

# SOCIALIST REVIEW

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

**FORTNIGHTLY**  
for the  
**Industrial Militant —**  
for  
**International**  
**Socialism**

8th YEAR No 18

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SIXPENCE

## THE CHINESE BRINK

At the time of writing the battle around Quemoy is still raging. Quemoy and the other off-shore islands, including Formosa (Taiwan), are as Chinese as the Isle of Wight is British. US Imperialism has as much right to occupy the island—through its quisling Chiang Kai-shek—as Nazi Germany had to occupy the Channel Islands. The British Labour Movement must make absolutely clear its relentless opposition to US imperialist aggression against China.

Why has there been this sudden flare-up around Quemoy?

For the United States, the loss of Quemoy, so soon after the fiasco of the US landing in Lebanon and the British landing in Jordan, can mean a further loss of prestige in the East, another international defeat of its attempt to gain or keep allies all over the world.

However, the immediate cause of the flare-up cannot be explained by US imperialist policy alone. The battle started some six weeks before the time of writing with an order by Mao Tse-tung to fire his mainland guns on Quemoy. What was the motive behind this move?

To argue, as does the Chinese Communist press, and the *Daily Worker* here, that Quemoy and Formosa may serve as jumping-off grounds to attack mainland China, is to flout geography and history. Quemoy is smaller than Hong Kong, which is not less Chinese than it. But British occupation of this island has not for one moment been attacked by Peking. Quemoy is much further than Hong Kong from the industrial centres of China (or Russia), so far, indeed, that from a military point of view it would be as logical to speak of Chile in South America as a jumping-off ground for the conquest of Britain. The Japanese who occupied Formosa from 1895 until the end of World War II, made no use of the island in the great offensive against China in 1931, or in 1937-45. **The mere presence of foreign troops cannot, therefore, explain Mao's decision to pull the trigger.**

The bombardment of Quemoy followed Krushchev's visit to Peking on August 3rd. That military matters were discussed by the Russian and Chinese leaders is apparent from the presence at the talks of both the Russian and Chinese Ministers of Defense. What advantage did these leaders seek in inflaming the atmosphere around Quemoy?

**First there is the possibility of inflicting political humiliation on US imperialism hard on the heels of its Middle East embarrassment. Secondly, in face of the heightening social tensions in China which accompany the difficult task of industrialization, and the increased sacrifices demanded of the people for capital accumulation, it is useful for Peking to create an atmosphere of national danger, a nightmare of encirclement. It is no accident that during the bombardment of the Quemoy the establishment of military discipline was decreed in agriculture and industry, and the so-called giant communes were formed.**

Thus Mao plays his game of brinkmanship.

Dulles, in following his particular policy of brinkmanship, well knows that the main US deterrent force is not in Formosa, but elsewhere, above all in Britain and the other countries of Western Europe. American bases in these countries can be used to bomb Russia if need be. And while these bases with their H-bomb-delivering B.59s are numerous, while the number of Russian missiles capable of delivering H-bombs over the big distances separating Russia from the US is relatively small, the United States may win a war.

If the contending Powers should fall over the brink, the United States reckons it possible that, with its large area and big distance from any Russian base, it need not necessarily be totally destroyed, especially if the available number of Russian ICBMs is small (as it probably is at present, and will be during the next couple of years). Similarly China, with an area larger than that of the Continent of Europe, mostly agricultural and with few centres of concentrated population, may conceivably survive a nuclear holocaust, even if she lost some hundreds of millions of people. However, Britain, Western Europe and possibly Eastern Europe and Russia could not survive. For us in Britain a nuclear war is the end of everything.

We in this country can do very little directly against US brinkmanship in Quemoy. However, we can pull down one of the pillars of the United States' aggressive policy by breaking the military alliance with her—putting an end to NATO and all it stands for in the way of US bases and British nuclear weapons.

**The British Labour Movement, in the name of Socialism and the survival of mankind, should demonstrate and struggle**

**Against any involvement of Britain in the war-policy of US imperialism!**

**For an end to American aggression on Chinese territory!**

**An end to US bases in Britain!**

**An end to the building of missile sites and the testing and production of H-bombs!**

### Fight for the 40-hour week

by Graham Richards

Resolutions on the agendas of the TUC and the Labour Party conference calling for a 40-hour week are signs of a mounting discontent among workers over the length of the working week. In part, this growing concern can be attributed to the country's economic situation. **When the threat of unemployment arises, workers almost instinctively react by calling for available work to be shared through a reduction of hours. At the same time, they argue there should be no corresponding cut in wages.**

**But much of the present agitation has its origin in a far more fundamental cause: the realization that the present working week does not leave the worker with sufficient time—or put him in the right frame of mind—to live life to the full. After spending a boring and frustrating day at his job, he has not got sufficient energy to develop his many interests and talents. Life is reduced to a mere existence—living to work and working to live.**

#### The 10-hour day

The need to shorten the working day was fully acknowledged by the early socialists. For example, Karl Marx referred to Ten Hours Bill, passed by Parliament in 1847, as "physical and

moral regeneration" for the workers:

After thirty years' struggle, fought with most admirable perseverance, the English working class, improving a split between the landlords and money-lords, succeeded in carrying the Ten Hour Bill. The immense physical, moral and intellectual benefits hence accruing to the factory operatives, half-yearly chronicled in the reports of the inspectors of factories, are now acknowledged on all sides.

Marx went on to add that a further advantage of the Act was that "the worker knows now when that which he sells is ended, and when his own begins, and by possessing a sure foreknowledge of this, is enabled to pre-arrange his own minutes for his own purposes."

#### Voluntary overtime

While this provision was embodied in the Act, British workers even today are far from achieving a clear, distinctive division between their own and their bosses' time. The famous dockers' strike in October, 1954, was fought over this very principle: namely, that overtime should be voluntary, that dockers should not be always at the beck and call of port employers, with no time they could be sure to call their own.

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## TU COMMENTARY

# Porticus tells us WHAT MAKES A DOCKS MILITANT

THROUGHOUT the country expressions of dissatisfaction have been voiced in relation to what is universally termed as the "Union's sell-out," the acceptance of 7/6, as settlement for the National Dock Pay Claim.

Men are asking how Bro Tim O'Leary, after demonstrating so ably that an increase of 5/6 per day would only bring the basic wage level with the increased cost of living, could execute such a somersault and accept without discussion of any length, an overall increase of so small a sum and their feeling is that the Union leaders are completely out of touch with the rank-and-file's desires.

Peace at any price seems to be their aim, despite the fact that in this latest settlement the initiative in negotiation has been allowed to drift into the hands of the employers. Small wonder that the men throughout Dockland are saying that it is high time that the present Union leaders, having proved that they are unable to cope, should depart and make room for others more capable of handling the Dockers' affairs.

The very sad death of Bro Jimmy Fullerton, reported in our last issue and commented upon

## 40-HOUR WEEK—contd

All this is a sign of the remarkably little progress made through the years to shorten working hours. As long ago as 1869, American Federal employees had an eight-hour day, although corrupt politicians often stopped its implementation. Strikes for an eight-hour day occurred throughout the United States during the '70s and '80s. Out of this agitation which spread from the USA to the rest of the industrial world, came the first May Day. In 1888, the American Federation of Labour set May 1st, 1890, as the date for a world-wide struggle for an eight-hour day. At the first May Day rally in London, 200,000 thronged into Hyde Park.

