

# SOCIALIST REVIEW

JOURNAL

for the

Industrial Militant —

for

International

Socialism

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

11th YEAR No 5

MAY 1961

SIXPENCE

## HANDS OFF CUBA

**PRESIDENT** Kennedy improves on Franklin Roosevelt in one respect only: he makes mincemeat of liberal illusions much more quickly.

The amateur world strategists of the *New Statesman*, busy plotting Kennedy's course for him last November, were convinced that this New Deal idol of all the ageing radical bobbysoxers, would come to terms with Castro at once. What an achievement, they pointed out, if Cuba could be snatched from the snapping jaws of Krushchov and *Fidelismo* be firmly fettered to the "free world's" camp.

As usual, our liberals failed to smell the stench under their noses—in this case, of oil. Wall Street, ready to jettison Batista when his impotence was proved, was quite willing to allow his successors any amount of democratic phrase-mongering. But when the armed workers and peasants of Cuba pressed the new regime to nationalize imperialist property, that put a different complexion on things altogether.

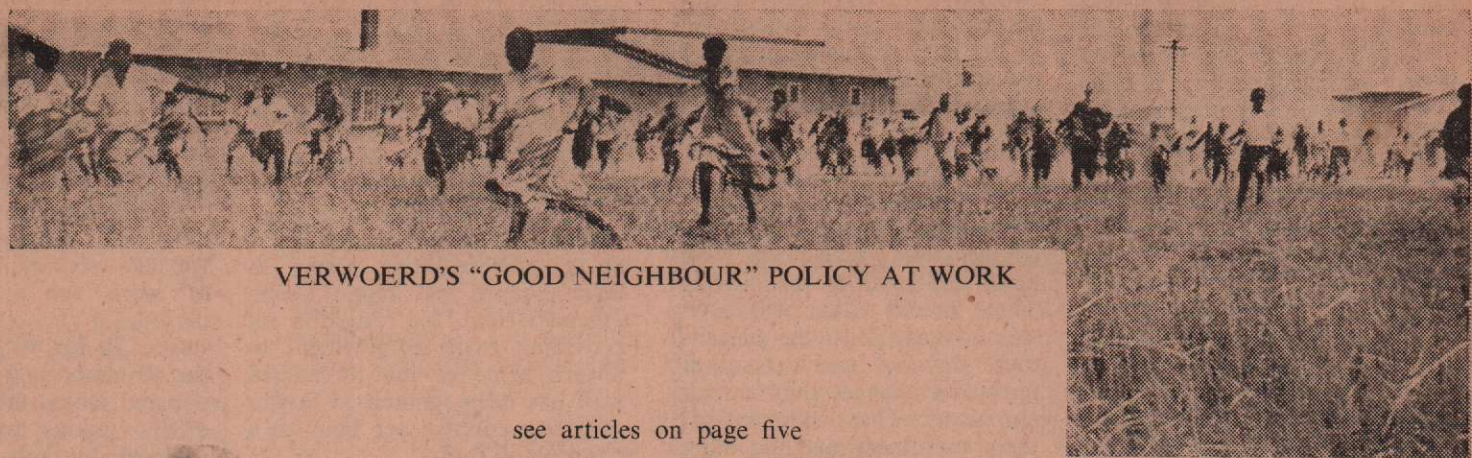
For the past year, America has been surreptitiously training exiled Cuban irregulars for the forthcoming invasion of Cuba. The signs are—and the shrewd Kennedy has said as much—that all the

stops will not be pulled out unless or until the Cuban reactionaries can establish some solid base for themselves, however small, on the island. It is clear that they are meeting with no support at all among the Cuban people.

Washington will therefore hold its hand. But the danger persists that, with some sudden worsening of the world situation, it may decide "to make an example" of Cuba. The Labour Movement must be on guard against any such move.

Macmillan on his recent visit may have made secret commitments to send British forces to Cuba. These must not be carried out. It is not necessary to defend everything Castro does (for example, his anti-strike legislation). It is not necessary to call a country ruled neither by workers' councils nor a workers' Party a "workers' state". But it is necessary to alert the British Labour Movement to any plans directed against Cuba.

Hands off Cuba! Hands off a revolution still unfolding! Not a man nor a penny must go to aid Wall Street's plans against the Cuban people.



VERWOERD'S "GOOD NEIGHBOUR" POLICY AT WORK

see articles on page five

by courtesy of the Daily Worker

**TO** parody the words of the skiffle number... "Times are goin' to get hard boys and money is goin' to get scarce". This is the message behind Selwyn Lloyd's first rob the poor to feed the rich budget announced Monday April 19th.

Lloyd, now the darling of the brokers, investors, Tory MP's and the rest who have long been pleading the cause of the down trodden £50,000 a year class, has made it quite clear. To do him justice he has said without equivocation and in a loud, clear voice that the prospects before British capitalism are grim. If not a major slump than a series of deepening economic crises face his class and Mr Lloyd has seen fit to try and take what safeguarding action he can in his budget.

He has done this by making the working class pay... and how. Not only do the, recent increased health charges very nicely pay for the surtax relief (Mr Beeching and those like him will now pocket an EXTRA £35 a week) but Mr Lloyd has taken wide powers in the form of the payroll tax. A measure designed to force hesitant employers to sack workers if he thinks the overall interests of capitalism require a large pool of unemployed workers. He thinks this will also help to cut consumption of food, (and other workers' luxuries) and help balance his worsening import-export balance.

If during the next year he thinks that the workers are still buying too much his new, wide range of power will enable him to arbitrarily increase prices; he has publicly admitted that this is behind the increased television advertising tax. His forecast help to the car industry seems to have consisted of making it even more costly for the ordinary worker to run a car.

All in all it is quite evident that the Tories are looking to the future with more than a little anxiety. By budgeting for a high 'above the line' surplus, the capitalist class are preparing to take extraordinary measures to combat what they fear may be an extraordinary crisis.

The lesson for the Party is quite clear. An immediate campaign at national level is now imperative to explain the causes of the coming crisis... before it is too late. The vacillation of party leaders must be no excuse for not revealing what is in effect a plan for the most severe attack on the living standards of the working class since the war. The meaning of the increased insurance and health charges, the threat of increased prices and high unemployment must all be made clear to the class so that when the wheel begins to grind we will be able to take effective action.

# TU COMMENTARY

LES BENNETT AEU

THE EC of the AEU has recently achieved a memorable victory together with the strikers at the American dominated Caterpillar Tractor Co. The president of the AEU literally threw the whole book at this particular concern before the right to organize a *bona fide* Trade Union was conceded.

There are, however, several bastions still to be stormed. The Kodak Co of America, employing something like 7,000 workers at their Harrow factory ought to be next on the list. They have denied trade unions the right to organize, thus leaving 7,000 workers in this most profitable company with a "Workers Representative Committee", the employers having the privilege of vetoing anything connected with the broader industrial and political aspirations of the workers involved.

This is surely a strange state of affairs when one remembers that the British Government happens to have been a substantial shareholder in Kodaks for many years. It appears quite ludicrous to veto workers who wish to participate in the general political and industrial struggles, when Parliament itself is so interested in the profits produced by these same workers.

History tells us that these situations have always been stopped! but only by a persistent struggle and the determination of the workers to improve their lot.

