

SOCIALIST REVIEW

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

FORTNIGHTLY
for the
Industrial Militant —
for
International
Socialism

9th YEAR No 13

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SIXPENCE

BEFORE OR AFTER THE ELECTION

LIFE IS BITTER WITH THE TORIES

Life is bitter with the Conservatives. They have already given us bitter rents, bitter pensions, bitter victimization of shop-stewards and militant workers. If they are returned on the 8th we can expect them to proceed rapidly to unfinished business. "Some time in the next five years," warns the Economist, spokesmen of Big Business, "the trade union leaders are . . . likely to face the full impact of a problem which last year's bus strike projected as a pale shadow."

* * *

A third period in office will give them the confidence to hit harder, more openly, more directly at the source of all their problems—the factory floor, the building site and all the other concentrations of workers. It will harden them in their fight against the stewards and militants who form the sinews of the organized working class and provide its leadership. It will crystallize their dreams of anti-labour legislation on the American pattern into Acts. It will multiply the disgusting spectacle of get-rich-quick take-over bidders ruling the country.

* * *

A Tory victory would mean more. The colonial people have reason to fear even more vicious attacks than Suez, Nyasaland and Hola. The Tories mean Central African Federation—a mortgaging of the Rhodesian and Nyasa peoples to white dictatorship, an extension northwards of the inhuman racist bloody-handedness practised in South Africa, a guarantee of bitter civil war for years, if not decades. Tory rule in Britain means, quite literally, death in Central Africa.

And more. The Tories in power means control of the H-Bomb by a party that hasn't even begun to discuss the supreme issue of our time, hasn't even begun to doubt that a solution to the problem of peace can be found in collective annihilation.

Then there is the effect of a Tory victory on the internal life of the labour movement and the future of socialism in Britain. What can we expect in this regard?

* * *

There are many exponents of 'the-worse-it-gets-the-better' school who expect a Tory victory to trigger off the process of criticism and reformulation of policy we need badly in the party and who believe the fragmented socialist movement will grow together under the impact of defeat.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Capitalism's present prosperity puts a premium on a non-political labour movement, on a movement whose energies are devoted primarily to the industrial struggle. In this atmosphere the Labour Party's empire tends to shrink, and has been doing so. Every defeat will lop off yet another section of the movement: youth don't want to know, militant workers couldn't be bothered, intellectuals aren't stimulated. And as these sections drop the Party machine becomes a professional's tool and the labour movement is left increasingly without a central axis. Fragmentation flourishes: a strike here, a rent demonstration there, this Labour Council takes a line on the Bomb, that trades council initiates a movement against youth employment. And in this chaos, socialist groups of every kind and creed flourish in isolation, each intensely loyal to its fragment, but each adding to the Movement's fragmentation.

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- Labour's defeat can breed only despair in its ranks, greater apathy amongst its supporters. It could lead to mass desertions from rank-and-file activity and even from membership, and could face the weakened socialist movement with the stupendous task of building afresh in extremely unfavourable circumstances.
- Criticize we must, and mercilessly, but Labour must win. Every socialist must see it is his imperative duty to help break the Tories' hold and put Labour back in.

LABOUR COUNCILS AND THE CLOSED SHOP

by P Mansell

ALL MILITANT trade unionists must support the principle of the closed shop. It is not necessary to set out here the arguments in favour of fighting for it or to expose the fallacy of the argument that it is undemocratic for a majority of the workers to force out of employment individuals who refuse, for whatever reason, to accept union membership.

But the issue is not quite so simple when the closed shop is imposed by, for example, a Labour-controlled local council on some section of its employees, against the wishes of the majority of those employees. Readers will remember the case a few years ago when Durham County Council tried to insist on the closed

Did these Councils take up a correct Socialist attitude? **The test must be whether their policy in the long run strengthens or weakens the organization of the workers and therefore advances or retards the progress of the working class.**

The Labour councillors in these cases would no doubt argue that these white collar workers, with their middle-class prejudices and the individualistic attitude which has been inculcated into them, are far less easy to convince of the benefits of unionism than industrial workers. Labour councillors, if convinced of the principle of the closed shop, should not hesitate to enforce it if they are in a position to do so. The benefits of unionism would

HOURS AND THEIR YOUR HOLIDAYS COMPARED

It is a mistake to imagine that British workers are better off in respect of hours of work than European workers simply because the normal working week on the Continent is still slightly longer than it is here. Holidays with pay must also be taken into account before a fair comparison can be made. In Britain two weeks' paid holidays plus six paid public holidays is normal. This is equivalent to approximately 140 hours of paid holidays and if we work out the total number of hours worked during a whole year and divide by 52, we can calculate that a British worker is employed for 52 weeks of 41.3 hours each. But in many European countries the number of paid public holidays is much greater than in Britain, while paid annual holidays are just as long, if not longer. Thus in Belgium there are 10 paid public holidays, in West Germany 10-13, in Norway 10, in Sweden 15 (though four fall on Saturdays), while in Italy there are no fewer than 17.

Swedish workers get three weeks' holiday with pay and in West Germany 15 days appears to be the average. Making the same calculation as above we get the following result:

	Normal Week	Hours of Paid Holidays	Average Working Week
Britain	44	140	41.3
West Germany	45	200	41.1
Sweden (1960)	45	272	39.8

Thus Sweden and West Germany are already ahead of Britain when paid holidays are taken into account as well as the length of the normal working week.

With acknowledgement to **Labour Research**, May, 1959

shop for the teachers in its employment. Earlier this year the St. Pancras Borough Council in London (then under Labour con-

CAPACITY

According to the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, in the autumn of 1958 there was nearly 10 per cent idle capacity in the chemical industry, 12-15 per cent in paper, 20 per cent in rubber, 25 per cent in steel (where "capacity is still growing fast"), and so on. And as they point out: "At the end of 1958 three basic industries, each with a heavy investment programme, were in serious difficulties: coal-mining, steel and the railways." (National Institute Economic Review, January, 1959). If this idle capacity were brought into production £1,500-£2,000 million extra goods could be produced in the next two years. (*Ibid*, March, 1959).

trol) introduced the closed shop against the wishes of its clerical workers, and no doubt other examples have occurred.

soon become apparent to the employees even if they were initially opposed. In the same way some sections of the working class have been opposed to the introduction of various reforms, but have come to see their value. If the most advanced sections of the working class waited until the more backward sections and the petty bourgeois reached their level of political understanding before taking a step forward, no step would be taken. As long as the closed shop is not insisted upon, those outside the union are taking unfair advantage of struggles and efforts of those inside and the strength of the group of workers as a whole is weakened.

