

SOCIALIST REVIEW

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

8th YEAR No 13

JULY 1, 1958

SIXPENCE

FORTNIGHTLY
for the
Industrial Militant —
for
International
Socialism

THE INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE

The past two months have seen a magnificent display of working class solidarity. For seven weeks 50,000 busmen stood out against the combined forces of the LTE, the Government and a persistent barrage of lies and slanders from the Press. So, too, the 5,000 Smithfield meat lorry-drivers and the 20,000 dockers. The Smithfield men struck for a justified wage claim and the dockers came out in solidarity with them.

We go to press as the busmen return to work. The London drivers and conductors are to get an increase of 8/6; the country service and maintenance men are promised an upward review to be effective from July 2; Green-Line workers—a negotiated increase from the date they return; and finally, new schedules are to be negotiated, not imposed. 8/6 for some and promises, wrung as concessions from the LTE, for others. In Smithfield, too, the final outcome of the struggle is, at the time of printing, unclear.

What are the lessons to be drawn from the recent disputes? One thing is clear. The Government decided on a show-down with the trade union movement. They chose the busmen; a bus strike would not impede production yet, if defeated, it would serve to show the trade unions that the Government "meant business." The busmen's struggle was not merely a struggle for higher wages, but a class issue.

To be completely victorious, a struggle such as this necessitated the use of every weapon in the armoury. But the busmen return with only a partial victory to their credit. Why? In the first place, by refusing to aid the busmen, the right-wing leadership of the National Union of Railwaymen considerably weakened the effectiveness of the strike. And NUR General Secretary, Sidney Greene's circular discouraging militant Underground workers from expressing their solidarity with the busmen by a series of token strikes, was little short of blacklegging.

In the second place, the cowardice of the TUC was so disgusting as to make even Sir John Elliot chuckle. The few pounds they so magnanimously decided to raise for the busmen was as small and their messages of comfort to the strikers as empty as their deputations to the Prime Minister were large. What a leadership for the trade-union movement!

NAGY

Once more the Russian bureaucrats rule
openly by gun and noose

Once more they emulate British Imperialism's
atrocities in Cyprus and Kenya

Down with Stalinism!

Down with Western Imperialism!

Neither Washington nor Moscow but
International Socialism!

"Long Live Imre Nagy, foremost Leninist in Hungary."
(Quoted with approval by Daily Worker, October 24,
1956.)

(see pages 6 & 7

Thirdly the strike should have been spread from the beginning. The petrol distribution and the power station workers should have been brought out; the Underground workers encouraged to strike in sympathy. Such measures might have led to a miniature general strike and Government intervention. Yes, possibly. That is exactly what the TUC feared. It feared to make explicit what is implicit in every strike—the class struggle. The trade union bureaucracy shrank before the spectre of Socialism.

Once again practice has emphasised the faint-heartedness of the right-wing leadership of the Labour movement. Once again, it has underlined the spontaneous creative militancy of the rank and file. In the Dockland-Smithfield strike, rank and file strike committees replaced trade union officials (who were more concerned with getting the men back to work than they were with their case). Dock workers from the three unions (TGWU, NASD and Lightermen) sat on the unofficial committees. Here workers' democracy replaced trade union bureaucracy.

The lesson—the lesson, indeed, for all workers? To strengthen rank and file organizations where they exist; to build them where they do not. Co-ordination at rank and file level between ALL transport workers—tube workers, busmen, tanker-drivers, railwaymen, all, must be forged. And, what is but a part of this, the need for the Industrial Union. The recent strikes are not the last. If in the future we stand united we shall not fall.

Finally, the bus workers proved that nationalization, the rule of the Sir John Elliotts, is no substitute for the rule of the Sir Bernard Dockers. Nationalization without workers' control means State Capitalism, no less.

CYPRUS

Design for Disaster!
writes Dev Murarka

AFTER a build up lasting months, costing innumerable lives and involving massive movements of troops, the Cypriots have been offered a plan which is hardly worth looking at. The Press did not report whether Mr. Macmillan blushed when he called it an 'adventure in partnership.'

The plan, as announced on June 19, has been rejected outright by Cypriot spokesmen. It is easy to see why. It does not mention the Cypriots' right to self-determination. It offers seven years' peace on conditions which cannot be accepted without compromising the Cypriots' right to freedom. It creates separate Houses of Representatives for the majority and minority communities. Nowhere is there any men-

tion of Cypriot sovereignty, but British sovereignty is to be shared with Turkey and Greece at a future date.

Any 'adventure in partnership' on the basis of this plan will lead to ruin. Having two Houses on a communal basis will perpetuate the communal division encouraged by Britain and harden it into partition. The concept of dual citizenship is designed to encourage the Turkish element to align with Turkey and the Greek element to favour Greece. This can only lead to constant friction. The real power will still be in the hands of the Governor. Worst of all, the island will remain a military base from where other countries are to be bullied to show that 'Britain is still great.'

[turn to page 3]

DOCKS

pages 2 & 3

TU COMMENTARY

• Labour 'Leaders,' 'Left' & Right

A CORRESPONDENT has written into this column about the TUC leadership and its disgusting behaviour during the bus strike. Turning to this 'leadership' he said: "I say: fight, damn you! We do not support you to hear you say you will not support us when we, in turn, are prepared to fight for your interests."

And how right he was! The recent strikes in London have shown what's what in the Labour Movement. Every worker can be proud of his busmen and dockers brothers; they fought on principles and broke the Tory attack. But, Christ, look how low some of the 'leaders' have sunk.

There's Barbara Castle MP, known to be on the 'Left' of the Labour Party, one of the leading figures in the new Victory for

Socialism. Interrupting her Parliamentary pirouette to look at the world outside, she had this to say of the strike situation (**Sunday Pictorial**, June 6):

A series of stupid strikes has been putting up the cost of living . . . Unless the strikes end quickly prices will soar . . . No one can accuse me of being anti-trade unionist . . . but these men have forgotten what they are fighting for . . . dockers are caught up in a chain reaction of 'sympathetic' strikes . . . due to the work of a few agitators among the men the strike has spread . . . This tragic muddle is a warning of the mess we would get into without EFFECTIVE trade unionism . . .

Then, of course, there's Sir Tom O'Brien, quoted in the **Herald** (June 16) as saying that an official strike which failed saved trade unionism better than an unofficial one—with all its indiscipline—which succeeded.

• From the garages — a lead

COMPARE these Knights of the Disciplined Defeat and Left Ladies who see 80,000 agitators where workers see 80,000 strikers, with the rank-and-filers who fought while being stabbed in the back by their elected 'leaders'. One report from a North London bus garage states:

"We would rather return to work with no wage increase to continue our fight on the company's payroll than return to work, some with an increase, some without," said A. Baker, Chairman of the Central Bus Committee.