Propaganda on the workshop floor, advertising the benefits and functions of the trade union movement, with adequate support from the various Executive Councils involved, would be invaluable in preparing the way for solutions and agreements acceptable to the trade union movement in general.

\* \* \*

'OMAR' TGWU

LIKE a hardy perennial the subject of amalgamation finds its way on to the Agenda of the NFBTO Conference year after year and with the same regularity it is relegated to the waste paper basket.

It is hailed as the panacea for the ills that plague the NFBTO. Rarely can a voice be heard in dissent; theoretically, all are agreed that the principle is sound and no effort must be spared to give it an objective reality; but at this point their vapourings end in nothingness.

At the last Annual Conference it was decided to set up an Ad Hoc Committee to examine and report back on the possibilities of establishing closer unity, but the information that has percolated through reveals once more the determination of the respective unions not to change the present order of things. However, the progressives need not be discouraged; over the years a number of mergers have been accomplished with success.

At one time, not so long ago, there were seventy unions catering for building operatives but today, there are only seventeen.

## BUREAUCRACY

One of the main reasons for the tardy progress is the prevalence of bureaucracy in all the affiliated unions. This bane is not confined to the top brass but in varying degrees can be found at all organisational levels. The local Branch Secretary is as much a victim of this vice as the General Secretary.

The glory and magnified importance of the office held seems to over-ride all other considerations. They prefer being 'big men' in small places than to be able to play a greater role in the numerically and economically more powerful industrial organisations.

Like Gods they thunder in their own little heavens but with all their thundering, they are unable to arouse any fear in the minds of the employers who sit smugly in their offices watching with amusement the play performed on the industrial stage. There are a few who proudly call themselves General Secretaries but they represent at best only a few thousand members whose power and influence is negligible.

A condition of progress in this sphere is the break-down of bureaucracy at all levels; a job that must be tackled from the bottom; in the Branch and in the presence of the lay-member. In the final reckoning he will be the arbiter and not the EC's and General Secretaries.

## CONSERVATISM

There is no organisation more conservative than the craft union affiliated to the NFBTO. These unions either will not or cannot move with the times. In these days of rapid social and industrial changes they are anachronisms. They have out-lived their usefulness and no longer serve the purpose for which they were formed and should therefore be relegated to the museum for antiquities.

In many sections of building mechanisation and technical progress have destroyed almost every vestige of craft as originally understood. These new productive forces have brought in their trail operational processes which are embodiments of these displaced. Blended in them are the elements not only of craftsmanship but the skill and aptitudes of the non-craft operatives.

Out of this process of action and re-action there has arisen a new product; a new operation; a new class of operative in possession of new skills and experience.

Already the question of survival has become a vital issue in many craft unions. Membership is in decline; their power and influence is on the wane

In an effort of reconciliation some of them have opened their ranks to the non-craft operatives, but experience has shown that this has added to and not detracted from their difficulties. To the extent that this policy has been pursued the craft organisation has become a General Union.

\* \* \*

JOHN SANGSTER ETU

THE tendency for organisations to pursue agreements which provide different conditions for men of comparable grades occurs with regular monotony in the Electrical Supply Industry. The latest of these attempts has occurred within the Electrical Engineers Department of London Transport.

The official minutes of the negotiating committee tell us that a claim is being made for machine shop craftsmen at Lots Road Power Station for an extra 8d per hour based on knowledge and versatility of skill.

The AEU, through Bro V Parker, National Officer, advances the argument that, "at Lots Road there is a great variety of plant in the machine shop with lathes ranging from 6" to 30" centres and our members are not only expected to work them but also repair them, undertaking duties normally carried out by machine tool fitters."

Having admitted the fact that our members are doing two men's jobs for the price of one, the AEU seemingly go further and are prepared to take the paltry 8d per hour, as if this would be a great victory.

It must not be overlooked that right at this minute the threat of a considerable redundancy hangs over the heads of all LTE workers in the Electrical Engineers Dept, due to the steadily progressing modernisation programme.

The obvious claim for a complement of machine tool fitters at the correct wage seems to have escaped the Trade Union officials, and the question of providing extra employment to absorb some of the threatened staff has been ignored in favour of a few coppers per hour to a handful of staff.

This pattern of inequality and 'doubling up' of work is consistent with the general trend of 'agreements' going back over the years. For example, we have unequal holidays, with extra days given for so many years' service, so that equality of work produces inequality of rest. By these and other equally bad agreements the job as a whole tends to be thoroughly divided and it is a constant struggle to get unity amongst the sections.

It is a poor thing when you have to applaud the management, who have refused to concede the claim, when a really worth-while policy, as I have briefly outlined, could have rallied our members and possibly gone some way towards a solution to the redundancy problem; and to getting more pay and better conditions into the bargain.

I don't believe it is too late yet for unity to be achieved, but

not around the backsliding policies apparent in the Lots Road claim.

\* \* \*

FRANK HARWOOD AEU

AMERICAN workers are feeling the results of economic recession, in fact five and a half million are unemployed, and this army is being added to every day. But recession is not the only factor causing jobs to dwindle. Advancing technology, i.e. automation, is replacing the jobs of many workers.

In the steel industry for example it took 20 man-hours to produce one ton of steel in 1940—it now requires only 12. Throughout all major industries more is being produced with fewer workers, resulting in larger profits to the corporations.

About 125,000 steelworkers were laid off last December and 10,000 will not be recalled even if the industry were to operate at full capacity. At present steel production in the US is running at only fifty percent capacity, but profits remain high. Recession is not worrying the American steel capitalists. What is true for the steel industry applies to cars, rubber, transportation etc.

It would be a mistake to think that only unskilled work can be automated; computers may soon render obsolete the skills of many of today's craftsmen. An estimated 160,000 unemployed car workers will never be re-employed in the car industry due to automation. One million railway jobs have disappeared in the past 20 years, partly due to increased mechanisation. And in the coal mines two men do the work that once required twelve.

But not only industrial workers are being replaced by advancing technology. Electronic machines eliminated 25 percent of American office and clerical jobs in the last five years.

Unemployment benefit lasts only six months and about 700,000 workers have been out of work for more than this period.

The 30 for 40 (30 hour week for 40 hours pay) is the popular demand which the rank and file of the unions are now putting forward, but this will not solve all the problems, assuming it is achieved, since it will not alter the economic structure of capitalist society.

The British workers have not felt the effects of automation to the extent their American brothers have, but they surely will, and a hard struggle lies ahead for all sections of the movement.

Governor Davis and the Louisiana State Legislature decided "to refuse public assistance to 6,000 unmarried mothers and their 23,000 illegitimate children... thus driving them to starvation point". (*The Economist*, 10th September.)

What brutality on the part of bigoted capitalist rulers!

# MAY DAY

JOHN FAIRHEAD

MAY Day has long since been reduced to a ritual. Everywhere outside Asia and Latin America, it is so still.

Moscow's May Days assumed under Stalin a more and more military overtone. Parades were dominated by tanks, armoured cars and massed formations of the Red Navy and Army, while

the Red Air Force, menacingly equipped, flew overhead. The main speech was delivered by a leading general (usually Voroshilov) whose turn of phrase produced epigrams such as "let the imperialist boars keep their greedy snouts out of our beautiful Soviet garden".