But, on the other hand, it can be argued that the policy of enforcing the closed shop from the employers' end, even for the best of motives, while adding to the apparent and certainly to the numerical strength of the unions, in the long run tends to undermine them. Workers who are forced to join a union under the pressure of their fellow-workers on the job may not like it. They may never be more than nominal union members. But they learn

INDUSTRIAL

the supremely important lesson of the strength of union organisation and respect it. And the workers who fight for and win the principle of the closed shop gain confidence and strength in the course of the struggle.

But if the closed shop is imposed by the employer, even if the employer is a democratically elected council, neither of these advantages is gained. If anything, the weakness of the union organization, not its strength is demonstrated. The union members have failed either to persuade or to coerce their fellow workers into the union and have had to rely on someone else's power to hire and fire to do the job for them.

Of course a Labour council should encourage all its employees to become union members, explain the benefits of unionism and give the unions every facility in recruiting, etc. But in my opinion it should not go farther than that. What do other readers think?

STRANGE STRIKE STRATEGY—

A MYSTERY SOLVED

This year's printing strike is a matter of history now, but history sometimes comes up with a lesson worth learning. So it is this time.

A correspondent wrote the editor of the **Daily Telegraph** asking how on earth the national dailies could continue appearing day after day after they had announced that ink supplies were giving out. Assistant managing editor, D. McLachlan replied in these terms:

"The national dailies are able to go on appearing in limited size because ink is being imported from abroad. It was agreed with the union leaders that this solution of a temporary difficulty would be acceptable, and the arrangement should be given no publicity, in case mischief-making elements tried to interfere with the handling of the ink."

Take the size of that paragraph again: "it was agreed with the union leaders . . . in case of mischief-making elements . . ." Get it? The union 'leaders' come to terms with the bosses to allow them to continue publishing anti-union, anti-strike papers and keep the glorious news from their own members who might object and might take things into their own hands.

It's a wonder Briginshaw hasn't been offered the Chairmanship of Times Publications Ltd. or whatever it's called.

D.B.

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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 ie, a majority of workers' representatives on all national and area boards, subject to frequent election, immediate recall and receiving the average skilled wage ruling in the industry.

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

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

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

- The extension of the social services by the payment of adequate pensions, the abolition of all payments for the National Health Service and the development of an industrial health service.

- The expansion of the housing programme by granting interest free loans to local authorities and the right to requisition privately held land.

- Free State education up to 18. Abolition of fee paying schools. For comprehensive schools and adequate maintenance grants — without a means test — for all university students.

- Opposition to all forms of racial discrimination. Equal rights and trade union protection to all workers whatever their country of origin. Freedom of migration for all workers to and from Britain.

- Freedom from political and economic oppression to all colonies. The offer of technical and economic assistance to the people of the underdeveloped countries.

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

- The abolition of the H-bomb and all weapons of mass destruction. Britain to pave the way with unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb.

- A Socialist foreign policy subservient to neither Washington or Moscow.

THE HOW AND THE WHY OF

NATIONALIZING THE BUILDING INDUSTRY

INDUSTRIAL

by Omar

We believe that Omar doesn't go far enough in his demands for the building industry—why workers' "participation in management" instead of workers' control—but we are beholden to him for attempting to keep aloft the banner of nationalization despite the fear it inspires in Party and Union circles—Editor.

NATIONALIZATION or Public ownership of the building and civil engineering industries will not in themselves be a panacea for the ills to which they are heir to; much more will have to be done if the needs of the public and the personnel employed are to be satisfied.

There is no royal road to the transfer of industry from private enterprise to the State or some public authority. The first essential is the application of a common sense approach to the problem.

Why do we want a change of ownership? The brief answer is: to end the chaos which exists in the present set up and to introduce a more efficient and economic system of production.

From the point of view of the nation, but not the contractors, or the financiers, the present cut-throat competition, the absence of planning, is neither good for the public nor those employed in the industry.

This anti-social aspect of the industry has been recognised and so bad are its effects that the organized building firms have devised ways and means of mitigating some of the evils by the setting in motion committees which function almost in secrecy. Such a method can hardly be said to be conducive to the public good.

Tempted

Further, there is ample evidence available to show that public ownership and control can provide the finished product cheaper and better in quality than private contractors whose main concern is the making of a substantial profit.

We are tempted to ask the question. What is nationalization? There are many in these days who use it synonymously with socialization, but that is a debasement of the true meaning of socialization.

The State, it must be borne in mind, is not the nation and rarely does it act in the interests of the nation: except when those interests coincide with those of the class it represents.

It can well be designated as a Executive Committee acting for and on behalf of the economically dominant class in society.

This applies even though the label attached may bear the words 'Labour Government'.

Right direction

The danger is therefore always present that the State, acting through a responsible Minister or a Board or Corporation will see that the industry is run in the interest of the class it represents. When this occurs, **the change is no more than the transference of the ownership of the means of production; thus leaving the**

social relationship of the worker unchanged. up in the hierarchy of the industry.

Though this is not socialism, it is a step in the right direction, but only a step in the process of eliminating some of the contradictions inherent in the system of private capitalism.

State capitalism is not new, nor is it a post-war feature of capitalist development. In some capitalist countries it has been established for many decades as a bulwark to a tottering system.

When discussing this problem as it effects building we are tempted to ask: What is to be nationalized; men or materials?

The building industry is the largest male employing industry in the country; employing directly over a million and a quarter persons. This includes Civil Engineering.

Grip of the Banks

In combination these two industries provide indirectly employment for roughly three million persons. The gross annual product is over £2,000 million.

In the industry there are over 100,000 registered contractors in competition with each other and many of these, owing to their size do not possess fixed capital of any appreciable value. In fact, they have little capital at their disposal.

This lack of capital restrains them from providing the necessary training needed by its personnel nor can they provide the facilities for research and experimentation.

Many of these firms are firmly in the grip of the banks and the finance houses whose only interest in building is the size of the return on capital investment.

In consequence of this state of affairs the labour turn-over is so great it cannot be estimated.

Doing well

For many of the small and medium sized firms mechanical equipment is not available owing to the enormous capital outlay needed for its installment.

When and where it is an imperative need, it is hired from some Plant Hiring Company on a daily or weekly basis.

