

SOCIALIST REVIEW

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

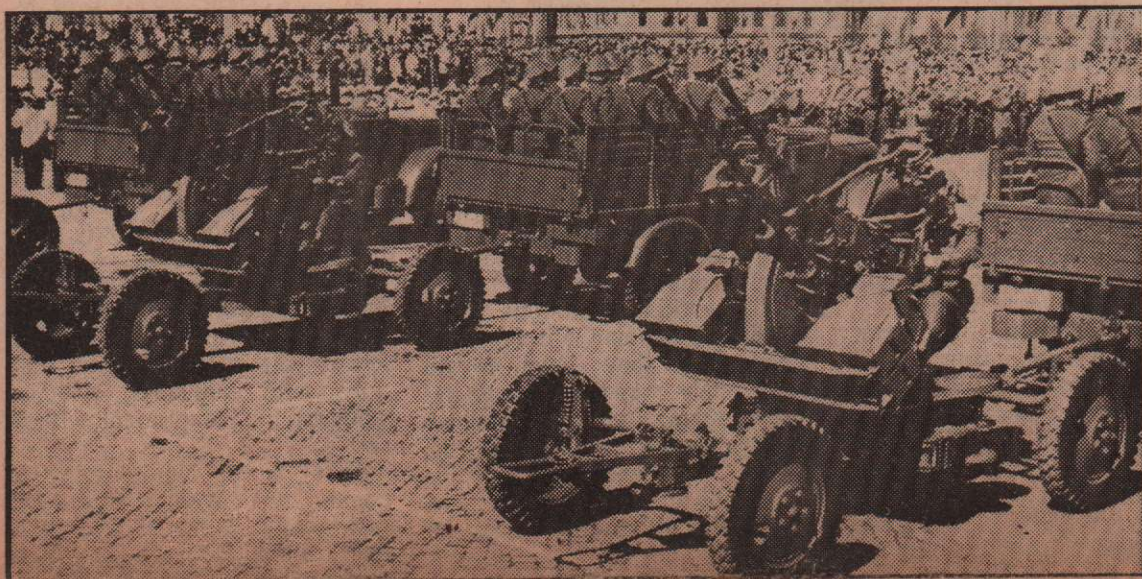
11th YEAR No 8

SEPTEMBER 1961

SIXPENCE

JOURNAL

for the
Industrial Militant —
for
International
Socialism



NO WAR OVER BERLIN

May Day in East Berlin

THE Berlin crisis is getting worse and worse. Both power blocks face one another armed to the teeth, fighting for control of the city.

From the standpoint of the general relation of forces between the mighty world powers, the struggle over a single city seems incomprehensible. In the age of rockets and the H-bomb, why should the addition of one city be of such vital importance to any of the Powers?

For Washington, West Germany is an important bastion. The same big businessmen who supported Hitler and raised him to power are in control in West Germany. The economic and military might of Bonn is an important pillar of the Pentagon and Wall Street world empire. Militarily Berlin is a practically useless outpost, being geographically an isolated city in the midst of Eastern Germany. To understand why nevertheless Washington, Bonn, London and Paris, insist on the "freedom of West Berlin" one must look at the damaging effect that West Berlin has politically, economically and socially over East Germany in particular and the Kremlin Empire in general.

West Berlin exposes all the social and political bankruptcy of the East German regime. It is the gateway through which some 2½ million East Germans ran away from the Stalinist paradise. They voted, and continue to vote with their feet against the regime. The overwhelming majority of the refugees are young. They were brought up under the present regime which has been in existence for 16 years. They are not landlords and bankers, but almost entirely workers, students, teachers, doctors, housewives—the common people. All the countries under the control of the Kremlin are tightly closed, so that no one can know for sure what their people really think and feel about the regime. The one chink in the armour, is West Berlin. East Germans could up to now quite easily pass through this chink and show clearly what they thought about the rulers and their rule.

The stream of refugees is a blow to the Kremlin not only, or even mainly, because it weakens the East German economy and strengthens that of West Germany. Above all, it exposes the tensions, dissatisfactions and frustrations that rend the Stalinist régime. The ordinary young people educated by this regime show by their flight that they do not prefer the regime of state capitalism to that of monopoly capitalism; that Ulbricht is not better loved than Adenauer.

The Communist Parties try to explain the stream of refugees by referring to Western propaganda influencing people to leave their homes. This explanation cannot hold water. As if the beam of Western propaganda is stronger than that of Moscow in East Germany. Again it is argued that Washington and Bonn have made West Berlin a show place to attract East Germans. This is true.

But it is also true that East Berlin is a show place compared with other places in the Kremlin region. The standard of living in East Germany in general and East Berlin in particular is much bigger than in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland or the greater part of the USSR.

All Khrushchev's promises about the achievements of Communism, about undreamt of living standards, about the "withering away of the state" are exposed for what they are—empty talk—by the stream of refugees through Berlin.

Khrushchev faces the alternative of either allowing this exposure to go on or using force to stop it (thus giving the lie to the "withering away of the state", his recent statement talked of so much). He prefers the latter.

Berlin is the Achilles heel of the Kremlin regime. The two K's know this, which is why both are so adamant over the question of the control of Berlin. As militarily West Berlin is such a weak outpost for Washington to defend, she will probably have to retreat in the coming round of struggle, with or without loss of face.

In broad perspective the struggle over Berlin is part of the struggle over Germany, Europe and the world. For socialists there can be only *one* solution to the question of Berlin and Germany:

Withdrawal of all foreign troops—American, British, French and Russian—from German soil.

Freedom for the German people democratically to decide their own destiny.

A United Socialist Germany as part of a federated Socialist United States of Europe.

SIGNPOST

STAN
BEDWELL

BEARING in mind the weaknesses shown in the Labour Party basic economic work *Industry and Society*, it is no wonder that the 1961 smaller pre-Conference *Signposts For The Sixties* is even more uninspiring.

But at least three or four years ago Hugh Gaitskell was able to make a great fuss of the proposition to place all landlord property under Councils' control; that, he said, was a major

operation of public ownership. It has now fallen off the 'signpost'. A sign of the times.

No document, portending to take Labour to power, has ever been so vague and yet so sure that common ownership must be only whispered. If an industry is monopolistic or failing (presumably by orthodox capitalist economic standards—profits etc.) look out!; it may be nationalised (again presumably by the old

cont. page 6 col. 4

TU COMMENTARY

Nurseries Threat

D WILLIAMS AEU

BEFORE the voters returned the Tories back to power in County Hall this year, they should have remembered the Tory record of previous years. The immediate effects of a Tory majority in Middlesex has resulted in a renewed attack on Day Nurseries, with the objective this time of finishing the job they started 6 years ago—that of **CLOSING EVERY DAY NURSERY IN THE COUNTY.**

The Tory campaign against the nurseries dates back to 1952 when they imposed a **MEANS TEST** and fixed the 'ceiling' charge at 9/- per day. All parents whose joint gross income was £11.15.0 per week with one child were obliged to pay this 'ceiling' charge.