Kruschov has changed the

order of things a little, but not much. And we may be sure that this year the emphasis will be, not on the struggle of the workers everywhere for bread and freedom, but on the stupendous *military* feat (for that, of course, is what it is) of the spaceman and the scientists behind him.

In the West, most workers will not even march on May Day at all. A tiny number will observe the occasion in the leading towns in Britain, decorously on a Sunday. No work will stop. Neither heat nor light will be engendered by the tired official speeches. To the leaders whose wretched cowardice nearly lost Labour the LCC, May Day is merely an embarrassment, a memory of an overalled past which should be put behind as quickly as possible.

The workers of West Berlin will be treated to some sabre-rattling by Willi Brandt, striving to out-curdle Adenauer. As for the workers in the USA, where May Day began as Johann Most and his comrades mounted the scaffold, they will not observe May Day at all. Their junketing must wait until September, when on government-sponsored Labour Day Mr. President Kennedy and Mr. Secretary Goldberg will tell the Pittsburgh unemployed that they never had it so slumpless.

In Africa the working-class movement is still in its infancy,

the great national struggle against imperialism still overshadowing all else. Africa Day means more to the small working class of the politically independent countries than May Day. Only the unfolding class struggle (it is certain) and growing solidarity from the international working class (it is to be hoped) will alter this.

Only in Asia will May Day be kept with urgency and passion. In India the national struggle has receded sufficiently from the foreground to reveal Congress as the militant enemy of the working class. At this moment a struggle proceeds in the Indian Communist Party to have this fact recognized, and to set the course of the Party accordingly. In China, where processions of peasants and workers still predominate over tanks, May Day will see a call to defend the revolution, directed in reality as much against the "modern revisionists" in the Kremlin as against the capitalist West.

The socialist revolution cannot, however, be consolidated in the soil of economically backward Asia. Capitalism will not finally fall until its Western citadels are toppled. That is why socialists in Britain must redouble their fight against Gaitskellism in these coming

cont. on page 8

## The London Plan

W. HARRISON

THE London Labour Party's rejection of the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London came as no surprise. But no satisfactory alternative solution to the problems of London was produced. Many of those who opposed the report were, no doubt, big fish in little local government pools who saw themselves swamped in the larger councils proposed; others were probably against change anyway—the LCC Labour Group originally refused to give any evidence to the Commission other than its belief that the (admittedly great) achievements of the LCC showed that the present situation was ideal.

Politically, the report smells. It proposes to abolish the two largest Labour-controlled authorities (London and Middlesex, with over 5 million people) and submerge them in a Greater London Council covering 8 million people which would, on the basis of the General Election return, have a Tory majority of about 70 to 40. Even if Labour won the elections to this new council (which is probably not impossible in the future) they would find their hands tied on many functions previously administered by the County Councils.

By and large the administration of housing, education, health services and the care of the aged, the disabled and of deprived children will be the responsibility of 52 new boroughs to be formed by the merging of the existing local authorities. In several cases a Labour-held council will be swallowed by a new borough likely to have a Tory majority—Wood Green, Penge, Feltham, Mitcham and Leyton are cases in point. In other cases a marginally-held borough such as St. Pancras is made safe by merger with a solidly-held Tory one like Hampstead.

The government of all large built-up areas is subject to two contradictory pressures, the demands that it be both uniform and efficient, local and democratic. Local government is basically undemocratic. If the standards of local services are laid down by Whitehall, then they cannot be determined by the electors at the council elections.

A small authority has not enough work to justify or enough money to pay for, the employment of experts—architects to

design buildings to suit local requirements, medical specialists, town-planners able to devote themselves to the development of one small area. The larger authorities cream off the available talent, but their very size often prevents their elected members exercising the right amount of control over the officials.

In an area as large and mixed as Greater London local government on two levels appears necessary; an overall authority, democratically elected, to plan the whole area, decide the location of new towns and estates, tackle the traffic problem, and run the West End and the sewers, Epping Forest and refuse-disposal for the benefit of the people of the whole great area; and really local units in which ordinary people can feel that they are capable of running at least some local affairs themselves. The eventual aim of these should be wards, housing estates or even blocks of flats where the whole interested population meet to decide many issues and delegate others to their elected committees, on the model of the social committees which had a short life as a product of the workers control movement after the First World War.

We can't expect MacMillan's Commission to propose local workers councils, but even by its own standards its proposals are inadequate. Large as is the proposed Greater London Council it will not cover the whole area whose traffic problems and population movements are determined by events in London: an area from the South Coast to Peterborough and stretching half-way to Birmingham would be needed for this. And the new boroughs, although they will have increased functions which may attract better candidates and workers, will have populations of 100,000 to 250,000, too large to exercise a constant and collective control over their representatives.

And why, if the Commission wanted to fit the new structure to the needs of Londoners, didn't it ask them, through a public opinion poll what they thought these were?

Our councillors must be told to produce a Plan for Greater London which will show up the Commission's Report for what it is—a pettyfogging piece of gerrymandering.

## TORY TRICKERY

STAN BEDWELL

THE new Government Housing Bill, according to the Conservative Central Office, provides for a higher subsidy for new Council houses for local authorities "who satisfy a financial needs test". "Local authorities in need will get more help than at present", say the Tories, and this legend has been widely repeated in the press and on radio and television.

The Bill provides a formula for working out which Councils are "in need" and—believe it or not—one of the Councils which will qualify for higher subsidy is that of Bournemouth, one of the three towns in the country which levies a rate of less than 15s in the £; but Liverpool and Manchester which have the worst slum clearance problems in the Country will *not* qualify. It is fairly clear that working-class districts in London and Middlesex will *not* qualify, but "classy" districts with comparative low rates, such as Finchley, will.

### TORY PHILOSOPHY

These astounding proposals (on a par with the NHS increases) demonstrate how the Tories and their capitalist backers are going to work on their time-honoured policy of dividing the

working-class.

This extraordinary housing policy in effect, penalises Councils which own the highest proportion of pre-war houses. In the main, these are the Councils which were Labour controlled before the war.

The idea is that, where a district has a comparatively large number of pre-war Council houses, the tenants of these, instead of the Government, can be made to subsidise the newer houses which are so expensive because of the Government high interest and dear land policies.

Although the Tories have denied that their new policy is an "instruction" to Councils to bring in differential rents policies where they do not already exist, it will obviously lead to that.

Is it not about time the Labour and TU Movement conducted a determined campaign inside and outside of Parliament which will expose the money-lender? The present position of drift only helps the Tory press in its running campaign of lies against the Council tenant that he is "kept" or subsidised by workers who are often less well off than he.

The Labour Party hasn't got a policy about Council house rents; it is about time it did and exposed Tory trickery.

# The direction of action

BY PETER SEDGWICK

THE anti-nuclear sitdowns have had a bad Press, not least from the Left—which is usually so quick to acclaim insubordination—if it takes place in other countries. It seems that it is all right for the 121 to advocate illegal tactics in France, but wrong for the 100 to undertake much milder forms of mutiny in Britain. *Tribune* and Canon Collins jump to denounce the “lunatic fringe” behind the Easter Monday sitdown in Grosvenor Square. The various vanguards of the proletariat and (on the whole) the New Left movement are conspicuous by their absence from the cold pavement outside the Ministry of Defence in February. Even *Socialist Review* permitted itself a cheap gibe at the sitdown (in last month’s editorial)—although most of its contributors seemed to be out there on that pavement.