These firms although technically outside the building industry derive their sustenance from within. This is a factor that must not be lost sight of when devising schemes for taking over the control and ownership of the building industry.

An examination of the structure of the industry will reveal that the practices of the smaller and 'one man firms' are little removed from those which prevailed in the generations long since gone.

The only firms able to take advantage of scientific and technical advancement are those high

They not only exploit their ability to obtain loan or other capital but take full advantage of the State assisted schemes and institutions devoted to experimenting and scientific research.

From these social activities they derive financial benefits which are canalized in the coffers of the firms and not, as should be done, passed on to the community which bore the brunt of the expense.

Despite the inefficiency so characteristic of the industry it has succeeded in ensuring handsome profits for the least efficient and as reported in the annual reports of some of the larger ones, exorbitant profits. Inefficiency pays a dividend.

Indirectly, the Government on occasion has stepped in and assisted the contractors when faced with the problem of insufficient capital by providing the plant and material needed to carry out the constructional work on hand.

If the private contractor was left to his own resources the equipment could not be found and the job would not be done.

In all these cases the contractors have done extremely well out of State aid.

Democracy

The present system of society encourages this sort of thing and private enterprise, reaps full advantage of social aid while at the same time safeguarded against any loss financially or otherwise.

The State becomes a Guarantor for the private entrepreneur.

Such a system is not in keeping with present day needs and there is no valid reason for keeping the industry outside social control.

It is clear from what has already been said that the conventional approach to nationalization cannot be successfully applied to the building industry, but it is equally clear that some new form of control and ownership must replace the present jungle-like conditions.

The new organization, which ever form it may take, or whatever the name given to it, would have to conform to certain basic principles from which there must not be a departure.

Large scale organization would replace the multitude of small units so familiar to everyone connected with the industry.

Industrial democracy in the widest possible terms would be a feature; thereby giving to those who actually participate in the technical and productive process a voice in its conduct.

There must also be a means whereby the organization can be linked and geared to a national economic planning commission.

In addition, every care must be taken to avoid over-centralization which invariably leads to bureau-

cracy and eventual inefficiency.

As a safeguard against this tendency the administration must allow for the maximum of decentralization, and authority must be vested in the local organs to make as many decisions as possible on the spot, subject to the observance of the Regional or National policy of the controlling Organization. There is no logical reason for referring day to day problems to the bureaucrats entrenched in their comfortable City offices, who more often than not pigeon-hole them.

Every conceivable step must also be taken to encourage the active participation of the personnel engaged in the day to day work.

The plan

They must be elevated from the status of cogs in the productive machine to participants in the Managerial functions; possessing the same social rights and sharing the rewards arising from their activities.

There must be co-operation and co-ordination with other Agencies and organisations concerned and connected to this field of work. This principle must operate at all levels in the organizational structure of the industry.

How should we proceed to nationalize? There is no royal road but the advocates have presented many ideas on how it should be done, but no scheme has yet received the approval of the Labour Party or the Trade Unions outside of the NFBTO.

The scheme put forward by the NFBTO is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and adaptable to the needs of the industry.

With other ideas it proposes as an initial step that all firms employing twenty or more men be taken over by the State; or alternatively, firms with an annual turnover of not less than £10,000.

The plan offers two alternatives; (a) The establishment of a Ministry of Building to replace the Ministry of Works which is mainly concerned with the maintenance and repair of Government property. (b) The setting up of a National Building Corporation through which and under whose direction, firms will continue to function as now on the employer employee basis, or client-contractor relationship.

Area

It is also suggested that a Building Finance Corporation be set up to deal with the finance side of the business.

The base of the new structure will be the Local Building Organization. The area covered by the Organization could be that normally covered by the Local Authority.

In practice it would fill the role now played by the private contractor and will be responsible for the execution of all work assigned to it whether it be from the Local Authority or private individuals. At all times it will

YOUTH

The following points chosen by a number of young

people active in the LP and TU's begins the discussion on

A CHARTER FOR YOUTH

CLARITY without activity is valueless. Activity without clarity can be dangerous. Too often in recent years the youth of the British Labour Movement have fallen into one or the other of these traps.

Labour Youth sections throughout the country have painfully worked out solutions for the problems of youth and done nothing to apply them. The national conferences of the old Labour League of Youth published its demands for youth and these were left to moulder in the files. Has the Young Workers Meeting called by **Keep Left** earlier this year produced anything concrete?

On the other hand, Youth have often demonstrated, gone home and been heard of no more. A shocking example of this was the May Day march of 1,000 young people through London this year. Has anything been heard of their slogan "For a Socialist Youth Movement in Britain" since then? Apprentices and students have fought out numerous disconnected battles. They have been defeated or won only a fraction of what their energies merited. They have achieved so little precisely because they struggled in isolation and because they believed too often that militancy could make up for lack of clarity in their aims.

• Preface

Below are points chosen by a number of young people active in the Labour Party and Trade Unions as a skeleton for discussion and action. It can be said at once that there are serious gaps—it is a long way from a Socialist policy towards secondary education written from the viewpoint of those undergoing that education; the voices of Socialist students need to be heard more strongly and those of young workers on the land and in the offices; the problem of leisure has been ignored. But a number of important and probably controversial points are raised—full daylight training, a National Educational Service, extension of Junior Workers' Committees and the training of apprentices by technical colleges.

In subsequent issues we want your criticisms and improvements of this draft, and the views of others in your Youth Section, youth club, trade union, CND branch or Young Co-operators. We will also discuss other plans being offered to Youth at the moment, starting with Labour's **Younger Generations** next issue.

But it must not stop there. We also want to know what your Youth Section or Junior Workers' Committee is **doing**—what demands you are putting forward, what methods you are using, what support you are getting and what results you are achieving. We all want to take advantage of your successes and learn from your failures.

• Preamble

We, the Youth of the British Labour Movement, recognise that the fundamental problems which we face are faced also by ordinary people of every age and every country where Capitalism is dominant. As socialists we recognise that these problems can only be solved by the transformation of this present social order, and in this work we are pledged to play our part.

Nevertheless we recognise that we have a special duty to fight for a solution to some problems peculiar to Youth and which we list below:

• Youth and work

Young workers face the same general problem as other workers but they face it from a position particularly exposed to the attacks of the employers. The general problem is the crisis inherent in capitalism and a reduction in the proportion of jobs graded as skilled. For young workers this shows itself in inadequate opportunities to obtain skills, with four times as many now seeking apprenticeships as there are apprenticeships available, and by the exploitation of young workers as cheap labour followed by the sack when they become eligible for the adult rate of wages.

