ALDERMaston AND BEYOND

COMRADES Krushchev, Eisenhower and Macmillan are largely responsible for the strength and vigour of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. This may sound paradoxical, but without their activities—or rather antics—the feeling against the bomb would not have reached such intensity. Their desire to pile bomb upon bomb, even after military experts have agreed that existing stocks are sufficient to exterminate one's opponent, is just one symptom of growing mental derangement. Put this way it is obvious the rulers of the world are the cause of the present impasse. It is their production of nuclear weapons that has created the situation which imperils the very existence of mankind. Only political infants, sucking the dummy, can expect that there are—after all the trouble—will quietly solve the problems of nuclear disarmament at a summit conference. It is like expecting Genghis Khan to lead a movement against capital punishment.

Yet this pathetic fallacy is prevalent inside the Campaign. Many feel that it is only a question of demonstrating against the bomb; petitions, froward cogent arguments, and... Mr. Macmillan will then go to the summit to convince others too. Such illusions as these are common among CND supporters, who while realising the dangers of the arms race and the urgency of nuclear disarmament, have no clear idea of the way ahead, no strategy of how their aim can be achieved. Wishful thinking replaces cool analysis.

But stressing this attitude is the policy of CND's National Committee, who claim that the Campaign is non-political. As is usually the case when something is said to be non-political it conceals a number of highly questionable and very political assumptions. While this pretence of being non-political can be used against Socialists who use the slogan “Out with the Tories! Out with the Bomb!” the Campaign can issue, officially, a pamphlet of A. J. P. Taylor, The Deterrent Myth, which says, “I would not so trust our political leaders... I should be sorry to lose Mr. Macmillan or Mr. Gainskell.” This, of course, is quite sure political state-craft!

The Campaign hierarchy work on the underlying assumption that the pit mate of my hour can be dispelled without altering the social order. This is, obviously, to influence existing rulers, to change and political leadership is marketable. They are mistaken. I am arguing that unless reform and thereby alter the Establishment and its hierarch. Consequently, they are unable to get...

continued on page 2
The Communit Party and the Bomb

A Daily Worker editorial, August 7th, 1952, headed "The Communit Party and the Bomb on Hiroshima," on the seventh anniversary of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, writes:

"The excise that, in the long run, this bilateral action saved lives, is worthlessness. "There has never been a crime committed in war which this excise has not been used to justify."

It is rote excise which is used to cover up every relapse into barbarism.

"As such, it was always a favourite with Hitler and the Nazis."

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

"The employment of the new weapon on a substantial scale should be a subject of concern to all freemen. It has been in the Allied nations will have been saved by the new discovery."

Thus, the Daily Worker had the honour of being the only paper in Great Britain to editorially call for the employment of the new weapon on a substantial scale. When the second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, the concluding paragraph of the Daily Worker editorial declared:

"The use of the atom bomb has mercifully shortened the war and consequent saving of human life is worthlessness."

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

It is interesting to note that on the 8th Aug., 1945, the Daily Worker stressed that the invention of the atomic bomb was a strong additional argument for co-operation between Russia and China. But it is unlikely that this insight would be strengthened by the strength of the three great powers in relation to all other countries. The Worker was probably the first exponent of atomic bomb diplomacy.

On the 14th Aug., 1945, the Daily Worker's front page headline read: "Japs still trying to faggle."

In the article they described it as "an immediate end to the bitter war being waged in the Far East. The atomic bomb--like the Soviet intervention--should be seen as a positive contribution to the fabric of the last greatest power in the world and to the rapid institution of that peace for which all decent persons and all peoples feel such urgent need. So we join in the chorus of terror which has been expressed in certain press comments because we bear in mind the concrete use which was made of the fearful engine of destruction."

From Jock Haston, N.C.L.C. Organiser, to J. R. Campbell, Editor of the Daily Worker, on August 7th, 1952, calling attention to the role of that paper when the bombs were dropped, and suggesting that the readers of his paper should be reminded of editorial policy in 1945, he replied as follows on August 8th, 1952:

"Dear Sir,

"We admit we were wrong about the bomb in 1945. To err is human."

Yours truly,
J. R. Campbell
Editor.

Needless to say, neither letter was published.

