away from the Northern Democrats, and at the same time entice the most progressive elements of the Republican Party to join them. This, they feel, will make the two parties represent more or less distinct class interests. This proposed re-alignment appears to be somewhat of a phantasy, evoked by special conditions in the state of Michigan where most of the UAW strength lies.

HOPE

My experience was that at State and City levels and particularly amongst the active rank and file, there is a definite mood in favour of creating an independent political organization. As yet it is only a mood, it has not crystallized into definite action, and it could be dissipated if nothing concrete emerges but it ought not to be underestimated as a portent of the future.

However, to hope for a Socialist movement to emerge in the near future is to indulge in wishful thinking. The Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the Socialist Workers' Party and the

other socialist groupings are all small sects, probably not amounting to more than 2000 members all told. There are a few journals, of which one of the best *The American Socialist* failed recently through lack of support.

1960's

Socialists today have little influence in the broad trade union movement. Yet this is the real hope and it is through the unions that they obviously should work. If they can be moved to take a more independent political position then socialist ideology can take on flesh and blood.

In this connexion the COPE committees will I am sure play an important role. So far they are relatively new, still finding their bearings, and at the moment tend to be pressure groups on State and City governments rather than organs of independent activity or expressions of an independent program. However I feel that they will evolve in this direction and already in Ohio a program of progressive social legislation has been advanced by the State AFL-CIO committee. Events are sure to force other State and City bodies to move in the same direction and eventually take on a socialist coloration.

In a sense US labour is in a similar situation to that of British labour at the end of the last century (although it would be wrong to draw too sharp an analogy). British Labour ultimately declared its independence from the Liberals. "Landrum-Griffin" plus the industry may well force US labour to do the same.

1960 will see interesting developments which can have definite effects on our movement over here. No doubt Tory back benchers will take heart from the anti-labour legislation. This we have to guard. I feel too that we British socialists have a great responsibility: if we give way and retreat on our basic principles the struggle for socialism in the USA will be even harder, if not almost impossible. It is amazing how they look to us. We must not let them down.

IRELAND cont from page 3

have concentrated either on his hero or given a straightforward historical account with the momentary re-action of the participants rather than attempting both.

John Comley must be congratulated for writing a novel which spotlights the revolutionary nature of the Irish troubles after the First World War and the personal tragedy that follows from not living up to a revolutionary situation. His main failure is in attempting too much, but in the present state of the novel as a revolutionary force this is a positive failure and no reason for ignoring this thrilling novel. Heineman 15/-

WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

- The complete nationalisation of heavy industry, the banks, insurance and the land with compensation payments based on a means test. Renationalisation of all denationalised industries without compensation. — The nationalised industries to form an integral part of an overall economic plan and not to be used in the interests of private profit.

- Workers' control in all nationalised industries ie, a majority of workers' representatives on all national and area boards, subject to frequent election, immediate recall and receiving the average skilled wage ruling in the industry.

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

- The establishment of workers' committees in all concerns to control hiring, firing and working conditions.

- The establishment of the principle of work or full maintenance.

- The extension of the social services by the payment of adequate pensions, the abolition of all payments for the National Health Service and the development of an industrial health service.

- The expansion of the housing programme by granting interest free loans to local authorities and the right to requisition privately held land.

- Free State education up to 18. Abolition of fee paying schools. For comprehensive schools and adequate maintenance grants — without a means test — for all university students.

- Opposition to all forms of racial discrimination. Equal rights and trade union protection to all workers whatever their country of origin. Freedom of migration for all workers to and from Britain.

- Freedom from political and economic oppression to all colonies. The offer of technical and economic assistance to the people of the underdeveloped countries.

- The abolition of conscription and the withdrawal of all British troops from overseas.

- The abolition of the H-bomb and all weapons of mass destruction. Britain to pave the way with unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb.

- A Socialist foreign policy subservient to neither Washington nor Moscow.

The following short story by Ilya Ilf and Yergeni Petrov appeared as a newspaper article in 1934. It throws some interesting light on a little publicised aspect of Russian society. TRANSLATION BY RAD EASTWOOD.