This is a wonderful spirit and attitude to say, 'OK, if the men outside Central London don't deserve a rise, then neither do we, but you shall not have the pleasure of splitting us over a few shillings.'

Another report, this time from Dalston bus depot, showed that while Cousins came in for the bouquets,

the TUC were not held in such high esteem. The garage was disappointed that the TUC did not spread the strike in the first place. No one had any doubts as to the outcome of the strike if the members of other unions had been encouraged to support it in a practical way.

So there it is. In the heart of London's working class area there is ample evidence of unshakeable spirit and faith (which will be needed even more when the onslaught from the bosses' Government becomes fiercer) in the principle they are fighting for. Brothers, take note.

• Bouquets and brickbats

THAT'S the spirit. If these 'leaders' had shown half as much discipline and sense of duty as the workers who elected them, the strikes would have been victorious in no time, and the Tories out on their ears. But we needn't bluff ourselves: these people are not going to change very much. Their job is to form a bridge between workers and bosses—when the workers take power, they will have nothing left to do. We can't expect them to work themselves out of a job, can we?

Before ending, let me introduce one more correspondent who tells us that

The Mid-June TU Commentary expresses my sentiments fully and is in fact what is needed to awaken Trade Unionists up to what kind of people are now embedded in the TUC leadership.

These people need exposing and kicking out. Our organizations smell with their rotten ideas. Go ahead, expose them, and you will be doing a great service to trade unionists everywhere. For we, the militant trade unionists, desire only militant and strong leadership.

Kick the Sir Tom Williamsons and Sir Tom O'Briens where it hurts!

DAVID BREEN

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SR Industrial spotlight on
DOCKSIDE

NOW that the London meat strike has been temporarily suspended pending the report of the Committee of Enquiry, we can bring into focus one of its most important features—the cold-stores dispute which spread throughout the Port of London.

The Smithfield meat strike spread to some cold stores on Tuesday, May 13. There was never any formal approach on the part of the Smithfield lorry drivers to the dockers or cold-storage men to take strike action in their support. The only thing the men from 1/16 branch had heard was a request on Thursday, May 1, to black meat to be delivered to the Weddel Meat Co. (part of the Vesty Combine). Smithfield wanted only Weddel meat blacked because they were the main company to refuse the drivers their 15 per cent increase. The drivers had no dispute at that time with the thirty employers who were already paying the increase.

When this request was made to the cold-store stewards, they agreed to put it to the men, but as many drivers were still delivering the black Weddel meat it was not possible for the cold-storage men to take any action until this situation changed. The transport stewards were informed to that effect on May 2.

Blackleg vans

The situation did change on Sunday, May 11, when drivers at the thirty firms at Smithfield came out on strike making the stoppage in the meat-transport section complete. They were also joined by the Smithfield market men.

In view of this a stewards' meeting was called for 5.30 p.m. on Monday, May 12. Since the men were still working on the Monday the stewards informed

the management they were willing to load vans for private butchers, but not vans that were blacklegging the meat transport.

Miniature markets

Strangely enough the management agreed to these terms, but on the understanding it was only for one day. They hoped that the stewards' meeting would recommend that all vans would be worked on Tuesday. The problem confronting the stewards that evening was, as one put it:

The management was insisting that we should load any van, and we knew that the vans that had been loaded that day were not those of the private butchers as we agreed to load, we also knew that we were not doing our normal work. It was a proven fact that during that day, our cold stores had been converted into miniature Smithfield Markets, and we had been doing the work of the Smithfield men.

We had no intention of taking strike action then, but as trade unionists we were not prepared to do the work of other trade unionists, and it was agreed that as far as meat was concerned, it was black!

The stewards considered there were other jobs besides handling meat which could be done, and in the light of this they passed the following resolution:

We, the cold-storage workers, are prepared to do any alternative work other than the handling of meat.

Instructions

The stewards intended to offer this condition of work to their store superintendants the following morning, but while talks were

(continued on page 8)

The Press and the Strikers—

HAVE you noticed the press treatment of the recent industrial disputes? The attempt to build up Frank Cousins as a monster forcing the unfortunate busmen to live on strike pay for seven weeks was shattered by the rank and file voting to continue the strike against the advice of their delegates. However, even this democratic expression of the busmen's feelings was not good enough for the **Daily Sketch**. They had the audacity to suggest next day that it was the **Busmen's wives which should have voted**. Do they really believe that the busmen's wives were so ignorant of the strength of their husband's demands that they would have agreed to send them back to work? **The wives were not angry with their husbands but with the union officials who allowed the TUC to stab them in the back rather than spreading the strike throughout their own union.**

strike was even more vicious and distorted. The views of the 'left wing' Barbara Castle are reported in our Trade Union Commentary. The same issue of the **Sunday Pictorial** (June 6, 1958) contained a smear attack against the Tooley Street dockers alleging that the strike was being prolonged by "strike touts from the one-time Revolutionary Communist Party" and stating that "Scotland Yard's Special Branch has started an under-cover probe into a plot to spread the London strikes." The same story appeared in the **Daily Mail** (June 18, 1958); this time however it was "the mystery men behind the strike" and it was union officials not Scotland Yard that was asking the questions.

Miserable 'Sketch'

However the wretched **Sketch's** version of the story on the same day was the most imaginative.

(continued next page)

Press treatment of the meat

in progress it became apparent that superintendants had also received their instructions, as the following incidents will show:

Greenbank (Tooley Street): This superintendant apparently had not received his instructions and agreed to accept the proposal of alternative work. But after the men had been working for ten minutes, the steward was told by the superintendant that if the men would not load meat, this would be regarded as a withdrawal of labour. They were paid for the first hour. **This particular wharf handles 90 per cent butter.**

Gun and Shot (Tooley Street): Before the stewards had finished discussing conditions of work with the superintendant, the office staff had already put on protective clothing, ready for work in the cold stores.

Cannon Street (Upper Thames Street): The superintendant apparently accepted the conditions of work, but it was found that while the men were engaged on alternative work, supervisory and office staff were delivering poultry. Thus the men were forced to withdraw their labour. At the same wharf, supervisory staff attempted to work on the barges, also forcing men of the Blackfriars' Lighterage to strike.

These three wharves belong to the Union Cold-Storage Co., which is connected with the Union Cartage Co. (part of the Vesty Combine), the firm which created the dispute in Smithfield by refusing to pay the 15 per cent increase to the lorry drivers, even after the majority of firms had done so.

The lessons

What does all this add up to?