For all young workers

- 1 For all young workers the first steps to be taken are the same . . . to join their appropriate trade union; to be active in it; to bring other young workers into activity within it, to get the union interested in the needs of the young workers, nationally, regionally, at branch level, and particularly on the shop floor through the shop-stewards' movement, to see that the special needs of these young workers are expressed collectively through such organs as the Junior Workers Committees, forming these where necessary; and to see that these expressions are heard, through specific representatives of the youth on union, branch and works committees.
- 2 The needs of the young workers, as of all others, can only be met eventually, through the control of industry by the workers, and this must be the main goal for the activity of young workers.
- 3 While overtime continues, plus rates shall always be paid; overtime must be banned for all under 21.
- 4 Young men and young women doing the same work must be paid equally.
- 5 Young workers must have a minimum of four weeks paid holiday each year, and an annual medical check.
- 6 The Guaranteed Annual Wage must be the immediate solution to the problem of unemployment among youth.

For young workers in training

- 1 More must have the opportunity to train for skilled work which makes real use of their abilities; and there must be planned opportunities for them to use this training.
- 2 No indenture fees or other charges should be made to apprentices, articulated pupils, trainees or students.
- 3 Restrictions in indentures and similar agreements on the participation of the young worker in trade union life, including industrial action, must be eliminated.
- 4 There must be no artificial obstacle to the equality of the sexes to enter training and there must be far more flexibility in the ages at which it is possible to enter training or to transfer to train for another skilled job. We recognise that this last will intensify the problem of the wages of workers in training.
- 5 Training is too often unorganised, too often the responsibility of nobody in particular or of someone with too many jobs to do, too often spread out too long and too thinly. This affords an additional excuse to the employer to hold down wages for the workers in training. Either the present amount of training must be concentrated in shorter periods of training or the amount of training must be expanded to justify the length of the apprenticeship. In all cases training should start as soon as the apprenticeship begins.
- 6 The differentials between the wages of young workers and adults are too wide and are a main basis for the exploitation of the youth and thus a threat to the skilled workers as well. As a first step we support the demand of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions for new rates for engineering apprentices, rising from 52% of the adult rate in the first year of apprenticeship to 90% in the last year. Where apprentices are doing the same work as the adult workers they should receive the same wage. Eventually the apprentice and the adult worker must receive the same wage in all cases.
- 7 The cost of tools and technical books deters many from trying to enter skilled jobs. There must be generous non-repayable grants to young workers for this purpose since it is on them that this demand falls most heavily when they are least able to afford it.
- 8 The system of day-release for education is either not being operated by employers or is operating badly. Our immediate aims must be to assure this right to every young worker; to win the right to full daylight training; and to expand the opportunities for sandwich

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courses of six months in school and six months in industry. The choice between these various systems must be made upon the basis of the young worker's preferences and ways of working and studying.

9 The long-term solution to the problem of training must be the training of all young workers at technical colleges, with periods of work at a number of different factories.

Young workers in less skilled jobs

- 1 The work and problems of young less-skilled workers are often the same as those of older workers in the same trades. The wages of less-skilled young workers must be raised to those of the adult workers.
- 2 Piece rates must be opposed. To the exploitation normally associated with this is added the trick of fixing the piece rates in proportion to the lower juvenile basic rates. The young worker is thus doubly exploited.
- 3 The Guaranteed Annual Wage is of particular importance to the young less-skilled worker, as is the organisation through the union in the individual factory, shop or office and on the individual building site.

• Youth without work

- 1 While the economic system is still allowed to leave youth without employment we must demand that it should not allow these to suffer. At the same time we must struggle harder to end the system which allows such waste and injustice to continue.
- 2 School-leavers shall at once be eligible for full employment and health insurance benefits.
- 3 Careers advice given to young people still at school must be the job of a fully qualified officer with the assistance of the local Trades Council.
- 4 When young people return to school after a vain search for a satisfactory job they must not be expected to merely repeat their studies of the previous year but must be given the opportunity again to improve their technical or professional qualifications.

• Youth and study

- 1 Schools must be removed from the control of the Local Education Authorities to reduce unnecessary local disparities and to create a National Educational Service. Trade Unions must have a substantial representation on the executive bodies of the N.E.S.
- 2 Private, "Public" and Church Schools shall be abolished and their buildings and resources incorporated into the State system.
- 3 The comprehensive school must become the only school, to be obtained by the steady standardisation of the organisation of the other schools and their quality of teaching.
- 4 The school-leaving age must be raised, but it is not enough to do this without at the same time building more and better schools and training more and better teachers.
- 5 Village schools should in future take children only to the age of 11.
- 6 The syllabus in schools shall be broadened by the inclusion of more economics, more social studies, more about the peoples and cultures of the Soviet Bloc and the Underdeveloped Areas and history taught from an international standpoint. The middle-class and nationalist biases predominant in reading-matter used in schools must be eliminated. The study of political and religious philosophies shall be encouraged, to enable young people to better understand the ideas of people of other countries.
- 7 The 11 Plus Examination must be abolished. While other exams. continue there must be a continual review of examination technique and of the need for examinations at all.
- 8 The state should take over all correspondence courses now being run, often badly, for profit. The running of correspondence courses for profit must be banned.
- 9 All students undergoing higher education must receive grants sufficient for a decent standard of living and for making full use of the opportunities available for cultural and other activities. These grants shall also be given to all full-time students over the age of 15 and without a means test.

• Youth and politics

Introduction

It must be recognised that youth today is largely uninterested in politics. This attitude is encouraged by the superficial absence of difference between the Parties, by the widespread apathy among adults and by the present boom in the living standards of most sections of

the British people, which cloaks any realisation of the need to destroy the present economic system. On the other hand the rat-race may bring many young people to Fascism unless alternative ideas are offered to them and shown to be related to their own life, to mean something in terms that they understand. Not least we need to explain to them what the effects of automation on their lives can be under Capitalism or under Socialism.

- 1 Young people must have the vote in industrial elections and referenda from the time of their becoming employed, and in political elections and referenda from the age of eighteen.
- 2 Conscription must immediately be ended and all British troops withdrawn from overseas.
- 3 A Socialist Youth Movement must be formed within the present Labour Party; any attempt to establish such a movement outside the Party would be meaningless.
- 4 We must study what methods and recruits can be offered by the organised youth movements of certain trade unions, the British Federation of Young Co-operators, the National Association of Labour Student Organisations, Students' Unions in the Technical Colleges, V.F.S., U.L.R., the London Schools Left Club, the Youth Campaign of the C.N.D., the Direct Action Committee, and overseas Youth Movements.

by J Crutchley

BOOKS

Our share of the cake

The British Economy and the Working Class 1946—58 by Kurt Map, Workers' League, 2/6.