This policy, deliberately designed to drive working mothers away from the nurseries, payed handsome dividends for the Tories as one after the other nurseries were closed through 'lack of attendance'. "Look", cried the Tories, 'no-one wants the service, we cannot keep open uneconomical day nurseries, we must close them to save the ratepayers expense'.

The Tories instituted an Assessment panel, to deal with appeals against the charges, and the members of this panel proceed to earn themselves a name for callousness and flinty hearts. Mothers could only appeal if they considered expenditure on the following items was abnormal.

1. Rents and mortgage, plus rates and water rates.
2. Travelling expenses to work.
3. Hire purchase up to 10% of gross income.

As the Tory attack mounted in intensity so the organised Labour movement rallied in support of this vital part of the National Health Service.

The Willesden Trades Council combining with the local Labour Party and Co-operative movement, launched a united campaign to save the Day Nursery in the borough. This campaign was completely successful as Willesden was the only borough in Middlesex that did not have one single day nursery closed.

Since then the charges for the nursery service have gone up. First to a maximum of 13/- per day and now, the latest move from Torydom is to increase the daily maximum to 15/-.

The greatest tragedy has been the complete failure of the Labour Party in County Hall to combat the Tory attack. The Labour members sat on the Assessment panel throughout, they continued to operate the Means Test even after Labour won the County in 1958 and this has been responsible in no small measure for the confidence with which the Tories now approach the question of Day Nursery closures.

It would be less than honest

to skate round the role of Labour in Middlesex, nevertheless the time will inevitably come when every representative, from County Councillor to shop steward will have to take up the fight where it was temporarily abandoned. There is not a working class district in Middlesex that has sufficient Day Nurseries for the wants and needs of working mothers. There are long waiting lists and consequently little hope for many mothers who are, in many instances, desperately needing this service. All that remains for the unlucky ones is the basement rooms or the front parlours of 'private' nurseries, these are seen advertised extensively in the working-class districts.

I believe that there is nothing too good for our class and by the same reasoning I do not believe the Tories will be able to do now what they couldn't achieve nine years ago.

Unity achieved the victory then. Unity and a common will and aim. Now is the time when every working class representative should join together in demanding an **END TO THE MEANS TEST. MAKE THE NURSERY SERVICE A FREE SERVICE AND BUILD MORE DAY NURSERIES.**

P.O. Overtime Ban

B LYNAM POEU

THE birthright of all workers is, without any doubt, their right to strike. The Post Office Engineering Union illustrates the weakness of Unions who have no strike policy.

Last November a pay claim on behalf of Post Office engineers was submitted to the employers and was flatly rejected. In May an overtime ban was called by the Cable & Wireless branch whose lead was followed by a number of branches in the London area.

The leadership of the Union far from supporting its members pleaded with them to return to overtime working. It must be added that the ban only effected voluntary overtime and not overtime "listed" by the employers. It appears a very strange move for the leadership of a Union pledged to the abolition of overtime to urge its members to work overtime. However worse was to come in the form of a proposal by the executive committee to the Annual Conference to substitute a one-day token strike for the overtime ban. As *The Times* so rightly said a prolonged overtime ban would be far more harmful to the Post Office than a token stoppage of one day.

Contrary to expectation the overtime ban was rejected by some 600 votes in a total vote of roughly 70,000 and the one-

The Lethargic Giant

BILL CROUCH TGWU

NOT the least distasteful feature of the so-called "mini-cab war" is the way in which it has put one group of workers in direct conflict with another group, simply for the profit of a get-rich-quick *parvenu*. If we suppose for a moment that the Welbeck Mini-cab misadventure achieves a foothold, the consequences for drivers must be obvious to even the most naive. Without question it will mean a depression of wages and conditions for all the workers concerned.

Mr Gotla, the big noise behind the mini-cabs, has said that to make his adventure pay, his drivers must do 60 engaged miles per day. The legitimate cab-driver, with his right to pick up in the streets and permission to ply for hire from authorised standings, can do only 40 to 45 engaged miles per day. This means that the mini-cab driver will have to work a third as long again as the average cabman and, at a shilling a mile, will still not earn as much money.

The working conditions of the legitimate cabman are far from good and they have fought desperately over the years to improve them: yet the mini-cab driver would undermine the whole fight—and for what? To do a difficult job under increasingly difficult circumstances for a smaller return.

The Cab Trade is a peculiar

one, and it is not easy to find an analogy to illustrate the position, but perhaps the following will serve.

Imagine a man publicly announcing that he intends to load meat onto the lorries at Smithfield at a cheaper rate than the licensed porters. Imagine one morning a large body of men descending on the market and actually being hired. Imagine the Union telling the legitimate porters that while this is considered illegal it can only be proved so if the pseudo-porters are caught red-handed starting the job by an independent person, and that in the meantime the men should carry on as usual and not allow themselves to be provoked. Imagine, if you possibly can, the licensed porters carrying on under such conditions, and you will have some idea of what is happening in the cab trade.

Here then are these garish little abominations, freely traversing the public highway, with the express intention of taking people from point A to point B for reward, yet who cannot be deemed as plying for hire unless caught in the act—and then only with sufficient evidence supplied by independent witnesses!

What is the Union doing to combat this? Well, it has acted responsibly. It has moved carefully along all the approved channels. It has met the Minister of State, and the Commissioner of Police. It has had its case presented in the House of Commons. It has called three mass meetings of angry cabmen and poured out many brave words on the long-suffering air—liberally interspersed with warnings and pleas to the cabmen to do nothing—and it has left the fate of the trade in the hands of the police.

And what have the police done?

On the twenty eighth of June, Bro Bob Mellish told a mass meeting of cabmen that the police would bring five prosecutions against Welbeck Motors "in a matter of days". At the time of writing, six weeks later, only one has been brought, the outcome of which was a far from happy one for cabmen. The driver of the mini-cab, having pleaded guilty to the charge of plying for hire was fined 40 shillings. Welbeck Motors was given an absolute discharge, the magistrate Mr W Frampton remarking that he sympathised with the defendants.

So much for police action to date. The wheels of the law may or may not grind small, but it is painfully obvious that they grind exceedingly slow.

It would now seem that the time is fast approaching when that mighty but rather lethargic giant, the T&GWU, will have to flex its muscles if it doesn't want one of its smaller organs badly mutilated if not bitten off completely.

day token strike accepted. Only after the vote had been taken did the General Secretary Charles Smith reveal that the strike would only be called if the Post Office would give assurances that the action would not be considered breaking service. Striking as it were by kind permission of the Post Master General.