YOUR DOCUMENTS

IT'S very difficult to win the heart of a woman. And the things you get up to just to achieve that end! You take her by the hand you speak in a husky voice and never take your eyes off her. And it's all in vain. They don't love you, they don't believe you! And you have to start the whole business from the beginning again. My God, it's hard labour in the moonlight.

A young doctor arrived in Odessa from Moscow for a rest. When for the first time in his life he got two weeks off, he suddenly noticed that the world is beautiful, and that its population is also beautiful, especially the female half of it. And he felt that if he didn't immediately take decisive steps he would never in his life be happy. He would die a stinking bachelor in his room, with old socks and bottles lying under his bed.

In a few days the young medic was walking with a girl across some wild country by the seaside. He tried as hard as he could to please her. Naturally, he spoke in a husky passionate voice, naturally he talked all sorts of rubbish, even lied that he was a Cheluskiner* and the best friend of Otto Yulevich Schmidt. He offered marriage, a room in Moscow, his heart, a separate kitchen and central heating. The girl thought it over and agreed.

Here we omit eight pages of artistic description concerning his trip with the object of his affections in the third class carriage. (We would just throw in an aphorism: third class with one's beloved is better than de luxe alone). In Moscow they bought a spray of lilac and went to the registry office to register their mutual happiness.

Everyone knows what a registry office is like. It's not very clean. It's not very well lit. And it's not exactly cheerful, because marriages, deaths and births are all registered in the same room. When the doctor and his fiancée entered the registry office, all smiles, the first thing that struck them was a reproachful placard on the wall:

KISSING SPREADS INFECTION!

Besides this there also hung on the wall the address of a funeral director and an alluring picture which depicted pale spirochetes, alert-looking gonococci and Koch tubercule bacilli. Enchanting place for marriages. In the corner there stood a dirty ragged artificial palm in a green tub. This was a tribute to the times; a sort of workshop beauty treatment. The evening newspapers write about such things with barely concealed rapture: "Sukhum in Moscow. A New Look in the registry office."

The registry office official inspected the young couple's documents and suddenly handed them back.

"You can't register."

"What d'you mean, we can't?" the doctor asked uneasily.

"You can't because your lady's passport was issued in Odessa. We only register Moscow passports."

"What can we do?"

"I don't know, citizen. We don't register passports from other towns."

"D'you mean to say I'm not allowed to love a girl from another town?"

"Please don't shout. If you're going to start shouting..."

"I'm not shouting, but this means I'm only allowed to marry a Muscovite. What sort of allowances are there for the question of love?"

"We aren't concerned with questions of love, citizen. We're here to register marriages."

"But what's it got to do with you who I like? What d'you think you're here for, allocation of family happiness? Are you regulating the traffic in souls?"

"You pipe down about the regulation of traffic, citizen."

"You're trampling on the flowers of love!" howled the doctor.

"Don't you behave like a hooligan here!"

"I'm telling you, you're trampling..."

"Don't you cause any trouble?"

"Me cause trouble? So love isn't a noble emotion any more, it's just trouble making? All right then." Let's go, Lusya."

Finding himself back on the street again, the unsuccessful candidate for marriage took a long time to simmer down.

"Are these human beings? Is that a man? He's an old bogey man! What are we going to do now?"

He was in such a state that the girl took pity on him.

"I'll tell you what," she said, "you love me and I love you. We're neither of us hypocrites. We'll just live like that."

Well, if you weigh it up, an old wooden hut is paradise if you're with the one you love.

They began to live "like that."

But the paradise in a little wooden hut with the one you love, friends, is only possible if your beloved is sealed, signed and delivered by the accommodation control in the accommodation book. Otherwise all sorts of rather unpleasant alternatives are possible. They couldn't register his beloved in the house because she hadn't got a Moscow passport. And she could only get a Moscow passport as the doctor's wife. She was the doctor's wife. But the registry office could only register her as the doctor's wife on production of a Moscow passport. But she couldn't get a Moscow passport because they weren't registered in the office. And it is impossible to live in Moscow without a passport. Etc., etc.,...

