

SOCIALIST REVIEW

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

FORTNIGHTLY
for
Industrial Militant
and
International
Socialism

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SIXPENCE

WARNING — NO WAGE FREEZE !

THE TORIES are on the way to defeat. But that isn't enough. They could be routed, utterly routed.

Rochdale showed how far the revulsion against them has gone. Their economic policy will show how far it is still to go. Meanwhile, the spreading campaign against the H-Bomb and for unilateral disarmament; the tide of indignation against the Rent Act and the coming evictions show what potentialities there are for a rousing campaign to root them out.

This is where the tragic farce comes in. The more demoralized the Government and the more isolated, the more reserved, "responsible" and non-committal does our Labour leadership become. The Tories are wide open to frontal assault; our leadership prefers to take power by default. Why?

Whatever faith they might have once had in the workers of this country and the world has long been lost. They do not see them as the sole power that can effect a real change. They therefore can't envisage solving the desperate problems rending latter-day capitalism except by capitalism's own palsied methods.

The closer they come to power—if only by default—the closer do they stick to the "accepted" methods of rule; the nearer they come, the more conscious do they become of the limited room for manoeuvre within the frame of latter-day capitalism and the less do they dare to strain it. As power approaches, almost thrust upon them by the Tories, they begin to talk and think in the terms used by their opposite numbers in Parliament.

That is why the air is thick with talk of wage-freeze under the next Labour Government. Because the Labour leaders accept the sanctity of profits, because they treat the capitalists' books as holy, they cannot repudiate the "orthodox" explanation for inflation, balance-of-payments difficulties and all the rest. They agree with the Tories—wages must take the rap, wage-freeze is the answer.

It is no good consoling ourselves by saying "let's deal with the Tories first, and then we'll have time for our Labour leaders." The job of the militant socialist is to warn his fellow workers now, to spread the demands as widely as possible: profits to stand the racket, not the pay

packet! Let's open the bosses' books to show how to put prices down and wages up at one and the same time!

By plugging these issues as well as pushing the leadership to head a real campaign against H-bombing, rising rents, the swindle perpetrated against the Old Aged Pensioners and the rest, we shall help workers to concentrate on points that must be defended from attack no matter who launches it. We shall be presenting a socialist program as the real alternative to corrupt and murderous capitalism, a program that will rally the support and enthusiasm of millions, and lead them to take control of their lives and destiny once and for ever out of the hands of exploiters.

PENSIONS

RESTORE THE CUTS !

by Eric S. Heffer

At the moment I am writing this, I feel like committing murder. I am sure if Macmillan and his cronies were here, only my intellect would save me and them. My emotions are quite uncontrolled. I have just come from a National Assistance Appeal Tribunal. I was there, not as one of the poor and destitute, but as a work-people's representative. It is not my first since the big swindle. What big swindle? The so-called increase in the Old Age Pension, the biggest swindle since the days of Horatio Bottomley, much bigger than the post-war credit racket.

The Old Aged are again the victims of the Tory politicians. The press says they have received a 10s. increase. Those who don't know, will naturally assume this will ease slightly the burden. What are the facts?

Most, if not all, of the aged are receiving National Assistance. In itself a recognition that the Old Age Pension is insufficient. The National Assistance allowance has only been increased by 5s., not 10s., which means that practically all Old Aged Pensioners will receive only 5s. instead of the 10s. as they thought. That is not all, their tobacco coupons, worth 2s. 4d., are stopped from the 20th January, which means that the total increase over their previous amount is 2s. 8d.

The much boosted increase is 2s. 8d. It ought to be rammed down Macmillan's lap-dog mouth. Today we heard the old people's appeals. They were all without exception, cries from the heart. These people are suffering. Try as they might to keep a dignified bearing, the suffering comes through.

The woman of 76, who broke down and sobbed. The man who, because we could not help, went out without a word. The other man, who had come with great reluctance. A man full of pride, who suffered agonies of extreme humiliation. A woman, who showed us her budget, leaving only £1 1s. 4d. for food, after rent, coal, light and laundry were paid. How does she manage? I don't know; it can only be slow starvation.

If anything was needed to finally indict this Government, this treatment of the aged is it. These people are a set of criminals. They don't carry out their crimes at night with a rubber hose. They do it, openly, in the full light of day. They kill by starvation, they swindle with sweet words.

On the forms sent out, notifying the old people that their National Assistance will be reduced as the extra 10s. pension is

(turn to back page)

towards the Industrial Union
page 2

Class Struggle in Kerala
page 6

TU Commentary

PART OF the Western way of life which we are constantly exhorted to defend, includes of course the right "not to work". No totalitarian government is going to order us into employment if we don't want it.

This essential freedom "not to work" is becoming quite popular. In the United States, the premier state of our Western way of life", 4,500,000 workers are now enjoying this blessing, an increase of 1,000,000 in one month. In addition to this the state is now providing the finishing touches, so that all the glories of the past can be relived by our contemporaries.

From the steel town of Lorain, Ohio, comes the news of the first breadline since the pre-war depression. Day-old bread was given away to the unemployed who now number 11 per cent. of the town's population. In nearby towns butter and beans are being distributed to the unemployed.

Not to be outdone, of course, the British defenders of our "Western way" jump on the bandwagon. The latest figures show that the number of unemployed in Britain is now 395,527, an increase of 60,000 in one month. As the posters say, Conservative Freedom Works!

* * *

FROM THE NORTH-WEST LONDON firm of Levine Manufacturing Co. comes the news that one more of our "Western" freedoms is being preserved. On Monday, January 27, the management made 5 workers redundant (sounds better than unemployed). At a factory meeting the workers decided to ask the reasons for the redundancy, and elected two delegates to do the asking. A prompt reply from the management was to make one of the delegates redundant also. After talks with AEU officials a resumption of work was obtained, but on the following Friday the two delegates were told, "Here are your cards," "Get out", "We are having no Union here."

The freedom I'm talking about is the one which goes: "We are having no Union here". Just like the old days when freedom really reigned.

Unfortunately the workers decided that if the Boss was going to use old-fashioned methods, then so would they, and they all came out on strike, and those who were not members promptly joined the Union. They have appealed for help, and donations etc. should be sent to the Treasurer of the Strike Committee: **J. M. Byrne, 57 Netherwood Street, NW6.**

* * *

FOR THOSE TRADE-UNIONISTS who worry whether it is possible to get a 40-hour week and 3 weeks holiday in the year, the following might help to convince and stimulate them.

(1) An agreement has been

Towards the Industrial Union

LONDON TRANSPORT . .

FOR YEARS PAST, thoughtful trade unionists have recognized the weakness that arises from the division of London road and rail passenger workers into different unions. More than thirty years ago attempts were made to achieve some unity of purpose and action through the establishment of a "TOT Movement" (Trams, Omnibus and Tube) but the movement never amounted to much, largely because the industry, at that time, was owned and run by a whole number of separate and competing private enterprise companies.

