

SOCIALIST REVIEW

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

JOURNAL

for the

Industrial Militant —

for

International

Socialism

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SIXPENCE

FIGHT AND FIGHT AND FIGHT

UNILATERALISTS can pride themselves on their handiwork at Labour's annual conference last month. A major political party is officially committed to their policy. Socialist unilateralists can claim an additional triumph. They had urged the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to grow through the labour movement and had won. The vote contained a bare possibility that the shambling giant of British Labour might achieve a sense of purpose beyond the oiling of its machine, and simultaneously, that the propaganda aims of the Campaign might lodge firmly with an instrument of potential power.

True, Campaigners learned—within hours—that it would not be easy to draw on this possibility. To do so would entail joining battle where it is being waged—within the labour movement; it would mean involving themselves in a struggle with the right wing in the trade unions and the Party on more than the unilateralist issue. Nevertheless, a serious unilateralist can do little now but join and fight.

CUBA: THE FACTS

REVIEW BY KEN COATES

CASTRO'S revolution is certainly one of the most spectacular adventure stories of any age. How "twelve men, each with a rifle and ten cartridges, hidden on a mountain top" could rout an armed force of thirty thousand, equipped with every device of civilised war, including napalm and the goodwill of the State Department, is a mystery that may well fog the minds of foreign office officials until the very day that the revolution promotes them to useful work on a building site. But it is a mystery which can easily be unravelled, and this is done (and done extremely well) in a recently published book.*

POVERTY

Cuba is poor. In 1953 the average income of its people was less than \$6 a week. Only 35% of its houses have running water. More than half the rural population has no lavatory facilities at all, "not even a privy". Since many people are hungry as well as insanitary, many people die of 'natural' scourges such as malaria, tuberculosis, syphilis...

"Parasites grow and multiply in the bodies of little children. Some of these worms, the size of an ordinary lead pencil, gather in clusters or balls, clog the intestinal system, block elimination, and cause anguished deaths. Such parasites often get into the body through the soles of the feet of children walking

without shoes on infected ground. After a child dies the parasites may come slithering from the mouth and nasal passages, searching for a living organism on which to feed. What has been done about it over the years? Nothing."

(Nothing could be done until Batista had been compelled to slither out of the body politic of Cuba, across the sea, back home.) In the same way, a quarter of the people over 10 years old in Cuba could not read. Another quarter of the Cuban population was, while Cuba belonged to the free world, normally unemployed. There was no dole. But there were good relations with the United States, at least as far as the United States was concerned. A quarter of all Cuban bank deposits were in U.S. banks. Cuba was third in all Latin America in the volume of direct U.S. investments.

REBELLION BEGINS

In this state of affairs it was that Fidel Castro, a young lawyer, began the public campaign against Batista's dictatorship by showing, in a brief submitted to the Urgency Court of Havana, that Batista was already in breach of the Constitution, criminally, to an extent which legally warranted a sentence in prison of 108 years. His petition was rejected, so that it now became clear that the only redress

How fight? For the first time in many years, the unaudited arithmetic of block voting at conference has added to our strength rather than the Right's. Party policy is unilateralist. Party policy is ours.

Now is the time to stress this fact. The NEC should be bombarded with resolutions affirming our local parties' solidarity with Party policy. Requests for speakers on Party defence policy should pour into Transport House and life made hot for any Gaitskellite bombardier that dares dares to confuse his views with those of the Party. Finally—and most difficult of all, although most important—every MP or parliamentary candidate must be made to declare his position: does he accept Party policy or does he not? does he accept the suzerainty of Conference over the Parliamentary Labour Party, or does he not. If not, he should be left in no doubt as to his likely fate at the next adoption meeting.

MAN
of the
FUTURE
Our beloved
Leader
after his
Victory at
Scarborough
develops his
Defence
Policy for
the post
World War
Three era.



against usurpation was revolution. Castro, consequently, prepared a revolution, and on July 26th attacked, in Santiago. Most of his followers were killed, after the attack was beaten off. (More than twenty thousand Cubans were to die at Batista's hands in the years that followed: after the war, when the allied Armies killed their enemies, they did so under the pretext of initiating a new kind of Justice. No international Court has yet taken Batista's head.) Castro himself was

caught, and brought to trial. It soon became obvious that he would score such a victory in the courtroom that he was 'taken ill' by the government, and subsequently tried in camera in a hospital anteroom, under the 'protection' of nearly 100 soldiers. Even here, he won hands down: indeed, he made a speech in his defence which Sweezy and Huberman quite soberly describe as "one of the greatest speeches in the history of the fight for freedom anywhere in the world".

continued on back page

TU COMMENTARY

KARL DUNBAR

MORE than ever before it becomes important for all active trade unionists of the left to raise the question of their unions' political direction. Out of the window goes the argument that trade unionism and politics don't mix, the Scarborough conference dealt the final blow to that hoary old myth.

For years Labour's right wing smugly counted the trade union block vote as their personal property, the bludgeon with which to beat the progressives into submission. Now the block vote is split wide open and it's our job to see it stays that way.

The AEU will be one of the main battlegrounds on which this issue will be fought. Many AEU branches are said to have written in protesting at the union's vote being cast against the Gaitskell defence policy. In this we can see the hand of Carron who we can be sure will use every underhand trick in the book to 'condition' the membership for a great 'about face' on defence policy. So far the Left have remained silent. We must be stirring ourselves; now is the time to pour in the resolutions congratulating the National Committee for their determined stand against the Carronites and firmly stating our support for the union's policy of unilateral disarmament.

DIRTY TRICK

A favourite trick of the American politicians is to circulate 'smear leaflets' about their opponents. This seems to have now caught on in Britain. Going the rounds of the National Society of Painters branches is an unsigned, duplicated foolscap sheet packed full of the worst kind of character murdering we have seen in a long time. Its opening paragraph states: "The Communists are out to take over our union. Those who want no truck with the Bolshies and their stooges must make sure they vote against them." There follows a list of names covering seven Districts, the London Area Committee, Port of London and Mersey Shipping Committee, Biennial Conference delegation and so on. Some of the brothers names are labelled either Communist, Trotskyist, stooges or fellow travellers, others simply non-Communist. One brother (labelled as a Communist nominee) is viciously slandered on his industrial conduct and the fact that he is Jewish is played up very prominently.

The circular was distributed to all branch officers during the second week of balloting for a new General Secretary. The Executive Council has now declared the vote null and void, and ordered a new ballot.

