FIGHT AND FIGHT

UNILATERALISTS can pride themselves on their handiwork at Labour’s annual conference last month. A major political party is officially committed to their policy. Socialist unilateralists can claim an additional triumph. They had urged the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to grow through the labour movement and had won. The vote contained a bare possibility that the shambolic giant of British Labour might achieve a sense of purpose beyond the oiling of its machine, and simultaneously, that the propaganda aims of the Campaign might lodge firmly with an instrument of potential power.

True, Campaigners learned—within hours—that it would not be easy to draw on this possibility. To do so would entail joining battle where it is being waged—by the left of the labour movement; it would mean involving themselves in a struggle with the right wing in the trade unions and the Party on more than the unilateralist issue. Nevertheless, a serious unilateralist can do little now but join and fight.

CUBA: THE FACTS

REVIEW BY KEN COATES

“CASTRO’S revolution is certainly one of the most spectacular adventure stories of any age. How fourteen men, each with a rifle and ten cartridges, hidden on a mountain top” could rout an armed force of thirty thousand, equipped with every device of civilised war, including napalm and the goodwill of the State Department, is a mystery that may well fog the minds of foreign office officials until the very end. That the revolution promotes them to useful work on a building site. But it is a mystery which can easily be unravelled, and this is done (and done extremely well) in a recently published book.

POVERTY

Cuba is poor. In 1953 the average income of its people was less than $6 a week. Only 35% of its houses have running water. More than half the rural population has no lavatory facilities at all, “not even a privy”. Since many people are hungry as well as insanitary, many people die of “natural” scourges such as malaria, tuberculosis, syphilis. Parasites grow and multiply in the bodies of little children. Some of these worms, the size of an ordinary lead pencil, gnaw the intestinal system, block elimination, and cause anguished deaths. Such parasites often get into the body through the soles of the feet of children walking without shoes on infected ground. After a child dies the parasites may come slithering from the mouth and nasal passages, searching for a living organism on which to feed.

What has been done about it over the years? Nothing.” (Nothing could be done until Batista had been compelled to slither out of the body politic of Cuba, across the sea, back home.) In the same way, a quarter of the people over 10 years old in Cuba could not read. Another quarter of the Cuban population was, while Cuba belonged to the free world, normally unemployed. There were good relations with the United States, at least as far as the United States was concerned. A quarter of all Cuban bank deposits were in U.S. banks. Cuba was third in all Latin America in the volume of direct U.S. investments.

REBELLION BEGINS

In this state of affairs it was that Fidel Castro, a young lawyer, began the public campaign against Batista’s dictatorship by showing, in a brief submitted to the Urgency Court of Havana, that Batista was already in breach of the Constitution, criminally, to an extent which legally warranted a sentence in prison of 100 years. His petition was rejected, so that it now became clear that the only redress against usurpation was revolution. Castro, consequently, prepared a revolution, and on July 26th attacked, in Santiago. Most of his followers were killed, after the attack was beaten off. (More than twenty thousand Cubans were to die at Batista’s hands in the years that followed: after the war, when the allied Armies killed their enemies, they did so under the pretext of initiating a new kind of Justice. No international Court has yet taken Batista’s head.) Castro himself was caught, and brought to trial. It soon became obvious that he would score such a victory in the courtroom that he was “taken ill” by the government, and subsequently tried in camera in a hospital anteroom, under the protection of nearly 100 soldiers. Even here, he won hands down: indeed, he made a speech in his defence which Sweezy and Huberman quite soberly describe as “one of the greatest speeches in the history of the fight for freedom anywhere in the world.”
**TU COMMENTARY**

**KARL DUNBAR**

MORE than ever before it becomes important for all active trade unionists of the left to raise the question of their unions' political direction. Out of the window goes the argument that trade unionists can fight the enemy and do not mix. The Scarborough conference dealt the final blow to that hope for revolution.

For years Labour's right wing smugly counted the trade union block vote as pro-socialist property, the budgeson with which to beat the progressives into submission. Now the block vote is split wide open and it's our job to see it stays that way.

The AEU will be one of the main battlegrounds on which this issue will be fought. Many AEU branches are said to have written to the South Welsh AEU, union's vote being cast against the Gaiskell defence policy. In this we see the hand of Car- ron who we can be sure will use every underhand trick in the book to 'condition' the membership for the great 'about face' on defence policy. So far the Left have remained silent. We must be stirring ourselves; now is the time to peur in the resolutions congratulating the National Committee for their determination stand against the Carromites and firmly stating our support for the trade union policy of unilateral disarmament.