But, today, the London passenger industry is a State nationalized concern with a complete monopoly control. We all work for the same boss — and we are all watched over by the same Tory Government that guards our interests with the tender concern of a flock of vultures.

Exactly a year ago, I wrote in the "Platform":

"We busmen, who have always recognised the need to unite the 'red' bus of the central service with the 'green' bus of the country, and the 'trams' and 'trolleys' must recognize that the 'tube-train' too, is just another passenger carrying vehicle owned by the LTE, doing essentially the same job."

I then went on to ask:

"Without in any way infringing existing agreements, or interfering with the authority or rights of any union concerned, surely it is possible that a joint consultative body could be established between road and rail staffs work-

ing for the same employer—the LTE?"

Shortly after this article appeared, I received a letter from a secretary of one of the biggest NUR branches covering LTE rail men, from which I quote:

"One could not agree more with this perfectly true thumbnail sketch of the weakness of the workers employed in the transport industry not only those employed by the LTE, but also those many thousands more employed by the British Transport Commission."

Within 24 hours of the NUR expressing their support for our wage claim, our own Middle Row bus branch had passed a resolution thanking the railwaymen for their support and urging busmen to participate in a mass meeting convened by the NUR in order to show a common front to employers and Government. Middle Row's response was quickly followed by other branches.

Indeed, it is surely evident that no responsible trade unionist, from Frank Cousins downwards, can fail to see both the need and the advantages to be gained from such joint consultation, but, like so many obviously desirable steps, everyone waits for somebody else to take the initiative, with the result that nothing in fact is done.

The NUR has made the first move—all credit to them. **Let us now carry the project a stage further. LTE railwaymen are embraced within the NUR by a "London Transport Sub-Council"—the equivalent body to our own**

On January 28, the London District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen paused for a moment from putting their strike machinery in top gear to express their solidarity with London's busmen. "We pledge", they declared, "our full support to our busmen colleagues to bring their just claim to fruition". In this article written by **Punch of The Platform** we can glimpse the long history of such expressions of solidarity and learn about the next practical steps that should be taken to bring transport workers in London more closely together.—Editor.

signed between local 1,809 Office Workers Union of the International Longshoremen's Association; New York, and the French Line (Trans-Atlantic Steamships) which gives the workers a wage increase of 30 per cent., a 35-hour week and a paid holiday schedule which includes free trips to Europe and the West Indies for employees every 3 years.

(2) Local 9 of the Brewery Workers Union, Milwaukee, has become the first local union to secure a 5 weeks' annual holiday for long service workers. An agreement has just been concluded between them and three American companies.

GEOFF CARLSSON

Passenger Trade Group Committee.

Surely it would not be infringing anyone's particular copyright to suggest that our CBC and Trade Group Committee consider this issue and make an approach to the NUR Sub-Council for a joint meeting?

It can do a power of good in our immediate situation — it can be even more fruitful for the future of trades unionism. Both road and rail transport workers face two common enemies—the LTE and the Tory Government. Both our enemies have shown how closely united they are—a leaf, even out of the employers' book — is sometimes an advantage.

Liverpool building workers are reported to be convening a conference of rank-and-filers along the lines of the one held in London on January 19 (reported in SR, February 1). Readers will be kept informed of developments.

Articles on the industrial union featured recently in SR have aroused some interest. Readers have asked us to follow them up with a brief survey of the state of industrial unionism in Britain today, and of the developments towards it. We believe that it's your job to supply the information; but to start the ball rolling we asked one of our sellers, Mick Schiltz, a compositor member of the London Typographical Society working at Odhams Press, to comment on the amalgamations in the printing unions. From our conversations, we gleaned the following information. Readers, you're invited to supply us with more—a note on any industry, in any part of the country. We'll print it.—Editor.

and PRINT

AT THE MOMENT two separate moves are being made towards amalgamation in the printing industry. One is an effort by the National Union of Printing Bookbinding and Paper Workers (NUPB&PW) and the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants (NATSOPA) to join forces; these two unions cover the unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the industry (although they include some craft workers also). One feels that this amalgamation is an attempt to keep up negotiating strength on their part in view of the proposed amalgamation of 50,000 craft workers which is the other attempt being pursued at the present time.

This other amalgamation (craft) is to meet the threat of demarcation which new processes—mainly photo-setting—look like starting. This amalgamation will cover most of the craftsmen in the industry: compositors, machine managers (letterpress and litho), readers, telegraphists and casters. The sponsors of this amalgamation are the London Typographical Society (LTS) and the Typographical Association (TA), and the talks have reached a stage where the LTS research department are studying the rule books of the unions involved to draw up a set of model rules for the proposed new union.

There are some craft unions abstaining from these talks; one of them, the Process Workers (Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers and Process Workers), appears to favour one complete amalgamation, craft and non-craft, that is, an industrial union—and as a consequence may well be one of the few not in an amalgamation at all; another the STA (compositors and machine managers in Scotland) have not joined because of "nationalist reasons."

One of the problems is the secrecy due to the unfortunate lack of fraternity between the print unions.

(contd. on next page)

These pages have been set aside for a socialist review of the industrial struggle. Help to make them complete by

INDUSTRIAL

sending in news and comments.

BIRMINGHAM :

STRIKE and LOCK-OUT at BMC

I WRITE FROM strike-bound Birmingham where 35,000 BMC employees have been locked out, following the strike at Morris Motors. It is reported that the stoppage may not be of long duration. But this I am prepared confidently to predict—that there will continue to be trouble in the engineering industry as long as NAT continues. What is NAT? How long has it been in existence? What are the reasons which give rise to this union? The full inside story makes fascinating reading.

The National Association of Tool-makers (to give it its correct name) was born from the ashes of the last war and the social and employment conditions which were a natural consequence.

Prior to the last war the tool-maker was a craftsman whose particular skill was reflected in his wage. He was part of the aristocracy of labour. But the power house of World War II accomplished many changes: not least its emphasis on production for production's sake, the dilution of labour and the breakdown of many generations of trade secrets.

Roots of bitterness

This trend has been accentuated since the war when the position of labourers and gangers has improved relatively to that of skilled men. The general unions have time and again given lip-service to the sacred cow of "wage restraint" whilst obtaining marginal rises for their lower-paid members.

The BMC redundancy strike of July 1956 provided the flashpoint which repressed the growing indignation of the few remaining craftsmen at this gradual whittling away of their better rates. (The ASLEF strike of 1953 over differentials reflected the same attitude.) I am not saying that unskilled men were the only ones threatened by the BMC redundancy measures. But what was very clear was that the proportion of craftsmen due for the chopper was very much less. Obviously, the BMC were anxious to retain these men but could not care less about those on the track.