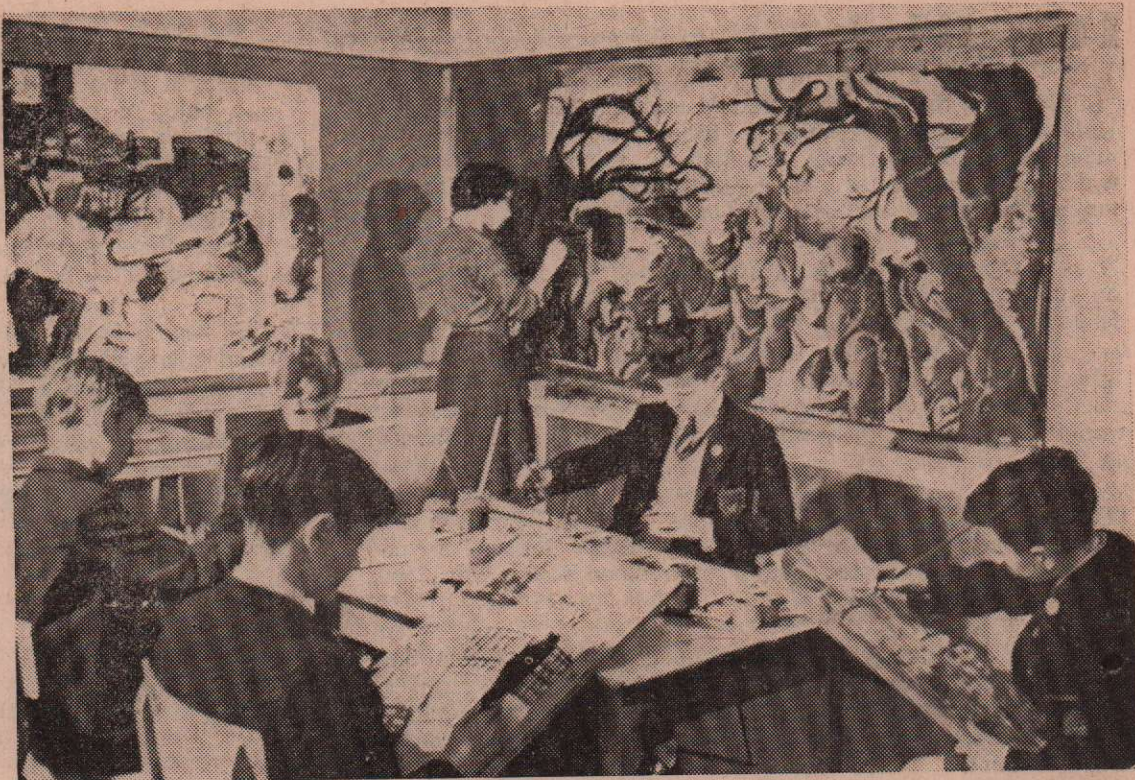
The most disheartening thing about wage claims in the Post Office is the formulation of Royal Commissions which tie departmental wages to conditions in "comparable" outside industries which effectively ensures that wage levels in the Civil Service lag behind those of our industrial colleagues.

What is heartening is that 10,000 Post Office Engineers in London felt that wages struggles were something which could be most effectively expressed in rank and file action such as joining in a protest march through the City of London.

The Union membership is only now beginning to come to an awareness of their power in the fight for better conditions and wages. Only now are they beginning to realise how damaging their rejection was of a call for a strike policy some time ago. Although I do not like strike action except as a last resort I realise that it is in the workers own interest to refuse to be robbed of his right to use this weapon when necessary.

Teachers Fight Back

C. DALLAS NUT



FOR a number of years profits have been rising considerably. The capitalists own the economy and have a staunch Tory government to help them. Wages too have risen, in some cases by quite large amounts. The organised workers in large numbers of industries have strong unions and shop floor organisations through which they fight to wrest conditions from the bosses. The white collar workers have neither the one nor the other, with the result that although their salaries have risen somewhat with the general rise in standards, they have not anything like kept pace.

The lack of militant organisation ready to take strike sanctions is at last being keenly felt by the teachers. Members of the NUT, which embraces three-quarters of the 300,000 teachers in the country, and the other teachers organisations, feel that they have too long heeded the misgivings of those among them who have taken to heart warnings about the "economic conditions of the country"—always terrible when new negotiations are being entered into—and who fear the moral effect on their pupils of strike action.

A teacher completing a two-year and from now on a three-year training course, on starting work at about the age of 21, gets a gross weekly income of £10, which, minus 6% superannuation, income tax and National Health charges, leaves him with the magnificent income of less than £8 a week. The crawl from £520 to £1000 maximum takes a full 17 years, bringing him up to about 38 years of age. No wonder that in order to make ends meet during the years of heavy family commitments vast numbers of teachers have to take on evening, week-end holiday jobs, cannot buy the books they require, or keep up with new material on their subjects. Nor that schools of all types, but more particularly the secondary modern schools which house 75 per cent of the country's children find it almost impossible to get qualified teachers in certain subjects, more particularly mathematics, science and crafts, as any

person qualified in these fields, unless he has the strongest sense of vocation, will opt for higher remuneration in industry. An aggravating factor is that the three-yearly Burnham negotiations—far too long a period in these days of rising prices—have for a long time increased differentials in the profession, always to the detriment of the majority on the basic scale.

The teachers demanded a scale of £700—1300 with a 10-year incremental period. The authorities offered £600—1200 with a 16-year incremental period, the scale to start next January. This offer was rejected by the NUT which threatened a national one-day strike and prolonged strikes in chosen areas. When the Minister of Education spat in their faces and cynically reduced the

small offer of £47 million—which the teachers' panel on Burnham agreed to accept after the "Little Budget"—by a further £5 million, the teachers were furious, and a number of local school strikes took place, actions which are quite unprecedented for teachers in this country. After the holidays are over we may expect greatly increased activity of this sort.

To gain strength for their struggle, the teachers are seeking joint action with the other white-collar workers hit by the Chancellor's "pause"—mainly Civil Servants and local Government officials. Unfortunately their present militancy may be watered down by the milder temper of the leaders of the Civil Servants' Unions, one of whose first pronouncements was

that they did not contemplate strike action, thus greatly weakening their fighting strength before they even begin. The NUT would do well in addition to seek allies in the industrial unions also fighting for increases and hit by the "pause", notably the railwaymen. Post Office workers, etc.

The NUT has a permanent item on its annual Conference agenda—to affiliate to the TUC. It has never yet been passed. We now have an opportunity to put the principle into practice by allying with the industrial unions who are more experienced in militant struggles over wages than we are, and whom we at the same time can assist with our weight.

C. Dallas NUT.

Sack Selwyn!

TRUE to Tory form Selwyn Lloyd has lashed out in his summer budget and imposed ever more crippling financial burdens on the class least able to afford them. Just one of the scandals of the Chancellor's attempt to stabilize our rotten leaking economy is the effect on the already inadequate Borough Council building program.

We have never failed to ram home the fact that even though Labour Councils have always got the kicks for putting up rents it is in fact due to deliberate Government policy—that of imposing high interest charges on money borrowed to build new Council homes.