**DIRTY TRICK**

A favourite trick of the American politicians is to circulate 'smear leaflets' about their opponents. This seems to have now caught on in Britain. Going the rounds of the National Society of Painters branches is an unsigned, duplicated foolscap sheet fired full of the worst kind of character murdering we have seen in a long time. Its opening paragraph reads: "The Communists are out to take over our union. Those who want no truck with the Board will either lose their jobs or their stokes must make sure they vote against them." There follows a list of names covering seven Districts, the London Area Committee, Port of London and Mersey Shipping Committee, Biennial Conference delegation and so on. Some of the brothers names are labelled either Communist, Trotskyist, stokies or fellow travellers, others simply non-Communist. One thing is certain: the Communist nominee is viciously slandered on his industrial conduct and the implication is that Jewish is played up very prominently.

This circular was distributed to all branch officers during the second week of balloting for a new General Secretary. The Executive Committee later de-clared the vote null and void, and ordered a new ballot.

Many officers are saying to themselves if this was not the real intention of the circular, as a candidate in that election was reported to be leading hands down and he is, I quote from the circular, "getting Communist support".

The members of the NSF will have to swiftly demand that these unsigned circulars are put straight on the nearest line where the trade union is strong. To the reading of such slanderous muck in the branches spells sure doom to union democracy.

**STRIKE AT ROOTES**

The strike at the Rootes group factory of Thrupp and Maberley (which brought out for a time the entire Rootes group workers) underlines the reactionary attitude of the employing class. The refusal of the Rootes bosses to even discus the position of the workers shows very clearly just how much they care for those who produce their profits. Things are looking grim for the car trade, exports have fallen and home sales, thanks to our Tory government, are the worst in 15 years. But think of those last fifteen years. Think of the colossal profits which have been amassed by the car bosses. Today, however, not one penny are they prepared to spend so that the producers of their profits can go on taking home a wage packet. The lesson is driven home to the workers, from those in Thrupp and Maberley, that capitalism offers nothing permanent, that there is certainly no future. Maybe the trade will 'pick up' again; but through this eyes of the strike workers are opened, many for the first time, and they will now for the lesson so bitterly learned.

A footnote to the strike. A NUJB delegation reported to the Wilsedden Borough Labour Party and the outcome was a collection totaling 17d. 6d. for the strikers. How many more Labour Parties are doing this?

**RANK AND FILE CONFERENCE**

Another rank and file conference takes place this January. Organised by ILP and the Workers' Party its object is "to enable rank and file stewards and militant workers to come together to discuss common problems".

So far so good, to discuss problems and compare experiences is always a benefit to active workers. But our past experience of such conferences leads us to some misgivings.

For example we are told in the leaflet advertising the conference, that we must "create a national rank and file movement", and "form a national liaison committee". Or again, "organise food purchase in bulk", "organise milk and bread buys". The leaflet declares: "such a movement must be free from political control and the control of the union bureaucrats."

To deal with the final point first, how can we consider a movement without political control? Such a movement which seeks to derive its strength from workers, many of whom are not even members of the working class cannot exist without political control. Socialist, directie in our own words, for the freedom to expand views is not stifled by such control. On the contrary it is absolutely necessary to the freedom of expression that a Socialist political control be exercised. But then, why are two 'political' groups organising the conference if there is to be no political control?

I believe the other points speak for themselves, they are the marks on the wall of another era and have no reality for our class to-day. What happens, for example, when, comes the spring, our shop stewards movement stands as strong as it is today? As I believe it will. There is already too much fragmentation of the left and such movements as "national liaison committees" can serve to destroy this fragmentation. The organised working class have traditional loyalties to their organisations. I am proud of my union and the part it has played in the struggles of the past. Certainly no Caron will ever take away from me the loyalties I have to the union, and my class as a whole. As I see it, our task is to work through the existing organisations of the working class and use our class re capacit to organise those organisations.

We should nevertheless go to this Conference. Let us see if there can be some measure of the strength there is for limited aims through the existing organs of our class. It is always worthwhile hearing the views of other fellow-workers and also for them to hear ours.

**THE SHORTER WORKING WEEK**

**STAN BEDWELL**

BEFORE the last war a popular saying ran: "eight hours' work, eight hours' play, a day and one week's holiday with pay", there was unemployment, the standard working week was 48 hours and one week's holiday with pay was common place.

The back further and you find a 10 and 12 hour working day, a half-day on Saturdays usually applied in manufacturing and craft industries, and no holidays with pay. Before union agree- ment about a guaranteed day and a guaranteed week, bank holiday shut-outs were unpaid.