I think it is fair to say that few tool-room operatives felt wildly enthusiastic about the strike. However, where organization was good and the stewards had facilities for explaining the position, the members were very loyal to their fellow workers. But where organization was poor, the situation was very different. In particular at Morris Commercial (Tractors and Transmission) in

Birmingham there was mass black-legging. And the tool-room men were not slow to express their disapproval of the strike.

As a result of the bitterness and general discontent created by these incidents, a number of dissidents decided to leave the AEU (in which practically all tool-men are enrolled) and to form their own association.

Needless to say, they could hardly nail a black flag to their banner and do battle with that

alone. So they were driven back to the root causes of all this—the disappearance of skilled differentials. They appealed to disgruntled AEU members to leave the union and join them in a struggle for (1) better rates for tool-room personnel and (2) non-involvement in the strikes of other sections—obviously a reactionary demand. In addition to this, there was an underlying kind of anti-Communist Party feeling.

The official AEU attitude locally is that NAT will die a natural death, if left alone without solace or recognition. It was at this juncture that the BMC manage-

ment intervened by sending some NAT-men to work on the K section at Tractors and Transmission. Immediately 2,500 walked out until the threat was withdrawn.

Now the men are reported to be going back. But as stated at the outset, trouble will continue as long as NAT exists. One can have little sympathy with its aims. It is trying to turn back the wheel of history and economic change. And its appeal is to the most backward, the most reactionary, the least class-conscious.

SR Industrial Reporter
Birmingham

LABOUR PARTY Commentary

by Ron Lewis

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS are due to Jack McCann for his splendid victory over the Tories. This victory gives me special joy because of McCann's bold stand on the question of the H-bomb and his declared belief in unilateral action by Britain.

Great satisfaction too is derived from the fall in the Tory vote. One would have to go back to 1931 to find a parallel decline in the votes of a government party.

Certainly the Tories can have no excuses for their defeat. The election was fought on a register just about as old as it could be; a state of affairs which is traditionally believed to favour the Tories because of their greater organizational efficiency in the matter of the postal vote. Furthermore, allowing for deaths, removals etc., plus seasonal sickness, the poll of 80 per cent. must represent practically everyone who was able to vote. So no plea of apathy can be entertained.

However, our pleasure at the result must be tempered by a number of unpalatable facts.

First, the Labour candidate was returned by a minority vote.

Second, Labour's share of the votes was less than at the General Election.

Third, Labour's share of the votes was less (fractionally so, agreed) than in 1950 when there was also a three cornered fight, and when Labour secured only an overall majority of six in the country!

It is clear then, that while we should very properly applaud McCann's return to Westminster, we should recognize that this result reflects more the people's disgust with the Tories than it does their approval of the Labour Party.

What needs to be done?

The Leadership must wake its ideas up, that is the first step. They must give the appearance

of being alive and cease uttering all this dreadfully soporific after-dinner clap-trap which seems to be the chief characteristic of "responsible" leaders.

I appeal to the opportunism, to the ambitions of the leaders, for whatever else we may upon occasion be inclined to think about them, there can be little doubt that they are anxious to form the next government. That being the case they must act now.

The present political situation calls for boldness. The notion that by stealth and vagueness of policy we will somehow creep into office is demonstrably false. At best these tactics can only be expected to produce a marginal majority, which in my view would be worse than defeat itself.

The Party should come out on the side of unilateral disarmament and place itself at the head of the present unofficial movements against the H-bomb, and take to the streets. I am convinced that there is a reservoir of anxiety about the present suicidal policy of rocket bases, H-bomb carrying planes and the like, which would respond to a call from the Labour Movement.

If the Party were to organize demonstrations on the lines of the Suez meetings, together with organized treks and marches on the proposed rocket sites, it would have an electrifying effect on the country and on the Party. The active membership would be doubled and trebled within a few weeks, those thousands of socialists who left the Party in such droves during the past few years returning at the double.

Then on the Home Front we need to stand at the head of the struggle against unemployment, demand work-sharing without loss of pay; lead with the left against rising prices by opening account books to show why the drop in raw-materials prices hasn't registered in the shops.

But primarily, we need to pledge ourselves to a really militant policy of expanded prosperity via the planned introduction of automatic techniques. It is high time that the conservative and suspicious attitude of the political and industrial leaders of the Movement towards automation was swept aside and that socialist solutions were put forward to deal with the problems of the new industrial revolution.

This is an age of breathtaking technological developments, the

age of the Sputnik; it is time that the Labour Movement adopted Space-age policies, and sent their old plodding cart-horse mentality to the knackers. People are no longer moved by namby-pamby do-gooder cluckings about the welfare of the aged and the care of the young. Socialism means far more than the soup kitchen. Let us frame a policy which as well as providing the necessary increases in the social wage also provides for an increase in consumer goods, and a progressive reduction of the working day. In other words, let us return to the basic programme of classical socialism.

A NATIONAL WAGES POLICY is a nettle which the National Executive will have to grasp this year in connexion with their policy statement on the control of industry. **That there can be no return to the days of Cripps and the wage freeze is certain, but it is by no means certain that all the leaders recognize this yet. Many are still deluded by the Tory economic myth that wage increases are a chief cause of inflation.**

Wages have risen much faster on the continent and in America than here, although our labour costs have risen more. High wages ensure demand, plus efficient use of labour. Low wages produce exactly the opposite result.

It should be possible for an annual increase in wages to be paid to everybody based upon the increase in the national income. Even given present levels of investment that increase would be of the order of 3 per cent. But this will require national planning and would result in some diminution of the power of the TU leaders. Hence the apoplexy whenever this subject is mentioned.

I WAS HEARTENED to see Robens make such a forthright statement about the renationalization of the Steel industry. When such a traditional moderate as he can be so emphatic then the steel bosses can have little faith in their press campaign to influence the leadership away from their determination in this matter. **What we need to follow it up is a statement that the people are not going to pay twice for the Steel Industry.**

PRINT - end

The most recent amalgamation in print was the joining of the London Society of Composers and the Printing Machine Managers Trade Society in 1955 which produced the very successful London Typographical Society—as the Master Printers learnt to their cost in the 1956 pay dispute—and augurs well for future amalgamations, one hopes.

STOP PRESS

As we go to press, a statement is going out from Natsopa and the Paper Workers that negotiations towards amalgamation have been broken off. This represents a serious defeat for printing workers and a step backward for the Labour Movement as a whole. We hope to feature an analysis of the printing industry in the near future.—Editor.

LOCAL DEMOCRACY in ACTION ? asks PETER D. MORGAN

THE PROMOTION of a Parliamentary Bill by the Birmingham City Council has occasioned a good deal of interest locally. Readers may therefore care to hear of this rather unusual proceeding.

First, as Ald. Corbyn Barrow (Chairman of the Council's Law and Parliamentary Committee) remarked in a recent article in the local *Trades Council Journal*, "local authorities are creatures of Statute." In other words, their powers are clearly limited by parliamentary legislation. If they overstep these powers—here's the rub!—it is not the local authority that is held legally responsible, but the individual members of the council. It was thus that George Lansbury and his fellow-councillors were sued for alleged excess expenditure on the unemployed in the celebrated Poplar case, 1921.