One may well agree that the post-Aldermaston sitdown was ill-organised and ill-timed. (*Socialist Review* goes to press too late to be able to comment on the Committee of 100 sitdown in Parliament Square on April 29th.) But on the other hand, anything that tends to increase disrespect for the ‘law and order’ that protects Polaris is to that extent commendable. And above all any criticism of Direct Action, its methods, activities and participants, should be fraternal criticism. These people are, after all, trying to get a job done (the job of abolishing the Bomb unilaterally), and done quickly. Even the most wrong-headed Direct Actionist is at least right in his scepticism as to the possibilities of purely “constitutional” action in bringing about a better world.

## GET MOVING

Our approach to Direct Action (whether organised by the committee bearing that name, or by the more widely-based Committee of 100), should also be empirical: that is, we should refrain from blanket judgments *pro* or *con* Direct Action as such, and should examine each proposed form of civil disobedience on its merits as a possible means of waging the anti-nuclear class struggle. Most Marxist Socialists seem to be agreed that industrial stoppages against the Bomb are a desirable form, even though last month’s editorial felt rightly obliged to stress that strikes of this kind will have at present to begin in (unfortunately) only a token fashion.

Yet we cannot leave our consideration of Direct Action at the stage of proclaiming “No work on Rocket Bases!” This slogan, uttered or distributed practically anywhere in Britain, amounts to saying that somebody else (i.e. workers in rocket

bases) has to get moving. But the essence of revolutionary politics is that WE—and anybody else we can involve around us—should get moving.

We should then, think of Direct Action as a form of militant demonstration undertaken to alert the British people to the nuclear peril, and to show that there are large numbers of people who hate nuclear weapons sufficiently to prove that they mean business. As and when working-class Direct Action follows in the form of strikes against the Bomb, Direct Action will become something far more important: a dangerous challenge to the social system that needs the Bomb.

## GANDHIST

The mistake made by many Direct Action enthusiasts is to suppose that the *present* forms of Direct Action are sufficient, if expanded on a really huge scale, to overthrow nuclear weapons. After the February sitdown Russell stated that the aim of the Committee of 100 was to carry on organising ever more disobedient kinds of disobedience until the Government was forced to the choice of either imprisoning thousands of people, or else abdicating. Clearly the implication is that the Government would then rather abdicate than imprison. (For there is no point in imprisonment for its own sake.)

Other Direct Actionists conceive of their task as that of carrying their martyrdom to such an extent that the Tories will be converted by the example of suffering offered them, and give up the Bomb. (This might be called the “pressure-politics” view of Direct Action; it is no coincidence that the recent CND National Conference *both* approved Direct Action as a form of CND activity *and* rejected a resolution demanding a concentration of forces on the Labour Party struggle.)

Both of these approaches are what may be called “ideologies” of Direct Action; acceptance of them does not depend on a detailed consideration of this or that particular kind of activity, but rather contains a total philosophy of politics, usually that associated with the name of Gandhi. It is worth noting that Gandhi was by no means an absolute foe of violence. He helped in recruiting Indian troops to the Allied imperialist side during World War I, and refused to protest against the imprisonment of the Garwalhi soldiers (who refused to fire on a crowd in Peshawar) on the grounds that when independence came Congress would need an obedient soldiery, and this set a bad example!

Besides, Gandhist Direct Actionists usually have a curiously rosy picture of the

struggle for Indian independence, which certainly did not succeed by melting imperialist hearts by the spectacle of total non-violence.

The struggle included terrorism, sabotage mob-violence and mutiny among its methods as well as hunger-strikes and passive disobedience; Indian masses, like any others, had a habit of breaking into distinctly violent forms of Direct Action if they were thwarted or shot at, this causing immeasurable sorrow to

called the “hard-core” Direct Actionist, who can seriously discuss whether or not disobedience has to be carried to the extent of refusing to use the prison lavatories, is in marked contrast to the course followed by, for example, the seamen’s leader Paddy Neary, who got out of his imprisonment for “contempt of court” during the shipping strike by humbly apologising to the judge for his subversive activities against the bosses—following which, of course, he promptly resumed those activities in the National Seamen’s Reform Movement.

Most supporters of the Committee of 100 will, of course, not strive to keep out of prison at all costs: there are occasions when any serious rebel has to be prepared to enter jail rather

ADMIRAL Raborn, in charge of the Polaris project for the US Navy, who asked the contractors to proceed “on wartime urgency with wartime dedication” gave a pep-talk to one of his officers. Later the officer said: “When I walked out I was ready to die for some one, but I didn’t know—or remember—whether it was the Admiral, the President, my mother, the head of the Boy Scouts or who. But, brother, I was ready to die.” Cdr. James Butler Osborn, “who looks like a football player, talks like a Marine drill-sergeant and thinks like a well-trained engineer, seemed almost in love with his exquisite command. ‘This ship,’ he insisted, ‘is not a problem in physics; it’s an article of war.’”  
...“Committed \$3.5 billions of the national defence budget before a single shot was fired. It was the first instalment on the Polaris fleet that will run up a bill as large as the entire budget for the Strategic Air Command. But it was a cold war bargain.” (*Time*, 1st, August 1960). The same *Time* issue showed a map with Britain as a service base for Polaris, in August, three months before the agreement was announced by MacMillan!

the Mahatma on numerous occasions.

It is unlikely, moreover, that any more than a very few Direct Action participants will follow the Gandhists in positively seeking imprisonment as a consequence to their protest. (Only one out of nearly thirty defendants after the Grosvenor Square sit-down chose to go to jail rather than pay a fine.)

The attitude of what may be

than sacrifice principle. But this is a far cry from the “hard-core” Actionist’s craving for four narrow walls and a plank bed.

To sum up, one can probably do no more than repeat the call made by the anarchist paper *Freedom* at the time of the first demonstration outside the Defence Ministry:

SIT DOWN—WITHOUT ILLUSIONS!

## Socialist Review

### Fighting Fund

We need £40 an issue  
During the last month we have received from:



	£	s	d
Islington	6.	7.	6
Willesden	3.	12.	0
Camden Town	6.	18.	0
Shoreditch	2.	0.	0
Lewisham	3.	4.	3
Harrow	2.	5.	0
Ramsgate	3.	2.	0
Liverpool	1.	10.	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>28.</b>	<b>18.</b>	<b>9</b>

THANKS! and KEEP IT UP, COMRADES!

I enclose a contribution of .....£.....s.....d. to the SOCIALIST REVIEW Fighting Fund.

Name ... ..

Address ... ..

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

# CONGO

BY STAN MILLS

**PATRICE Lumumba** and his two colleagues are dead because they put their faith in the United Nations. Neither the murder of the Congolese leaders nor the treachery of UNO has come as any surprise to those who recognize this organization and the role of imperialism for what they are.

The situation is reminiscent of the historical role of Western imperialism, only in this case the rump of imperialism has formed a collective force to carry on its odious task under the "respectable" cloak of UNO. Whatever excuses the leaders of Western imperialism may use to defend it, one thing is crystal clear; UNO, which Lumumba himself, as Prime Minister, had invited to the Congo to preserve law and order, not only failed to do so, but also denied the elected Government of the Congo every available means of self-protection.