**MINES**

Go back further still, and you will find the origin of marching on May was not so much for the complete emasculation of the working-class from capitalist exploitation, but for the 60 hour working day as a reason- able amount of time to toil and sweat for the bosses' profits. The industries existence, the industry's existence, is in tune with all regulations whatsoever and it was roughly governed by the amount of toil a wage-slave could get through.

Women and children were employed in coal mines and in factories and on the land. Capitalist "civilisation" has turned this period into one of the most lavish and indulgent, as much labour power as possible with as little pay and leisure as possible.

Despite the great onward march of British Labour and its success in throwing off the harsh- est and crudest laws of capitalist exploitation, the struggle for workers' leisure and the freedom to express oneself is ongoing.

**SYSTEMATIC MURDER**

DURING the past eight years, the total number of drivers and conductors employed by the L.T.E. has declined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Drivers and Conductors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>47,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>36,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>34,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1966</td>
<td>30,560</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total decline over eight years

14,045

(30 per cent of total)

Where three buses ran in 1952 two run today—and even this pitiful service can only be maintained by a level of overtime that is a disgrace to a civilised community.

Taking recently as last month, Mr. J. B. Burnell (L.T.E. Operating Manager) complacently claimed: "The L.T.E. has no intention of seeking to avoid their public responsibilities."

"If you cannot, or will not, help us to carry out any work as we know it—then make room for those who will." It is high time Mr. Burnell took his own advice and "contd page 3"
workers’ right to be lazy as well as the capitalist, proceeds by the same laws of class struggle motion as it did a century or more ago.

The battle of the exploited for a shorter working day and week has always been fought over a wide front; with the front giving here and there, and here and there the enemy offering a pocket of resistance.

Once the employers’ front has been broken and largely punctured, all workers must be brought into line. In a full-em- ployment market condition this is the most favourable conditions for achieving a substantially greater reduction in hours because of competition for labour.

The battle for the 44 hour week has achieved great success, and with an ever-increasing productivity of man and machine, the worker is set for much shorter hours still if his T.U. Movement remains intact.

FOOD

Engineering, iron and steel, heavy chemicals, print and paper, furniture, gas, electricity and water supply, civil engi- neering, local government, manual workers and many smaller in- dustries are all on 42 hours or less. At least, 7,500,000 workers have a normal working week of less than 44 hours and the move- ment is spreading.

The wholesale Clothing Manufactur- ers have agreed to 42 hours and the rest of the industry is holiday pay. At least, 500,000 workers in the minor metal trades (half a million workers) will follow — engineering — some of the Sheffield and Birmingham trades already have. Food manufacturing looks set to follow suit. The Post Office Engineers have achieved 42 hours and the other postal workers will have to follow on.

44 HOURS

The first big break through was made when the textile workers in Manchester knocked one and a half hours off their week by their strike last summer. They were followed by the J.C.I. All this goes to show the complete reliance of one section of workers’ action upon another.

On the other side of the coin, agriculture (with 600,000 work- ers) has one day off won and baking has won 44. Building, with a million workers, the rail- ways, with 220,000, London Transport, with 77,000 and dis- tribution with two and three quarter million are still on 44 hours or more.

PROSPECT

But already some are working 40 hours, and the paid holi- day, taken for granted, was only beginning to be won. But for the outcome of the battle is about extra holidays and for “earnings” to be the basis of holiday pay. In many black- out jobs, three weeks paid hol- iday is the standard and is appli- cable in other countries in many trades. The prospect of ordinary workers having a month’s paid holiday in the future is not a dream.

SLUMP

In post-war Britain we have been living in an extraordinary boom conditions with only partial eco- nomic recessions and up- swings. The capitalists both here and in America, by manipulat- ing their state machinery by the outlet of surplus value flying out in socially useless war ex- penditure by the continuous war-eve factor and by being ultimately conscious of what a slump or war will do to capitalism it- self, have succeeded in holding a major portion of the economy in these conditions — although at a slow tempo — boom in

Britain leads to demands for overtime by employers. Together with bonus payments, it results in the take-home pay of the workers generally being out of all proportion to the basic pay- rates. Arrangements for overtime and traditions of working in ex- cess of the standard week, vary considerably.

But broadly, the British work- er is in a trap about his earn- ings because they are usually based upon local conditions; and he could, in partial recession or slump conditions, find them con- siderably reduced without actually becoming unemployed.

In these circumstances it is shameful that we have a power- ful organisation, like the British T.U. Movement, which has made no firm move, so far, to con- solidate “earnings” into “base rates”.