Power to act

Now it must be obvious that from time to time an authority may consider its powers and functions inadequate for the proper conduct of its business. And this must be particularly so when local government so closely touches all our lives, as it does today. In these circumstances the authority is permitted to promote its own private Bill in Parliament to secure the desired powers. The relevant procedure is both cumbersome and lengthy.

First, the Council invites its committees to submit details of the powers required, e.g., health, housing, education, etc. These are then considered by some 'parent' committee (Finance, General Purposes or Law and Parliamentary). Eventually the recommended clauses are put to

the council as a whole and voted upon. At this stage, County or Rural District Councils merely pass their proposals to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, who may hold an enquiry if he wishes.

A Town's Meeting

The Urban District or Borough Council is, however, by no means out of the wood. They are obliged by law to hold a Town's Meeting (duly advertised beforehand in the public press) at which the clauses of the Bill are put to those electors interested enough to attend (generally opponents!). Whatever the result of this meeting, the Council or one hundred electors (or one-twentieth of their number, whichever is less) may demand a poll on any of the clauses.

There was a determined attempt by Labour members in the Commons to by-pass the Town's Meeting stage last year. It was, however, defeated by the Tories, led by one of Birmingham's four Tory members. It is difficult to see on what grounds. **For instance, the law provides no safeguard that local electors only shall vote. It has been alleged that at the recent Town's Meeting in Birmingham, electors not on Birmingham's electoral roll voted, and in other cases, minors voted.** Moreover, neither Council nor opponents take this stage seriously, as each side knows a poll is so easily requisitioned.

Through the Lords

However, even this poll is not the final stage. The clauses finally approved, go forward to Parliament and are then debated

and voted on by the whole House, after having passed through a Committee stage in either the Lords or Commons. It is not usual for such Bills to meet with outright opposition in the House, but it can happen.

The Birmingham City Council brought forward a Parliamentary Bill a couple of years ago, one of the main provisions of which was the provision of free transport for old age pensioners; this was carried by the Town's Meeting and Town Poll, but only finally validated by a separate Bill in the House of Commons. In a previous Bill, Birmingham City Council had sought powers to manufacture and sell furniture but had been heavily defeated at the Town Poll.

... and Vested Interests

On December 18th last year, the City Council brought forward to a Town's Meeting a fresh Bill of 68 clauses, only 13 of which the Meeting decided it wanted to debate. Of these, 6 were carried and 7 defeated. A Mr. Gregory Prescott, who has been a thorn in the side of the City's promotion of free travel for old folk, was once again defeated. **However, vested interests (with official Tory backing) managed to smash the attempt to sell petrol and services in the Corporation car parks. Further clauses which were defeated proposed to give the Corporation powers to nominate tenants (the landlords saw to this!) and to make up to 90 per cent advances to small businessmen displaced by building development.** It is difficult to know why this clause was defeated: all one knows is that a Tory Coun-

cillor and several notorious local reactionaries attacked it. In fact, roles were rather reversed in this debate. Another clause defeated was that imposing certain restrictions on new businesses occupying more than 5,000 square feet.

Defeat

All in all, vested interests had a real field day. They turned up in force determined to prevent the establishment of a 'Communist citadel in Birmingham' (according to a local newspaper which used to consider itself a responsible organ).

Nor was the City Council much more successful at the poll. All nine clauses were defeated at the lowest town's poll for 83 years, including the controversial clause to nominate a list of tenants for houses vacated through overspill.

And Victory ?

What does all this show? In the first instance, I think it shows that the Labour Group on the City Council was too modest, too reasonable—confining itself to the bare minimum of measures necessary for the good government of the city. And they were trounced by a group of backwoodsmen who are as irresponsible as they are anti-social. It shows that the only way to defeat these troglodytes is to put before the city clauses that will really capture the imagination of the working class.

How about free travel for ALL, for a start? Make transport and housing social services. "Lower rents" should be Labour's cry. That would REALLY win the support of the workers.

BO'NESS DOCKS: NO ACTION FROM MPs! reports JAMES D. YOUNG

The future of the Bo'ness docks was discussed in the House of Commons during an Adjournment Debate on the 17th of December, 1957. Mr. John Taylor (Labour) refuted the argument of the manager of the British Transport Commission's East Coast Scottish ports that the Bo'ness docks were uneconomic. He pointed out that the main financial losses were incurred during the early post-war years as a result of "the high costs of rehabilitation after enforced war-time neglect."

Mr. Taylor rounded off his appeal to the Tory Government against the proposed closure of the docks in Bo'ness by saying:

"I appreciate that the Hon. Gentleman has no direct ministerial responsibility in this matter and that all we can do tonight is to voice the anxieties and hope that they will be taken note of in the proper quarter. In doing so, I speak with the full support of every citizen of Bo'ness."

Parliamentary democracy

Thus he went through the preliminary process of Tory parliamentary democracy. A question in the House and—if the issue is serious enough—a vote of censure, equals Capitalist democracy. But the fate of the Bo'ness dockers depended on Mr. Taylor's ability to strike fear or

to threaten or kick the Tories in the pants, and so force the British Transport Commission to change its decision.

The Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation (Mr. A. Neave) replied for the Tory Government thus: "The Hon. Member realises as well as I do that this is a matter for the British Transport Commission and that it will be for the Commission to decide, eventually, what the future of the port is to be. It has not made any decision yet."

And there the matter rested—at least from a Parliamentary standpoint.

Protests made

Then the Bo'ness and Grange-mouth dockers' sections of the Transport & General Workers Union passed resolutions of protest against the threat to close the Bo'ness docks. These protests were quickly followed by similar protests from the local Trades Councils. So when I went to Scotland at Christmas I promised those comrades that I would raise the matter with our local MPs as soon as I returned to London.

Direct action needed

After the Parliamentary recess I went along to the House of Commons where I persuaded a policeman to fish out one of our MPs from a busy committee

room. Our public servant, the policeman, returned with Mr. Malcolm MacPherson. Mr. MacPherson assured me that, judging from the conversations he had had with Scottish Tory MPs, the Bo'ness docks would almost certainly be closed down.

I asked what would happen to the Bo'ness dockers in that case. Mr. MacPherson was quite genuinely upset over the fate of the workers in Bo'ness; yet his eyes brightened as he reminded me that if the worst came to the worst—they would soon be absorbed in other industries.

"Things aren't as bad as they were in the '30s you know; and although there are pockets of unemployment in our area workers are usually on the Labour Exchange for a few weeks only. I realise, of course, that this will cause hardship, but the Welfare state is a vast improvement on the Means Test and all that."