### Lost leaders

But the struggle for the eight-hour day has always been hampered by the half-hearted support of trade union leaders. Always ready to pay lip-service to the idea, they have sought to restrict the struggle to within the confines of the present economic system. Whatever happened, capitalism must not be endangered. Consequently, the agitation was sapped of much strength—

elsewhere, is a great loss to the militant section of the dock industry, for he was a very active worker for the Joint Liaison Committee.

### What inspires them

Jimmy was just one of these ardent and inspired men who work earnestly for the interests of their fellow-men throughout the industry, giving up hours of their spare time to go to meetings, discussing the best and most democratic methods of improving conditions at no little cost to themselves.

What is it that inspires these men? There is no material gain

for them at any time in the course of their activities. When things are going normal, their actions and words are frowned upon and they are termed agitators, castigated to a degree, and tagged "Communists." And yet when a strike arises through some deleterious action of the employers, they are immediately thrust to the forefront of the battle and given sole command.

Why should this happen? The answer is really very simple. They are men inspired with a sense of justice. To them socialism is not just a word, it means without a shadow of doubt "the classless society" and the universal

brotherhood of man. They are prepared at all times to strive with their utmost endeavour to attain this end, and they accept the situation which in times of industrial "peace" dubs them agitators.

### Straight as a die

The one thing about them which earns the eternal enmity of the union official is their honesty and sincerity of purpose. They cannot, unlike the union official, cast a "blind eye" upon any injustice however small. Some inherent sense born in them will not permit this, with the result they simply must take action. And, of course, the opportunities in our society are enormous. This action, of course, in the eyes of officialdom constitutes agitation and should it lead to strike action is reported as

[contd. next page]



Photograph by Roger Mayne

Comrades gather at Shadwell Gardens for Jimmy Fullerton's last journey

**NED BURKE**, the writer of this obituary to his fellow-militant, Jimmy Fullerton, is known throughout London's Dockland as a life-long fighter for dockers' rights. He is a steward at New Fresh Wharf and was one of the leaders in the recent Tooley Street strike—Editor.

## JIMMY FULLERTON

FOR MANY YEARS, we in dockland have set the pace for the trade union movement and determined its character, in that within the ranks of the dockers, members of the trade union movement have voiced disagreement with official policy. They have considered it a policy of appeasement and not of progress.

—time and motion, industrial psychology, etc.—has resulted in an intensification of labour. The nervous strain and tension is far greater than when the TUC passed its resolution. Yet the hours of work have not been reduced. In fact, the tendency has been in the opposite direction. In October, 1938, the average working week was 47.7 hours; in October, 1953, it had risen to 49.3 hours.

There is no justification, as the TUC pointed out, for the length of the working week before the war. There is definitely no justification for its extension in the post-war period. Production rose 43 per cent between 1948 and 1957 alone. But there was no equivalent improvement in real wages. The case, therefore, for a reduction in working hours without any reduction in wage is irrefutable.

While acknowledging the sad, but nevertheless true, comment of the poet, T S Eliot, that:

The lot of man is ceaseless labour  
Or ceaseless idleness, which  
is still harder,  
Or irregular work, which is  
not pleasant.

as the lot of workers under capitalism, we must strive to alter this situation. **To reduce working hours hits at the vitals of the present economic system. It reduces the number of hours of unpaid labour. Capitalist profits are cut, and their position undermined. Consequently, the fight for a forty-hour week has the utmost importance: not only is it an essential prerequisite for living a rich and full life, but it also is an important blow against the present economic system.**

Bro. Jimmy Fullerton from the London Dock, recently killed in a car crash at the age of 31, was one such man. He believed that the trade union movement held a sacred trust for fellow dockers. His belief did not stop at conversations in ships' gangs and such-like. It went further. It went to committees, it went to public meetings, not only in London but in other ports. It went with honesty and feeling and true sincerity, for here was a man, a man of the people, a man that when you took his hand you took his heart.

When dockland said goodbye on Wednesday, September 17, it said goodbye in a manner people say it to elder statesmen and people of public importance, because it knew it had lost a fighter for the rights and principles of dockland, a man that held trade unionism above any personal gain, a man that said 'we must go forward, there is a lot to be done, and it must be done now.'

Bro. Jimmy Fullerton will not be forgotten by us who listened to his doctrine. It is on the backs of the Jimmy Fullertons that the emancipation of the dockers will be achieved, that the Dockers' Pension and Sick Benefit will be attained.

**NED BURKE**

We mean to think things over; we're tired of toil for nought  
But bare enough to live on; never an hour for thought.  
We want to feel the sunshine, we want to smell the flowers;  
We're sure that God has willed it; and we mean to have eight  
hours.

We're summoning our forces from shipyard, shop and mill.  
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for  
what we will.

By J. G. Blanchard, written during the campaign for an  
Eight-Hour Day in America, during the 1870s.

# Action on the colour front

## 1. Willesden by Karl Dunbar

SO FAR, the little corner of Willesden, where I live, slum in character as it is, has not seen any outbreak of anti-colour violence, but that does not mean the ingredients for such an outbreak do not exist. On the contrary, slum conditions have always led to sporadic violence of one description or another. We have had our gang wars; only a short while ago a gangster was shot dead not thirty houses away in my street, and Saturday night battles between Irishmen and costers are not uncommon.

Just now our type of area is news, maybe tomorrow a petrol bomb will be thrown through a window next door, or a mob may start chucking bottles and bricks about, then we will become headline news, for the moment, that is.

### Housing—the crux

To us who have to live here year in year out there is nothing particularly glamorous or exciting about our seedy streets, with their run-down cafés, poky little shops, backyard scrap dumps, old bomb sites, run-down “clubs” and old, old houses which are slowly rotting away. To us there is only one constant demand, hurry up with the new building, let's pull the whole stinking lot down and build a new Carlton where our kiddies can grow up healthy and strong, both in mind and body. However, we must face the facts of today, what we want and what we have are two very different things, so we recognize that a great number of coloured workers have settled in and around our area and that whilst we have managed to get along fairly well together over the years, the propaganda of Fascism, coupled as it is with the slum conditions, can mean violence of a nature hitherto unknown to us.

So as chairman of the local

## Unemployment

There were 446,000 persons registered as unemployed in Great Britain on 11th August of whom 403,000 were wholly unemployed and 43,000 were temporarily stopped from work. Between 14th July and 11th August unemployment rose by 34,000, the wholly unemployed rising by 41,000 and the temporarily stopped falling by 7,000.

Expressed as a proportion of the estimated number of employees, unemployment in August was 2.0 per cent. compared with 1.9 per cent. in July and 1.2 per cent. in August 1957. There were 195,000 persons who had been unemployed for more than eight weeks—48.5 per cent. of the wholly unemployed.

The number registered as unemployed in Northern Ireland on 11th August was 39,100 (8.2 per cent.), which was 700 more than on 14th July.