In the intervention there is no doubt that UNO was carrying out the wishes of the State Department, for the *Wall St. Journal* wrote on September 6th: "A clear defeat for Lumumba would cheer up the US State Department even more than would the liquidation of their other chief head-ache of the moment—Fidel Castro..."

In discussing the responsibility for this crime against the Congolese people we must ask ourselves one important question: Who benefitted? In the answer to this question, we find the motive! In Katanga and South Kasai there is mineral wealth—uranium, diamonds, copper. The "Union Miniere" and similar companies, to which it "belongs", have British, Belgian, American and French shareholders. The financial papers of these countries have openly spoken of increased profits now that Katanga and South Kasai have broken away from the Congo. The shareholders' interests thus

secure, the rest of the Congo can be left to bankruptcy and famine.

As can be expected, the Tory Government played its full part in the whole dirty business. They refused to support UNO's resolution in July calling for the withdrawal of Belgian troops. A month before this the Tory Government made no protest when Belgium poured in paratroops to forestall expulsion of Belgian officers from the Congolese Army. In fact, their whole record runs true to form and they must take their share of the blame for Lumumba's murder. Imperialism has got rid of its most dangerous opponent and has been using the very fact of these murders to confuse people's minds with propaganda about African barbarism and their inability to rule themselves.

How can the Congo be saved? Is it too much to hope that at last the scales will fall from the Labour Party's eyes, for it was at Scarborough last October that the Annual Conference passed a resolution congratulating UNO on its handling of the Congo.

The touchstone for socialists on this question is that they stand unequivocally for the restoration of the legally elected Government of the Congo and the removal of all foreign troops, including those of UNO. This will make way for the African anti-imperialist forces to deal with the stooges and puppets. British Labour must be made to take a clear stand on this issue. The rank-and-file have the responsibility to clear their minds and then to act in a campaign of solidarity against the crimes of imperialism. A campaign which will unite the fight of the British workers and the African peoples against their common enemy.

In our trade union branches, Labour Party wards and GMCs, as well as within the wider anti-imperialist movement we must demand the end of imperialism and for the support of those fighting against it.

# AFRICA

LESSONS OF THE BOYCOTT—BY DEV MURAVKA

**THE** withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth is not in any way a major breakthrough against Verwoerd's racial policies, despite much optimistic Labour thinking. The really powerful link between Britain and South Africa is not formally being members of the "great family of nations", but the capitalist classes of both countries trading in more concrete things than pleasant phrases.

Although the British Government has at last voted in "principle" against SA in the UN, why is it not prepared to support a more militant resolution calling for trade sanctions against SA?

The main reason is that British investment in South Africa is heavy and profitable. The extent of this is not often realised. It is estimated that between 1946-55 foreign capital to the tune of about £700 million flowed into South Africa. Of this £500 million came from Britain. From another angle, foreign capital provided about 2 per cent and Britain about 17 per cent of the total investment. Even these figures are not very impressive till it is remembered that £200 million of foreign capital was used to open new gold mines.

Fuller details of the investment pattern, available up to the year 1956, are much more interesting.

In 1956 total foreign investment in South Africa amounted to £1,396 million. The British share of this was £856 million or 62 per cent of the total. Nearly seven-eighths of the British investment was on a long term basis; £286 million of it was in mining and £213 million in manufacturing industries. The interlocking of South African economy with that of Britain went even further. Of £411 million worth of assets held by South Africa in foreign countries, £229 million were held in the sterling area, nearly half of it in Britain. Naturally the British Government do not want to jeopardize their interests in South Africa by taking up issues with Dr. Verwoerd.

## PREFERENCE

Under the Ottawa Conference agreements, South African goods enjoy a preferential treatment in Britain. So do the British goods in South Africa. But it so happens that while Britain can sell her goods elsewhere without preference,

South Africa will be faced with grave problems. For South Africa, it would be difficult to find markets where she can sell without being at a disadvantage. Fruit is one such example.

In 1958-59, Britain imported about £5,500,000 worth of fresh deciduous fruit from South Africa. This was 70 per cent of the country's fruit exports and 64 per cent of the crop. In the same period about 56 per cent of citrus fruit exports or 42 per cent of the total crop was sold to Britain. Taken from another angle, in 1958 about 70,000 tons of canned fruit or 90 per cent of the export was shipped to Britain. In such commodities even slight fluctuations in prices make a large difference. Some times even if the price realised in Britain is slightly lower, it is made up by the large quantities sold. In the case of currants, raisins and sultanas, for instance, which were valued at 1s. 4d. per lb. in Norway, the price realised in Britain was only 1s. 2d. per lb., but over 6 million pounds of

cont. on page 8

# PORTUGAL

**MANY** will have read in the press the sensational capture of the *Santa Maria* by Henrique Galvao and his band of co-revolutionaries. Far fewer will have read the program that this grouping puts forward. We therefore republish this message to the Portuguese People by Galvao. That here is a serious revolutionary is obvious from the text. Far removed from the comic opera aspects of the movement played up by the dutiful capitalist press, allies of fascist Salazar.

★ ★ ★

"The capture of the *Santa Maria* was not a romantic gesture. Still less was it the result of a plan merely intended to attract world attention to the dramatic situation of Portugal. The capture of a large and magnificent vessel, which lasted for eleven days, and the voyage across the Atlantic pursued by planes and ships of several nations, have a meaning for all of you.

We wanted to prove that the dictator Salazar was not invulnerable—and we succeeded. We struck at him, and at his navy, and we made them ridiculous in the eyes of the whole free, Christian world.

Tomorrow, wherever and whenever we meet him face to face once more, we shall strike at him again. We would not be what we are, nor would we be your spokesmen, were we to limit ourselves merely to the domain of military action. *We are in fact at war with the Portuguese and Spanish dictatorships.* We are not interested simply in overthrowing Salazar by itself. We pursue a revolutionary aim: the reconstruction of Portuguese society on new bases. Owing to various circumstances there has never before been held out to the Portuguese people a hope and a future corresponding to their aspirations. We intend to take that step, which is decisive for all of us.

We know that no one fights for vague promises and beautiful words. Talk about liberty, equality and fraternity solves nothing. For this reason we do not intend to fall into the same error as that made by those who reiterate principles and are fearful or irritating the dictator, and who take refuge behind vague formulas. We want a revolution, profound, authentic, total and humane.

It will have as its starting point the destruction of an iniquitous social order, and it will be based on agrarian reform and urban reform. Our watchword will be: land for those who till it and houses for those who dwell in them. We shall eliminate the great landed estates and speculation in building. We shall implacably destroy the privileges of the Portuguese plutocracy which divides men from birth into rich and poor.

We are far away from Lisbon and the dictator, but all of us are acting with the unshakable conviction that we shall enter the city as victors and implant there the Portuguese revolution of the twentieth century, the revolution which will also open the doors of the overseas colonies to freedom, progress and independence.

These are the words I have to say to you at this moment when the first military action taken by the forces under my command has come to a victorious conclusion. We are the nucleus of the future liberation army of Portugal and Spain.

February 2, 1961

from the *Portuguese & Colonial Bulletin.*

## CND Conference

THE CND's Conference on March 4 and 5 recorded four major advances. First, the unnecessary division and rivalry between the Direct Action Committee (and Committee of 100) and the "less radical" body of CND supporters and leaders was ended. CND is to make another attempt to act as an umbrella to all unilateralist activities. We need not see again rival bands of protesters marching in opposite directions down the same road.