STRENGTH

The agreements governing overtime and week-end work are only partially regulated by the Trade Unions. They are often drafted or tactily by-passed by the workers and Union- themselves who do not see overtime as a menace to their health and welfare but only see the immediate gain that it yields.

In very high pressure product- ive work, as work-study experts will testify, a shorter working day, which reduces human fatigue, is of greater gain to the boss in greater productivity than it is to the worker. Whether the worker gains at all from greater productivity depends on his organised strength.

NORWAY

Part of the worker’s struggle to keep as far away from the grave-yard as possible, is to be able to break from work in the form of holidays. Next year pro- gress both in length of holiday and in payment for it, must come. But in the length of holiday especially, Britain is lagging behind. In France there is a legal minimum for three weeks; four weeks for young workers and many agreements provide for more.

In Norway there is a legal 18 days’ annual and 10 days’ of public holidays. In Germany the legal minimum annual holiday in most areas is 12 days but the average, in practice under agree- ments, is 15 days with 10-14 days’ paid public holidays. In Italy the annual holiday is 1-15 days, very often with more for long service or skill, and there are 17 days’ paid public holi- days.

AGREEMENTS

Clearly the British T.U. Move- ment on pay, overtime and holi- days is in a state of drift.

The worker is in a most precarious position when his take-home pay is out of all proportion to his basic wage (usually covered by national agreements); unless the demand goes on, employers will con- tinue to use the fact that

OPPOSITION TO THE ALGERIAN WAR—

see article on page eight.
Labour History

JOHN MICHEL: IRISH PATRIOT

BY HENRY COLLINS

On November 3, 1815, John Mitchel, one of the greatest Irish nationalists of the nineteenth century, was born. Ireland was England's first colony and all the main features which we have come to associate with the emergence of nationalism appeared there in a peculiarly repulsive and brutal form.

In 1798, during the war which followed the French Revolution, the United Irishmen were defeated, but when France revolted and France rose to the hope of being reinforced by French troops, Napoleon, already beginning to succumb to delusions of grandeur, was more interested in the conquest of Spain than in Ireland and England eventually rebelled against it. Ireland was too little and too late. The rising was crushed with unusual savagery and three years later the Act of Union abolished the Irish Parliament, linking the two countries under a single ruler. Rent to the landlords, tithes to the priests and taxes to the Government almost crushed body and soul out of the Irish peasants. An underground resistance movement, largely spontaneous but sporadically organised, sprang up, under the leadership of the Whiteboys and the Ribbonmen. As Mitchel was born the war with France was ending but the English found themselves with a peasant war in Ireland on their hands. Tithes were collected at gun point.

The leaders of Irish Catholicism were in a dilemma. They could hardly approve the English establishment and its alien, heretical Church. But neither could they openly support the rising, the spread of a land war which might end in the destruction of private property. In the critical decade following the end of the war, Daniel O'Connell found the answer.

Independent of any one of Ireland's national heroes, his statute stands at the head of the main street in Dublin, which is named after him. Yet John Mitchel said of him that "next to the British Government he was the greatest enemy Ireland ever had". And unfortunately, Mitchel was right.

O'Connell organised the peasant movement and then re-directed it. The agrarian revolt was damped down and the Catholic Association, which O'Connell set up in 1823, concentrated its efforts on securing Catholic emancipation. The priests were happy and the Catholic Return to the Association was collected at chapel doors. By 1828 the English Government thought it expedient to yield. The Catholic Act was passed permitting Catholics to sit in Parliament, and, in the forces and to be called to the Bar.

FAILURE OF POTATO CROP

Catholic Emancipation proved a mixed blessing. It split the English Tories, paving the way for a Whig Government in 1830 and the Reform Act of 1832. For Ireland it was practically an unredressed disaster. The Act emancipating the Catholics was accompanied by another, disfranchising the Irish smallholders. Now there was to be no political barrier to eviction, and eviction, on a stupendous scale, was what followed. The Act of Union of 1801 had subjected Ireland's native manufacturing industry to the full blast of English competition. It was almost totally ruined and with a rapidly growing population pressing on a limited supply of land, rents were raised and evictions were frequent. By the middle of the eighteen forties Ireland was ready for the "famine".

It was "famine" of a very special kind. The potato crop failed through blight. Nothing happened to the corn or cattle. But the Irish were too poor to buy either. There was no reduction in rents, and the food which the peasants could not afford was sent out at the ports under military escort. Deaths followed from hunger, typhus and cholera on a scale that has never been accurately assessed. Not for the first or last time in their tragic history the Irish grew desperate.