The Communist Review

Socialist Review does not contend that the mobilisation of the Labour and Trade Movement is an easy thing that can be accomplished overnight. It demands systematic concerted action and works over decades. It suggests that it is necessary for the Communist Party to work among workers on rocket sites and nuclear factories to ask them to 'black' the work. While 'blackening the bomb' is an important militation we would like to reach on the mass of workers to do this the Communist Party must be acknowledged that it will only be reached when the climate of opinion against the Bomb has been considerably strengthened among workers. The Party must reach the workers and groups in each union and constituency party. A step in this direction has been taken by CND through the formation of the Labour Advisory Committee. But it has not yet been accepted. The leaders of CND are very clear about allowing this Committee to raise the standard of revolt in the unions; it might offend some of the trade union bureaucrats who are friendly to the Campaign. Yet, if the Campaign is to succeed it will be as a result of mobilizing working class opinion. And this can only be done if CND is prepared to offend some trade union bureaucrats.

The Direct Action Committee is hand in hand with the struggle for political supportability. It realizes that the struggle for nuclear disarmament will almost certainly involve an intensive struggle, quarrels with the police, and it is for workers to take their destiny into their own hands. However, the DAC attitude, as exemplified by the Swaffham and Harrington demonstrations, shows they too easily fall into the trap of making individual protests as a result of class action.

Court arrest, civil disobedience and the like clearly illustrate the courage of Direct Action supporters, but it is not likely to convince many workers of the need to take action against the Bomb.

Less publicized, less glamorous, but in the long run more effective, will be the constant, consistent work both in the Campaign and Labour Movement, bringing the two organisations closer together, helping them both to understand the deeper, more profound economic basis of the present arms race. Until this is achieved the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will remain only a Stonewall Paper in the way ahead. Not knowing how to achieve its objective, it may easily be that CND could go through a period of temporary decline. For it is important to realize that the above idea of the Bomb touches an obstacle that除非 further growth and increased power.

Expensive Accounts!

According to Alexander Thomson, the City Editor of the Evening Standard (February 18 1939)

"It is probably true to say that, five days a week, seven out of every ten lunches served in the smarter West End hotels and restaurants are business lunches. They are booked out of expensive accounts. So are eight out of every ten Rolls-Royces and Bentleys bought in London. And scores of town flats and hotel suites besides."

The Aller on he writes:

"In America, where they keep statistics on just about everything, they estimate that expense account spending runs into £1,500 a year."

And Somers House has no idea what it amounts to here. No one has ever bothered to find out."
INTERNATIONAL NOTEBOOK

by T. Clift

IT'S RICH

"If there are white settlers who cannot bring themselves to adapt their lives in Kenya to rapidly changing circumstances, the British Government cannot in honour wash their hands of them," Times, February 22.

"Three separate services were held yesterday for the 435 miners who died in the colliery disaster at Coalbrook, OFS. One was for the white South Africans who died, another for the 429 Africans, and a third for a Hungarian immigrant" — reported in Daily Worker, February 23.

"The company's demand and I stress that the unions did not press their claim much earlier" — Mr KO Boardman, chairman, Manchester weaving and merchant, and member of the Bury and District Textile Society, reported in Times, February 12.

"If an American knows the local language he may be in jeopardy of ideas he deals with the natives" - Maj.-Gen. Helley of the US Air Force.

"Many members of these communities (the Criminal Tribes) have had a lot of trouble to become small traders and shopkeepers" — Government of India Planning Commission, First Five Year Plan, p 640.

An Industrial Accident Claims Tribunal heard a claimant's case, ruled that he 'is fit for suitable work which does not involve standing, sitting, bending or lying down" — AEU Journal, January.

"If you injure a labourer who has limited means, quite obviously the damage he suffers is less than if you injure a professional man with vast earnings" — Sir Justice Street held awarding £10,665 damages to a stockbroker injured in a water-skilling accident.

"Norwegian trade unions have asked the State broadcasting company to keep up a day off from week-end television so that union members will not stay away from meetings to watch programmes" — reported in Times, February 8.

"We believe, in the future, in the hope of the conscience clause they would consider it to be an individual thing and not something on which organization should take place" — Times report on Parliamentary Labour Party meeting, March 3.

"Mr Gaitkell Changes His Tune" — Headline in Tribune and The Times, Westminster speed since January 5.

"The peaceful transition to socialism, which was once regarded as the hallmark of Social Democracy against Communism, has become the hallmark of modern Communism..." — RP Dutt, Labour Monthly, January.

"It is perfectly clear now that the ban on the League was part of the struggle to close Clause 4 of the Labour Party constitution" — G Healy, Newsletter, February 27.

ONE excuse for resisting British workers' demands for a shorter working week is the threat of competition from abroad. Many prisoners workers are reputed to be working very much heavier than their British brothers. This myth should be quickly and finally exploded.

"Other people in 1939, it was true that the German workers worked longer than the British (as much as 45 hours) in 1939 they worked on average only 44 hours a week. This compares with 45.1 in France and 45.3 in Britain. (The Times, December 31, 1959).