Many members are asking themselves if this was not the real intention of the circular, as a candidate in that election was reported to be leading hands down and he is, I quote from

the circular, "getting Communist support".

The members of the NSP will have to swiftly demand that these unsigned circulars are put straight on the nearest fire where they belong. To allow the reading of such slanderous muck in the branches spells sure doom to union democracy.

STRIKE AT ROOTES

The strike at the Rootes group factory of Thrupp and Maberley (which brought out for a time the entire Rootes group workers) underlines the reactionary attitude of the employing class. The refusal of the Rootes bosses to even discuss the position of the workers shows very clearly just how much they care for those who produce their profits. Things are looking grim for the car trade, exports have fallen and home sales, thanks to our Tory government, are the worst in 15 years. But think of those last fifteen years. Think of the colossal profits which have been amassed by the car bosses. Today, however, not one penny are they prepared to spend so that the producers of their profits can go on taking home a wage packet. The lesson is driven home to every worker, not just those in Thrupp and Maberley, that capitalism offers nothing permanent, no security, and certainly no future. Maybe the trade will 'pick up' again; but through this strike the eyes of workers are opened, many for

the first time, and they will not forget the lesson so bitterly learned.

A footnote to the strike. A NUVB delegate reported to the Willesden Borough Labour Party and the outcome was a collection totalling £4.17.6d. for the strikers. How many more Labour Parties are doing this?

RANK AND FILE CONFERENCE

Another rank and file conference takes place next January. Organised by ILP and the Workers' Party its object is to "enable rank and file stewards and militant workers to come together to discuss common problems".

So far so good, to discuss problems and compare experiences is always a benefit to active workers. But our past experience of such conferences leads us to some misgivings.

For example we are told in the leaflet advertising the conference, that we must "create a national rank and file movement", and "form a national liaison committee." Or again, "organise food supplies for long disputes." Finally the leaflet declares "such a movement must be free from political control and the control of the union bureaucrats."

To deal with the final point first, how can we consider a movement without political control? Such a movement which seeks to derive its strength from the working class cannot exist without 'political' control, Socialist directive in other words. The freedom to expound views is not stifled by such control. On the contrary it is absolutely necessary to the freedom of expres-

sion that a Socialist political control is exercised. But then, why are two 'political' groups organising the conference if there is to be no political control?

I believe the other points speak for themselves, they are the slogans of another era and have no reality for our class today. What happens, for example, when, comes the spring, our shop stewards movement stands as strong as it is today? As I believe it will. There is already too much fragmentation of the left and such movements as "national liaison committees" can only serve to further this fragmentation. The organised working class have traditional loyalties to their organisations. I am proud of my union and the part it has played in the struggles of the past. Certainly no Carron will ever take away from me the loyalties I have to the union, and my class as a whole. As I see it, our task is to work through the existing organisations of the working class until such time as our class repudiate those organisations.

But we should nevertheless go to this Conference. Let us see if there can be some measure of agreement to work for limited aims through the existing organs of our class. It is always worthwhile hearing the views of other fellow-workers and also for them to hear ours.

★

I take this opportunity of sending greetings, on behalf of all our industrial supporters, to our comrade and colleague Geoff Carlsson. Geoff is in Colindale Hospital and we wish him a speedy and successful recovery from his illness.

THE SHORTER WORKING WEEK

STAN BEDWELL

BEFORE the last war a popular saying ran: "eight hours' work, eight hours' play, a five day week and holidays with pay". There was unemployment, the standard working week was 48 hours, and one week's holiday with pay was commonplace.

Go back further and you find a 10 and 12 hour working day, a half-day on Saturdays usually applied in manufacturing and craft industry; and no holidays with pay. Before union agreement about a guaranteed day and a guaranteed week, bank-holiday shut-outs were unpaid.

MINES

Go back further still, and you will find the origin of marching on May 1 was not so much for the complete emancipation of the working-class from capitalist exploitation, but for the eight-hour working day as a reasonable amount of time to toil and sweat for the bosses' profits. The industrial revolution came in with no regulations whatsoever and it was roughly governed by the amount of toil a wage-slave could get through. Women and children were

employed in coal mines and in factories and on the land. Capitalist "civilisation" has always meant the extraction of as much labour power as possible with as little pay and leisure as possible.

Despite the great onward march of British Labour and its success in throwing off the harshest and most crude laws of capitalist exploitation, the struggle for workers' leisure and the

contd page 3

SYSTEMATIC MURDER

DURING the past eight years, the total number of drivers and conductors employed by the L.T.E. has declined as follows:

January, 1952	47,101
January, 1957	40,298
January, 1958	39,874
January, 1959	36,303
January, 1960	34,251
May, 1960	33,056

Total decline over eight years 14,045
(30 per cent. of total)

Where three buses ran in 1952 only two run today—and even this pitiful service can only be maintained by a level of overtime that is a disgrace to a civilised community.

Yet, as recently as last month, Mr. J. B. Burnell (L.T.E. Operating Manager) complacently claimed:

"The L.T.E. has no intention of seeking to avoid their public responsibilities."

He should take a day off and go tell it to the people in the queues.

In 1955, Mr. Burnell addressed a letter to his staff—whose outlook he described as "couldn't care less" saying:

"If you cannot, or will not, help us to carry out bus work as we know it—then make room for those who will."

It is high time Mr. Burnell took his own advice.

—The Platform, June 1960

WORKING WEEK

from page 2

workers' right to be lazy as well as the capitalist, proceeds by the same laws of class struggle motion as it did a century or more ago.

The battle of the exploited for a shorter working day and week has always been fought over a wide front; with the front giving here and there; and here and there the employers offering a "pocket" of resistance.

Once the employers' front on hours has been thoroughly punctured, all workers must be brought into line. In a full-employment economy there are the most favourable conditions for achieving a substantially greater reduction in hours because of competition for labour.

The battle for the 42 hour week has achieved great success, and with ever-increasing productivity of man and machine, the

SELF HELP—
THE MODERN WAY

Lest anyone doubt the degree of cynicism with which capitalism uses the nation's armed forces in its selfish interests, we quote the testimony of one who was in a position to know, Major-General Smedley D. Butler:

"I spent 33 years and four months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force—the Marine Corps... And during that time I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street, and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism..."

"Thus I helped make Mexico and specially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1941. I helped make Haiti and Cuba decent places for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in... I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1902-1912, I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras 'right' for American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927 I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested."