AFTER EMANCIPATION

In this supreme crisis of their nation, the national hero collapsed. After achieving emancipation, O'Connell had turned his attention to campaigning for the repeal of the Act of Union. But he always insisted that the movement should restrict itself to constitutional channels. The English Whigs, in his view, were Ireland's natural allies. Irish independence was the action by the Irish peasants was to be deplored. In 1847 he died in Genoa, sick, senile and despondent, on his way to receive a Papal benediction. His place was taken by others of a different bent.

In October, 1842, three years before the onset of the "famine", a weekly journal, the Nation, had been established, with the political aim of remodelling and radicalising Irish nationalism. On the analogy of Mazzini's "Young Italy" movement, the group around the Nation soon came to be known, collectively, as "Young Ireland".

John Mitchel, son of a Unitarian minister who had been active in support of the United Irishmen, became one of the Nation's leading contributors. He was a passionate and incisive writer: he expressed the path to freedom lay through the forcible seizure of the land by the peasants and the mass refusal to pay rent and tithes. For them, the natural allies of Ireland were not the English Whigs but the English Chartists. And, indeed, the Chartists, since the inception of their movement, had shown generous approval of Irish needs, "An immense portion of the agricultural wealth of Ireland", wrote Brontonner O'Brien, the great Chartist leader in 1838, "is annually drained into this country to enrich bands of absentee landlords. But it is a scurrility of every description who give the agriculturists of Ireland not one shilling's worth of value in return. Again, an immense portion of the manufactured wealth of Ireland is sent to this country. It is the same with the miners driven into Ireland to enrich the squirearchy, shopocracy, law, church, Government agents, military and constabulary officers, and, above all the hordes of corn factors, butter merchants, cattle dealers, jobbers, and contractors of all sorts that overshoot that country, and who yield to operatives of England and Ireland not one shilling's worth of value in return for the manufactured produce absorbed by them." In view of all this, it seemed to him that the natural outcome must be "a grand alliance between the oppressed or unrepresented classes of Ireland, with the oppressed or unrepresented classes of Great Britain." By 1847 starvation was rampant in Ireland, while food to the value of £17,000,000 was being exported. Irish resistance grew and the Whig Government in London introduced a coercion Act. Charles Gaven Duffy, proprietor of the Nation, saw the way forward through parliamentary action. By the end of the year Mitchel had broken with the Nation. He had come to the conclusion, he explained, "that the whole system ought to be met with resistance at every point, and the means for this would be extremely simple: namely, a combination among the people to obstruct and render impossible the transport of ships and Broadway, to refuse all aid in its removal: to destroy the highways; to prevent everyone by intimidation from daring to bid for grain or cattle if brought to action under distress; in short, to offer a passive resistance universally, but occasionally when opportunity served, to try the steel." 1848 was the year of European revolution. Its outbreak in France, in February, sparked off a revival of Chartism in England, while the Irish, led by Mitchel and Lalor, planned an armed uprising. The Government prepared to strike back. On April 10 the Chartist demonstration at St. Pancras was dispersed. 13,000 Côngmon soldiers were overawed by the concentration of troops and special constables. On May 25, Mitchel was sentenced, on a charge of "treason-felony", to transportation for fourteen years. There followed the arrest of Lalor and the leadership of the rising passed into the hands of the landlord, Smith O'Brien. His support for insurrection was half-hearted and he wanted no infringement of property rights. The rising went off at half cock and was easily quelled.

Mitchel spent his last years in the United States, during the stirring period of Civil War and slave emancipation. But his great dream was over. A number of other misguided radicals he sided with the Southern slave-owners, on the grounds that, like the Irish, they were fighting for the right of secession against grasping traders and capitalists. The struggle for Irish freedom was to go through many strange phases in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In an important sense it is still going on.

Socialist Review

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THANKS! and KEEP IT UP, COMRADES!
I enclose a contribution of £______d. to the SOCIALIST REVIEW Fighting Fund.

Name ____________________________________________
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Send to SOCIALIST REVIEW APPEAL FUND, 117 Carmelite Road, Harrow Weald, Middlesex
FOR years it was agreed by apologists for the A-bomb on Hiroshima that to drop the A-bomb meant to warn the rest of the world. It was a signal to the American press of the record of a conversation at Potsdam in 1945 between President Truman and Stalin. It has never been possible for the world, at the press of a button to say, "Save the lives of millions of Allied soldiers".

When Truman was in Potsdam, he was not there to discuss the war, to warn the world of its horrors. He was there to discuss the war, to warn the world of its horrors. No one knew that the Japanese government had approached the Soviet Union with a request for mediation to bring about an end to the war in Japan. Stalin decided to have nothing to do with this Japanese initiative and told Truman at Potsdam that he had rejected it. Truman fully agreed with Stalin that the offer should be rejected. (The Times, 28th August).