* 435 miners lost their lives in the Coalbrook mine disaster in South Africa, of whom 429 were black and 6 white. The colour of their skin did not make a difference to their fate. But it does to their families. Widows of white miners receive a weekly pension of £1. The maximum for an African widow with children is a little over £3 a month.

* THE United Auto Workers' Union, with its 1,150,000 members, in order to strengthen itself against the bosses, collects a sum of 1.25 dollars (something like 8/9) a month per member towards a strike fund. Thus every union member gives about 2/6 a week towards a strike fund!

LIGHT IN THE SKY

a review by John Crutchley

JOHN COMLEY's first published novel is basically a Howard Fast type reconstruction of the culminating stages of the Irish struggle against the imperialist British suppression in 1922 and the initial stages of the civil war following the betrayal of the 'treaty' — imposed upon the rebels by the Lloyd George government. We get a front seat view of the split in the Executive of the Republican Army with De Valera leading the left faction which continued the revolution after the bourgeois elements had backed the treaty compromise and the first battle of the civil war that followed.

LAW

Superimposed on this revolutionary background is the personal tragedy of a young IRA area commandant, Danny Pearson, who sacrifices his military ideals for more personal satisfactions. Reminiscent of the Polish film 'Ashes and Diamonds', although written before the film was shown in this country, the novel highlights the perpetual problem of the revolutionary movement: how to achieve complete loyalty to the cause and at the same time have some semblance of a private life.

During the transition to capitalism the bourgeoisie embraced the self denying religion of Pro- testantism. In this country, the retiring President of the English Gentlemen and public prosecutors, Dr Mehlheimer is himself a former member of the Nazi Party and...

Jewish Chronicle February 1

WHETHER, a worker earns a lot or a little, under capitalism he continues to be exploited and oppressed. This is shown most clearly by the best-paid workers in the world.

It is true than an American coal miner who in 1913 earned only 15 cents (1s 10d) an hour now earns on average an average $26 (£9 5s 4d) a day, but it is also true that the subordinate to management has not been in any way mitigated since then. As John Maynard Keynes, the former President of the United State Mine-Workers of America unashamedly put it: "We made our contracts and when the contracts had been for decades of time giving the employer the authority over working and firing and over direction of the working force. The Union doesn't interfere in that." (Labour News from the US, Jan, 1, 1960).

Without workers control over hiring and firing, the worker is merely a cog in the capitalist machine!

NO THANKS:

The Land Ministers of Justice in Westminster have decided at a meeting at Westminster to reject the offer of information recently given by the West German Minister of Justice, the East German Public Prosecutor, concerning the former activities of about 1000 West German judges and public prosecutors.

Dr Mehlheimer is himself a former member of the Nazi Party and...
DEMONCACY AND THE TUC

by J. Martin

WHEN 110 out of 700 ETU
members are disqualified
from elections for the General
Secretary of the union it is clear
that something is very wrong in
the ETU. There is no better
proof of the lack of real demo-
cracy in the ETU.

The TUC General Council's
tate on this score would, how-
ever, receive a blessing from the
Knights of the TUC defended
democracy as well in other
unions. The malpractices and
wrongdoings of the unions are
more prevalent than in the ETU.

In the Transport and General
Workers' Union, the Municipal
and General and the National
Union of Railwaysmen, to name
just three big unions, the General
Secretary is elected for life (or
retirement age). The same rule
applies in many other unions.

'OFFICIAL'

The elections in the ETU,
however, will distort the trade
unions, as models of democracy
compared with elections in some
other unions. It is theLINK, for
instance, in an election for a
position outside the branch,
the majority present can elect
even for a union membership
of the branch by a show of
hands. A branch has to say, '1000
people vote and 51% decide'.
Eleven vote for candidate A
and nine for candidate B. 20
people go, 90 people vote, then
go to candidates. (When it comes to declaring a strike, Mr. Tom Williamson is even more 'democratic'. "Two-thirds of the members of the branch or body immediately
concerned' must vote in favour.

Thus an attendance at the
branch meeting of more than
two-thirds of the members is the
minimum necessary! No wonder
no strike is 'official' (by Mr.
Tom's standards).

COMMITTEES

In the same union, District
Secretaries are not elected, but
appointed. As Sir Tom's prede-
cessor as General Secretary,
Charles Dukes, explained in jus-
tification of this openly anti-
democratic procedure:

"Without in any way being pre-
judicial to, or decreeing the
merits of the members, I do not
think that anyone with a proper
sense of responsibility can reason-
able suggest that men totally in-
experienced and without official
service could have been permitted".

DIG THIS!