I have written to my comrades in Bo'ness informing them of this conversation. The only hope of the Bo'ness workers now lies in their ability to take direct action to force the British Transport Commission to change its decision. Unfortunately, the population of Bo'ness has been steadily declining during the past few years, thus undermining the strength of the organised Trade

Union movement. Thus the Bo'ness workers cannot win the struggle to keep their jobs unless they are backed up by the powerful resources of the whole Scottish Labour movement. The Scottish Labour MPs won't exert real pressure on the Tory Government till a mass movement roars and rages outside the House of Commons.

... an old story

ALTHOUGH many people think that relations between men and manager in the coal-mines have been completely changed, many of the old customs have still lingered on, particularly in certain areas. At a pit I know very well it was accepted that all men on entering the manager's office should take off their hats as a mark of respect.

On one occasion an irate Scotsman with a burning grievance about his wages walked in and started to explain his case. The Agent in charge on this particular afternoon broke in and said: "Wait a moment, don't you take your cap off when you come in here?"

"I don't know what you think I've come in here for. So-and-So," the Scotsman replied in full heat, "but it's for the money you've docked from my wages, not for a—haircut!"

YOUNG SOCIALIST

NOW
TWICE
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MARCH 1, 1958

KNOW TO ACT

We publish below a report of the Labour Party Youth School held on February 8-9. Whilst agreeing with the policies advocated—a comprehensive co-educational day school system of state education up to 18, the abolition of fee-paying schools, and adequate grants for higher education—we should like to add our own critical comments, for educational proposals such as these are reforms only. We need, however, a revolution in education, as we outline below. It must, however, be emphasised that a revolution in education can only accompany a revolution in society.

A Socialist party should not be content with mere structural modifications in the educational system. The structure of the educational system is derived from two sources: its function in society, and the values of society. An advanced capitalist economy demands a literate working class. It demands, further, civil servants, business administrators, scientists and politicians. The educational system supplies these needs. It trains young people for the tasks a capitalist system requires. Thus a class-divided society needs a divided educational system.

Function of school system

But further, society is held together by values and ideologies, and it is the function of the educational system to impart these values and ideologies. Therefore, **not only is it necessary to abolish the Sixth Form and the prefect system, but also the respect for tradition and admiration and desire for authority that they encourage. In addition, compulsory religious instruction should be ended and the illusion that the Church is the moral mentor of society should be destroyed.**

The sciences and humanities are instruments with which man masters himself and nature. Knowledge should be imparted with this aim in view, young people should be taught that knowledge is

Notebook

SEVENTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS from 25 Labour Parties (including 20 Sections) and one trade union spent a valuable week-end at the second of the Labour Party's schools since a youth policy was imposed on its EC by their 1957 Conference. Held at Beatrice Webb House, Dorking, on February 8-9, both the program and the arrangements showed that London's Youth sub-committee had listened seriously to some of the criticisms voiced at the first school (reported in the *Young Socialist*, December, 1957), and we had a week-end of political discussion.

First we had Dr. Horace King, MP, who exposed the moral and ethical injustices in our present educational system, which, he said, lead to an inevitable lowering of academic standards. As a conclusion to his talk Dr King posed some questions for the discussion groups to consider.

Briefly, the reports of these groups were as follows: **The abolition of Public Schools was demanded**, for obvious reasons, though some better aspects (i.e., higher standard of teaching; smaller classes, enabling teachers to take a personal interest in the children, etc.) should be an aim for a Comprehensive School system. Similarly, boarding schools should not be encouraged (unless under special circumstances where mentally defective or physically handicapped children are concerned).

The 11-plus examination should also be abolished because

obviously no child's future should be determined or jeopardised by the whims of fate or misfortune of an examination period lasting only a few days.

Alternatively, teachers' reports of a child's progress over a number of years could be submitted to the headmaster concerned for him to decide what future schooling is desirable.

The biggest problem of all, it was thought, is one of teachers. Admittedly their present wage is not sufficient and should be increased, but you still cannot buy good teachers with money. It is only when young people have an inherent desire to pass on their knowledge and skill to others, instead of using them solely for their own benefit, that children will grow up on a diet of social responsibility and be an asset to society. We can only hope that the present comprehensive schools will produce these teachers.

A Political Organization

Next morning we heard Alan Williams, National Youth Officer, explain the 'Labour Party's Approach to Youth.' 'We must brighten up!' he said, and announced the appearance of a new tabloid recruiting sheet, **Hi!** (which one student thought was made up of unused galleys from the ill-starred *Daily Mirror* venture, **Fling!**)

As for Section programs, he admitted that Socialist education was the only sound foundation for success. We cannot compete with the youth clubs; we must be political organizations. So far, so good, but when

a social tool and not merely a means to individual advancement. The repulsive advertising campaign of *The Times*—"For people on the way to the top"—is the very antithesis of a Socialist educational policy.

This means that the relevance of the sciences and literature to present-day problems must be made perfectly clear. History is the story of the class struggle, not the lives of demented beings; literature is a tool of social criticism and should be treated as such; our mastery over Nature a means to a better life for all, not an instrument of mass destruction.

Education for initiative and action

Furthermore we believe educational practice is in need of radical revision. The human mind is an active organ. It receives sensations, perceives and thinks, but this demands activity. The human mind is not like a cinema screen which passively receives its images; it is an investigator, it seeks out, searches, it does not merely contemplate, it rushes forward to discover. This rather obvious fact is not recognized by formal education, at least if it is recognized it is not acted upon. Education is not treated as an adventure, but is a grind, a wearisome toil. Knowledge is thrown at the student and textbook cramming is encouraged. **We need therefore new educational practices which encourage initiative and imagination, with less factual cramming and a greater emphasis on theory.**

For a new content in a new form

These then, in our opinion, are some of the problems a Socialist educational policy should be concerned with. **We need not only structural changes, an expansion and equalization of educational facilities, but new values and practices.** A Labour Party statement that overlooks these is, we think, grossly inadequate. We hope it will not.

some old questions cropped up, about representation, a list of names and addresses of Sections and secretaries, we heard the same old answers.

The School concluded with a lecture by Bob Mellish, MP, on the 'Trade Unions and the Labour Party.' A not very rewarding discussion followed on the 'split block vote,' the proportion of trade union contribution to the Party's finances, the closing down of Labour Party factory branches, and local relations in the coming industrial struggle.

* Those comrades who missed the School can hear Alan Williams and Bob Mellish lecture at a day school on 'Youth Organisation' held under the auspices of North St. Pancras Section, March 19th.

Unrewarding — because Mr Mellish had no intention of answering serious criticism.*

Meanwhile, London's EC faces the rank-and-file at the Regional Conference on March 1st and 2nd. There is a critical resolution from Stoke Newington, disappointed at the half-hearted approach to youth organization, but delegates should remind the Conference of last year's decision that Youth Section members should be represented on the Youth Sub-committee. We hear that Eric Deakins has now been co-opted just a fortnight after he formed a section in Tottenham. No comment is necessary.