Actually, at the time of the Potsdam Conference, prior to the dropping of the A-bomb, Japan was already on the verge of collapse. The merchant navy was a decisive factor, as Japan had to import almost all the raw materials for its industries. At the end of the war "serviceable merchant tonnage was down by little over 12 per cent of the fleet with which Japan had begun the war". (J.B. Cohen, Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction, p. 104). The import of key commodities fell to a pre-war level of 48.7 million tons to only 3 million tons in the first quarter of 1945. (Ibid., p. 109).

In July, 1945, industrial output was approximately only 40 per cent of the 1944 peak. Output of aircrafts had fallen by 56 per cent from the 1944 peak; aircraft engines, 73 per cent; munitions-shipping, 80 per cent; army ordinance, 44 per cent; naval ordnance, 57 per cent.

If it is borne in mind that "Japanese munitions output at its peak was never more than 10 per cent of that of the United States, and her coal and steel production only one thirteenth". (Ibid., p. 52), it is clear that her doom was sealed. In point of fact it was a foregone conclusion a good year before her actual collapse.

A clear pointer to the approaching disaster was the fact that opposition to United States bombing vanished almost completely after the event. As a Japanese writer said: "the raids extended to the medium size towns all over the country, with the result that by the end of the war 81 out of 206 towns had been destroyed, the largest cities in Japan 49 per cent of the homes in Tokyo, Kanazawa and Osaka were destroyed. In Osaka and Kobe 32.6 per cent were destroyed, and in Nagoya 14 per cent. (Toshikazu Kake, Eclipse of the Rising Sun pp 205-6).

Japanese government feelers for peace were put out early in July, 1945, with the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow asked for Russian intervention to end the war. On July 15 he repeated the request. Logovski, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, replied on July 13, that since Stalin, Molotov were not going to Potsdam no answer could be given until their return to Moscow.

As the United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Japan's Struggle To End the War, rightly stated: "Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that Japan probably December 1945, and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if the United States had not been in full operation or been contemplated." (U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, Japan's Struggle To End the War, 1946, p. 13).

DAILY WORKER

With the recent leakage of its secrets, practically complete: Japan was ready to stop the war even without the A-bomb being dropped. In the face of this fact, how cruel was the attitude of the Communist Party in 1941. Thus the attack on the A-bomb at the time it was dropped. Thus the editorial of the Daily Worker stated on August 7th 1945, the day after the bomb on Hiroshima: "The employment of the new weapon on a considerable scale would 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 printing the only paper in Great Britain to editorially call for the employment of the new weapon on a substantial scale.

The French counterpart of the Daily Worker, L'Humanité, commented on August 8th 1945: "The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima seems to have caused considerable destruction. American experts report 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 Vichy has been pleased to disapprove of it! May we be permitted to express our admiration for the glibness of it?"

The Italian Communist Party paper L'Unita published an article on the 10th August, entitled, "by Mario Scelba, entitled, of all things, "At the Service of Civilisation."

The recent leakage exposes Truman and his apostle Attlee, who justified the atom bomb, as well Stalin and his agents as the Stalinist leaders all over the world.

IT'S RICH

"Decisions about defence and weapons are emphatically not fundamental to socialism"—George Brown, Shadow Defence Minister, at Leeds, reported The Times, July 21.

"Lace workers in Nottingham have decided to use union funds to advertise their employers' products"—Times reports, July 28. With typical ironical document by John Flewitt, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Operative Lacemakers, "Hoarding union money to spend on strikes is oxidized".

"I do not think you can have a working class newspaper any more than you can a working class refrigerator"—John Bevan, editor of the new Daily Herald, on BBC's "At Home and abroad", Aug. 2.

"It is too fantastic to believe that (return the coal industry to prewar days)—unless I have been bought for £10,000 a year"—Alfred Robens, Chairman, NCB, reported in The Times, July 21.

Russia is a materialistic society. They assign a low priority to those things that require a life for their people. The attitude they take towards automobiles is a good illustration of this policy"—Alan Duells, head of US intelligence, quoted by Arthur Schlesinger In On The Big Decision.

"It is glorious to eat less than one's food rations"—Sign in public mess hall in China, reported in the Economist, August 1.

"Professor Lamont (physician superintendent of West Koppies Mental Institute) said that Pratt had become involved in a political campaign in London and had spoken in Hyde Park on behalf of the Liberal Party"—at the trial in Pretoria when Pratt was held to be mentally disordered. "Do you believe in witchcraft? If you do, will you consult a witch doctor?" This was one of the questions put to all political prisoners... before they were released"—Special Correspondent in Johannesburg, New Statesman, July 16.