Labour Party ward I went to meet coloured workers. Not that we had not met before; we had never found any difficulty in talking and laughing together; but now I found no laughter, no easy conversation; this was riot week plus three and knowing me didn't make coloured workers any happier about opening their door and having a chat. I was a white man, that was enough.

### First meeting

But we managed to get a meeting together and we talked. What those doys didn't know about the race question wasn't worth writing on the back of a stamp. I learnt more in one hour with

Rogers and company, how do you propose to classify an “undesirable” fit for deportation?

We talked about the miserable conditions in the Caribbean countries, the fact that coloured workers never stood the chance of getting jobs now held by white men out there, although the coloured worker may be as capable or even more capable of carrying out the job.

### Discrimination

We talked of the discrimination practised in Britain by the employers against coloured workers and of the way in which white workers were quite prepared to mix in the factory with

Borough workers were beginning to take action and that this would bear fruit in the immediate future. It was finally agreed that we should call a meeting of coloured workers and that a joint Committee should be set up, on a Borough basis, to deal with the present violence and, more important, to remain in being after the violence was over. We all agreed that it was essential that all coloured workers moved about as freely as possible, that wherever we could more white workers should be seen openly with coloured workers.

### To the labour movement

### The job of the Committee

## 2. Lambeth TC moves

by Jeff Farquhar, Secretary

Not only does the Lambeth Trades Council cover the greatest concentration of coloured workers in this country, but it is also active in their defence against Fascist provocation and hooliganism. We have asked its secretary, Jeff Farquhar, for a statement on the problem, which we print below—Editor.

THE BLACK SHIRTS have been hidden away but the goose-stepping jackboots are again on the march in those parts of London where the coloured population reside.

Our coloured brothers and sisters looked to Britain for a so-

called characteristic British welcome and a future free of prejudice and slights. Instead they are greeted by Fascist hooligans armed with flick-knives.

The people of Britain loudly voice their protest at the stag-hunting exploits of the plutocrats but some gladly join in this vicious sport of “hunting the nigger.” Fascism is again injecting its foul venom into the peoples of this country and generating a type of racial hatred never before known in Britain.

Controlled immigration is not the solution. The solution is in the hands of the working-class

coloured workers, but, as one put it, “when we clock off for the night the white worker says ‘Goodnight’ and he means it. We may travel on the same bus, but it's goodnight at the factory clock for me.” All but one belonged to a Trade Union, some attended the Branch regularly, some had suffered the snubs of their fellow Trade Unionists and given up going altogether. One had tried to attend church, in Paddington, and been quietly told by the priest that “he would sooner he kept away.” No more church for that lad.

them than I'd learnt from countless meetings in the past.

First, our host had his tale to tell. Something had happened to his family that very day. Two men in a car had grabbed his eldest boy, blindfolded him, and driven off to Hampstead, where they had let him go. The police found him wandering homewards as best he could. Most of the others present had received warning letters, one had been beaten up, although this had happened some time ago, all of them were determined not to run away from this violence. As it was summed up by another: “I am scared to walk down the street, all right, but I think that those of our people who are going home because of the riots are betraying us. They should stay and fight. Go home after it is all over, yes, but stay and help those of us who are still here to fight first.”

### Deportation

We discussed the problem of personal defence, which led to the possibilities of the Government deporting “undesirables.” The chap who had been beaten up said, “Suppose I'm walking down the street and a gang of white people start on me and I pick up a milk bottle to defend myself. If the police pick me up I will be charged with carrying an offensive weapon, maybe 10 days in jail. Then the next time I just fight back with my bare hands, I'll be charged with breaking the peace. The third time the magistrate will say, you have been here twice before, you are an undesirable. Deportation.” Which leads us to ask of Mr.

### First steps

But even with all this the feeling was “what can we do, what do you suggest, we are ready to do anything which will make the streets safe for us to walk on.” I told them that the Mayor of Willesden had stated the Council's complete opposition to all forms of race violence, that the local MPs also were of the same mind. That in other parts of the

organizations, which without any bloodletting, can and must demonstrate in such a manner as to crush out of existence those secret societies that use the coloured peoples as scapegoats for the foul propaganda which they disseminate.

In Lambeth, where we have a large coloured population, plans are in hand to suppress any form of racial discrimination. Meetings are being organized, poster parades are being prepared, and a drive is being made by all working-class organizations to remove once and for all the fear and haunted looks on the faces of our coloured brothers and sisters.

All wings of the Labour Movement can and must organize to this end.

should be to expose every incident of racial discrimination, to encourage coloured workers to join in the local recreational facilities and to join their Trade Unions, local Labour Parties, and so on.

### Our job

We all felt that no matter how important were the pronouncements of various public figures against the riots, the real work would have to be done right here in our streets by working men and women of all races and colours coming together. A beginning has been made, small as it may be, but it lies within our power to make this beginning grow into something worthwhile, something lasting. It has been done in other towns and cities, now London must follow suit, and if I know my London, not Mosley or a thousand like him will succeed in the vile work of race hate and race violence. We will not tolerate the Little Rock mentality in Britain.

## PORTICUS — from page two

Communism, but the rank-and-file docker knows different.

Having worked alongside these men, the rank-and-file know they can be trusted, and although at times they cannot reconcile the desires of these men with the possible loss to their pocket and consequently cold-shoulder them, when the die is cast and a strike becomes a fact, they elect these men to lead them, conscious of the fact that they will not let

them down, whatever the cost to themselves, both in time and money, for a strike leader must be on the job 24 hours a day.

Such a man was Jimmy Fullerton and it is to be hoped that the fullest possible appreciation for his unstinted service will be shown in the response to the various testimonial funds and collections for his dependents that are being made throughout the London Docks area.

# HIROSHIMA — who's to blame?

by Raymond Challinor

AFTER dropping the atomic bomb, President Truman tried to justify his action by claiming that it helped to bring the war more quickly to an end and thereby not only save the lives of American, but also Japanese, soldiers. These excuses—a typical humanitarian pose that politicians like to use to conceal their most dastardly acts—is a complete tissue of lies. There was no need whatsoever to drop it: it was just an act of wanton slaughter.

The true situation in Japan was later given in the United States Strategic Bombing Survey, an official American Government commission:

"By employing the methods of the Wehrmacht over Coventry of incendiary indiscriminate bombing, such a condition of general paralysis had been wrought that the economy was grinding to a standstill. The responsible leaders in power read correctly the situation and embraced surrender well before invasion was expected.

"The Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs did not defeat Japan, nor by the testimony of the enemy leaders who ended the war did they persuade Japan to accept unconditional surrender. The Emperor, the Lord Privy Seal, the Prime Minister, and the Navy Minister had decided as early as May of 1945 that the war should be ended, even if it meant the acceptance of defeat on Allied terms (p. 12.) . . . Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated." (p. 13.)

## Japan sues for peace

In Herbert Feis's book, *The China Tangle*, there is an account of how the Japanese Government tried to keep Russia out of the war and to get Russia to mediate to end the war. These peace overtures, made in late May and early June, 1945, were turned down: Stalin said he would pay no attention to them.