YS Reporter &
JOHN PHILLIPS
Shoreditch & Finsbury

LETTERS

Modern Jazz Quartet

MOST JAZZ CRITICS to-day tend to forget what Jazz is. Jazz is the folk culture of an oppressed people struggling to gain acceptance and equality, and the development of that culture can only come from the people themselves. Outside influences will affect its development and possibly revitalize it, but they cannot effectively alter it.

The Modern Jazz Quartet are attempting in a self-conscious way to divert the folk culture of their people into new paths, and we should support them, and be very cautious in our criticism of such experiments.

In his criticism Mr. Holloway has, I fear, forgotten these basic facts. British Jazz can never be anything but hybrid and pseudo, because the musicians who play it do not belong to the people whose culture it is.

These jazzmen are not essentially part of any culture, but merely in revolt against Western culture, and consciously supporting another. The spirit of Jazz can inspire outsiders, such as the Chicago musicians in the 20's and 30's: but mere imitative playing can lead nowhere. However, it is possible for white musicians to be influenced by this Negro folk music, and, accepting the influence and vitality of the foreign culture, build a specific musical form within their own. This has, I think, been tried successfully in Sweden, where there is Modern Jazz of a very high standard which is not mainly derivative of Negro Jazz, although of course influenced by it, but which has its roots in Scandinavian folk culture.

GRAHAM METSON

INTERNATIONAL

Our correspondent in the only CP-run State in India, a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), reports on the

CLASS STRUGGLE IN KERALA

Progressives rejoiced and reactionaries gasped throughout India after the General Elections last year. Why? Because the Communists were voted to power in one state—Kerala.

Statements made by top Communist leaders prior to the elections were responsible for these hopes and fears. The toiling people hoped their miseries would come to an end, while the vested interests feared that the Communist Government would ruin them beyond recognition. The performance of the Communist Government in Kerala over the past year has amply proved both these assumptions to be totally wrong.

The Communist Party assumed power in April last year with a fanfare to the Punnapra-Vayalar martyrs, demonstrations, offerings, big promises and so on. The Communists claimed then to have broken a link in the Congress chain which would be the beginning of the end of the Congress regime. They also claimed "the Kingdom of Heaven will be built on earth" by their regime. A few over-enthusiastic Communists asserted they were creating history in Kerala. They claimed that the vanguard of the proletariat had assumed power and hence the desires of the toiling people would be realized in the not very distant future.

From strike to prison

It is therefore instructive to examine some recent cases to see how in fact that so-called "vanguard of the proletariat" is functioning in Kerala vis-a-vis the working class: About 500 workers employed in the Vijayamohini Mill, Trivandrum, went on strike before Oonam (a very important Mayalali festival—Ed.) demanding a bonus after exploring all possibilities for an amicable settlement. A few days later, the Government moved and a settlement was reached regarding the bonus. The agreement specifically laid down that the bonus would be handed out on September 5, the day before Oonam.

When the workers went to the mill to get their bonus, they found to their surprise that the Co-operative Society dues had been deducted. The workers contended that the employer should deduct Society dues only from their wages, and had no right to touch their bonus. This became the issue, and the strike continued. On Oonam, the police resorted to brutal baton-charges, and about 130 workers were arrested. So the workers celebrated Oonam in the Central Jail under the Communist regime!

CP minister humbled

Wonder of wonders, the CP Labour Minister endorsed the action of the employer, and thereby created industrial history—for the deduction of Co-operative Society dues is unheard of in the annals of industrial disputes. It is worth noticing that the position taken by the Minister was not acceptable even to the few Communists employed in the mill.

The strike went on for 59 days, and Comrade K. Pankajakshan, RSP leader and General Secretary of the Union fasted for 9 days. What for? The issue involved

was quite simple: is the employer justified in recovering Co-operative Society dues from a bonus? A solution could have been found to this simple question if the Minister really wanted to find one, but events clearly show he wasn't interested. And in the end, the heroic struggle of the workers humbled him. But the workers had to pay a very heavy price to settle a very simple dispute.

Police leave boot marks

Workers employed in the State-owned Rubber Factory were groaning under grinding poverty as a result of starvation wages. Hence the workers led by the RSP demanded a fixed pay structure with graded annual increases, the conversion of daily-rated workers to monthly rates, a productivity bonus, and a general expansion of the industry. But the Government did not raise a little finger to meet the just and reasonable demands of the workers.

As a last resort, the workers struck work, and the strike lasted 18 days. It is worth mentioning here that during the strike, the police brutally kicked and trampled the striking workers. Union volunteers carried the injured workers to the residence of the Chief Minister who examined the wounds. Boot marks were clearly visible on the chests of the wounded workers. The Chief Minister assured them he would take appropriate action early. This assurance remains unfulfilled.

In pursuance of an agreement reached between the Government and the Union, the strike was called off.

Strike declared illegal

On 8th August the Rubber Factory workers led by the RSP again went on strike. This time the Communist Ministry declared the strike illegal. It is interesting to note that while Communists all over India were condemning the Central Government for arming itself with powers to declare illegal strikes by Government employees, the Communist Ministry in Kerala declared a legitimate strike illegal. Despite the ban, the workers continued the strike and wrested concessions from the unwilling hands of the Communist Government.

In Quilon workers in a cashewnut factory were locked-out wrongfully and illegally. As a protest against this illegal action, the workers, led by the RSP, resorted to passive resistance. The Government remained a silent on-looker for a few days and then intervened. Make no mistake—

the Government did not intervene in favour of the workers but in favour of the employer. The police brutally baton-charged the passive resisters. Many workers including a few aged women sustained serious injuries. This was followed by indiscriminate arrests. Many RSP leaders have been bound over.

The Communist Government in Kerala have even resorted to baton-charges on workers under the leadership of the Communist Party itself.

CP workers arrested

The Communist-led Cashewnut Workers Council was conducting a struggle of workers in the MPG Cashewnut Factory at Kilkolloor, near Quilon; demanding the reinstatement of 24 redundant workers. The Labour Department and the Minister himself intervened in the dispute but failed to make a settlement. Hence, K.P. Nanoo, a Communist TU leader went on a hunger-strike in front of the factory. On the 11th day he was arrested and another leader took his place. The intervention and pressure on the employer by the Minister again failed to bear fruit.

On the 18th the workers in the factory struck work. In order to prevent the management from locking out the factory, the workers picketed the gates. They did not allow the works manager and the staff to go out. Though the District Labour Officer and other District authorities intervened, there was no improvement in the situation. The picketing continued till about 11 p.m. The police were determined to take the works manager out. 14 workers who picketed the car of the manager were arrested and he was taken out. Then the police attempted to take the lorries out of the front of the factory. The workers, who tried to prevent this, were arrested, including Communist TU leaders and workers. In all 53 persons were arrested.