"A police spokesman at the township said that it was unlikely the police would use anything more than smoke gas in the township, "as it is not as effective in its effect"—after 30,000 Africans demonstrated at Harare, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, as reported in the Daily Worker, 2.

"There is no discrimination here, but the committee never elects Jews"—secretary of an un-named golf club, quoted in Economist, July 16.

"Remember, any PANSY can be a PINK; it takes a MAN to be a NAZI!"—leaflet entitled White Man! Are You Going To Be Run Out Of Your Nation's Capital... Without A Fight? Published by the Nazi Party, Virginia, USA.

"We are entering a period of British politics where the breakdown of class collaboration may well mean the ruling class considering a form of fascism in the years that lie ahead"—G. Healy, in Newsletter, September 17.

NOEL-BAKER'S H-BOMB

BY GEOFF WESTON

With the Herald of trumpets, Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, Nobel Peace-prize winner, ascended the Scarborough platform. Amid the glory and the prestige that is the lot of a winner of that award, he began to speak—appropriately on defence.

Maybe some of the more optimistic of the unilateralist delegations waited with bated breath to hear their unanswerable case presented with the deadly and incisive logic of professional Disarmament Conference delegate. Alas: reason and political expediency were not squared and the old heavy arguments for multilateral disarmament were heard again; except one that the pre-occupied Conferences for longer than I have been alive and with no evident and inevitable result of impasse.

Thus, it was reasonable to expect that such an oration addressed to the disarmament conference would have both the acumen and honestly to admit that the orthodox approach to disarmament and the War and peace. We have: for three decades, and no doubt Mr. Noel-Baker is resigned to another level of the pre-occupations and the possibility of another Peace Prize.
THE FUGITIVE KIND

C DALLAS

Rice is growing down the river. In the previous upstream people need rice. If we keep the rice in storage Rice will be dearer for them. Those who take the rice boats will earn even less of it. Then the rice will be cheaper for me. What after all is rice? Do I know what it is? Do I know who knows that? I don’t know what rice is. I know only its price.

When winter comes on, people need clothes. Then is the time to buy in cotton and keep it off the market. When the cold comes on, clothes will be dearer for them.

There is too much cotton around. What after all is cotton? Do I know what cotton is? Do I know who knows that? I don’t know what cotton is. I know only its price.

A man needs too much food. Which makes men dearer for me. To make food, men are needed. Those who can’t make eating cheaper, but Those who eat make it cheaper for me. There are too many men around. What after all is man? Do I know who a man is? Do I know who knows that? I don’t know what a man is. I know only his price.

(translation: Peter Sedgwick)

WORKING CLASS PORTRAIT

BY JOHN ASHDOWN

Saturday Night and Sunday Morning—Alan Sillitoe—Pan Books, 2/6d, 1929p.

A ND trouble for me it’ll be, fighting every day until I die. Why do they make soldiers out of us when we’re fighting up to the hill as it is? Fighting with mothers and wives, landlords and gaffers, coppers, army, government. If it’s all right for the rich, it’s another, apart from the work we have to do and the way we spend our wages. There’s bound to be trouble in store for me every day of my life, because trouble it’s always been and always will be. Born drunk and married blind, misbegotten into a strange and crazy world, dragged-up through the hole and into the war with a gas-mask on your clock, and the sirens rattling into you every night while you rot with scabies in an air-raid shelter. Stung into khaki at eighteen, and when they let you out, you sweat again in a factory, grabbing for an extra pint, doing women at the week-end and getting to know whose husbands are on night-shift, working with rotten guts and an aching spine, there being nothing for it but money to drag you back there every Monday morning.

HATRED

Eminent sociologists are at the moment poring over various aspects of working class life, but they will not produce a social survey as incisive and terse as Alan Sillitoe’s novel. Allusion has become synonymous with apathy—working-class “attitudes” are portrayed by default as merely conformist: that extra bit of pay in the wage-packet has made them bitter against the battered old ship. And yet once, again, once is a portrait of the jungle. Now the foliage is richer, there are two hundred poundworths of clothes in the wardrobe—and yet the blinding frustration and anger breaks out the same, men are still the victims of those above them. But the blank hatred of all the proliferations of the ruling class is here an individual phenomena, not a class one, and it is only the second which could lever up the required social change.