President Eisenhower has
asked members to sign a new
petition over farm surpluses.
His concrete suggestion was that
the 'Soil bank' should be in-
corporated into the farm
reserves to 60 million. This is
a scheme under which the Gover-
nment would buy and reduce
surpluses by paying farmers to
take them off the market.

The Department of Agriculture
has estimated that this ex-

pansion would cost a total
annual cost from $375m ($113m)


SAYS KARL DUNBAR

YET another Labour Council
has succumbed to the relent-
less pressure exerted by a reac-
tive minority over the 'open
money market', from the sharks
in other words. This was in 1955,
and it is worthwhile to note that
the interest on advances from the
Board rose from 3 percent in
January 1945, to 31 percent in
October 1955.

This is the position then:
Council housing problems were
settled, until 1955, by loans from
the Board with reasonable
interest rates, rates which, in
the open market, the interest rates
are both high and carry so much
certainty as to the future problems
that they are bleak.

All in all, councils are facing
a bleak future. Willemsen tried
only last year, to solve their
immediate financial need by rais-
ing rents. This didn't work and so
again, this is another rent
increase and the leader of the
Council openly states that "this
rent increase is not a solution."

RESOLUTION

It is time we asked ourselves
what is the solution? Obviously
rent raising is absurd, it is the
only way out, the money from
businessmen's door through which
Councils can, temporarily, escape the net
which has been thrown out by the
Tories and their profit-hungry
supporters. It may be all right
individually, but the Tory-controlled
Councils to adopt the will of their masters
in Westminster, but for the
Labour group to do so, is
sticking their heads above the parapet and
a shambles. The thousands
who are living—
I say, 'money'—are, after

turned into Latin,'hutches' run,
by the young couples trying
desperately to find furnished
rooms at an ex-orbitant cost.

If we continue to accept the
preposition that 'Councils are
denouning the lack of democracy
in the ETU. The concern of
the press lords for trade union demo-
cracy is even more hypocritical.

MALPRACTICES

The crisis in the ETU brings
into focus the need for a general
clean-up in trade union move-
ment, for the establishment of
a wide basis of the right of elec-
tion and recall of all officials.

They were demanding an end to
the blacklist and file of the trade union move-
ment combine opposition to
bureaucracy, malpractices with
the basic industrial issues such as
wages, the shorter working week
and dawaiy of shop stewards
that this will be done.

LABOUR COUNCILS MUDDLE ON

The councils demands on
the Board by making all applicants
to raise finance for the 'open
money market', from the sharks
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a shambles. The thousands
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I say, 'money'—are, after

1) elve the TORY Govmen
to initiate a campaign aimed at
unifying the Labour Governments
on the reform of this council
and demand for the reversal
of Government policies which are
crippling our programs; 2) call
upon the NEC to support this
campaign; 4) set up a committee
of action to formulate positive
steps to develop the campaign.

AUDITOR

Boldness is the key, and this was
rejected by a Labour Group too
conscious of the pressures of the
Tory press, the local Tory op-
opposition, the 'unfindable' rate-
men, sacred to them that the
pressures might lose them a seat
or two in May; afraid that the
District Auditor might 'go to St
Pancras' on them; scared of
the immensity of the problem they
were up against, for they felt that they represent the greatest
force in history, a force which,
when the whole community rise
deaf, would back their represent-
atives to the hilt.

2) could oppose

Times, February 19
Dudley Edwards writes on the industrial roles of THE INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES

How can the political struggle for socialism be linked to the industrial struggle to win a larger share of the cake for the working class? This is the basic problem to which all British socialists (Marxist or otherwise) should apply themselves to-day.

The failure of the Labour Party to carry the March election in October represents the severest political defeat for the broad Labour movement since the collapse of the second Labour Government in 1931. At three successive elections, most of the middle class, the new industrial technocracy and a decisive minority of working-class voters have rejected the political leadership offered by official Labour and branded the Labour Manifesto, often brilliantly advocated, by various left-wing groups.

Put in this way, the future for British socialism looks black indeed. In itself, this is not the worst of the story. In the industrial field the British working-class has suffered no major defeat since 1929. The mass movement is more resilient, powerful and extensive than ever. It continues to conduct a virile struggle to raise the social and economic status of all workers. The unions have shown that the employing class that the employing class has been prevented from taking full advantage of the workers' strength, since the Tories were defeated in 1974.