An unexpected attack on the workers came after this. Without warning, the police encircled the workers and fell upon them, in spite of the fact that there was no provocation. The baton-charge was indiscriminate and brutal. Even women workers were not spared. It should be noted that the baton-charge was made after the police had taken out the works manager, the staff and the lorries from the factory. Even workers who took shelter in the nearby houses were chased and beaten. Such brutal baton-charges did not take place even during the Congress regime.

Protests and lies

Communist leaders J. Chitharajan, President of the Kerala Cashewnut Workers Central Council and K. S. Anandan, Joint Secretary of the Quilon District Committee of the CPI have issued a joint statement condemning the

baton-charge and demanding action to be taken against the officers responsible for it. Rank-and-file Communist workers and followers who were made to believe that the Communist Government would usher in an era where the workers could carry on their struggle without fear of baton charges have been disillusioned.

As usual, the Government came out with a Press release denying the baton-charge. According to the Press release, the police removed 20 workers who obstructed the manager and the staff when the lorry was being taken out. Armed Reserve Police rushed to the spot. Seeing them, the people ran away in fear, and while running away some of them fell down and got injured. The police did not use any force to disperse the crowd.

Finding a scapegoat

The Travancore-Cochin Communist daily *Janayugam* characterized the Press release as a strange one. The Communist TU leader P. A. Solomon condemned it. He said that it was issued without the knowledge of the Ministers. The Communist leaders, with a view to saving their face and the prestige of the Ministry, are now trying to make out that the responsibility for the baton-charge and the Press release rests with some police officers and the officers of the Secretariat and not with the Ministry.

If the Press release was issued without the knowledge of the Ministry, they ought to have taken action against the officers concerned.

Workers awake—CP dilemma

The Communist leaders are in a dilemma. Their workers have been baton-charged by their Government. They had been crying at the top of their voice that the Government would not resort to baton-charges. When the RSP-led workers at Trivandrum and Quilon were victims of baton-charges, they put the whole blame on the RSP for provoking the police to resort to baton-charges and said that in spite of provocation the police did not actually make a baton-charge.

Now, their own workers have been baton-charged. They want to satisfy the workers and save the face of the Government. So now the Communist leaders are trying to turn the fury of the workers on certain police officers who were carrying out the orders of the Government. Confusion is prevailing in the ranks of the Communist Party. Serious developments are expected.

The baton-charge at Quilon, coming in the wake of baton-charges at Kattampalli and other places in Malabar has forced the people to ask themselves, whether there is any difference between the policies of the Congress and the Communist governments in dealing with the mass movement.

CYPRUS:

WITHDRAW THE TROOPS

By Dev Murarka

IMPERIALISTS WILL NEVER LEARN, not even British Imperialists. Cyprus is another example of their ways. After savage repression has failed, the Tories are now faced with the inevitable withdrawal and are trying their best to hang on as long as they can. The danger is they may succeed only too well. The release of Archbishop Makarios, the recall of detested Harding and the halt of the EOKA campaign had created new hopes. The events of the last few days show, however, that the pause in Cyprus will not last for ever and the Cypriot people are not going to rest content with the hollow goodwill of the new Governor.

The so-called Emergency has been very expensive for the British taxpayer. More than twenty million pounds has been spent on military operations in Cyprus, 263 persons were killed and 708 injured up to June 1957 according to PROD, bulletin of the Movement for Colonial Freedom. Of those killed 103 were British and

137 Greek Cypriots. Since then many more lives have been lost.

The political conflict in Cyprus has also sharpened. The British Imperialists encouraged the Turkish element in Cyprus to demand partition. The Menderes Government in Turkey saw its chance and backed them. Ever since Menderes has used the Cyprus question to divert attention from growing difficulties at home. The Tories here roared with approval and claimed that they cannot let the minority down.

The majority in Cyprus have refused to negotiate unless negotiations are conducted by the still exiled Archbishop. There can be no doubt that any settlement agreed to by the Archbishop will be accepted by the Cypriot people. But the Archbishop is in a dilemma. So far the British have refused to negotiate with him. Despite the Archbishop, his followers are becoming impatient at the deadlock. If negotiations do not start soon, he may be ignored and the struggle resumed.

EOKA rounds on AKEL

Although EOKA has suspended its campaign against the British to allow for negotiations to open, it has not been idle. It has struck openly and violently at the left wing in Cyprus which mainly consists of AKEL (the Communist Party).

The fact is that AKEL has gained in strength. Having overcome its earlier dislike of the "monarcho-fascist regime" in Greece it decided to jump on the bandwagon and support the cause of Enosis (union with Greece). In the absence of the Archbishop and other nationalist leaders AKEL consolidated its position although it is still banned. Students and workers have rallied round it in considerable strength. EOKA

recognizes the danger to its authority from the left and wants to break it while it can.

The quarrel has been patched up for the time being. An open split at this stage may affect adversely the negotiations with Britain, which will have to start soon. The future is not certain. It is likely that the Archbishop will be prepared to arrive at an agreement for less than what AKEL is prepared for.

For instance, he may agree to retain British military bases in Cyprus. After all Greece is a member of NATO and once Cyprus is on the way to Enosis, will not object to such an arrangement. It is inconceivable that AKEL will agree to this. Also, the prospect of union with Greece cannot be very appealing to it in the long run. Once a reactionary regime gets hold of Cyprus it will be suppressed brutally.

Independence or Enosis ?

As soon, therefore, as prospects for Enosis become brighter, it may decide to withdraw its support. It may campaign instead, for an independent Cyprus without military bases. When this happens the open conflict between AKEL and the right wing will be bitter and violent and whatever the outcome it cannot be encouraging for Socialists. The strong alliance between the Church and the State in Greece will use all its power and prestige to break the strength of progressive forces in Cyprus.

The recent riots by the Turkish minority in Cyprus were too well timed to have occurred spontaneously. They were staged no doubt for the benefit of that boneless wonder of the Conservative party, Selwyn Lloyd, who was on his way to Ankara. Since the beginning of the Enosis campaign the British Imperialists have played the minority in Cyprus against the majority. They have favoured the minority at the expense of the majority in all sorts of ways and have thus created a class of people with a vested interest, who will do their bidding. In this way they have repeated a process first applied successfully in Ireland and then in India. They have aroused

and fed the artificial fears of the minority so much that even they are unable to control it. Nor do they wish to do so.

It is one thing for a minority to demand reasonable safeguards against the majority but it is different when the minority arrogates to itself the right to block the progress of a majority and faces it with preposterous demands. The minority in Cyprus is not a community living in a homogeneous area. If partition takes place it will mean a cruel exchange of population without any benefit to anybody except the Imperialists. Partition will not solve the problem of Cyprus but will perpetuate the bitterness and hatred between two communities. The interrelations of minority and majority can only be stabilized on the basis of a socialist economy. **In Cyprus the pre-requisite of such a progress is the withdrawal of foreign power.**

Imperialist lies

Ever since the beginning of political conflict in Cyprus the British Imperialists have told one lie after another to excuse their stranglehold. They have deceived their own people as to the exact nature of the conflict in Cyprus. They have brought only misery to the people of Cyprus and aroused their hatred and contempt. They have invited derision from the whole world. Today they stand naked and exposed. Even the Labour Party has no definite policy on Cyprus except vague promises for the indefinite future.