"Then, on July 12th, four days before the opening of the Potsdam conference, the Japanese Government had asked Sato, its Ambassador in Moscow, to inform Molotov that the Emperor wished peace and was prepared to send a special envoy to Moscow to arrange it. Prince Konaye, who had been Prime Minister when Japan had flung herself into the war in 1941, was the person in mind for this mission. The radio message containing this instruction to Sato was intercepted by the Americans. . . . Sato was told that Molotov was too busy to see him because he and Stalin were getting ready to go to Potsdam. The answer therefore would be delayed, explained Lozovsky, Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs." (pp. 323-4.)

Then, three weeks later, with

the full knowledge that Japan wanted peace, the United States Government ordered the dropping of an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Two hundred and forty thousand people were killed or missing. When the news reached Einstein, the great scientist whose pioneer work in nuclear physics had made nuclear energy—and the Bomb—a possibility, he was heart-broken. He had been told by the American Government that they would not drop it on a city. This great man, with his peace of mind disturbed, gave his verdict on Hiroshima: "If I had only known, I would have been a locksmith."

What prompted the American Government to commit this act of wanton destruction? The reasons were, I think, three-fold. **First, the atomic bomb was an important bargaining counter.** It was known by scientists throughout the world that production of the bomb was theoretically possible, but nobody was sure that the practical difficulties could be surmounted. The fact that the United States had done this, with devastating success, meant that she had a powerful force that was not yet in the hands of the other great nations. So-called peace conferences between capitalist countries are usually car-

ried out in a hostile atmosphere, with threats and counter-threats, and 1945 was no exception. Indeed, by autumn, 1945, the U.S. Government was already seriously considering dropping the bomb on the Russians to force them to evacuate Northern Persia.

The second reason was the fabulous cost. "The bomb simply had to be a success," said a senior officer of the Manhattan Atom Bomb Project.

"So much money had been expended on it. Had we failed, how would we have explained the huge expenditure? Think of the public outcry there would have been! Very few people knew about it, and when President Roosevelt died we began to feel worried indeed. There was nothing on paper.

"There were no direct orders, everything had been kept completely secret. We did not know but that the very people who were in on the secret in high government quarters might have been the first to jump on the bandwagon, shouting they had known nothing about it.

"The whole business was fantastic, and there was simply no way out. The bomb simply had to be a success. As the war with Germany rushed to a close, work in the plants was speeded up. Then, with Germany surrendered, we expected Japan to quit right away. Frankly, we thought the Pacific war would finish before

we had a chance to use the Bomb. As time grew shorter, certain people in Washington tried to persuade General Groves, director of the Manhattan project, to get out before it was too late, for they knew he would be left holding the bag if we failed. The relief to everyone concerned when the Bomb was finished and dropped was enormous." (Frank Kelly and Cornelius Ryan, *Star Spangled Mikado*.)

## No to number 1 airstrip

Whether this relief was shared by the inhabitants of Hiroshima is doubtful. But one thing is certain: namely, that **there can be no excuse for allowing the American capitalism to have H-bomber bases here in Britain and to build rocket bases.** It stands condemned by its actions. The disregard for human life, the trigger-happy disposition, surely goes to prove that in the interests of our own safety—as well as world peace—we should stop Britain from continuing to be America's Number One Airstrip.

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# The CP and the H-Bomb

## a study in somersaults

A **DAILY WORKER** editorial, August 7th, 1952, headed **A Date to Remember**, on the seventh anniversary of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, wrote:

The excuse that, in the long run, this bestial action saved lives is worthless.

There has never been a crime committed in war which this excuse has not been used to justify. It is a rotten excuse which is used to cover up every relapse into barbarism.

As such, it was always a favourite with Hitler and the Nazi sadists.

### What they said

It is well to remind readers of the **Daily Worker** of what the editorial of that paper stated on August 7th, 1945, the day following the dropping of the first atom bomb on Hiroshima:

The employment of the new weapon on a substantial scale should expedite the surrender of Japan. Valuable lives in the Allied nations will have been saved by the new discovery.

Thus, the **Daily Worker** had the honour of being the only paper in Great Britain to editori-

ally call for the employment of the new weapon on a substantial scale.

When the second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, the concluding paragraph of the **Daily Worker** editorial declared:

The use of the atom bomb has mercifully shortened the war, with a consequent saving of human life.

It is fortunate for the editors of the **Daily Worker** that their readers have short memories.

It is also of interest to note that on August 8th, 1954, the **Daily Worker** stressed that the invention of the atomic bomb was a strong additional argument for co-operation between Russia, America and Britain. "It will enormously increase the strength of the three great powers in relation to all other countries." The **Worker** was probably the first exponent of atomic bomb diplomacy.

### Unleash the Atom

On August 14th, 1945, the **Daily Worker's** front page headline read: "Japs still trying to haggle." In the article they denounced the Japanese for their delay in accepting the Allied armistice terms and criticized the Allied Powers for allowing the Japanese to procrastinate. The following passage was emphasized in the article:

There was no official hint of the length of delay that the Japanese are to be allowed before the full force of Allied power—including the atom bomb—is loosed against them in a blow intended to be final.

The French counterpart of the

**Daily Worker, L'Humanite**, commented on August 8th, 1945:

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima seems to have caused considerable destruction. American reports suggest nothing less than the disappearance from the face of the earth of a town of 300,000 inhabitants. The effect of the discovery is considerable. Nevertheless the Vatican has been pleased to disapprove of it! May we be permitted to express our surprise, because when the Nazis had the privilege of waging total war with total cruelty, the Holy See was not equally indignant.

### "Civilization"

The Italian Communist Party paper, **L'Unita**, published an article on August 10th, 1945, by Mario Spinella, entitled, of all things: **In the Service of Civilization.** It stated:

The news that an atomic bomb was dropped by the American Air Force has made an enormous impression throughout the whole world, and has been received on all sides with a sense of panic and words of condemnation. This shows, it seems to us, a curious psychological perversion and a doctrinaire obedience to a form of abstract humanitarianism. Those who today feel pity for the fate of Japan do not reflect that the dropping of new terrible weapons of destruction has put an immediate end to the bitter war being waged in the Far East. The atomic bomb—like the Soviet intervention—should be seen as a positive contribution to the sudden elimination of the last great Fascist Power in the world, and to the rapid institution of that peace for which all decent persons and all peoples feel such urgent need. So we do not share the sense of terror that has been expressed in certain press comments, because we bear in mind the concrete use which was made of the fearful engine of destruction.

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# Breakthrough to sanity — a policy for the Bomb

by Eric S. Heffer

A PATCH of sunlight in the war-darkened skies is particularly welcome today. Such a ray of hope is the new pamphlet by Stuart Hall, **Break-Through**. The pamphlet, issued by the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, puts well the dilemma of our times, a dilemma which can never be repeated, because the outcome means either destruction and barbarism or sanity and a new society.

Mankind has the choice, mankind alone has placed itself in its peculiar situation, and it alone has the answer.

## On the brink

Stuart Hall's pamphlet is a very serious contribution to political thinking in the nuclear age. One doesn't have to accept all he says to argue that he says important things, views which must be seriously studied.