We can see that the whole dispute from the men's side has three aspects:

1. Meat Transport . . . A wage dispute.
2. Smithfield Market . . . 600 men threatened with the sack, owing to lack of work in the market, said to have been created by the meat-transport strike.
3. The dockers . . . A trade union principle.

an SR Industrial report

They alleged that Scotland Yard had discovered that the strike committee had received money from the "Trotskyite Communist Party" and that

There are 20 strike makers at Tooley-street—directed by a hard core of six Communist "T" Party leaders. The Special Branch inquiries began after one of the strike makers admitted receiving £100 from an outside source. At first he claimed the money came from union branch funds—but the branch never had so much spare cash. He then admitted the money is being used for transport, printing, drinks and other means of keeping the strike going. One agitator spent £50 in 20 public-houses and gathered round him 40 militant strikers. And yesterday 600 dockers at a should-the-strike end meeting were intimidated. Observers saw the militants shout, swear, barge and elbow men who tried to vote to go back to work.

This article was read to the Tooley Street strikers on the day it appeared and was greeted with scornful anger and indignation.

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

From the employers' side their is one focal point, one dominating firm which had a hand in each of the three sides:

Meat Transport: A few employers refused to pay the 15 per cent increase to the drivers. Name of the main employer? The Union Cartage Co. (part of the Vesty Combine).

The Cold Stores: The employers refused to accept alternative work. Name of the main employer? The Union Cold-Storage Co. (part of the Vesty Combine).

The Market Cold Stores: There are about twelve cold stores in Smithfield Market, and only one—the LCM—is owned by the Vesty Combine, and yet Bro. Fry (T and GWU) received the following letter:

"... if the men of the market cold stores do not resume normal working by 12 o'clock on Tuesday, May 13, it will be considered that they are withdrawing their labour."

This letter was signed by Mr Bundy as chairman of the Employers' Market Cold-Stores Committee.

The Vesty Combine

What is most important about this last point is the fact that even though the Vesty Combine has a minority of cold stores in the market, they can still exercise a good deal of influence through their Mr Bundy.

As well as the factual issues reported there were the usual strike-breaking tactics used by the employers. The use of furniture vans, coal lorries and other unhygienic means of transportation (escorted by the police) to take away the black meat.

A final word from one of the Tooley Street dockers:

"Judge for yourself. Had we the right as trade unionists to determine black cargo? Had we the right to refuse to handle cargo that would be to the detriment of fellow trade unionists? Did we deliberately take strike action? Or were we locked out?"

Bro. Frank Francis, public relations officer for the unofficial strike committee, told me that the £100 had been received from the Covent Garden porters and all the other allegations were totally untrue. They had taken legal advice as to whether the *Sketch* could be sued for such flagrant lies. "We don't need intimidation in Tooley Street," he said, "only principles."

Press 'freedom'

Finally, it must be noted that the last stages of the dock strike were not considered of sufficient importance by the *Daily Herald* to report but space was provided for Tom O'Brien's views on the morality of strikes. Freedom of the press seems to mean freedom to print anything but the truth.

- Next issue**
- Docks
 - Markets
 - Building

INDUSTRIAL

BUILDERS — victory on Southbank from E J Scott

Trade Unionists have won a victory which will give heart to all building operatives. Sixty Steel Fixers and Benders on Southbank, London, have shown once again that organization is essential to fight the rotting capitalist society. They have won their fight to get Bro. Cassidy reinstated on the South Bank.

The important point of this dispute is that McAlpines have never been involved in an official dispute during their lifetime, and they are the big name in the Federation of Employers.

A number of statements I made in the mid-May issue of SR have come in for caustic comment. It is pointed out that the men in dispute received official recognition two or three days after the

dispute started, and also that the men returned to work after a vote was taken on this issue, and not as I stated because of lack of money. I stand corrected, and I apologize to my fellow Trade Unionists.

The principle involved has been won. Three months of struggle have achieved this.

The millions which go to make the T&GWU are the greatest bulwark against the exploiting class, and are now in the forefront of the class struggle.

Trade Unionists must fight for national and international organization of the workers if we are to keep abreast of the international growth of the employers' organizations. Make your answer to these people be . . . 'UNITE TO FIGHT.'

CABMEN—a new spirit, a new paper

LONDON'S transport workers have used the last few weeks to demonstrate to many people that solidarity is not just a cliché for tired union officials to win cheap cheers. And in the 4,000-strong Cab Section, a committee 'in support of London busmen' was set up, and a mass meeting was called for June 23 (to the annoyance of Charlie Brandon and his mates) to decide what action the cabmen could take to effectively help their brothers in the bus fleet.

That the busmen had by then returned is relatively unimportant; the cab trade is not easy to organize outside the big garages, and the appearance of a rank-and-file monthly CAB NEWS is welcome and necessary. The first issue* has a lot in it, including a message from the editor of the busmen's *Platform*, and if it maintains its standard, it can do an equally good job in the fight for the very reasonable increase which has just been rejected by the employers.

I am sure all our readers will wish the CAB NEWS the best of luck.

R F

* Cab News no 1 July 1958 5d post free from 72 Catherall Rd., N5.

Cyprus — ctd

The current build-up of troops to bully the Lebanon is a perfect example.

By allowing Turkey and Greece a say in Cypriot affairs, the Tories are giving a handle to expansionist elements in those two countries, who will create diversions and alarms whenever it suits them. Lastly, the plan makes it clear that although it is supposed to be for Cyprus and Cypriots, they are the least to be consulted or cared for. It is more of an

exercise to buy off Turkish and Greek antagonism by satisfying neither.

This design for disaster must be unequivocally rejected. Let the Labour Party not retreat from its declared policy. The plan is nothing but a hollow attempt to perpetuate colonialism in Cyprus. Socialists must maintain that the only solution in Cyprus is to withdraw all troops immediately and grant the Cypriots the right of self-determination. They will carry on their struggle until this is achieved.

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LP COMMENTARY

THE latest crop of bye-elections provide small comfort to us. True, in Wigan, a substantial majority was obtained, but Weston and Ealing failed to come up to earlier expectations as examples of Tory decay.

Some people blame the bus strike and I know of a Labour Party Regional Officer who has said so in no uncertain terms at a Party conference.

Perhaps in Ealing it may have been a factor, but one would find it hard to believe that it was in Weston which is well outside the strike-bound area. If it was a factor, the blame can be laid

H-Bomb—success

The Eastern Regional Conference of the Party meeting on Saturday, 21, passed by 102 to 79, a resolution calling on all Labour groups in the Region (Beds., Herts., Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex) to refuse to participate in all Civil Defence activities as part of a campaign to rouse the population to the danger of annihilation in the event of war. The resolution was moved by Stan Newens, Epping; seconded by Arthur Latham, Romford.

squarely at the door of the Party. For apart from all other reasons, tactical considerations alone impelled us to use the strike as a weapon against the Tories. Where this was done (and I speak from the experience of having done it successfully in the Borough Elections) the strike issue proved to be a winner.