ADVENTURES

So, to a limited extent, the sociologists are right (although it doesn’t take a sociologist and ten years hard work to discover that the class is fragmented—and thus the dynamic of revolution dismantled. But the further conclusion, that we are all middle-class and “adjusted” now, needs Sillitoe to answer it. As a novel, the book is no more than a series of picareque adventures strung together, albeit written in an extremely sensitive and vivid manner: as a document it is a sudden and impressive thumb-nail sketch of both the decay, the bitter anarchy and the vigour of what is left of the working-class.
DEMOCRACY works in a mysterious ways its wonders to perform. Like the Paris fashions, it changes regularly and assumes the most peculiar shapes. Before the Labour Party conference, who were the unrep-
It is unwise to administer just another round of insulin to a hospital room, surrounded by bayonets fixed; the citizens might suppose our justice is sick... and our Socialism not... yet he did not complan about the presence of his only ambition before the doctors! "I only wish I had the whole army before me! I know, one day, with all the doctors with rage to wash away... the blood-stains splattered across the windows by the ruthless clique in their last for oppression. He went on to explain why he thought highly of the chances of success - "We were assured of the people's support"... he said: "The people we counted on for support in our struggle were these..."

Seven hundred thousand Cubans without work, who desire to earn their bread honestly - sick and weary of the grinding pace in search of a livelihood. Five hundred thousand farm labourers inhabiting miserable shacks and living in the tiniest of the year and starve for the rest of the year, sharing their misery with their children, who have not an inch of land to cultivate, and whose existence inspires compassion in any heart not made of stone. Four hundred thousand industrial labourers and street peddlers whose retirement funds have been embezzled, whose benefits are being taken away, whose homes are wrecked, whose salaries pass from the hands of the boss to the hands of the warden, whose future is a pay reduction and dismissal, whose life is eternal work and whose only rest is in the tomb.

GENERATIONS

One hundred thousand small farmers who live and die working, who make their living, looking at it with sadness as Moses did the promised land, to die, possessions of it: who, like feudal seigniory, possess the use of their parcel of land by giving up a portion of their products; who cannot love it, improve it, beautify it or plant a lemon or an orange tree on it because they never know when a sheriff will come with the rural guard to evict them from it.

Thirty thousand teachers and professors who are so devoted, dedicated to the better destiny of future generations, and who are so badly treated and paid.

PROFESSIONALS

Twenty thousand small businessmen weighted down by debts, ruined by the crisis and hounded to a hospital room, with flibustiers and venial officials. Ten thousand young professionals - engineers, educators, veterinarians, school teachers, dentists, pharmacists, newspapermen, painters, sculptors, who after finishing from school with their degrees, anxious to work and full of hope, only to find themselves at a dead end with all doors closed, and work to earn their wages or suppression.

O P P O S I T I O N T O A L G E R I A N W A R

BY RICHARD GREEN

CONVIVANCIA in the Algerian War has been a marked feature of the mass left organisations in France as long as one can remember. The Communist Party leadership has played a particularly despotic role in all this. Calling itself "marxist", it has systematically prevented any attempt to find the struggles of the Algerian workers and peasants with the class struggle in France. It has played upon the loyalty of the workers to their traditional leaders, to engage a relationship that could have revolutionising consequences in Western Europe.

Recently a manifesto signed by 121 intellectuals from the Surrealist Andre Breton to the Existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre - has boldly declared that the struggle for Algerian independence is the struggle of all free men (as indeed it is). Whatever the limitations of this document from a Marxists standpoint, its significance cannot be underestimated. It is not surprising that the French left without a large Marxist press have brought out the usual platitudes about treason, but we also see the Communist Party bosses suggesting that there must be respect for legality and that the manifesto is only an expression of individuals, not a mass movement. What twisted drivel, what cheap pronouncements! If, at the moment, the French workers are not fully conscious of their obligations to their Algerian comrades, that is because the Communist Party has never attempted to explain matters.

The Communist Party leadership in France, as elsewhere at the present moment in world history, is caught in the new reality and dangerous to the forces of progress. Not only is it corrupt, but it tends to act as an inter-war revolutionary behaviour. Let us hope that the forces that defend human freedom in France, may arouse the many doubtful militants on the Left to a full recognition of their responsibilities in relation to the Algerian Revolution. It may be of interest to readers that Jean-Paul Sarte has registered his protest at the arrest of Sal Sanent and Michel Cabuy of the Fourth International, who were engaged in rendering aid to the Algerian Revolution.

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- Workers' control in all nationalised industries, a majority of workers' representatives on all national and area boards, subject to frequent election; immediate reduction in working hours and increase in skilled wage ruling in the industry.

- The establishment of workers' committees to control all private enterprises, and regulation of a planned economy. In all instances representation shall be subject to frequent election immediately to be subject to 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.

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