Hall argues that both Eastern and Western politicians have got themselves into "a habit of mind, an induced state, a condition," due to their respective cold war policies. Both NATO and the Warsaw pacts are the result of this cold-war thinking, and the arms race has ensued, to the stage where we are now continuously on the brink.

He rightly says, "Yet conditioned by the state reflexes of the cold war, we continue to stand aside, watching the armed camp use the platitudes of peace as new moves in a strategic offensive. It is time for a breakthrough in the wall of double-talk."

To the question "Are Nuclear Weapons a Deterrent?" Stuart Hall gives an emphatic no. In fact, he argues that to have such weapons increases the danger of war. He says on page 4, "The whole logic of the arms race is to increase mutual fear and suspicion." Further, on page 5, he makes the point that I have made many times in speaking against nuclear armament, that "nuclear war is, literally, a form of suicide. The gun which we point at the sources of war in the Soviet Union is so triggered that it would blow our own brains out as well." Hall believes that the nuclear powers — both sides — would not hesitate to use the weapon. I agree, especially when we consider that US planes make regular patrol flights armed ready to drop nuclear bombs if the call is given. And, today, after the recent Nagy affair, who would believe that the Soviet leaders would shrink from using all weapons to preserve their power.

## International reaction

Hall marshalls his arguments clearly and logically. I feel, however, that he overstates the danger of war growing out of internal revolt in the Soviet bloc countries. He believes that if Harich had developed a revolutionary movement in East Germany capable of throwing off the Ulbricht régime, and Western Germany had intervened, the

Russians would have retaliated instantly.

This is a misreading of the situation. Firstly, it is doubtful if the West will ever do any more than issue platitudes when the people revolt against Stalinism. A revolt against Stalinism is a danger to the capitalist West. New democratic socialist régimes, with Stalinism off their back, would present the picture of what the new society really would be like. The people of the "Communist" countries are not likely to fight for a return of the old régime. Hungary, despite all the apologists of Stalinism, is the proof of this.

In any case, the Western leaders are never likely to rely on revolutionary movements as their allies (witness by their scurvy treatment of the resistance movements in Western Europe at the end of the Second World War). **People who abhor revolutionary ideas in their own country are not likely to embrace them in others.**

## Stalinism in decline

I have digressed a little here, but I feel it is important.

Hall quite rightly stresses that we are at the turning point of history. He says, "Either we must reconsider the whole basis of our present strategies and seek some positive and constructive road to survival, or we must consign ourselves and the human race to the scrap-heap of history."

He says, again correctly, that the West's cold war policies have assisted to keep Stalinism (or its offspring) in power. The West, he says, "must bear a very direct moral responsibility for the Hungarian tragedy."

Stalinism is in process of breaking up. No longer will the policies from the Soviet Union be accepted without question. It is in this situation that we must have new(?) positive policies to put forward.

## 6 aims

The West, however, has failed lamentably to give this new lead. "Thus, Britain," he says, "has been drawn into the Middle East in defence of all those corrupt régimes which have set their face against the rising tide of national independence."

How, then, do we advance? He says we should have six immediate aims.

1. To halt the arms race.
2. To prevent the further testing of nuclear weapons.
3. To prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.
4. To force both sides to consider seriously the proposals for disarmament and disengagement.
5. To create such conditions of confidence between East and West as will permit the settlement of political problems within a framework of collective security.
6. To transform NATO and force it to negotiate with the Warsaw Pact for the mutual dissolution of the two armed camps.

It is in some of these points that I find myself opposing Hall. He argues that we ought not to demand that Britain leave NATO. He prefers that we should work through NATO to get a change, and within that body affect the policies of Dulles etc.

**I cannot agree here. Britain is the European pivot of the NATO countries. If she withdraws then its whole basis goes and it will collapse. We can also appeal directly to the people, i.e., the workers, of the other countries and in this way make it null and void.**

In any case, to reach a position where Britain is considering leaving NATO would mean that we had created a new political alignment in the country, and this in itself would have far-reaching effects.

## UN illusions

Hall backs the compromise measures of the Labour Party on disengagement, and here too he, in my opinion, fails to go far enough.

He places far too much faith in the United Nations, and believes that this body presents a real hope. The United Nations, he says, must become an effective force.

**This, I feel is naïve. The UN is not a mystical power standing above society, but is in fact a conglomeration of states, who all cling to the UN in their own**

national interests. This is true even of the "neutral" countries like India, and as the world is dominated by capitalist politics, it is clear that these politics are the ones which permeate UN deliberation.

Here I shall be called a romantic. Someone living in a dream world, outside of reality.

Hall says, "The only political problem is how are we to circumvent the bureaucracies of war, how are we to break through the iron curtain into the twentieth century, and who is to lead us there." Here is the 64,000 dollar question. Hall, I am afraid, despite his good intentions, doesn't really give us the answer.

## Worker's answer

The answer lies with the working-class. It is not reliance on negotiations (the end section on Disarmament negotiations, written by John Hodgess Roper, proves that), it is not reliance on Summit Meetings in the United Nations. It is in a positive, revolutionary class action. That is the key. Refusal to work on the bombs, refusal to build the rocket sites, industrial action to prevent local wars, and new forms of action which will undoubtedly arise. The real hope is the strength and power of the working-class. Action here by the workers, can and will lead to similar action in both the East and the West. Such class action is the true reality, all else is but a sham and hypocrisy.

Stuart Hall must be praised for his pamphlet, it rightly says the fight is a political one. It is new politics we want. I feel they lie in the old Socialist policies, but brought up to date to satisfy modern needs.

## A Conference delegate probes the BLOCK VOTE

ONE thing that has been abundantly clear to active members of the Labour Party for many years is the fact that the Labour Party Conference is dominated by a handful of trade union leaders who are able to overwhelm any move of which they disapprove on the part of the rank and file, by virtue of the block-vote system.

This system does not provide for the rank and file of a large trade union to have anything but the remotest and most insignificant control over the way in which its votes are cast. Unlike the Constituency Labour Parties or smaller organisations, in the larger trade unions, rank and filers can work hard for years without ever arriving at the level at which resolutions are discussed or decisions taken.

This system would still be just as undemocratic if the left wing controlled the block votes—a fact which some left-wingers fail to acknowledge.

## Split vote

Other more democratic methods of procedure would be for trade unions to split their block of votes into smaller units according to areas or industrial sections. Thus, for instance, instead of the Transport and General Workers' Union sending 57 delegates, as last year, in a block all of whom must vote one way, the areas or industrial sections would each send delegates—based upon membership as at present but free to vote as their own individual areas determined.

This would mean that areas would be encouraged to participate in political discussion and decisions would be taken much more in accord with the wishes of the rank and file.

The present system of trade union

block votes is equivalent to a system in which Constituency delegates to the Annual Labour Party Conference were chosen on a national basis instead of by individual constituencies—for example at a national conference of Constituency Parties. Everyone knows this would mean that Constituency representation at Annual Conference would consist of nationally known figures only: the representatives of local rank and file opinions within constituencies would disappear.

## Undemocratic system

It is true that the ratio of delegates to membership at present allowed to Constituency Labour Parties could not be granted to trade unions, owing to the fact that the resultant Conference would be much too big and unwieldy for any effective discussion to take place. None the less, representation of trade unions by areas would not diminish the total voting strength of trade unions. It would provide a much more democratic reflection of views.