The following quotation from *LRD Fact Service*, August 12, shows again where the finger of accusation for our criminal housing shortage should be pointed.

On August 3rd it was announced that the rate of interest on long-term loans from the Public Works Loan Board would go up to 7 percent. This is the highest rate ever; the last time there was a severe credit squeeze in the Autumn of 1957, interest rates on PWLB loans did not go above 6½ percent.

This 7 percent of interest means that the ultimate cost of a £2000 council house, paid for over a period of 60 years, is £8537, of which £6537 is interest.

Local authorities are not allowed to borrow from the Public Works Loan Board unless they have tried and failed

to borrow on the open market. But in practice local authorities have been finding recently that they have to pay more than 7 percent for short-term loans. The *Municipal Journal* comments August 4th 1961.

"There have been offers of six-months money at 7½ percent and for 10 to 15 years mortgages 7¼ percent has been asked. These are terms which local authorities, however desperate, must find it very difficult to accept."

The increase in PWLB rates to 7 percent is thus merely bringing public loans into line with the rates prevailing for those local authorities who have

UP TAILS AND AT 'EM

"THE Government is making an unprecedented diplomatic effort to dissuade General Kassem, the Iraqi Prime Minister, from making a military move. Throughout the Middle and Far East on Thursday night, Foreign Ministers and British Ambassadors were called away from dinner parties for urgent consultations."

Daily Telegraph July 1, on the Kuwait-Iraq crisis.

to go to the City. Indeed in reply to a question from Mr. Frank Allaun (Lab Salford) Mr. Barber, Economic Secretary to the Treasury, said it would be unfair for local authorities borrowing from the Board to borrow more cheaply than those borrowing on the market (August 3rd).

The annual loan charges at 7 percent of 142s a year represent about £2.14s.8d. a week of which about £2 a week is interest. Clearly the rents of new council flats out of which this interest has to be found will tend to be fixed higher than ever.

It's Rich

"Lord Home, the Foreign Secretary, told an audience of Harvard University alumni at Cambridge, Massachusetts, today that "the manifest justice of British colonialism" might be the example which would clinch the case against communism in the mids of the neutral and the unaligned"—*Times* 12 June.

"I am not a believer in the hereditary peerage"—Alfred Robens on receiving a life peerage in the Birthday Honours.— *Times* 12 June.

"But to classify him with the dictators that have ruled by cruelty because they could not do so by consent or by clemency would be a fantastic distortion of the truth"—*Guardian* obituary on Trujillo 1 June.

"Unprecedented security precautions marked President de Gaulle's one-day visit to Bonn to-day. Every hospital in and around Bonn was stocked with French blood of the President's group"—*Observer* 25 May.

"while the Russian grain has been pouring into London their Chinese allies, threatened by famine, have had to turn to Canada and Australia for large shipment of barley on credit"—*Observer* report entitled 'Soviet dumping hits bumper British crop' 11 June.

"Married couples put their work first and their life together second"— Director of a Shengyan heavy machine-tools plant to Denis and Ana Mathews—*Guardian* 29 May

"It requires a great deal of class consciousness to work throughout the year"— Janos Kadar quoted in *Economist* 10 June.

"the trade unions have become at once the repositories of mighty social power and the beneficiaries of unusual legal privilege; it is not entirely a joke to say the last group of people to enjoy a similar combination of great power and special privilege were the French aristocrats just before 1789"—*Economist* 27 May.

"They (the Cuban revolutionaries) thus became socialists, some earlier than others; but by the time Fidel announced it, they had all made it"— Saul Landau in *New Left Review* No 9.

"In March 1921 the Tenth Communist Congress met at Moscow, and Ulianov Lenin is reported to have declared his abandonment of Communism and conversion to the principle of natural economic development under Trade Treaties with Great Britain"—*Whitakers Almanack* 1922 (page 822).

OUT NOW

AUTUMN 1961

IS 6

CONTAINING: AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

LABOURS SUICIDE. CARRIBBEAN PILGRIM.

FOR AND AGAINST A REFORMISM.

BRITAIN AND EUROPE.

TU COMMENTARY CONTINUED

us

Seaman's Strike

F. HARWOOD AEU

THE US seamens strike, which began on June 15th, was over new contracts for six seamen's unions. One issue was the demand for recognition of the right of US unions to organise ships owned by US companies which avoid US taxes and union wages by operating under 'flags of convenience'.

Other demands uncluded a 12 percent wage increase over four years and a shorter working week.

Negotiation had reached the final stage and company representatives were reporting back to their boards when US Secretary of Labour, Arthur Goldberg, was called to New York to announce the settlement. Instead of this Goldberg called for a voluntary 60-day suspension of the strike and a fact finding committee. The shipping companies seized this opportunity and withheld final agreement.

The unions rejected this delay tactic and on June 27th Kennedy started up the Taft-Hartley Act machinery, which would force the seamen back for a compulsory 80 days in lieu of a settlement; but had the voluntary 60 days been agreed to by the unions the Taft-Hartley Act could still be forced on the unions after the 60 days if agreement had not been reached during this time.

Willesden 'done proud'

MIDDLESEX Labour and trade union members have been 'done proud' this year with the election of Mrs Louise Dunbar as Willesdens Mayor. A member of the AEU, (joining on the first branch meeting after the AEU opened its ranks to women members), Louise Dunbar has played an active role in working class politics ever since.

The old fallacy of 'Mayoral impartiality' has been well and truly exploded by this militant acquisition to the office. For too long the duties of Mayor have meant conforming to the accepted pattern that bourgeois society considers respectable. Telling the Chamber of Commerce what nice people they are, supporting Civil Defence, sponsoring the National Savings Committee and so on.

Not so with this Mayor, who, at her inauguration made it

TEA BREAKS

THE following is a copy of a statement being issued by the NFBTO to their members. "The wage increase of 6d per hour on 2nd October next and the reduction of hours give building operatives the biggest single improvement in their conditions in the history of the industry.

When these changes were being negotiated the employers made it quite clear to the operatives representatives that it was essential that the shorter number of hours should be fully worked.

The practice of having tea

clear that her politics would still apply, that throughout the year Socialism would guide her work not conformism.

This principle was clearly demonstrated when the Mayor spoke at the golden jubilee ceremony of the local Labour Exchange, below are quotations from the speech which it would do well for all our fellow workers to note and press through their branches and local Labour Parties that their local Labour Mayor take up the cudgels on behalf of the class he or she represents.

"I must say quite unashamedly that I deplore many of the actions of the Ministry of Labour. The Ministry carries out Tory policy and always seems to say do not ask for more increases it will cost the country so much and so much, irrespective of the dividends that always

breaks grew up under war-time conditions and its continuation has involved a considerable loss of productive time. The new rule gives employers an opportunity to take steps to minimise these losses.