This pamphlet is the first attempt, of which I am aware, to analyse the workers' share in the economy from the standpoint of the labour theory of value, based on official figures. Anyone who has tried to derive any significant conclusions from the mish mash of government national income figures will appreciate the difficult nature of this task—and ardently sympathise with the author for any shortcomings.

For the first time such facts as the workers' and bosses' share in the national out-put and consumption are presented in a straightforward and objective way. Kurt Map has done much to change the national income statistics from a connived official fetish to concrete facts which can be understood and acted upon, on the factory floor.

The basic conclusion is that in the post-war years, because of the bankruptcy of British capitalism, class collaboration was necessary to keep the system going. In return the workers received their thirty pieces of silver, calculated to be a 5 per cent. increase in their share of personal incomes. I believe this figure is misleading. Any increase in real incomes in the past two decades has resulted, more from the increase of people working in the family ("If Mum didn't work, we wouldn't have a telly") rather than an absolute increase in real wages.

Other conclusions are less controversial. Profits, as a percentage of national product have been consistently higher than the pre-war level. 1938, 13.5 percent; 1951, 21.5 percent. But in recent years this has declined, 1958, 15.5 percent, resulting in the scramble for automation—thus cutting employment and speeding up exploitation.

This is underlined by a table which shows that wages increased in relation to profits until 1955. Since then this trend has been reversed. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of these figures but they are certainly confirmed by the great increase in strikes in the last three years.

A trend is noted, since 1955, for the number of manual workers in the manufacturing industries to decline and for the salaried employees to increase. This point is not developed but it is implied this will be a permanent trend. It could, however, be a technological lay. It will not be long before the white collar jobs are threatened by automation and rationalized out of existence.

The most interesting part of this analysis is the vast fall in relative consumption and the increasing anti-working class nature of the taxation system since 1946.

Consumers expenditure, as a percentage of gross national product has fallen from 85 per cent in 1938 to 74 per cent in 1958. This decline is not adequately explained—it does not result from increased capital accumulation, but from the development of the most perfect form of consumption goods under capitalism—ARMS.

Their advantage is that they gloss over one of the basic contradictions of capitalism—over-production. **To burn food rather than give it away is an evil that everyone can understand and fight against. To scrap arms because they are obsolete and manufacture more is not so obviously immoral. It is the task of every socialist to emphasize this fundamental aspect of contemporary capitalism and it is the main failure of this pamphlet that it does not examine the mechanics of arms consumption and the increased role of the state during the last two decades.**

Finally, it is extremely useful to have the evils of our biased taxation system adequately documented. Besides showing the farce of taxes on capital it also reveals how indirect taxes increased, particularly under Tory rule at the expense of direct taxation. Indirect taxation, because it is a flat rate on consumption (purchase tax, etc.) hits the poor more than the rich as their purchases form a bigger percentage of their total budget.

This excellent pamphlet can be obtained from:

The Workers League,
16 Reform Street, S.W.1.

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John Reynolds

POLICY FOR WALES

Welsh nationalism became a coveted party-political prize during the election campaign. What it is and what it stands for are the subjects of John Reynolds' informative article from Cardiff.

DURING the period of political reaction which has encompassed the present decade, the tendency of those dissatisfied with the present Tory Government has been not to support the Labour Party but to seek some intermediate position. This has resulted in increased support for the Liberal Party in England, but in Wales it has resulted in greater support for Plaid Cymru (pronounced Plied Cumree), the Welsh National Party.

The Welsh Nationalists are less well known than either their Irish or Scottish counterparts. This is partly due to its leadership being mainly drawn from the Welsh-speaking community. This community has maintained its cultural values and national outlook by means of the National Eisteddfod for over 100 years, and it is significant that the Welsh Nationalist Party was conceived and born during the 1925 Eisteddfod, starting with six members. Prior to the war it did not achieve much success, and, indeed, a split occurred on the War Question, which led to the hiving off of the small Welsh Republican Party.

Whilst at first Plaid Cymru had little success in the purely political field, its largely professional class membership helped it to gain considerable influence in Welsh educational and cultural life, and it is successful in furthering the teaching of the Welsh language even in the most Anglicized parts of Wales. An example is that the Glamorgan County Council (strongly Labour controlled) has laid down that 50 per cent of its teaching staff shall be Welsh speaking. It also has significant influence among the staff of the Welsh Region of the BBC.

Since 1951

In the post-War years it has become a more potent political force. The national feeling it has engendered was partly responsible for the creation of the Council of Wales by the Labour Government, although credit for this must go to the Parliamentary Labour Party. It is, however, since the 1951 General Election that its main political advances have been made. At a bye-election in Aberdare in 1954 the Plaid Cymru candidate obtained over 5,000 votes and edged the Conservative Candidate to the bottom of the poll. In a bye-election at Newport in

1956 the Nationalist candidate succeeded in getting almost 2,000 votes in this mainly English town. In a recent election for a seat on the Glamorgan CC in the Rhondda Valley, the Nationalist candidate came within four votes of gaining the seat. These are not only bye-election successes but part of general improvement in their standing during all the General and other elections that have been held in Wales since the war.

What of the policy of this Party which has succeeded in little more than three decades in becoming both an annoyance and a challenge to the major political parties in the Principality?

Nationalist Party

There is little doubt that the recent decision of the Labour Party to promise a Secretary of State for Wales in the next election manifesto has been influenced by this pressure. A great part of the policy of the Nationalists is bound up with the preservation of the Welsh language. In a recent pamphlet by the Party Chairman, Gwynior Evans (who some observers expect to see in the next Parliament), this point is repeatedly made. Welsh nationalism is far more bound up with this language question than either the Irish or Scottish movements, for the Welsh language is far more alive than either of the other Celtic tongues. Thus one of the major aims of the Party is to establish it first as one of the official languages of the Principality, and then endeavour to make it the first language of 100 per cent of its citizens, as it was as recently as two centuries ago. They believe this can only be achieved if Dominion status is granted to Wales. A Parliament for Wales would not be sufficient to ensure this, they believe. Only if complete independence is obtained can the Welsh language and the Welsh nation—they consider the two inseparable—be fully restored to its earlier unity. The case is also buttressed by many economic arguments claiming that more taxes are taken from Wales than are spent in the development of her public services, and that her primary and productive resources are greater than the present distribution of her national wealth. Examples are frequently quoted of the high living standards of other small independent nations, particularly New Zealand, although some

POLICY

of the arguments are somewhat tendentious and do not take into account differing geographical and other factors. Many of the statistics quoted are both selective and arguable.