The main features of the system at present are indicated below where it can be seen on the basis of 1957 figures, the Transport and General Workers, the National Union of General and Municipal Workers and the Mineworkers control more than 2 million votes between them, and the six largest unions over 3½ million votes.

On its own one trade union, the Transport and General Workers' Union can balance all the combined votes of the Constituency Parties throughout the country.

**This system is not one which should be tolerated by a democratic**

(turn to next page)

# COLONIAL

Oliver Sachs on the

## TORY "TRUCE" IN CYPRUS

ONCE again the inevitable has happened in Cyprus. The EOKA leader, Col. Grivas, has declared the truce of the last few weeks at an end, and turmoil and strife are rapidly becoming the everyday pattern of events once more. The blame for this position in the island must rest fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the

lan's message was not worth the paper it was written on. But apart from this, the Cypriot people had been given an excellent example of what a truce entailed during 1957.

In April of last year EOKA responded to a similar call and for nine months there was a suspension of "terrorist" activity. Immediately they were shown just how one-sided the military command in Cyprus considered such a truce. As soon as it was declared the security forces left their camps to engage upon the longest anti-EOKA operation of 1957. For ten long weeks they ambushed, patrolled and searched up in the Troodos Mountains and this "truce" is perhaps best remembered by the inhabitants of Milikouri who suffered under curfew during the whole of this period and sustained considerable losses in crops and livestock.

### Nothing but provocation

The only political result of this truce of 1957 was worth nothing to the Cypriot people. Archbishop Makarios was released from the Seychelles but forbidden to return to his homeland.

However, it revealed to them very clearly who was really in control of the island. It was then the unholy alliance of Governor Harding and the military command headed by Kendrew. Harding was not prepared to accept the truce of 1957 but deliberately sent the troops out on an operation before he was recalled to London for consultation with the Government concerning the cease-fire.

Today he is not on the island but waging his campaign of "no truck with murderers" from the columns of the **Daily Express**. However, the shadow of his rule still lies on Cyprus. With the waning of the fortunes of the civilian Governor Sir Hugh Foot the military junta have risen to a position of almost absolute control.

### One-sided

They are still pursuing the policy of continued military activity whether there is a truce or not. So once again a period of suspended EOKA activity has been brought to an end by the deliberate provocation of the Security Forces. The nature of "truces" on the island once more stands revealed. EOKA are to be expected to lay down their arms and do nothing while the military forces continue hounding down, beating up and shooting Cypriots. What sort of "truce" is this?

### Immediate policy

All this only lends further weight to the arguments in favour of the only immediate policy towards the strife-torn island. It is the job of every British Socialist to work to get this policy implemented.

### Self-determination

Remove the military control of Cyprus from the hands of General Kendrew and his thugs. Withdraw the troops and allow the Cypriot people the right to self-determination.

## Stop hiding, comrades!

According to the News Chronicle of September 24, our "influence is widespread and there are well-established provincial outposts". If only we knew what News Chronicle-man W. Roy Nash knows; if only it were true.

Next issue — a report of the Scarborough Conference by a delegate.

**White South Africa's new Premier**

He did not agree with Sir de Villiers Graaff that the white population should be strengthened by large-scale immigration, as, "with the present liberalism in many parts of the world, it would be impossible to find sufficient suitable immigrants. If immigrants were to be the solution, they must be people who would be allies of the white population here, and not people whose aim was to destroy western civilization." (*Times*, September 19).

British Government and its side in Cyprus, the military junta under General Kendrew.

### Start of truce

At the height of the community disorders of June and July Macmillan sent a message to the island to be distributed widely by leaflet. It called for a period of peace on the island during which an attempt at progress towards a settlement could be made. EOKA, taking this call in good faith, responded with the declaration of a truce for the second time in 18 months.

### Previous example

The EOKA leaders could have had little confidence in this call for peace and indeed the British Government's decision to carry out its plan for the island in the face of the Greek community's opposition shows that Macmil-

### Block vote — from page five

organization. Any vast concentration of voting power held by men who are virtually independent of those whose votes they wield is undemocratic and one of the aims of

every genuine socialist active in any wing of the Labour movement should be to see that this system is eventually changed.

#### Labour Party Membership (1956)

667 Constituency and Central Parties	845,129
Trade Unions	5,658,249
Socialist and Co-operative Societies	33,850
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,537,228</b>

#### Affiliated Membership of Six Largest Trade Unions (1957)\*

T & GW	1,000,000
NUM	679,000
AEU	667,000
NUGMW	650,000
USDAW	324,895
NUR	298,582
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,619,477</b>

\* Some Trade Unions do not affiliate for their whole membership.

## Building

by Bill Scott

UNEMPLOYMENT is increasing to such an extent within the building industry that all trade unionists should pass resolutions at their branches, demanding a complete ban on all overtime. The alternative to this is to increase the number of unemployed. Remember that today's employed are tomorrow's unemployed.

The Government's policy is to obtain a surplus of labour. The "three wise men" on the Cohen Council have repeated to the working class what most people already know—that freedom for all can only work if we, the workers, are always in fear of our jobs by having three men at the gate waiting to snatch one man's job.

Yes, the rotting capitalist Government that is in control are deliberately creating these conditions. They spend more on nuclear weapons than they do to feed and shelter us.

### Direct labour

THE LCC and also the Labour controlled Borough Councils should make bigger efforts to extend direct labour schemes. I say to the Labour groups, do not niggle and give profit to private contractors. These people have remained rich too long at the expense of the working class. Labour Councillors should find ways and means of implementing direct labour schemes. Throw out any excuses of people of why you cannot have direct labour. Find the answers, and beat Conservatism. The next time Labour have control of the country they must decasualise the building trade and take out of the lives of the building operatives the fear of the dole. Registration works on the Dockside, make it work in the building industry.

The worker should play his part by sending resolutions from his Trade Union Branch. Demand that the Labour Party carry out these urgently needed changes.

Always remember you must make sure that safety and welfare are given to you. These things have been fought for, so make sure that you get them.

Organize in every site, in every shop and factory do not stand for conditions that are worse than those a Conservative would give to his own dog.

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## INTERNATIONAL

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## Forty-three years later, we can learn from THE GREAT RENT STRIKE, GLASGOW, 1915

### THE MOVEMENT

It has taken British landlords forty-three years to steal victory away from the British working class and impose a 'free market' in housing (although, even today, their freedom to exploit tenants is not as unlimited as they would wish). Now that evictions are once more the order of the day, it is as well to remind ourselves how rent restriction and the protection of tenants were first fought for and won. It was, as this article shows clearly, industrial action which rolled back the landlords originally; it is industrial action which can do it again. The article is reprinted from the *Industrial News Service* of December 28, 1955, by kind permission of *Labour Today Publications*—Editor.

**FORTY YEARS** ago the workers and housewives of Glasgow forced the Government to place on the Statute Book the first-ever Rent Restrictions Act.