Of course the capitalist press affects to see in this development only an inexplicable outbreak of wild-cat strike-wild with their eagerness to discredit militancy in industrial action, they fail to notice that, if the wild-cat means anything, it implies the overthrow of a theory by a thoughtless minority. Such action always leads to disasters. And the potential course of all recent strikes has been the un Bedrooms in the absolute parity of the workers concerned. Nevertheless, one might almost say that this “star” reporter finds a minority of blackjack-throwing past their power and provided with squad of police to protect them and their homes. The result is that every worker, every voting-catch organisation, must continue to participate in the struggle and not run away from the class struggle. The workers still exist, as amply demonstrated by the big industrial clashes.

The pretence that the class struggle has ceased has never won a General Election for any Socialist Party anywhere. On the contrary, if the Labour leaders had given full backing to all the industrial struggles of the 1950s, especially if the class struggle had led to real economic victories for the workers they would have had a unanimous working class vote and therefore victory in the 1959 Election.

Of course many Labour leaders are simply reformists and therefore the leadership must be changed. In the course of changing the relationship between the two wings of the movement, the socialists must prepare the way for the creation of a new party but at the transformation of the present Labour movement into a party of a new type.

How can we bring about a re-orientation of Socialism? To work throughout the whole movement? We must make it clear to all workers that Socialism is not only a new form, new or old. It is always a wholesome system of production, based on the exploitation of man by man, morally ugly with its ‘dog eat dog’ philosophy. At heart millions of workers are anti-capitalist. They need to regain full confidence in the power of the working class to change the world for the better.

PROFITS

The enormous profits of the capitalist class, the growing number of millionaires show that far higher wages could easily be paid if the TUC (Jan. 1st, 1960) suggested an average pay packet of £14 per week. This can be considered (based on an up-to-date cost of living index) to prevent wage increases from being cancelled out by price increases and to provide a jumping-off point for further advances. It is on the prospect of winning such an advance that we must set our sights.

UNITY

The great industrial struggles now maturing will constitute the next crisis for Labour. The TUC in its present form will not provide the necessary militant leadership. This is particularly obvious in the street fighting of recent days. Nevertheless, this willingness to struggle surely reveals that the mass of the workers who still vote Labour feel little sense of defeat because Mr. Gaitskell failed with his glossy Labour programme to get himself into 10 Downing St.

VOTE-CATCHING

This lack of any sense of defeat among the trade unions and the workers is a result of the health of the working-class movement. But there is a danger of a type of second-rate Americanisation devaluing the international character of the TUC. We are not in the position today of persuading the workers that the TUC is a more promising instrument than the Labour Party. The TUC can play a role in the party, in the sense that it co-operates with Labour in the streets in strikes, but it cannot take the position that it is a new party by its own objective inside and beyond the capitalist system.

De Gaulle and Hitler

The following is a description of Hitler taken from the third volume of General de Gaulle’s Memoirs: To avoid being put in shackles, Prometheus threw himself into the abyss... This man who had set out from nothing, offered himself to Germany at a moment when she was still living... Germany, utterly seduced, followed his leader with enthusiasm. He was not satisfied with him, serving him with a power and a devotion that were, as no nation had ever given to a ruler... Hitler’s ambition, however, did not end there. To the last hours, he remained unsailed by doubt, ruthless and inflexible, as he had been in his most glorious days. For the sake of the supreme grandeur of the German nation and his legend, he had decided never to waver, never to compromise or retreat. The Titan, determined to change face of the world for the better...

From The Wiener Library Bulletin VOL. XIII No.5-6.
ERIC HEFFER DISCUSS

TRENDS IN US LABOUR

After a two months visit to the USA, travelling through the major cities and speaking with workers, journalists, lawyers, university person nel and rank and file workers, I am convinced that within the next few years we shall see interesting and important developments in America. This will be with tremendous political implications.

The American labour is in a crisis of some magnitude. This is fully appreciated by the more enlightened of leaders and rank and file workers, but pitifully underestimated by most. The philosophy of Samuel Gompers (one-time Socialist and founder of the American Federation of Labour, later a defender of the principles of the Second Interna tion and no longer sufficed. Labour cannot be content merely to get "more". The problems now raised by the affluent society and the worker's position in it (as described by John Kenneth Galbraith in his book "The Affluent Society") must first be recognized as a changing character, and begin to play a conscious role in bringing further changes.

AFFLUENCE

Un labour has achieved great things, (most workers cannot change the habits of the are of negroes) have a higher standard of living than elsewhere. Unfortunately, labour's outlook up to now has been narrow, restrictive, satisfied with the status quo and its entire thinking has been swamped by capitalist ideology. As far as I could see, it was not a question of keeping up with the Joneses, but of keeping ahead of them, and everyone, including most workers, (I spoke to people who seemed to be called "middle-class".