• Rent Act

THIS reluctance to take the lead in matters of working class interest permeates the whole movement. Recently I attended a meeting of a Party executive which was afraid to have anything to do with a Tenants' Defence Committee for fear that it would be captured by the Communists. Members of this Executive freely confessed that Labour-people lacked the devotion to duty shown by the Communists who would, it was felt, by their attendance and diligence, soon emerge as the leaders of this movement and the Labour Party would then be placed in the position of having to resign and thus hand over the struggle for working class rights to the Stalinists.

Vicious circle.

How fantastic this is! What an abysmal confession of bankruptcy! And what a vicious circle. For while we stand aside in these vital matters, we will continue to receive less and less support from the sort of people who by temperament would be sound enthusiastic opponents of Stalinism. And while we fail to impress people in need with our determination to do something for them **now** on the eviction problem, our vote will continue to drop.

The root of the trouble is that we have gone soft. A large proportion of the membership of the Labour Party today has had no practical experience of the problems of real Tory oppression. For hitherto, the Tories have really only hit one section of the population, the old age pensioners—and most of them vote Tory anyway, no matter what you do to them. It is only since the Rent Act and now the wage freeze that the Tories have started hitting the working class where it hurts.

Barricades

Now that they have started punching hard the spontaneous reaction of the people is something splendid to see. Everywhere, tenants are getting together and are making arrangements to barricade themselves in. In the Unions the workers are leading the Leadership in their determination not to surrender their purchasing power. Yet the Party-leadership and the TUC seem totally unprepared for this situation and still go on talking the same old legalistic clap-trap that is irrelevant now.

Of course we must be careful. We must avoid the dissipation of strength on irresponsible ventures. **But risky though any resort to direct action may be it is not as risky as contracting out of the struggle behind the facade of wait until we are back in office.** For the mood of those about to be deprived of their homes and those about to be deprived of part of the incomes by wage freezing is

desperate. And as I know from my own experience as a Parliamentary Candidate, the Party's pamphlet **100 answers on Housing**, excellent though it is, is poor stuff to give a man who will be flung out of his home in October. He wants to know what we are going to do now! And on what we do now he will judge us.

Advice bureaux are all very well, but the time for advice is past. **What we must do now is to identify ourselves with those who face eviction, organize the delivery of food, etc. if they decide to barricade themselves in, march and demonstrate to rouse the maximum amount of public sympathy.** This line is not only intrinsically right, it is tactically correct. For a little breath of boisterous sincerity will do us a lot of good.

• Learning

LEARNING to Live has now appeared and we will be publishing a review and critique of it in the next issue. I have referred in a previous issue to the deplorable fact that nothing is to be done to throttle these pernicious centres of nepotism—the Public Schools. I am also disappointed that nothing much is said about building forms. For I think that one of the things we really need to do is to concentrate on light construction and I really mean light (prefabricated and as far as possible movable). Educational establishments need to reflect educational

changes, but such is the colossal capital expenditure of school building of the conventional type that once erected these buildings sit upon our will to change with all the weight of mountains. What

H-Bomb—disgrace

A correspondent writes that there has been a new sort of witch-hunt in East Islington Labour Party.

At a stormy meeting last month, the Party's EC recommended that 6 applications for membership be turned down. Their reason? . . . that these 6 potential members were associated with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

It is interesting to note that 3 of the 6 applicants were transfers from other Labour Parties.

Is Transport House going to take action?

we want are cheap buildings, easy to adapt to the ever changing needs of our child population. The money saved should be spent on equipment. We all know I am sure of palace-like schools with a science Lab incapable of making one good stink!

One good thing, though it is a crumb, is that pupils will now leave school at the end of the year in which they become 15 instead of as now at the end of the term.

RON LEWIS

THE MOVEMENT

MARCEAU PIVERT died of a heart disease on June 3, at the age of 62 years. With him, the international socialist movement has lost one of its most selfless, honest and loyal militants.

Marceau Pivert came to the movement because of his experience as a soldier in World War I: pacifism and internationalism remained up to the end basic elements in his concept of socialism.

In 1934/36 he led the defence organization of the French Socialist Party, and played a leading role in the Party's left wing: first with Zyromski in **Bataille socialiste**, then as the leader of the revolutionary socialist wing — **Gauche revolutionnaire**—and of the party organization in the Paris region. He played an important role in the formation of the Popular Front and entered Leon Blum's government in May 1936.

At the time of the great sit-down strikes he was among the small number of those who realized the need and the opportunity of turning the general strike into the seizure of power by the working-class. In **Le Populaire** of May 27, 1936, he wrote: "Now all is possible if done rapidly: this is an hour which will certainly not return soon on the dial of history." When Blum's police fired on striking workers in June 1936, Pivert resigned from the government.

In 1937 he organized a mass demonstration against the Senate, which was moving to bring about the fall of the Popular Front gov-

ernment. While he was speaking to the demonstrators from a window, a policeman took aim at him, but Pivert calmly continued his speech to the end.

During the Spanish Civil War, he was among the most active organizers of aid to the Spanish Left, and one of the most articulate opponents of the government's non-intervention policy. At the same time, he consistently refused to compromise with Stalinism, defending the POUM against Stalinist repression and denouncing the Moscow Trials as a frame-up.

Expulsion from Party

His opposition to the government's policy of non-intervention in Spain and of capitulation to the Right in France led to the expulsion of the **Gauche revolutionnaire** from the Socialist Party. In June 1938, Pivert founded the **Parti socialiste ouvrier et paysan** (PSOP), an organization made up of conflicting tendencies which was unable to survive the pressures of the war and of the occupation.

Marceau Pivert spent the war years in Mexico, making a precarious living from small handicraft. Ever since the war, he defended a revolutionary Third Camp policy against alliances with any of the existing power blocs. On his return to France he rejoined the Socialist Party. For a time he belonged to its Directing Committee and played a leading role in the Paris region,

MARCEAU PIVERT

until Guy Mollet's apparatus took over and eliminated him from all key positions.

In recent years, Marceau Pivert published **Correspondance Socialiste Internationale**, a monthly by which he hoped to maintain and develop closer ties among independent socialist groups and individuals scattered in different countries. He played a prominent part in the defense of colonial peoples, first as a founder of the Movement for Colonial Freedom and, more recently, in the Massani Hadj Defense Committee.