Builders recognise the importance of breaks to production but they insist that breaks should remain unpaid. To those who say that the new rule does not mention the word 'unpaid', the reply is that the old rule concerning the breaks did not mention it either, and no-one in his right senses contended that the dinner break was a paid

seem to be rising and the amounts of bonus shares being doled out to the lucky shareholders. But for the workers in dispute who have gone to the Ministry, their share of the dishing out is not half so golden. The objective to me is very clear, the Government, through the Ministry of Labour, would rather have an army of unemployed. It makes the workers too independent when there is a shortage of workers as against a shortage of jobs".

Finally, the Mayor paid tribute to the work of the 'individual' members of the staff in as much as she thought they would deal humanely with the emerging conditions which may be brought about by Tory policy through the introduction of the pay roll tax, or through the threat of automation and take over bids which would jeopardise the workers jobs.

TGWU
OMAR

one. There is no difference in principle between dinner interval and morning and/or afternoon refreshment breaks and they should be treated in the same way.

Lastly, you should know you are not alone in the matter, as employers all over the country have expressed their determination to see that the refreshment breaks are once again brought under control."

Our general policy, however, is WHAT WE HAVE WE HOLD. Therefore your efforts must be directed to that end.

There's no ambiguity about this, is there?

G. FERRIS
AEU

CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM

JOHN
CRUTCHLEY

"The most dramatic symbol of the scale and shape of the new military edifice is the Pentagon. This concrete and limestone maze contains the organized brain of the American means of violence. The world's largest office building, the United States Capitol would fit neatly into any one of its five segments. Three football fields would only reach the length of one of its five outer walls. Its seventeen and a half miles of corridor, 40,000-phone switchboards, fifteen miles of pneumatic tubing, 2,100 intercoms, connect with one another and with the rest of the world, the 31,300 Pentagonians. Prowled by 170 security officers, served by 1000 men and women, it has four full time workers doing nothing but replacing light bulbs, and another four watching the master panel which synchronizes its 4,000 clocks. Underneath its river entrance are four handball courts and four bowling alleys. It produces ten tons of non-classified waste paper a day, which is sold for about \$80,000 a year. It produces three nation-wide programs a week in its radio-TV studio. Its communication system permits four party conversations as far apart as Washington, Tokyo, Berlin, and London. This office building, in its intricate architectural and human maze, is the everyday milieu of the modern warlords. (C Wright Mills, The Power Elite)

THE growth of the 'human slaughter industry' in the last two decades is of fundamental importance to any study of the mechanism of modern capitalism. Until 1914, war was epitomized by the 'gun boat'. Not until the blood bath in the trenches did the means of production reflected in the organization of labour permit the mass destruction to mirror the mass production of Ford cars. The first world war was a significant departure from previous wars in that a majority of the population and a major portion of the economy were organized into the total war effort.

This total war mobilization did not become permanent until 1939. An economy permanently linked to war was of profound

significance for it coincided with the disappearance of the major trade slump from the capitalist economy.

Until then a rhythmical cycle of prosperity and slump at roughly ten yearly intervals had been a central feature of capitalism. Moreover all these slumps, except the final catastrophic slump of 1929-34 had been followed by a greater boom. Yet even in 1939 the USA had not regained the 1929 level of production and mass unemployment was a permanent feature of all democratic capitalist countries—11 million were out of work in the USA. 1½ million in Britain. Only in the fascist countries where the working class movement had been smashed, wages reduced to pittance and a war economy got under weigh was there full employment.

To understand the impact on the capitalist economy of the arms race we must examine the basic cause of capitalist crisis—overproduction resulting from the relatively low purchasing power of the masses. "The last cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared to the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces in such a way, that only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit." (K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol III p 568).

The fundamental trend in capitalist society is to concentrate a greater and greater percentage of the income of society into the hands of the capitalist class. This means that a greater and greater part of this income is used not for consumption but for the accumulation of more capital. But all means of production are in reality potential means of consumption (even under capitalism). Thus all increases in accumulation must lead to overproduction. Output will increase but because of the masses' restricted purchasing power the increased output will remain unsold.

The 19th Century solution to this problem was imperialistic expansion which resulted in the collision of two rival imperialist powers in 1914, watched by a third from the touchline. Since 1914 many barriers have arisen against imperialism, such as the growth of national movements in

the colonies and the expansion of the Stalinist bloc. This has reduced the area available to imperialist expansion.

For capitalism to survive a new solution was needed. The ground was prepared by the bourgeois economist Keynes. An ideological product of the great slump. Until Keynes, economists did not regard the slump as part of capitalism. Jevons blamed unemployment on sun spots.

The basic tenet of Keynesians is that capitalism is not self regulating. To keep the economy in rough equilibrium a "pump primer" is needed. This is provided by the State.

If a slump is developing the State must take measures to increase economic activity, such as cutting interest rates, increasing credit or even spending money on public works projects to increase employment. If the right method is chosen this will increase the community's purchasing power more than proportionately to the initial state expenditure. This is because by employing workers who will spend the majority of their income this extra purchasing power is passed on to the shopkeeper who again spends the majority of this extra income on commodities. Thus the money reverberates throughout the economy and has a "multiplier" effect on production.

The converse method is used to combat inflation. You cut the masses' purchasing power by an anti-Robin Hood social policy, by taking from the poor and giving to the rich, as the Tories have been doing since 1951.

Unfortunately very few capitalists would listen to Keynes. They preferred the big profits they continued to make during the slump and the vast industrial reserve army. Even Roosevelt's moderate proposals were stubbornly resisted and were unable to prevent the renewal of the slump in 1938.

With the advent of the "great experiment" as Keynes called World War II the success of Keynesian economics was assured. When we consider the conditions under which a "public works" program to end unemployment can work we see why:

1) It must not compete with private interests in the same field. A state factory producing clothing would not decrease but increase overproduction. But only the State produces H-bombs.

2) It must provide works for the industries most hit by slumps—the capital goods and heavy industries, industries whose weight in the economy is increasing and whose bosses predominate in the ruling class.

3) That they do not add much to—in preference should subtract from—the productive capacity of capitalism, and should as much as possible, slow down the growth of social capital.

4) That they do not add much, if at all, to the output of mass consumer goods and thus are not dependent on higher wages for an increasing market.

5) While not adding to the productive capital in the com-

munity, the capitalist class must consider them an important factor in the defence of its wealth and even a weapon for enlarging its prospective markets. Only then will the ruling class accept them.

Thus the American capitalists that actively resisted Roosevelt when he incurred very small pre-war annual budget deficits (1934 3.6 milliard dollars, 1935 3.0, 1936 4.3, 1937 2.7) did not mind a deficit of 59 milliard in 1941-2.

Furthermore whatever public works are undertaken one section of the capitalist class will benefit directly. Others will benefit indirectly (through the multiplier) but be hit directly by taxation. Only if the main sections of the ruling class—those in heavy industry, the monopolists and the bankers have a direct interest in the "public works" proposals can they be carried out on a wide enough scale to prevent a slump.