Secondly, the self-appointed National Executive of CND is to be replaced by a completely elected one. Third, the delegates finished the work they started at the last Conference by demanding immediate withdrawal from NATO, rejecting a National Executive proposal that, for tactical reasons, CND should agree to Britain remaining long enough to try to persuade the Alliance to give up reliance on nuclear weapons.

Finally the delegates showed themselves well aware of the importance of drawing the organised industrial workers into the Campaign and of the importance of the decision of the last Labour Party Conference and the present fight within the Party. The delegates showed themselves more aware of the need to fight Crossman's so-called "compromise" statement than did some of the officers.

The majority however resolutely refused to call on CND members to join the Labour Party and push for its return to power on a unilateralist policy. Some of the most vehement opponents of this were the keenest Direct Action supporters, although when their Pat Arrow-smith spoke of token industrial stoppages against Polaris, she received great applause.

### RESOLUTIONS PASSED

Moved by Ray Challinor, Stoke-on-Trent, and Will Fancy, South East London: YCND emergency resolution:

*This conference of CND rejects the defence policy recently approved by the Parliamentary Labour Party. Although in details this shows some concessions to the rising demands for unilateral nuclear disarmament, it falls far below the qualifications laid down by the last Labour Party conference.*

*Nor can the Campaign support the alternative draft policy of Mr. Crossman. We cannot agree to the continuation of Britain within a nuclear armed NATO or the retention, for no matter how short a time, of US bases in Britain or of tactical nuclear weapons by NATO, all of which are implicit in the Crossman proposal. World events since the last Labour Party Conference have not made the policy then decided less necessary: rather they have made it more necessary that this policy should be strengthened by withdrawal from all alliances armed with nuclear weapons or including members so armed.*

Moved by Mrs. Pittock, Crewe CND, and seconded by Ray Challinor Stoke-on-Trent:

*That the Campaign, while having as its immediate objective the renunciation of nuclear strategy by Great Britain, calls on every country which possesses nuclear weapons, including the USA and the Soviet Union, to renounce them unilaterally and pledges its support for any organisations or individuals working in good faith to persuade their governments to renounce nuclear strategy.*

Extract from resolution moved

by Labour Advisory Committee and St. Marylebone CND:

*Conference urges the widest possible action by CND inside the Labour movement and in particular the creation of Campaign groups within trade unions at all levels of their organization.*

Moved by South West London YCND and East London YCND:

*The CND groups at local level should approach shop stewards committees, trades councils etc. to gain support from industrial workers.*

*The CND executive produces leaflets and propaganda to ap-*

*peal to trade union members. That the Campaign should be launched through quarterly meetings of co-operative societies with a view to obtaining the practical and political participation of these societies in CND.*

Moved by Streatham CND (carried overwhelmingly against the policy draft of the EC which was amended accordingly)

*That this AGM of the CND believes that effective unilateral nuclear disarmament involves and includes a unilateral withdrawal of Britain from the NATO or from any other nuclear war alliance.*

## THE FORGOTTEN CLASS

JANE ROBERTS

OVER the past year or so contributors to *Socialist Review* have taken up the problems of many oppressed and underprivileged groups—racial minorities, apprentices, sections of industrial workers etc. But you, along with all other socialist papers have failed to mention the largest oppressed class of all: Women.

Women make up over 50 per cent of the adult population. Legally, occupationally, economically and socially oppressed, and subject to the most blatant forms of sex discrimination, they offer an important field for urgent socialist consideration. A few Labour MP's and councillors have tried by individual effort to tackle very limited problems—reform of abortion laws, provision of crèches, nursery schools etc.

Larger numbers have condemned women's lack of interest in Trade Union activity and their disposition to vote Tory. How many have analysed the reasons for this? How many socialists talk of equality and freedom for workers and colonial peoples and yet deny them to wives, sisters, mothers and daughters? When will you free us so that we can help in the struggle against capitalism?

Don't retort that nothing can be done until we change society and reach socialism. This is ultimately true for all subject classes, but this does not stop you framing transitional programs and immediate demands. The slavish dependence of women is based on her dependent economic position. Legal, social, moral and cultural inequalities have arisen from this. A whole complex of values and attitudes have grown on this, backed and rationalised by specious psychology and biology to give a stereotype of woman satisfactory to the dominant male sex.

What should and can be done? Engels says, "the first premise for emancipation of women is the re-introduction of the entire female sex into public industry". This is the way to make women economically independent and clear the way for emancipation in all spheres. The process has already begun. In England and Wales 35 per cent of women

over 15 are gainfully occupied compared with 88 per cent of the men.

Clearly our immediate task is to remove obstacles blocking the entry of women into employment. These are of two kinds—legal, and those connected with traditional attitudes towards women. In many cases the two are interwoven, therefore, no attempt has been made to separate them here.

*Here is a list of places where useful progress could and must be made:—Education (content and opportunities in further education); opportunities in occupations largely closed to women for traditional reasons; apprenticeships; equal pay in all occupations; removal of taxation anomalies, particularly as they affect married women; Paid maternity leave for all occupied women; adequate provision of crèche and nursery school facilities; legal abortion and free family planning facilities. By individual and collective action and example to change the climate of opinion which bears down upon those women struggling to be free.*

The ideal of woman portrayed by the women's magazines and

cherished by male dominated society (often including socialists) causes for the individual woman overwhelming conflicts and guilt feeling when she tries to free herself. In many cases, even when she is a joint or equal breadwinner, she is still expected to take responsibility for the home and children. Help given by the husband is in the nature of a concession, an infringement on his personal leisure time.

Economic independence is on the way to becoming a reality for some women and the number is likely to increase, but the weight of tradition and conservative opinion still prevents them entering social and sexual relationships on equal terms with men. Are socialists going to allow women to dissipate their energies waging a struggle against the male oppressors for recognition?

We know emancipation cannot be completely achieved until all workers, men and women, are freed from capitalism. Let those men who call themselves socialists assist women in their struggle for freedom and equality so that together we may further the struggle for Socialism.

### REVIEWS

## SPARTACUS

CATHERINE GARDNER

THE ancient legend of Spartacus is an inspiring one; a group of Roman slaves break out from their gladiatorial training school, and make for the coast from which they hope to embark for Greece, freeing all the slaves on the way; eventually they are decimated by head-on combat with the Roman legions, the survivors being crucified.

Hollywood, in the persons of Directors Kubrick and Kirk Douglas (who also plays Spartacus), has based the film on Howard Fast's novel, and so must face the revolutionary implications of the theme. On the one hand such an incident must be firmly confined to the far closet of history; to this effect

before the film starts the audience is told that the scene is set 2,000 years before the abolition of slavery, a form of briefing reminiscent of 'On the Waterfront' where we were assured not only that such conditions no longer existed, but that their portrayal was a sign of Democracy's willingness to undertake self-criticism. On the other hand, for both political and box-office reasons, too great a degree of historical realism would have been undesirable. As a result the political conflict between slave and master is underplayed, and instead the differences are emphasised between senators of reactionary patrician origins, typefied by dictator poet (Tony Curtis). In contrast,

## It's Rich

"Children have been trained to duck as soon as they see a brilliant flash of light"—*Times* report on American Civil Defence, 2 March.