Marceau Pivert never ceased to oppose the crooked gang of careerists who have disgraced French socialism for some time. In so doing, he has safeguarded the future for all that is healthy in the Socialist Party. His death comes at a symbolic time: when Guy Mollet is handing over the Party and the Fourth Republic as a personal present to a military dictator. His death also marks the end of the old Socialist Party.

A socialist

Pivert's name remains associated with a period when French socialism did not lack greatness and intelligence. His life was one of integrity and courage. Regardless of past differences, he will be remembered in the socialist movement as a man who preserved its best traditions under difficult circumstances.

Andre Giacometti

YOUNG SOCIALIST

NOW
TWICE
MONTHLY

NUMBER 15

JULY 1, 1958

WORKING CLASS CULTURE

by John F. Crutchley
Willesden YS

IT is self-evident to all socialists that societies are divided between the interests of the ruling class and the producing class, and that this division leads inevitably to conflicts. Further the morality of the society must be the morality (reflecting the interests) of the ruling class. In the same way culture and entertainment reflect the interests of the exploiting class.

When we condemn the **form** of entertainment (e.g.: popular music) we must not condemn the **motives** of its participants. Popular entertainment is on a low level as a direct result of the profit motive. Every aspect of social life has been commercialized and exploited. Because of this the common attitude to pop culture is to condemn it out of hand, but this attitude is wrong. **We must realize that social life based on profit is bad but that the need satisfied by pop culture springs from a genuine desire for social interaction** and should not be thrown away with the dirty bath water.

Man is a social animal, he cannot exist in isolation. Only by becoming part of a social group can he develop his personality. Therefore, all group contacts will reflect the personalities of its members. This is true of informal groups such as the tea-break gossip group or the housewives at the butcher's as well as of formal groups such as sports clubs and music circles.

Club atmosphere

The connexion between an activity and its audience can easily be seen in sports such as speedway and motor racing. The working-class man's love of football can be explained by solidarity and team spirit, but it also needs a historical explanation. Why is football preferred to rugby? Although an activity must possess this reflexion of personality, once it is present the social participation created as a result becomes the most important factor. This can be seen in the middle-class game of tennis. An important aspect at amateur level is that it allows both sexes to compete on an equal basis. Under these conditions the "tennis club atmosphere" can develop and becomes such an important factor that it excludes the working-class from playing tennis.

Three groups

All aspects of social life reflect in some way the needs and drives of its participants. The reason some activities (e.g.: chess) only attract a minority while others (e.g.: dancing) attract a majority is because some drives are more important than others. Dancing is more popular than chess be-

cause biological drives are more important than intellectual drives. The most important drive is the sex drive, the desire for courtship and marriage. Activities which fulfill this need are the most popular with the younger generation. We can divide teenage mass media into three groups, each helping sexual union in a different way: dancing, cinema and records. Dancing is the most popular indoor commercialized entertainment. Its popularity is due almost entirely to the ease with which contact can be made with the opposite sex. It is only in the dancehall that the rigid barriers of sexual etiquette break down. Social contact is on a cheek-to-cheek basis. Only there can you be strangers one minute and kiss the next. Dances also provide an opportunity for the gang to meet but this is of secondary importance.

Jungle approach

The cinema represents the second stage in the sexual progression. In the sentimental darkness of the back row friendships ripen and sometimes consummate. A small percentage of pickups are made in the cinema, mostly by gangs of boys roaming around in the interval looking for three or four 'sorts.' This can be seen any Sunday night in any cinema in a working-class area. These contacts are not as numerous as in the dancehall because they need the jungle approach and the method is not suitable for the lone wolf. One further use for the cinema is its narcotic effect to which all shy and lonely people are addicted. These are people who, because of circumstances or personal defects, are unable to make adequate social contacts and must therefore make do with a substitute.

Juke-box cafes

Records are the third aspect of teenage social life and are probably the most important. They provide the informal background to social interaction as contrasted with the formal atmosphere of the dancehall or cinema as well as providing an important topic for conversation. This interaction takes place in juke-box cafes and at record parties and provides opportunities for meeting members of your group rather than

the strangers you meet at the dancehall. At these parties the standards of the group are formed. Most important are styles of clothes, slang and morality. These parties provide better opportunities for sexual intimacy than do the dancehalls and cinema and this is not discouraged. However, you must not seduce two women in one night, it's not fair on your mates.

It should be remembered that not all popular music is commercial junk as the Frank Sinatra Long-Play records show. Kinsey reported in his study of the American female that only two things arouse greater emotional response in women than men. These were sentimental movies and novels and being bitten. He could not have tested the effect of the Sinatra discs. They are the best aid to seduction since contraceptives.

Fans

This is the pattern of working-class courtship; marriage rarely being planned until the girl is pregnant.

However, there will always be a minority who while accepting the ambitions and standards of their class, will seek artistic or cultural outlets as a compensation for the enslaving pattern of their lives. This is best illustrated by the excellence of American Negro jazz musicians compared with white jazz musicians. Jazz is the only creative profession open to the Negro in America and they therefore produce a greater number of talented musicians than the white group which is made up of middle-class misfits and unsuccessful classical musicians. This is also shown in England by the jazz fans. These fans come from all classes but it appears that the working-class fans prefer modern jazz and the middle-class fans favour traditional jazz.

Trad and bop

For the benefit of the uninitiated, traditional jazz is all jazz styles played before 1945, although to the purist it is the New Orleans period. It is characterized by a steady four beats in the bar, luxurious vibrato and melodic improvisation. Modern jazz has little vibrato, a broken beat played on the cymbal rather than the drum, and harmonic improvisation. The split exists only among the fans as all the younger negro musicians in the States play modern jazz.

The traditional preference of the middle-class is easy to explain. Their social background has given them a superficial

knowledge of bourgeois culture and any aesthetic desires can be satisfied in this direction. Jazz for them is a moral laxative, a temporary loosening of the bonds that tie them to the straight and narrow. It is also a manifestation of the well-known middle-class habit of "slumming" and the sense of security that they gain from the knowledge that there is a lower rung on the ladder. They are the squares. (A square is a trad., because they prefer a beat with corners—four beats—to the cool beat of bop.)

The working-class are prevented from seeking an outlet through the conventional culture by class pressure ("art is cissy") and therefore seek it in jazz. Only modern jazz with its multiple experiments with flutes, cellos, cor anglais and pseudo-European classical forms, offers a cultural field similar to that found in bourgeois culture.