The Welsh Nationalist Party has attracted to itself much of the youth of Wales, especially that part which is Welsh speaking, although it would be wrong to believe that it has the entire support and sympathy of all the Welsh-speaking members of the population. This is not the case, but the young and enthusiastic members which it does claim give it an image in the public eye which makes it appear attractive in contrast to the other political parties, especially the Labour Party. It is, by its nature, anti-imperialist, and it is partly this which prompts it to support the CND and the Third Force Movement. **Its economic policy, however, is Utopian in that it does not realise the power which British capital has over the Welsh economy. It has made little headway among the industrial workers and its policy of urging the formation of separate Welsh Trade Unions has not helped it in gaining influence among them.** It has gained both support and sympathy however in its recent fight against the ban on political broadcasts imposed on it by both the BBC and ITV, and the "pirate station" operated by its supporters has been of much publicity value.

Internationalism

As recently as 1929 the Labour Party manifesto was advocating a Parliament for Wales, and this was the policy of Keir Hardie when he was MP for Merthyr. Only when we return to the policy of self-determination will we be advocating once again true socialism. **Only if the Labour Party in Wales can be re-imbued with these true principles, admitting with Hardie that Wales has the right to self-determination within a Federal Britain, can the minds of Welsh youth and older socialists be turned once again from the narrow outlook of nationalism to the principles of International Socialism.** The struggle for Welsh cultural values cannot be won in the narrow framework of nationalism, but only by the success of a socialist internationalism which respects the personality of all peoples and all beliefs, and which is strong enough to fight for these ideals against the brash commercialism of capitalist values.

NEVER AGAIN!

"**A**T a meeting of Japanese midwives in Hiroshima it was stated that in the nine years following the dropping of the Atom-Bomb on Nagasaki, every seventh child born in that town had some kind of physical deformity.

"Just over 30,000 babies had been born in that period, of which nearly 500 were still-born. Of the remainder, 1,046 were born with degenerated bone structure or nervous system. Another 429 were born with their sense of hearing affected. A further 254 had deformed lips or tongues, and 59 had cleft palates. 243 had deformities of the internal organs. 47 had underdeveloped brains and 25 were born without brains. 8 were born without eyes or eye sockets."

Here is a tiny fraction, in terms of human misery, of the result of the first use of nuclear bombs. Not one of these suffering children was even alive on the day the bomb fell—those who died were the lucky ones. But the atom-bomb that struck Nagasaki was a tiny peanut compared with the monstrous H-bombs that stand ready for instant release at this very moment—at the touch of a button.

In happy retirement in the sunshine, an inoffensive, silver-haired old gentleman—one-time President of the United States—perkily says: "I would do it again." He should go to Nagasaki and gaze into the faces of those sightless, brainless children and repeat those words—if he can.

But the bomb maniacs WILL do it again—if we let them.

With acknowledgements to Platform

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'ROOM AT THE TOP' — A chronicle of a climb

Room at the Top. By John Braine. Penguin. 2s 6d.

Room at the Top. A Romulus film. Directed by Jack Clayton. **JOE LAMPTON** falls uneasily into the current classification of Angry Young Man. A victim of the Stalemate (ex-Welfare) State, during his fast ascent to the seductive fringes of the Establishment he might expect to meet **Look Back in Anger's** Jimmy Porter on his disenchanted way down. But they would not—and in fact, could not—greet one another in passing because each speaks a separate and antithetical language.

Experiment

The hero of **Room at the Top** is closer to Julien Sorel, the hero of Stendhal's **Scarlet and Black**. When Stendhal was writing, the wake of the French revolution was still discernible; monarchists were attempting the sisyphian task of restoring the Bourbon dream, and the burnt-out republicans had become politically impotent. But the seeds of that revolution had borne formidable fruit—the great change was irreversible.

Julien Sorel was the delinquent child of that change. He was, as Irving Howe says in a criticism of Stendhal, "the modern hero, the man who forces society to accept him as its agent—the hero by will rather than birth . . . and he carries with him the disease of ambition, which flourishes among those who are most committed to the doctrine of equality and spreads all the deeper as the restored Bourbons try to suppress that doctrine. Before the revolution men had been concerned with privileges, not expectations; now they dream of success, that is, of a self-willed effort to lift oneself, through industry or chicanery to a higher social level. Life becomes an experiment in plan, ruse and combat; the hero is not merely ambitious but sensitive to the point of paranoia, discovering and imagining a constant assault upon his dignity; and Stendhal carries this outlook to its extreme limit, perhaps even to caricature, by applying it to affairs of love."

Two Nations

Here, in essence, is the dilemma, the ethic and the fate of Joe Lampton. **Room at the Top** is the Stalemate State parallel of **Scarlet and Black**; Joe Lampton the new Julien Sorel coming eagerly forward to grasp the levers of ambition in the minor wake of the "silent social revolution" of 1945. (It was a revolution grotesquely misunderstood by George Orwell when he proposed that the spearhead of the revolutionary cadres should be the Home Guard.) This unique event revealed itself none too silently as a fraud, in which the expense account triumphed over the old age pension.

As Britain inexorably divides into two nations once again after the unifying wartime egalitarianism and blitz camaraderie, the more preoccupied with ambition does Joe Lampton

become. Suddenly and savagely he becomes aware of this when he watches a young man in an expensive car drive away with a girl in prosperous north country Warley.

"He hadn't ever had to work for anything he wanted; it had all been given him. The salary which I'd be so pleased about, an increase from Grade Ten to Grade Nine, would seem a pittance to him . . . For a moment I hated him. I saw myself compared with him, as the Town Hall clerk, the subordinate pen-pusher, half-way to being a zombie, and

I tasted the sourness of envy. Then I rejected it. Not on moral grounds; but because I felt then, and still do, that envy's a small and squalid vice—the convict sulking because a fellow-prisoner's been given a bigger helping of skilly. This didn't abate the fierceness of my longing. I wanted an Aston-Martin, I wanted a three-guinea linen shirt, I wanted a girl with a Riviera suntan—these were my rights, I felt, a signed and sealed legacy . . . I made my choice then and there: I was going to enjoy all the luxuries which that young man enjoyed. I was going to collect that legacy."