6) The public works program can only succeed on an international scale. All major countries must participate to an extent corresponding to their national output and wealth. If only one or two countries were to do so, they would have less resources for capital accumulation, would suffer more than others from inflation and would be defeated in the struggle for world markets.

Only armaments fit these six vital characteristics of prosperity-stabilizing public works as the bourgeoisie well realize.

"By the spectacular achievement of its planned economy, war shows how great is the waste of unemployment. Finally war experience confirms the possibility of securing full employment by socialization of demand without socialization of production". (Lord Beveridge, *Full Employment in a Free Society*.)

"Depression of a severe kind... (is) ...simply not in sight. Armaments is the great pump primer of the present and the foreseeable future". (*US News and World Report*, Feb 29, 1952).

The normal level of consumption of capital by arms since the war has been in the region of 10 percent. This figure is an enormous mobilization of an economy's resources when we remember that even in a period of most rapid capital accumulation at least 80 percent of the national income has been consumed and in most periods it is over 90 percent. This means that current arms budget consumes the bulk of accumulated capital, thus preventing any widespread crisis of overproduction. It also causes a major change in the social repercussions of war. Hitherto all wars have posed the guns or butter problem after the beginning of the war. Now this question is posed before the commencement of hostilities. This plus the knowledge that war is synonymous with annihilation has made the H-bomb a major political issue.

Due to lack of space we have had to leave over the final part of this article until the October issue.

"A virtuous man will teach himself to recollect the principle of universal benevolence as often as pious men repeat their prayers."

William Godwin

William Godwin

HENRY COLLINS

If men practiced benevolence towards each other society would be sound, happiness widespread and intellectual and moral progress infinite. This could be the text for a vapid sermon. In Godwin's hands it became one of the formative ideas of British and world socialism.

Godwin was born in 1756. His youth coincided with the birth of industrial England. During the 1760s John Wilkes roused the people in defence of parliament and civil liberties against the autocratic tendencies of George III. In the 1770s Thomas Spence demanded the public ownership of land as the only foundation for a just society, freed from oppression and exploitation. At the end of the following decade feudal Europe was shaken to the point of collapse by the great French Revolution. And in 1793 Godwin published the first edition of *Political Justice*. It was to play its part in moulding the ideas of two generations of socialist pioneers.

Godwin's ideas stemmed from philosophy rather than directly from politics or social conditions. His philosophical roots were in Locke, Rousseau and the revolutionary school of French Encyclopaedists. With Locke, Godwin saw the mind of man as a complex receiving mechanism. Sensations, arriving from the external world were transmuted by reason into ideas, both intellectual and moral. With Rousseau, Godwin perceived the inherent equality of man and the sharp, bitter contrast between this innate equality and the prevailing inequality deriving from social conditions. From the Encyclopaedists and, most particularly, from Helvetius, he learned that man's character was formed for him by his social environment. If

this environment could be made rational and free, man, in turn, would become rational and free.

Innately, the human mind was neither good nor evil, neither wise nor foolish. It was what society had made of it—in too many cases a ghastly mess. Most men worked too long and too hard in conditions of crippling poverty. The privileged few, emancipated from the need to work, were also emancipated from the discipline, common sense and common humanity that went with work. If the poor were vicious from ignorance and greedy because of want, the rich were vicious from idleness and greedy because of greed.

More than a century and a quarter later, men would write of the "Acquisitive Society", but Godwin, in the first decades of industrial capitalism, described its consequences with eloquence and power. His main weaknesses were those he shared with the French revolutionary materialists from whom he derived. As Plekhanov was later to demonstrate, in his essay on *French Materialism of the Eighteenth Century*, Helvetius and his school regarded men's characters and opinions as the effects of their environment. But when it came to explaining how the environment itself was to be changed, they looked to a change in men's opinions, to the enlightening effect of revolutionary ideas. No thinker of the eighteenth century was able to escape from this contradiction. And in Godwin's case the dilemma was to drive him, more than once, over the edge into absurdity.

Though he called his book an *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, it was with social justice that Godwin was, in fact, concerned. Government, like property, originated in violence. But as violence was the cause of injustice it could not be the means of its eradication. Property gave man economic power over man, while government gave him the means of physical coercion. If private property led to gross inequality and, hence, to poverty for the great majority, political coercion warped men's character and judgement. Political coercion, therefore, could not be a means of emancipation and all organisation carried with it the seeds of coercion. Reason was the only cure for irrational society. With the spread of reason men would learn the futility of superfluous wealth and the joy of moderate, creative labour. As the new ideas caught hold, a new pattern of living would develop. Freed alike from property and government, men would become fully human.

"The vices which are inseparably joined to the present system of property", wrote Godwin, "would inevitably expire in a state of society where all shared alike the bounties of nature. The narrow principle of selfishness would vanish. No man being obliged to guard his little store, or provide, with anxiety and pain, for his restless

wants, each would lose his individual existence in the thought of general good. No man would be an enemy to his neighbour, for they would have no subject of contention, and of consequence philanthropy would resume the empire which reason assigns her."

Godwin's ideal communities were to be small and individualistic. Co-operation would be *ad hoc*, voluntary, not institutionalised. The standard of living would be frugal, not luxurious, but poverty would disappear. Intellectually and morally, if not materially, man would reach for the stars.

Politics, by its nature, implied coercion and the subordination of individuality. They were therefore rejected. In 1795 Godwin went so far as to publish an anonymous pamphlet (signed, significantly, "Lover of Order") supporting the Government's repressive measures against democratic agitation. Two years earlier, Pitt had refused to ban *Political Justice*. The masses, he believed, were unlikely to be subverted by an abstract philosophical treatise costing three guineas.

Yet Godwin became the centre of an intellectual movement with profound repercussions. The poets Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge were, for a time, under his spell, during the period in which they welcomed the French Revolution as the dawn of a new age of human freedom. Godwin's wife, Mary Wollstonecraft, became the first advocate of women's emancipation. His daughter, Mary, married Shelley, who translated the philopopy of *Political Justice* into undying poetry. Robert Owen learned from Godwin that private property must be abolished to create an environment worthy of human beings. Francis Place, brought up in an atmosphere of Godwinian libertarianism, applied some of his ideas in political practice. In his essay on *Avarice and Profusion*, which appeared in 1797, Godwin denied that manufacturing progress, under capitalism, would benefit the poor. On the contrary, it would perpetuate poverty and lengthen the working day, an idea which was to provide a central theme for Marx's *Capital*. The rich would benefit the poor, Godwin showed, not by employing them in factories for profit, but by getting off their backs. And in his most famous novel, *Caleb Williams*, which had far wider circulation than any of his political writings, Godwin exposed the cruelties of the system of transportation and helped to initiate the movement for penal reform.