I would like to limit this generalization. Only a small minority buy jazz records as opposed to pop records but a large proportion of all classes buy trad. records of the Chris Barber variety. The reason they buy these records is the same reason why they buy Elvis records—commercial exploitation. They are not Jazz fans. When given a choice between genuine jazz and commercial imitation they choose the slick commercial one. Ottilie Pattison rather than Bessie Smith; Lonnie Donegan instead of Leadbelly. Also it applies only to large urban areas where frustration is at its highest and formal group contacts between modernists is possible. It does not operate in rural areas or on the fringe of urban areas where there is a limitation to specialized contact and greater emphasis on local friendships which tend to create their own interests. Thus a girl living in Croydon however disposed she is to modern jazz will be dragged by her friends to the local trad. jazz club and rock 'n' roll record party and will remain a square forever.

Working class culture

In this article I have only sketched in some aspects of working-class entertainment and would be interested to hear from readers their own opinions on the topics I have covered. **I believe the modern jazz theory is firmly established but I think the revival of folk music following in the wake of skiffle and the composition of folk-music audiences seems to indicate that the working-class is turning from the pseudo-culture of modern jazz to a truly working-class culture.**

INTERNATIONAL Tony Cliff reviews the BACKGROUND TO HUNGARY

The murder of Imre Nagy and his associates is one more blot on the bloody history of Stalinism. One should remember that as far back as November 1956 Kadar gave safe-conduct to Imre Nagy and a group of his associates to leave the Yugoslav Embassy and to go to their homes. Instead they were arrested by Russian troops and taken to Rumania. Then in March this year Kadar assured Tito that "no punishment would be meted out to Nagy for his past actions." Now all these promises are betrayed.

Imre Nagy is not the first, alas, probably not the last of the Communist Party leaders to be murdered by the Stalinist leaders. Of the fifteen members of the first Bolshevik Government in 1917, only one, Stalin, survived the purges of the 1930's. Four died natural deaths, ten were either executed by Stalin's order or died in his prisons. Of the 139 members and candidates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia only 24 survived the purges by 1939.

Post-war purges

A few years after the establishment of the "People's Democracies," at the end of the war, these countries were also engulfed in "purges" of the leadership. Of the six people who filled the post of General Secretary of the Party immediately after the establishment of the "People's Democracies," the following four were accused of being "traitors" and "fascist agents": Tito, General Secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Party; Kostov, General Secretary of the Bulgarian Party (executed); Gomulka, General Secretary of the Polish Party (arrested); and Slansky, General Secretary of the Czechoslovakian Party (executed). Of the six Foreign Ministers, the following four were accused of the same crime: Kardelj of Yugoslavia, Anna Pauker of Rumania (arrested), Clementis of Czechoslovakia (executed), Rajk of Hungary (executed). The list could be lengthened considerably.

It is true that in his "secret speech" to the Twentieth Congress, Khrushchev put the responsibility for the purges on Stalin and Beria. They were also made responsible for the breach between Moscow and Belgrade. But a short time after Khrushchev's speech the Hungarian revolution was suppressed. And now Nagy, a member of the Communist Party for 39 years, has been murdered.

Nagy and his associates could not, from prison, have constituted a danger to the Kremlin rulers. Why then were they murdered? The immediate and obvious answer is: By accusing the Titoist, Nagy, of being a "traitor" an "imperialist agent," Tito himself is being accused.

'David' Tito

Why do the Kremlin rulers hate Tito so much? What has exacerbated the Moscow-Belgrade conflict during the last three months? Why do the rulers in Peking encourage Moscow? What is the meaning of the conflict? The rest of this article will attempt to answer these questions.

The rulers in the Kremlin are accustomed to having their commands obeyed without question. The *Vozhd* (Leader) has the power to dictate production plans; to raise officials from obscurity and to send others to oblivion; to direct educational policy; to lay down the line for the fine arts; to allow or forbid the publication of books. This omnipotence of the Kremlin ruler

was challenged by little Yugoslavia. David Tito dared to fight for national independence against Goliath Stalin.

Unlike the leaders of the "People's Democracies," Tito and his friends came to power without the support of the Russian army. Mose Pijade, the *eminence grise* of the Yugoslav Communist Party, stated: "... certain heads of other parties . . . arrived in their free countries in planes with pipes in their mouths, and . . . for four years, four times daily, vainly called on the masses to struggle via radio, while we won our freedom with arms in our hands . . ." (July 10, 1948). The Yugoslav leaders, therefore, felt superior to the Rakosis, Paukers and other governors of the Russian gubernias, and on an equal footing with the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They naturally demanded full equality with Russia for their country and its full independence.

The logic of the struggle against Moscow's domination compelled the Yugoslav leaders to expose more and more openly the real character of Stalin's regime, and forced them to renounce, or at least, to pretend to renounce, its more obnoxious features. By making it a question of life or death for the Yugoslav Government to enlarge its mass support, the struggle forced it to "liberalize" the dictatorship. As a counter to Stalin's "bureaucratic centralism" Tito has attempted to implement "Socialist democracy."

End of Empire

The administration was decentralized, beginning with the economy. Workers' Councils were established. However, limited their power, they challenge the hierarchical structure (one-man management) of the administrative machine in the Russian empire.

Again, Tito has been much more benevolent towards the peasants than have the rulers of Moscow. He knows that "collectivization" in Russia so isolated and weakened the state that its very existence was placed in jeopardy. He cannot conduct a war on two fronts, externally against Russia and internally against the peasantry. And any attempt at large-scale and compulsory collectivization would have put him at the mercy of Stalin.

In the cultural field also, Belgrade is much more liberal than Moscow. One has only to visit its art exhibitions to see this. (One should not, however, exaggerate the blessings of Tito's regime—the Djilas case speaks for itself!)

Titoism denotes the beginning of the end of Russia's empire. Hardly had Stalin's empire extended into Central Europe than cracks began to appear in its structure. **The Titoist rebellion**

put Stalinism's internal contradictions on the plane of popular discussion, revealing all their ramifications. It raised the question of whether an empire with a materially and culturally backward "mother" country can exist. The further the Stalinist empire advanced westwards, the larger is its population whose standards of living and culture are higher than those of the Russian peoples, who have a national history, culture and consciousness of their own, and who do not expect to be moulded by foreign forces. In the present, when the peoples of Asia and Africa are awakening to the fight for their national liberation, it cannot be expected that the peoples of Europe, which was the cradle of the national movement and the national state would succumb for any length of time to an imperialist Power.

See-saw shocks

Titoism also breaks the framework of conformism inherent in totalitarian state capitalism. In Lilliput Gulliver finds that the Emperor "is taller by almost the breadth of my nail than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike awe into the beholders." If another were to grow as tall as the Emperor, the awe would quickly disappear. This is exactly the effect of Tito.