And so it was that their paradise in a little wooden hut was transformed into a purgatory the very next day. Lusya kept crying and trembled at every knock at the door; any moment hairy henchmen might appear at the door and order her out. The doctor stopped going to the clinic. The best friend of Otto Yulevich Schmidt presented a pitiful picture. He was unshaven. His eyes glistened like a dog's. Where now was the warm Black Sea night, the big moon and their first bliss?

Finally he grabbed Lusya by the hand and took her to the police.

"Look here," he said, pointing his finger at his wife.

"What d'you mean, look here?" said the clerk, adjusting the helmet on his head.

"That's the object of my affections."

"Well, what of it?"

"I adore this creature and request that it be registered in my flat."

A difficult scene ensued. It added nothing to what we already know.

"What more evidence do you want?" asked the doctor, almost beside himself. "I love her very much—I tell you, I can't live without her. I can kiss her, if you like."

The young couple, without taking their imploring eyes off the clerk, kissed with trembling lips. It became very quiet in the police station. The clerk turned away blashfully and said:

"But perhaps yours is a fictitious marriage? Perhaps the lady just wants to set herself up in Moscow."

"And perhaps it isn't", groaned the 'happy' bridegroom. "Had you thought of that? You fine people for breaking glass, but who can I fine for a broken life?"

"SHOW ME CITIZENESS"

On the whole, the doctor took a strong line and continued in this vein until it was explained that there was a way out, that happiness was still possible. All he had to do was to travel to the home of his beloved, back to Odessa, a mere one thousand four hundred and twelve kilometers in all, and everything would sort itself out. The Odessa registry office would register the doctor's passion, and their illegal love would at last take on legal status.

Well, love always requires sacrifices. A sacrifice was necessary—money had to be borrowed for the tickets, extra leave had to be requested for domestic arrangements to be attended to.

But the doctor still didn't know the worst—he didn't know that the bogey-man doesn't only sit in the registry office, and that bogey men were also lying in wait for him at the station.

Here we omit sixteen pages of dramatic description of how the young couple were too late for their train. For what is there to describe? Everyone knows that there's nothing easier in Moscow than being late for something or other.

Seating his grief-stricken Lusya on a suitcase, the doctor rushed off to get the tickets punched. But this adventure failed. The NKPS vigilantly guarded the interest of the railways, and cancelled the punching of tickets.

"What can we do now", the doctor groaned.

"You've lost your tickets now", the bogey-man informed him. "That's the rule. Once you've missed the train, you've had it."

"D'you think we missed it on purpose?"

"It's none of our business whether you did it on purpose or not."

"But they've always punched tickets since the railways first started."

"There's new rules, now, citizen."

"Anyway, I haven't any more money left. Now I can't go."

The bogey-man preserved a correct silence.

And the man who had viciously interfered with the tranquil functioning of a whole series of respectable institutions tottered backwards and, sitting down beside his Lusya, fell into deep thought. He cast his mind back over all his past actions.

"Well, what have I done wrong? I went on a holiday, met a nice girl, fell head over heels in love with her and she with me, we wanted to get married. And it didn't work out. The rules prevented it."

If a rule is made which makes the life of the Soviet people uncomfortable, a senseless rule which only seems necessary on an official's desk alongside the inkwell, and not to living people themselves there's not much doubt that it's been made by a bogey-man, a man who sees life in only one dimension, with no conception of its depth and scope.

If there's a man sitting behind some establishment barrier, carrying out a stupid and harmful rule, and if he, knowing this, justifies himself by saying that he's only a small man—then he's a bogey-man. We have no small men, and we have no room for any. If he sees that the law leads to inconvenience and distress, he is the first one who should demand that the law be abolished, revised or improved.

And what of our doctor? What happened to the good honest doctor? Who knows? Probably he's rushing off to a bogey-man with some application or other in order to put his long drawn-out marriage into legal form. And perhaps he's already stopped rushing around, maybe he's got tired and given up. Even love isn't infinite. And perhaps the faithful Lusya has run off with some trade delegate to Syzran or Aktyubinsk where it's easier to get married.

In any case the doctor made a mistake right from the beginning. Before whispering "I love you", he should have said in a resolute, curt voice: "show me your documents, citizenship".

* A member of the crew of the Cheluskin which sank in the Arctic.