Our duty

It is up to the working class of Britain to take up the challenge in Cyprus and force the Tories to withdraw. The people of Cyprus have a right to run their own affairs. The British occupation of Cyprus is not for the benefit of the British working class but for the benefit of the capitalists. The situation in Cyprus calls for immediate action on these lines: Archbishop Makarios must be allowed to return to Cyprus immediately and unconditionally; political prisoners of all types must be granted amnesty; all the democratic rights of the people of Cyprus should be restored immediately. This should be followed by negotiations with the chosen representatives of Cyprus to concede their demands and to fix the date of the withdrawal of British power and troops. We socialists should not rest till this is achieved.

VITAL ?

STATISTIC ?

One of the results of this careful tracking (of the American satellite) if carried out simultaneously by more than one station, will be to find out the exact distance between any two given continents—a fact which is not known now and which is a great handicap in aiming an inter-continental ballistic missile. (*Observer*, February 2).

GERMANY:

AT TIMES THE CURTAIN MELTS

ALTHOUGH it certainly looks as if 'never the twain shall meet,' there is no doubt that the ruling classes of East and West are indebted to one another for keeping the workers in check. In our issue of December 1956 we showed how the US State Department and the Federal German Government fell over backwards in their rush to leave the way clear for the Kremlin's butcher team in Hungary. Ruling class solidarity pierced the Iron Curtain.

And now it has happened again. *The Times'* Own Correspondent in Berlin has this to say about the recent purge of high-ranking Party and Government officials in Eastern Germany:

"It is difficult to resist the conclusion, after the latest purge of the East German Socialist Unity Party and the announced intention to decentralize industry, that western Europe is indebted to Herr Ulbricht . . . In his firm rule over what must be regarded as a Soviet forward military area, Herr Ulbricht has probably prevented a conflagration that could commit and envelop west Germany and much else.

"Should this conclusion be regarded as too brutal, it is as well to recall what Herr von Brentano, the west German Foreign Minister, said at the meeting of the NATO Council in Bonn last spring. He called on the western Powers to solve the German problem before east Germany rose again in revolt, because west Germans could not be expected to remain passive should a second revolt take place." (February 12).

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PENSIONS — continued

payable, it says that if dissatisfied they could appeal. What trickery and hypocrisy it is! Appeals Tribunals do not have the power to change Government legislation. They must work within the limits set by Parliamentary Acts. They cannot restore the 5s. cut in National Assistance even though most of the members, I am sure, would like to. Is this a way of deflecting the old folk from seeing the real criminals, in the hope that they may consider the Tribunal members as heartless creatures, without human feelings? It looks very much like it.

Compassion and anger

As one who has been brought up in the hard school of the

Building Industry, I am not given to tears. But on more than one occasion today, I was near, my heart was quite overflowing with compassion and a terrible anger.

Work to be scrapped

The fact that the old can be used in such a shameful way fills me with bitter hatred. I shall not rest content until this human suffering is ended. Until the aged are really well cared for, with adequate financial resources. They never will be under this rotten capitalist system. They never will be whilst Etonians, Harrovians, and Haileyburians control our destinies. They never will be as long as workers are seen purely as the means of making profits, to be thrown on the scrap

heap after a life time of hard industrious labour.

Socialist policy

What can we do? Firstly work might and main to bring this Government down, as the first step towards the end of Capitalism.

Secondly, give full support to the Old Age Pensioners Association and their demands.

Thirdly, couple our demands for increased wages with those of the aged. Use our industrial strength in every possible way.

As our immediate central slogan on the Aged we must "Demand the cuts be restored—both the cash and the coupons."

In this way we can strike a blow for ourselves. After all, we all get older. It's our turn next.

LETTERS

MACLEAN

JOHN MACLEAN was not only an incurable opponent of all forms of colonial oppression and racial discrimination—he was also a great Scottish patriot, ever conscious of his own people's ancient struggle for independence and national self-expression. In the general election of 1922, when he stood as a Parliamentary candidate in the Gorbals, he explained his position thus:

"I stand in the Gorbals and before the world as a bolshevik, alias a communist, alias a revolutionist, alias a Marxist. My symbol is the Red Flag, and it I shall always keep floating on high.

"To get a Scottish Workers' Republic I shall not go to the London House of Commons, but stay in Scotland, helping the unemployed, standing by those at work, educating in

the Scottish Labour College and carrying revolutionary propaganda all over Scotland.

"If you cannot agree with me, then vote for George Buchanan, the representative of the Labour Party. On no account vote for anyone else."

John MacLean never displayed any of "that false Internationalism which makes many Scottish socialists very keen about 'Freedom — so far away as Poland is, but practically indifferent to it in regard to Scotland itself, or Wales or Ireland."

Harry McShane is, of course, an old enemy of Scottish independence; yet, as a disciple of the Clydeside revolutionary, he shouldn't conceal MacLean's views on the Scottish question. Finally, before Harry McShane gets down to the job of writing a biography of John MacLean, perhaps

he'll ponder over the words of Robert Burns:

There's nae should fear the truth;
But them that the truth would indite.

Yours fraternally,

JAMES D. YOUNG,
London, N6.

and US

The narrow-minded complacency of the editorial comment confirms our points. The full opportunities for building a popular fortnightly socialist paper are not understood. At present readers contribute material in the form which the paper, from its appearance and 'readability,' seems to want.

The editors must break through this vicious circle and take a more active line; they must decide what they want the paper to be (I am not here thinking of its political line) and then go out and get the contributors and the sorts of contributions they want, just as other similar socialist periodicals are doing.

KEN JONES

Harlow

Bank Failure ?

LAST YEAR, reports the *Economist*, the American Government's Soil Bank Scheme was responsible for preventing the production of 2 million bushels of cotton, 6 million hundredweights of rice, 93 million pounds of tobacco, 225 million bushels of maize, and 175 million bushels of wheat by paying farmers to keep over 20 million acres out of cultivation.

At a time when hundreds of millions of people suffer from malnutrition and poverty throughout the world, this achievement by the American Government must be hailed as a major success. The only misfortune is that nature is failing to co-operate: remaining acres produced record yields!

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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, i.e., 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 inclusion of workers' representatives on the boards of all private firms employing more than 20 people. These representatives to have free access to all documents.

- 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, linked to a realistic cost-of-living index, 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 unification of an independent Ireland.

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

- A Socialist foreign policy independent of both Washington and Moscow.