One celebrated figure, who became a parson, was worried by Godwin's conclusions. Thomas Robert Malthus, in 1798, wrote his *Essay on the Principle of Population* to prove that social progress was impossible and perpetual poverty inevitable unless the poor had fewer children through voluntary, moral self-restraint.

SIGNPOSTS

cont. from page 1

stale methods of state bureaucracy, heavy compensation to share-holders, one or two TU leaders on the boards etc).

The document reflects the incapacity of the Labour leadership generally to grasp the opportunities offered by Tory inefficiency right now. The most they counter-pose is a few more selective state controls.

Tory dislike of state intervention is bemoaned. "Those who identify *laissez-faire* with liberty, are enemies, however unwitting, of democracy", we are told. This is merely a pathetic indication of how Labour leaders view the political scenery for the next few years.

Either get enough votes to take power in order to poke at capitalism with more and more state intervention, or try to push the Tories to do so. The facts are that the latter are being obliged to do so in any case.

It is regarded in *Signposts* as folly to anticipate the next Labour election manifesto. That is peculiar reckoning for a Party basing itself purely on elections.

When the Party conference meets what is its major concern if it is not to denounce the Tories, call for a general election and make its own proposals for Government?

In the foreword we are told that the Tories have bought time instead of "facing reality". Now there is not much time to buy, it says.

Our next retort: the Labour leadership is mostly responsible for the market conditions in which time has been bought so cheaply! The Tories may take a lot more time if all they have to confront is *Signposts* going all over the place.

It doesn't say, but we assume the thing is just a "home" treatment. Otherwise a direction indicator without some reference to the H-Bomb would be the greatest crime committed in Labour politics. Mankind cries aloud for a lead out of the nightmare of nuclear power politics.

So we must stick to the economic considerations. This Wilsongaitskell Keynesian doctrine is the same nasty medicine. Keynes' proposition was mostly that by sufficient state management of capitalism its worst excesses could be so mitigated as to prod it out of all recognition and that eventual capitalist managerial reason would prevail. By that thesis it is surprising that we need the Trade Union and Labour Movement at all.

Apart from the denationalisation of steel and the partial denationalisation of long distance road haulage, the Tories have been mostly content to make use of the sectors of the economy placed under state control by the Labour Government.

The steel state board was not set up until 1951, so it was pretty easy to dismantle as soon as the Tories took control that year. But the Party is committed to renationalisation and so it is stated in this document. The

cont. on next page

Charity is not enough

RAY
CHALLINOR

WHEN considering the evils of 19th century industrialism, such as women and young children working in coal-mines, we tend to slide into complacency. We say, "Of course, this sort of outrageous thing couldn't occur in our enlightened age."

But we would do well to remember that what to-day is unanimously thought to be wrong was then considered perfectly proper. For example, in North Staffordshire, where I live, workers opposed the ending of child-labour because it would lessen

family incomes. To them, children working in the pits was regarded as quite natural and inevitable.

Now I contend that many of the things, unquestionably accepted by this age of unrivalled smugness, will be considered scandalous and barbaric a 100 years hence—that is if Mankind is still alive. Our successors will, I think, cite examples like these to show that a society which could spend millions on armaments and advertising could not meet the most elementary human needs:—

basic duties of any state, and not beyond the powers of Britain to-day. Other countries, such as Sweden and Denmark, have much better records.

The fundamental reason for Britain's failure, as Professor Titmuss has pointed out, is because the crucial decisions on how the national resources should be apportioned are taken by small groups of businessmen. They are influenced by financial considerations and thoughts of personal prestige; the welfare of the people is not within their frame of reference.

And, far from trying to counteract this tendency, the Government accentuates it. Nobody can accuse the Exchequer of being prompted by thoughts of the greatest good for the greatest number when it allocates a mere £650,000 a year to research into cancer, one of the two great killer diseases, which results in the death of 250 people each day in England alone. This compares with £240 million—360 times as much—spent by the Government on military research.

In the House of Commons recently Mr. Denzil Freeth, Parliamentary Secretary for Science, defending the meagre sum spent on cancer research, claimed it was not lack of funds or scientists, but lack of new ideas and promising leads that was hindering progress.

This appears a lame excuse: lack of new ideas and promising leads has never curtailed expenditure on military research. Think of the frenzied activity, the desperate, concerted efforts that went into tackling the obstacles to manufacturing nuclear weapons. If the same effort could be put into the discovery of new means of preserving life that is put into devising new methods of destroying it, then dreaded illnesses like cancer would quickly lose their sting.

But, in any case, Mr. Freeth overlooks the important point that, where cures for some types of cancers have been found, the treatment is often administered under conditions that are not conducive to success. For full benefit from medical attention cannot be derived if a patient is inadequately fed or, like a friend of mine, recovering from cancer of the bladder, cannot have the proper period of convalescence because of sheer economic necessity.

Such examples, by no means uncommon, show the Welfare State has far too low a standard of welfare. If Britain is to be judged by what is done for the least fortunate section of the community—the sick, aged and infirm—it will be judged and found wanting.

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.

SIGNPOSTS

cont. from previous page

outgoing general secretary of the Municipal Workers said at the postelection conference in 1959 that he was ashamed that such proposals were ever made.

Despite Sir Thomas Williamson, and a lot like him, it would create too much of a furore if steel nationalisation was dropped out. Yet the reason advanced to justify renationalisation of this key industry is that it is too monopolistic; could not that argument be applied to another half dozen or so industries?

Why if it is wrong, according to Harold Wilson, and Co., to have a "shopping-list" for nationalisation is this item on the list?

Tribune has, quite rightly, dubbed *Signposts* as inadequate; but where we part company

with the shapeless Labour Left complaining is in our counter-proposals. Our answers are clear and firm in the program which binds us together.

Tribune has no such anchorage. The inability to oust Gaitskell when he made his major anti-Socialist proposal on Clause 4 two years ago demonstrates the ailment of the Labour Left. It is also the essence of our inability to link the campaign against the H-Bomb with the more positive struggle of the working class against capitalism and for Socialism.

It doesn't need the publication of the document under review for a large number of the Labour rank and file to realise the inadequacy of the Parliamentary leadership. It has no vision of a changed society; it demonstrates it in its day-to-day tactics.

One would have thought that

we have had no previous lessons of history to go by. The whole experience of Social Democracy in country after country has assuredly been its failure to grasp the cardinal issue of ownership and yet again ownership.

A party which fails to write firmly into its first aims the need for common ownership of the means of national life can have no Socialist principles.

A policy for Labour must be on this basis for the advance of the working class in all sections of the economy under a Socialist plan. Without these conditions, along with the election of a Labour Government, it is doomed.

A sound policy for a party of the working class must speak in understandable class language. *Signposts for the Sixties* is a hopeless, inadequate policy bound to fail.

THE debate on whether or not Britain should join the Common Market promises, despite the Parliamentary Labour Party's glib silence, to be of major importance, second only to unilateralism, at this year's conference.