"During those years I had, as the boys in the back room would say, a swell racket. I was rewarded with honors, medals, promotion. Looking back on it, I feel I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best HE could do was to operate his racket in three city districts. We Marines operated on three CONTINENTS." (*Common Sense*, November, 1935.)

But, as the *Wall Street Journal* asks, Aug. 12, "How would the U.S. explain to Latin America and the world the difference between the Marines in Havana and the Red Army in Budapest?"—From the *New York Weekly People*, 27. 8. 1960.

worker is set for much shorter hours still if his T.U. Movement remains intact.

FOOD

Engineering, iron and steel, heavy chemicals, print and paper, furniture, gas, electricity and water supply, civil engineering, local government manual workers and many smaller industries are all on 42 hours or less. At least 7,300,000 workers have a normal working week of less than 44 hours and the movement is spreading.

The wholesale Clothing Manufacturers have agreed to 42 hours and the rest of the industry is bound to follow. Most of the minor metal trades (with half a million workers) will follow engineering—some of the Sheffield and Birmingham trades already have. Food manufacturing looks set to follow suit. The Post Office Engineers have achieved 42 hours and the other postal workers will have to follow on.

44 HOURS

The first big breakthrough was made by the print workers who knocked one and a half hours off their week by their strike last summer. They were followed by the I.C.I. All this goes to show the complete reliance of one section of workers' action upon another.

On the other side of the coin, agriculture (with 600,000 workers) has only just won 46 and baking has won 44. Building, with a million workers, the railways, with 520,000, London Transport, with 77,000 and distribution with two and three quarter million are still on 44 hours or more.

PROSPECT

But already some are working 40 hours, and the paid holiday, today taken for granted, was only beginning to be won 20 years ago. But today, the battle is about extra holidays and for "earnings" to be the basis of holiday pay. In many black-coat jobs, three weeks paid holiday is the standard and is applicable in other countries in many trades. The prospect of ordinary workers having a month's paid holiday in the future is not a dream.

SLUMP

In post-war Britain we have been living in extraordinary boom conditions with only partial economic recessions and upswings. The capitalists both here and in America, by manipulating their state machinery by the outlet of surplus value flowing out in socially useless war expenditure by the continuous war-eve factor and by being ultra-conscious of what a slump or war will do to capitalism itself, have succeeded in holding a major collapse away.

In these conditions—although at a slow tempo—boom in

Britain leads to demands for overtime by employers. Together with bonus payments, it results in the take-home pay of the workers generally being out of all proportion to the basic pay-rates. Arrangements for overtime and traditions of working in excess of the standard week, vary considerably.

But broadly, the British worker is in a trap about his earnings because they are usually based upon local conditions; and he could, in partial recession or slump conditions, find them considerably reduced without actually becoming unemployed. In these circumstances it is shameful that we have a powerful organisation, like the British T.U. Movement, which has made no firm move, so far, to consolidate "earnings" into "base rates".

STRENGTH

The agreements governing overtime and week-end working are only partially regulated by the Trade Unions. They are often flouted or tacitly by-passed by the workers and Unions themselves who do not see overtime as a menace to their health and welfare but only see the immediate gain of £sd.

In very high pressure productive work, as work-study experts will testify, a shorter working day, which reduces human fatigue, is of greater gain to the boss in greater productivity than it is to the worker. Whether the worker gains at all from greater productivity depends on his organised strength.

NORWAY

Part of the worker's struggle to keep as far away from the grave-yard as possible, is to be able to break from work in the form of holidays. Further progress both in length of holiday and in payment for it, must come. But in the length of holiday especially, Britain is lagging behind. In France there is a legal minimum three weeks (four weeks for young workers) and many agreements provide for more.

In Norway there is a legal 18 days' annual and 10 days' of public holidays. In Germany the legal minimum annual holiday in most areas is 12 days but the average, in practice under agreements, is 15 days with 10-13 days' paid public holidays. In Italy the annual holiday is 1-15 days, very often with more for long service or skill, and there are 17 days' paid public holidays.

AGREEMENTS

Clearly the British T.U. Movement on pay, overtime and holidays, is in a state of drift. The worker is in a most precarious position when his take-home pay is so out of proportion to his basic wage (usually covered by national agreements); unless the demand goes up for consolidation, employers will continue to use the fact that ex-

CHRISTIAN
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The *Observer* correspondent in Berlin informs us that Brandt, the leader of the German Social Democratic Party, does his best "to blot out all previous policy differences" between himself and Adenauer. As a result the Social Democrats "adopted the Government's economic policy last autumn, its foreign policy last spring, and now, amid the half-suppressed squeals of their own left wing, they are about to adopt its defence policy too. Herr Brandt's relentless strategy is to present himself not as Dr. Adenauer's opponent but as his rightful heir, and he has made his party understand this and follow him, albeit, in some cases, with some audible grinding of teeth. The picture which German politics presents at the moment is therefore the odd one of an opposition trying to prove its evermore complete accord with the Government..." Herr Brandt went as far as declaiming that "he would not mind entering a coalition with the Christian Democrats if the Social Democrats emerge from the poll as the strongest party. From there it would be only one step to offering to serve under Dr. Adenauer..." (*The Observer*, 4th September)

Gaitskell can learn something from his German friend and, continuing to obliterate policy differences with the Tories, he could offer his services to Mac!

tended earnings exist, to resist increases in base pay, arguing as they do, that it is actual earnings which count.

The agreements governing overtime and bonus should be hardened. Overtime and bonuses are boss devices to divide the workers. Struggles for the shorter working week must be turned into a genuine effort to improve the lot of the worker, and not looked upon as a means of extra overtime. The Trade Union Movement is strong enough to insist that it be so.

JOHN MITCHEL:

IRISH PATRIOT—

see page four

OPPOSITION TO THE

ALGERIAN WAR—

see article on page eight.

Labour History

JOHN MITCHEL : IRISH PATRIOT

BY HENRY COLLINS

ON November 3, 1815, John Mitchel, one of the greatest Irish nationalists of the nineteenth century, was born. Ireland was England's first colony and all the main features which we have come to associate with colonial exploitation appeared there in a peculiarly repulsive and brutal form.

In 1798, during the war which followed the French Revolution, the United Irishmen had led a desperate and forlorn revolt in the hope of being reinforced by French troops. Napoleon, already beginning to succumb to delusions of grandeur, was more interested in the conquest of Egypt and when French help eventually reached Ireland it was too little and too late. The rising was crushed with unusual savagery and three years later the Act of Union abolished the Irish Parliament, linking the two countries under a single rule.