Adventures.

Collect that legacy he does, and this, as the soi-disant film critics were swift to point out involves sex. An army of critics, from the highbrow to the hack, ignored the meaningful Joe Lampton to occupy themselves morbidly with his morals and sexual acrobatics. (Now Britain joins the **BEDROOM BRIGADE** . . . and adds a slice of Yorkshire

pudding": so ran the headline in the Daily Herald.) This rhetorical smoke without fire signified only one thing—that these critics had surrendered their criticism. Yet, despite the fact that the film was an inevitable and somewhat heavy dilution of the novel, suggestive implications remained—threads that led tantalisingly to ideological and political roots. And these threads the critics could not, or would not, see.

But Joe Lampton's sexual adventures cannot be abstracted from his "experiment in strategy". Each affair complicates the route to the top, so that in the end his remark—"I always go straight for what I want"—is stripped of its unequivocal ring. He falls in love . . .

With sun-tan

Like Joe Lampton, Alice Aisgill is an outsider. She has never reconciled herself either to marriage or to conservative Warley. Half-tramp, half bohemian, she prizes those values of generosity and warmth that Joe Lampton is destroying with the rest of his working class heritage. It seems inconceivable to them both that they could be any more than "loving friends"—especially when Joe has already set his sights on the suntanned girl in the Aston-Martin. The relationship is apocalyptic; Joe Lampton's calculating-machine personality is temporarily wrenched away. He sees the truth. "Somewhere along the line," he reminisces, "—somewhere along the assembly line, which is what the phrase means—I could have been a different person. What has hap-

pened to my emotions is as fantastic as what happens to steel in an American car; steel should always be true to its own nature, always have a certain angularity and heaviness and not be plastic or lacquered; and the basic feelings should be angular and heavy too. I suppose that I had my chance to be a real person. 'You're always in contact,' Alice said to me once. 'You're there as a person, you're warm and human. It's as though everyone else were wearing rubber gloves.' She couldn't say that now"

She couldn't say it because she would be dead, mutilated in a suicidal car crash after Joe Lampton had deserted her to marry the young, suntanned Susan Brown. The Susan Brown whose father is the biggest industrialist in Warley; the Susan Brown who is one of the ways to the succulent underbelly of the Establishment.

The death of Alice takes the bright edge off his triumph. There is now remorse—and the knowledge that society will never blame him. "Oh my God," he says, "that's the trouble."

Just as Joe Lampton abandoned the woman he loved, so will he repudiate the working class. In 1945 he would certainly have voted Labour; in the next election he will help Mr. Macmillan—and not Mr. Gaitskell. There are many Joe Lamptons, and their number increases. They are the standard-bearers of the Tory millennium; the shock-troops of the Opportunity State. It is they who will betray the next revolution — even if it is only another silent one.

by Cressida Lindsay

'ABSOLUTE BEGINNERS' AN ABSOLUTE MUST

ABSOLUTE BEGINNERS by Colin MacInnes, MacGibbon and Kee, 15/-.

NOW this is a very important book, far more important than the critics have made out so far, because critics are prone to isolating novels, unless it is to make odorous comparisons, and not to see them in the general trend of fiction writing today.

Wanderings

Absolute Beginners is an utterly contemporary novel, both in style and form, so you have to 'dig' the contemporary scene and language in order to get right inside it. It is written in the form of a documentary, for the hero remains an observer and commentator which leaves little room for him to change. And here lies its only fault, for his comments are so sharp and on the nail, one wonders what would happen if he applied them to himself, and thought a little more about the consequences of his own actions. I found it a little hard to imagine that he could be so shrewd about everything going on about him, without it in some way affecting his attitude to himself and his own attitude to the colour problem (which incidentally is well worth reading for it is gone into with great detail and insight in

the latter part of the book).

The novel is about the people who have grown up without the shadow of war about them, who come from the working class, have rejected it, and who have also rejected the middle class. They have therefore, their own ethical code when it comes to earning a living. They know all, and yet remain surprisingly fresh.

Little relation

The first part of the book deals mainly with the hero's occupational wanderings (he's a pornographic photographer) and gives us plenty of time to get used to his apt and alarmingly sane observations of the rest of the world. In so doing, he sorts out the teds from the teenagers, the cockneys from the 'suburban variety-bandbox imitators', the queers from the pouffs and so on.

But you must read it, for it has echoes of a great many things going on today and so points forward. It also links up with other books like **The Catcher in the Rye** from America and also some of the lyrics in **West Side Story** as well as the best of jazz today which fiction writing, or poetry for that matter, does not seem to have caught up with at all.

What are we to expect if we

bring up our children to know all, especially about themselves, (which is not in itself a bad thing provided we accept the consequences) and if we continue in our capitalistic way to divorce money from work, means from ends, and keep money so bound up with success, it bearing little relation these days to the work done for it?

Society

Society stamps on the evil it breeds, forgetting that it has bred it, it rarely encourages the good, it usually ignores it.

A must

What is happening to the most aware and talented of our younger generation? The ones who could become designers, painters, musicians, or workers that in the past may have designed pottery or masonry, when society is unable to bridge the gap between the technically-minded student, and the middle class art-school product, which means that the only place for the otherwise talented is on television or . . . but you must read **Absolute Beginners** to find out what happens to the rest of them.

BOOKS

● from page 3

work in conjunction with and in accordance with the instructions issued from time to time by the Regional and National Boards.

To enable it to carry out its assignments the materials, plant, and personnel will be placed at its disposal; it will be in possession of all the technical and other labour requisites for its efficient operation.

The Local Building Organization will be composed of Technicians Trade Union Representatives; Local Authorities and other interested bodies, thus qualifying it to serve as a social organization, and at the same time, providing the liaison essential for efficiency.

Working in conjunction with the various technical and administrative departments of the Local Building Organization would be the Labour Department with local offices at convenient centres to attend to the various problems affecting the personnel, including the task of removing as far as possible the disequilibrium in the employment of the various operatives arising from technical and other factors connected with the process of building. Its one aim will be to provide the steady flow of employment and thereby decasualising the industry.

There would be, of necessity, a close working relationship between the Regional and National Organs and each would dovetail one into the other.