Reviews by Bill Crouch

Weekend in Duilock

THIS is in fact two weekends spent by an American, Clancy Sigal, in a small mining village in Yorkshire.

Seen through an American's eyes it is a grim picture, but the authenticity is inescapable.

Here you come in contact with the morals of the village; here you see the miners' struggle for better conditions through their trade union branch; their implacable distrust of all union officials above branch level—"those fookers from London"—as they call them, and here you meet the miners at play.

Finally you meet the miners at work. The author recounts most vividly a day spent down the mine. If anybody thinks the miner is overpaid, let him read this book.

After you become used to the Americanised style of writing the book is absorbing and well worth the reading.

Secker and Warburg 16/-

Stand on me

FRANK Norman's latest novel, Stand on Me, is obviously an authentic slice of his early life in Soho.

Being a cockney I found the slang terms used throughout the book amusing, although others may find it largely unintelligible, even with the help of a glossary.

The first ingredient of a novel should be readability, and this the book has in full measure, though life in Soho as seen by Frank Norman is, in spite of the 'stripe' down his 'boat', seemingly more droll than fearful.

An oft repeated phrase among the 'slaggers' is, 'fings ain't wot they used t'be'. The author points out that as far back as he can remember 'fings ain't never been any good'. Unfortunately, this is as deep as he goes in his social and philosophical observations.

You will find the book diverting; if you expect more you will be disappointed.

Secker and Warburg 16/-

STOP THIS MURDER!

The seeds of white supremacy in South Africa have at last borne fruit. The cold-blooded massacres of unarmed Africans at Sharpeville and Langa are the logical culmination of the South African Government's racist policies. To their eternal shame the Tories in Britain are accomplices in these murders; they have always voted in the United Nations in support of the South African police state; they were the ones who supplied the police thugs with British made Saracen armoured cars to help suppress the African population; by their capital investments in the South African economy they are the pillars of support for the system which degrades the African worker to little more than a slave.

The British Labour Movement has quite rightly expressed horror and disgust at these shameful atrocities and have urged fuller support for the Boycott of South African goods. While all of us support this call we must, at the same time make Labour use its industrial strength to black all South African goods and demand that shipment of arms to Verwoerd's gang be stopped immediately.

EXTEND THE BOYCOTT!

NO ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA!

We haven't been very regular in publishing the results of our fighting fund. We hope to reform and resume with the figures for March

Readers in:

Ramsgate	£2.10. 0
Birmingham	1.10. 0
Liverpool	15. 0
Islington	4.12. 0
Lewisham	1.18. 0
Notting Hill	4.19. 6
Shoreditch	4. 0. 0
Holborn	1.15. 6
Harrow	3. 4. 0
Nottingham	1. 0. 0
Hendon	1.10. 0

Total 27.14. 0

Two last points on finance: Readers would do us the world of good and themselves no harm by making all their purchases through London Coop No. 350498. SR gets the divi. Second, don't forget to write in for bulk orders of SR publications; we still have in stock Tony Cliff's **Rosa Luxemburg and Russia from Stalin to Khrushchev**, Michael Kidron's **Automation, the Socialist Answer**, Max Schachtman's **Fight for Socialism**.

Read:

Rosa Luxemburg

by T. Cliff.

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BACK THE BOYCOTT!

Here, to remind you, is a list of South African goods—

Tinned Goods:

Koo
Domingo
Ashton's
Kloof
L.K.B.
Hugo's
Golden Glory
Surf Maid
Red Robin
Magnet
Paarl Choice
Gold Reef
Zyp Products
Benedict
Wolsely Pride
Summit
Helen MacGregor

Cigarettes:

Craven "A"
Peter Stuyvesant
Lexington
Rothmans

Consulate
Rembrandt
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Wines and Spirits:

Rembrandt Brandy
Richelieu Brandy
Oudemeester Brandy
Alto Rouge Red Wine
Thenniskraal Dry White Wine
La Residence Sparkling Wine
Grumbergen Stein

Fruit:

"Outspan" Oranges
"Cape" Apples
"Cape" Grapes
"Cape" Pineapples
"Cape" Avocado Pears
"Cape" Onions