Rent to the landlords, tithes to the priests and taxes to the Government almost crushed body and soul out of the Irish peasants. An underground resistance movement, largely spontaneous but sporadically organised, sprang up, under the leadership of the Whiteboys and the Ribbonmen. As Mitchel was born the war with France was ending but the English found themselves with a peasant war in Ireland on their hands. Tithes were collected at gun point.

The leaders of Irish Catholicism were in a dilemma. They could hardly approve the English establishment and its alien, heretical Church. But neither could they view, without misgiving, the spread of a land war which might end in the destruction of private property. In the critical decade following the end of the the war, Daniel O'Connell found the answer.

O'Connell is one of Ireland's national heroes. His statue stands at the head of the main street in Dublin, which is named after him. Yet John Mitchel said of him that "next to the British Government he was the greatest enemy Ireland ever had". And unfortunately, Mitchel was right.

O'Connell organised the peasant movement and then re-directed it. The agrarian revolt was damped down and the Catholic Association, which O'Connell set up in 1823, concentrated its efforts on securing Catholic emancipation. The priests were happy and the "Catholic Rent" to the Association was collected at chapel doors. In 1829 the English Tory Government thought it expedient to yield and an Act was passed permitting Catholics to sit in Parliament, and in the forces and be called to the Bar.

FAILURE OF POTATO CROP

Catholic Emancipation proved a mixed blessing. It split the English Tories, paving the way for a Whig Government in 1830 and the Reform Act of 1832. For Ireland it was practically an unredeemed disaster. The Act emancipating the Catholics was accompanied by another, disfranchising the Irish smallholders. Now there was to be no political barrier to eviction, and eviction, on a stupendous scale, was what followed.

The Act of Union of 1801 had subjected Ireland's native manufacturing industry to the full blast of English competition. It was almost totally destroyed and with a rapidly growing population pressing on a limited supply of land, rents were raised and evictions were frequent. By the middle of the eighteen forties Ireland was ready for the "famine".

It was "famine" of a very special kind. The potato crop failed through blight. Nothing happened to the corn or cattle. But the Irish were too poor to buy either. There was no reduction in rents, and the food which the peasants could not afford was sent out at the ports under military escort. Deaths followed from hunger, typhus and cholera on a scale that has never been accurately assessed. Not for the first or last time in their tragic history the Irish grew desperate.

AFTER EMANCIPATION

In this supreme crisis of their nation, the national hero collapsed. After achieving Emancipation, O'Connell had turned his attention to campaigning for the repeal of the Act of Union. But he always insisted that the movement should restrict itself to constitutional channels. The English Whigs, in his view, were Ireland's natural allies. Independent mass action by the Irish peasants was to be deplored. In 1847 he died in Genoa, sick, senile and despondent, on his way to receive a Papal benediction. His place was taken by others of a different mould.

In October, 1842, three years before the onset of the "famine", a weekly journal, the *Nation*, had been established to serve as the political and cultural inspiration of re nascent Irish nationalism. On the analogy of Mazzini's "Young Italy" movement, the group round the *Nation* soon came to be known, collectively, as "Young Ireland".

John Mitchel, son of a Unitarian Minister who had been active in support of the United Irishmen, became one of the *Nation's* leading contributors. For him, as for his colleague, James Fintan Lalor, the path to freedom lay through the forcible seizure of the land by the peasants and the mass refusal to pay rent and tithes. For

them, the natural allies of Ireland were not the English Whigs but the English Chartists. And, indeed, the Chartists, since the inception of their movement, had shown generous appreciation of Irish needs. "An immense portion of the agricultural wealth of Ireland", wrote Bronterre O'Brien, the great Chartist leader in 1838, "is annually drained into this country to enrich bands of absentee landlords, fund lords, and usurers of every description who give the agriculturists of Ireland not one shilling's worth of value in return. Again, an immense portion of the manufactured wealth of England and Scotland is, in like manner, annually drained into Ireland to enrich the squirearchy, shopocracy, law, church, Government agents, military and constabulary officers, and, above all the hordes of corn factors, butter merchants, cattle dealers, jobbers, and contractors of all sorts that overspread that country, and who yield to operatives of England and Ireland not one shilling's worth of value in return for the manufactured produce absorbed by them." In view of all this, it seemed to him that the natural outcome must be "a grand alliance between the oppressed or unrepresented classes of Ireland, with the oppressed or unrepresented classes of Great Britain."

By 1847 starvation was rampant in Ireland, while food to the value of £17,000,000 was being exported. Irish resistance grew and the Whig Government in London introduced a coercion Act. Charles Gaven Duffy, proprietor of the *Nation*, saw the way forward through parliamentary action. By the end of the year Mitchel had broken with the *Nation*. He had come to the conclusion, he explained, "that the whole system ought to be met with resistance at every point, and the means for this would be extremely simple: namely, a combination among the people to obstruct and render impossible the transport and shipment of Irish provisions; to refuse all aid in its removal; to destroy the highways; to prevent everyone by intimidation from daring to bid for grain or cattle if brought to action under distress; in short, to offer a passive resistance universally, but occasionally when opportunity served, to try the steel."

1948 was the year of European revolution. Its outbreak in France, in February, sparked off a revival of Chartism in England, while the Irish, led by Mitchel and Lalor, planned an armed uprising. The Government prepared to strike back. On April 10 the Chartist demonstration at Kennington Common was overawed by a colossal concentration of troops and special constables. On May 25, Mitchel was sentenced, on a charge of "treason-felony", to transportation for fourteen years. There followed the arrest of Lalor and the leadership of the rising passed into the hands of the landlord, Smith O'Brien. His support for insurrection was half-hearted and he wanted no infringement of property rights. The rising went off at half cock and was easily quelled.

Mitchel spent his last years in the United States, during the stirring period of Civil War and slave emancipation. But his great days were over. Like a number of other misguided radicals he sided with the Southern slave-owners, on the grounds that, like the Irish, they were fighting for the right of secession against grasping traders and capitalists. The struggle for Irish freedom was to go through many strange phases in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In an important sense it is still going on.