However, this affluence has not brought an end to some of the old style problems. The class struggle is still very much a part of American life, and it is still as intense. The unions in the auto industry are in a state of strike and the labour movement is far from united. The American Federation of Labour (AFL) has been overshadowed by a new organization, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which has been more successful in attracting workers.

AUTO WORKERS

The Landrum-Griffin Act, the most important legislation in the United States (admitted by the unions) has been largely successful in bringing about the formation of the CIO. The CIO has shown itself to be a powerful force in organizing the workers in the automobile industry. The United Automobile Workers, led by Reuther, believe that what is required is a re-alignment of the political scene. They are working to split the Southern Dixie-crats in the Democratic party and get the support of the Americans for the CIO. This will mean that the Southern workers will have a say in the future of the country.

HOPE

My experience was that at State and City levels and par ticularly amongst the active rank and file workers, there is a definite mood in favour of creating an independent political organization. As yet it is only a mood, it has not crystallized into definite organization and action, but it ought not to be underestimated in the future.

However, to hope for a Social ist movement to emerge in the future without a political organization is wishful thinking. The Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the Socialist Workers' Party and the other socialist groupings are all small sects, probably not amounting to more than 2000 members all told. There are a few journals, of which one of the best The American Socialist, which enjoyed recent through lack of support.

1960's

Socialists today have little influence in the broad trade union movement. It is said the real hope is and it is through the unions that they obviously should work. If they can be moved to take a more independent political position then socialists independent ideas can take on flesh and blood.

In this connexion the CCE committees will I am sure play an important role. So far they have been relatively new, still finding their bearings, and at the moment tend to be pressures groups on the State and City governments rather than organs of independent activity or expressions of an independent political. However, we can feel that they will evolve in this direction and already in Ohio a proposal for a separate social legislation has been advanced by the State AFL-CIO committee. Events are moving in the direction of the State and City bodies to move in the same direction and eventually take on a socialist character.

In a sense US labour is in a similar situation to that of the British trade unionism at the end of the last century (although it would be wrong to draw too close an analogy) British labour ultimately declared its independence from the Liberals. "Landrum Griffin" plus the industry may well force US labour to do the same.

1960 will see interesting developments which can have definite effects on our movement here. First, many Labour leaders will walk over the fence. Secondly, the general strike and the right to requisition privately held land.

IRELAND

From page 3

have concentrated either on his hero or given a straightforward historical account with the momentary re-action of the par ticipants rather than attempting both.

John Comley must be congratulated for writing a novel which spotlights the revolutionary nature of the Irish troubles. In "The Blinds" we are treated to the personal tragedy that follows from not living up to a revolutionary situation or the future. The book is in too much, but in the present state of the novel it is a revolutionary book that indulges in wish ful thinking. The Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the Socialist Workers' Party and the

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The Socialist review stands for international Socialist democracy. Only the international working class in the industrial and political arena can lead to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. The review believes that a really consistent Labour Government must be brought to power as part of the following programme:

- The complete nationalisation of heavy industry, the banks, insurance and the land with compensation payments based on a means test. Redistribution 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 by a majority of workers' representatives on all committees. The right to frequent election, immediate right to receive the average skilled wage, and the right to receive the average skilled wage in the industrial sector.

- The establishment of workers' committees to control all private employers' wages through a plan of a planned economy. In all instances representatives must be subject to periodic production and fact or recall, and receive the average skilled wage in the industrial sector.

- 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 mortgages to all workers and the right to requisition privately held land.

- Free Education up to 18. Abolition of Halls of residence. Comprehensive schooling 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, without any question of migration for all workers to and from Britain.

- Freedom from political and economic oppression to all colonies. The end of the technocratic and economic dominance of 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
It's very difficult to win the heart of a woman. And the things you get up to just to achieve that end! You take her by the hand you speak in a husky voice, you make her weep at the rain. They don't love you—they don't believe you! And you have to start the whole business from the beginning again. My God, it's hard labour to love like that.

A system Moscow police call rest. When for the first time in his life he got two weeks off, he suddenly noticed that the world was becomes also beautiful, especially the grass under half of it. And he felt that if he didn't immediately take decisive steps he would become a second-rate and minor actor, a tinkling bachelor in his room, with old socks and bottles lying under his bed.

In Moscow, he became a girl across some wild country by the seaside. He tried as hard as he could to please her. Naturally, he was a husky, brave man. He talked to all sorts of, even liked that he was a Chełmianker,* and the best friend of Otto Yulevich Schmidt. He offered marriage, a room in Moscow, his heart, a separate kitchen and central heating. The girl thought it over and agreed.

Here we omit eight pages of artistic description concerning his trip with the object of his infatuations in the third class carriage. (We would just throw in an aphorism: third class with one's beloved is better than de luxe alone.)