Should the Existing Firms be Taken Over?

To take over the vast majority of the existing firms would be equivalent to taking over a large labour force, because they have little more than the labour force at their disposal.

The aim is not to nationalize men, but to take over and control the means of producing the nation's wealth so that it can be utilised to the good of all and not the few.

The larger firms, it is true, possess considerable sums of capital, especially those operating as Civil Engineering Contractors.

Any take-over on conventional lines, that is, on the basis of compensation, would simply mean pouring out largesse on those who have thrived on human exploitation.

When all is said and done, it is far better to set up a complete new organization under direct control and ownership of the Government.

This would permit the existing Contractors to act as Agents or employees of the State; being permitted to carry out such work as has been assigned to them, but this practice should only be resorted to during the transition period.

Should the Take-Over be Confined to the Building Contractors?

To be successful any scheme introduced will have to embrace the allied industries; those producing the materials used in the construction of buildings. To leave these in the hands of the monopolies and trusts would be to lessen the beneficial effects of public ownership or control of building. **While the manufacture of the materials is allowed to remain outside and in private hands the State or the Government will remain at the mercy of the profiteers and without doubt,**

the anti-social policy of restricting out-put and other practices well-known to the industry can only act to the detriment of the scheme.

These financial tycoons must not be allowed to hold the nation to ransom.

It is true, the Government has the power vested in it to legislate against these anti-social acts but experience has shown how futile legislation has proved where profits are concerned. Even the Labour Government failed ignominiously in its attempt to curb the profit-making proclivities of the capitalists; therefore, it is hardly surprising that the Conservative Government has not committed itself to assailing the profit-making system.

Should the Contractors be Compensated?

Here again we come into contact with a number of conflicting views, not only on the fundamental issue but on the form payment, if any, should be made. Some believe that the assets should be bought at the prevailing market value or price; another school of thought says, a price based in the average profits made during a determined period prior to the take-over. Against these are those who say that in the years that have passed the contractors have appropriated enough profit to reimburse them for the capital expended by them.

Theft

In the eyes of many people this is regarded as confiscation and some call it theft, an act which is repugnant to their moral proclivities. Yet these same people suffer no pangs of remorse for having appropriated vast sums from the producers by means of stealth. Nor have they paused to think of the hardships their acts have inflicted on their hapless employees.

Legalised theft has been their stock in trade; therefore, any property confiscated would mean the return to the rightful owners that which was taken away from them.

To guarantee the contractors or the expropriated, a fixed sum in the way of compensation, even if it be but for a limited period, is an admission of the right to exploit the exploited; a right which no progressive can admit.

It has already been seen that thousands of the contractors have little or no capital in the way of plant; therefore any compensation to them would mean the capitalization of the abstract right to live parasitically on the producer.

Many of the larger ones have already had their capital advancements reimbursed and the machinery and plant have comparatively low economic value. Thus leaving the owners with no claim for special consideration.

It is clear that any form of compensation will still be a burden on the producing class.

The parasitic elements will continue to survive at the expense of others and will remain members of the leisure class.

They will exact a toll on industry and the nation and give nothing in return.

Is there any sound reason for placing these redundants in a socially favoured position?

They have already enjoyed the plums which fell from the tree of

wealth and while they feasted at the banquet table they reluctantly gazed on the worker eating the crumbs which fell from the master's table. Their reward has been adequate.

There is no case for granting these leisured gentlemen special favours because the tables have been turned.

They can devote their mental and physical aptitudes to a far better cause, they can contribute to the building of a new and better form of society and live by the fruits of the labours of their

own hands.

We need common ownership of the industry not for its own sake; nor because it has the elements of greater efficiency; nor because there are some good and some bad employers of labour; we need it because it is essential for further progress for the birth of a new way of life and a new social order.

We need it too, because there is no hope within the existing framework of private ownership of removing the gross injustices of our time.

Notting Hill Notebook

Notting Hill Notebook is written and edited by members of the Coloured People's Progressive Association of Notting Hill to whom we are acting as hosts. All views expressed in this column are those of the CPPA and all correspondence in connexion with it should be addressed to: The Secretary, Coloured People's Progressive Association, 14a Tavistock Crescent, London, W.11. (Tel.: BAYswater 3736).

THE COLOURED PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION is a non-political body, nevertheless, when a political attack, such as Mosley's, is made upon us, we have to become politically involved. For that reason, we have accepted the offer of this paper to express our views, free from any political obligations.

The CPPA was born out of a desire to protect ourselves against the attack of fascism, and to strengthen ourselves in order to resist future aggression from whatever quarter it may spring.

We have invited into our ranks, all peoples who believe in the freedom and dignity of all men, but as our name implies, we are naturally more concerned with the welfare and protection of the coloured peoples in England, than in those of the infinitely better equipped and protected white peoples.

We make no apologies for this. Ours is a divided and prosecuted race, and those Europeans who are genuine in their desire to see an improvement in our well-being, will understand, and forgive, whatever we may say or do that seems like segregation. There are certain needs that only apply to us, and certain tasks that only we can undertake.

ABSENT FROM the rallying-calls of the major political parties to the electorate, is the call to strangle the fascist monster that is now twitching its slimy tail in Notting Hill.

"Mosley cannot win," the complacent political pundits murmur consolingly.

Nevertheless, he'll get votes. From whom?

On the other hand, one can hear workers in the area saying: "Mosley is a man of action. Mosley gets things done." A sad reflection, we feel, on the failure of the Labour MP who has represented them for two consecutive years.

Mosley's main attack is levelled at the coloured peoples in England, and it is the CPPA's duty to hit back, but let no one fool him or herself; many gentiles in Germany soon found that not being Jewish was no protection from fascism.

Now that a general election is here, we hope that all parties will take the opportunity of combating Mosley where it is most effective—on the doorsteps.

WE, THE MEMBERS of the CPPA, would like to take this opportunity of recording publicly, the undying gratitude that we owe to Mr McDonald Moses, our Public Relations Officer, who has left us to take up a position in the West Indies on behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

During his stay with us, he has been an inspiration to us all, and all those who have met him, I'm sure, will want to join us in wishing him good fortune in his new task.

THE CPPA is in need of non-fictional books for its library.

Unfortunately, we cannot afford to offer payment of any kind, but we will be only too pleased to collect any books that are offered.

All books sent by post should be adequately covered by postage and addressed to:

Secretary of the CPPA
14a Tavistock Crescent
London W 11.
Tel: BAY 3736