Socialist Review

Fighting Fund

We need £40 an issue

During the last month we have received from:

	£	s	d
Hackney	2	15	0
Shoreditch	3	6	0
Notting Hill	3	17	0
Camden Town	2	9	6
Manchester	0	6	0
Lewisham	1	14	0
Harrow	6	2	6
Ramsgate	3	0	0
Holborn	5	0	0
Chigwell	2	4	0
Total	30	12	0

THANKS! and KEEP IT UP, COMRADES!

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

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Address

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

THE TRUTH ABOUT HIROSHIMA

BY TONY CLIFF

FOR years it was agreed by apologists for the A-bomb on Hiroshima that its use was designed to curtail the war, to "save the lives of millions of Allied soldiers".

Now a leakage to the American press of the record of a conversation at Potsdam in 1945 between President Truman and Stalin has exposed the hollowness of this apology. The leakage made it clear that before the Potsdam conference the Japanese government had approached the Soviet Union with a request for mediation to bring about an end to the Pacific war. Stalin declined to have anything to do with this Japanese initiative and told Truman at Potsdam that he had rejected it. Truman fully agreed with Stalin that the offer should be rejected. (*The Times*, 28th August).

Actually, at the time of the Potsdam Conference, prior to the dropping of the A-bomb, Japan was already on the verge of collapse. The merchant navy was a decisive factor, as Japan had to import almost all the raw materials for her munitions industry. At the end of the war "serviceable merchant tonnage was a little over 12 per cent of the fleet with which Japan had begun the war". (J.B. Cohen, *Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction*, p. 104). The import of key commodities fell from a pre-war (1941) total of 48.7 million tons to only 3 million tons in the first quarter of 1945. (*Ibid.* p. 109).

In July, 1945, industrial output was approximately only 40 per cent of the 1944 peak. Output of airframes had fallen 56 per cent from the 1944 peak; aircraft engines, 73 per cent; merchant shipbuilding, 81 per cent; army ordnance, 44 per cent; and naval ordnance, 57 per cent.

POINTER

If it is borne in mind that "Japanese munitions output at its peak was never more than 10 per cent of that of the United States, and her coal and steel production only one-thirteenth", (*Ibid.* p. 52), it is clear that her doom was sealed. In point of fact it was a foregone conclusion a good year before her actual collapse.

A clear pointer to the approaching disaster was the fact that opposition to United States bombing vanished almost completely as the end drew near. As a Japanese writer said: "...the raids extended to the medium-sized towns all over the country, with the result that by the end of the war 81 out of 206 towns had been destroyed. Of the six largest cities in Japan 49 per cent of the homes in Tokyo, Kawasaki, and Yokohama were destroyed. In Osaka and Kobe 32.6 per cent were destroyed, and in Nagoya 31 per cent. (Toshikazu Kase, *Eclipse of the Rising Sun* pp 205-6)

Japanese government feelers for peace were put out early in May 1945, when the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow asked for Russian intercession to end the war. On July 10, he repeated the request. Lozovsky, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, replied on July 13, that since Stalin and Molotov were just leaving for Potsdam no answer could be given until their return to Moscow.

As the United States Strategic Bombing Survey, *Japan's Struggle to End the War*, rightly stated: "Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that certainly prior to 31 December 1945, and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated." (U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, *Japan's Struggle to End the War*, 1946, p. 13).

DAILY WORKER

With the recent leakage the story is now practically complete: Japan was ready to stop the war even without the A-bomb being dropped. In the face of this fact, how cruel was the attitude of the Communist Parties which justified the A-bomb at the time it was dropped. Thus the editorial of the *Daily Worker* stated on August 7th 1945, the day after the 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.

The French counterpart of the *Daily Worker*, *L'Humanité*, commented on 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 surprise."

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

The recent leakage exposes Truman and his apologist Attlee, who justified the atom bomb, as well as Stalin and his agents, the Stalinist leaders all over the world.

IT'S RICH

"Decisions about defence and weapons are emphatically not fundamental to socialism"—George Brown, Shadow Defence Minister, at Leeds, reported in *Times*, September 9.

"Lace workers in Nottingham have decided to use union funds to advertise their employers' products"—*Times* reports, July 28, which included the comment by John Flewitt, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Operative Lacemakers, "Hoarding union money to spend on strikes is outdated".

"I do not think you can have a working class newspaper any more than you can have a working class refrigerator"—John Beavan, editor of the 'new' *Daily Herald*, on BBC's "At Home and Abroad", August 30.

"It is too fantastic to believe that (return the coal industry to prewar days)—unless I have been bought for £10,000 a year"—Alfred Robens, Chairman, NCB, reported in the *Times*, July 21.

Russia "is a materialistic society. They assign a low priority to those endeavours which lead to a fuller life for their people. The attitude they take towards automobiles is a good illustration of this policy"—Allen Dulles, head of US intelligence, quoted by Arthur Schlesinger Jr in *The Big Decision*.

"It is glorious to eat less than one's food ration"—Sign in public mess hall in China, reported in the *Economist*, August 8.

"Professor Lamont (physician superintendent of West Koppies Mental Institute) said that Pratt had become involved in a political campaign in London and had spoken in Hyde Park on behalf of the Liberal Party"—at the trial in Pretoria when Pratt was held to be mentally disordered. "Do you believe in witchcraft? If so, when last did you consult a witch-doctor?" This was one of the questions put to all political prisoners... before they were released"—Special Correspondent in Johannesburg, *New Statesman*, July 16.

"A police spokesman at the township said that it was unlikely the police would use anything more than smoke gas in the township tonight as rifle fire was 'too permanent' in its effects"—after 30,000 Africans demonstrated at Harare, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, as reported in the *Daily Worker*, July 21.

"There is no discrimination here, but the committee never elects Jews"—secretary of an un-named golf club, quoted in *Economist*, July 30.

"Remember, any PANSY can be a PINK; it takes a MAN to be a NAZI!"—leaflet entitled *White Man! Are You Going To Be Run Out of Your Nation's Capital... Without A Fight?* Published by the Nazi Party, Virginia, USA. "We are entering a period of British politics where the breakdown of class collaboration may well mean the ruling class considering a form of fascism in the years that lie ahead"—G. Healy, in *Newsletter*, September 17.

NOEL-BAKER'S H-BOMB

BY GEOFF WESTON

WITH a herald of trumpets, Mr. Phillip Noel-Baker, Nobel Peace-prize winner, ascended the Scarborough platform. Midst the glory and the prestige that is the lot of a winner of that award, he began to speak—appropriately on defence.