At that time, in 1915, there wasn't a single Council house in Great Britain. Private landlords had a complete monopoly of all rented dwellings and they could, and did, raise rents as often as they thought they could get away with it. The tenant had either to pay up or get out.

#### War exploited

The first world war—like the second—added to the existing housing shortage, especially in the big industrial cities which became over-crowded with fresh entrants into the armaments industries. The landlords of those days naturally tried to exploit this situation for their own profit. They raised rents, evicted those who couldn't pay, and took in new tenants at the higher rents.

In Glasgow, for example, the landlords informed their tenants in February, 1915, that all rents would be raised by 25 per cent. Many families—especially those where the breadwinner was away at the war—could not possibly pay the increase and angry meetings were held all over the working-class districts of Glasgow. The idea of simply refusing to pay soon spread throughout the city and **Glasgow's Labour Movement gave the tenants every possible support right from the start.**

Glasgow already possessed a "Labour Party Housing Committee" which had been organised by such people as **John Wheatley** (later to become the Minister of Health in the first Labour Government), **Andrew MacBride**, **John MacLean**, and **Willie Gallagher** (later to become a Communist MP).

#### Housewives organize

This Committee had been formed in 1913 to fight for the right of the Council to build houses for the workers—a right which did not exist at that time. Glasgow already owned its own tramway system and gas works and the Housing Committee agitated for the profits of these municipal undertakings to be used for housing. It was some years before this agitation bore fruit, but meanwhile the rent increases being forced on the workers of Glasgow gave them other issues to fight on—and fight they did.

Meetings were held all over Glasgow and eventually—in Govan—a "Housewives Housing Association" was set up under

the chairmanship of an ordinary housewife, **Mrs. Barbour**. This Committee did sterling work in bringing the women of Glasgow into the fight against the landlords.

#### Rent strike

The Rent Strike started in September, 1915, and by November more than 25,000 working-class families were refusing to pay rent. The bailiffs who tried to evict the strikers were driven from the doors by Mrs. Barbour's Housewives Committee. Empty houses were picketed and people who had agreed to pay the increased rent were not permitted to enter their new homes. One of the actual participants, Mr. Willie Reid, MP, has described some of the scenes in an article in the *Glasgow Evening Times*:

As accommodation in Glasgow was getting scarcer every day, people came from far and wide to see the houses that were supposed to be to let. To meet this situation the tenants, on our advice, adopted a formula that proved remarkably effective. The caller who inquired "Is this where there's a house to let?" was politely informed: "There are no houses to let here. There is just a slight difference of opinion between the factors and the tenants, but no one in the district is thinking of leaving their house." Anyone who persisted in the face of this broad hint was quietly but firmly warned that an incoming load of furniture would get past no rent striker's door, and would have very little chance of leaving the district intact. So the landlords completely failed in their efforts to get new tenants to fight their battles for them.

#### Industrial action

Successful efforts were made to get the support of the workers in the great engineering works and shipyards, and a ready response was soon forthcoming from the newly organised Shop Stewards' Movement. Again quoting from the article by Willie Reid, we learn how an eviction was prevented in Parkhead.

A soldier's wife in Palace Street had an eviction notice served on her, with a warning that if she failed to vacate her house by 12 noon on a certain day the Sheriff's Officer would call to enforce it. The strike committee got busy. They instructed every mother in the district with a young child to be there from 11 a.m. on D-Day, complete with perambulator. Long before noon the close and Palace Street were packed with prams, and every pram had at least one youngster in it. No raiding party could have got near the house. Moreover, the men of Parkhead Forge and other works in the district decided to down tools at 11.30 a.m. and lend a hand if necessary.

By the time the Sheriff's officers and his clerk arrived there was a crowd of something like 5,000 ready to give them a rousing welcome. It is scarcely surprising

that they decided to forget all about the eviction and take their leave.

Perhaps the decisive intervention from the factories came when the late Lord Kirkwood—then plain Davie Kirkwood, the Convenor of Shop Stewards at Parkhead Forge—addressed the following letter to the Town Clerk of Glasgow:

I have been instructed by the Shop Stewards of the Ordnance Department of Parkhead Forge... to draw the attention of the Corporation to the housing conditions in the eastern district of Glasgow... national demands have added thousands to the number of workers in Parkhead Forge with a consequent increase in domestic overcrowding. Property owners taking advantage of this have been increasing rents and the tenants have no means of preventing this unless by organised refusal to pay the increase. As this might lead to the eviction of one or more families **the men here wish to make it perfectly clear that they would regard this as an attack on the working class...** (Quoted from *Forward*, October 9, 1915).

#### Who is the Government?

By now the Government itself was thoroughly alarmed and, on October 15th, its representatives, the Secretary of State for Scotland, and the Lord Advocate, met James Stewart and Andrew Macbride, the chairman and secretary respectively of the Labour Party Housing Committee. *Forward*, October 16, 1915, reported that the Conference lasted over an hour and... the case put over by the tenants' representatives explained that the agitation against increased rents was universal and that thousands of munitions workers were involved. If the Government did not deal with the situation as requested the tenants would continue the strike... and if any tenants were evicted then it was **almost certain industrial strikes would follow.** It was well that the Government should know the facts as they were known by the tenants and act accordingly...

#### Who decides the law?

On November 17th, eighteen rent strikers were taken to Court by the landlords "to show cause why they should not be evicted for refusal to pay rent." The Housewives' Committee immediately organized a mass-march of rent strikers to the Court and, as they marched—thousands of them—industrial workers left their jobs and joined in!

The great Albion Works where Willie Gallagher was a shop steward, stopped work completely and both the day and night shifts joined in the demonstration. The scene in the streets surrounding the Court was described by *Forward* (November 27, 1915).

John Maclean, who had left his

school, was standing on a shutter of some sort, held up by strong arms, addressing the crowd. Inside the Court, representatives of the working class were dictating to the authorities the terms of peace. After the Court opened, Sheriff Lee was asked by a strike leader to see a deputation before dealing with the cases. He agreed to do so and retired to his chambers with members of the deputation. The first spokesman said that he was one of the deputation from Dalmuir Shipyard where over 8,000 workers were employed, and when the men were aware that these cases were coming on they were on the point of stopping work. He further said that the nation could do without the factors but it could not do without these workers.

#### The Act gained

**For over two hours the harassed Sheriff listened to the statements of the workers' deputations—most of which threatened industrial action unless the cases were withdrawn. Eventually the Sheriff gave way and prevailed upon the landlord to withdraw his cases against the rent strikers. It was a great victory for the workers and tenants, not only in Glasgow but all over Great Britain—but an even greater victory was to follow. The Government was soon to curb the landlords' greed by introducing the first-ever Rent Restrictions Act.** Mr. Willie Reid MP describes how he received this great news:

I was addressing a meeting at Parkhead Cross one night when I saw, not without some trepidation, a police officer pushing his way through the crowd. "This is it," I thought. "They're going to lift me at last, under the Defence of the Realm Act." But to my astonishment and relief, he was there to deliver a message. It appeared that Mr. David Lloyd George (then Minister of Munitions) had come to Glasgow and would like to see me that very night in the Central Hotel.