Why has the breach between Moscow and Belgrade occurred now?

Since the Hungarian revolution it has become clearer and clearer to the rulers of the Kremlin that iron hoops are necessary to hold the system together, that concessions and reforms from above may well lead to revolution from below. Hence, straight after the Hungarian revolution, relations between Moscow and Belgrade cooled somewhat; hence Tito's critical speech at Pula (November 11, 1956), and the freezing of Soviet credits to Yugoslavia. However, when, a few months later, Tito showed his readiness to compromise with Moscow (by, for instance, recognizing the East German Republic, which led to Western Germany's severing diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and consequent damage to the latter's economy) Moscow relaxed a little and the Soviet credits were released.

This friendship-enmity see-saw received a severe shock in November 1957 when Tito rejected his final chance of bowing completely to Moscow's leadership, by refusing to sign the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties—a declaration proclaiming the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party in the world Communist movement. Since then, propaganda against Yugoslavia has become more and more insistent and vehement. Soviet credits were again frozen. On March 3, 1958, Russia's satellite, Bulgaria, accused Yugoslavia of wishing to grab Bulgarian terri-

announcing

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tory. Similar accusations were made by Albania. And now—Nagy is executed.

The Hungarian revolution was therefore the turning point in Russo-Yugoslav relations. Since then Moscow has been set on wringing complete conformism from her satellites, with the inevitable result of a headlong collision with Belgrade.

Another factor determining the timing of the new offensive against Yugoslavia is the consolidation of the one-man dictatorship of Khrushchev in Russia.

Less than two months after the death of Stalin, when the Stalinist and Western capitalist press was talking about the new "collective leadership" in Russia, the *Socialist Review* wrote:

The whole of Russia society is built in the form of a pyramid, with the principle of one-man management in every field. The factory is run by its manager, who appoints the departmental managers, who, in turn, appoint the foremen. The manager himself is appointed by the head of the State trust, who is appointed by the Minister. The Minister is actually, if not nominally, appointed by the Prime Minister and General Secretary. During his lifetime, Stalin was responsible for making the most important appointments: he was the supreme bureaucrat!

And again:

"The group administration at the top of the Russian regime to-day is in conflict with the set-up of the Russian economy, society and state. Such a conflict cannot exist for any length of time. A regime of bureaucratic state capitalism, with the terrific social strain it involves, needs the blood of a purge to make the wheels go round. The present set-up at the top is therefore temporary." (*Socialist Review*, March, 1953).

The same article also pointed to Khrushchev as the heir to Stalin's position of General Secretary of the Communist Party and probable future dictator of Russia.

Khrushchev's progress

The process of Khrushchev's rise to power has been greatly accelerated in the past year or so.

Of the 10 members of the 1953 Presidium (the former Political Bureau, the highest organ of the Party), only 3 (Khrushchev, Mikoyan and Voroshilov) are still in the same position. All the others have been purged.

The Prime Minister after Stalin's death, Malenkov, together with his four First Deputies (Beria, Molotov, Bulganin and Kaganovich) have been purged.

Of the 15 present members of the Presidium, 11 are Secretaries and Party functionaries, and are thus under Khrushchev in the Party hierarchy. The posts of General Secretary and Prime Minister are united in one person—Khrushchev—just as at the height of Stalin's power.

As in Stalin's time, the press is kowtowing to the Leader. Khrushchev pronounces on architecture and art, on science and world affairs, on industry and agriculture, on education, etc., etc., and the press slavishly quotes his words of wisdom.

History is being rewritten to enhance the role of the new Leader. To take one example. Prior to Stalin's death, the official line was that the Germans were routed in Stalingrad by "the brilliance of Stalin's strategic plan"; after Stalin's dethronement, Soviet

historians and military leaders wrote that this plan was not worked out by Stalin but by Zhukov; after Zhukov fell from favour, it appeared that this too was incorrect, and that Zhukov merely took over the plan worked out by Khrushchev. As Marshal Eremenko, who commanded the Stalingrad Front, wrote: "All this noble and laborious work [the preparation of victory] was carried out under the guidance of the member of the War Council for the Eastern Front—NS Khrushchev." (*Kommunist*, No. 1, 1958, p. 31).

There is no doubt who is the boss. When the "collective" leaders came (at the beginning of February) to a banquet in the Kremlin in honour of the Soviet intelligentsia, the applause accompanying the speeches was carefully graded: Bulganin, at that time still officially Premier, got only "Applause"; Voroshilov, the President, "Stormy applause"; Mikoyan, First Deputy to Khrushchev, "Vigorous Applause"; and Khrushchev himself, "Prolonged applause turning into ovation" (all rise) (*Pravda*, Feb. 9, 1958).

With his personal dictatorship established, Khrushchev, like Stalin, cannot but be angered by any suggestion of disobedience in the "Communist" world.

China's role

An especially ugly role has been played in the anti-Yugoslav campaign by Mao's China. Why is this so?

After the Hungarian Revolution, Mao thought it prudent to allow some concessions to the people, to open some avenues of criticism so as to let off steam. He advanced the slogan, "Let a hundred flowers bloom." However, during one month of this policy, it became clear that popular criticism went far beyond the limits intended by Mao, and threatened to engulf the regime.

To quote only a few of the criticisms published in the Chinese press: one Li Shi-chun said that the Public Security Personnel were as numerous as "the hairs of a tiger" and were "dreadful and hateful" (*New China News Agency*, August 22, 1957). Another, a student from Nanning University, said: "the system of personnel dossiers was a ruler's tool with which the Tsars dealt with revolutionaries" (*Kwangsi Jih Pao*, October 3, 1957).

One, Liu Tseng, declared that "Party members are secret agents and they are worse than the Japanese agents during the occupation." (*New China News Agency*, June 30, 1957). In Peking University, a number of students and professors branded Communists as a "privileged class", "even Fascists" (*Chung Kuo Ching Nien Pao*, June 21, 1957). One Hsu Hsing-Chih, wanted "to end the practice of making the high-ranking cadres a privileged class" (*New China News Agency*, May 27, 1957). Again, while complaining of the generally low standard of living of the people, one Ko Pei-Chi stated that not all suffered: "Who are the people who enjoy a higher standard of living? They are the Party members and cadres who wore worn-out shoes in the past but travel in saloon cars and put on woollen uniform now." (*Jen Min Jih Pao*,

May 31st, 1957). Again, one Chu Yun-Shan said "Government cadres should differ in duties and not in status. Some are deeply conscious of being officials; they occupy special positions even when taking meals and seeing operas." (*New China News Agency*, May 30, 1957).