'Stendhal's novel, translated into English under the sinister title, *The Red and the Black*, was among the books confiscated from one of the white accused'—*New Statesman* retrospective report on the South African treason trial, 7 April.

'For several years a number of different companies have been investing large sums in devising ways by which programmes can be made visible to those who pay for them and invisible to those who do not'—*Economist* report on American TV, 4 March.

'A British officer who went out for a training run wearing only a pair of running shorts, with snow still on the ground, was locked in a Norwegian mental hospital'—*Times*, 8 March.

'But for the fact that it appears that Mr Macmillan felt obliged to insist that there be no change of policy—for facesaving reasons—the Campaign may have achieved a most important victory'—London Region CND circular, Easter.

"EXPLODING THE NUCLEAR HUMBUG. Training is now almost exclusively concerned with the use of tactical nuclear weapons to control the battlefield. Increasing responsibility for deciding when to use these weapons is being put on such relatively junior officers as brigade commanders... The other, even more interesting development, is that the soldiers are quite determined not to leave it to the politicians to tell them when to fire the weapons. The idea of political control raises the blood pressure of these professionals. They say that it is humbug to imagine a situation in which the Russians started coming west in strength, and tactical nuclear weapons would still not be used. They add that their Russian opposite numbers must think it humbug also. If a nuclear weapon is to be used, the men on the ground must know when to use it; neither civilians in Paris nor an elaborate system of directives locked up in the army commander's brief case, can do this job... The final impression left with your correspondent after his visit to Rhine Army units is that this small force has achieved a new sense of purpose now that it has these powerful weapons." (*Economist*, 29 Oct. 1960).

ALL SR READERS ARE INVITED TO  
A LONDON NCLC SERIES ON:

## MARXISM — SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

3 PM—6 PM

ASSOCIATION OF CINEMATOGRAPH TELEVISION  
AND ALLIED TECHNICIANS  
2 SOHO SQUARE, W.1

the slaves, probably a tough and insensitive bunch in the first century BC, exhibit all the moral virtues of a clean-living Westerner: Spartacus will not sleep with the slave girl scheduled for him despite the jeers of his keepers through the grating; his wife takes a firm psycho-analytic line with her captor Crassus, telling him that he is 'afraid'; baby slaves are squirted with goats' milk by weather-beaten grandmothers; to the background of an over-pink sunset Tony Curtis enraptures the slave army with a poem about 'Home'.

Though it is only a very slight sentimentality that mars these as scenes, the transferring of the conflict from the sphere of political rights to that of moral values enables the film to avoid the full implications of the theme.

There are still however scenes in which the iron toughness of Roman life has resisted this modernizing tendency, and they

Crassus (Sir Laurence Olivier) and Democrats, typified by Gracchus (Charles Laughton), the Tribune of that favourite American entity 'the People'.

Gracchus, in history a demagogue, is frequently shown exuding a 'Love for humanity'—chatting fondly to an old peasant from whom he has bought a chicken in the forum, helping Spartacus' wife and newborn child to escape with a kindness which belies his explicit reason, spite for Crassus. Such inconsistent bonhomie tends to grate upon the watcher. Gracchus is however also portrayed as a decadent, as are the other 'masters' in the film: he and the owner of the gladiatorial school (Peter Ustinov) spend most of the scenes allotted them for political intrigue, discussing the girths of their women and the succulence of their pigs.

Crassus is shown distributing important posts to incompetent aristocrats and making advances from his bath to a slave-boy

AS various sections of the Labour movement move into the final stages to decisively beat Gaitskell and his democracy-flouters this October, a welcome shot in the arm for the official Party policy on defence has come from the Young Socialists' first Annual Conference. Amid scenes of lively enthusiasm a resolution re-affirming the Scarborough decisions was passed by a two-to-one majority. Others, calling for more nationalization (under workers' control) and the right to discuss politics at Federation and Regional level, condemning the undemocratic nature of *New Advance* (the Transport House YS monthly) and demanding an elected editorial board, were passed by good majorities.

I think many adult members of the Labour Party would have come away from the Conference with hearts gladdened by the fire and feeling that the important debates aroused—although perhaps there are some who would prefer to call it rowdyism. It is clear from the Conference that those convictions based on socialist principles have come through untarnished. The unilateralists can go to Blackpool with the knowledge that they have the support of the Young Socialist Movement.

May 13  
WAGE LABOUR AND  
CAPITAL

Tony Cliff

June 10  
CAPITALIST SLUMP AND  
THE WAR ECONOMY

M. Kidron

are the best. When Spartacus and a Moor are set to fight to the death to 'amuse' Peter Ustinov's lady visitors, the Moor who refuses to kill Spartacus, knowing that his punishment will be death, is no liberal humanist; he is a shifty-looking bundle of sinews apparently just waiting to slaughter anyone. In the same way the romantic determination of Crassus to maintain the glory of his mother-city Rome, despite the Freudian implications, for which the director is renowned, is so compellingly drawn that one cannot deny Kubrick's sensitivity to the realities of ideological conflict. The escape from the gladiatorial school, when in one rhythmic movement the slaves climb over the falling railings and charge forward wielding them as a ram of spearheads, is only paralleled by the Super-Technirama 70 shots of the flaming logs rolling towards the Roman legions. This modern legend of Spartacus too is an inspiring one.

## YOUTH

WITH each successive stage in the development of the Young Socialists' movement it becomes clearer that the nature of the organization is a complete contradiction to all that was promised by Morgan Phillips at the beginning of last year.

This development was very obvious at the first annual conference of the London and Middlesex Region held at Caxton Hall, 4th March. Of the 19 resolutions on the Agenda 14 had been ruled out of order by the NEC, although they were only of an organisational character. Against violent opposition from paid officials the conference elected a Standing Orders Committee, which immediately set about re-organizing the Agenda—ruling back into order most of the 14 resolutions. The Regional Committee had already taken this course of action at their pre-conference meeting, causing the paid officials to declare that the committee was now unofficial and that they dissociated themselves from it.

Reg Underhill (the assistant national agent), who in addressing the meeting attacked the Young Socialists for wanting politics at all levels of the movement, and reminded them that it was the Annual Conference of the Labour Party which accepted the constitution of the YS, and called upon delegates to stand by conference decisions; after a lengthy ovation from the floor he hastened to explain that he meant non-political decisions.

He was asked "Will the Annual Conference of the YS be able to amend the YS constitution?" to which he replied, "No, but the National Committee elected at the conference can make representation to the NEC of the Labour Party to consider such amendments."

Resolutions deploring the ban on political discussion in the Federations and Regions and the ban on the YS paper *Keep Left* were carried by overwhelming majorities. A resolution calling upon the Young Socialists to sink their "denominational differences" and concentrate on fighting the Tories was heavily defeated.

It was apparent at the conference that there are three major forces at work in the London area—a small, rather ineffective right-wing who are mainly concerned with table-tennis competitions, a larger left-wing trying to build a political movement, and the bureaucracy of the London Labour Party, who intensely dislike youth anyway but are most concerned with smashing this left-wing influence.

## International Socialism

No. 4.

3 shillings (post-paid)  
from 47 Fitzroy Rd. NW1

## A Note on Neutralism

THE word neutralism is used frequently in left circles and expresses the general desire to break away from cold war blocs. Unfortunately all sorts of interpretations can be placed upon the word and as at the moment a Left Labour Party with a socialist foreign policy does not exist, reactionary viewpoints can and are being smuggled in under the banner of neutralism.