What was concerning Mr. Lloyd George, of course, was the threatened strike at Parkhead Forge. At our interview he informed me that the Government had decided to intervene on behalf of the tenants all over the country by passing a **Rent Restriction Act.** No time was to be lost in bringing it in. As an earnest of good faith would we not call off our agitation?

#### Victory

This meant that our objective was achieved. The Act duly became law in November, 1915, and since then it must have saved tenants up and down the country countless millions of pounds. I sometimes wonder if they ever spare a thought for the 'agitators' who rescued them, so to speak, from their landlord's clutches.

Whatever may be thought about industrial action to force the peoples' will on a Government, there is no doubt that it was such action which was responsible for the Rent Restrictions Act.

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# INTERNATIONAL UNITED IRISH REPUBLIC

from Northern Ireland **GEORGE ADAIR** writes on the need for a

AS THE BOMBS of the nascent Irish Republican Army and of its splinter groups like Saor Uladh, explode along the border that divides Northern Ireland from the Irish Republic, the chances of Ireland's ever reaching peace and unity appear to become more remote.

The illegal armies have declared that their policy is to end the partition of their country and, ostensibly following in the tradition of all Irish Republicans from the time of Wolfe Tone in 1798, believe that this can be achieved by physical force. They do not necessarily hope to drive the British regiments out of Northern Ireland or to cause the overnight collapse of the Northern Ireland Government. It appears that what they are trying to do is to cause such civil havoc and commotion as to bring the Irish problem to the forefront of world politics in much the same way as the Cypriots have focused world

Government.

The Unionists were also rescued by Mr Costello's declaration of an "Irish Republic" for the 26 Counties in 1949 and by the Ireland Act that was subsequently passed by the Attlee Government. This Act strongly reinforced partition and as a loathsome by-product brought disunity, bitterness and chaos to Irish working-class politics.

Out of the whirling aftermath of the Ireland Act the Northern Ireland Labour Party emerged as a party supporting Partition. Indeed they had already been driven in this direction by a cleverly conceived campaign led by the Unionist Press and by erstwhile Labour leaders like the late Mr. Harry Midgley. (Mr Midgley was leader of the Northern Ireland Labour Party for more than 20 years but left the Labour Movement during the war to become a Minister in the Unionist Cabinet.)

wanted Ireland united. All hopes of having the Labour Party make up its mind on the partition problem by rational discussion within its own ranks faded away. In the election that followed, the Ireland Act the Labour Party in Northern Ireland took a terrible beating and lost all the seats it held in the Northern Ireland House of Commons.

## The price of a seat

It appears, however, that since 1949 the Northern Ireland Labour Party has made some progress and in the general election of March this year succeeded in getting four Members elected to the House of Commons. But the Irish working-class movement has paid a high price for these four seats.

It is doubtful, too, if any of the four NILP members in the Stormont Parliament have any idea of what Socialism means in Ire-

**Socialist Review stands for the unification of an independent Ireland. The following article, from a correspondent in Northern Ireland, shows something of the history of this demand in the Socialist Movement, the tragedy that has befallen it and how the future of that demand is tied up with the growth of a healthy, non-sectarian Labour Movement in that country—Editor.**

attention on their political grievances. The Irish Republicans are confident that at the bar of world opinion the British case for remaining in Ireland by upholding the Northern Ireland Government would collapse.

The IRA is, however, up against greater odds than even the people of Cyprus. They have an even harder struggle than the dead Republicans from whom they receive their inspiration. **The Irish Republicans and Fenians of the past were fighting an offensive battle against British occupation but the Irish Republicans of today are fighting a rearguard action and they are a rearguard that has been deserted by its former leaders.** Mr De Valera has given up the struggle against Partition. While he may yet seize an opportunity to have Partition discussed at UNO, he has no desire to see Ireland turned into another Cyprus, neither have the clergy of the Catholic Church, who wield a powerful influence on Irish political affairs.

## Role of Welfare State

But the odds against the IRA and, for that matter, against all anti-Partitionists, are even greater than this. The border which they are striving to abolish is upheld by the Northern Ireland Government which, within the past 37 years, has consolidated itself into a permanent and practically unchallenged régime. If, immediately after 1945, it looked as though the stock of the Ulster Unionist Party would fall, it was rescued by the Welfare State legislation introduced by the British Labour Government. This legislation was more or less followed by the Northern Ireland

Upon declaring itself unequivocally in favour of partition, the NILP severed all links, not only with the Irish Labour Party, which at that time was participating in Mr. Costello's Coalition Government, but with the Catholic and anti-Partitionist workers in Northern Ireland. At the same time, because of an edict issued by Transport House, the Friends of Ireland (a group of British Labour MPs led by Mr Hugh Delargy and Mr Geoffrey Bing) was disbanded and Labour MPs were forbidden to discuss Irish Partition in public. Thus the Irish Republicans and anti-Partitionists lost the support of the British Labour Party.

## Attlee vs. Connolly

This was a tragic development because socialists had always believed that the working-class movements in England and in Ireland had so much in common that they would eventually end the partition that had been created by the Tories and so open the way to unity, peace and socialism in Ireland. Those socialists who understand the teachings of James Connolly believed and still believe that the first step towards socialism in Ireland was to unite the working-class in Ireland. They abhorred the way the Tories had stirred up hatred and disunity by playing upon the religious differences and fears of the people.

Irish socialists were downcast when Attlee's Government passed the Ireland Act in 1949 and when the Northern Ireland Labour Party split into those who were for Partition and those who

land. If indeed these four MPs were assessed in terms of British politics they would probably be placed well to the right of the right-wing of the British Labour Movement. Even the Tory Press and Unionist politicians in Northern Ireland cast jeering reflections on the "socialism" of the NILP's four MPs.

This is mainly because Socialism has now been made to mean different things to different people in Ireland. If in the North the NILP's socialism is equated politically with the old Tory and Unionist policy of keeping the Six Counties part of the British Empire and ideologically with the teachings of Moral Rearmament, Socialism in the South, insofar as it is even mentioned by the Irish Labour Party, is made synonymous with the social encyclicals of the Popes.

## Camp followers

This is the sorry predicament in which Ireland's two Labour parties now stand, camp-followers of Unionist policy in the North, handmaidens of the Papal teachings in the South. They will remain there until Irish Socialists can get mass support for working-class unity and Independent working-class political activity.

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# WHAT WE STAND FOR

The SOCIALIST REVIEW stands for international Socialist democracy. Only the mass mobilisation of the working class in the industrial and political arena can lead to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism.

The SOCIALIST REVIEW believes that a really consistent Labour Government must be brought to power on the basis of the following programme:

- The complete nationalisation of heavy industry, the banks, insurance and the land with compensation payments based on a means test. Renationalisation of all denationalised industries without compensation.—The nationalised industries to form an integral part of an overall economic plan and not to be used in the interests of private profit.

- Workers' control in all nationalised industries, 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 establishment of workers' committees to control all private enterprises within the framework of a planned economy. In all instances representatives must be subject to frequent election, immediate recall, and receive the average skilled wage in the industry.

- The establishment of workers' committees in all concerns to control hiring, firing and working conditions.

- The establishment of the principle of work or full maintenance.

- The extension of the social services by the payment of adequate pensions, 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.