Maybe some of the more optimistic of the unilateralist delegates waited with baited breath to hear their unanswerable case presented with the deadly and incisive logic of a professional Disarmament Conference delegate. Alas; reason and political expediency were not equated and the old hoary arguments for multilateral disarmament were heard again; exactly the ones that have pre-occupied Conferences for longer than I have been alive and with the same and inevitable result of impasse.

Thus, it was reasonable to expect that such an experienced disarmament would have both the acumen and honesty to admit that the orthodox approach to disarmament and peace have failed and that what is needed is a completely new interpret-

ation of the world position. But no; the weight of his authority was aligned behind Mr. Gaitskell and his pink revisionists. After all, with such eminent support, maybe the Hampstead Set were not wrong. However, the laughable happened, and a Peace Prize-winner spoke out in favour of a defence policy based on nuclear weapons.

In my political innocence, I cannot understand this. Is not the acceptance of such a defence strategy a direct contradiction of the avowed aims for which he received his award? Peace and the H-Bomb seem to me to be divisible; have one and you are not likely to have the other.

But perhaps I am being unrealistic to expect that politicians get awards for DOING things. We must, so we are continually assured by platitudinous statesmen, have a forum to discuss these "great issues of war and peace". We have; for three decades, and no doubt Mr. Noel-Baker is resigned to another thirty years of fruitless semantics and the possibility of another Peace Prize.

REVIEWS

POLITICS

THROUGH CRITICISM

FILMS

THIS fine film deals with the involvement of a gentle young man with the lonely, yearning wife of an invalid storekeeper, and the old man's tremendous climax of revenge. Dramatic enough though this is in itself, it is secondary to the manner of its presentation. The story, in characteristic Tennessee Williams style, is unfolded slowly, carefully and perfectly through pointed, beautifully expressed symbols and innuendos, which are suggested with an economy of utterance that makes one sit throughout with almost bated breath for fear of missing a clue in word or gesture. It proves to be a highly concentrated and emotionally exhausting experience.

WAY OUT?

The problem the film deals with is that common to so much postwar literature—the solitariness of human beings, the lonely, often pitiful struggle to be more than an unheeded scrap on humanity's dungheap—to be a person, noticed by and important to someone, to count. This is a major theme of the film and is very sympathetically and often tenderly symbolised. In literature the theme is most often expressed through a "type" hero (as in "Catcher in the Rye", "Saturday Night and Sunday Morning"). In the film it is done through characters which, though types, are yet rounded out. But whether this is Tennessee Williams or Marlon Brando and Anna Magnani, is difficult to say.

Tennessee Williams presents the problem powerfully. Does he, among his constant innuendos, suggest, in however indirect a manner, any way out? He does not. The isolated atoms of his humanity fight solitary struggles against insuperably large numbers of other isolated atoms. The only hope of any different future shown in the film is the new life of an unborn child. But what solution can the birth of another soul born to a lonely struggle be? This hopeless view of life presented by many gifted present-day writers besides Tennessee Williams sometimes suggests an air of decadence and

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"THE FUGITIVE KIND"

REVIEW BY

C DALLAS

despair (as his last film "Suddenly Last Summer" did).

Tennessee Williams invites contrast with his close contemporary Arthur Miller. Here is a playwright who is capable of presenting the struggles of individuals not as isolated atoms but as separate parts of a collective larger than themselves in which they merge their struggles with like-minded groups of people, and from which they draw strength and purpose in living. In so doing he suggests, even if indirectly, an alternative to the hopeless individual struggle—collective struggle which, if successful, could lead to relations between people which are not racked by hurts, frustrations and lonely forgottenness, but which by their very nature make the individual count, because he is both the object of the collective and needed by it. Those like Tennessee Williams look back in despair. Those like Miller look forward in hope.

UNUSUAL

The acting throughout is magnificent. Marlon Brando suits his acting superbly to Tennessee Williams' symbolism and suggestiveness. It is throughout an understatement, and just as the author gathers tremendous power by suggestion rather than utterance, so does the actor. He looms larger and larger in the film as the force of his smallest suggestions of emotion penetrate the viewer. A rather unusual Anna Magnani, neither spitting fire nor a dissolute wreck, but gentle and pleading, helps to make up a team which brings out the very best of the author's deep emotional expression and fine linguistic imagery.

DIRECTION

The direction is modest and unspectacular, but superbly sensitive and delicate, particularly in the dialogues of the two main characters and in the later scenes in the confectionery store.

SEQUENCES

The photography is also highly sensitive. There are some wonderful sunshine and shade pictures and fairyland shots of the tinkling decorations of the confectionery store. But as memorable are the delicately beautiful sequences of the dialogue between the main characters which add an unusual poignancy to poetic language and fine acting.

This film is without doubt one of the most interesting, best acted and produced films I have seen for a long time.

BUSINESSMAN'S SONG OF THE COMMODITY

BERTHOLT BRECHT

*Rice is growing down the river.
In the provinces upstream people need rice.
If we keep the rice in storage
Rice will be dearer for them.
Those who tow the rice boats will earn even less of it
Then the rice will be cheaper for me.
What after all is rice?
Do I know what is rice?
Do I know who knows that?
I don't know what rice is
I know only its price.*

*When winter comes on, people need clothes.
Then is the time to buy in cotton
And keep it off the market.
When the cold comes on, clothes will be dearer for them.
There is too much cotton around.
What after all is cotton?
Do I know what cotton is?
Do I know who knows that?
I don't know what cotton is
I know only its price.*

*A man needs too much food
Which makes men dearer for me.
To make food, men are needed.
Those who cook make eating cheaper, but
Those who eat make it cheaper for me.
There are too many men around.
What after all is man.
Do I know what a man is?
Do I know who knows that?
I don't know what a man is
I know only his price.*

(translation: Peter Sedgwick)

BOOKS

A WORKING CLASS PORTRAIT

BY JOHN ASHDOWN

Saturday Night and Sunday Morning—Alan Sillitoe—Pan Books, 2/6d, 192pp.

"AND trouble for me it'll be, fighting every day until I die. Why do they make soldiers out of us when we're fighting up to the hilt as it is? Fighting with mothers and wives, landlords and gaffers, coppers, army, government. If it's not one thing it's another, apart from the work we have to do and the way we spend our wages. There's bound to be trouble in store for me every day of my life, because trouble it's always been and always will be. Born drunk and married blind, misbegotten into a strange and crazy world, dragged-up through the dole and into the war with a gas-mask on your clock, and the sirens rattling into you every night while you rot with scabies in an air-raid shelter. Slung into khaki at eighteen, and when they let you out, you sweat again in a factory, grabbing for an extra pint, doing women at the weekend and getting to know whose husbands are on night-shift, working with rotten guts and an aching spine, and nothing for it but money to drag you back there every Monday morning".