In Moscow they bought a spray of blue and went to the registry office to register their mutual happiness.

* Chełmianker = agent of the Chełmianker office is it. It's not very well lit. And it's not exactly cheerful. Because marriages, deeds and births are all registered there. Everyone who works in the office, all smiles, the first thing that struck them was a reproachful placard on the wall:

**NO SINS, NO MARRIAGE!**

Besides this there also hung on the wall the address of a funeral director and a store selling mourning accessories, alst looking gonecoeci and Koch tabucula bacili. Enchanting place for marriages. In the corner there stood a dirty ragged artificial palm in a green tub. This was a tribute to the times; a sort of workshop beauty treatment. The evening newspaper was placed on the pedestal; barely concealed donations: "SOKKOL in Moscow. A New Look in the registry office."

The registry office official inspected the young couple's documents and suddenly asked:

"You can't register.

"Why not?"

"What can we do?"

"You can't register. We don't register passports from other towns."

"D'you mean to say I'm not allowed to love a girl from another town?"

"It's just too bad. You can't register."

"I'm not shooting. But this means I'm only allowed to marry a Moscowite."

"You can't register for the time being."

We aren't concerned with questions of love, citizen. We're here to register marriages.

"What's that to do with you who I like? What d'you think you're here for, allocation of family happiness? Are you regulating the traffic in souls?"

"You pipe down according to the regulation of traffic, citizen."

"I've got to talk to the doctor."

"Don't you behave like a human being here!"

"I'm telling you, you're foxed."

"Don't you cause any trouble!"

"Me causing trouble? Now you've got a noble emotion any more, it's just trouble-making all right. Then let's go, Lyunya."

Finding himself back on the street again, the unsuccessful candidate for marriage went on a long time under a downpour.

"Are these human beings? Is that a man? He's an old bogey man! What are we supposed to do now?"

He was in such a state that the girl took pity on him.

"Tell me, Lyunya," she said, "you love me. You're neither of us hypocrisies. We'll just live like that."

Well, she put up with him but it was paradise or you're paradise if you're with the one you love. They began to live "like that."

But the paradise in a little wooden hut with the one you love, friends, is only possible if your beloved is weighed, signed and delivered by the actual modulation in the accommodation book. Otherwise all sorts of rather unpleasant alternatives are possible. They couldn't register his beloved in the book. He hadn't got a Moscow passport. And she could only get a Moscow passport as the doctor's wife. She was the doctor's wife. But the registry office held the doctor's wife's passport producing a Moscow passport. But she couldn't get a Moscow passport because they weren't registered in the office. And it is impossible to be Moscow out a passport. Else, he couldn't live in the hut, could he? In the hut, the big moon and their first bliss.

They lived in the hut by the hand and took her to the police.

"Look here," he said, pointing his finger at his wife.

"What d'you mean, look here?"

"That's the object of my affection."

"What object of affection?"

"I adore this creature and request that it be registered in my file. A weeping together is something to be definitely known.

"What more evidence do you want?" asked the doctor, almost beside himself.

"She can't live without her. I can kiss her, if you like." The adoring couple, without taking their impairing eyes off the clerk, kissed with trembling lips. It became very quiet in the police station. The clerk turned his back on them

"But perhaps you're a fictitious marriage? Perhaps the lady just wants to set herself up in Moscow."

"No, she's got the 'happy' happybridge. 'Had you thought of that? You fine people for breaking glass, but who can I fine for a broken life." On the whole, the doctor took a strong line and continued in this vein until it was explained that there was a way out, that happiness was still possible. All he had to do was to get his beloved back to Odessa, a mere one thousand four hundred and twelve kilometers in all, and everything would sort itself out. The Odessa registry office would register the doctor's passion, and their illegal love would at last take on legal status. They would be made sacrifices. A sacrifice was necessary—money had to be borrowed for the tickets. extra leave had to be requested for domestic arrangements to be attended to. But the doctor still didn't know the worst—he didn't know that the bogey man doesn't only sit in the registry office, and that bogey men were also lying in wait for him in the Moskva station.

Here we omit sixteen pages of dramatic description of how the young couple were too late for their train. For what is there to describe? Here it was brave, and knows that there's nothing easier in Moscow than being late for something or other.

Seating his grief-stricken Lyunya on a suitcase, the doctor rushed off to get the tickets punched. But this adventure failed. The NKPs vigilantly guarded the interest of the railways, and cancelled the punching of tickets.

"What can we do now," the doctor groaned.

"You've lost your tickets now," the bogey man informed him. "That's the rule. Once you've missed the train, you've had it." D'you think we do it on purpose?