In the interests of helping comrades to adopt a socialist attitude to this problem we are happy to print below one of *International Socialism's* editorials on the subject.

COMMON MARKET

A step nearer Socialism?

FOR British socialist to approach the Common Market with suspicion is one thing. For them to oppose outright any connexion with it on the grounds that it 'would be', in the words of *Tribune*, 'to turn our backs on the Commonwealth, to abdicate our independent role in world affairs, to join the most virulent cold war crusaders in the world... and to postpone the introduction of further measures of Socialism until the Christian Democrats of Germany and Italy are prepared to accept them' is another.

If British capitalism is turning its back on the Commonwealth there are good reasons for it doing so: the old, imperial basis of the economy—industrial exports to backward countries in exchange for food and raw materials—is being undermined as the industrial countries themselves become the cheapest suppliers of (synthetic) raw materials and food. At the same time there is a need to find a new basis to carry the industrial diversification that this implies, and to introduce the more intense division of labour which it requires. Such a basis might be found in Europe in the near future and within the present scheme of things. It cannot be found in the backward and non-industrial countries of the Commonwealth without far-reaching, revolutionary changes both here and there. So long as more is taken out in private profits than is put back in grants and loans rapid industrialization of India, Ghana and the rest is unthinkable; industrialization at all is barely conceivable so long as these government capital flows prop up regimes that perpetuate agricultural and social stagnation; and the flow of funds itself can be no more than a trickle so long as Britain is wedded to the monstrous waste of a permanent arms economy, to Cold War and so long as her anarchistic struggle for economic independence in an economically interdependent world lays her open to an exchange crisis every second summer. Were British assets overseas handed over to the people of the host countries without compensation; were Britain to contract out of the military stance essential to modern capitalism; were such a Britain to encourage and sustain revolutionary movements for land reform and workers' control in the backward Commonwealth countries—in a word,

were socialist revolution in Britain and the Commonwealth immediately possible there might be hope for eventual economic complementarity between the two. As it is, who conceives of such a denouement? Certainly not *Tribune*, the *New Statesman* and those that follow them. And even if it were conceivable one need only begin to imagine the difficulties of an isolated British socialism to realise that without Europe—without international socialism—these tasks would strain us far beyond crackpoint.

The second argument need not detain us. After the snuffing out at Suez anyone who can talk of 'Britain's independent role in world affairs' is in enduring thrall to a Tory public relations gimmick.

But there *is* substance in the third argument. A sacrifice of sovereignty will enhance De Gaulle and Adenauer's powers to intervene in British politics. To take one example—an important one—the anti-nuclear campaign will face a different, complex and incredibly more difficult situation. That European reaction will stiffen the backs of the British ruling class is certain. The only questions relate to the importance of their intervention and to its unilateralism.

It is clear that the role of the state as the major agent for

social reform within capitalism—the cardinal premise of all reformist politics—is narrowing. On the one hand, large-scale private capital is encroaching on many of its traditional welfare functions (pensions, housing, health); on the other, growing economic interdependence internally is setting stricter limits to what a government can do without the concurrence of foreign capital. Without doubt Europeanization will contract these limits further, but to oppose it on these grounds is tantamount to protesting that a cosh has studs.

Tribune's case against the Common Market remains unproven. The more one looks at it the more unrealistic seem the alternatives and the more it appears to be a defense of reformism. 'Let us have a rich and sovereign Britain', is what they are saying, 'because only in such a Britain can we hope to use the State to better workers' conditions'. That riches cannot flow from the Commonwealth under modern capitalist conditions is ignored; that the state is declining as the locus of reform is ignored; that social democracy is losing its importance as the motor of such state reformism as remains—witness the greater specific gravity of welfare payments in workers' standards in Adenauer's Germany—is ignored. Everything is forgotten in a blind, unenlightened struggle to shore up an expiring tradition.

This is not to say that we must be transfixed by inexorable economic trends, or that we must accept entry on the bosses' terms. God knows the transition can be brutal. Rationalization of European capital might mean deep unemployment in some industries—shipbuilding, textiles, coal, agriculture, and more; it might mean a British *loi unique* to pass the costs on to the workers as a whole; it might mean concentrated European capital bearing down on a disunited, nationally-separate and disfigured working class. It might mean these but it can mean more: in the same way as take-

overs and the concentration of capital in this country have encouraged combine-wide organization of workers in joint shop-stewards' committees, so we can expect to see—hesitantly at first—the internationalization of similar rudimentary working class organizations. Even more important in the long run might be the effect on working-class politics: the state's decline in importance as a centre for welfare and other political decisions has weakened the traditional division of labour between worker-voters and their (middle-class) representatives in Parliament, the law courts and such like—has weakened the division of labour that nurtured reformism. As the struggle over fringe benefits and welfare conditions shifts towards the factories, workers become their own reformists, become more jealous of their own power to extract concessions, more chary of delegating it to the politicians. This diffusion of militant reformism amongst the working class is the death of classic political reformism as it was in the United States. But at the same time it augurs the birth of a none-too-classic revolutionism: where the parliamentary reformist braked and broke any movement striking beyond the confines of capitalism, the militant worker-reformist is himself the potential revolutionary; where politics had to be *subtracted* to free working class militancy, it will have to *added* to direct the constant background of militancy towards power. If, in the long run, Europeanization hastens this process, as it surely will, cartel Europe will have laid, as surely, the basis for the United States of Socialist Europe. For revolutionary socialists in Britain there is no greater aim. We should be the first to clasp hands across *La Manche*.

It is not, however, the long-run effects that will occupy our movement in the coming months, but the threat to our traditional organizations and forms of struggle, the threat to full employment of further fragmentation in the labour movement and the decanting of politics out of it, the threat that its weaker sections—the Old Age Pensioners, for example—will be passed over in the scramble and, most important of all, the threat to world peace implied in strengthening the economic base of NATO. These are part of cartel-Europe; how big a part must depend upon the action of the European working class. In our small way, revolutionary socialists can further this action by linking its parts and clarifying its aims, specifically by showing—in contrast to *Tribune*—that to hark back to an independent capitalist Britain is illusory, and—in contrast to the Crosland-Gaitskell variety of labour leaders—that to look forward to elysium in the new natopolitical setup is as illusory. For us the move to Europe extends the scope of class struggle in which we are directly involved; it worsens its conditions for the present. But it makes ultimate victory more secure.

Socialist Review

Fighting Fund

During the last month we have received from:

	£	s	d
Islington	6	3	9
Willesden	4	15	0
Camden Town	3	0	0
Shoreditch	4	14	0
Lewisham	3	7	6
Harrow	4	0	0
Ramsgate	0	10	0
Liverpool	1	0	0
Leeds	2	7	0

Total 29.17.3

We need £40 an issue

THANKS! and KEEP IT UP, COMRADES!
Send to SOCIALIST REVIEW APPEAL FUND, 117 Carmelite Road, Harrow Weald, Middlesex

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.