HATRED

Eminent socialologists are at the moment poring over various aspects of working class life, but they will not produce a social survey as incisive and terse as

Alan Sillitoe's novel. Affluence has almost become synonymous with apathy—working-class "attitudes" are portrayed by default as merely conformist: that extra bit of pay in the wage-packet has refloated the battered old ship. And yet here, once again, is a portrait of the jungle. Now the foliage is richer, there are two-hundred poundsworth of clothes in the wardrobe—and yet the blinding frustration and anger breaks out the same, men are still the victims of those above them. But the blank hatred of all the proliferations of the ruling class is here an *individual* phenomenon, not a class one, and it is only the second which could lever up the required social change.

ADVENTURES

So, to a limited extent, the sociologists are right (although it doesn't take a sociologist and ten years hard work to discover it) that the class is fragmented—and thus the dynamic of revolution dismantled. But the further conclusion, that we are all middle-class and "adjusted" now, needs Sillitoe to answer it. As a novel, the book is no more than a series of picaresque adventures strung together, albeit written in an extremely sensitive and vivid manner: as a document it is a sudden and impressive thumb-nail sketch of both the decay, the bitter anarchy and the vigour of what is left of the working-class.

CANDID COMMENTARY

JOHN WILKES

DEMOCRACY works in mysterious ways its wonders to perform. Like the Paris fashions, it changes regularly and assumes the most peculiar shapes. Before the Labour Party conference, we were told constituency parties were undemocratic and unrepresentative. Right-wing spokesmen like Ivan Yates, political correspondent of *Reynold News*, quoted approvingly the remarks of Beatrice Webb: "Sidney observed that the constituency parties were frequently unrepresentative groups of nonentities dominated by fanatics and cranks, and extremists, and that if the block vote of the trade unions were eliminated it would be impracticable to continue to vest control of policy in Labour Party conferences."

Everything has now changed. In right-wing eyes, it is the trade union block vote, not the CLPs, that is unrepresentative and undemocratic. The reason for this *volte face* is not hard to find: in the Deakin era the block vote bolstered the right-wing; in the Cousins era it is, to a large extent, used against the right-wing. The constituency parties, on the other hand, who had hitherto been bastions of revolt, appear to have supported, on balance, the Gaitskellian line at Scarborough.

The conclusion is inescapable: the dictionary definition of "democracy" needs altering. A democratic organisation is one that supports Gaitskell; an undemocratic organisation is one that does not.

AFTER SCARBOROUGH?

After Scarborough what? Of course, the battle will be fought out in the Parliamentary Labour Party. But it would be a pity, however, if we just sat back and watched this happen. For there are other places equally, probably more, vital. Whatever the argument about the relationship between the annual conference and the Parliamentary Labour Party, there can be no doubt of the position of the National Executive Committee and annual conference. The NEC is supposed to be the servant of annual conference; it is there to see conference decisions are implemented. Therefore, unilateralists on the NEC should push for the National Executive and Transport House apparatus to put forward a policy embodying the points of the AEU and Transport & General's resolutions. If they refuse to do this—and it would be strictly unconstitutional for them to refuse—the unilateralist minority on the NEC should issue its own policy statement.

A pamphlet explaining the case for nuclear disarmament from a working class standpoint is urgently required. So far, most of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's literature has

found its way into middle class homes, rarely into trade union branches or ward parties. The case against the Bomb, tying it up with the struggle for Socialism and higher wages, has yet to be put. And for this reason, while CND has gained widespread support within the Labour Movement, it has been on a rather superficial basis. No CND pamphlet has had the impact on the Labour Movement of *One Way Only*, the Bevanite pamphlet, which sold 100,000 copies in 1950.

NUM

As it is highly unlikely that Transport House apparatus will act constitutionally and see that the decisions of annual conference are as widely known and understood as possible, CND's Labour Advisory Committee should make itself into a sort of unofficial Transport House. Local Labour Parties and trade union branches should be bombarded with literature, films and speakers. We should, in an organised and calculated manner, not merely aim at repulsing the attempts of Gaitskell & Co. to swing one of the big unions back to supporting the Bomb. We should aim at winning the NUM, M & G Workers, and the other shaky unions that back the Bomb. If CND makes further inroads into Gaitskell's support at next year's annual conference, the issue will be won for all time in the Labour Movement. But this will only be done if the Campaign really seriously gets down to the task of influencing the rank-and-file. Addressing factory gate meetings and small trade union branches may not be as spectacular as 10,000 strong demonstrations, but in the long run it is more important.

DIRECT ACTION

The Police jailed Patrick Neary, the Seaman's strikeleader. They jailed John Lawrence, the St. Pancras rent demonstrator. And now we have Bertrand Russell—he wants to jail himself! One can't help having admiration for an 88-year-old man who holds his convictions so intensely that he is prepared to spend what may easily be the last few years or months of his life behind bars. Russell's courage matches his great intellect. He is one of the greatest of men.

But this does not mean we should uncritically support the Russell-Michael Scott civil disobedience campaign, which openly advocates demonstrators courting arrest. The great question people should ask themselves is: will I do more good in jail or out? With the 'ban-the-bomb' Campaign reaching such a vital phase inside the Labour Movement, it would be a terrible catastrophe if 2,000 people, who

perhaps could have a decisive influence on events, decided to take themselves off into voluntary seclusion in Wormwood Scrubs.

LOCAL COUNCILS

The controversy over the relationship between the Labour Party annual conference and the Parliamentary Labour Party is reflected, at a much lower level, in the frequent disputes that arise between local Labour Parties and their Labour Council Groups. The official document, stating their separate functions, is deliberately ambiguous and many differing interpretations are made up and down the country. Often Labour Groups regard themselves as completely autonomous and a law unto themselves. This, I think, has a bad effect. It keeps the Labour rank-and-file out of decision-making; it tends to lessen the interest in local affairs; and, worst of all, it is undemocratic. For far too long, local councils have languished in confused bumbledom, not making an effective contribution to the fight for Socialism. It is high time socialists devoted a bit more time to council activities, tried to get some liaison between militant councillors in various areas, and saw to it the council chamber was used as a place where our ideas are put forward.