"It's none of our business whether you did it on purpose or not."

"But they've always punched tickets since the day they started."

"There's new rules, now, citizen."

"Anyway, I have no more money left. Now I can't go."

The bogey man preserved a correct silence.

And the man who had previously interfered with the tranquil functioning of a whole series of respectable institutions tottered backwards and, sitting down beside his Lyunya, fell into deep thought. He cast his mind back over all his past actions.

"Well, what have I done wrong? I went on a holiday, met a nice girl, fell head over heels in love with her and decided to get married. Didn't work out. The rules prevented it."

If a rule is made which makes the bogey men uncomfortable, a senseless rule which only seems necessary on an official's desk alongside the inkwell, and not to living people themselves. There's not much doubt that it's been made by a bogey man, a man who sees life in only one dimension, with no conception of its depth and scope.

If there's a man sitting behind some establishment barrier, carrying out a stupid and harmful rule, and if he, knowing this, justifies himself by saying that he's only a clerk, then he's a gentleman. We have no small men, and we have no room for any. If he sees that the law leads to inconvenience and distress, he is obliged to exclude anyone who's afraid of the law being revised or improved.

And what of our doctor? What happened to the good honest doctor? Who knows? Probably he's rushing off to a bogey man with some application or other in order to get his long desired passport.

And perhaps he's already stopped rushing around, maybe he's got tired and given up. Even love isn't infinite. And perhaps the faithful Lyunya has run off with some trade delegate to Syzran or Abarkhun where it's easier to get married.

In any case the doctor made a mistake right from the beginning. Before whispering "I love you", he should have said in a resolute, curt voice: "show me your documents, citizeness."

A member of the crew of the Chełmianker which sank in the Arctic.

Reviews by Bill Crouch

Weekend in Dulock

THIS is in fact two weekends spent by an American, Clancy Sigal, in a small mining village in Yorkshire.

Seen through an American's eyes it is a grim picture, but the authenticity is inescapable.

Here you come in contact with the morals of the village; here you see the miners' struggle for better conditions under the trade union branch; their implacable distract of all union officials above branch level; "those footers from London"— as they call them, and here you meet the miners at play.

Finally you meet the miners at work. The author recounts most vividly a day spent down the mines. If anything he overrates the miner is overpaid, let him read this book.

After you become used to the Americanised style of writing the book is absorbing and well worth the reading.

Sajek and Warburg 16/-
STOP THIS MURDER!

The seeds of white supremacy in South Africa have at last borne fruit. The cold-blooded massacres of unarmed Africans at Sharpeville and Langa are the logical culmination of the South African Government's racialist policies. To their eternal shame the Tories in Britain are accomplices in these murders; they have always voted in the United Nations in support of the South African police state; they were the ones who supplied the police thugs with British made Saracen armoured ears to help suppress the African population; by their capital investments in the South African economy they are the pillars of support for the system which degrades the African worker to little more than a slave.

The British Labour Movement has quite rightly expressed horror and disgust at these shameful atrocities and have urged fuller support for the Boycott of South African goods. While all of us support this call we must, at the same time make Labour use its industrial strength to black all South African goods and demand that shipment of arms to Verwoerd's gang be stopped immediately.

EXTEND THE BOYCOTT!

NO ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA!

Read:
Rosa Luxemburg
by T. Cliff.
4/- and 8/6 (bound)

From
117 Carmelite Road
Harrow Weald, Middx.

SOCIALIST REVIEW is published by Socialist Reviews Publishing Co. Ltd. Subscriptions, post paid, 12 issues: 8s. Opinions and policies expressed in signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Socialist Review which are given in editorial statement.

All communications to be addressed to 117 Carmelite Rd., Harrow Weald, Middx.


BACK THE BOYCOTT!

Here, to remind you, is a list of South African goods—

Timed Goods:
Koo
Domino
Ashton's
Kloof
L.K.B.
Hugo’s
Golden Glory
Surf Maid
Red Robin
Barnet
Parel Choice
Gold Reef
Zyp Products
Benedict
Wooley Pride
Summit
Helen MacGregor

Cigarettes:
Craven “A”
Peter Stuyvesant
Lexington
Rothmans

Consulate
Rembrandt
Pecadilly
Dunhill
Guards
Barons

Wines and Spirits:
Rembrandt Brandy
Richelieu Brandy
Odemeester Brandy
Abo Rouge Red Wine
Thermiskral Dry White Wine
La Residence Sparkling Wine
Grumbenber Stein

Fruit:
“Outspan” Oranges
“Cape” Apples
“Cape” Grapes
“Cape” Pineapples
“Cape” Avocado Pears
“Cape” Onions