Chou Ta-chio, a student at the Aviation College in Peking, spoke about the "new class" of Communist Party high officials who "had obtained high advantages from—funding financial activities"—the "leaders" class (*New China News Agency*, July 16, 1957). Liu Ti-sheng, an assistant professor at Nanking University, called upon the Communist Party to "liberate the Chinese people for a second time" (*Jen Min Jih Pao*, July 12, 1957). A professor of sociology, Li Ching-han, declared that the Communist Party "rules the people with Marxist-Leninist textbooks in its left hand and Soviet weapons in its right." (*Jen Min Jih Pao*, August 30, 1957).

YOUNG SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK by Bob Flagg

On Tuesday Eisenhower told the high and lowly that, while things are getting worse, they're getting worse more slowly. So he intends to bide his time, now the recession's waning. Our Ike will hand umbrellas out—as soon as it stops raining.

THIS VERSE by Dan Balaban comes from a recent issue of a bright, slightly highbrow, faintly pink, New York local paper called the *Village Voice*. Catering for the intellectual centre, Greenwich Village, it does a good job among others, in driving all those clever young people from their ivory towers into the dusty arena of community activities. If the Universities and Left Review Club would only give up messing about with politics and put its energy into this kind of thing, who knows but Soho might return Labour councillors next year?

THE YS Conscription leaflet went down well on June 14. Sections on all sides of the London area handed them out at Labour exchanges, and some contacts were made. Just as important in these kinds of activities is the follow-up: and there is no easy way.

INCIDENTALLY, as a result of what the Editor calls speed-up, Notebook appeared last time as by 'Bob Hagg': though we have all been working hard, we hope that the after-effects aren't so disastrous...

LETTERS

Witch-hunters?

Are Socialists now turning themselves into witch-hunters? I certainly hope that they are not; but Bob Hagg's "interesting story from the student front" suggests that the contrary is true. He quotes (with obvious delight?) the activity of "progressive" students at the Bartlett School of Architecture in circulating a petition for the removal of "a reactionary professor." Then he goes on to complain about the unsuccessful nature of their witch-hunting campaign.

I am glad that they failed to remove this miserable professor from his post. Haven't we seen enough witch-hunting in America and Russia? And is it not time to end all witch-hunting and the exploitation of man by man? Or is witch-hunting justified if it is concealed under the Red Flag of Socialism? I sincerely hope not.

Finally, I would like to remind

the "unco guid" that Marx and Engels protested against the removal of Professor Duhring by a reactionary German Government. And that was long after Engels had written his classic, *Anti-Duhring*.

What we want (and what we should campaign for) is not more Red professors, but full intellectual liberty. Socialism will be built by libertarian Socialists—or it won't be built at all.

Yours fraternally

James D. Young

London, N6

Bob Flagg writes: "Jimmy Young was misunderstood my note on the 'reactionary' professor. As far as I know, his political views were never in question, but his approach to architecture was felt by the students to be supremely irrelevant to the problems of today. What can be done with such people? If a man ages young, let him retire young; if a man clings to authority kick him out."—Editor.

PARLIAMENT

THE House has reassembled after the recess and one wonders if some members were not a trifle disappointed not to find notices on the doors of the Palace of Westminster informing them that they had been sent on a holiday for a further six months while, in the meantime, General Montgomery held a National Resurrection, or something.

The debates bear a remarkable similarity to those before the recess. Mr Macmillan still needs wild horses to drag him to the summit, Members' hearts are still being torn apart by the closing down of branch lines, and the Navy is still in a parlous condition.

To pause on the Navy; Viscount Cunningham of Hyndehope said that:

Our forces to meet and defeat the very real threat of Russian submarines were quite inadequate. In the last war the loss each month from attack by German submarines was an average of 500,000 tons of shipping. Then there were an average of 60 German submarines operating in the Atlantic and opposed to them were 465 major and 452 minor anti-submarine vessels. How crippling it would be to face 200 Russian submarines at sea... there was the equally formidable threat from the 3,500 Russian maritime aircraft.

In other words, the Navy is completely inadequate to cope with its major war-time task. Nor can it be otherwise? The present state of armaments expenditure is slowly draining the life out of the British economy, and to increase the proportion of the wealth produced in this country spent on armaments would be impossible.

It is obvious that in any future war between America and Russia—war fought with any sort of weapons—the survival of Britain would be merely a matter of days. One would think that in such circumstances Government policy would be directed towards, at practically any price, a general disarmament. But as it is, our Government and Opposition, our cherished leaders, are insisting that testing of our own dirty little H-Bombs should continue with what object it is hard to see, unless it is thought to be the only thing to subdue the Turkish Cypriots.

On June 13, the major part of the day's business was a curious little debate which perhaps gives a clue to the reason why the House is often so devitalizing an institution these days.

The debate was on trade with the Russian bloc countries and the curious thing was that both the Conservative and Labour speakers were in favour of increasing it.

SOCIALIST REVIEW is published twice a month by Socialist Review Publishing Co. Ltd. Subscriptions, post paid: 1 year: 16s. 6 months: 8s. 3 months: 4s. 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 the publisher, M. Maddison, 21 Aubert Park, London, N5

Printed by H. Palmer (Harlow) Ltd. TU, Potter Street, Harlow, Essex.

'Fascist' — Comrade — 'Fascist' in seven years

On July 20th, 1951, this cartoon of 'Tito the fascist' appeared in the Cominform journal, *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!*



SAY PARD, HOW MUCH DID YOU GET? Drawing by J. Novak.

Are we to see it again?

Two interesting points from speeches:

Mr Wilson (Lab)... Mr Chou-en-Lai had told him that when their technical mission visited Britain they found that 95 percent of the products they wanted to buy were on the embargo list. There was no doubt that China wanted to buy a lot of heavy machinery, precision instruments, technical equipment, and in particular atomic energy equipment for peaceful uses. Frankly he did not see any danger in that.

Mr Johnson (Cons) said that he understood that if there were a trade agreement with Eastern Germany, Britain would probably export about £2m. worth of double cotton yarn. We were about the only potential suppliers of that kind of yarn and consequently we were losing very valuable business.

So, there is all party agreement on the need to increase

East-West trade but the Government remains obdurate. Nobody believes that this is due to anything but American influence. **The House of Commons, the Mother of Parliaments has in these matters been reduced to a mere pressure group trying to influence the bureaucrats and professional anti-communists of the Capitol and NATO.**

If this column may step outside its usual function it would like to pay its own small tribute to the magnificent solidarity and resolution of the London busmen and dockers and to those who fought for the same things in such a different way, to Nagy and Maléter and the hundreds of dead workers whom they represented.

MICHAEL MILLETT

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- 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.
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