Major-General Marshal Stubbs, chief chemical officer of the United States Army, told Congress earlier this year that it was technically feasible to launch a biological attack against a large country such as the United States. He said that ten carriers—planes or missiles—each carrying five tons of dry biological agents could mount such an attack and they would not have to fly at tree-top levels but could fly at high altitudes and drop packages which would open at lower levels and disperse their contents. With ten carriers, employing a line attack, General Stubbs estimated that a potential enemy would obtain at least 30 per cent casualties in the United States. (*Guardian*, 10th September).

To some minds it practically becomes neutralism to support the existing *status quo*. Kennedy

### MAY DAY—cont.

conference months. The astonishing victory of Mrs Anne Kerr in Putney, who topped the poll while her two colleagues went down to defeat, is a small but important portent of what a radicalized Labour Party, courageously led, could accomplish.

The Labour Party remains the leading Party in the Socialist International. If Gaitskellism can be beaten back at Blackpool; if clear decisions against NATO and the bomb, and for socialist nationalization with workers' control, can be recorded, then the world Labour Movement will receive a shot in the arm.

As we march to listen to those lifeless speeches, let this be our resolve. Make May Day D-Day in the battle against Gaitskellite Toryism within our Movement and its Party. There must be no hibernation this summer. There must be ceaseless activity, taking the Scarborough policy to the people in public meetings up and down the land, and preparing for the TUC and the Party Conference.

All out on May Day. All out against the Tories, against their bomb and against their agents in our Party. Throughout the social-democratic and Communist movements, a new ferment is arising. Johann Most is dead and buried, but his ideas are moving on.

and the SEATO team use the language in wanting Laos to be an "independent neutral state". What has happened, of course, is that American imperialism has taken a beating in Laos and the imperialists desperately want a breather.

Similarly it is frequently to the purpose of the Soviet bureaucracy to restrain any revolutionary tendency i.e. complete abstention from the Algerian revolution, camouflaged as neutralism.

### GRAVITY

Furthermore, many on the Left in the interests of "neutralism" have a totally uncritical view of countries such as India, as though Nehru was a messenger of a new permanent *status quo*. Many of these so called "neutralist" powers such as the new African states have a tendency to gravitate towards American imperialism, or at the most balance uneasily between the American and Soviet blocs. Any local upheavals in "neutralist states" immediately brings

BY

MICHAEL  
ROBERTS

into question the new *status quo*.

For socialists in Britain neutralism certainly means Great Britain being out of NATO and independent in its relations with the USA and the USSR. But the great contribution a Socialist Britain could make would be one of example, that is by applying its internal socialist programme seriously.

### UNDERMINE

Such a situation would revolutionize Western Europe and the consequences would be so tremendous as to undermine completely the present balance of world forces.

The idea of neutralism as a preservation of the *status quo* is not socialist and should be combated. The social revolution in Africa, South America and Asia, will not be stopped by "neutralizing" it.

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

War is the inevitable outcome of the division of society into classes. Only the working class, controlling and owning the means of production, distribution and exchange in a planned economy, can guarantee the world against war and the annihilation of large sections of humanity. Planning under workers' control demands the nationalisation without compensation of heavy industry, the banks, insurance and the land. International collaboration between socialist states must replace aggressive competition between capitalist states.

The working class will reach the consciousness necessary to change society only by building upon the experience in struggle of the existing mass organisations and organising around a revolutionary socialist programme.

This programme must include:

- The unilateral renunciation of the H-Bomb and all weapons of mass destruction, withdrawal from NATO and all other aggressive alliances as preliminary steps to international disarmament.
- The withdrawal of all British troops from overseas and the transfer of all British capital in colonies and other underdeveloped territories to their peoples.
- A Socialist foreign policy subservient to neither Washington nor Moscow. Material and moral support to all workers in all countries in their fight against oppression and their struggle for socialism.
- The establishment of workers' committees in all concerns to control hiring, firing and working conditions, together with the implementation of the principle of work or full maintenance.
- The extension of the social services by the payment of the full industrial wage as retirement pension, together with the establishment of a free Health and Industrial Health service. The abolition of all charges for public transport.
- To help solve the housing problem: the municipalisation of rented property and the nationalisation of the building and building materials industries. The granting of interest-free loans to local authorities, with the right to requisition privately owned land.
- Free education available to all, including adult education. The abolition of fee-paying schools and the private school system. The extension of education in comprehensive schools. Increased facilities for technical and practical education. A vigorous programme of school building under a national plan. A free optional nursery schools service. Adequate maintenance grants for all students without a means test.
- Votes at 18 in national and local government elections.
- Firm opposition to all racial discrimination. Freedom of migration to and from Britain.

SOCIALIST REVIEW is published by Socialist Review Publishing Co. Ltd. Subscriptions, post paid. 12 issues: 8s. Opinions and policies expressed in signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of *Socialist Review* which

are given in editorial statement.

All communications to be addressed to 117 Carmelite Rd., Harrow Weald, Middlesex.

Printed by St. Martin's Printers (T.U.) 86d. Lillie Road, London. S.W.6. Tel.: FUL. 8637.

### AFRICA—cont.

these goods were bought by Britain while only 10,000 lbs of selected qualities were sold to Norway.

Wine is an example where the British market is almost indispensable to South Africa. South African wine enjoys an average preference of 10s. per gallon. In 1958 about half of the wine exported was sent to Britain and valued at £1,256,000. South Africa has historical memories of what happened in 1861 when Gladstone abolished the preference of colonial wines. At that time South African wine growers were selling nearly 700,000 gallons of wine to Britain. Due to the abolition of preference a slump in the wine trade set in and lasted for 30 years. So severe was the crisis that many growers uprooted their vines and took to other professions.

The boycott of South African goods, now officially a year old, was and still is one of the correct answers to the problem. But here we have to face the hard fact that until now the boycott, in terms of cash, has failed. Figures on this from the *Economist* March 11 1961 are very revealing.

imports of South African goods into the United Kingdom actually rose: to £96.8 million, compared with £90.1 million in the preceding twelve months and £91.1 million in the year before that. One is tempted to say that this may be largely because most South African exports to Britain are not easily distinguishable by the ultimate consumer; even the most ardent demonstrator can hardly be aware when his margarine is made partly from South African groundnuts and his clothes partly from South African wool tops. But, in fact, some of these indistinguishable items—including sugar and wool tops—were among the few individual South African exports to Britain that fell last year. It is true that imports of South African wine, which are perhaps the most distinguishable imports of all, also fell very slightly (by £18,000 or about 1½ per cent) in 1960 compared with 1959. But they were nearly £280,000 higher than in 1958. Among other products which are generally distinguishable, imports of South African apples were some £1 million (or about 53 per cent) higher last year than in 1959; imports of South African preserved fruit were £2.9 million (or 35 per cent) higher.

All this has a lesson for us. A proper boycott of South Africa conducted all over the world, such as India does by not trading at all with the country, will bring South African racialists to heel. Trade Unions can do great service if they organise a boycott of South African cargo at the ports. No amount of liberal praying will budge the Nationalists of South Africa from their entrenched position. An economic crisis will.