ADVERTISING

In a recent letter in *The Spectator*, Mr. Robert Williamson said, "I asked a head waiter in Dundee last week why they called a slobbery liquid 'brown kidney soup', for there was no evidence that it had ever been associated with any kind of kidney. He explained, patiently, as one might to an infant, that the description referred not to what was in the liquid but the colour."

The Health Committee of the Association of Municipal Corporations have investigated dehydrated soups. They discovered "oxtail, chicken soup, etc." had a protein content of between 0.17 per cent and 0.8 per cent. The Committee conclude: "These soups are in fact predominantly chemical appetisers and of virtually no nutritive value." They go on to suggest: "Some steps should be taken to avoid any implication by manufacturers that such soup mixes are of any real food value."

Of course, under capitalism, where advertising's sole concern is selling the product, it is very doubtful whether consumers will ever get a fair and accurate idea of what they are buying. In the scramble to sell goods, truth is the first thing to get trampled under foot.

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CUBA—

contd

"It is unwise to administer justice from a hospital room, surrounded by sentinels with bayonets fixed; the citizens might suppose our justice is sick... and that it is captive..."

yet he did not complain about the presence of his only audience, the soldiers...

"I only wish I had the whole army before me! I know, one day this army will seethe with rage to wash away... the bloodstains splattered across the uniform by the present ruthless clique in their lust for power."

He went on to explain why he thought highly of the chances of success for the revolution. "We were assured of the people's support"... he said:

"The people we counted on for support in our struggle were these:

Seven hundred thousand Cubans without work, who desire to earn their bread honestly, without having to emigrate in search of a livelihood.

Five hundred thousand farm labourers inhabiting miserable shacks, who work four months of the year and starve for the rest of the year, sharing their misery with their children, who have not an inch of land to cultivate, and whose existence inspires compassion in any heart not made of stone.

Four hundred thousand industrial labourers and stevedores whose retirement funds have been embezzled, whose benefits are being taken away, whose home are wretched quarters, whose salaries pass from the hands of the boss to the hands of the usurer, whose future is a pay reduction and dismissal, whose life is eternal work and whose only rest is in the tomb.

GENERATIONS

One hundred thousand small farmers who live and die working on land which is not theirs, looking at it with sadness as Moses did the promised land, to die without possessing it; who, like feudal serfs, have to pay for the use of their parcel of land by giving up a portion of their products; who cannot love it, improve it, beautify it or plant a lemon or an orange tree on it, because they never know when a sheriff will come with the rural guard to evict them from it.

Thirty thousand teachers and professors who are so devoted, dedicated and necessary to the better destiny of future generations, and who are so badly treated and paid.

PROFESSIONALS

Twenty thousand small businessmen weighted down by debts, ruined by the crisis and harangued by a plague of filibusters and venial officials.

Ten thousand young professionals: doctors, engineers, lawyers, veterinarians, school teachers, dentists, pharmacists, newspapermen, painters, sculptors and so on, who come forth from school with their degrees, anxious to work and full of

hope, only to find themselves at a dead end with all doors closed, and where no ear hears their clamour or supplication.

These are the people, the ones who know misfortune, and, therefore, are capable of fighting with limitless courage!

To the people whose desperate roads through life have been paved with bricks of betrayals and false promises, we were not going to say: "WE will eventually give you what you need, but rather,—here you have it, fight for it with all your might so that liberty and happiness may be yours!"

VICTORY

But you must read the whole speech. The young socialists of today will make it part of the canon on which they will wean their younger brothers: it will outshine Dimitrov's defence at the Reichstag trial, and equal Trotsky's defiant 'I Stake My Life' hurled across the oceans of Stalin's slander at the height of the great Moscow Inquisition. The rest of the story is better known, but is admirably told in this account: the amnesty, the training of the little guerilla army, the landing and rout, the struggle of the twelve to group together an army, the victories on the Sierra, the final sweep into open battle and victory: this is a piece of history that will repeat itself again in this decade, as rebels in other oppressed nations study and apply the lessons which Castro has taught them.

THE FUTURE?

And now? The authors describe the considerable social advances of the new regime, the educational revolution, the land reform and the growth and structure of the new co-operatives. They discuss the possibility of a new 'scissors' crisis stemming from the appalling backwardness of Cuban Industry, and conclude that the new regime will consolidate itself as a socialist one.

This is a fascinating, tensely alive, deeply optimistic book about a subject which has unaccountably escaped the attention of English socialists. They should read it and circulate it. We need a cheap English edition. Other things we need will begin to be found when the vital spirit of the 23rd of July enters the peoples of the metropolitan nations.

*Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution. By Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy. Monthly Review special issue, New York, 173 pp, 3/6.

OPPOSITION TO ALGERIAN WAR

BY RICHARD GREEN

CONNIVANCE in the Algerian War has been a marked feature of the mass left organisations in France as long as one can remember. The Communist Party leadership has played a particularly despicable role in all this. Calling itself "marxist", it has systematically prevented any attempt to link the struggles of the Algerian workers and peasants with the class struggle in France. It has played upon the loyalty of the workers to their traditional leaders, to strangle a relationship that could have revolutionary consequences in Western Europe.

Recently a manifesto signed by 121 intellectuals—from the Surrealist André Breton to the Existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre—has boldly declared that the struggle for Algerian independence is the struggle of all free men (as indeed it is).

Whatever the limitations of this document from a Marxist standpoint, its significance cannot be underrated. It is not surprising that the French capitalist press have brought out the usual platitudes about treason, but we also see the Communist Party bosses suggesting that there must be respect for legality and that the manifesto is only an expression of "individuals", not a mass movement. What twisted drivel, what cheap pronouncements! If, at the moment, the French workers are not fully convinced of their obligations to their Algerian comrades, that is because the Communist Party has never attempted to explain matters.

The Communist Party leadership in France, as elsewhere at the present moment in world history, is corrupt and dangerous to the forces of progress. Not only is it corrupt, but it tends to actual counter-revolutionary behaviour. Let us hope that the forces that defend human freedom in France, may arouse the many undoubted militants on the Left to a full recognition of their responsibilities in relation to the Algerian Revolution.

It may be of interest to readers to know that Jean-Paul Sartre has registered his protest at the arrest of Sal Santen and Michel Pablo, leaders of the Fourth International, who were engaged in rendering aid to the Algerian Revolution.

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.

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